Accountability of quality and fair access in Indonesian higher education: policymaker and practitioner perspectives

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I, Linda Elisa Jennifer Brewis confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

Indonesia's post-1998 higher education reforms have used accountability as a policy tool to regulate educational quality and fair access for low-income and disadvantaged students. This is done via curricular standardisation, accreditation, means-tested tuition fees and scholarship schemes. This thesis is an exploratory, qualitative inquiry into what accountability means for contemporary policymakers and higher education practitioners.

Policymaker assumptions about these accountability mechanisms were investigated through unstructured interviews with 10 government representatives (ministry of research, technology and higher education, accreditation bodies). The findings reveal that human capital and neoliberal rationales are accepted to an extent, although social justice rationales are also called upon to intervene in the higher education market in the name of public accountability. Policymakers are also shifting toward a professional accountability model where professional associations play a stronger role in assuring quality.

Practitioner beliefs and practices were investigated via three institutional case studies in West Java which represented a variety of subject orientations (IT, health science, science and humanities) and student demographics (low-income status, rural versus urban origin). Data was collected via 45 semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of staff drawn from four job role categories (senior management, middle management, lecturers, admissions/recruitment staff), 13 classroom observations, and analysis of institutional documents and statistics. Evidently, staff are driven by external pressures (state, labour market), internal pressures (institutional mission, peer accountability and self-accountability) as well as discipline-derived pressures (e.g. an interdisciplinary and collaborative approach, liberal arts values). The practitioner perspective highlighted how quality and fair access often overlap, with staff defining quality in response to the needs of their student backgrounds (low-income, rural, low-ability). Internal accountability pressures were equally important to external ones for driving beliefs and practices in teaching quality. Internal accountability was especially important for implementing supportive pedagogical and financial strategies to aid student retention and well-being.

(299 words)

Impact statement

The research findings have several implications in the field of pedagogical reform and fair access schemes. Firstly, in terms of feeding back into Indonesia's national policy agenda, the fair access policies in place at the state-ECB university (affirmative action by weighting admissions scores of rural West Javanese students higher, local government scholarship-public service MoUs) could serve as a model for other state-ECB universities in the country. At the same time, the findings reveal a need to identify strategies that support student retention and well-being, not just access. Quantitative indicators of success (such as Bidikmisi recipients' GPA) may mask inequalities between faculties in terms of the quality of support offered. This suggests that large state institutions need to evaluate and standardise their support strategies in order to offer more consistent and more effective support. Consultation with academic affairs staff, student support staff, Bidikmisi alumni and current Bidikmisi recipients is recommended in this regard. Staff at state universities could also benefit from mentoring and peer observations with staff from private institutions that implement pedagogical approaches more closely aligned with a socially just pedagogical approach.

In terms of furthering our global understanding of which policies can enhance fair access to quality higher education, Indonesia's reforms contribute several valuable lessons. A sense of fairness can be safeguarded by including legal provisions for distribution of scholarship students across the full range of study programmes. This avoids narrowing access to vocational or low-cost study programmes, as was the case for instance in Colombia's ACCESS scheme. Furthermore, the use of a means-tested tuition fee system in the state sector (rather than student loans or a flat rate for all students) helps to encourage enrolment for low-income students. In terms of private sector involvement in national fair access schemes, Indonesia has devised systems to curb predatory behavior. The state attaches conditions of quality for private sector eligibility (i.e. minimum B accreditation ranking) and pays the tuition fee contributions of Bidkimisi scholarship awardees upfront to higher education institutions. The state also sets priority subject areas for Bidikmisi awards in the private higher education sector, thus preventing over-enrolment of low-income students on low-cost study programmes, and giving them a chance to enroll on desirable, higher-cost study programmes with enhanced employability prospects.

The findings also have implications for research on pedagogical reform more generally. The concepts of constant versus intermittent peer accountability and self-accountability can serve as helpful tools in designing and evaluating interventions to enhance teaching quality. As the case of the state-ECB university demonstrates, institution-wide systems such as performance-based pay may be ineffective in enhancing teaching quality if a culture of collegiality, collaboration and meritocracy are absent. The latter can be encouraged through the following practices: internationalisation and diversifying recruitment (to avoid insularity), team teaching, peer observations, mentorship schemes, routine meetings to solicit peer feedback on progress of study modules, use of qualitatively judged performance appraisal rubrics that establish staff ownership over department-level progress, and regeneration strategies that afford junior staff genuine opportunities for career development.

(499 words)

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of abbreviations

AA	Applied Approach [mandatory course in pedagogy for HE teaching staff]
Adik Papua/3T	Afirmasi Pendidikan Papua/3T [affirmative action scheme]
A&H	Arts and humanities
AQRF	ASEAN Qualifications Reference Framework
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEAS	Association of Southeast Asian Studies
BAN-PT	Badan Akreditasi Nasional [National Accreditation Agency]
Bidikmisi	Beasiswa Pendidikan Mahasiswa Berprestasi dan Miskin [national scholarship scheme for low-income students]
BKD	Beban Kerja Dosen [system for calculating teaching work load for Indonesian lecturers]
CAM	Case Analysis Method [pedagogical approach in health science]
DGHE	Directorate General in Higher Education
ECB	Educational Corporate Body [semi-autonomous status for state higher education institutions]
GDP	gross domestic product
GNI	gross national income
GTER	gross tertiary enrolment ratio
HE	higher education
HEI	higher education institution
HITS	Happiness Integrated Transformative Studies
HR	Human Resources
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KKNI	Kerangka Kualifikasi Nasional Indonesia [National Qualifications Framework]
KOPERTIS	Koordinasi Perguruan Tinggi Swasta [Coordinating Office for Private Higher Education Insitutions]
LAM	Lembaga Akreditasi Mandiri [independent accreditation body]
LAMPT-Kes	Lembaga Akreditasi Mandiri Perguruan Tinggi Kesehatan [Independent Accreditation Body for Higher Education Institutions in Health Science]
MRTHE	Ministry for Research, Technology and Higher Education
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organisation for Economic and Social Development
PD-Dikti	Pangkalan Data Pendidikan Tinggi [Higher Education Database]
PNS	Pegawai Negeri Sipil [civil servant]
SIEI	Sarjana Ilmu Ekonomi Indonesia [Association of Indonesian Economists]

SN-Dikti	Standar Nasional Pendidikan Tinggi [National Higher Education Standards]
SNMPTN	Seleksi Nasional Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negeri [national high school report card admissions route]
SBMPTN	Seleksi Bersama Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negeri [national entrance exam admissions route]
STEM	science, technology, engineering and mathematics
UIS	UNESCO Institute of Statistics
UKOM	Uji Kompetensi [national competency exam]
UKT	Uang Kuliah Tunggal [means-tested tuition fee structure]
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

1 Introduction

1.1 Research background

Mention the word "accountability" to higher education staff and you will get mixed reactions. These range from serious allegations that accountability mechanisms signify an erosion of trust in the academic profession (Trow 1994), to perceptions of accountability as a mere policy buzzword that has little impact on actual teaching and learning practices. Yet, in this thesis, I hope to demonstrate that accountability is a very useful concept when examining higher education policy at the national, institutional, departmental and even personal level of the individual teacher. Indeed, accountability need not inspire dread or resentment in higher education staff. Rather, it is an integral and useful element of national policymaking and institution-level working cultures.

The case of Indonesia presents a unique policy environment in which to examine the issue of accountability. This is because the country has introduced ambitious reforms that hold higher education institutions to account both in terms of educational quality and fair access for low-income and disadvantaged students. Given that accountability mechanisms have conventionally been associated with policies to monitor educational quality, but not fair access (Harvey & Green 1993; Trow 1994; Newton 2002), Indonesia's accountability reforms are certainly of interest to policy research in this area globally. To be clear, there is no single accountability reform that forms the object of this study. Since the end of the Soeharto regime in 1998, Indonesia has actually undergone several major education reforms. These reforms comprise: (1) Government Regulation 61/1999 on the Implementation of State Universities as State-Owned Corporate Bodies; (2) the National Education System Law 20/2003; (3) the Teachers and Lecturers Law 14/2005; (4) the Educational Corporate Body Law 9/2009 (which was later revoked by the Constitutional Court in 2010); and finally (5) the Higher Education Law 12/2012. The three central features of these reforms have been (i) the introduction of accountability mechanisms amidst partial autonomisation of state universities; (ii) regulatory measures to standardise and enhance educational quality; and (iii) provisions for poor or disadvantaged students to access HE. In sum, educational quality and fair access have been identified as key policy objectives to serve the national development agenda. Accountability is positioned strongly in these reforms, both as a driver of quality improvement and as a prerequisite for ensuring fair acess (Teachers and Lecturers Law No. 14/2005, Presidential preamble, Section b).

Of course, every doctoral student has their own professional and life journey that leads them to the focus of their doctoral study. In my case, my professional background as a

language teacher has driven my research interest in quality of the student experience, particularly in how teaching practices support or undermine that quality. During my years teaching at a variety of institutions in both Indonesia (Indonesia-Australia Language Foundation) and the United Kingdom (SOAS, University of Southampton, UCL Institute of Education), I have served a diverse mix of student backgrounds. I have had to learn about the challenges and successes (or we could say the frustrations and the joys) of creating a quality student learning experience first-hand. My connection to Indonesia, in turn, stems from my time in Central and East Java as a university exchange student during my undergraduate studies at SOAS. I also had the opportunity to further my studies in Indonesian language and culture at a university in West Java as a *Darmasiswa* scholarship recipient – a scholarship for international students awarded by the Indonesian government. The experience of attending three different universities in Indonesia (both state and private) formed a kind of unofficial introduction to the study of educational quality and fair access in the Indonesian higher education system. Later, during my time as a teacher at the Indonesia Australia Language Foundation (IALF) in Surabaya, East Java, many of the students I taught were university staff from across the country. I am indebted to my colleagues and students in Indonesia for offering their own insights into accountability, teaching quality and fair access in contemporary Indonesian higher education.

When devising my doctoral research proposal at the UCL Institute of Education in 2014, it became apparent that accountability of quality and fair access was an under-researched topic in the context of Indonesia. On one hand, there was a limited evidence base suggesting that the extent of educational quality (Tong & Walterman 2013; Hill & Wie 2013; OECD 2016) and fair access (Gao 2015) in the HE system was limited, if not outright questionable. Challenges in achieving accountability, quality and fair access have often been attributed to failures of the marketisation or privatisation strategies adopted in the 1999 and 2009 ECB reforms (Welch 2007; Darmaningtyas et al. 2009; Susanti 2011). Alternatively, the persistence of a highly bureaucratic and interventionist system of HE management has also been highlighted as a barrier to quality improvement in the state HE sector (Hill & Wie 2013), particularly in the sphere of research (Rakhmani & Siregar 2016). Others have highlighted the "ideological baggage" of General Soeharto's authoritarian regime (1967-1998) as a challenge to accountability (Heryanto 2005). For example, Heryanto (2005) argues that state universities lack accountability to academic/professional norms and values, and are instead vulnerable to politicisation and projects of state legitimisation. Yet the research base on Indonesian higher education did not touch on more recent aspects of the accountability reforms, particularly the fair access policies such as means-tested tuition fees and scholarships for low-income students.

Concretely, no empirical study has jointly examined the themes of accountability, quality and fair access in the contemporary higher education (HE) context. Therefore, it seems premature to draw conclusions about the extent of quality and fair access in the higher education system without any further empirical research to support those claims. There is a particularly large empirical gap in the case of non-state universities in Indonesia, which have not received research attention. Moreover, a major research gap is evident in the lack of a practitioner perspective. Hence, discussions on accountability, quality and fair access have remained rather limited in scope, framed mainly in terms of compliance or non-compliance of institutions with official, quantitative policy targets. In this thesis, I will make the case that a practitioner perspective is particularly valuable to theorising accountability because it allows the researcher to identify instances of interplay and overlap between the two policy concerns of educational quality and fair access. Indeed, the research findings chapters will demonstrate that higher education staff do experience quality and fair access as inter-related aspects of their working lives, for instance in the way that some HE staff define the quality of their education provision in direct response to the needs of low-income and rural students.

1.2   The significance of the Indonesian case

The economic significance of Indonesia as a key player in the global economy in the years to come cannot be understated. It is the fourth most populous country in the world, with a population of 264 million (World Bank 2018a). The country was hit severely by the Asian financial crisis of 1997, resulting in a rise in poverty rates and unemployment. Yet, by 2003, in other words six years after the crisis, the key economic indicators of GDP, GNI per capita and poverty headcount ratios had returned to their pre-financial crisis levels. (See Table 1.1). Since the mid-2000s, Indonesia's economy has continued to grow, with a current GDP of just over 1 trillion US$. GNI per capita rates have also risen steadily in line with GDP, as the poverty headcount ratio continues to fall. Indeed, Indonesia's economic performance in the 2000s earned it the moniker of "the next Asian Tiger economy" (von Luebke 2011, 2).

Recently, Indonesia has begun to establish a higher political profile on the global scale as well. In December 2017, Indonesia hosted the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) summit with accompanying publicity and fanfare that sought to match the buzz around the Asia-Africa conference in Bandung in 1955. The association brings together key emerging and/or middle-income economies such as Malaysia, Thailand, India, Kenya, and South Africa, as well as OECD allies Australia and New Zealand. It is viewed as a strategic forum for establishing regional alliances that can generate a better bargaining position for Indonesia vis a vis the super-economies of China and the United States of America.

Table 1-1 Key economic indicators, Indonesia, 1996-2017

	1996	1999	2003	2007	2010	2013	2017
GDP, current US$, billions	215.749	140.001	234.772	432.217	755.094	912.524	1,016
GNI per capita, current US$	1100	570	900	1600	2520	3730	3540
poverty headcount ratio	17.50%	23.40%	17.40%	16.60%	13.30%	11.40%	10.60%

Source: World Bank (2018b) GDP (current US$); World Bank (2018c) GNI per capita Atlas method, (current US$); World Bank (2018d) Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty lines (% of population).

The success of Indonesia's higher education sector will be key to its future success in the global economic and political sphere outlined above. The production of highly skilled graduates is seen as a vital part of overall national competitiveness, particularly in response to the move to a shared economic area in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2017. The Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla administration (2014-2019) has expressed particular interest in mobilizing Indonesian talent in the areas of infrastructure (Sambijantoro 2015), food security (The Jakarata Post 2015), as well as water and energy sectors (Andika 2014). In essence, the government wants higher education to support an overall restructuring of the economy from dependence on the agricultural sector and raw material exports, to a more manufacturing and services-based economy.

In concrete terms, participation in HE as measured by the gross tertiary enrolment ratio (GTER) has improved consistently in line with the economic progress of the post-financial crisis era. Table 1.2 shows how over the past two decades, the GTER has more than tripled from just over 11% in 1996 to 36.28% in 2017. This expansion in HE access has benefited both females and males. In fact, as of 2012, the female GTER has surpassed that of the male GTER - 29.68% for females and 27.75% for males (UIS 2018a). Comparing these figures to other middle-income countries (Table 1.3), we can see that Indonesia is fairly representative of the middle income average, both in terms of GNI per capita and GTER. Yet, we are also reminded that a concomitant growth in higher education participation is not to be taken for granted when a country undergoes economic growth. For instance, Indonesia has a GNI per capita far lower than South Africa (5430$), but it far outperforms South Africa in terms of GTER.

Table 1-2 GTER by gender, Indonesia, selected years 1996-2017

	1996	1999	2003	2007	2010	2013	2017
both sexes	11.54%	14.75%	16.03%	17.77%	23.04%	29.47%	36.28%
female	8.13%	13.43%	14.21%	17.65%	21.81%	31.35%	38.50%
male	14.89%	16.04%	17.81%	17.89%	24.23%	27.65%	34.16%

Source: UIS (2018a) Education Indicators. Gross enrolment ratio, tertiary, both sexes, male, female.

Table 1-3 GTER and GNI per capita, 2017, selected middle income countries

Country	GTER	GNI per capita
Malaysia	41.90%	9650
China	51.0%	8690
Brazil	50.5% (2016)	8580
Thailand	49.3% (2016)	5960
Colombia	60.40%	5830
South Africa	20.5% (2016)	5430
Philippines	35.30%	3660
Indonesia	36.30%	3540
India	26.9% (2016)	1820
Upper middle income countries average	*52.10%*	*8192*
Middle income countries average	*35.60%*	*4940*
Lower middle income countries average	*24.40%*	*2118*

Source: UIS (2018a) Education Indicators. Gross enrolment ratio, tertiary, both sexes, male, female. Data for 2017 unless stated otherwise; World Bank (2018), Country Indicators - GNI per capita Atlas method, (current US$).

The quantitative growth in HE participation outlined above is impressive, but national averages belie regional inequalities within the country. In Indonesia, education (higher education included) is understood as a tool for strengthening social cohesion and

advancing social mobility in a country where prosperity and living standards are unequally distributed, especially along urban/rural divides. Hence, there are continued concerns about inequality in access to HE. Indeed, Gao (2015) has demonstrated that among the adult population in the country (rather than the current body of HE students), province of domicile, rurality and gender have intersected to cause barriers to HE access. In the year that Indonesia's first major fair access scheme (Bidikmisi) was introduced, inter-province inequality was documented to be the most extreme in the provinces of Aceh, Papua, East Nusa Tenggara, and Lampung. Poverty estimates by province for the year 2010 are portrayed in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1-1 Poverty estimates ($2PPP), total population, all provinces, 2010
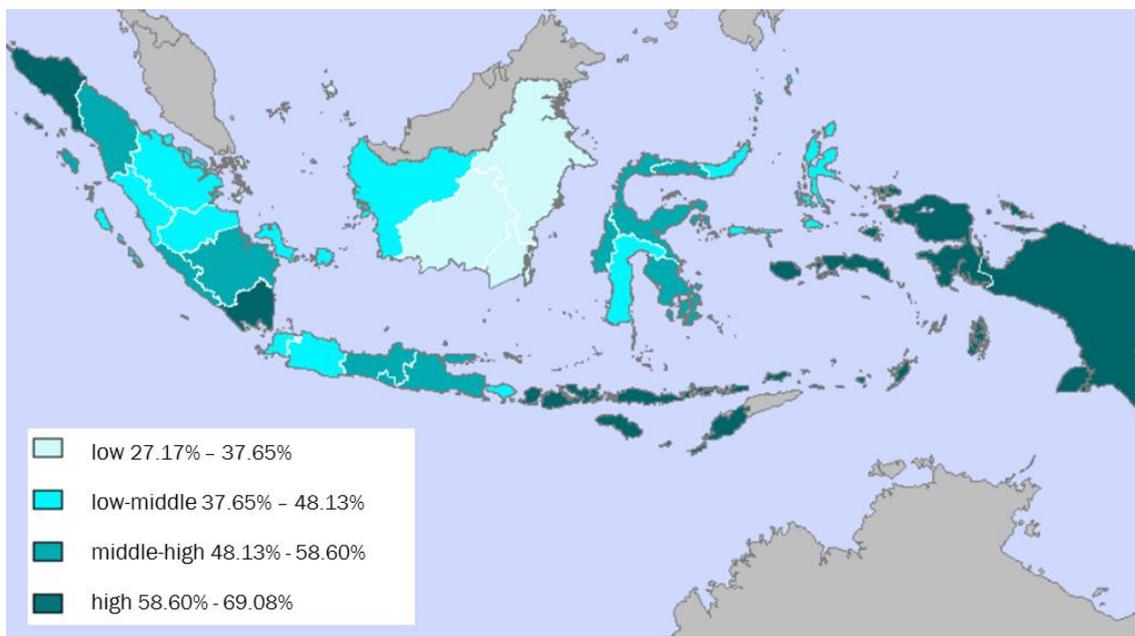
Source: SMERU (2018) Poverty Map

Indonesia has introduced major reforms and policies to redress such inequality between Javanese and non-Javanese provinces and between the rural and urban divide. Currently, Indonesia aims to expand access for poor or disadvantaged groups via several financial aid policies, comprising means-tested tuition fees at state HEIs, means-tested financial aid packages for low-income students (Bidikmisi), and an affirmative action scholarship scheme for students from West Papua and other disadvantaged districts (Adik Papua/3T). This policy strategy is comparatively speaking quite radical, given the global trends of neoliberalism and marketisation, which often lead to tuition fee policies that rely on student loans or increased costs shouldered by the student and family.

The government of Indonesia also seeks to enhance the quality of its HE horizontally across the entire system through enhanced accreditation and curricular standardisation, as well as minimum qualification requirements for teaching staff. These policy strategies

apply to both the state and private sector. In an economic and political climate where national governments often make a choice to either invest in quality alone or to support fair access schemes (Meyer et al. 2013), Indonesia's HE reforms are ambitious, as they deliberately address both quality and fair access. The challenges and successes in implementing these reforms at the institutional level are therefore of great interest to other countries looking to simultaneously enhance the quality of their HE system overall while simultaneously expanding access in a way that is fair.

Indonesia is also a case of regional and global interest due to the nature of its HE system which accommodates a large non-state sector. A detailed breakdown of HEI types by public and private sector is provided in Table 1.4 below. The current HE system in Indonesia accommodates approximately six million students (Higher Education Database 2016) spread across a wide range of higher education institution (HEI) types, ranging from small academies offering diplomas, to institutes and universities offering undergraduate to postgraduate education. The private sector accommodates the majority of enrolments (just over two-thirds of students) and over 95% of HEIs (Higher Education Database 2016).

Table 1-4 Distribution of HEI types in Indonesia by public and private sector, 2014/15

rank	HEI type	n	% of total HEIs	public		private	
				n	% of HEI type	n	% of HEI type
1	college	1426	**43.93%**	-	0	1426	100
2	academy	1020	**31.42%**	-	0	1020	100
3	university	532	**16.39%**	63	11.8%	469	88.2%
4	polytechnic	186	**5.73%**	43	23.1%	143	76.9%
5	institute	73	**2.25%**	13	21.6%	60	78.4%
6	community academy	9	**0.28%**	3	33%	6	66%
	total	*3246*	**100%**	122	**3.7%**	3124	**96.3%**

Source: Higher Education Database (2016). Data from academic year 2014/15

Clearly, the expansion of HE access in Indonesia has been dependent on a large private sector. This is similar to other HE systems in Asia and other post-colonial countries more generally where state expenditure on state HE has traditionally been low. Therefore, the case of Indonesia is of policy interest to those countries that must likewise rely on cooperation with a large private sector in enhancing the quality and fair access in the HE system overall.

In sum, the case of accountability reform in Indonesia is of significant global interest due to its ambitious nature of pursuing both quality and fair access policies simultaneously. Indonesia's fair access schemes are of interest to other middle-income countries that have comparable targets for expansion of higher education participation in the context of inequality. In particular, Indonesia's policy efforts to address inter-province and urban/rural inequalities in HE access will speak to other post-colonial countries that are similarly trying to expand fair access in a context marked by the unequal pace of development between provinces and districts in their country.

1.3 Defining the research aims and scope

This thesis is a qualitative, exploratory study investigating what accountability means to policymakers and practitioners in the contemporary Indonesian HE system. In particular, the thesis aims to explore possible intersections between the two policy objectives of enhanced educational quality and fair access. I limited the scope of quality primarily to teaching and learning quality rather than research or community service quality. I acknowledge that these three activities are (ideally at least) integrated aspects of the overall quality of a higher education institution. Nonetheless, the primary research interest in this thesis is the sphere of teaching, with a focus on how that directly affects the student learning experience. Where issues about research and community service activities are discussed, it is done so with direct relation to its effect on the student learning experience. In terms of fair access, I limited the scope of diversity or disadvantage primarily to the remit described in Indonesia's 2012 Higher Education Law, namely low-income status and domicile in one of the government-labelled disadvantaged zones, including Papua (see chapter 2 page 51 for a detailed discussion). This excluded other dimensions of diversity and fairness such as gender or disability. In line with the exploratory nature of the study, I did, however, also identify additional, institution-specific definitions of fair access. These entailed access for students from a rural background, a family background in poorly-remunerated service professions (clergy, teaching), as well as part-time mature/working students. In sum, the scope of 'fairness' or 'diversity' was defined via the empirical cases, namely the case of national education reforms in Indonesia and the institutional cases of fair access policies.

The research questions directing the thesis were designed to generate both descriptive data about policymaker and practitioner accountability beliefs and practices, but also to generate theorisation about factors that have possibly shaped those accountability beliefs and practices. The specific research questions guiding the study are:

1. a) What assumptions do policymakers and accreditation bodies hold about accountability reforms in Indonesia, specifically in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access?

    b) Which rationales for HE development do they cite to account for the relevance of Indonesia's accountability reforms?

2. a) In what ways do the beliefs and practices of staff at autonomous Indonesian HEIs (senior management, middle management, lecturers, student admissions/recruitment staff) converge or diverge from government assumptions about accountability reforms, specifically in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access?

    b) What alternative beliefs and practices do these staff have in relation to accountability, quality and fair access?

3. a) What are the accountability pressures that drive beliefs and practices in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access among HE staff?

    b) Do institution type (state-ECB or private), disciplinary area (vocational/professional, sciences or humanities) or job role category (lecturer, middle management, senior management, admissions staff) play a role?

1.4 Structure of the thesis

In chapter 2, I will first outline the empirical context in some detail, providing a review of Indonesia's post-1998 education reforms. Here, the specific laws, regulations and policies that define accountability of higher education are explained. I will demonstrate that accountability is currently used as a policy tool to regulate both educational quality and fair access. I frame the discussion in the political context of *Reformasi* and a reorientation of the national development ideology *Pancasila* to its social justice ideals.

In chapter 3, I provide a literature review of the conceptual work on accountability, quality and fair access. I begin by selecting the general approach to policy analysis, drawing on key concepts from the fields of public policy, education policy, and institutional theory. In the second section I review macro-level perspectives of accountability, showing how accountability at the level of state-HEI interaction came to be associated with quality assurance systems and the rise of neoliberal rationales for HE development. I will also

show that accountability need not be limited to such a definition, as it has both historical and contemporary connections to the policy concern of fair access. This insight is mirrored in the third section where I review micro-level perspectives of accountability. Starting from pedagogical framings of quality, and moving to social and personal framings of quality, I will once again show how accountability is intimately connected to both concerns of educational quality and fair access.

At the end of chapter 2 and 3, I provide a summary of the insights and outline implications for the research design. Having previewed the empirical and theoretical research gaps in these instances, I then move on to discussing the specifics of how this shaped my methodology in chapter 4. In particular, I connect the earlier discussion of empirical and theoretical gaps to my rationale for case study and participant selection.

The research findings are organised into three chapters. Chapter 5 analyses the data collected from the government perspective (national policymakers, West Java education officials, national accreditation body directors). The discussion of institutional level data is lengthier, as it covers data collected from three case study institutions. The case study findings are not organised chapter by chapter. Rather, the findings are organised thematically into one chapter on accountability of educational quality (chapter 6), and one chapter on accountability of fair access and its intersections with quality (chapter 7). At the end of these chapters, I present a table summarising and comparing the research findings by case study, thus allowing the reader to conveniently review the thematic findings against each case study institution.

In the conclusion I summarise the research findings holistically, comparing and contrasting government and institutional perspectives of accountability. I also acknowledge the limitations of the study, and suggest future research directions in response to those limitations. I then outline implications for higher education policy, both for the Indonesian and global contexts. Finally, I reflect on implications of the research findings for the academic study of accountability, pedagogical reform and fair access more generally.

2 Indonesia's accountability reforms from 1999 to 2015

2.1 Overview

The literature on accountability reform in the European context has highlighted the importance of political context as a pretext for reform (Neave 1998; Maassen 1997; Ferlie et al. 2008). In particular, this literature has highlighted how accountability mechanisms over HE quality tend to be adopted by neoliberal political systems that employ marketisation as their approach to HE development (ibid.). Specifically, marketisation refers to the adoption of HE policy strategies or mechanisms that depend on non-governmental revenue, such as recovery-cost tuition fees, student loans, private HE provision, entrepreneurial activity, and philanthropy (Johnstone et al. 1998, 6).[1] Neoliberal rationales for HE development tend to place accountability pressures on educational quality, but not on fair access (Meyer et al. 2013).

The literature on fair access policies globally has similarly highlighted the importance of political context as a predictor of reform. We can understand fair access policies as the outcome of specific political movements and socio-cultural understandings of fairness (Unterhalter & Carpentier, 2010; St. John & Meyer, 2013; Atherton et al., 2016; Atherton, 2017). Indeed, Atherton (2017, 12) argues that fair access policies are intricately tied up with the project of national identity and nationalism: "Overcoming inequality in HE is not just an economic imperative that binds nations; it is part of how they define equality, freedom and success to themselves and the world."

The purpose of this chapter is to pose the question - what is the significance of accountability reform in the political context of post-Soeharto Indonesia? How do the accountability reforms relate to changing notions of nationalism, civic identity and approaches to national development? We can assume that this was a crucial juncture of shifting state-society relations. Could it be that Indonesia's HEIs were being made more accountable to an empowered citizenry, reflecting enhanced public scrutiny of public sector institutions? Or were the accountability reforms linked to changes within the political structures, whereby increasing pressures were put on HEIs to make them more accountable to the state? What do the accountability reforms reveal about the overarching rationale for national development in Indonesia during this political moment?

The chapter will be divided between, firstly, a discussion of the political context for accountability reform in post-*Reformasi* Indonesia, and secondly, a detailed survey of the post-1998 higher education reforms. The political context will be discussed with reference to *Pancasila*, the state ideology of Indonesia, and particularly the potential that

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[1] I explore theories of neoliberalism and their links to accountability reform further in Chapter 3.

Pancasila offers for a pro-social justice rationale for higher education development. The pursuit or neglect of a pro-social justice orientation has implications for the types of HE policies pursued, and particularly for fair access policies. The discussion will also explain how the issue of educational quality had previously been neglected during the New Order period, as a result of the co-opting of educational institutions for the purpose of state legitimisation and consolidation of political power under General Soeharto.

The survey of education reforms in the second section comprises a series of laws, government regulations, and ministerial regulations which refer back to each other to create an overarching policy framework. Three of the laws pertain to the education sector overall (i.e. the 2003 National Education System Law, the 2005 Teachers and Lecturers Law, and the 2009 Educational Corporate Body Law). Even though they are not specific to higher education, they will be discussed because they entailed changes that were relevant to the HE sector. The remaining items of legislation pertain specifically to higher education. In essence, we can position the development of these reforms with reference to two major rationales for HE development – one toward marketisation (with accountability limited to the sphere of educational quality), and one toward a *Pancasila*-framed social justice agenda, (with accountability harnessed for both educational quality and fair access). I will argue in this chapter that the post-*Reformasi* period has witnessed a gradual return to social-justice orientations in higher education policy, despite initial post-1998 attempts by technocrats and international aid agencies to prioritise marketisation of the sector at the expense of fair access. The policy framework has consistently maintained the use of accountability mechanisms to assure educational quality of higher education provision.

The chapter will end with a summary of the current accountability mechanisms that aim to ensure educational quality (i.e. curricular standardisation and accreditation) and fair access schemes (i.e. admissions quotas for poor or disadvantaged students, means-tested tuition fees, means-tested financial aid, and the affirmative action scheme for Papua and disadvantaged zones). Finally, I will highlight several empirical research gaps in response to the current policy framework, and I will outline what the implications of these research gaps are for my research design.

2.2 The political context for accountability reform

2.2.1 *Pancasila* in the pre-*Reformasi* period: a focus on political unity

In examining the political context for accountability reform in Indonesia, it is necessary to first address the state ideology of *Pancasila*[2] (lit: the five principles). It is unique in that

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[2] Derived from the Sanskrit *panca* meaning five, and *sila* meaning morality, virtue or conduct. In this thesis, I describe each *sila* using the English phrase 'principle' to convey their meaning in a

it prescribes a semi-secular yet religiously defined principle of co-existence as a nation state. This was borne out of a political need to unite the diverse anti-colonial movements (Islamist, nationalist, communist) when independence was rather abruptly declared on 17 August 1945[3]. The result was the recognition of a religious basis for nationalism in the first of the five *sila* – "belief in the one and only God". This provided a compromise between an overtly secular form of statehood on the one hand, as in the European tradition, and an Islamic form of statehood on the other, where Islam would serve as the official religion, and the other religions of Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism relegated to minority positions. Instead, religiosity is recognised, but without favouring one of the major religions over the others. The other five *sila* pertain to political unity (#3), the mode of political participation (#4), and societal goals to be upheld (#2 and #5). Together the five *sila* comprise:

1) Belief in the one and only God
2) Just and civilized humanity
3) The unity of Indonesia
4) Democracy guided by the wisdom of consensus arising out of deliberation among representatives
5) Social justice for the entire people of Indonesia

Throughout Indonesia's post-independence history, various political movements from Islamism to communism have made claims to state legitimacy, threatening to overturn the nationalist and republican form of statehood. Yet *Pancasila* and the nation-state have endured. To this day, *Pancasila* remains the philosophical basis for the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*). Hence, a commitment to the first and third principles has remained strong. Initially, a commitment to the fourth and fifth principles remained strong in Indonesian political life as well. The nationalist mood of the 1950s was characterised by free elections with a diverse range of political parties obtaining cabinet positions. The 1950s were also characterised by a pro *rakyat*[4] solidarity with the poor (Schulte Nordholt 2011, 390). During this period, then, national development was synonymous with social justice. There was a concern for joint

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more overtly political context, i.e. principles that guide political co-existence in the Republic of Indonesia

[3] When the Japanese capitulated in the Second World War on 15 August 1945, they began preparations to relinquish their 3-year occupation of the Dutch East Indies. This signalled an impending re-occupation of the colony by Dutch or Allied forces. Despite Indonesia declaring independence, the Allied forces recaptured the Dutch East Indies, and a war of independence ensued between 1945 and 1949. The Dutch only relinquished their occupation and acknowledged Indonesian independence in 1949 after intervention from the United Nations.

[4] 'the masses', 'the people'

prosperity across all groups in society, and a tangible desire to redress the structural inequalities brought about by centuries of Dutch colonial rule.

The 1965/66 period marks a key shift in the narrative of *Pancasila* and national development. President Soekarno was unable to maintain an effective political settlement between the Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia* or PKI), nationalist and Islamic-based political parties. A confrontation between the communists and the other political alliances erupted on 30 September 1965, centred on an alleged coup attempt by PKI involving the murder of senior military generals. A violent conflict ensued in the 1965-66 period. During this time, it is estimated that anywhere between hundreds of thousands to over one million citizens who were either members of PKI or were alleged to have associations to PKI members were murdered in mass killings (Cribb, 1990). Countless others were subjected to other forms of violence such as rape or imprisonment without trial. In the context of the Cold War, the USA covertly provided assistance to the Indonesian state to carry out these killings, as it was pursuing a policy to curb the spread of communism in the Southeast Asian region.

During this violent period, General Soeharto rose to power, establishing what he termed the New Order (*Orde Baru*) of political stability. The principle of social justice via democratic deliberation was overshadowed by a focus on maintaining political unity and social cohesion. In other words, the rationale for national development was characterised by a neglect of the fourth and fifth principles, with primacy placed on the first and third principles of *Pancasila*. The name New Order itself reflected the way in which the military was ascribed the role of restorer of order and nationalism, while communism became associated with chaos and anti-nationalism (Zurbuchen, 2002, 567). Indeed, the New Order regime's philosophical basis was founded upon binary opposites of order and chaos as reflected in the Javanese concepts of *slamet* and *rebut* (Sebastian, 2006, 8). The concept of *slamet* is equated with stability, security, order, harmony, and cultural maturity. The contrasting notion, i.e. *rebut*, refers to political rivalry and contestation – something negative and dangerous (ibid.). In a direct example of how *Pancasila* was manipulated by General Soeharto for the purpose of legitimising the New Order, he is quoted as having said that "opposition as it takes form in the West was unknown to Indonesia", chastising opposition to the state as "unpatriotic" (Dwipayana & Ramadhan, 1989, 346). Clearly, for Soeharto, the third *sila* on political unity trumped the fourth *sila* of democratic participation, deliberation and consensus-seeking. Indeed, scholars have described how *Pancasila* became subsumed by a neo-traditionalist, Javanese-inspired discourse of kingship and state power to legitimise repressive state actions (Anderson 1990). In doing so, Soeharto was able to successfully subdue alternative, Islamic claims

to authority (Furchan 1993; Keyes et al. 1994), and maintain the political legitimacy of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

The implications of this orientation of *Pancasila* away from the principles of democratic participation and social justice had major implications for the education sector. Prior to the 1990s, there was little investment in education comparative to Southeast Asian neighbours (UIS 2018b) or Asian countries at similar stages of development (World Bank 1998, 11). Expenditure only began in earnest from the 1980s onwards, when expenditure on primary schools rose to 1,939 billion rupiah for the period 1979-84, compared to the significantly lower amounts of 17 billion rupiah for 1969-74 and 324 billion rupiah for 1974-79 (McCawley 1985, 26, cited in Leigh 1999, 41). Instead, the focus was on building political unity (Leigh 1999) and integrating educational institutions into the overall state patronage system. Schools were used as a social base to garner political loyalty (Nugroho 2005; Hadiz & Dhakidae 2005). Schools also offered rent-seeking opportunities for the politico-bureaucrats of the New Order regime (Rosser & Joshi 2013). Even by the 1980s when Indonesia did start increasing expenditure on primary schools, the focus was on expansion of school buildings and quantitative measures of enrolment, rather than on the qualitative dimensions of social justice and participatory citizenship (Leigh 1999, 41-2). The primary purpose of mobilising *Pancasila* for the sake of fostering state unity remained.

An example from the primary education sector would be the manipulation of religious curricula for the purpose of developing "*Pancasilaist Muslims*" loyal to the unitary republic of Indonesia and subservient to the national authoritarian culture (Furchan 1993). This is in contrast with the earlier political climate of the pre-New Order era, where secularist camps had campaigned for a non-religious basis for the provision of education. For instance, in the early 1960s the pro-communist Education Minister Prijono had proposed an alternative *Panca Wardhana* (Five Aspects) manifesto for education provision, and the pro-communist National Education Organisation (*Lembaga Pendidikan Nasional*) had proposed their own *Panca Cinta* (Five Loves) manifesto (Thomas & Soedijarto 1980, 44-46). These proposals were dismissed as a result of the anti-communist massacres between 1965 and 1966. With regards to teachers and professional identity, Björk has argued that "teachers' duties to the state have ben emphasized over their obligations to students and communities" (2013, 62). This has produced a culture of teaching that is rooted in obedience (ibid., 62) and characterised by strong accountability to a civil servant identity and state ideology, instead of accountability to a professional identity and pedagogical norms and ideals (ibid., 63).

In the higher education sector, too, we can see evidence of this orientation to political unity at the expense of concerns for participatory democracy and social justice. In effect,

the 'quality' of higher education research, especially in the field of social sciences, was judged by its relevance to and explicit endorsement of state development programmes (Hadiz & Dhakidae 2005). This happened in two ways. Firstly, state intervention in research practices determined what was *not* studied. The introduction of a requirement to obtain an official permit for research projects created a climate of self-censorship, as the applications were screened by the State Intelligence Coordination Agency (*Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara* or *Bakin*)[5] (ibid., 10-11). Any lines of research that might be remotely critical of the authoritarian regime were silenced in this way.

Secondly, academics were actively co-opted into the bureaucratic state apparatus by several means. Academic promotions were made subject to presidential approval. Further, academics were recruited into the ministries and departments, either as advisers or public officials (Hadiz & Dhakidae 2005, 7). In this way, the prestige and influence of a social scientist came to be associated with "their loyalty and proximity to the regime" (ibid., 8). This was perhaps most evident in the case of economics, where the professional association of economists (*Sarjana Ilmu Ekonomi Indonesia* or SIEI) came to function as an arm of government, endorsing disciplinary norms that were in harmony with the state development agenda. For example, President Soeharto once asked SIEI to develop an economic framework that demonstrated the compatibility between *Pancasila* ideals and his concept of statehood (capitalist and corporate economic policies combined with authoritarian political policies). SIEI complied with the request, performing what Hadiz and Dhakidae term a feat of "intellectual acrobatics" (ibid., 8). Other scholars have similarly highlighted how the primary interest of academics in this context was to pursue powerful positions through which they could manage patron-client relations in the political system of rent-seeking and cronyism (Nugroho 2005; Rosser 2015a). In sum, it is not hard to see why HE policy had little to say on educational quality and fair access to education during the New Order.

2.2.2 *Pancasila* in the post-*Reformasi* period: a reorientation to social justice

What then, has ensued since the end of the New Order regime? Has the *Reformasi* (reform) era presented new opportunities for *Pancasila* to be re-oriented to its fourth and fifth principles of participatory democracy and social justice? What implications does this have for our understanding of *accountability* in the education system? The *Reformasi* movement mobilised mass support in toppling the authoritarian regime of President Soeharto, although he had faced mounting opposition from within the political system and the military as well, not to mention international donor agencies. Nevertheless, for

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[5] This practice of obtaining requisite research permits and submitting research reports to government authorities continues to this day. This occurs at various central and local levels of government. The requirement extends even to undergraduate students undertaking primary research for their dissertation projects.

the public, *Reformasi* signalled an upturning of state-society relations. Instead of citizens being made accountable to the demands of a one-party, military regime, suddenly it was the political system and public institutions that were being held to account by citizens.

Initially, a re-orientation to social justice ideals looked unlikely. In the period immediately after the 1997 Asian financial crisis, structural adjustment programmes were signed with the IMF/World Bank, which appeared to set the development agenda firmly on the course of extensive neoliberalisation (Robison & Hadiz 2004) with unclear results for a social justice agenda. Major economic reforms included semi-marketisation of the economy, for instance via liberalisation of previously state-owned enterprises, as well as the introduction of accountability mechanisms in the provision of public services. Because nationalised sectors had become associated or equated with Soeharto's business empire (comprising members of his political party *Golkar* and senior military officers), these economic moves were pitched as a *political* move to clean up corruption, rather than an *economic* shift to liberalise the economy. In effect, Robison and Hadiz argue that the newly-liberalised economic sectors simply moved hands from Soeharto's inner circle of cronies to a new generation of "oligarchs", once again comprising influential politicians, businessmen and military personnel (ibid.). In a similar vein, Slater (2007, 96) has described the emerging political settlement as a "cartel democracy", whereby the old guard nationalist-secularist elite negotiated a resettlement of power amongst themselves, forming some new coalitions with Islamist groups. This interpretation would suggest that the economic policies pursued in the immediate post-*Reformasi* period had little impact on a social justice-oriented form of nationalism.

While the mainstream position in scholarship of Indonesian politics has been to expose a limited neoliberalisation of political and economic activity, neoliberalism may have had an impact on a socio-cultural level. Gellert (2015) has argued that a neoliberal emphasis on individual choice and agency is espoused by a new class of urban intellectuals, who express a religiously-couched 'optimistic' discourse of national development. This discourse detracts from the pro-*rakyat* solidarity of the 1950s form of nationalism and *Pancasila* ideology, replacing it with a focus on opportunity and effort of individuals. In other words, Gellert argues that this type of nationalist sentiment fails to engage seriously with structural inequalities in Indonesian society, and class-based issues surrounding social justice. Gellert's (2015) analysis of 'optimistic' development is reminiscent of contemporary critiques of African socialism. For instance, Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) have heavily critiqued the use of *ubuntu* as a philosophical basis for national development in post-apartheid South Africa. They deem the use of *ubuntu* as an elite-driven "narrative of return" that fails to address the lived experience of non-elite South Africans. Indigenous discourses of development run the risk of becoming mere political

dressing or propaganda props. For scholars such as Gellert, then, a reorientation to the *Pancasila* principles of democratic participation and social justice in contemporary Indonesia is limited to superficial and individualistic efforts to redress social inequalities, rather than substantial and collective ones.

Another key concern in the post-Soeharto era has been the role of the military in undermining accountability of the state to citizens. A key aim of the *Reformasi* movement was indeed to de-politicise the military, for example by banning active military personnel from serving in positions of public office (Mietzner 2003, 246) and separating the police forces (*Polri*) from the armed forces (*TNI*) (Sebastian, 2006, 330). Yet, scholars have convincingly demonstrated the resilience of the military in post-Soeharto politics. A weak civilian government marked by political rivalry failed to manage domestic conflicts in East Timor, Aceh, Papua and Sulawesi, and this provided a legitimate basis for military intervention in political affairs (Mietzner 2003; Honna 2003; Sebastian 2006; Sangaji 2007). Meanwhile, the military has managed to stand off pressures from civil rights groups to be held accountable for its repressive actions, both during and after New Order. Much like in the case of Latin America, military regimes in Southeast Asia continue to resist attempts by civilian governments and civil society groups to make the military accountable to civilian courts or democratically agreed political agendas, despite outwardly purporting to support civilian presidents and cabinets (Bünte & Ufen, 2008, 7-8).

To recapitulate, all the above characterisations of post-Soeharto politics suggest that there is a low level of state accountability to the citizenry – be it on the part of political parties, business elites, or the military. Even among the citizenry, a sense of solidarity may be eroding in the face of individualistic and optimistic discourses of nationalism (Gellert 2015). According to this view, implementation of the fourth and fifth principles of *Pancasila* remain dubious. Indeed, scholars such as Rodan and Hughes (2014) have argued that in the context of Southeast Asian politics more generally, there is little scope for accountability in state-society relations. They consider this partly a result of colonial legacies, which resulted in fragile nation-states that are "not very favourable to democratic forces and ideologies" (ibid., 56). They also attribute the weak and fragmentary nature of accountability coalitions to post-colonial developments – specifically, the dismantling of class and mass-based organizations during the Cold War (Rodan & Hughes 2014, 48). Both colonial and post-colonial conditions have thus irreversibly damaged the potential for accountability in state-society relations.

Yet against this backdrop, an alternative line of scholarship has highlighted propensity for a reorientation to the principles of participatory democracy and social justice to emerge. Some scholars argue that if the New Order represented the bureaucratic and

hegemonic power of a Weberian "iron cage" (Anderson 1983), then the post-*Reformasi* period has at least seen a weakening or softening of that iron cage. It is fair to say that there has not been a complete regime change, with elements of the New Order bureaucracy intact. Yet there has at least been sufficient political and socio-cultural change to warrant a new type of "hybrid order" (Aspinall 2003). For instance, Aspinall contends that "democratic success" has been largely achieved, albeit at the expense of "democratic quality" (Aspinall 2010, 21). Yet another way to describe the post-*Reformasi* political settlement is as "a confluence, or competition of obstructive and progressive elements" (von Luebke 2011, 2). In sum, this line of scholarship steers us away from overly black-and-white depictions of Southeast Asian statehood as either authoritarian or democratic. To illustrate this point, Day (2002) characterises statehood in Southeast Asia using the image of "fluid iron" to counter the Weberian "iron cage" metaphor. The fluid iron of statehood expresses the notion of dynamic, constantly evolving, hybrid forms of statehood, all the way from pre-colonial to post-colonial times.

Among this alternative line of scholarship, concrete political changes in Indonesia are often cited as evidence of shifting state-society accountability relations in the post-*Reformasi* era. These changes to the political system comprise: decentralisation of power to the provincial level, electoral reform designed to diversify politics, the establishment of a corruption eradication commission, constitutional reform, and the establishment of the Constitutional Court to check the legislative power of the parliament (Crouch 2010). The post-*Reformasi* period has also witnessed a revival in the mobilisation of indigenous 'customary law' or *adat*, which has become associated with activism and protest across many regions of Indonesia, particularly in community claims over land rights (Davidson & Henley 2007). Indeed, scholars have argued that in the post-*Reformasi* environment, a more pro-citizen, inclusive type of development has materialised to a limited extent, at least when the interests of political representatives have aligned with those of citizens. This has been demonstrated in the context of land reform and mining in protected forests (Rosser et al. 2004), and in terms of improved performance of local governments with reform-minded mayors (von Luebke 2011).

The above examples suggest that the post-*Reformasi* period has signalled at least a partial re-orientation to the fourth and fifth principles in *Pancasila*. There is some evidence that this has also had an impact in the sphere of education. Constitutional reform in fact paved the way for enhanced protection of education as a constitutional right. Amendments to the constitution made between 1999 and 2002 include the enshrinement of the right to 'receive an education'[6] as well as a stipulation to allocate

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[6] 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 28 C (2nd round of amendments); Article 31 (1) (4th round of amendments)

20% of the state budget to education[7]. The following section now turns to a closer investigation of higher education reform. Here I will explore whether this reorientation to democratic and social justice ideals has had any implications on higher education, specifically in relation to accountability demands placed on educational quality and fair access.

2.3 The three phases of higher education reform 1999-2015

2.3.1 1999-2005: Market-preparing alongside social justice orientations

Prior to the 1997 financial crisis, a blueprint for HE reform had already been formulated by technocrats at the Ministry of Education. This strategy document, titled the 'New Paradigm in Higher Education', was the first attempt to put accountability of educational quality on the agenda (Rosser 2015a). A national accreditation agency had already been set up in 1994 (*Badan Akreditasi National – Perguruan Tinggi* or BAN-PT) to support greater accountability of educational quality. Accreditation became formalised and compulsory as of 1998. However, the 'New Paradigm' did not lead to any significant policy changes until after the financial and political crisis of 1997-8. Instead, these policy changes only came about through three items of reform – a Government Regulation in 1999 concerning the autonomy and quality of state HEIs, and two major laws that reformed the national education system as a whole – the 2003 National Education system Law and the 2005 Teachers and Lecturers Law. This phase of education reform is characterised by competing or co-existing orientations to marketisation and social justice/fair access.

2.3.1.1 *Government Regulation 61/1999 on the Implementation of State Universities as Corporate Bodies*

The first evidence of a serious policy intervention to make the quality of higher education institutions more accountable came in a Presidential Regulation in 1999. In what I term the first phase of *market-preparing* in higher education reform, a new autonomous and corporate-style governance model was introduced for nominated state universities, known as educational corporate body (ECB)[8] status or *badan hukum pendidikan* (Government Regulation 61/1999 on the Implementation of State Universities as Corporate Bodies). ECB status awards an institution managerial, financial and academic autonomy, although the Minister of Education[9] retains influence via voting rights in the

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[7] Article 31 (4) (4th round of amendments)
[8] An adequate English translation is difficult. The term has alternatively been translated as *autonomous legal entity.* I have chosen the term 'educational corporate body' because in my view, this more adequately conveys the bestowing of governance characteristics typical of a corporation.
[9] At the time this law was passed (1999) this was the Minister for Education and Culture. Since the 2014 restructuring of the cabinet under the Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla administration, it is the Minister for Research and Technology and Higher Education.

Council of Trustees and executive oversight more generally. The reform arguably promotes quality within the system by granting state HEIs the autonomy necessary to innovate in terms of curriculum design, industry linkages and third sector engagement. The preamble to the Presidential Regulation draws heavily on *Pancasila* discourse, claiming that only autonomous HEIs could possess the 'moral force' needed to promote civil society ideals, political tolerance, freedom, justice, humanity and solidarity in line with the post-Soeharto *Reformasi* agenda (Article 3 c, Guidelines p.2). Accountability and autonomy are framed not just as desirable policy outcomes, but more crucially as key *drivers* of educational quality.

However, the ECB reform has had limited impact on educational quality and fair access in the higher education system overall. Firstly, in terms of increasing accountability of educational quality, it should be noted that ECB status is limited to high-performing state universities that have to undergo a selection process overseen at the ministerial level. As such, it does little to address educational quality across the sector overall, and indeed does nothing to address educational quality in the private sector. In effect, quality HE (as defined in the reform) is the preserve of those HEIs that have historically been the best resourced and most able to attract quality students. The aim of making educational quality of state institutions more accountable to the state, the labour market, and the public more generally becomes ironically confined to those institutions which are already considered to be of the highest quality in Indonesia.

Secondly, the funding changes entailed in the ECB reform led to state-ECB universities increasing tuition fee costs, which had a negative impact on the concern of fair access and social justice. The financial, managerial and academic autonomy granted to state-ECB universities was contingent on a cut in state funding. Evidence from the first four state universities to convert to ECB status in 2000[10] demonstrates that raising tuition fees became a common strategy adopted by these institutions to offset the reduction in state funding (Welch 2007; Susanti 2011). A particularly controversial strategy was the introduction of a "special admissions route" (*jalur khusus*[11]). It guarantees a place on a degree programme for a minority of students who pay dramatically higher fees[12]. Higher education institution managers were hence employing a cross-subsidisation strategy which allowed them to soften a potentially greater fees hike for the majority of students

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[10] These were: Institut Teknologi Bandung, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Institut Pertanian Bogor and Universitas Indonesia.

[11] Alternative terms include *jalur mandiri* [independent route] or *biaya kuliah pilihan* [optional fee structure].

[12] For example, Institut Tekonologi Bandung reportedly advertised a *jalur khusus* fee of 225 million IDR (currently ~16,500 US$) to access its Physical Engineering department in the mid-2000s (Welch 2007, 679). For comparison purposes, students on the current UKT means-tested fees structure pay between 1 and 10 million IDR per semester (currently ~75 – 750 US$).

selected on merit (Susanto & Nizam 2009). Nevertheless, the special admissions route clearly disadvantages students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, as a proportion of the intake is in effect 'reserved' for those students whose parents can afford to pay high fees.

2.3.1.2 The National Education System Law (UU 20/2003)

The 2003 National Education System Law was the first comprehensive, cross-sector post-*Reformasi* education reform. It addressed both state and non-state education sectors, from primary to tertiary level, effectively replacing National Education System Law 2/1989. Accountability of educational quality and fair access are addressed to a fair extent, although many of the principles either (i) were in contradiction with a simultaneous provision (Article 53) to marketise the entire education sector; or (ii) did not lead to concrete programmes until after subsequent reforms were passed, most notably Higher Education Law 12/2012.

Of all the reforms surveyed here, the discourse of national development in the National Educational Law 20/2003 is the most heterogeneous. On one hand, the law is framed in explicitly moral terms, referring to the constitutional aim to 'develop the intellectual life of the nation' (*mencerdaskan kehidupan bangsa*) as well as the same civil society ideals outlined in GR 61/1999 of democracy, human rights and justice (Presidential Preamble a - c), again attributed to the *Reformasi* movement (Guidelines Section 1). This inclusive development dimension is further aligned to a *Pancasila* discourse through explicit references to the state's religious and political pluralism (the first and third principles). For example, Article 4 (1) states that the provision of education should be "democratic, just, and non-discriminatory, all the while upholding human rights, *religious values*, cultural values, and the *plurality of the nation"* (emphasis added).

In terms of concrete policy changes to make educational quality and fair access more accountable, there are several provisions that support these aims. Educational quality is addressed explicitly, as Article 5 (1) states that every citizen has an equal right to access *quality education*. One of the main purposes of the law was to introduce National Education Standards (Standar Nasional Pendidikan), which are outlined in Chapter 9. The aim of curricular standardisation was to "eliminate discrimination between state and non-state schools as well as differentiation between religious as well as general education" (Guidelines Section 1). This policy move thus recognised the structural changes necessary across the system to improve not only higher education quality, but the quality of secondary education as a conduit to higher education. Although the details of the National Education Standards are left to be further regulated in a ministerial regulation, the key features of the reform are outlined clearly. The standards should comprise: the content and process of learning, graduate competencies, teaching staff,

facilities and infrastructure, management, funding and assessment (Article 35 Section [1]). Non-state educational bodies are also required to develop their curriculum, conduct assessment, organise their management and funding according to the National Education Standards (Chapter 15: Participating Role of Communities in Education, Article 55 Section [2]).

The issue of quality assurance is also cited as a pretext for state intervention in governing the education sector. Chapter 14 on Management dictates that the relevant Minister[13] takes responsibility for the overall management of the education system, and the government sets the national education policy and standard, in the name of quality assurance (Article 50 Sections [1] and [2]). Specific examples of policies to strengthen quality control and standardisation are provided in the chapters outlining regulation of the education sector, from granting permits for the founding of a new educational institution (Chapter 17), to evaluation, accreditation and certification (Chapter 16). These sections aim to make these processes follow a transparent set of criteria that are evaluated either by either the state accreditation body or by an independent accreditation body (Article 60 Sections [2] and [3]). The Law is also accompanied by a criminal code (Chapter 20), detailing fines and prison terms for various violations of the Law. For example, a graduate who has submitted a plagiarised piece of work as a requirement for obtaining an academic, professional or vocational degree may receive a prison sentence of up to two years, and/or a fine of up to two hundred million Rupiah[14] (Article 70).

A degree of flexibility amidst this centralised control is conceded, however, regarding curriculum development. In line with the principles of decentralisation and inclusivity, the curriculum at each level of education (i.e. primary, secondary, tertiary) and in each category of education (i.e. formal, non-formal or informal) is developed on the basis of diversification according to the needs of each educational body, the particular strengths of the region, and the needs of the student body (Chapter 10: Curriculum, Article 36 Section [2]). We could interpret this as being supportive of the principles of decentralisation in the post-*Reformasi* era, according to which a more inclusive and plural form of nationalism was permitted in contrast to the homogenising, centrally-dictated form of nationalism under Soeharto's regime. Thus, educational quality was being made accountable to a standardised set of criteria set by the state on one hand,

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[13] At the time this Law was passed in 2003, this referred to the Minister of Education and Culture. Currently, there are two relevant Ministers: the Minister for Education and Culture (to cover early years/primary/secondary education), and the Minister for Higher Education and Research & Technology (to cover tertiary education).

[14] To my knowledge, no sanctions in the form of imprisonment have been carried out, although cases of fines being exacted and academics being stripped of their academic posts have emerged in cases of plagiarism.

while at the same time retaining a sense of accountability pressure to the public - comprised of diverse ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups.

Much like the ECB reform of 1999, the National Education Law reiterated the importance of accountability and autonomy for the higher education sector as drivers of educational quality. The section on Higher Education in Chapter 6 asserts academic freedom and autonomy, as well as the right of the university to manage itself autonomously (Article 24). These points are further reiterated in Chapters 13-14 on Funding and Management of Education. Once again, the university's right to set its own policy and manage itself is restated (Article 50 Section (6), with some conditions attached. The management of a university must be based on the principles of "autonomy, accountability, quality assurance and transparent evaluation" (Article 51 Section (2)). In other words, accountability becomes synonymous with quality.

The Law also made provisions for fair access. Chapter 5 outlining students' rights and obligations includes ambitious goals for improving equal access to education. Every student in every school/HEI has the right to either (1) *a scholarship* if they are bright and their parents cannot afford to put them through school/HE, or (2) *tuition fee waivers* if their parents cannot afford to put them through school/HE (Article 12 [1] c - d). Continued availability of state-subsidised education was also bolstered via provisions for state funding of education. In line with the constitutional amendment of 2002 (Article 31 [4]), the National Education System Law mandates 20% of the State/Regional[15] Government budget to be allocated to education, *excluding* salaries for teaching staff (Article 49 [1]). However, funding for HE remained less clear. As HE typically represents a minor portion of the education budget, funding safeguards for state-subsidised HE remained ambiguous.

There is an important caveat, however, which must be read in conjunction with the sections above. The student is also obligated to "share the cost of education provision", except for those who have been exempt from this obligation in accordance with the laws in effect, (i.e. those students whose parents cannot afford to pay). In practice, this means that there was no limit or cap set on tuition fees, nor was any guidance issued on roughly what percentage of the cost of education provision would permissibly be left to the student to shoulder via tuition fees. State schools are, however, obligated in Chapter 8 (Compulsory Education) to guarantee the provision of compulsory education without levying fees (Article 34 Section [2]), thus supporting the policy of universal access. This still left non-state primary and secondary schools as well as all HEIs open to levy tuition

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[15] 'State' refers to the central government or *pemerintah pusat*. 'Regional government' refers to the province-level government, or *pemerintah daerah*.

fees as high as they liked, as long as they provided scholarships and grants to students whose parents could not afford the fees[16].

Alongside a pro-social justice discourse and several provisions to make educational quality and fair access more accountable, the law simultaneously promoted an alternative vision for education reform - marketisation. Article 53 Section (1) called for expansion of ECB status nationally, to both state and non-state institutions, from the primary, secondary to tertiary level. This move was contrastingly framed with reference to a discourse of marketisation, which emphasised efficiency and accountability of school and university management. The Law rather blandly and briefly describes the function of an ECB as "to provide the service of education to students" (Article 53 Section [2]). It further states that an ECB is "non-profit in nature, and can manage its funds independently for the purpose of advancing the position of the educational body" (Article 53 Section [3]). It is this sentence which revealed a plan to reduce direct state funding of education provision, and instead schools and HEIs to generate and manage their own finances. As these few sentences were brief and inconclusive, the extent to which this clause directly contradicted the other provisions for educational quality and fair access in the law remained unclear. The specific features and implications of expanded ECB status would not become clear until a separate law on ECB was passed in 2009. (This will be discussed in detail in Section 2.3.2 below).

2.3.1.3   The Teachers and Lecturers Law 14/2005

The Teachers and Lecturers Law 14/2005 reiterates a state commitment to improving the educational quality of higher education. The major policy change introduced in this reform was the certification policy (*sertifikasi*) whereby all teachers and lecturers receive enhanced remuneration in exchange for undergoing appropriate certification of their teaching competence. A lack of qualified teaching staff at both the basic, secondary and tertiary level was considered by policymakers to be a major obstacle to educational quality in the education system. Once again, accountability is linked explicitly to educational quality. The rationale expressed for the certification policy is that it is necessary to empower and raise the quality of teachers and lecturers in order to achieve the policy objectives of widening access, raising the quality and relevance of education, and good governance and accountability in education (Presidential Preamble, b). Accountability is again positioned strongly in these reforms, both as a driver for quality improvement and as a prerequisite for ensuring fair acess (Teachers and Lecturers Law No. 14/2005, Presidential preamble, Section b).

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[16] This requirement does not act as a deterrent for universities to set high fees, because the number of students applying from low-income backgrounds remains small.

Although the issue of fair access is not addressed as directly as it is in the sections on scholarships and tuition fee waivers in National Education System Law 20/2003, fair access is touched upon indirectly. Specifically, it is the notion that all students should have access to teachers of equal quality that is addressed. Minimum qualification requirements are prescribed for teaching staff, and these requirements apply to both the state and private sector (Articles 45-46). For instance, to teach on an undergraduate programme, a lecturer must be qualified at least to the master's level. Teaching posts at schools and universities in underdeveloped 'special regions' (*daerah khusus*) are also incentivised (Article 55) in an attempt to distribute qualified lecturers more evenly across the archipelago. In this way, the law acknowledged that fair access to quality higher education is linked to the issue of quality disparities between the various provinces of Indonesia.

2.3.2 2009: Market-intensifying

During the second phase of education reform, market-making was intensified via the introduction of Educational Corporate Body Law 9/2009, which mandated the transition of all educational institutions to ECB status. As mentioned before, a Presidential Regulation from 1999 had already introduced ECB status to a select group of state universities. Through the ECB Law, ECB status was given a stronger legal standing, and elaborated through more detailed stipulations. The Law makes the same arguments centering on accountability and autonomy as a driver of educational quality as the 2003 and 2005 laws did.

2.3.2.1 *Educational Corporate Body Law 9/2009*

Much like the 2003 National Education System Law, the ECB Law comprises a hybrid of policy discourses and mechanisms. On one hand, it continued a *Pancasila*-oriented focus, with provisions for fair access. This was in part an attempt to pre-empt and curb some of the unfair consequences of the earlier ECB reform (GR 61/1999) that had transpired, namely increases in tuition fees and the use of the *jalur khusus* special admissions route. Firstly, provisions for tuition fee waivers or scholarships for qualified students who cannot afford fees (which were introduced in National Education System Law 20/2003 Article 12), were reiterated in the ECB Law in Article 41 [7]). More dramatically, Article 46 of the ECB Law mandated a 20% student admissions quota at all state HEIs for low-income students with academic potential, as well as scholarships or financial assistance for these students. Previously, admissions to state HEIs had been based entirely on academic selection criteria, without any criteria related to economic disadvantage. Therefore, this was a significant policy shift. Article 41 (5-6) also included provisions for the state to contribute 50% of the operational costs at state HEIs, as well as 100% of investments, tuition waivers and scholarship disbursements. This provision

was designed to ensure that HEIs had no excuse to fail to implement the admissions quota policy. Finally, Article 41 (9) imposed a cap on income generated from tuition fees, limiting this to maximum 30% of an ECB's operational costs.

Yet at the same time, other provisions in the ECB Law potentially contradicted such safeguards for fair access. The primary aim of the law was to create an education market, with competition between schools/HEIs driving up quality. It represents a more complete approach to marketisation, as it includes: (i) diversifying funding to non-governmental sources, (i.e. not just businesses, corporations, but also students and their families as fee-payers); (ii) competition as a driver of behaviour (for instance unsuccessful schools/HEIs faced punitive action in the form of liquidation or mergers – see Articles 57 – 58); and (iii) accountability and quality assurance mechanisms as a means for the state to standardise quality. The terminology used in the law also reflects a shift away from a *Pancasila* orientation towards an orientation to marketisation, for example defining the purpose of a school/HEI as "to provide the service of education" (*memberikan layanan pendidikan)*; reference to the duty of a university to offer a "prime service" (*layanan prima*). Interestingly, the wording "state-owned" from the BHP nomenclature was dropped (i.e. from *badan hukum milik negara* to *badan hukum pendidikan*), signalling a more comprehensive shift away from state control over educational institutions toward autonomous institutions functioning as corporations in an education market.

2.3.3 2010-2015: Market-retarding and a return to a social justice orientation

In the final phase of the education reform saga, the ECB law was overturned by the constitutional court in a high-profile case petitioned by civil society groups and representatives of the private HE sector. This ended the planned implementation of ECB status for the entire education sector, although ECB-status was retained as a permissible form of governance for state HEIs. The subsequent law that was passed to regulate the HE sector, Higher Education Law 12/2012, marks a return to state-steering policy mechanisms, with neoliberal approaches to HE provision limited to the sphere of quality assurance (Rosser 2015a; Brewis 2018). In the current legal and policy framework accountability is used by the state as a tool to both assure educational quality, and to guarantee fair access for low-income or disadvantaged students.

2.3.3.1 *Constitutional Court Decision Number 11-14-21-126-136/PUU-VII/2009*

Several groups of HEI managers, practitioners, students and parents alike rejected the shift towards marketization proposed in the ECB law. Several nationalist/leftist Indonesian academics based at ECB and non-ECB state universities launched an ideological critique against ECB status (Nugroho 2002; Darmaningtyas et al. 2009). Other scholars highlighted consequential arguments about problematic implementation of the reforms, which ultimately undermined the integrity and transparency of the fair

access provisions (Welch 2007; Susanti 2011). In particular, the behaviour of state HEIs that had already transitioned to ECB status had drawn much negative attention for their use of tuition fee hikes and the special admissions route.

A concern regarding fair access is understandable, given the prevalence of inequality in HE access (Hill & Wie 2013; Gao 2015). We know from the literature on school dropout in Indonesia that even under a heavily state-subsidised funding structure, schools continue to levy informal costs from students (for example for textbooks, uniforms, contributions to school infrastructure projects) to a prohibitive extent, resulting in dropout (Widoyoko 2010; Rosser & Joshi 2013). It is therefore reasonable to assume that faced with reduced state funding under a national ECB system, state schools and HEIs would pass on the extra costs to students/parents. Hence the law had potential to make HE prohibitive on two levels – by making it costly to complete secondary school, and even more costly to enter HE.

In this context, five coalitions comprising university representatives, parents, students, activists and scholars filed a petition against the law with the Constitutional Court. The case centred on the argument that the state was absconding its constitutional obligation to educate the nation (Petitioner Group 1), that the ECB Law was a clear indication of the commercialisation of education (Petitioner Group 3), and that these changes collectively would lead to discrimination of the poor (Petitioner Group 2). Petitioner group 5 further argued that Article 9 of the 2003 National Education System Law which "obligates society to contribute to the provision of education in the form of material resources" leaves educational institutions free to exact resources from citizens arbitrarily to the detriment of citizens. Petitioner Group 4, which comprised the Association of Private Universities of Indonesia as well as 13 foundations (*yayasan*) that run private HEIs, separately argued that the obligation for *all* universities to conform to educational corporate body status unfairly abolished the hitherto legal status of private universities as institutions run by their foundations, and created a climate of legal uncertainty for their institutions. The court ruled in favour of the petitioners, and revoked the 2009 ECB Law (as well as Article 53 of the National Education System Law which had introduced its legal basis). However, in outlining their decision, the judges downplayed the eductional rights arguments and focussed on the legal coherence of the law, especially concerning the legal status of *yayasan*. This may have been a calculated move on the part of the judges to appease citizen (i.e. voter) concerns about social justice on one hand, but to do so in a manner that relied on more legalistic, less politically charged grounds (Rosser 2015b, 205).

2.3.3.2 The Higher Education Law 12/2012

After the 2009 ECB Law was overturned, a subsequent law was passed that relates specifically to the higher education sector – The Higher Education Law 12/2012. In terms of accountability of educational quality, the law reiterates and elaborates the use of previously introduced accountability mechanisms, such as the national education standards and accreditation. It also builds on many of the pro-fair access principles already established in the 2003 National Education System Law. In this sense the 2012 law signalled a re-orientation to the fifth principle in *Pancasila*, social justice. Meanwhile, the law signalled a toning down or "retarding" of marketisation as a rationale for HE development (Rosser 2015a, Brewis 2018).

The law opens with a strong claim that "a well-planned, guided and sustainable approach to HE governance" is necessary for the "realisation of social justice in access to HE that is of high quality", and to ensure relevance to the public good interests of "development, independence and prosperity" (Presidential Preamble d). Social justice is defined in general terms as "democratic, just and non-discriminatory" provision of HE (Article 6 b), as well as in very specific terms as "advocating for those groups in society who are less well-off" (Article 6 i). Hence, low-income status is explicitly identified as an obstacle to HE access, and moreover, an obstacle that the state has a constitutional obligation to correct. Like the 2003 Law, the text draws authority from the constitutional aim to "develop the intellectual life of the nation" (*mencerdaskan kehidupan bangsa*). It mobilises a discourse on national development in terms of both economic prosperity and technological advancement, as well as tolerance, democracy and human rights. In this latter sense, it also refers to the fourth *sila* in *Pancasila* about participatory democracy. The purpose of education is defined repeatedly in terms of the first and third principles of *Pancasila* as well; that is, religiosity (for example in phrases such as *people of faith*, *people loyal to the One True God*) and commitment to the unitary state of Indonesia (for example in phrases such as *tolerant*, *upholding unity and national integration*).

Through provisions in the 2012 law, the state maintains a firm regulatory hold on educational quality. It does this through two key accountability mechanisms, the first of which is curricular standardisation. Article 58 prescribes the unilateral adoption of National Higher Education Standards across both state and private sectors. (I will refer to these using the Indonesian acronym SN-Dikti, derived from the full name *Standar Nasional Pendidikan Tinggi)*. The standards in SN-Dikti comprise eight domains: graduate competencies; learning content; learning process; assessment of learning; teaching and support staff; learning resources and infrastructure; management of learning; and funding of learning. They are quite explicit and detailed. For instance, standards for the learning process dictate that learning must be "interactive, holistic,

integrative, scientific, contextual, thematic, effective, collaborative, and student-centred" (Research, Technology and Higher Education Ministerial Regulation 44/2015 on National Higher Education Standards, Article 11 [1]). These are generic standards, serving as a guideline for educational planning. It is expected that each study programme will apply SN-Dikti to the specifics of their discipline and institutional mission.

The use of accreditation to regulate the quality of institutions and study programmes is reiterated in the 2012 law. Indonesia is the only country in Southeast Asia to require accreditation at both the institution *and* study programme level, in both the state *and* private sectors (Niedermeier & Pohlenz 2016). This approach by the state to maintain oversight of educational quality in the private sector was reaffirmed in the 2012 Higher Education Law. Accreditation is also enhanced (Article 55), with degree programme accreditation now harmonised with SN Dikti. In other words, accreditation becomes a mechanism through which the state can monitor compliance with SN-Dikti. (Several regulations were subsequently passed to outline relevant changes to the accreditation rubrics, the most recent of which is Ministerial Regulation 32/2016 On Accreditation of Study Programmes and HEIs). Article 55 also provides a legal basis for further ministerial regulations to professionalise and modernise features of BAN-PT. Subsequent regulations have indeed made substantial changes. These comprise, firstly, more stringent monitoring and evaluation powers for the minister to hold accreditation bodies accountable (Ministerial Regulation 87/2014 Article 47-8; Ministerial Regulation 32/2016 Articles 50-51). Secondly, they also include more stringent selection criteria for accreditation body staff, including political non-affiliation (Ministerial Regulation 32/2016 Article 14 m; Article 22 l; Article 32 m).

Another key feature of the 2012 Higher Education Law is that it reiterates a call for independent, non-governmental accreditation bodies (*lembaga akreditasi mandiri* or LAM) to take over the accreditation of study programmes. In this setup, the national accreditation agency BAN-PT will only need to oversee institution-level accreditation. Meanwhile, the accreditation of study programmes can be handed over to LAM, who will purportedly provide a more discipline-specific and hence more relevant accreditation process. The use of LAM had already been called for in the 2003 National Education System Law (Article 58-60), but amidst the policy confusion surrounding ECB status, no concrete changes had materialised yet. The 2012 Law thus gave impetus for renewed policy activity in this area. Indeed, the first LAM, the Independent Accreditation Body for Health Sciences HEIs (LAMPT-Kes), was founded on 3 February 2014. About five other subject areas currently have proposals under review by the DGHE to establish their own

LAM, but to date, LAMPT-Kes remains the only functioning LAM[17]. Several regulations have been passed to provide guidance and clarity to the process of setting up and running LAM, the most recent of which is Ministerial Regulation 32/2016 On Accreditation of Study Programmes and HEIs. A summary of the various accountability reforms to regulate the quality of higher education provision is provided in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2-1 Summary of post-1998 accountability reforms to regulate educational quality

Domain	Policy/scheme	Legal basis
Quality of teaching faculty	Lecturer certification (*sertifikasi dosen or serdos*)	Teachers and Lecturers Law 14/2005 Article 47
	Minimum qualification requirements for teaching staff	Teachers and Lecturers Law 14/2005 Articles 45-46
Quality of study programmes	National Higher Education Standards (*Standar Nasional Pendidikan Tinggi or SN-Dikti*)	National Education System Law 20/2003 50 Article (2)
		Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 54 (1) - (8)
		Ministerial Regulation 44/2015 On National Higher Education Standards
	Harmonisation of accreditation with SN-Dikti	Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 55 (1) - (2)
		Ministerial Regulation 32/2016 On Accreditation of Study Programmes and HEIs

In addition to these policy mechanisms that aim to make the educational quality of higher education more accountable, the 2012 Higher Education Law also introduced several accountability mechanisms to regulate fair access. Firstly, fair access is addressed in terms of affordability via the use of a means-tested fees system (Article 76 [3]). This provision resulted in a specific policy known as the *uang kuliah tunggal* (UKT) or standardised tuition fee system, supported by the Director General of Higher Education (DGHE) at the time, Djoko Santoso (2010-2014). Already prior to the 2012 Higher Education Law being passed in August 2012, the Director General had released a DGHE memo in February 2012 ordering all state HEIs to freeze their tuition fees for the academic year 2012/13 (DGHE Memo 305/E/T/2012). After the 2012 Higher Education Law was passed in August 2012, (and a more authoritative legal basis for implementing means-tested tuition fees had thus become active), the DGHE then passed several

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[17] Interview with MRTHE policymaker, 26 January 2017

memos in early 2013 introducing the new means-tested fees structure. The details of the new UKT system were formalised in a more authoritative Ministerial Regulation in May 2013, implemented for the first time in the academic year 2013/14 (Ministerial Regulation 55/2013). In the UKT system, students at all state HEIs (including ECB ones) are categorised into one of five fee categories based on parental income brackets. The full cost of each study programme, as well as the subsidised rate of tuition fees for each fee category is standardised nationally and listed in an annual ministerial regulation[18]. Students in the lowest two categories typically pay 500,000 – 1 million IDR per semester, whereas students in the highest category typically pay about 5 million IDR per semester. There are exceptions to this in medicine, dentistry and pharmacy, where tuition fees can reach as high as 20 million IDR or more per semester in the highest fee category. State-ECB institutions still have the freedom to admit students at non-UKT rates, but this is capped at 30% of the intake (echoing Article 41 [9] of the defunct BHP Law 9/2009).

Means-tested financial aid is also stipulated in Article 76 of the 2012 Higher Education Law. In fact, a provision for means-tested financial aid for poor students had already been introduced in the 2003 National Education System Law, but this had not yet resulted in a concrete programme run by the government. Concurrent to the legal battle that was unfolding over the 2009 ECB Law, and the subsequent drafting of the 2012 Higher Education Law, the Minister of Education and Culture (Muhammad Nuh) and the Director General for Higher Education (Djoko Santoso) at the time took initiative to introduce a financial aid scheme. In 2010, they launched the Bidikmisi programme to deliver on the aim of fair access. Bidikmisi covers a tuition fee contribution paid directly to the HEI (set at a fixed price, currently 2.4 million IDR) and a maintenance grant paid directly to the student (currently 650,000 IDR per month). Applicants apply through one of the standardised DGHE-run admissions routes, either the national entrance exam route *Seleksi Bersama Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negeri* (SBMPTN), or the high-school report card admissions route *Seleksi Nasional Masuk Perguruan Tinggi Negeri* (SNMPTN). There are no provisions for leniency in academic selection. The programme was extended to private sector institutions as well in 2012. Their participation is voluntary, and eligibility rests on a minimum B accreditation ranking to satisfy government concerns of quality. Although Bidikmisi was launched as early as 2010, the inclusion of Article 76 in the 2012 Law is significant as it provides a more authoritative legal mandate for the scheme (*undang-undang* as opposed to ministerial regulation), which will help to safeguard continued funding for this scheme in the future.

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[18] The most recent one is Ministry for Research and Technology and Higher Education Ministerial Decision 91/M/KPT/2018

The Bidikmisi scheme has grown steadily since its introduction in 2010 (See Table 2.2 below). By 2016, the scheme had covered just over 350,000 students, with the number of applicants increasing substantially each year. Comparing data on Bidikmisi recipients in 2014/15 (DGHE 2016) with data on the total number of new entrants to higher education in the same year (Higher Education Database 2016), the number of Bidikmisi recipients comprised 62,755 out of 1,458,665 students, or approximately 4.3%. Completion rates and academic progress have been good. Recipients are required to meet a minimum threshold of a GPA of 2.0 or higher each year to qualify for continued receipt of the award in the following year. If not, their funding is suspended, and they face either an interruption to their studies, switching to self-funded status, or in the worst case, drop out. Among the combined Bidikmisi cohorts still in the process of studying in 2016, 80% had a GPA of at least 3.0 or higher (see Table 2.3 overleaf). Only 1.87% had failed to meet the minimum threshold required, meaning they had a GPA of 2.0 or lower. Almost a third of Bidikmisi recipients are high-achievers in their institutions, with a GPA ranging between 3.5 and 4.0.

Table 2-2 Growth of Bidikmisi 2010-2016

Cohort	Applicants	Recipients
2010	54,382	18,185
2011	94,762	27,866
2012	153,834	41,760
2013	239,438	61,156
2014	323,259	62,755
2015	372,000	66,559
2016	416,428	74,422
Total	**1,654,103**	**352,703**
Source: DGHE (2016)		

Table 2-3 Distribution of Bidikmisi students by level of study and GPA range, 2016/7

GPA Range	Level of study					Total (per GPA category)	%
	Diploma 2	Diploma 3	Diploma 4	Undergraduate	Professional certificate		
<2.00	-	120	183	2,606	-	2,909	1.87%
2.00-2.74	-	895	706	9,417	1	11,019	7.08%
2.75-2.99	2	1,382	909	13,265	3	15,561	10.00%
3.00-3.49	14	5,931	4,271	67,043	19	77,278	49.66%
3.50-3.99	4	3,250	2,136	42,556	5	47,951	30.81%
4	1	284	189	437	-	911	0.59%
Total (per level of study)	*21*	*11,862*	*8,394*	*135,324*	*28*	*155,629*	*100%*

Source: DGHE (2016)

Another major feature of the 2012 Higher Education Law is that it includes the same provision for a 20% admissions quota for disadvantaged students that was included in the 2009 ECB Law. In the 2012 iteration, however, the law goes even further, attaching the condition "to distribute these students across the full range of degree programmes available" (Article 74 [1]). This is significant as the law now explicitly advocates access in a full sense, meaning access to *all forms of higher education*, not just vocational, diploma or low-cost programmes. Moreover, the scope of 'disadvantage' is now broadened to (1) low-income status *and/or* (2) residency in the country's most isolated and deprived regions (*terdepan, terluar dan tertinggal*) (Article 74 [1]).

In line with this second point about regional disadvantage, a separate scholarship scheme was introduced in 2012 to complement Bidikmisi, namely the *Afirmasi Pendidikan* or ADik Papua/3T[19]. This is an affirmative action scheme for students from West Papua province and other underdeveloped regions designated by the government[20] to access state HEIs. Selection is more lenient in their case, with applicants sitting a separate entrance exam to the SBMPTN or SNMPTN routes, which instead measures aptitude rather than prior academic attainment. This is to recognise a lack of academic preparedness resulting from structural inequalities in the primary and secondary education systems in such provinces/districts. The scheme covers tuition fees as well as a maintenance grant. Because the scheme has an element of redressing political isolation and fostering socio-cultural integration with other Indonesians, students must apply to HEIs beyond their domicile.

As figures from Table 2.4 overleaf show, ADik Papua/3T is a far smaller-scale operation than Bidikmisi. Quotas allocated for the affirmative action programme have continued to grow slowly, although it has faced more serious issues with implementation than Bidikmisi. These challenges comprise late or failed dispersal of funds, as well as non-completion of studies related to health issues, financial issues, and cultural adaptation. In particular, failure of local government authorities in 2016 to disperse the necessary transport funds to recipients (which would have covered return airfare from Papua to the city of the host institution and back) resulted in a failed uptake of the award among four hundred students[21].

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[19] The three 'T's refer to the definition of disadvantaged zones in Article 74 (1) as *terdepan* (the foremost), *terluar* (the outermost) and *tertinggal* (the farthest behind).
[20] In the 2016 selection round, these comprised: Aceh, West Sumatera, Bangka Belitung, East Java, Banten, East Nusa Tenggara, Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, North Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, Gorontalo, Maluku, and North Maluku.
[21] Interview with MRTHE policymaker, 26 January 2017.

Table 2-4 Growth of Adik Papua/3T recipients 2012-2016

Cohort	Quota	Study Active	Non-Active
2012	186	186	0
2013	437	423	14
2014	511	492	19
2015	539	532	7
2016	1374	968	406
Total	*3047*	*2601*	*446*
Source: DGHE (2016)			

It should be noted that despite these steps in the direction of fair access, the ECB policy was not entirely halted. The controversial special admissions route is still legally permissible for state-ECB universities, although the proportion of the student intake entering via such admissions routes has been capped to 30% of their total annual intake (Ministerial Regulation 39/2016 On Standardised Tuition Fees at State HEIs, Article 10 [3]). To date, 11 of the 63 state universities have obtained ECB status. The geographical concentration of these HEIs in Java reflects the overall concentration of HE provision on this island; nine out of the eleven state-ECB universities are located on the island of Java, while South Sulawesi and North Sumatera have one each. Although the ECB trend has thus far been limited to about a sixth of the state universities in the country, and has to date not extended to state polytechnics or other state HEI types, it is conceivable that ECB status will eventually become the norm or preferred status for state HEIs. This means an increasingly larger share of the student intake in the state HE sector might be permitted to enter via the special admissions route, unless individual state-ECBs decide against such use of their own accord. The reason that this will remain a point of contention for students and their families is that state HEIs continue to represent 'the affordable' portion of the HE sector, as opposed to private HEIs where tuition fees are often higher. If state-ECB universities continue to use the special admissions route, this will reduces the total number of affordable HE places available for each cohort. A summary of the accountability reforms to regulate fair access is provided in Table 2.5 overleaf.

Table 2-5 Summary of post-1998 accountability reforms to regulate fair access

Domain	Policy/scheme	Legal basis
admissions	20% admissions quota for low-income or disadvantaged students, distributed across all study programmes	Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 74 (1)
affordability	Means-tested tuition fees (*Uang Kuliah Tunggal or UKT*)	Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 76 (2); Article 76 (3) Ministerial Regulation 39/2016 On Standardised Tuition Fees at State HEIs
	Bidikmisi scholarship scheme for bright and poor students (*Beasiswa Pendidikan Mahasiswa Berprestasi dan Miskin* or Bidikmisi)	National Education System Law 20/2003 Article 12 (1) c –d; Article 12 (2) b Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 76 (1)
admissions and affordability	Affirmative action scheme for pupils of Papua/Disadvantaged Zones (*Afirmasi Pendidikan Papua/Daerah 3T* or *ADik Papua/3T*)	Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 74 (1)

2.4   Summary and implications for research design

This chapter has demonstrated that the current HE policy framework in Indonesia places accountability pressures on higher education institutions both in terms of their educational quality and in terms of making access to those institutions fair for low-income or disadvantaged students. The reform saga in the post-1998 era reflects a reorientation of HE policy to the fourth and fifth principles of *Pancasila*, namely participatory democracy and social justice. Concretely, this has resulted in a 20% admissions quota for disadvantaged students at state HEIs, the UKT means-tested tuition fee policy, the Bidikmisi scholarship programme, and the ADik Papua/3T affirmative action programme. Meanwhile, a neoliberal approach to HE development favouring marketisation has been tempered or retarded, with its influence limited to the sphere of quality assurance. Currently, the state holds HEIs to account for their educational quality via the twin mechanisms of curricular standardisation (SN-Dikti) and enhanced accreditation.

Considering the Indonesian public policy context more generally, it is important to note the endurance of *Pancasila* as a discourse of national development in the post-Soeharto era. In the domain of education policy at least, it has not become obsolete. Interestingly,

it seems to have been rebranded or reconceptualised by technocrats, policymakers, politicians, legislators and activists alike to justify their respective agendas. Thus, we can view the HE education reform process and the controversy surrounding fair access to education as a microcosm of post-Soeharto political manoeuvrings, reflecting competing efforts to redefine the national development agenda.

Given the significance of Indonesia's policy shifts from 2010 onwards, it is surprising that several empirical research gaps surrounding accountability of quality and fair access remain. Firstly, regarding the quality of higher education provision, a key question centres on the impact or non-impact of SN-Dikti and accreditation. Prior to the introduction of these reforms, the policy literature and media coverage had created a sort of 'crisis of quality' discourse on Indonesian higher education quality. Some of these concerns related to the limited scope of HE provision in the system overall, and a misalignment with labour market needs. For example, a report from the Boston Consulting Group drew much media attention with its rather sensationalist prediction that by 2020 there will be a 40-60% shortfall in middle management staff, and that by 2025 there will be a 70% shortfall in engineers (Tong & Walterman, 2013, 2). Alternatively, concerns had been raised about the integrity of the accreditation system, with unofficial accounts of cheating on the part of HEIs to secure favourable accreditation ratings (Welch, 2007, 675). Yet, little has been researched about the current climate, since the introduction of SN-Dikti and measures designed to enhance the transparency and rigour of the accreditation process. It seems that a critical task of any policy analysis on accountability in the contemporary context would be to identify beliefs and practices among HE staff in relation to curricular standardisation and accreditation, in order to gauge how these two accountability policies are playing out.

Secondly, much of the research on educational quality has drawn solely from experiences of HE staff at state HEIs. Scholars have highlighted challenges in pursuing educational and research quality related to legacies of the New Order regime. For instance, an unmeritocratic appraisal system (Gaus & Hall 2016) and insular recruitment culture (Rakhmani & Siregar 2016) have been blamed for a lack of innovation and rigour in academic teaching and research. Alternatively, a history of poor remuneration and income insecurity have been highlighted as the cause behind 'nomadic' or 'street pedlar' staff who accumulate hourly-paid teaching activities across a variety of institutions (Gaus & Hall 2016). This phenomenon has led to HE staff with low commitment to either personal professional development or enhancement of institution-level educational quality (ibid.). As highlighted in the first part of this chapter, a further challenge to educational quality has been the fact that state university academics were co-opted into the bureaucratic power structure of Soeharto's New Order regime, resulting in weak

academic autonomy and weak accountability to professional norms (Hadiz & Dhakidae 2005; Nugroho 2005; Rosser 2015a). Yet, little has been researched about accountability and educational quality at Indonesia's private HEIs. The absence of a private sector perspective is deeply concerning given that Indonesia's private institutions make up over 95% of all institutions, and accommodates just over two-thirds of its student enrolments.

In addition to the gap relating to a lack of diverse institutional perspectives, there is also a research gap concerning job role categories. For example, Gaus and Hall's (2016) research looked at lecturers alone, without analysing the influence of years of experience or seniority in the organisational hierarchy as a factor shaping staff attitudes to performance indicators. The research on state-ECB institutions has in turn focussed on a management perspective alone (such as Susanto & Nizam 2009). This means that the beliefs and practices of other HE staff (regular lecturers, admissions and student affairs staff) in relation to accountability and educational quality remain underexplored. It follows on from this that my research design should prioritise empirical data collection from Indonesia's autonomous HEIs, either the state-ECB universities or private HEIs, and include an array of perspectives from diverse groups of HE staff, not just managers.

Thirdly, in terms of making access to higher education fairer and more accountable, there are also research gaps. Previous literature has criticised HEI behaviour of state-ECB universities for undermining fair access by raising tuition fees and by using the special admissions route. It appears that a key research gap, then, is how institutional admissions policies either support or undermine fair access objectives, particularly in the context of the newly introduced 20% admissions quota, means-tested tuition fees, and means-tested financial aid. Again, as in the case of educational quality above, another gap is how private HEIs behave in this regard. Given that the expansion of the HE sector and growth in GTER has rested on the large private sector, it seems important to investigate if, how and why private HEIs are supporting or undermining the fair access agenda through their respective recruitment and admissions policies. Even simply as an initial step, it would be helpful to identify how private institutions – which reflect such a diversity in prestige, quality, financial health, mission orientations and student demographics – conceptualise and experience fair access.

Finally, an underexplored theme is the potential overlap or interplay between quality and fair access issues. In reviewing the post-*Reformasi* accountability reforms, it becomes clear that accountability has become increasingly associated with demands for both educational quality and fair access. Indeed, the 2003 National Education System Law, the 2005 Teachers and Lecturers Law and the 2012 Higher Education Law each make claims about the need for improved access to education that is of equal quality. A major research gap in this regard is whether the two issues of educational quality and fair

access are experienced by HE staff as two separate issues or as an inter-related aspect of their working lives. In line with this, a key feature of the research design is to integrate both topics of educational quality and fair access into the interview rubrics used with HE staff. This allows me to explore any connections between the two topics, and to test the assumption made in the higher education reforms that accountability can be harnessed to enhance both educational quality *and* fair access.

3 Framing the thesis

3.1 Part I: Defining the approach to policy analysis

3.1.1 Overview: selecting the tools for policy analysis

> …the complexity and scope of policy analysis – from an interest in the workings of the state to a concern with contexts of practice and the distributional outcomes of policy – preclude the possibility of successful single theory explanations. What we need in policy analysis is a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories (Ball, 1993, 10).

The title of this sub-chapter alludes to the well-known 'toolbox metaphor' introduced by Stephen Ball in his 1993 article on theoretical approaches to education policy analysis. In this seminal paper, Ball defends the messy nature of policy analysis against calls from other scholars to adopt more rigid approaches. For instance, Ozga (1990, 360, cited in Ball 1993, 10) criticises approaches to policy analysis which rely on notions of "ad hocery, serendipity, muddle and negotiation". Rather than viewing such notions as shortcomings or failures of policy analysis, quite the opposite, Ball views these as a necessary and natural part of sociologically-informed policy analysis. The challenge for the education policy researcher, Ball argues, is rather "to relate together analytically the ad hocery of the macro with the ad hocery of the micro without losing sight of the systemic bases and effects of ad hoc social actions" (1993, 10).

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis adopts an exploratory and qualitative approach to investigating the policy subject of accountability reform. I concur with Ball's conceptualisation of policy analysis as something requiring a combination of theoretical tools to capture both the macro and the micro, both the "ad hocery" (or we could say the 'agency') and the "systematic bases and effects of social actions" (or we could say the 'structures'). In line with this, I will draw on insights from several branches of social science inquiry to frame the overall approach to policy analysis adopted in this thesis, namely theories of public policy, education policy and institutional theory.

3.1.2 Public policy: agenda setting, advocacy coalitions and implementation studies

Classical theories of public policy that emerged from the field of political science and public policy studies in post-World War II North America tended to frame policies in relation to stable forms of statehood and/or stable state institutions. For instance, the *institutional rational choice* approach presumes that public policies are largely the outcome of rational choices made by leaders and decision-makers at the most powerful state institutions (Sabatier 2007, 8-9). It is not particular cabinets or political movements that are considered the key policy actors in this approach, but rather strong and stable state institutions (ministries, agencies) whose members engage in rational decision-

making: "Political actors are imagined [in this theoretical approach] to be endowed with preferences or interests that are consistent, stable and exogenous to the political system" (March & Olsen, 1996, 250).

Other theorists such as Charles Lindblom strove to uncover a less straightforward nature of policy formulation. In Lindblom's (1959) notoriously titled theory of policy as the "science of muddling through", he rebuked the notion that public policies are rational solutions reflecting the rational choices made by rational individuals. Lindblom argued instead that public policies are the outcome of a series of incrementally evolving policy steps taken by policymakers guided ultimately by simplifications and immediate pragmatic considerations – or what he terms "successive limited comparisons" (1959, 81). In other words, public policies can be viewed as 'easy' or 'least troublesome' choices rather than the 'ideal' or 'rational' solution to a policy problem.

While Lindblom's insight about the fallacy of neutral or rational policies was an important step in terms of evolving public policy theory, his theories nonetheless continued to rest on assumptions about stable forms of statehood and state institutions. Meanwhile, in the context of Indonesia's accountability reforms in the period 1999-2015, such approaches do not seem to carry weight. In fact, the very forms and institutions of the state in Indonesia were undergoing significant upheavals, as the centralised, one-party, authoritarian state constructed by General Soeharto came under direct attack from opposition parties, civil society groups, religious organisations, and international financial institutions including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Instead, it is helpful here to turn to theories of *agenda setting* and *advocacy coalitions*, which accommodate a more dynamic and less institution-centred understanding of public policy.

In his analysis of health and transport reforms in 1970s America, Kingdon (2011) put forward the *multiple streams* model to explain why some public policies make it on to the agenda and others fail. In what has come to be known as the theory of *agenda setting*, Kingdon argued that policy outputs are generated when the three streams of the *problem*, the *politics* and the *policy* all converge at a single window of opportunity at the same time. The *problem* refers to the issue that emerges in the public eye as something in need of reform – such as the under-resourced and supposedly under-performing education system in Indonesia. The politics stream refers to the political moment or mood that justifies the need for reform – such as the *Reformasi* political movement that helped overturn General Soeharto's cabinet and instigate a series of political reforms. The policy stream refers to a particular set of policy mechanisms or even political/ideological policy approaches that are lobbied by "policy entrepreneurs" as policy solutions - such as a neoliberal approach to higher education provision that was purported by technocrats in

post-Soeharto Indonesia. The multiple streams model reflects elements of chaos theories, meaning that it views "systems as constantly evolving and not necessarily settling into equilibrium" (Zahariadis 2007, 66). This feature of the theory lends itself to applicability across a variety of time and geographical contexts. In particular, it appears to be an appropriate approach to framing accountability reforms in the context of post-Soeharto Indonesia where there were multiple and even conflicting policy streams, each being lobbied for by a separate group of policy actors.

Given the extent of involvement of non-state actors (student unions, civil society organisations, activists) during *Reformasi*, it is also helpful to turn to the theory of *advocacy coalitions* to inform the overall framing of policy. The key contribution of the advocacy coalition approach is that it brings in non-state actors into the picture. This approach actively critiques explanations of policy formulation that view policies as selected based on material interests among elite groups embedded in state power structures. Instead, belief systems are viewed as a crucial driver of public policy, even more so than institutional affiliation (Sabatier & Weible 2007, 194-6). Accordingly, policy goals are pursued by a diverse group of policy actors - called the "advocacy coalitions" - which can comprise "legislators, agency officials, interest group leaders, judges, researchers, and intellectuals from multiple levels of government" (ibid. 196), or even "journalists who specialize in that policy area" (ibid. 192). Thus, the process of public policy formulation can be framed as public debates that come to a head when coalitions of state and non-state actors united by common beliefs about a policy issue compete to drive their own favoured policy outcome. This view of policy seems applicable in the case of accountability reform in Indonesia, where non-state actors such as civil society groups, higher education staff, academic researchers, representative bodies of the higher education sector, educational charities as well as activists were all involved in challenging and shaping education legislation. Within the realm of state policy actors, there was likewise a multitude of (often conflicting) stances adopted by legislators, technocrats, and judges of the Constitutional Court (Rosser 2015a), reflecting membership in divergent policy coalitions across state institutions.

The theories of *agenda setting/multiple streams* and *advocacy coalitions* are helpful in framing the complex and political nature of public policy, but they never satisfactorily get us beyond policy at the formulation stage. To address this point, we can turn to the policy analysis approach of *implementation studies*. A key feature of this approach is that it goes beyond public policy as a decision-making process, to look at what happens on the ground after the decisions are made. It is epitomised in the work *Policy and Action* (Barrett & Fudge 1981), which drew on empirical work on public policy from the context of the United Kingdom. Essentially, the field of *implementation studies* questioned the

validity of a top-down, centre-periphery execution of policy implementation. In this way it differed markedly from earlier public policy research emanating from America where the notion of a top-down policy chain endured, for instance in Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973/84) famous work on vertical policy chains and "implementation deficits". Scholars of implementation studies called for a reconceptualisation of implementation as "negotiated order" between policy actors (Barrett 2004, 253). Crucially, both non-material "values" and material "interests" of policy actors are seen in this approach as key factors motivating them in the negotiation of order:

> The political processes by which policy is mediated, negotiated and modified during it's formulations continue in the behaviour of those involved in its implementation acting to protect or pursue their own values and interests (Barrett 2004, 253).

Not surprisingly then, in the implementation studies approach to policy, the focus is not so much on the "formal decision making authority" of the institutional rational approach. Instead, the unit of analysis shifts to "power-interest structures, and relationships between participating actors and agencies, and the nature of interactions taking place in the process" (ibid., 253). In contrast to top-down views of policy implementation, this approach challenges the assumption that implementation problems can be ironed out by simple measures such as reducing the links in the policy chain of command (as for instance Pressman and Wildavsky suggested). The implication of this for my policy analysis approach is that I need to include the frontline 'implementers' of higher education policy in my analysis, and to understand the power relationships between the state, HE management and academics. Using this approach leads me to conclude that academics themselves, as teachers and researchers on the 'front line' delivering higher education, are mediating, negotiating and modifying policy.

About a decade earlier (again in the context of America), the role of human behaviour in public policy was already being vividly addressed by Michael Lipsky (1971) in his work on urban reform and 'street level bureaucrats'. Perhaps the most salient point he made was on *role expectations* and how they impact on public servants' ability to cope with their workload. Drawing on insights from *role theory* (Sarbin & Allen 1968), as well as *organisational theory* (Downs 1967), he described how peers, bureaucratic reference groups and public expectations frame the "street-level bureacrat" with conflicting role expectations of job performance. In order to cope with this conflict, they develop "simplifications" or "shorthand" to enable them to make quick decisions and continue operating in their environment (Lipsky 1971, 394-395). In Lipsky's example, such "simplifications" unfortunately resulted in the socially unjust practice of racist stereotyping in American public schools. We can use this point about role expectations more generally to understand discrepancies that tend to emerge between policy goals (as envisaged by

policymakers) and policy implementation or policy outcomes (as enacted by bureaucrats, civil servants, and practitioners). This insight lends further weight to the argument that top-down policy chains do not play out neatly and unproblematically in practice. Importantly, Lipsky's work highlighted the need to identify socio-cultural norms that govern individual role expectations, organisational culture of public institutions, and community attitudes in any policy analysis.

These insights about public policy above lead us clearly in the direction of a sociological framing of policy. The interest in individuals acting and negotiating their way amidst macro power structures that either constrain or enable social action (i.e. in this case policy implementation) resonates with the key debate in sociology about the interaction between agency of individuals on the one hand and the constraining and possibly deterministic forces of social structures on the other. The conceptualisation of public policy as "negotiated order" between various policy actors is in fact consistent with structuration theory put forward by Anthony Giddens (1984), according to which both macro-level structures and individual agency interact reciprocally to produce social effects. Policy analysis is not then, about choosing either a structure-oriented or an agency-oriented approach to framing your study. Instead, it is about recognising that both structure and agency play a part. Accordingly, the analytical task at hand then becomes pinpointing that nexus of interaction between the two which results in unique and novel social effects.

In sum, insights from the public policy literature described above lead me to draw three main conclusions about my approach to policy analysis. Firstly, they lead me to problematise the timing and rationale (i.e. the *agenda setting*) behind the post-Soeharto accountability reforms in relation to the multiple streams of the policy problem, the policy solution, and the political moment of opportunity. Secondly, they lead me to recognise that accountability reform in the higher education sector will inevitably represent or embody public policy debates between diverse coalitions of interest groups both from within and outside state institutions (i.e. the policy entrepreneurs and the advocacy coalitions). Certain policy outcomes may arise not due to state pressure, but due to pressures from policy coalitions beyond the government. Thirdly, the framing of policy implementation as "negotiated order" leads me to adopt the policy sub-system as a unit of analysis, identifying both the socio-cultural norms and values as well as the material interests that motivate individual action within the power-interest structures of the higher education system (i.e. the policymakers at the ministry of higher education, the institutions of higher education, and faculties and departments within them).

3.1.3 Education policy: text, discourse, effects and policy transfer

The purpose of this section is to briefly present some insights from education policy theory which mirror or reinforce some of the key insights from the public policy literature described above. Specifically, I will refer to concepts of policy as text, discourse and effects (Ball 1993). I also wish to acknowledge that Indonesia's accountability reforms were connected to both global policy trends and local policy demands at the same time. In order to address this point, I will briefly outline the concept of policy transfer at the end of this section to theorise this point about global-local policy intersections.

The text of policy, argues Ball, should be viewed as a dynamic and socially-embedded phenomenon, rather than a static and one-dimensional set of rules. Firstly, any policy text is the outcome of negotiations, conflicts and competing interest groups at the policy formulation level (1993, 11). This resonates with the public policy theory of *agenda-setting*, where policy solutions are offered up in solution to policy problems by competing policy entrepreneurs during a political moment or window of opportunity. It also resonates with the *advocacy coalition framework* to public policy analysis, where policies are described as the outcome of various governmental and non-governmental interest groups lobbying for particular policies that eventually make it or don't make it onto the legislative agenda. Hence, the text itself may embody conflicting and competing ideologies and aims. This leads the policy analyst to question and problematise the historico-political context of a policy reform, rather than taking the policy as a neutral act of mere problem-solving.

Secondly, policy as text does not stop or end at the level of text. Instead, it is "decoded" in the actions of the policy actors that the policy seeks to govern (Ball, 1993, 11). Ball views policy actors (such as teachers who are supposed to implement a school-level policy, or schools that are supposed to implement a national-level policy) with quite a lot of agency. He characterises their actions as "creative social action not robotic reactivity" (ibid. 12). Structural inequalities, such as education markets and class relations, also leave their mark. This means that policies affect policy actors or get taken up by them in differential ways (ibid. 11-12). We cannot assume, therefore, that a national-level policy will mean the same thing to different educational institutions, or that it will play out in the same way across those institutions. After all, their relative bargaining position vis a vis the state will vary. Accordingly, their attitude to reform will vary. Not only that, but their material and human resource capacity to implement reform objectives also vary.

To summarise, policy is a living breathing phenomenon that lives beyond the textual level, in a dynamic and interactive relationship between the groups formulating policy and the groups enacting or implementing the policy. Within that process of interaction,

there are constraining forces of structural inequality, but there is also social, creative, active agency. Indeed, Ball concludes his thoughts on policy as text by stating that: "Policy analysis requires not an understanding that is based on constraint or agency but on the changing relationships between constraint and agency" (ibid. 13-14). Clearly, this kind of approach to education policy analysis echoes the theory of structuration (Giddens 1984) from the field of sociology, as well as the public policy conceptualisation of policy implementation as "negotiated order" (Barrett 2004). Likewise, it leads the policy analyst to include in their analysis a wide range of policy actors both close to and far from the central hold of policy forming powers. The enactment of a policy by practitioners (both theoretically and empirically speaking) is equally important to understanding the content and context for policy reform.

Ball also makes the point that policy functions on the level of discourse. There are two important points here. Firstly, Ball argues that policy is a powerful tool not simply because of the specific content of a policy, but because of the overall act of framing something as a valid, necessary policy issue or policy strategy. In other words, it has the effect of creating and sustaining a dominant discourse about a policy issue (whether that be something about the curriculum, the funding model, or whatever). This is powerful because "it changes the possibilities we have for thinking 'otherwise' " (ibid. 15). The process of policy formulation, then, has the effect of defining a policy strategy, determining the parameters of the debate, and silencing alternative ways to approach the policy issue. A related point that Ball makes is that when many such instances of policy are taken together, for instance as part of a series of education reforms or a series of public sector reforms, they have an accumulative effect. As education researchers or policy analysts: "We need to appreciate the way in which policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a *production* of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses" (ibid., 14). What this suggests in the case of analysing accountability reforms in Indonesia is to view the most recent legislation on higher education (Law 12/2012 on Higher Education) in relation to previous education and public policy reforms in the post-Soeharto era. Analysing a single policy in isolation would render an incomplete analysis.

The final point that Ball makes is that education policies can be understood in terms of their policy effects. These can be first-order or second-order effects. First-order effects are more immediate and concrete. They are defined as "changes in practice or structure (which are relevant in particular sites and across the system as a whole)" (ibid., 16). We can think of these as changes to teaching practice, changes to school behavioural policies, changes to budgeting procedures, and so forth. Second order effects are in turn "the impact of these changes on patterns of social access and opportunity and social justice" (ibid., 16). In pointing out such second order effects of education policy, Ball

endorses earlier calls from education scholars to pay attention to the "distributional implications or outcomes" of social policies (Walker 1981, cited in Ball 1993, 16). Indeed, the petitioner groups who took the 2009 ECB Law to the Constitutional Court for review were doing just that – pointing to the second order effects of the law, and the potential disadvantage this would bring to poorer schools, HEIs and students.

It is this final point about policy effects that is particularly helpful to developing my overall policy analysis approach, because it begins to move away from a more generic, almost non-political task of 'framing policy analysis' to something more along the lines of 'framing policy analysis in relation to important political issues surrounding social justice'. In other words, it embraces the political nature of policy very openly. While the 'policy tools' outlined above from the public policy and institutional theory traditions do highlight a tension between structural forces on the one hand and opportunities for agency on the other, they stop short of asking the policy analyst to identify the distributional outcomes of the policy in question. In other words, by applying such theories, the analyst may indeed expose structural inequalities which are shaping policy formulation and policy implementation, but they might not expose structural inequalities in the policy outcomes or effects. Why is this important? It has an implication not just for the results of a policy study, i.e. by determining what kind of research findings emerge, but also for the type of policy research that gets undertaken in the first place. As Ball writes, if we start with the premise that education policies can have both first order and second order effects, and pay attention to the distributional effects of policy, this could help to ensure "that policy analyses ask critical/theoretical questions, rather than simple problem-solving ones" (Ball, 1993, 16).

Ball was writing mainly in the context of national policymaking and policy implementation, but these insights about policy as text, discourse and effects are relevant to policymaking at the global level as well. Theories of policy borrowing (Steiner-Khamsi 2004) and policy transfer (Crossley & Watson 2003) have successfully refuted the notion that policies become popular or successful on a global scale simply because they are inherently good policy solutions. Educational policies or models are not politically and culturally neutral. Rather, they entail vested interests that belie preferences for particular political, economic or cultural ideologies. Indeed, the task of the comparative education researcher is to challenge a "normative and nationalistic worldview that reforms are implemented because they are 'best practices' and sound 'international standards' " (Lao 2015, 3). These insights about how policies circulate at the global level mirror the insights about policy as text, discourse and effects discussed above. In relation to the point about second order effects and opportunities for social justice, it is important to recognise that there may be a power imbalance operating in the process of policy transfer. For instance,

Schendel and McCowan (2016, 408) have highlighted the relatively weak bargaining position of low- to middle-income states in relation to supranational organisations and external donor agencies. This can severely limit any real sense of 'choice' or 'autonomy' in policy formulation, resulting in second order effects that play out at the level of privileged states versus aid-dependent states. In the case of Indonesia's accountability reforms, we have seen how this played out in a concrete way. A neoliberal rationale for higher education development and marketisation were pushed by the IMF/World Bank coalition as part of the global policy transfer of such policies.

In sum, theories of policy as effect and policy transfer collectively lead me to go beyond a problem-solving view of Indonesia's accountability reforms and treat them critically in relation to the global and domestic political context. Specifically, I theorise Indonesia's accountability reforms within the global context of neoliberal policy transfer on the one hand, in addition to domestic political contestations over social justice and fair access. I have dealt with the national context in Chapter 2, but I will return to the issue of neoliberal policy transfer in Part II of this chapter.

3.1.4 Institutional theory: isomorphism and agency in higher education systems

To supplement the framing of policy analysis derived from the public policy and education policy literature above, I will next draw on insights from institutional theory to elaborate on the role of *institutions* in policy implementation. Here I refer not to institutions of government as alluded to in institutional rational choice theory, but rather to higher education institutions (HEIs). I wish to focus on these institutions because they are a key component of the 'policy sub-system' which forms the object of this study – the higher education system in Indonesia. I will focus on two specific concepts from institutional theory that may be helpful in framing institutional behaviour in the context of accountability reforms, namely *isomorphism* on the one hand, and the concept of *opportunity seeking* within *organisational fields* on the other. The former gets us closer to an understanding of systemic trends, similarities across institutions, and convergence between policymaker goals and institutional beliefs and practices. The latter, in turn, highlights the agency of institutions and their responsiveness to markets. Recalling the discussion above about the relative merits and demerits of various public policy theories, I am choosing two approaches to theorising institutional behaviour here that will reflect both the structure of a system and the agency of policy actors within that.

Why would it be in the interest of academics, managers and senior managers – especially those at private HEIs - to conform to state accountability pressures? Here the concept of institutional isomorphism is helpful. DiMaggio and Powell (1991, 66) propose

that when institutional environments don't experience a high degree of open competition – such as the highly-regulated HE sector in Indonesia – a process of convergence or homogenisation occurs, or what is termed "institutional isomorphism". There are three main sources of isomorphic pressure: coercive, mimetic and normative. Government regulation falls under the first category of coercive isomorphism, which they define as: "both formal and informal pressures exerted by organizations on other organizations upon which they are dependent and by cultural expectations in the society within which organizations function" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, 67). Thus, we could view specific legislative requirements and ministerial regulations as the formal pressures in Indonesia coercing HEI behaviour towards certain policy objectives for quality and fair access. In addition, the accreditation ranking system plays into societal expectations of what a 'good' or 'accountable' educational institution is, further coercing institutions into compliance with state objectives for HE. The concept of coercive isomorphic pressures is, in other words, a helpful way to frame institutional responses to formal accountability pressures to the state, notably the accreditation system and curricular standardisation.

Isomorphism may also result from *mimetic* processes. Essentially, this is defined as "modelling" operations on other organisations that are viewed as "more legitimate or successful", as a response to "uncertainty" in the organisational environment (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, 70). Hence, we can expect mid-tier or low-tier institutions to emulate or at least partially adopt practices of more prestigious institutions. In the context of the Indonesian higher education system, which has been characterised by frequently changing and at times conflicting policy directions since 1998, it is possible that HEIs have been devising quality and fair access policies *mimetically* in response to the uncertain policy climate at the central government level. In other words, it is possible that HEIs are setting their own standards and norms for quality and fair access practices, driven by mimetic pressures to converge on the model of the historic flagship HEIs.

There is a third process that may also explain isomorphic tendencies in a system, one which occurs beyond the boundaries of a single institution. *Normative pressures* among job-specific groups at institutions may result in the professionalisation of institutional work. An example of this would be the managerialisation of job roles that were previously treated as part of academic administration and decision-making. Professionalisation is defined as "the collective struggle of members of an occupation to define the conditions and methods of their work" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, 70). Members of staff in such roles may show more loyalty to this professional identity deriving from the norms of their professional group (hence the term *normative* pressure), compared to the norms, behaviours, policies, practiced at their host institution. As DiMaggio and Powell (1991, 70) write, it is a collective effort "to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their

occupational autonomy." Professional associations are an important mechanism that cultivate and perpetuate these professional, normative pressures of isomorphism. In my analysis of Indonesian HEIs, then, I need to be mindful not lump all staff members in the same category as "HE staff" or "HE practitioners", conceptualised as uniform embodiments of their institutional culture. Instead, it might be certain professional job holders who are driving trends in quality and fair access policies across the sector. It is also important to remember that HE staff may conceptualise educational quality and fair access in ways that differ from the more bounded institutional policies and norms.

Of course, the insights above each assume that there *is* a homogenising trend towards isomorphism in the HE system. What, in turn, might account for institutional diversity, and possibly even institutional divergence from the formalised state objectives for educational quality and fair access? In fact, critics of isomorphism within the school of *new institutionalism* point out that it is limited to explaining *current* forms and functions of institutional isomorphism but not its *genesis*, in other words the reason why some institutional forms come into being in the first place (Brint & Karabel 1991, 344). The Indonesian HE system may be highly-regulated, but it is at the end of the day a semi-marketised system, with private-private competition and private-state competition for students being relatively free and open. HEIs do have a degree of autonomy and agency within the system. It is conceivable, then, that Indonesia's autonomous HEIs are sensitive to accountability pressures beyond the coercive forces of government, such as employment trends, economic sectors with the strongest potential for growth, and shifting demographic patterns.

It is helpful here to turn to the concept of opportunity seeking within organisational fields. Drawing on the empirical example of the shift away from a liberal arts orientation towards vocationalisation in American 2-year community colleges, Brint and Karabel (1991, 346) argue that "institutional interests are generated in the context of structures and spaces for opportunity in the environment". In other words, they highlight the *agency* and *responsiveness* of organisational leaders to opportunities in their organisational field. Of course, this agency is not limitless, but *constrained* by the general structures in the field. Accordingly, Brint and Karabel (1991) characterise organisational elites as "constrained entrepreneurs" (1991, 346). In the context of the Indonesian HE system, private HEIs face constraints in the form of accountability pressures to the state, a stronger dependency on student enrolments for income generation, a stronger need to validate their credentials to the public, as well as structural inequalities between the state and non-state sectors in the Indonesian HE system. Their agency, in turn, is demonstrated by pursuing their own specialised missions, and by occupying 'educational niches' in the HE market. Brint and Karabel's analysis is consistent with a sociological framing of policy

analysis according to *structuration theory*, as it simultaneously recognises the agentic role of institutions in responding actively to their organisational field, and acknowledges the confines of an externally constructed higher education market.

3.2   Part II: macro level perspectives of accountability in higher education

3.2.1   Overview: the many meanings of accountability

Having established the general approach to policy analysis that informs my conceptualisation of education policy, I now turn to the specific and concrete task of defining the central construct in the thesis, namely accountability in higher education. I first address macro level perspectives of accountability (Part II). By this I mean the perspective of national HE systems engaging and interacting with higher education institutions or other HE-relevant policy actors (such as professional associations). Following on from this, I will then turn to micro-level perspectives of accountability (Part III), which in contrast relate to an educator or practitioner perspective.

Accountability has multiple meanings in the field of higher education studies. At the macro-level, it has most commonly been associated with quality assurance systems. I begin the section with a discussion of accountability-as-quality assurance and its links to neoliberalism and New Public Management (NPM). I will demonstrate here that thanks to policy transfer, accountability-as-quality assurance has become a ubiquitous feature of many HE systems worldwide, including in the region of Southeast Asia. Yet at the same time, neoliberal policy approaches have not played out in the same way, and the seemingly 'universal' nature of accountability in higher education may not always ring true. In addition to the conventional view of accountability-as-quality assurance, I will then outline some alternative typologies of accountability. These comprise accountability to self-organising professional associations in the network governance model, or accountability to public scrutiny, citizen rights and student-centred concerns in the Neo-Weberian model. Finally, at the end of the section I return to the issue of fair access. Here I illustrate how HE systems have frequently been required to improve fair access in the name of accountability, even if these movements have occurred alongside a different discourse (such as 'social justice') than that of 'accountability'. I will end on observations of the current policy climate, which has seen a revival of accountability as a HE policy tool in both the quality and fair access dimensions.

3.2.2   The conventional neoliberal meaning: accountability-as-quality assurance

Accountability as a policy strategy in higher education has been linked by higher education theorists to a broader trend of neoliberalisation (Neave 1998; Maassen 1997; Ferlie et al. 2008). Neoliberalism is an ideology characterised by "the systematic use of

state power to impose (financial) market imperatives" (Saad-Filho & Johnstone, 2005, 3). Hence, it is often associated or equated with the policy strategy of *marketisation*, because a central assumption of the ideology is that economic activities and even public sector services should revolve around markets and consumer choice. The impact of neoliberalisation on public policy and the provision of public sector services has been described as a substitution of 'government' with 'governance' (Samier 2017, 1519). A common term used to describe this new style of arranging and managing public sector services is New Public Management (NPM) (ibid., 1519).

In terms of the impact of neoliberalism on the global HE reform agenda, we can witness a rise in the pursuit of market-oriented HE systems from the 1990s onwards (Johnstone et al. 1998, 3). As described above in Chapter 2, HE policy strategies or mechanisms associated with neoliberalism and marketisation include ones that depend on non-governmental revenue, for instance recovery-cost tuition fees, student loans, private HE provision, entrepreneurial activity, and philanthropy (Johnstone et al. 1998, 6). As a necessary part of this process, HE systems have undergone demands for greater accountability, as well as greater quality and efficiency (Johnstone et al. 1998, 4-5). Indeed, scholars of higher education have pointed out that accountability as a policy strategy in higher education embodies a changing relationship between the state and public higher education institutions. As NPM began to permeate approaches to HE development, states began to trade off managerial and financial autonomy to universities in exchange for more responsiveness and integration with the market. As part of this arrangement, states also put in place mechanisms to monitor universities such as audits or external evaluations - in other words quality assurance systems. Neave (1998) has described the role of the state in this arrangement as the "evaluative state", compared to the previously interventionist state. Maassen (1997) similarly describes how there has been a shift away from hard regulation to soft regulation, taking the form of contracts, targets, benchmarks, and performance indicators. In sum, in Europe at least, accountability came to signal or symbolise the introduction of marketisation as a government's main HE policy strategy, and the retreat of the state to a more supervisory role. Accountability also became equated with quality assurance mechanisms and performance-based funding mechanisms that characterise NPM.

Neoliberal policies and NPM have undeniably become ubiquitous, mainstream approaches in the domain of HE development. In the region of Southeast Asia, accountability-as-quality assurance has certainly become a key feature of the reform agenda espoused in the policy literature (Asian Development Bank 2012; Niedermeier & Pohlenz 2016). In Indonesia specifically, the World Bank has promoted HE reform that promotes quality in terms of efficiency of expenditure (World Bank 2004) and

responsiveness to the labour market (World Bank 2014; Rosser 2015a). The significance of quality assurance systems is evident in the formation of a regional qualifications framework – the ASEAN Qualifications Reference Framework (AQRF). The aim of this initiative is to "enhance the quality, regional competitiveness and internationalisation of ASEAN higher education institutions" (Bateman & Coles 2015, iv). Evidently, we can see elements of the global trends of neoliberalisation and accountability-as-quality assurance in Southeast Asian HE policy, including in Indonesia. We can view this as part of the global policy transfer of educational policies.

Yet, neoliberal HE reforms, and the rise of accountability-as-quality assurance, have not always taken shape in the same way across the globe. Instead, such policies have been mediated by local policy needs and historico-political backdrops. This has been demonstrated whether in the case of the developing world in general (Naidoo 2011), Latin America (Torres & Schugurensky 2002), or in Africa (Varghese 2013). For example, marketisation was adopted differentially across East Africa (Munene 2015). In Uganda and Kenya, marketisation policies were adopted much sooner than in Tanzania, in line with the implementation of a neoliberal approach to HE development in these two countries. In contrast, the encroachment of marketisation was delayed and tempered in Tanzania, where the legacy of *ujamaa* (President Nyerere's brand of socialism) continued to influence the political and policy context. Likewise, the analysis of Indonesian accountability reforms in Chapter 2 has demonstrated competing global and local forces in shaping accountability reform. Initially, accountability policies were introduced as part of the global policy transfer of neoliberal rationales for HE development and marketisation. Yet, those aspects of neoliberalism and marketisation that were considered counterproductive to local policy concerns of social justice and fair access were ultimately halted. Hence, it is important for the policy analyst to bear in mind that accountability-as-quality assurance can signify different things in different country contexts, even if on the outside it appears to be a familiar and universal phenomenon.

3.2.3 Alternative perspectives: network governance and Neo-Weberian narratives

The section above has established that accountability-as-quality assurance in the conventional neoliberal sense is not as straightforward or universal a concept as it might at first glance appear to be. Having established this, the following section now turns to reviewing some alternative conceptualisations of accountability in higher education.

About a decade after the scholarship on accountability-as-quality assurance emerged in the 1990s, a more complex picture of HE governance and policy strategies began to emerge in the field of higher education studies. Perhaps the contribution that has had

the greatest impact was an article by Ferlie, Musselin and Andresani (2008) which sought to enrich or elaborate theory of HE governance by drawing on insights from broader public policy theories and institutional theory. The authors (ibid.) argued that previous attempts to analyse the impact of neoliberalisation on higher education systems were limited because they narrowed the scope to state-HEI relationships. For instance, Burton Clark's (1983) famous triangle of HE-state-market interaction precludes a role for policy actors beyond this scope (Ferlie et al. 2008, 330). Instead, they argue, we should broaden our view of policy actors, interest groups, and ideologies involved in the process of policy formulation beyond the major institutions of the state (such as the finance ministry, the education ministry). Instead, they advocated for a political economy approach to studies of HE governance (ibid., 328-9). In this vein, their critique of earlier conceptualisations of neoliberalisation and accountability-as-quality assurance echoes the same attacks laid at the institutional rational choice approach in public policy studies by proponents of the advocacy coalition framework and implementation studies.

Based on empirical examples from the European context, Ferlie et al. (2008) define three major "narratives of public sector reform" that each result in different approaches to developing and managing a country's HE sector (ibid., 334). The first narrative is that of New Public Management (NPM). (This definition of NPM is consistent with the definition of neoliberal approaches to public sector reform discussed above.) This approach to governance aims to create a "smaller, more efficient and more results-oriented public sector" whose operations are driven by "incentives and performance" (ibid., 335). NPM is portrayed as a primarily top-down approach, often instigated from the finance ministry to other more implementation-oriented ministries or lower-tier departments. The authors list 10 characteristics of a HE sector governed by this approach. The ones most relevant to the topic of accountability-as-quality assurance are the use of monitoring and audit systems and the use of performance contracts and performance-based funding for HEIs. Another important feature is marketisation. Governments raise the cost of tuition fees with the expectation that this will create "empowered student-consumers" who will encourage competition among HEIs and thereby improve their teaching quality (ibid., 335).

The second narrative is that of *network governance*. In contrast to NPM, this approach is portrayed as working horizontally across government and other policy lobbies/interest groups, rather than functioning vertically through the various layers of government. In NPM, policies are driven by considerations of efficiency and value for money, whereas in the network governance narrative, the legitimacy and knowledge base for policy agendas becomes much more important. As Ferlie et al. (2008) explain: "Knowledge and *best practice* spreads across the network, based in high trust, repeated interactions and

a *clannish* culture [emphasis in original]" (ibid. 337). The authors list 11 characteristics of a HE system shaped by *network governance*. The features most relevant to accountability are light-touch audit systems, pluralist accountability relationships to a range of non-governmental stakeholders, self-steering policy groups, and the higher education ministry adopting an indirect role (ibid. 337-338). Additionally, quality enhancement initiatives are mainly the result of shared problem-solving and best practice diffusion via higher education networks (ibid. 338).

Recalling the discussion of public policy theory in the preceding chapter, we can see that the network governance approach is consistent with the advocacy coalition framework. In this set-up, we would expect national, regional, or even international professional associations to play a prominent role in shaping institutional policy and practice. The network governance approach also resonates with the concept of mimetic isomorphism. According to this theory, institutions would not adopt quality policies as a result of vertical accountability to the state. Instead, they would do so as a result of horizontal accountability pressure to meet the expectations and standards of other institutions in the higher education field. Accountability in the case of mimetic isomorphism reflects a high-accountability/high-trust pairing, as accountability is experienced at the level of peers or counterparts. This is in contrast to the high-accountability/low-trust pairing experienced by institutions in the NPM model.

Finally, the third narrative that Ferlie et al. (2008) propose is Neo-Weberian. It is Weberian in the sense that it seeks to re-instate key features of the Weberian strong state. These include a commitment to bureaucratic processes policed by a "well-developed civil service" for the sake of ensuring procedural fairness and "due process" (ibid., 339). It also entails a commitment to the state as "the main facilitator of solutions to new social and political problems" (ibid., 339). Related to these two points is also a policy formulation approach that emphasises representative democracy (ibid., 339). In terms of our understanding of accountability, it is important to note the key role of legislation in the Weberian system of government as a tool for representing and protecting citizen rights (ibid., 339). A novel characteristic of the Neo-Weberian narrative includes an "external orientation in meeting citizens' needs" (ibid., 339). This public-facing and student-centred orientation is reflected in HE planning and quality assurance systems, and may entail the use of consultative processes where stakeholders feed into policy formulation (ibid., 339). Under this approach to HE development, accountability is more than an NPM tool that is used by the government to assure the quality of HE according to generic, efficiency-driven indicators. Rather, quality is made accountable to a broader sense of public scrutiny, where students and citizens are also viewed as a source of accountability pressure in a substantive sense.

It is important to note that the three narratives are not intended as mutually exclusive categories. Indeed, precisely because the authors accept that a wide array of policy actors or interest groups are involved in shaping policy at any given moment, we can expect any combination of these three patterns to co-occur, or to overlap as one pattern rises to domination over another pre-existing one. Indeed, the *multiplicity* of approaches to HE development covered in the framework by Ferlie et al. (2008) is its key strength. It is a particularly helpful framework for positioning Indonesia's accountability reforms because the policy climate of the post-Soeharto era was dynamic and evolving. The currents or narratives of neoliberalism and NPM were certainly present, but it would be mistaken to frame accountability reforms entirely against this single policy trend. Indeed, we can see features of a network governance and Neo-Weberian rationale for HE development being applied in the case of Indonesia's accountability reforms. The shift from output-based accreditation to outcomes-based accreditation by independent accreditation bodies (LAM) reflects a shift from a purely NPM approach to assuring quality to a network governance model. LAM and professional associations are envisaged as the more authoritative, more competent and more effective policy actors to take on the job of degree programme level quality assurance. Professional associations and LAM can be viewed as self-organising, high-trust policy networks that drive beliefs and practices of educational quality. Secondly, the harnessing or co-opting of accountability mechanisms for the purpose of making access to higher education fairer and more transparent reflects a shift away from a purely NPM rationale for HE development and the rise of a Neo-Weberian model instead. In the current policy framework, the state intervenes directly in institutional practices in the name of protecting citizen rights, and the constitutional right to receive an education.

3.2.4 Fair access: the formerly absent partner in the accountability equation

The survey above of the multiple conceptualisations of accountability in higher education studies has demonstrated a tendency to position accountability in relation to the issue of educational quality alone. In this section I propose that accountability can be invoked as a higher education policy tool to serve both quality and fair access aims, even if accountability has come to be associated primarily with the domain of educational quality. Concretely, the analysis of Indonesia's accountability reforms in Chapter 2 has highlighted the way in which accountability mechanisms are indeed harnessed both for assuring educational quality (SN-Dikti, accreditation) and for ensuring fair access (the 20% admissions quota, UKT fees, Bidikmisi and ADik Papua/3T). Theoretically speaking, the point I make above about Neo-Weberian rationales for HE development and the protection of fair access as a citizen right also links back to the second theme in the thesis of *accountability-as-fair access*.

Admittedly, fair access policies have more conventionally been associated with discourses of social justice, rather than a discourse of accountability. The way in which HE systems have been held to account over fair access has tended to remain locally-specific, and linked to particular (rather than universal) notions of fairness. For instance, a recent review of global inequalities in access to HE has proposed at least 10 student characteristics that may be considered within a national fair access scenario, namely: socio-economic background, gender, ethnicity, disability, religion, indigenous group, rural background, mature learner, refugee status, and linguistic group (Atherton et al. 2016, 14). The point here is that the meaning of 'fair access' is relative and locally-defined.

A concrete example of how fair access policies emerge in response to particular, nationalistic agendas is the case of fair access to HE in Brazil. Brazil's fair access policies were introduced as part of the National Affirmative Action Programme (PNAA) of 2002. This was a broader, national scheme which sought to redress racial inequality between black and indigenous groups and white Brazilians (Somers et al. 2013, 204). The fact that fair access in Brazil revolves around race reflects its particular historical context, or in other words the history of slavery and racial inequality. Another example of a fair access policy emerging directly in response to a country's unique political history would be the fair access reforms in post-Apartheid South Africa. In 1997, the government passed the White Paper on A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education, which included several measures to redress decades of racial segregation and institutional inequality in higher education (Bunting et al. 2010; Nieuwenhuis & Sehoole 2013). For instance, the government imposed university mergers between the historically advantaged institutions that had served the white population, and historically disadvantaged institutions that had served the black population.

Fair access policies need not emerge as a means to redress historical inequalities. Rather, they can also be introduced in a forward-planning manner to enhance social and economic prospects for future national development. For instance, the United States of America (USA) introduced several measures to enhance fair access in support of social mobility and economic development in the post-World War II context (St. John, 2013). First, the G.I Bill was passed in 1944, which subsidised HE study for ex-servicemen returning from duty in the second world war. The USA then continued to invest in financial aid schemes to enhance fair access to HE for all income groups (and eventually, racial groups to redress inequalities caused by slavery and segregation) throughout the 1950s-70s, most notably via the Pell Grants scheme introduced in 1972 (ibid.). Another example of a forward-planning fair access policy is the Scandinavian model of free higher education. The post-war Nordic countries went further than the USA and introduced free

higher education as part of the Welfare State model of development. This model, advocated by economists such as Gunnar Myrdal, assumes a "virtuous circle between democracy, social justice and economic growth" (Jalava 2013, 81). In effect, free higher education is used as a tool to remove social inequalities (ibid.). Indeed, the Nordic model has been credited with achieving large degrees of gender and socio-economic equity in HE access.

Meanwhile, accountability-as-quality assurance has had little to say over the issue of fair access. Indeed, scholars have pointed out that in the neoliberal rationale for HE development, educational quality and fair access are even pitched as competing or conflicting priorities - they represent a dilemma that nation states must choose between (Meyer et al. 2013). The social justice argument for fair access is lost as the policy concerns of cost-efficiency and excellence take precedence (ibid.). According to this view, policymaking at the national level is characterised by a tension between either concentrating limited state resources into pockets of excellence (for instance the Chinese or Korean model), or spreading the resources thin for the sake of regional equality (for instance the Finnish or German model). Accountability-as-quality is hence viewed as a separate policy strategy to fair access programmes.

In more recent times, however, there has been a shift to viewing quality and fair access as a joint policy concern. This has come not so much as a result of the 'accountability-as-quality' camp showing a renewed interest in the topic of equitable or fair access, but rather as a result of the 'quality factor' being incorporated into theories of fair access/equity in the field of HE studies. For instance, Brennan and Naidoo (2008) have raised concerns about "vertical diversification" in massified HE systems, whereby access to HE for previously marginalised groups becomes limited to lower-quality institutions. In a similar vein, Marginson (2016) has warned that in countries with pre-existing trends of high social inequality, those inequalities simply get reconstructed in higher education systems, leading to "stratification" of quality. This has led scholars to argue that there is a need to examine the qualitative, social justice dimension to access to ensure that students are gaining access to HE that is of meaningful quality to them (Schendel & McCowan 2016). McCowan (2016) has proposed a three-point framework for assessing fair access policies which includes the criteria of accessibility, availability and *horizontality*. The inclusion of the third criterion of horizontality is intended to assess whether there is *consistent quality* across HE institutions rather than stratification of quality.

This focus on the nexus between fair access and educational quality in the field of higher education studies is also reflected in the broader field of development studies. From the 1990s onwards, theories of development have diversified to expand beyond economic

measures that focus on income (such as GNI per capita, poverty measures, labour market outcomes of graduates). For instance, Amartya Sen (1999) has proposed that the economically-framed human capital approach to development should be complemented by a human capability approach. What he means by this is the citizens' capability to pursue freedoms that enhance their material *and social* well-being, with an emphasis on their capacity to participate in democratic discussion over those decisions about what kind of development is desirable. In this approach, the qualitative aspect of higher education participation becomes important, as the educational quality must be judged in terms of democratically agreed social objectives for well-being, not just GPAs or graduate employment statistics.

Sen's work on the capability approach has had an enormous impact on the field of development studies. Indeed, whether directly or indirectly, it has contributed to a contemporary conceptualisation of development as "inclusive development". Like the human capability approach, inclusive development goes beyond a narrow definition of development as a 'primarily economic process', to 'one with an integral focus on the achievement of equity and the rights of citizenship' (Hickey 2013, 3). This approach to researching and doing development actively seeks to identify and overcome the 'second order' effects of public policy and instead ensure that development benefits all groups in society, not just privileged ones. Scholars of the human development approach have likewise contributed to theorisations of educational quality and fair access in a manner that highlights inclusive, democratic and participatory ideals. A concrete example of how these ideas about educational quality, fair access, social well-being, inclusivity and democratic participation combine to serve the purpose of higher education can be found in Boni and Gasper's (2012, 463-5) four-point framework for higher education provision. They propose a holistic conceptualisation of higher education quality that addresses four human development ideals: well-being; participation and empowerment; equity and diversity; and sustainability.

To reiterate, there have been significant theoretical 'moves' in the field of higher education studies and development studies to bring quality and fair access together as part of a joint policy issue. Alongside this development, the tendency to integrate both quality and fair access dimensions holistically into one overarching education policy framework has also become evident in the global education policymaking sphere. This stance has become an increasingly common feature at the United Nations (UN) departments (notably UNESCO and UNDP). A concrete example of the UN now making states accountable for both the quality of their higher education provision and fair access to it is Goal 4 the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2015). Goal 4 calls upon UN members to "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong

learning opportunities for all' (ibid.) The 2017 Global Education Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2017) took accountability as its key theme, and in effect was the first major UN publication to interrogate the performance of UN member states in meeting the objectives of "inclusive and equitable quality education". It is a vivid example of how accountability has now come to be associated not only with the issue of educational quality but also with fair access at the mainstream policy level.

Admittedly, the pairing of educational quality and fair access as a holistic educational objective is not an entirely new phenomenon. Indeed, the following section turns to discussing pedagogical and values-based framings of educational quality that have been put forward by education practitioners and scholars. In these instances, there is often an explicit link between accountability of educational quality and fair access. The purpose here in this section has been to highlight the fact that at the *macro* level of mainstream, global education policies, there has been a revival or renewed sense that accountability should mean both accountability-as-quality and accountability-as-fair access.

3.3 Part III: micro level perspectives of accountability in higher education

3.3.1 Overview: from tokenism to socially just pedagogy

The following section now turns to a discussion of micro level perspectives of accountability in higher education. This will entail shifting from a national, systems-level perspective of HE to considering issues that are very intimately connected to the practice of teaching. In the first section, I will outline pedagogical framings of accountability. These comprise critiques of the NPM accountability-as-quality assurance regime as tokenistic or ritualistic, and calls for alternative, knowledge-based definitions of quality such as student engagement, deep learning, watershed moments and intellectual transformation. (Given the confines of the thesis, the discussion here is deliberately indicative rather than comprehensive). In the second section, I will turn to social and personal framings of educational quality. Here I will outline two major theoretical concepts that I employ throughout my data analysis, namely Biesta's (2009) framework of the three functions of education (qualification, socialisation and subjectification) and Barnett's (2007) distinction between pedagogical/epistemological versus educational/ontological voice. I will also briefly discuss indigenous conceptualisations of quality in Indonesia and the values basis that they draw upon. Much like in the section above on macro-level perspectives, the closing section will conclude with the observation that quality and fair access can be very intimately connected. Indeed, in the practitioner context, accountability can be 're-claimed' to mean so much more than just quality assurance, and instead lead us toward the goal of "socially-just pedagogy" (Walker & Wilson-Strydom 2017).

3.3.2 Pedagogical framings of educational quality

Pedagogical framings of educational quality centre on the learner's relationship to knowledge. The accountability-as-quality assurance model has been critiqued by HE practitioners for downplaying, if not outright neglecting this key pedagogical concern. For instance, Harvey & Green (1993) proposed that definitions of quality vary according to stakeholder perspectives, with quality being described either as "exceptional or excellence", "perfection or consistency", "fitness for purpose", "value for money", and finally "transformation of the learner". Arguably, only the fifth and final conceptualisation is pedagogically and academically grounded, focusing on the transformative and beneficial potential for students as *learners*. Not surprisingly, HE practitioners have described a widespread policy fatigue with accountability-as-quality assurance, with state-HEI responses being characterised by low trust/autonomy and performativity.

A key criticism laid at accountability-as-quality assurance by academics is that it shows a lack of trust in the professional self-organisation and self-regulation of academics. Trow (1994), writing from the Anglo-American context more broadly, described this as a form of academic de-professionalisation. Cognisant that the introduction of quality assurance systems were related to a political process of neoliberalisation and NPM, Newton describes how by the end of the 1990s, many academics (in England) had grown increasingly "sceptical of, and resistant to, the growth of the 'quality industry' and 'quality burden'" (Newton 2002, 40). Jim Graham (2009) - again from an English HEI – has even gone so far as to describe quality assurance (QA) as a sickness or "pathology", which reflects a low trust but high accountability system of HE management. In sum, the rise of accountability-as-quality assurance has been experienced by HE staff as an attack on professional autonomy and an erosion of trust in academics to assure the quality of their education provision. Accountability-as-quality assurance has constituted an unwelcome tool of NPM that is openly questioned by practitioners for its neglect of pedagogical and knowledge-based framings of quality.

A second key critique of QA systems revolves around performativity and compliance. The central argument is that accountability breeds a separate notion of quality improvement expressed through *performativity* and *compliance*, in contrast to actual *educational* improvement (Newton 2002; D'Andrea 2007). To be clear, they purport that the actual educational quality for students does not necessarily improve, even if the performance of an institution in a formalised quality assessment mechanism does improve. Newton draws on theories of performativity from the sociologist Erving Goffman (1959, 1973), who "portrayed social actors as performing on different stages in everyday life" (Goffman 1959, cited in Newton 2002, 43). Accordingly, social behaviour – such as institutional participation in quality assurance regimes - can be understood as

"impression management" or "dramaturgical performance" (ibid.). Likewise, Newton (2002, 43) argues that academics engage with accountability-as-quality assurance only to the extent of "ritualism" or "tokenism". Insiders from the UK's Quality Assurance Agency (QAA) have confirmed these claims by higher education scholars. For instance, an assessor involved in providing training on QA to institutions is quoted as having said that: "*The dons have outsmarted the government by turning the exercise [of the teaching quality assessment] into a game and playing it brilliantly*" (THES, 2001, 7, cited in Newton, 2002, 45). Given the first research finding about accountability mechanisms signifying a breach of trust, it is not surprising that a related finding is that academics engage with accountability regimes on a superficial, performative level, one that is detached from their primary, pedagogical concerns.

While these findings claim to describe the general trend among HE staff, Newton (2002) makes a further case that academics' responses to accountability-as-quality assurance vary depending on institutional prestige and job role of staff. He argues that higher prestige institutions in England have tended to conceptualise or brand their version of quality as *excellence*, whereas lower tier HEIs have tended to stick to a more functional and less challenging task of meeting quality as *fitness for purpose* (2002, 45). In a sense, the lower prestige institutions have turned their attention to meeting minimum standards of education provision rather than *setting* standards of excellence, as the elite players claim to do. This observation resonates with insights from Ball (1993) about the differential outcomes of policies, and the fact that policies enter existing patterns of inequality in an education system. The second key point that Newton (2002, 46) makes is that staff from different job role categories respond to accountability-as-quality assurance differently. Survey results from a longitudinal study on QA in England revealed that managers tended to view participation in QA exercises more positively, whereas the regular lecturer cadre were less likely to believe that their institution had achieved improvements for students, better teamwork, or improvements in quality of staff (ibid. 46). This finding resonates with Barrett's conceptualisation of policy implementation as a 'negotiated order' between policy actors who are positioned at different tiers on the power hierarchy. QA systems may serve the interests of those higher up the power structure more so than those lower down.

In response to this kind of policy fatigue with accountability-as-quality assurance described above, HE practitioners have called for a reorientation of accountability and quality discourses to the "quality-as-transformation" meaning (Harvey & Knight 1996). The goal is to put concepts about knowledge and learning at the core of the accountability debate. D'Andrea (2007, 212) describes how educators at the micro level are driven primarily by the intrinsic value of higher education, defined as "liberal ideals of pursuit of

knowledge and personal intellectual transformation". This is in contrast to the way that the purpose of higher education is often defined by governments in extrinsic terms, i.e. the economic needs of society (ibid., 212). D'Andrea argues that practitioners tend to be more responsive to a quality *enhancement* model, rather than a quality assessment one. This is because the *enhancement* model is more conducive to reflective, developmental and transformative work on quality, and more compatible with the conceptualisation of higher education as an intellectually transformative experience (ibid., 211).

Implementing a quality enhancement model means making the success of student learning accountable to a theory of learning, rather than a generic, quantitative indicator (such as completion rates). An example would be gauging the extent to which students engage with their learning at the surface level versus deep level (Marton & Säljö 1976). In other words, is their learning oriented to short-term objectives, practiced through the act of memorisation, or is their learning oriented to long-term objectives, practiced through meaningful engagement with learning content. Making educational quality accountable to theories of learning would also entail redesigning degree programme syllabi and student assessment tasks in a manner that fosters greater student engagement and deep learning (Biggs 1999; Gibbs 2007; Gibbs & Dunbar-Goddet 2007).

Making educational quality accountable to learning theory could also refer to issues about student voice and student ownership, not just cognitive and knowledge-based outcomes. For instance, applying human learning theory to modes of quality enhancement would entail making the learning process more accountable to students. This might be in terms of their participation during in-class tasks and the use of student-centred learning (D'Andrea 2007, 215), or in terms of student input into curriculum design to adequately reflect their diverse backgrounds and needs (ibid., 218). Indeed, student evaluations first emerged in the 1960s precisely as this kind of tool that could give students 'voice' in designing the curriculum and deciding on appropriate learning approaches (ibid.).

A final point to note about pedagogical framings of educational quality is that they take place within confines of discipline-specific groups of academics. Studies in the context of the U.K. have certainly highlighted that educators mediate or adapt QA systems to suit the norms of their respective scientific fields (Henkel 2000; 2005). In the context of Thailand and Indonesia, studies have shown that there has tended to be more resistance to QA systems in the humanities and arts disciplines (Lao 2015; Gaus & Hall 2016). This is because the quantitative nature of NPM-style accountability regimes is considered particularly incompatible with the approaches to knowledge in the arts and humanities

disciplines. In line with this, we can expect micro-level perspectives of accountability to remain discipline-specific.

Some of these micro-level conceptualisations of accountability and educational quality have already broken through to the domain of macro-level accountability tools. Concrete examples of system-wide accountability mechanisms that are pedagogically-framed include the Course Experience Questionnaire (CEQ) in Australia, the National Survey of Student Engagement (NASSE) used in U.S.A., the National Student Survey (NSS) in England, and more recently the South African Survey of Student Engagement (SASSE). There is a caveat in this regard, though. When such micro-level pedagogical framings permeate macro-level accountability systems, their purpose tends to morph into a summative exercise, reflecting the principles of behaviourist learning theory rather than a humanist learning theory (D'Andrea 2007, 218). For instance, student evaluations are often used in a retrospective manner as tools to pass judgement on teachers, without any developmental, forward-feeding element to their use. If there is no follow-up action to the student surveys, this defeats the purpose of the survey as a tool to channel student voice and foster student ownership of their learning. Regarding the CEQ, the Australian government has used CEQ results in league tables of university performance, once again reflecting a behaviourist approach to using student data (ibid.).

In sum, once such pedagogically-framed definitions of educational quality enter the sphere of national accountability systems, they often change from their original purpose and become removed from the primary concern of pedagogy, knowledge and intellectual transformation. This often leads to a policy fatigue with accountability on the part of HE practitioners. Nevertheless, in their day-to-day practice, HE staff may continue to experience strong accountability pressure to principles from learning theory. In other words, they continue to employ a definition of educational quality that is pedagogically-framed. Meanwhile, HE staff often downplay or rationalise accountability pressures exerted on them via macro-level accountability systems (such as QA evaluations, accreditation), treating these activities in "ritualistic" or "tokenistic" ways (Newton 2002).

3.3.3 Social and personal framings of educational quality

The following section moves on from pedagogical framings of educational quality to discuss *social* and *personal* framings of educational quality. In other words, I move on to discussion frameworks where educational quality is made accountable to *social* or *personal* goals. Social goals refer to values such as social cohesion, social integration, equality and diversity, whereas personal goals refer to values such as self-confidence, self-development or self-empowerment. For the purpose of the development of the argument in this chapter, I treat pedagogical and social/personal framings as two distinct

approaches to defining quality, although admittedly there is often much overlap between the two. For instance, both humanist learning theory (D'Andrea 2007) and a human development approach to higher education (Boni & Gasper 2012) make explicit claims about which social or personal values are desirable (such as the social goal of equity and diversity in the human development approach, and the personal goal of empowerment in humanist learning theory). In this section, however, I wish to focus on two theoretical frameworks that deal very explicitly with the social and personal dimensions of learning. In this way, they differ somewhat from the theories of learning discussed above, which in turn are characterised by the more immediate or narrower concern of a learner's relationship to knowledge. The theories are Biesta's (2009) typology of the three functions of education (qualification, socialisation and subjectification), and Barnett's (2007) pairing of pedagogical/epistemological voice versus educational/ontological voice. These concepts will prove helpful in characterising the different approaches to educational quality at the three case study institutions included in the research design.

Biesta's (2009) framework of the three *qualification*, *socialisation* and *subjectification* functions of education was originally devised in the context of secondary education in the U.K. The *qualification* function is about: "…providing [students] with the knowledge, skills and understanding and often also with the dispositions and forms of judgement that allow them to 'do something' (ibid., 39). In other words, it is concerned with the content of learning that can help lead students to the skills, jobs, or qualities they will need in their future lives. *Socialisation*, in turn, is defined as: "…the many ways in which, through education, we become members of and part of particular social, cultural and political 'orders' " (ibid., 40). This can be deliberate, for example when certain desirable social values are taught and rewarded explicitly through citizenship modules or school behaviour policies. Socialisation may also occur unconsciously or invisibly through the cultural practices of school staff and students. Finally, *subjectification* is concerned with facilitating personal transformation and self-discovery. Biesta describes it in opposition to subjectification: "It is precisely *not* about the insertion of 'newcomers' into existing orders, but about ways of being that hint at independence from such orders; ways of being in which the individual is not simply a 'specimen' of a more encompassing order." (2009, 40).

Biesta concedes that there can be overlap between the three categories. Nonetheless, the concepts of socialisation and subjectification are helpful in expressing in an overarching, generic way what a school or an educator is doing when they are trying to educate a student beyond the knowledge-based confines of *qualification*. Put simply, the socialisation function of education is about answering the question – *what kind of a*

society are we working towards, and how do we want to cultivate those values that we hold dear in our society among our students? The subjectification function of education in turn answers the question – *what kind of person are we seeking to develop, and how can we devise our educational activities in support of that goal?* The three case study institutions included in the research design all have different institutional missions - and related to this point, they each live by a different set of social and personal goals. The qualification/socialisation/subjectification framework is thus helpful in drawing out some of the similarities and differences between each institution's approaches to educational quality. An educator at institution A will tend to feel accountability pressure to a set of social and personal goals favoured at institution A, while an educator at institution B will feel accountability pressure to another set of social and personal goals that are favoured at institution B, and so on. (Beyond this institutional environment, they may of course also exercise their own sense of accountability to personal or professional norms and values. Nevertheless, the concepts of socialisation and subjectification are helpful for making generalisations about the institutional environment.)

In my data analysis, I will also draw comparisons between Biesta's framework above with Barnett's (2007) concepts of epistemological/pedagogical voice on the one hand, and ontological/educational voice on the other. (Unlike in the case of Biesta's framework, Barnett generated these concepts specifically to describe the empirical world of higher education). Firstly, cultivating students' pedagogical voice relates to the cognitive dimension of learning, in other words developing students' fluency in the norms of communication and scholarship within an academic discipline (Barnett 2007, 91). Barnett also calls this *epistemological* voice, as the learning process works toward the learner gaining an awareness of their subject epistemology (ibid., 95). In other words, learners come to understand what kind of knowledge claims are valid and possible (i.e. what kind of conclusions and inferences are acceptable), and how members of their particular scientific community go about making such knowledge claims (i.e. which research methods are acceptable). There are parallels here with the pedagogical framing of educational quality described above. It is about framing educational objectives in terms of the learner's relationship to discipline-specific knowledge. Learning is accountable to pedagogically-framed or knowledge-based objectives.

Educational voice, in contrast, refers to the student's "metaphorical and transformative" voice (ibid. 91), and requires a far more reflexive thought process from the student. It relates to their self-development more holistically – not only in relation to disciplinary knowledge (as the pedagogically-framed understandings of quality see it), but also in terms of their relationship to their wider environment as a human being. Educational voice thus gets at the transformative potential of education – both on a personal and

social level. This second type of educational activity can also be understood as fostering a learner's *ontological* voice, as opposed to their epistemological voice. By this Barnett means "that emerging capacity to strike out on one's own, and to form one's own view of one's intellectual and professional field" (2007, 96). Ontology, after all, is not just about our approach to knowledge claims, but our approach to reality and being in general. As Barnett explains: "it is more that learners be certain kinds of person – that they take on certain kinds of *being* in the world [emphasis in original]" (2018, 101). Although Barnett is adamant that each institution should take ownership of deciding its own preferred set of social and personal values, he argues that these should nevertheless be grounded in a sense of ecological connectedness with the wider world. For instance, an ecological curriculum would invite students to develop knowledge *alongside* developing their sense of self and an awareness of the wider world:

> The chemistry student might be encouraged to explore – with some study in the field – the place of the chemical industry and its effects on the total human and natural environment … The geology student might be required to engage with peoples in a traditional culture in settings for field trips. … The student in nursing studies or medicine could be invited to reflect upon and give a systematic account of his/her felt experiences of clinical exposure to hospital settings. (Barnett 2018, 114).

In Barnett's view, then, disciplinary knowledge in and of itself is something rather limited or lacking. It is only when such knowledge is situated in a real world, ecological context that knowledge and the learner can come into their own. A related point is that an ecologically-framed curriculum and ecological approach to learning is deliberately challenging. Learning is about *ethical* choices (Barnett 2018, 101). This resonates with other scholarship that has sought to explain the transformative potential of knowledge on the learner's sense of self and society. Ashwin et al. (2013) consider student progress in relation to what they call "watershed moments" as students develop an increasingly complex relationship to disciplinary knowledge. For instance, accountancy students may move from an initial understanding of the discipline as routine work, to a more complex understanding of it as meaningful work, to ultimately viewing it as moral work (Sin et al. 2012, cited in Ashwin et al. 2013, 221). In this view, the ability of a student to make links between a narrow set of disciplinary knowledge and the wider world (other forms of knowledge, society) is an indicator of a high-quality education.

In sum, when teachers deliberately foster their students' pedagogical or epistemological voice, they are doing so primarily in relation to the *qualification* function of education. To a limited extent, they are also doing so in relation to the socialisation function of education – albeit socialisation in terms of *academic socialisation* (Lea & Street 2000, 34-35), rather than socialisation into the values of the institution or indeed the national culture more

generally. Furthermore, when teachers deliberately foster their students' educational or ontological voice, they are doing so in relation to the *subjectification* function of education. In order to be able to reflect critically on one's own "intellectual and professional field", and make ethical and philosophical judgements about knowledge, a student must have reached a certain degree of self-awareness and self-belief as a *subject* – as a member of society in their own right. In line with these concepts, we can anticipate that educators might feel accountable to pedagogical aims that relate to social and personal transformation, not just pedagogical outcomes that relate to the cognitive aspect of learning (i.e. knowledge, skills, competencies, qualifications).

3.3.4 Socially just pedagogy: quality and fair access as a joint concern

In this final section, I will demonstrate that the micro-level, practitioner perspective of accountability in higher education lends itself very aptly to viewing quality and fair access as a joint concern. As already intimated in the sections above on pedagogical, social and personal framings of educational quality, educators are often concerned with the moral or ethical implications and effects of learning – both at the social and the personal level. Knowledge and the experience of learning in a higher education setting are two very powerful things that can have a transformative effect on the learner, the educator and the society to which they belong. Once we accept this premise, it becomes clear that there is then propensity for issues about social justice and fairness to feature importantly in higher education quality.

Recently, there has been a move within the field of higher education studies to explicitly connect issues of social justice and fair access to framings of educational quality and pedagogy. In Walker and Wilson-Strydom's (2017) edited volume of a series of conference papers concerned with social justice issues in higher education, they introduce the term "socially just pedagogy" to refer collectively to this emerging field of research. Of course, social justice and fair access issues have frequently been discussed in the context of higher education. However, this has mostly addressed the question of how disadvantaged students can be assisted in accessing higher education, and in achieving comparable outcomes to their more privileged peers. This kind of research thus lends itself to macro-level or systems-wide perspectives of accountability, for example by investigating which kind of financial aid policies are most effective in boosting participation of under-represented groups. In research on socially just pedagogy, on the other hand, the primary focus is about how social justice issues and fairness play out in the everyday practice of teaching and learning. This line of research speaks particularly well to a micro-level perspective of accountability and educational quality, as it places pedagogy and classroom beliefs and practices at the heart of investigation:

Since teaching and learning, or pedagogy, is one of the core functions of universities, pedagogic practice provides an important site in which inequalities, both within and influenced from outside of the university, can be reinforced or challenged. Pedagogy enables us to ask crucial questions about the what, the who, and above all, the how of achieving more equality and more justice in higher education settings (Walker & Wilson-Strydom 2017, 9).

In concrete terms, socially just pedagogy can manifest in the content and process of learning, for instance in curriculum design. Jenkins et al. (2017, 51) describe how a sociology department at a UK university revised their sociology curriculum to more appropriately address the needs of their changing student demographic, which had seen an increase in Asian-Muslim students and female students. The revised curriculum was an attempt to move away from lecturers' personal biases and instead create space to recognise the lived experience of their *students,* and allow them to draw on those experiences in their learning journey. For instance, the revised curriculum allowed students to do so through the use of autobiographical methods in the module 'gender and school'. Socially just pedagogy can also relate to even simple logistical arrangements. Such basic things as physical access to the learning space can become compromised when rules about being late for class fail to show sensitivity toward learners' realities. Wilson-Strydom (2017, 83) describes how a lecturer at a university in South Africa linked classroom rules about being late to socially just practices:

Many of my students must take a bus from Botshabelo every morning and they sleep in a shack on the floor, and many have not eaten breakfast this morning. So, if someone is a little late for class, let them come in, let them come in [earlier in the interview Jenna had discussed how some of her colleagues lock the door to the classroom at the start of the class and will not allow late comers to enter].

Somewhat surprisingly, the field of socially just pedagogy remains under-researched, reflecting an overall emphasis on macro-level perspectives of fair access in the higher education literature. Indeed, Walker and Wilson-Strydom conclude that: *"fine-grained, micro-level investigation of pedagogies oriented to justice in higher education is still remarkably under-researched, notwithstanding a voluminous literature on 'teaching and learning' in higher education."* (2017, 9) Of course, if we take the long view, we can see that educators, practitioners, philosophers and education researchers alike have indeed connected issues of accountability, quality and fair access throughout history, (albeit more so from the perspective of primary education and not higher education). It is beyond the scope of thesis to give a comprehensive survey of such theories and philosophies, but it is helpful to give a few indicative examples here. For instance, the work of John Dewey was hugely influential in addressing issues about participatory democracy and education in early 20th century U.S.A, most notably through his work Democracy and

Education (1918). In more recent American history, the *Journal of Equity and Excellence* has (since the 1960s) tackled important issues surrounding educational quality and fair access, particularly in response to racial segregation and discrimination of black and minority children. Yet in recent times, this micro-level perspective of accountability whereby quality and fair access are analysed jointly as part of a holistic issue has not featured so prominently in the fair access literature.

Micro-level perspectives linking accountability of fair access to pedagogy are particularly relevant to the case of Indonesia. In the Indonesian context, the intersection between social justice, fair access and educational quality has been shaped by the colonial experience. The indigenous Islamic education system was seen as a particularly powerful tool to counter the 20th century movement by the colonial government to introduce a modern, Westernised format and substance of education. The aim of the colonial education system was to teach selected groups of the indigenous population (notably the Javanese nobility) the skills necessary to obtain clerical or medical posts in the colonial administration. Hence, it was critiqued by some indigenous groups as instrumental, utilitarian, and detached from an appropriate values basis. In contrast, indigenous Islamic education provision has traditionally emphasised a socio-culturally-embedded form of education provision. The learner is positioned in relation to concentric circles of socio-cultural influence – the self, the school, the household, the social unit (Hasbullah 1995, 131). Education (and particularly literacy in Arabic, the language of the Qur'an), is considered a fundamental obligation of a Muslim, hence the provision of mosque-based education that serves the whole community (Hasbullah 1995, 175). Access to education is considered vital, because it is a prerequisite to accessing the Word of God.

The *Taman Siswa* educational movement was one such example of this phenomenon described above that proved to be particularly influential in driving an indigenous, social justice oriented pedagogy in 20th century colonial Indonesia. This movement sought to counter the colonial Dutch education system in favour of an educational philosophy inspired by Islamic and indigenous Javanese values, and supported through a student-centred pedagogy. (The organisation is still active today, and runs several schools, colleges and even universities.) Specifically, the *Taman Siswa* mission comprises the *pancadarma* or five principles of independence, ethics, culture, nationalism and humanity (Dewantara, 1964). An example of their contempt for what they saw as the hierarchical and oppressive nature of modern European education, *Taman Siswa* members famously eschewed using the title teacher (*guru*) or Mr/Mrs for teachers, preferring the Javanese term *pamong*, denoting 'one who nurtures' (ibid.). We can view the *Taman Siswa* movement as an early 20th century form of 'socially just pedagogy' in

Indonesia. Following on from this, we can assume that higher education providers in Indonesia, especially those that are associated with indigenous educational movements or religious movements, would have a lot to contribute to the debate on socially just pedagogy, as issues about social justice and fair access have often been central to their institutional mission and conceptualisation of educational quality, all the way from pre-independence times.

In sum, this section has demonstrated that both in historical perspective and in the contemporary higher education context, micro-level perspectives of accountability can accommodate a concern for both educational quality and social justice/fair access. It is the aim of this thesis to include these kinds of micro-level perspectives of accountability. This entails an exploration of whether or not HE practitioners in the contemporary HE context in Indonesia view their work as socially just pedagogy. Alternatively, do HE staff experience the two policy concerns of educational quality and fair access as separate – even contradictory - aspects of their working lives? Do they experience more accountability pressure to achieve the aims of educational quality or fair access, or does the accountability system at the national and institutional level integrate both?

3.4   Summary and implications for research design

In this chapter I have argued that a sociologically-framed understanding of public policy and education policy leads us to ask critical questions about why certain policies get set in the first place, and how they play out differentially in the real world of policy implementing. We can assume that various actors in the policy hierarchy negotiate state accountability policies with alternative values and interests that motivate them. A key concern in terms of my research design is hence incorporating multiple policy actor perspectives, and in this way creating a more holistic picture of Indonesian accountability reform.

The framing of policy as described above does not only have implications for choosing who or what to study, but also for how I conceptualise accountability. In line with my view of policy as negotiated order, whereby policy actors are motivated by a wide array of values and interests, I need to start from the premise that higher education institutions may agree or disagree with state accountability mechanisms, and they may indeed feel accountability pressure to alternative sources.

This chapter has highlighted several macro-level factors that shape the nature of accountability reform. Firstly, accountability mechanisms may reflect an NPM tool of government, signalling a more evaluative or supervisory role of the state in HE governance. Secondly, when a HEI defines educational quality, they may be doing so as a result of accountability pressures that they experience toward peer networks in the

network governance model, where such networks instigate a process of mimetic isomorphism. Alternatively, such accountability pressures might be stronger as a result of Neo-Weberian pressures to accommodate citizen rights – a sort of public accountability that lays the basis for fair access to education that is of equally high quality. Then again, the theory of agency and opportunity in organisational fields would suggest that HEIs are also capable of pursuing their self-determined specialised missions by occupying 'educational niches' in the HE market. Hence, they may define the purpose and quality of HE provision in relation to their own mission and in relation to what works or what is in demand in the HE market at that particular moment in time. Finally, a renewed discourse on accountability at the global level, as evidenced in the SDGs, may be generating accountability pressure on Indonesian HEIs to integrate both educational quality and fair access in their education provision. During my analysis of the policymaker and institutional data, I was cognisant of these multiple meanings of accountability, and refrained from limiting the theorisation of accountability to issues of neoliberalisation and NPM alone.

By framing my analysis of accountability policies as a kind of negotiated order, I also extend the analytical lens to the domain of frontline practitioners in the immediate context of teaching and learning. This entails exploring how and why HE staff employ pedagogical, social or personal framings of educational quality. The literature has also flagged that within pedagogical framings of quality, staff beliefs and practices of educational quality tend to be shaped by their subject discipline (Henkel 2000, 2005; Lao 2015; Gaus & Hall 2016) and/or job role (Newton 2002). This suggests a need to explore accountability among HE staff from a variety of subject orientations and job role categories. The emerging research field of 'socially just pedagogy' also leads me to explore whether HE staff experience the twin policy objectives of quality and fair access as an interrelated aspect of their working lives, perhaps practised through a socially just pedagogical approach. In terms of the research design, this entails employing methodological approaches that allow for adequate exploration of staff *beliefs* and *practices.*

In the next chapter on methodology, I outline how the research design addresses both the theoretical research gaps described in this chapter, as well as the empirical research gaps described in chapter 2. I will demonstrate how the theoretical framing of the thesis led me to select a qualitative, exploratory approach to data collection as the overarching research design. I will also demonstrate more specifically how the framing of the thesis in chapters 2 and 3 led to specific choices about which persons from which organisations and higher education institutions I chose to include in the sample, and which methods of

data collection (such as interviews, observations) I selected as the most appropriate ones.

4 Methodology

4.1 Research design

4.1.1 Overarching research design

To recapitulate, the aim of the research is to identify and theorise assumptions, beliefs and practices about accountability among Indonesian policymakers and HE staff. In particular, the thesis aims to explore possible interactions between the two national policy objectives of enhanced educational quality and fair access. Regarding the current empirical research gaps, I have pointed out in chapter 2 that no single study to date has attempted to interrogate the central assumption made in the Indonesian Government's HE policy framework that accountability will simultaneously drive up quality and help make access to HE more equitable. Neither has a single study attempted to identify if and how the two issues of quality and fair access intersect, particularly from the micro-level perspective of HE practitioners. Accordingly, the thesis attempts to bring these two themes (quality, fair access) together by examining them as interrelated dimensions of accountability. The specific research questions guiding the study are reiterated below:

1. a) What assumptions do policymakers and accreditation bodies hold about accountability reforms in Indonesia, specifically in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access?

    b) Which rationales for HE development do they cite to account for the relevance of Indonesia's accountability reforms?

2. a) In what ways do the beliefs and practices of staff at autonomous Indonesian HEIs (senior management, middle management, lecturers, student admissions/recruitment staff) converge or diverge from government assumptions about accountability reforms, specifically in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access?

    b) What alternative beliefs and practices do these staff have in relation to accountability, quality and fair access?

3. a) What are the accountability pressures that drive beliefs and practices in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access among HE staff?

    b) Do institution type (state-ECB or private), disciplinary area (vocational/professional, sciences or humanities) or job role category (lecturer, middle management, senior management, admissions staff) play a role?

The study is deliberately exploratory in nature, and in line with this I employed a qualitative research design underpinned by a social constructivist philosophy. In other

words, I adopted an approach that investigates 'the relationship to reality by dealing with constructive processes in approaching [that reality]" (Flick 2007, 12). This approach, also known as *interpretivism* (Merriam & Tisdell 2016, 9) directs the investigation towards "subjective meanings2 that are "negotiated socially and historically" (Cresswell 2013, 24-5, cited in Merriam & Tisdell 2016, 9). Hence an underlying assumption of the research design is that accountability, quality and fair access will mean different things to different people, for example to a policymaker in the U.K. compared to a policymaker in Indonesia, or to a policymaker compared to a university lecturer in Indonesia. This is consistent with a sociological framing of education policy, as I have outlined in Chapter 3.

Informed by my conceptualisation of policy as something that is dynamic (Ball 1993) and negotiated between policy actors (Barrett 2004) – rather than straightforwardly implemented from centre to periphery – I devised a research design that investigated both the *policy making* and *policy implementation* spheres. The benefits of this design are that (i) it allows me to compare and contrast assumptions about accountability reforms from the government perspective to institutional experiences on the ground; and (ii) the initial discussion of government assumptions provides valuable context about the broader national picture to the more fine-grained, institutional data.

In the research design I have adopted an embedded case study approach. A case study design is appropriate for "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system" (Merriam & Tisdell 2016, 37). The Indonesian HE system represents such a 'bounded system', characterised by the fact that it operates within the same political and socio-cultural system. In the first instance, the selection of Indonesia as a country context to the education policy issues of quality and fair access can be viewed as my selection of a 'case study'. According to the theory of policy implementation, the national policy sphere indeed represents the broadest unit of analysis. It sets the terrain for movement – the power-interest structures in which policy actors negotiate and navigate their way. Each HEI further represents a case study (or a mutually exclusive sub-system) within the broader national scene. In other words, these institutional case studies are embedded within the national case study of Indonesia. At each of these three case studies, I employed a multi-method approach to data collection. I explored staff beliefs and practices in relation to accountability via semi-structured interviews, class observations, and policy documents. Because I was particularly interested in staff practices, it was important to also incorporate class observations in the research design. The object of study and corresponding methods of data collection are summarised in Table 4.1 overleaf.

Table 4-1 Overarching research design

Research question	Policy sphere	Object of study	Method
# 1	policy making	key policy actors at the national and province level	unstructured interviews (7)
# 2	policy implementation	3 HEIs in one province • senior management • admissions or student recruitment staff • middle management • lecturers	multi-method case study • interviews (45) • class observations (13) • other observations (2) • documents

The research design sits between a tight and a loose design. As is typical of a qualitative, exploratory study, I adopted a fairly loose design. The open-ended research questions reflect this approach. I deliberately set up the study in a way that would allow for participants to contribute their own definitions and experiences of accountability, including ones that my personal assumptions and assumptions made in the literature review may have precluded. A looser design is useful in providing a degree of flexibility, for example in a more adaptive and responsive approach to sampling (Flick 2007, 27). Accordingly, my approach to participant sampling was mainly purposive, and I took a flexible approach to scheduling of interviews and observations. In brief, I prioritised the relevance of job holders' academic and administrative duties and professional experience to the topic, rather than selecting a random sample with a view to making claims about representativeness.

The study is not, however, a purely ethnographic, phenomenological or grounded theory study. In some aspects, I also leaned towards a tight design. The study may not be a policy evaluation in the classic sense, as I decided against a larger scale, quantitative research design. Nevertheless, the purpose of the research is to connect this empirical exploration of accountability to a growing body of policy work on the subject. Hence, I was mindful of the need to satisfactorily contextualise the analysis of my few case studies in the national picture. Accordingly, I adopted a systematic and comparative approach to sampling of the case study HEIs based on considerations of representativeness. While this does not mean that I can make claims to generalisability across all Indonesian HEIs,

it does at least mean that I can explore accountability in a variety of contexts which reflect the diversity of the Indonesian HE system. I was also fully aware of assumptions in the existing literature about HEI type (Newton 2002), disciplinary area (Henkel 2000, 2005; Lao 2015; Gaus & Hall 2016), and job role category (Newton 2002) as factors that tend to influence HE staff responses to accountability mechanisms. It seemed reasonable to take these three factors (HEI type, disciplinary area and job role category) into consideration in my research design and analysis in some way. Accordingly, in research question #3 I included a sub-question that specifically probes whether these three factors play a role in shaping staff accountability beliefs and practices or not. To be clear, I acknowledge that I cannot make claims about the extent to which these three factors determine staff accountability beliefs and practices at all Indonesia's autonomous HEIs in general (something that a quantitative study might attempt to do). Nevertheless, I considered these three factors in my research design, which is reflected in my case study selection (two different HEI types) and participant selection (four different disciplinary areas and four different job role categories).

I also leaned towards a tight design in terms of data collection methods at the three case study institutions. Indeed, the benefit of a tight design is that it allows for comparability of data (Flick 2007, 27). Accordingly, I used a standardised set of interview rubrics for interviews with HEI staff across the three case studies. (These were adapted slightly between the state-ECB university and the two private HEIs to reflect their divergent organisational structures). I also employed the same approaches to document collection and classroom observations. This provided me with sufficient confidence that I was researching the same topics to the same extent at each case study.

4.1.2 Preparations for fieldwork

Prior to case study selection, I conducted pilot interviews (n = 10). The purpose was to trial the first draft of interview rubrics, and to probe the themes of accountability, quality and fair access from the perspective of Indonesian lecturers. The interviews took place between January and October 2017, and so all the participants had at least some experience of the recent policy system. The participants comprised a purposively filtered convenience sample of academics from across Indonesia. Participants were recruited via personal contacts and through colleagues. I deliberately selected lecturers who worked at a variety of HEI types, disciplines, and locations in order to explore a full range of issues affecting the national education system as a whole. In particular, I included informants from two state-educational corporate body (ECB) universities, because the creation of this this type of university status was the flagship policy of the post-Soeharto HE reforms. Detailed characteristics of the participants are described in Table 4.2 overleaf. Their identities remain deliberately anonymised.

Table 4-2 Pilot interviewees

	position	HEI type	Governance type	location	Academic field	years at HEI
1	Lecturer	University	State-ECB	Central Java	Public health	10
2	Lector; Programme Coordinator	University	State-ECB	East Java	Library Studies	16
3	Lecturer	University	State-ECB	East Java	Chemistry	7
4	Lecturer; Head of Laboratory	University	State	Eastern Indonesia	Civil Engineering	10
5	Lecturer; Programme Coordinator	University	State	Eastern Indonesia	Forestry	20
6	Lecturer; Head of Department	University	Private	Jakarta	Film and Communication Studies	8
7	Lecturer	University	Private	Jakarta	Communication Studies	3
8	Head of programme; Lecturer	College	Private	Eastern Indonesia	Computer science	7
9	Senior manager; Lecturer	College	Private	West Java	Design	6
10	Assistant Lecturer	University; College	Private; State	West Java	Politics; Research Skills, Design	3-4

Interviews were conducted individually in Indonesian via telephone. The only exception to this was one face-to-face pair interview conducted in West Java in October. Oral consent was obtained prior to interview, and confirmation to participate via email/SMS was taken as written consent. Given that the data collected via pilot interviews was not treated as part of the main dataset, I chose not to transcribe the interviews. Rather, I took notes during the interviews to capture the main themes, and compiled a written summary of these notes in October 2017. I used these notes to reflect on implications of

the pilot interview data for case study selection, as well as the clarity and utility of the interview rubrics.

During my time in Indonesia, I also benefited from support and guidance from local research staff at an independent research foundation, AKATIGA Centre for Policy Analysis. Obtaining a sponsor organisation was a requirement of the research permit. It is common practice for foreign researchers to use a higher education institution as a sponsor. However, given that my research involved higher education institutions as the object of study, I chose instead to use an independent research foundation. This ensured I had a neutral sponsor, and helped me to avoid any conflict of interest issues that may have resulted from being sponsored by a HEI. When finalising my case study selection, I consulted with AKATIGA staff on my proposed set of cases and rationale for selection. Staff provided me with advice as well as practical help in the form of contacts who were able to put me in touch with staff members at two of the three case studies.

4.2 Case study and participant selection

The process of case study and participant selection for the study was bottom-up, starting from the selection of case study institutions first, collecting data from the three HEIs and then finally identifying relevant policy actors to interview at the national/governmental level, informed by interview data.

4.2.1 Case study selection

The general principle behind my selection of the case study institutions was to balance breadth and depth of data collection:

1. Breadth – maximise the number and type of HEIs in order to contribute to a holistic picture of the policy sphere
2. Depth – penetrate as many layers of HEI operations and members as possible in order to generate an in-depth picture of beliefs and practices

Ultimately, I felt it was most appropriate to maximise the depth of investigation within each HEI and compromise the breadth of the HEI sample. At each case study HEI, I would interview four categories of staff: senior management, student admissions or student affairs staff, middle management, and the general lecturer cadre. The use of class observations also allowed me to incorporate a student perspective. For reasons of feasibility (time and resources available), I limited the selection of cases to three HEIs. This was just enough to allow for a degree of representativeness of Indonesian HEI and student characteristics, and hence generate some valid suggestions for follow-up research and comments about policy implications, while maintaining a manageable workload for me as a sole researcher.

Having established an appropriate balance between breadth and depth, and having settled on three case study institutions exploring four categories of staff each, the next stage was to select a location. It was important that the cases be located in the same town or city in Indonesia, because this meant I could study the HEIs in relation to each other, and possibly capture issues such as moonlighting of state university staff at private institutions, or competition between institutions for student enrolments. In terms of data analysis, the benefit of choosing a single location was also that it controls the research design somewhat by limiting the cases to one political, historical and cultural context within the very diverse case of Indonesia. A further point related to the location concerns equitable access and generalisability to the national level. The pilot interview data had flagged the importance of local context for notions of fair access/equity. For example, the 20% pro-poor admissions rule for state institutions was less impactful in the context of Papua, where a lecturer reflected that the majority of their student intake already represented "disadvantaged" backgrounds, given that the general level of socio-economic well-being was relatively low in their district. Meanwhile, equitable admissions policies were almost non-existent at a private HEI in Jakarta, the capital, where students came from affluent backgrounds. In order to explore issues of equity in sufficient depth, it was thus necessary to choose a location where the general level of socio-economic well-being was varied enough, so as to capture relevant equity-related themes. Considering all these factors, I selected a major city in the province of West Java. (I deliberately withhold the name in accordance with the anonymity protocol adopted – see section 4.6). Figure 4.1 below shows poverty estimates in the province for 2010.

Figure 4-1 Poverty estimates, ($2PPP), total population, West Java, 2010

Legend:
- low 27.17% – 37.65%
- low-middle 37.65% – 48.13%
- middle-high 48.13% - 58.60%
- high 58.60% - 69.08%
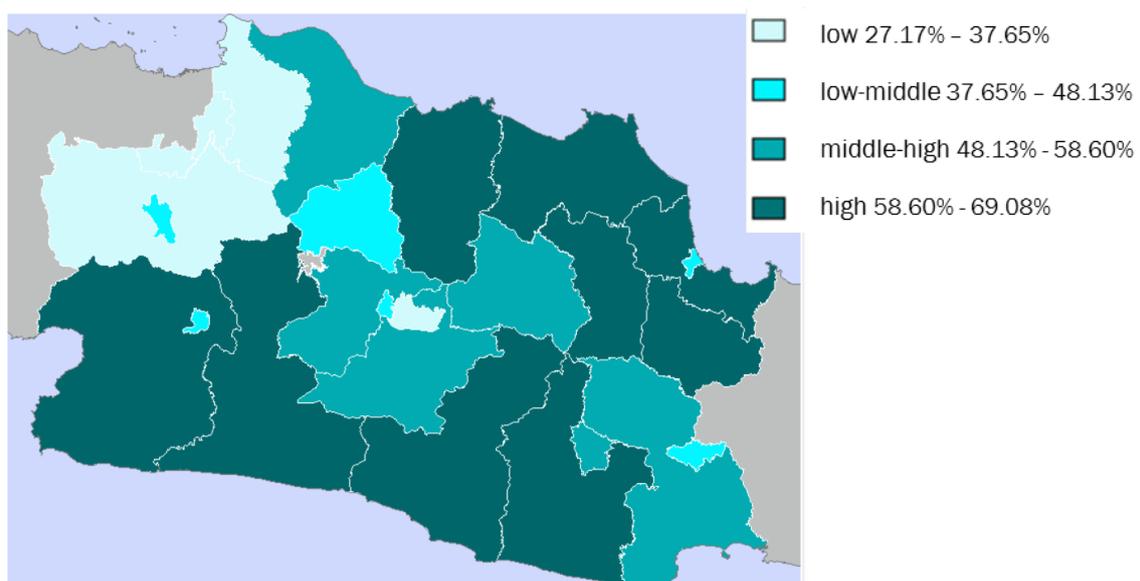
Source: SMERU (2018) Poverty Map

As can be seen from Figure 4.1, the research site (West Java) is characterised by a wide range of income inequality, with a stark urban/rural divide. The pale spots represent the urban districts of Bogor, Sukabumi, Cimahi, Bandung, Cirebon and Banjar (from west to east). The pale blue district in the far east of the map with the lowest poverty estimates is Bekasi, a satellite city of Jakarta. The case study institutions were clustered in one urban to sub-urban area, but the students they attracted originated from all areas of the province, including those rural districts with the highest poverty estimates.

The final stage was to establish a set of criteria for case study selection. The selection of HEIs was guided by the principle of "maximal variation" (Flick 2007, 28), in order to capture a range of HEI experiences. I included five selection criteria – two related to HEI characteristics, and a further three related to student characteristics. The exception to the principle of maximal variation is that I filtered cases to only include ones that had been awarded at least a 'B' accreditation ranking for their institution and/or study programmes. By selecting A or B accredited institutions, I could thus 'control' for a degree of comparability across the case study institutions. In the eyes of the official state accreditation system at least, each of the case studies was deemed to be of comparable quality. There was also a more tactical choice for filtering only A and B-ranked HEIs. Participation in the government-run Bidikmisi scholarship scheme is only open to these institutions. Hence, selecting from this group of HEIs allowed me to explore how the Bidikmisi scheme was panning out in the private sector. The five selection criteria for generating a selection of cases that expressed maximal variation were:

1. HEI type (e.g. college, polytechnic, university)
2. HEI governance type (e.g. state or private)
3. Level of study programmes offered (diploma/undergraduate/post-graduate)
4. Subject orientation of study programmes offered
5. Student demographics (e.g. low-income vs affluent, rural versus urban)

The first two selection criteria concerned HEI characteristics. There are six categories of HEIs in Indonesia. Academies (*akademi*) and community academies (*akademi komunitas*) offer diploma degrees (*Diploma I – Diploma IV*). Some colleges (*sekolah tinggi*) and polytechnics (*politeknik*) offer diploma degrees, but they additionally offer undergraduate and/or professional degrees (*Sarjana I, Sarjana Profesi*), while institutes (*institut*) and universities (*universitas*) can offer the full range of degrees, right up to postgraduate level (*Sarjana 2, Sarjana 3, Sarjana Spesialis*). Institutes and polytechnics are more closely associated with vocational or professional education. The distribution

of each HEI type for the academic year 2014/15 [22] is depicted in Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 below for Indonesia and West Java respectively. To address the issue of representativeness, I felt it was imperative to include at least one case study that is a college or academy, as these are the two most common HEI types.

Table 4-3 Distribution of HEI types in Indonesia

rank	HEI type	n	%
1	college	1426	**43.93%**
2	academy	1020	**31.42%**
3	university	532	**16.39%**
4	polytechnic	186	**5.73%**
5	institute	73	**2.25%**
6	community academy	9	**0.28%**
	total	**3246**	100%

Source: Higher Education Database (2016). Data from academic year 2014/15, state and private sector combined.

Table 4-4 Distribution of HEI types in West Java

rank	HEI type	n	%
1	college	194	**43.93%**
2	academy	104	**31.42%**
3	university	50	**16.39%**
4	polytechnic	30	**5.73%**
5	institute	9	**2.25%**
6	community academy	2	**0.28%**
	total	**389**	100%

Source: Higher Education Database (2016). Data from academic year 2014/15, state and private sector combined.

The second selection criterion related to HEI characteristics was governance type. I have outlined the various types in Table 4.5 overleaf. Legally speaking, there are three

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[22] At the time I compiled this data in October 2016, data had not yet been published for the academic year 2015/6, so this was the most recent data available

categories of state HEIs. I felt it was important to select a state-ECB university, because the creation of this new governance type was the flagship policy of the post-Soeharto marketisation reforms. Assumptions are made in the policy about the capacity of this governance reform itself to spur improvement in educational quality, and so I wanted to include at least one state-ECB university to probe this assumption. Moreover, state-ECB universities have been at the centre of a controversy over fair access. Given the expectation for all state HEIs nationally to eventually upgrade to ECB-status and given the introduction of several pro-fair access policies for state HEIs (UKT, Bidikmisi, ADik), I was keen to explore how a state-ECB university manages their admissions process.

Table 4-5 Governance types of Indonesian HEIs

state	private
Regular state HEI *Perguruan tinggi negeri (PTN)*	**Private-religious*** Institutions governed by religious foundations, often with strong social justice orientations *(e.g. Catholic universities, Muhammadiyah universities)*
State HEI with limited financial autonomy *Perguruan tinggi negeri – pola keuangan badan layanan umum (PTN-BLU)*	**Private-entrepreneurial*** Institutions governed by non-religious educational foundations established by successful individuals from business/industry, often with strong industry orientations *(e.g. Binus University, Telkom university)*
autonomous state-ECB HEI *Perguruan tinggi negeri -badan hukum Pendidikan (PTN-BH)*	**New generation private-entrepreneurial** New generation (post-2000s) of private HEIs attached to construction conglomerates *(e.g. Ciputra University linked to Ciputra Group, Pelita Harapan University linked to Lippo Group)*
There can be overlap between these two categories	

In addition to a state-ECB university, I was keen to select the other two cases from the private sector. As established in Chapter 2, this is because there is a clear empirical research gap on the private sector perspective, despite the fact that it accommodates the majority of Indonesian HE enrolments. Technically, there are no sub-categories of private HEI type. They all have the same not-for-profit charitable 'foundation' (*yayasan*) status. However, in practice, private HEIs display a variety of orientations – to social justice missions, to industry linkages, or both. The new generation private-

entrepreneurial HEIs have stronger links to commercial activities, due to their links to prominent construction conglomerates. Among the two private institutions to be included, I attempted to represent both the "traditional" model of a HEI run by a religious foundation, as well as a more contemporary model of a HEI with strong industry links. Finally, I selected one private HEI that is run by a national, well-established religious foundation (Muslim) that has experience running several HEIs in the country, as well as a more recently-founded private HEI characterised by strong ties to industry, yet at the same time run by a religious foundation (Christian).

The third, fourth and fifth selection criteria were included in order to represent a typical student higher education experience – level of study programme, subject orientation and student demographics. The third and fourth criteria are inter-related, and in effect were chosen to address the question – *what kind of degree programme do students in Indonesia most typically enrol in?* Data for the most recent student cohort I had (2014/15 intake) revealed that almost 75% of enrolments were on undergraduate programmes, 17% on diploma programmes, 5.5% on masters programmes, and 2.3% on professional programmes. PhD and specialist programmes account for less than 0.5% each (Higher Education Database, 2016). Therefore, I aimed to include case studies that offered both undergraduate and diploma programmes, the top two types. Previous research has pointed to disciplinary differences in institutional behaviour, with humanities disciplines resisting accountability reforms if perceived as excessively quantitative and/or incompatible with existing strategies for assessing quality (Lao 2015; Gaus & Hall 2016). Furthermore, the pilot interview data had highlighted the way in which lecturers from more professional or applied science disciplines were more comfortable with the intensity of state intervention in educational quality. Therefore, I purposely wanted to select a representative sample of subject orientations as well, encompassing more vocational/professional, STEM and arts and humanities orientations. An analysis of accredited study programmes in 2016[23] revealed that the most popular subjects centred around religious studies, health science, education, social sciences, and technology (e.g. computing, IT). To give an indication of this trend, Tables 4.6 and 4.7 overleaf depict subject distributions nationally and in West Java among the most common type of HEI in the country – colleges. The subject orientations represented in the final sample comprised health science, information technology, arts and humanities, and natural sciences (chemistry, biology).

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[23] The popularity of certain subjects can change rapidly from year to year, in line with developments in the labour market. Therefore, I wanted to choose as recent a dataset as possible to identify the most common subjects. Therefore, I used the list of accredited study programmes on the BAN-PT website, which showed data for 2016, rather than the MRTHE data, which at the time of case study selection was only available for 2014/15.

Table 4-6 Accreditation and subject distributions of colleges in Indonesia

Accreditation Grade		Popular subject orientations	%	rank
A	0%	Religion	32	1
B	17%	Health	18	2
C	83%	Economics	13	3
		Teaching	8	4
		Computer science	7	5

Source: BAN-PT (October 2016a)

Table 4-7 Accreditation and subject distributions of colleges in West Java

Accreditation Grade		Popular subject orientations	%	rank
A	0%	Religion	20	1
B	10%	Health	15	Shared 2-4
C	90%	Economics	15	Shared 2-4
		Computer science	15	Shared 2-4
		Technology	12	5

Source: BAN-PT (October 2016b)

The final criterion relates to student demographics. By this I mean students from a range of socio-economic status, from both urban and rural backgrounds, from competitive and non-competitive high schools, from within the province of West Java, from developed and affluent metropoles across the country, and from economically disadvantaged provinces/districts of the country. To check my selection of case studies against this criterion, I used my knowledge of the kind of marketing campaigns and institutional reputation of institutions in the city, as well as consulting with AKATIGA staff, alumni of these institutions, as well as with other friends and former colleagues from the city who were familiar with the HE landscape. While the definition of urban origin is clear, meaning students residing in Indonesia's cities, rurality is harder to delineate. Indonesian districts are divided into cities (*kota*) or municipalities (*kabupaten*). The latter usually comprise rural and semi-rural areas, as well as some more urban towns. Regional inequality in the country overall, however, makes it difficult to consider these categories absolute. For example, a *kabupaten* on the island of Java or Sumatra may boast a town that has comparable facilities (health, education, finance, internet access) to a *kota* in a relatively disadvantaged province. Because I have limited the case study selection to a single province (West Java), I believe it is reasonable to use the *kota/kabupaten* distinction as

proxy for urban/rural origin. Indeed, it transpired that this was the convention among HEI administrators as well, suggesting it is an accurate enough marker of rurality in West Java. The final sample comprised one case with an intake of mixed income and urban/rural backgrounds, with only around half from West Java. The other two cases recruited students overwhelmingly from within the province of West Java, but in inverse proportions of rural versus urban students.

The final selection of the three case studies comprised one state-ECB university, one private institute of technology and one private health science college. A profile of each case mapped against the five selection criteria is summarised in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4-8 Case study characteristics

	criteria	case study*		
		1	**2**	**3**
1	**HEI type**	university	institute of technology	health science college
2	**HEI governance type**	state-ECB	private-entrepreneurial; private-religious (Christian)	private-religious (Muslim)
3	**Level of study programmes offered**	diploma III, undergraduate, professional, postgraduate, specialist	undergraduate	diploma III, undergraduate, professional
4	**Subject orientation**	humanities; science; professional	science; professional	professional; vocational
5	**Student demographics**	mixed economic status	mostly med-high economic status	mostly low-medium economic status
		urban and rural	mostly urban	mostly rural
		about half from West Java, and half from a diverse mix of provinces	mostly from West Java	mostly from West Java

*The HEI names are deliberately withheld to guarantee anonymity of participants

4.2.2 Participant selection

Within each case study insitution, a purposive rather than random sample of interviewees was drawn up according to specific job roles. Once access to the case studies had been agreed upon with members of the senior management, I drew up a list of interviewees in consultation with members of the senior management or other staff with knowledge of the organisational structure and relevant job holders. In line with the exploratory nature of the research, it was essential for the sample to include staff at all levels of the organisational structure, as well as specific job holders who have direct experience of accountability, quality assurance and student admissions policies. Including staff with responsibility of the latter ensured that I could obtain data on the fair access schemes that the HEIs run.

The top three strata of interviewees comprised:

1) **Members of senior management**, in particular those responsible for accountability of academic affairs, student admissions, and/or quality assurance more generally
2) **Staff at student affairs/admissions/recruitment departments**, including marketing and public relations staff
3) **Members of middle management** responsible for accountability of academic affairs, student admissions, and/or quality assurance more generally, e.g. dean, vice-dean for academic affairs, learning manager, head of quality assurance, head of department, head of programme of study

In addition, a fourth layer comprising the general lecturer cadre was included, made up of a range of academics from junior to senior levels. I categorised these interviewees according to the number of years they had worked as higher education staff, either as a researcher, lab assistant or full-time lecturer. Staff with below 5 years' experience were categorised as 'early career', staff with 5 to 10 years' experience were categorised as mid-career, and staff with over 10 years' experience were categorised as late career. (These labels denoting career stage appear together with the personal identifier whenever I refer to these participants in the research findings chapters). I anticipated that faculties and departments might have distinct organisational cultures, so I controlled the selection of participants somewhat by limiting the sample to two faculties at the state university and to two departments each at the institute of technology and health science college. In fact, the health science college was so small that there were only two 'departments' to choose from in any case. I selected the faculties or departments to ensure a representative spread of subject orientations. This resulted in one STEM faculty and one arts and humanities faculty at the state ECB university. At the institute of technology, I selected the IT systems and computing departments (as opposed to some

of their more management-oriented departments), in order to capture lecturers who work in more obviously industry-oriented subjects. A detailed breakdown of the 48 interview participants according to case study institution and job role category is summarised in Table 4.9 below. Three of the interviews were conducted as pair interviews, as requested by the participants, resulting in a total of 45 interviews.

Table 4-9 Breakdown of interview participants by case study and job role category

Category		Number of participants			
		State-ECB university	Institute of technology	Health science college	Total per category
1	**Senior managment**	2	3	2	**7**
2	**Admissions/ recruitment staff**	2	2	2	**6**
3	**Middle management**	7	3	4	**14**
4	**Lecturers**	13	3	5	**21**
	Total per case study	**24**	**11**	**13**	**Total: 48**

The number of participants at case study #1 was deliberately larger, proportionate to the relative size of its staff and student bodies compared to the departments studied at case study #2 and #3. At these two smaller institutions, a higher proportion of participants drawn from the lecturer cadre held administrative or structural roles that led me to categorise them as middle management (category 1-3). The categories of senior management, middle management and lecturer are not to be understood as absolute equivalents, but rather as indicators of their relative authority over and experience of accountability/educational/fair access policies in the organisational hierarchy. I attempted to retain some comparability, but this was difficult because the organisations are so different in scale and organisational structure. Therefore, I contextualised these labels to each case. For instance, I classified staff at the office of the dean at the state university as middle management, as they are mediators between the senior management and the regular lecturer cadre. At the smaller institutions, they did not have a post of dean/office of the dean. In these cases, I categorised heads of department/heads of quality assurance units/similar post holders as middle management, because they were similarly in the intermediary position between the senior management and lecturers.

Regarding the sample sizes, the total number of participants in the first three categories reflects the number of relevant job holders to a large extent. In other words, there would simply not have been any one else in that category to interview. At the state university, there would have been more individuals to interview further down the staff hierarchy (such as administrative and support staff to the Director of Academic Affairs). However, the people I interviewed were the ones with actual decision-making authority. In the case of lecturers (category 4), I decided to interview at least three members of staff per department or faculty, and ceased to schedule further interviews once I had reached saturation. Within these relatively small samples, I deliberately chose to include a range of early, mid- and late career lecturers in order to cover the perspective of both junior, new-comer staff and those more senior members of staff who we would expect to have more entrenched beliefs and practices. The final sample of HE staff reflected a variety of career stages and contract types (permanent, civil servant, non-civil servant).

Although I did not deliberately set out to reach a target in gender balance, the sample was nonetheless balanced (total females: n = 26; total males, n = 22). In the STEM subjects, the sample was skewed to males (males = 6; females = 3), and in the health science college the sample was skewed to females (males = 4; females = 9), reflecting the existing skewness in gender distribution in these populations. The distribution was even in the senior management category (4 males and 4 females) and the admissions staff category (3 males and 3 females). However, it was skewed towards males in the middle management category (males = 8; females = 4) and skewed towards females in the lecturer category (males = 8; females = 14).

In drawing up the interview schedule, I adopted a flexible approach. I learned about the significance and relevance of various post holders to accountability of educational quality and to the admissions process as I progressed in the interview schedule, and added or dropped potential interviewees accordingly. As Flick (2007, 101) writes: "Sampling in qualitative research can and maybe even should be based on the progress of the analysis of the data collected so far. Therefore, [coding and categorizing as a form of data analysis] can have an impact on the sampling of cases and materials." Regarding staff in the fourth category (general cadre of lecturers), not all employees had any direct connection to accountability, quality assurance or fair access responsibilities. In this category, then, I favoured participants who were the most willing to participate or who had been recommended by their head of department as someone who might be open to participation. I had some background knowledge of the organisational structure and institutional culture at the state-ECB university, because I had attended the university in 2009-2010 as an exchange student. Accordingly, I was able to select participants more independently and proactively at this institution. In contrast, I was more dependent on

input and advice from senior managers, middle managers and research liaison staff at the two private institutions. Participants were recruited either by myself or by proxy through heads of department, sometimes in person but mostly via email. I was aware that participants recruited by proxy may have been coerced into participation. In these instances, I vetted their willingness to participate in an initial phone call or SMS exchange first, allowing me to clarify my research aims, the need to obtain consent, and the option for the participant to decline participation. In the end, I was confident in the sincerity of the consent provided by interviewees.

In terms of how the interview schedule progressed, at the two private case study institutions, interviews across the various job role categories were conducted more or less concurrently. I had to prioritise the availability of participants and convenience of the interview schedule with regards to term-time activities. At the state university, however, I had sufficient flexibility to organise the schedule in a bottom-up manner in line with more autonomy over drawing up the list of interviewees in general. This allowed me to complete most of the interviews at the department levels first, before then going on to schedule interviews with the middle management, senior management and admissions staff. By this point, I was able to probe and clarify issues that had emerged during interviews at the department and faculty levels.

The selection of policy makers and public servants was informed by interview data collected at the HEI level first. Selection was based on identification of the most significant regional and/or governmental bodies that HEIs interact with in terms of accountability, quality and fair access policies. For an organisation to count as significant, they had to be mentioned frequently by all levels of staff at each of the three case study institutions. The interviewees are listed in Table 4.10 overleaf. Some interviewees requested group or pair interviews, reflecting their stance that they held a shared remit over the topic of accountability. In one instance, the more junior members of staff did not want to participate unless the interview was conducted in the presence of the more senior member of staff. My interpretation of the situation was that they were anxious not to be seen to undermine the authority of the more senior member of staff, anxious not to give any inaccurate or outdated information, and anxious not to say anything that wasn't representative of the department and their senior manager's work as a whole. In the end, these two interviewees nonetheless contributed relevant examples from their professional experience on the field, interacting with Bidikmisi scholarship awardees and private HEIs, rendering their contributions valuable to the overall interview.

Table 4-10 Breakdown of policymaker interviewees

Organisation*	participants	interviews
Directorate General for Learning and Student Affairs, MRTHE	4	3
Coordinating Office for Private Higher Education Insitutions Region IV (West Java) [KOPERTIS]	3	1
National Accreditation Agency for Higher Education [BAN-PT]	1	1
Independent Accreditation Body for Higher Education in the Health Sciences [LAMPT-Kes]	2	2
Total	**10**	**7**

***The names and job titles of individuals are deliberatlely withheld in order to retain anonymity**

4.3   Data collection

At the case study institutions, I employed a multi-method approach to data collection to allow for data triangulation and generate a more comprehensive picture of the educational environment. The benefit of semi-structured interviews is that they allowed for contextualisation and clarification of accountability beliefs and practices. It also allowed for the generation of themes that I was unaware of, or that I might have unintentionally precluded. Observations are appropriate for investigating practices directly. They proved to be especially useful for illustrating how institutional norms affect teaching practices. Both interviews and observations presented an opportunity to collect further supporting evidence in the form of documents, such as reports on student admissions or examples of student survey questionnaires. This allowed me to substantiate claims with a degree of confidence.

4.3.1   Interviews

Interviews were used as the primary method of data collection. They were semi-structured so as to allow for comparison of data between insitution types as well as between the four participant categories. At the same time, avoiding an overly rigid, purely structured interview allows the researcher a degree of flexiblity, adjusting for the unique features or themes generated in each HEI/participant category. Therefore, I adapted the interviews slightly for each case study. Translations of the interview rubrics are attached in Appendix A.

With the policymakers, each job holder represented a unique position and role in the policymaking process. Therefore, it was more appropriate to use unstructured interviews that were adapted to the interviewee and the relevance of their job to the topic of accountability. To obtain a certain degree of consistency, I guided the interviews along the lines of research question #1 a) and b), probing rationales for HE development as well as assumptions about accountability. Because the interviews were conducted towards the end of the research schedule, I also asked follow-up questions that related to themes or policy challenges that I had identified in the case study data collection phase when appropriate. For instance, with members of the two accreditation bodies, I raised the institutional concern of balancing the need to perform well in accreditation with their desire to pursue alternative conceptualisations of quality according to institutional mission, which was a theme that had emerged during interviews with HE staff from middle management and senior management categories.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face, on site at either the higher education institution campus, the relevant government office or at the accreditation body head office. Interviews were recorded using a portable digital audio device and recordings were backed up and stored in password protected folders and on an encrypted cloud storage site. Participants' contact details and unique identifying code were stored separately to the file where participant responses were recorded. Due to time and resource constraints, I was only able to transcribe about a third of the interviews myself. I prioritised the files with poor audio quality, or where interviewees switched between English and Indonesian. For the remainder of the interviews, I employed a professional transcription service based in Indonesia. They signed a confidentiality undertaking, and files were shared through an encrypted cloud storage site, with a time-limited link. I was satisfied with the quality of the transcription. There were only a few instances where I recognised that the transcription was not accurate, and in each case this related to the use of an English-language term or an acronym/jargon specific to higher education. In these instances, I listened back to the audio file to verify the original utterance.

Interview transcripts were analysed and coded in the original language (Indonesian). In the first wave of coding, I created codes using a mix of English and Indonesian phrases. By the second round, I began to incorporate theoretical concepts from the literature, and thus switched to using consistent terms in English only. This helped to match the coding to the data analysis framework. I recorded observation notes in English but recorded any direct quotations by participants in the original language (Indonesian/Sundanese). All translations of interview quotations, comments made during observations, and documents have been translated by me. I was confident in my ability to manage the project in Indonesian, given that I have previously conducted a research project in

Indonesian. (This was an ethnographic study of the DIY music scene in Malang, and was conducted, written up and presented in Indonesian). More recently, I had been working in Indonesia at an English language school, and part of my job responsibilities included liaising between our marketing department and Indonesian clients, which had given me the opportunity to improve my fluency and accuracy in formal/business Indonesian. If I was in any doubt as to the reliablity of my translation, I consulted a native speaker. This was especially important for sections where interviews used their native Sundanese or Javanese to express a concept or emotion, as I only have beginner's knowledge in these two local languages.

4.3.2 Observations

Observations formed a secondary, supplementary method of data collection. The position of the researcher was as an outside observer, and I made this clear to everyone involved in the situation where I was observing. The primary type of observations I conducted were classroom observations. Observations were conducted across a sample of departments that corresponded to the departments used for participant selection in the interview stage. A breakdown is listed in Table 4.11 below.

Table 4-11 Classroom observation details

	Subject orientation	Number of observations	subtotal
State-ECB university			
Department #1	Science	1	6
Department #2	Science	1	
Department #3	Humanities	2	
Department #4	Humanities	2	
Institute of technology			
Department #1	Science; Professional	2	4
Department #2	Science; Humanities	2	
Health science college			
Department #1	Vocational	1	3
Department #2	Vocational	2	
Total number of observations			***13***

Classroom observations were scheduled with an opportunistic sample of lecturers. They were scheduled with interviewees I had already met in the interview stage, apart from in two instances. In these two instances, I had to schedule observations with an alternative teacher due to timetable clashes. The choice of class to be observed in these cases was not based on the relevance or perceived competence of the lecturer leading the class, but on my preference to observe a variety of lesson types (year of study, lesson format). Oral consent was obtained from lecturers and their students prior to attending the class..

Observations were not recorded. The purpose of the observations was not to generate a quantifiable measurement of teaching and learning quality based on an external theoretically-derived definition. To be clear, the purpose of the observations was not to 'test' to what extent teaching and learning quality was achieved in practice at these HEIs. Rather, the observations established an opportunity to collect data that helped to illustrate comments already made by HE staff during interviews. For instance, it helped to clarify exactly what staff meant by "student-centred learning". Observations also provided an opportunity to ask questions that would have been difficult or impossible to anticipate without having observed a class first (e.g. Is this a typical class activity/assignment?). In other words, the observation data contributed toward an overall, more comprehensive picture of the institutional culture and educational environment. Accordingly, during the observations I made field notes according to five descriptive rather than analytical categories: classroom layout and facilities; lesson flow; lesson content; lecturer's register and engagement with the students; student activities and behaviour during the class. I chose these categories in response to the interview data, in other words to identify illustrations or examples of educational quality relevant to interview themes. The only exception is the category lesson flow, which was primarily intended for me as a memory aid to reconstruct details of the class observation later on. I first analysed the interview data thematically, and only then returned to the descriptive accounts of the observations to identify corresponding themes.

In addition to classroom observations, which were a formalised method of data collection, I inevitably accumulated a great deal of exposure to the institutional culture over the course of the four months or so engaging with these institutions in informal, ad hoc ways. For example, a typical day at an institution included waiting for an interviewee in a staff room or office (thus meeting and chatting with other members of staff), sharing breakfast with students at a food stall just outside the campus, sharing lunch with staff at a canteen, and chatting with students who were keen to practice their English with a foreigner. It was during such informal interactions with HE staff that I was invited to participate on two further observations. I used these opportunities to corroborate characterisations of the organisational culture. The first was a staff professional development day at the

institute of technology. The benefit of attending this event was that it confirmed comments made during interviews about a commitment to encouraging qualitative aspects of learning, and associated challenges of assessing this objectively. It also corroborated comments about willingness to collaborate and innovate in curriculum development. The second observation was a promotion event that the health science college attended at a local high school. Observing how the various HE providers pitched themselves to students at this HE fair corroborated comments made by staff about their relative market position vis á vis state providers.

4.3.3 Supporting documents

Documents formed a supplementary method of data collection. They covered both themes of quality and fair access, such as: a university mission statement, a performance contract used for performance-based pay appraisal, a university handbook on the admissions process, an annual report on the admissions process, a syllabus, a summary report from an accreditation body, an annual quality assurance report, student evaluation surveys, and posters displaying departmental achievements. Supplementary documents were not deliberately sought, meaning I did not have a list of pre-determined documents I requested from each case study institution. I felt this might cause unease and overly burden the HE staff who were already giving up their time for me. Additionally, I was not convinced that I could justify making the requests without conviction that I would have time to sufficiently analyse the data, given the volume of data already collected via interviews and classroom observations. Instead, my approach was to seek out documents if comments generated during an interview suggested that the document would prove useful in answering the research question. For example, a lecturer mentioned performance-based-pay contracts as a key accountability tool, so I felt it would be useful to see a copy of this contract. Documentary evidence also substantiated general claims about the student demographic profile and proportion of students on scholarship routes. I draw on these descriptive statistics to provide detailed admissions profiles for each case study institution in chapter 7 on fair access.

4.4 Data analysis framework

Below I will explain the process of data analysis and the conceptual framework that I devised for categorising and analysing data. This data analysis framework was in part derived inductively, by generating codes that reflected descriptive themes in the data. The choice to include an inductive approach to data analysis reflects a deliberate choice to be respectful of the empirical context throughout the thesis, and is consistent with the overall exploratory, qualitative research design. At the same time, I sought to connect my research findings to the existing literature. Therefore, I also employed a deductive

phase of analysis, whereby I employed concepts from existing literature to make sense of the data, and bring out more comparison and evaluation.

The first stage of data analysis was conducted concurrent with data collection in Indonesia. During this stage, I did not have transcripts ready. Instead, I took brief notes during interviews. I used these notes to compile descriptive themes from each case study institution or government body. I began with mapping the various accountability pressures that interviewees cited, and then moved on to evaluating their relative importance (e.g. state versus labour market accountability, external versus internal accountability). At this stage, analysis was primarily inductive, in line with the exploratory nature of the research. I was, however, aware of the concepts of human capital rationales and *Pancasila* arguments for HE development, and in this sense there was a minimal element of deductive coding in my approach, primarily for the policymaker interviews. As described in the section on validity and reliability below, I then used two research dissemination events to obtain feedback on my data analysis. At this stage, I had only made minimal comparisons between the three case study institutions, focussing more on the unique characteristics of the institutional mission, student demographic profile and organisational culture at each case. However, one cross-case comparison had become evident already, and that was the comparatively stronger importance of labour market accountability at the two private institutions.

The second stage of data analysis was conducted after fieldwork, once I had finalised transcription of interviews and re-read the observation notes and relevant institutional documents (e.g. statistics on student intake, samples of course syllabi). The sequence of analysis was as follows:

1. single-case analysis to establish institutional profiles of accountability pressures and organisational cultures;
2. comparative case analysis to establish similarities and differences between the institutions;
3. policymaker data analysis to establish similarities and differences between the government bodies (MRTHE, KOPERTIS) and accreditation bodies (BAN-PT, LAMPT-Kes);
4. comparative analysis between government and institutional perspectives.

I used qualitative data analysis software (NVivo) to assist in the task of data analysis. This allowed for easy comparison of the frequency of themes within institutions by job role category, and between institutions, also by job role category. As in the first stage, the emphasis was still on inductive coding, specifically by mapping the various accountability pressures cited by interviewees. I used quantitative analytical tools such

as matrix queries in NVivo to compare the frequency of themes. I also used qualitative judgements on the importance and interconnectedness of themes, such as the propensity for self-accountability to plug peer accountability gaps. I ended this stage by shifting from the descriptive to the analytical and evaluative mode, posing questions that I would follow up during further reading and further rounds of data analysis.

The third stage of data analysis was clearly more deductive in nature. I embarked on further reading to refine the analysis. In explaining different beliefs and practices between the three case study institutions, I found it helpful to draw on concepts from institutional theory, namely isomorphic pressures (DiMaggio & Powell 1991) and opportunity seeking within organisational fields (Brint & Karabel 1991). In explaining the links between institutional mission, pedagogy and fair access, I found it helpful to draw on pedagogical, social and personal framings of quality, as well as the notion of socially just pedagogy. In particular, Biesta's (2009) framework on the three functions of education (qualification, socialisation and subjectification) helped to articulate precisely how institutional mission and discipline-derived pressures shaped staff beliefs and practices about educational quality and fair access across the three cases. Being a generic framework, (i.e. not specifying which social values or which notions of the subject should be cultivated), it helps to make comparisons about similar educational goals across the three cases, even though each institution/faculty draws on different values bases (Islam, Christianity, liberal arts, global science). In analysing the policymaker data, I found it helpful to draw on the typology of governance models by Ferlie et al.(2008), including not only the conventional NPM model, but also the network governance and Neo-Weberian models. I finalised this stage by re-reading the transcripts and changing the node labels and node hierarchies in NVivo to closely match the deductively-derived concepts and theories. I repeated the same sequence of steps 1-4 as described above (from single-case analysis to comparison of government and HEI perspectives).

While these theoretical insights (outlined in detail in chapter 3) helped to progress the analytical framework further, they are nonetheless generic concepts that do not necessarily provide direct explanations of accountability in higher education, particularly so from the micro-level, practitioner perspective. Furthermore, I was dissatisfied with a code I had generated inductively as 'organisational culture' as an accountability pressure. There appeared to be some overlap or relation to institutional mission, and this required further teasing apart and refining. It was particularly important to address the issue of organisational culture because my analysis thus far had shown that neither HEI type, disciplinary area or job role category were strong predictors of accountability beliefs and practices as suggested in the literature review (research question #3). Accordingly, I embarked on a final stage of inductive coding whereby I generated three new concepts

relating to internal accountability pressures which I then integrated into the overarching analytical framework. These are:

i. **consensus versus contestation over institutional mission**, understood as a continuum not a binary category (i.e. is there a consensus over who the institution should be most accountable to? Labour market? Students-as-customers? Government regulation? Social justice mission? Religious values? Or are several notions of institutional mission competing with each other?)

ii. **constant versus intermittent peer accountability**, understood again as a continuum not a binary category (i.e. reliable, tight-knit peer relationships where each member is equally held to account and equally takes responsibility over the teaching and learning process, versus ambiguous peer relationships characterised by accountability 'gaps', where some individuals end up taking more responsibility over the learning process than others)

iii. **self-accountability**: refers to a situation where a teacher takes direct responsibility for student learning outcomes and personal development, i.e. feels bound to a pedagogic code on an intimate, personal level

I have summarised how all the inductively-derived concepts of accountability pressures and the deductively-derived theoretical concepts described above map on to each other in Table 4.12 overleaf. The result is a synthesised data analysis framework which informed the final, more targeted round of data analysis. This framework provides the structure for the discussion of research findings in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Table 4-12 Data analysis framework

Level of analysis	Analytical category	Examples	Concepts from institutional theory	Concepts from education literature	Concepts I derived inductively
the national education system	external accountability pressures	labour market accountability; state accountability	coercive and mimetic pressures of isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell 1991); opportunity fields and agency of organisational leaders (Brint & Karabel 1991)		
institutions	internal accountability pressures	mission and educational philosophy		qualification, socialisation, and subjectification purpose of education (Biesta 2009); pedagogical vs educational voice, epistemological vs ontological voice (Barnett 2007);	consensus vs contestation over institutional mission
		organisational culture			constant vs intermittent peer accountability
		teacher-student relations			self-accountability
disciplines/ departments	discipline-derived pressures	liberal arts approach; research as practice (humanities) interdisciplinary approach; research-based education (sciences)	normative, professionalised pressures of isomorphism (DiMaggio & Powell 1991)		

4.5 Validity and Reliability

Proving the validity of research should be an approach rather than a phase. As Kvale and Brinkmann (2009, 241) argue: "... validation should not be confined to a separate stage of an interview inquiry, but rather permeate all stages from the first thematization to the final reporting". This entails understanding the nature of a researcher as a reflexive practitioner. Triangulation of data is necessary, from the perspective of other researchers as well as via respondent validation (Flick 2007, 102).

Unfortunately, respondent validation in the form of participants checking over their interview transcripts was not possible, because I was not able to prepare transcripts quickly enough for interviewees to review. By the time all the transcripts were completed it was October 2017, in some cases almost 10 months after the interviews had taken place. This raised issues about validity in itself. For example, participants' attitudes toward the transcripts would probably be affected by recall problems. The exchange asking for participant validation might in turn stimulate further comments and reflections. In this case, what was I to do with the data? If participants wanted to adapt their comments significantly, should I discount the original comments? The research design is not a longitudinal design, so I would feel compelled to discount the more recent comments as data to be included in the analysis.

Because participant validation was not possible, it was especially important to engage with a community of researchers and practitioners to obtain feedback on preliminary data analysis at the time when the data collection was still fresh. Firstly, I sought validation of data analysis from HE students, staff and researchers at two discussion events at the latter stages of the fieldwork in February 2017, at a point in time when I had completed 80% of the interviews and about a third of the classroom observations. At the two research dissemination events that I co-organised, I was able to obtain student feedback and comments, which helped me to validate the findings in terms of the student perspective. The first was a public seminar held at my host institution, AKATIGA Center for Policy Analysis. Representatives of student unions from four major state and private universities in the city attended and contributed many questions. The second event was a student-led discussion club at one of the faculties at the state university – not one of the faculties included in the sample. Students who attended came from a variety of faculties, although most of them came from the faculty of social and political science. They also contributed many questions and suggestions that provoked me to re-evaluate my analysis, particularly about peer accountability and the propensity for self-accountability to plug accountability gaps. I also benefited from continued discussion of the research findings with research staff at AKATIGA.

I also engaged with other education policy researchers at three conferences in the U.K. in order to test out preliminary analyses. The first was the Association of Southeast Asian Studies (ASEAS) UK conference in September 2016 (prior to fieldwork), where I presented a paper on my analysis of the post-1998 education reforms (chapter 2). Feedback from audience members and fellow panellists (including university lecturers and students from Indonesia) helped to clarify and confirm claims about social justice arguments against the ECB reforms. I used the conference paper as the basis for a more detailed journal paper which has been published in *Compare*. The peer review process helped me to further refine my definitions of *Pancasila*, human capital and inclusive development arguments for fair access that I have outlined in chapter 2. After fieldwork, I presented two papers on my analysis of the institutional case study data, at the Centre for Education and International Development (CEID) annual conference in June 2018, and the British Association for International and Comparative Education (BAICE) annual conference in September 2018. Feedback from fellow panellists and audience members at these two events gave me confidence in the effectiveness of the data analysis framework (isomorphic pressures, qualification, socialisation and subjectification). The concepts I used help me to make clear cross-case comparisons, while at the same time remaining respectful of the empirical context and allowing the unique mission of each case study institution to feature in the analysis.

4.6   Positionality, ethical considerations and bias

Firstly, I will foreground this section with a reflexive statement on my positionality as a researcher to the research topic and context in a general sense. In doing so, I can invite the reader to become aware of my own values, dispositions, and possible affinity to the context first. This will help to make more sense of the more specific discussion that follows on ethical considerations, including how I obtained and understood consent. Finally, I end the section with a disclosure statement.

I position myself somewhere in between the insider/outsider role in the research context. On the one hand, I was influenced by a professional familiarity with the research context. I have taught in higher education settings, both in the UK and in Indonesia. This afforded me a degree of peer relatability when interacting with research participants during fieldwork. In effect, my professional identity as a teacher and researcher allowed me to position myself as a partial insider. My approach to the research subject and fieldwork was also influenced by a cultural affinity to the Indo-Malay context and linguistic proficiency in Malay and Indonesian. This is due to the fact that I was born and raised in Malaysia until the age of twelve, have lived in Indonesia for five years, and have studied and taught Indonesian language and literature for several years. These experiences afforded me relevant cultural capital that allowed me to select and adapt my

communication style, language, and behaviour according to the person and context in question.

Yet at the same time, I was also positioned by myself and participants as an outsider. The most obvious reason for this is that I was not a member of their institution, nor was I their colleague. I did not perceive this as necessarily being a handicap. My position as an outsider made it more reasonable and natural in the data collection context to ask participants for illustrations, examples and evidence to qualify their responses. In other words, the need to explain their professional context to someone from the outside necessitated participants entering a reflective and comparative mode to their responses, teasing apart which aspects of their teaching could be considered generalisable to all teachers, and which aspects on the other hand were relevant to teachers at their particular institution, interacting with their particular students.

Additionally, I held an outsider position as a white, non-Indonesian foreign national. This position was reinforced in several ways. My status as a foreign researcher required an additional layer of documentation during the formalities of negotiating consent with participants/institutions, as I had to provide evidence of my research permit issued by the MRTHE. Furthermore, I was approaching participants as a British PhD student belonging to the UCL Institute of Education, meaning I was representing an institution perceived with privileged status. Another factor that set me apart from participants was my national and cultural identity as a Finnish citizen. My association to Finland may have also carried prestige or expert status (no matter how unfounded), owing to the strong global reputation of the Finnish education system in mass media. I was mindful of these outsider roles (foreign researcher/ UCL Institute of Education student/ British and Finnish national) and the potential distance this could create between myself and participants.

My approach during fieldwork was to allay the potential problems brought about by my outsider status by striving to establish a relationship of mutual respect and trust with research participants. I did so by emphasising my professional role as an education researcher, by reminding participants of the purpose of the research to feed into policymaker and practitioner spheres in a national but also universal sense, and by underlining my personal curiosity and desire to learn about their professional context simply for the purpose of my own professional development as an educator. My impression during fieldwork was that these strategies were sufficient to establish consensual and comfortable relationships with the participants. The fact that I was a self-funded research student undertaking my doctoral study out of professional interest, (rather than being sponsored by a government agency or donor organisation), bolstered my positionality as an insider-professional. In the interest of making the exchanges dialogic, I also allocated time before and after the interviews/observations for participants

to ask any questions and talk about the UK higher education system and other higher education contexts I have researched (Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America). This further highlighted my professional interest in the research topic. The fact that the research was exploratory and qualitative may have also helped in terms of establishing trust. For instance, I was not employing any quantitative assessment of their student learning, nor was I employing observation rubrics that sought to assess the quality of their teaching in a supposedly objective manner. Therefore, the research may have felt less judgemental, or associated with performance in the eyes of the government, and more formative, or at least associated with performance in the eyes of a professional community.

Having reflected on my positionality in the research context and its implications of data collection, I now turn to a discussion of the ethical considerations of confidentiality, anonymity and obtaining consent. Recruitment of participants was based on principles of anonymity, confidentiality and consent. When negotiating access to the case study institutions with representatives of their senior management, I settled on a degree of anonymity for the institutions. They consented to me referring to their institution based on generic descriptions of their HEI type (university, institute of technology, college), governance type (state-ECB or private) and location (West Java). They approved of my confidentiality undertaking. They had the right to withdraw their consent at any time. After approving my proposed research schedule, the senior managers signed a letter of agreement I had drafted, and in two instances they also provided me with a letter of introduction to take to faculties/departments. This significantly helped in gaining the trust of lecturers. For the policymaker interviews, I contacted the participants directly, via their personal assistants/office secretaries. My letter of introduction from the MRTHE, evidence of research visa, and relevance of the research topic to their job roles were sufficient grounds to persuade them to participate. Overall, participants were interested in the research and spoke at ease and at length. The average time of interview exceeded my expectation of 30-45 minutes, with interviews typically lasting 45-60 minutes.

I also provided written guarantees to keep individual participants anonymous, identified only by the following generic characterstics: type of HEI, discipline, job role category, and if relevant, career stage (for example, 'an early-career STEM lecturer'). I explained the confidentiality undertaking and data protection protocol prior to the interview, and all interviewees approved. I obtained oral and written consent from participants before conducting interviews, with interviewees signing in person on the day (not electronically). Participants had the right to withdraw their consent, regardless of the consent provided by the institutional representatives at senior management level.

The practice of obtaining written consent was not familiar to many of my research participants. Many lecturers assumed that consent obtained from more senior levels was sufficient. This suggests a collective or seniority-approved culture of consent. I explained that it was a requirement of my university and a standard protocol in the field of educational research. For some participants, it helped them to understand the need to obtain written consent in terms of clarifying that this was not a journalism interview, seeking facts, figures and comments that represented the institution rather than the individual. With all the lecturers, I found it easy to establish rapport as a fellow lecturer/teacher, thus establishing a sense of peer relatability. When asking about accountability, I commented explicitly that even myself and my colleagues in the UK struggle to define or grasp exactly what accountability means or should mean, and this was sufficient to orient participants towards providing frank, reflective and personalised accounts.

The cultural practice of collective or management-approved consent in Indonesia also became apparent when scheduling observations. I consulted with staff about my proposition to sit quietly in the background, and explained that I was not using a proforma to measure them as a lecturer, but rather attending their class to get a clearer picture of the learning environment at the institution in general. None of the staff declined this, and they were welcoming. Regarding potential reactions from the students, I suggested that I introduce myself briefly at the start of the lesson, and they agreed that this was the most appropriate way of obtaining consent from the class for my presence. My impression was that the students and staff were used to peer observations for developmental purposes or from the context of team teaching, and my presence was not something unusual to them.

In terms of researcher bias, I declare that this research does not form part of a donor-funded project. The research was undertaken on a self-funded basis. The main motivation for undertaking the study was my own professional and intellectual interest in the subject. As such, I had autonomy to devise and shape the project according to my own interests and in accordance with my own values and dispositions. I also declare that I do not have any conflict of interest to disclose. I am not employed by any HEI or government agency in Indonesia, nor am I involved with any political organisations in Indonesia. I have been a student at one of the case study HEIs, and this did have some impact on my ability to negotiate access to participants there. As explained above in the section on participant selection, staff at the office of the dean allowed me a greater degree of freedom to approach lecturers directly, without having to liaise with heads of department or research liaison staff.

5   Government perspectives of accountability

This section answers the first research question concerning the government perspective of accountability reforms. The specific research questions posed were:

1   a) What assumptions do policymakers and accreditation bodies hold about accountability reforms in Indonesia, specifically in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access?

b) Which rationales for HE development do they cite to account for the relevance of Indonesia's accountability reforms?

The chapter is divided in the following way. First, I discuss assumptions about quality. Secondly, I discuss policymaker assumptions about fair access. Finally, in the third section I bring together the themes of quality and fair access as a joint concern.

5.1   Assumptions about quality
5.1.1   Labour market accountability

Interviewees from both the Ministry for Research Technology and Higher Education (MRTHE) and the accreditation agencies confirmed that the current cabinet is seeking to align the higher education system with its economic development strategy. Hence, the first way in which they framed macro-level accountability was accountability to the labour market and national economic development plans. They cited human capital rationales and neoliberal rationales for labour market al.ignment or responsiveness. As an example of the importance placed on human capital theory, one interviewee stressed that human resources represented "the key to a nation's success" (MRTHE policymaker, ID 73). Human capital arguments were also linked to Indonesia's ability to compete on the global scale. In this view, the purpose of quality assurance is to facilitate the desire of the government and the HE providers to produce graduates who are "ready to compete globally, graduates who are competitive, competent, well-rounded" (MRTHE policymaker, ID 73). This framing thus positions the higher education sector as a market where quality is defined by the ability of graduates to compete with each other in the global labour market. Therefore, this framing also reveals a neoliberal discourse of HE development. Alternatively, market responsiveness was framed in terms of domestic economic needs, as meeting Indonesia's current labour market needs. As an example of this, one interviewee described how "we don't want to be cutting cookies in the shape of A when what industry wants is actually cookies in the shape of B" (MRTHE policymaker, ID 72).

In terms of concrete accountability mechanisms in support of the government objective of labour market responsiveness, interviewees cited the examples of SN-Dikti as well as

the national qualifications framework (*kerangka kualifikasi nasional Indonesia* or KKNI). The latter provides an equivalency scale between academic qualifications and professional competencies, designed to improve a company's ability to profile their HR needs more accurately (MRTHE 2015; Presidential Regulation 8/2012). The framing of SN-Dikti as compatible with KKNI reflects the way in which curricular standardisation has been developed with employment-relevant objectives in mind. This is an indication of standardisation of educational outcomes with reference to market responsiveness, a strategy that is characteristic of a neoliberal rationale for HE development. Interviewees also described several recent mechanisms to have emerged as a result of the cabinet's vision for higher education-labour market alignment. These revolve around enhancing the quantity and quality of vocational education in support of economic restructuring to favour manufacturing (rather than export of raw goods). As an example of this strategy, the government had approached BAN-PT to update the accreditation instruments used for assessing vocational study programmes and polytechnic institutions (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74). Specifically, the aim of the enhanced accreditation was to sanction and encourage closer industry and practitioner involvement in vocational education provision (ibid.). The cabinet's vision for vocational education had likewise led to the need for new regulations passed by the MRTHE on the recognition of prior learning (*rekognisi pendidikan lampau* or RPL) in order to facilitate the involvement of practitioners with industry experience as teaching staff at polytechnics (MRTHE policymaker, ID 72).

While the above depicts the general trend among policymaker assumptions, there was nevertheless a sense of ambiguity or tension between accountability to domestic human capital creation on the one hand, and accountability to global labour markets on the other. This was noticeable in the interviews with directors from LAMPT-Kes. On the one hand, the rationale behind an independent accreditation body was framed in terms of "the interests of our profession" (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 75), reflecting the legal discourse on enhanced ownership of quality assurance by subject experts – a kind of professional accountability, if not labour market accountability. But those "interests of the profession" were described explicitly by the same director in response to global labour market needs: "We really felt a challenge to improve because we export health professionals abroad. And we have to assure them … the end users of the quality of our product" (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 75)[24]. Thus, the very impetus behind the establishing of an independent accreditation body in the field of health science was a need to satisfy international standards imposed in a globalised labour market. This reflects a neoliberal rationale for HE development.

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[24] The most common destinations for Indonesian nurses are Japan and the Middle East (BNP2TKI 2017).

Yet at the same time, another interviewee emphasised accountability to national development interests. In this view, human capital creation for Indonesia's development needs trumps accountability to any global labour market trends. For instance, the issue of Sumatran HEIs training medical students who are Malaysian nationals[25] was framed as a threat to domestic human capital creation. In effect, Indonesia ends up subsidising the training of medical professionals of Malaysia (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 76). The case of Malaysian medical students, who reportedly numbered as many as 600 at one point at a North Sumatran University, eventually provoked state intervention, with the passing of a regulation to cap the number of foreign students (ibid.). It appears, then, that the neoliberal aim of market responsiveness is an acceptable aim for some policymakers (including the MRTHE), but only so long as it does not impinge on domestic development needs. If it does, the state is prepared to intervene.

5.1.2 Public accountability

The second theme in the policymaker interviews concerning quality was a Neo-Weberian rationale for HE development and public accountability. By public, I mean both the individual students who attend higher education, and the higher education system as a public good. The theme of public accountability centred on state intervention in the name of protecting public interests, namely protecting the overall quality of the HE system in the context of phoney, profit-oriented and irresponsible HE provision. In this sense, accountability of quality is not judged in terms of achieving excellence or competing globally. Rather, accountability of quality is understood as maintaining minimum standards of quality and policing the legal requirement for HE provision to be not-for-profit in nature. Related to this is a desire to ensure that HE provision matches the spirit of the constitutional mandate of the state to "educate the nation". In other words, policymakers called on a Neo-Weberian rationale for HE development to implement accountability-as-fitness-for-purpose.

Policymakers recognised that the issue of phoney or profit-oriented HE provision was a societal issue related to the increasing value placed on higher qualifications in the current labour market. The supply exists only because there is a strong demand. For instance, one MRTHE policymaker pointed out that many Indonesians pursue higher education for the instrumental value it provides, not for the educational value:

> …most people are looking for something instant – they want a degree, but without studying. So in the end, they can buy one. They want to be clever, but they don't want to

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[25] Sumatra is both linguistically, culturally and geographically close to West Malaysians. Admission to HE is competitive in Malaysia. Indeed, up until 2012 it was even more selective as admissions had to follow strict ethnic group quotas as part of the pro-Malay affirmative action policy. Therefore, attendance at an Indonesian HE across the border in Sumatra has been an attractive option for many Malaysians.

do research. We just go to an agent to write the dissertation or thesis for us. We pay how much, 3 million [rupiah]. But it's not their own work. That kind of thing is allowed. So that gets us to the question of – how do we eradicate all that? (MRTHE policymaker, ID 73).

Interviewees were also quick to point out that HEI providers are equally to blame in the picture. One policymaker from LAMPT-Kes described how accreditation was necessary to curb profit-oriented behaviour of HEIs (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 76). Although the law states that a private HEI has to be run as a foundation (*yayasan*), the interviewee lamented that in reality, many private HEIs are run as companies: "A foundation, according to the law, is a public organisation [emphasis]! The law says it's a public organisation! Yes! Not owned by a private individual. But what I see is many foundations are still governed by, like a private individual, a family … like a company." (ibid.) This characterisation of profit-oriented private HEIs was contrasted against more respectable private HEI providers that are clearly more 'public' in character, such as those run by Muhammadiyah, or the many Catholic and Christian foundations (ibid.).

In this context, both MRTHE policymakers and accreditation body directors understood their role in the national HE system as upholders or protectors of public accountability. The enhanced accreditation system was thus a Neo-Weberian tool of government to assure the quality of HE provision in the public interest. As one policymaker described: "According to me, in all my 24 years having been involved in the world of education, the most powerful thing when you're looking to improve productivity in Indonesia is regulation. … You have to use regulations, and only then they'll want to follow. … Rather than accept a lack of productivity, with lecturers not taking responsibility over their students, it's better that we issue regulations." (MRTHE policymaker, ID 72). Regulations on curricular standardisation as well as accreditation can thus be seen as interventions to protect student interests.

There were two key assumptions about how exactly the accreditation system achieves the aim of assuring quality in the system. The first assumption is that enhancing the rigour of the approval process for opening new study programmes will prevent predatory behaviour on the part of HEIs. In the current system, HEIs must send a proposal for evaluation by BAN-PT as an initial step. Only after this initial vetting and approval of their proposal by BAN-PT can they then move on to requesting formal approval for the study programme from the MRTHE (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74).

The second assumption is about the grading system in accreditation as a driver of HEI behaviour. Since private HEIs are dependent on student intake to cover their costs (via tuition fees), the danger is that they will over-enrol students beyond their capacity, resulting in massified, low-quality provision. The ranking system in accreditation can curb this kind of behaviour, because it rewards HEIs that perform well in accreditation (i.e.

achieve an A or B grade) with the prospect of greater student intake (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74). In essence, the ranking system of accreditation has been 'offered' by the state to the private sector as a tool to help them compete for students more effectively and clearly (ibid.), by providing comparable information on their quality to the market of prospective students and employers. A virtuous cycle ensues, whereby a higher accreditation ranking means the HEI can attract more students. Accordingly, the HEI can implement a more selective admissions process. This results in a higher quality of student intake, and a greater likelihood of improving their graduate outcomes. This in turn will improve their reputation and accreditation evaluation, thus attracting an even greater number of students in the next round of recruitment, with their capacity to make admissions increasingly selective, and so forth. (As will be discussed in chapter 6 on institutional perspectives of accountability, some HEIs do buy in to this logic, and there is a tangible impact).

However, a MRTHE policymaker contrastingly expressed reservations about the potential for this market logic to play out. They argued instead that those institutions who receive a C grade do not do anything to improve their score, and those who obtain an A grade simply slack off before the next round of accreditation 5 years later (MRTHE policymaker ID 73). Much like Newton's (2002) observations about quality assessments in England, this policymaker argued that institutional managers had come to view accreditation improvement in instrumental terms, without the accreditation process having any direct impact on educational improvement or the creation of a quality enhancement culture. In response to this, the MRTHE policymaker believed that it was necessary for the state to carry out capacity building work and provide continued material support to HEIs in order to achieve actual educational improvement. An example of this would be a mentoring scheme between A-accredited and C-accredited institutions that is being run by the MRTHE (ibid.)

In sum, policymakers believe that the logic and behaviour of the market al.one will not disincentivise low-quality HE provision. Even with increasing public awareness of accreditation rankings, a market has emerged for cheap and fast HE where the piece of paper counts, not the learning. This justifies state intervention in the national system via accreditation and curricular standardisation in order to curb student and HEI behaviour that undermines the integrity and quality of the system. Policymakers are not necessarily disagreeing with the neoliberal rationale for marketisation as a driver of quality. In fact, we could say that the ranking system in accreditation plays in to this logic. Policymakers do, however, accept that there is a market out there for phoney, profit-oriented HE provision, which clearly defies the neoliberal assumption that the market will solve the

problem of quality all by itself. In response to this 'parallel' education market, the state intervenes to protect public accountability.

5.1.3 Professional accountability

In addition to labour market and public accountability, interviewees made comments that suggested there has been a partial shift towards professional-oriented accountability. What I mean by this is that policymakers expressed fatigue or even disillusionment with NPM-style output-based indicators of quality, and support and enthusiasm for quality enhancement that was overseen primarily by self-organising professional networks. In other words, policymakers assumed that the quality of HE should be made accountable to professionals and academics, rather than being held accountable to generic and quantitative indicators used by the state.

In effect, accreditation in its pre-reform manifestation was considered a relatively weak accountability mechanism. A policymaker from the MRTHE emphatically lamented that in the first 20 years of operating, the accreditation system had had "almost no impact on quality enhancement" (MRTHE policymaker ID 73). This was partly down to the nature of accreditation, which relied on generic and quantitative indicators of quality along the lines of a classic input-output model (ibid.). The policymaker conceded that another reason behind the lack of quality improvement was a lack of commitment to genuine quality enhancement on the part of HEI managers: "*The majority of institutions are only chasing after the status … by whatever means necessary – whether they hire a consultant [to improve the quality of their self-assessment submission], or whether they use an assessor who's been bribed, or whichever other way.*" (ibid.). The relatively weak position of BAN-PT in coercing or influencing HEI behaviour was corroborated by an interviewee from this institution. They pointed out that due to conflict of interest issues, BAN-PT is deliberately denied a direct capacity building role. In line with this, their legal mandate is not to intervene in cases where they identify sub-standard quality, but rather to simply provide an assessment of whether a HEI or study programme is fit for purpose (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74).

In the contemporary climate of enhanced public accountability and a lack of faith in the credibility of the old accreditation system, independent accreditation bodies (LAM) and greater accountability to the professions in the HE system were considered apt solutions. There was a clear consensus among all interviewees from both the MRTHE and the accreditation agencies that establishing LAM is desirable because it will facilitate a shift to outcomes-based evaluations of quality (rather than output-based ones) and hence enhance the credibility of accreditation. It is hoped that LAM will be able to provide more meaningful feedback and recommendations as part of the accreditation process (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74). Indeed, accreditation under LAMPT-Kes follows a two-step

process with the aim of providing a more detailed and constructive accreditation experience. In the first step the LAM appoints a supervisor to guide the HEI in preparing their self-evaluation, while in the second step a separate team of assessors conduct the summative assessment of their quality (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 75). According to one of the interviewees, feedback from HEIs who have participated in accreditation under LAMPT-Kes thus far has been positive, and initial evidence shows an improvement in the proportion of HEIs obtaining a B rather than a C grade (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 75).

Yet, at the same time, the kind of professional accountability practised in the system at the moment only represents a partial move towards a network governance model. For one, uptake of the LAM policy has been slow and only one LAM is up and running to date. More importantly, the nature of LAM is still to provide summative assessments, much like BAN-PT. One director at LAMPT-Kes explicitly stated that the organisation is not allowed to have a nurturing role, and capacity building remains the preserve of the MRTHE (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 76). Indeed, the interviewee drew comparisons with the American model of accreditation in healthcare to demonstrate that LAMPT-Kes did not have as much authority to take on a nurturing role and intervene directly in institutional affairs (ibid.). Furthermore, the establishing of LAM is contingent on approval and nomination by BAN-PT, prior to formal approval by the MRTHE, which means that an element of state accountability is retained. Moreover, with the introduction of curricular standardisation via SN-Dikti and the National Qualifications Framework (KKNI), LAM still have to make reference to these nationally-set standards of educational quality in their own handbooks and accreditation instruments. Therefore, there is still an element of state accountability, and they cannot be considered entirely accountable to professional networks alone. It is more appropriate to characterise them as complementary to, rather than a substitute for state authority on educational quality.

Even though the use of LAM remains limited, there is a related trend of professional accountability permeating HE policymaking. While the state awaits more LAM to form, in the meantime policymakers have sought to accommodate professional accountability by involving professional associations, institutional associations and experts in the creation of subject-specific curricular standards and corresponding accreditation instruments. From the current 24,000 or so study programmes, the goal is to create 600 subject clusters where graduate competencies are assessed against mutually agreed learning outcomes (MRTHE policymaker ID 73). The MRTHE has also tasked BAN-PT with the job of devising outcomes-based accreditation instruments to match these subject-specific benchmarks as and when they become available (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74). We could view these efforts as a hybrid between a state-dictated model and a policy

network driven model. The boundaries between policymakers-as-technocrats/bureacracts becomes blurred with policymakers-as-professionals/practitioners. This point was corroborated by a senior manager at one of the case study institutions (senior management, ID 27), who listed several experts on curriculum design based at universities in the province as active players in the current project of subject benchmarking of learning outcomes.

The relationship between accreditation assessors and HEI managers also has propensity to refine and negotiate professional judgements about higher education quality. For instance, a director at BAN-PT with decades of experience as an assessor pointed out that curricular standardisation does not negate an institution's agency to pursue a specific mission, but rather there is still room for them to define their educational quality in their own terms. A concrete example they cited was when they had encouraged a HEI in Kalimantan to re-assess their efforts to define quality in relation to the stereotype of a "world-class university", and to pursue high-tech areas of research that were perceived as trendy. Instead, the interviewee highlighted locally relevant areas of research in which the HEI had potential to develop high quality expertise, such as research on orangutan populations (Director at BAN-PT, ID 74). In this case at least, the role of the BAN-PT assessor was to mediate and buffer isomorphic pressures to follow a homogenous, world class university model, and instead embolden a provincial HEI to pursue a locally-relevant conceptualisation of quality. This suggests that some policymakers at least adhere to a sense of professional accountability, advocating a definition of quality-as-relevance. In this way, professional accountability among policymakers can produce a more horizontal relationship between the state and HEIs.

In sum, there is widespread support for professional accountability. In concrete terms, there has been a partial shift from a Neo-Weberian rationale for state intervention and regulation, to endorsing a network governance model of HE development where self-organising policy networks disseminate best practice via high-trust relationships. To an extent, professional associations do hold a relatively strong position in Indonesia, and the legal provision for the establishing of LAM facilitates a partial handover of authority in overseeing quality from the state to those professional organisations. Yet there is still a degree of state control, for instance in the requirement for LAM to seek approval and nomination from BAN-PT and formal recognition by the MRTHE. It remains unclear to what extent they will perceive themselves or be perceived by HEIs as an extension of the state rather than an independent body, separate from the state. Nevertheless, the involvement of academics and representatives of professional associations in the state-directed project of subject benchmarking suggests that there is a porous policymaking

environment with room for crossover between technocrats and pedagogically-driven practitioners.

5.2 Assumptions about fair access

5.2.1 Economic accountability

All the interviewees described the current fair access policies (the 20% admissions quota, Bidikmisi and ADik Papua/3T) as necessary to support Indonesia's national development goals and targets for economic growth. In doing so, they referred to a human capital rationale for HE development, and the need to boost the human resource capacity of the nation in order to succeed economically. Poor but bright students unable to access HE were framed as wasted economic potential, or even more poetically as "neglected pearls" (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). MRTHE policymakers explicitly mentioned the current Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla administration's target to boost the gross tertiary enrolment ratio (GTER) target as a key factor behind current support for fair access policies. Moreover, competition among graduates for high skills jobs will increase with the implementation of the ASEAN Economic Community, which allows greater labour mobility within the region. This was a strong factor driving the cabinet and MRTHE policymakers to improve Indonesia's GTER so it can at least get to nearly comparable levels of tertiary-educated citizens as its ASEAN neighbours, if not match them (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). For instance, at the time of this research project Malaysia's GTER had surpassed the 40% mark, whereas Indonesia's GTER had only surpassed the 30% mark (UIS 2018a). Narrowing a 10-percentage-point gap in a matter of years may not be possible, but the aim is certainly to gradually narrow that gap.

The second ancillary argument to support fair access policies was poverty reduction. This supports a global trend in recognising the link between HE participation, poverty reduction and economic development (Tilak 2010). The expectation of the policymakers is that graduates from low-income families will get better jobs, thus contributing to their family's prosperity, and in turn boosting the economic well-being of their hometown or home village more broadly. When pressed about the timing and rationale behind the launch of Bidikmisi in 2010, one MRTHE policymaker explained that the poverty reduction argument was a key argument driving the Minister at the time (Minister for Education and Culture Muhammad Nuh) to pursue this financial aid scheme (MRTHE policymaker ID 71).

5.2.2 Public accountability

Indonesia's current fair access policies were framed more strongly by interviewees in terms of social justice arguments, rather than purely economic ones. In these instances, interviewees drew on *Pancasila* and constitutional arguments for fair access. Hence, fair

access policies were framed in response to public accountability – accountability to citizen rights. For instance, the fair access policies that have been articulated in the 2003 National Education System Law, the 2005 Teachers and Lecturers Law and the 2012 Higher Education Law were described as originating from "the constitutional mandate for the state to take responsibility over national education" (Director at BAN-PT ID 74). Likewise, another interviewee described HE objectives in response to the constitutionally enshrined objective for the nation of Indonesia to pursue "a just and prosperous society" (Director at LAMPT-Kes, ID 76). Accordingly, the 20% admissions quota and participation in the Bidikmisi scheme for state HEIs was described as a non-negotiable duty, bound by a constitutional mandate. As one interviewee put it: "*state HEIs actually don't have a choice. They have to implement this. Because they're state institutions, right? So they have to obey us*" (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). The current motivation among policymakers for implementing fair access policies was also framed in historical perspective as a means of redressing previous failures of the political system to adequately represent the interests of poor people. One interviewee described how the average, poor Indonesian had become disillusioned with politics, as leaders endlessly changed at the top without any impact on their own prosperity (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). In contrast, the current fair access policies were described as a means to "provide prosperity to our citizens in a just manner, so every citizen has the opportunity to be made prosperous through the efforts of their state" (ibid.). These arguments reflect a reorientation to the fifth sila in *Pancasila* - social justice for the entire people of Indonesia – as discussed in chapter 2.

While the 20% admissions quota and Bidikmisi were defined in terms of social justice for low-income or poor students, the affirmative action policy (ADik Papua/3T) was defined in terms of social justice *and* social cohesion objectives. On one hand, there was a clear social justice rationale for the policy, much like in the case of the Bidikmisi scheme described above. Particularly in the case of the province of Papua, one interviewee spoke frankly of the social injustice experienced by its residents, at least in terms of economic injustice. The rest of the country had experienced economic prosperity, yet Papuans were still far behind and had yet to enjoy their "slice of the development pie" (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). Even though the province was "overflowing in abundant natural resources", the interviewee stressed the unfairness of the situation whereby only foreign corporations (notably Freeport McMoRan[26]) and other parties are enjoying the benefits of these resources, rather than Papuans themselves (ibid.). Yet there was a clear social cohesion argument that ran parallel to the social justice argument. One of

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[26] Papua has an abundance in mineral deposits. The American corporation Freeport McMoRan manages gold, silver and copper mines in the province.

the main objectives of ADik Papua is to cultivate a sense of belonging and affinity to the nation state in young Papuans - an awareness that "I am a citizen of Indonesia" (ibid.). Providing access to HE that is "equal and fair" is the state's way of making sure Papuans do not feel that they are treated differently or neglected (ibid.). In short, the affirmative action scheme is about "national stability" and "avoiding disintegration" of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) (ibid.). Here there is a clear emphasis on the third principle of *Pancasila*, namely "the unity of Indonesia".

It should be noted that a sense of public accountability applied to the MRTHE policymakers and KOPERTIS officials themselves. For them, public accountability meant not just introducing relevant fair access programmes, but also managing those programmes in a transparent and fair manner. For instance, the MRTHE had taken measures to address implementation problems in the early stages of Bidikmisi, such as late payments to students and misuse of the scheme by students who did not qualify for financial aid. Regarding the involvement of private HEIs in the Bidikmisi scheme, MRTHE and KOPERTIS staff worked closely to monitor the intentions and implementation of the scheme by HEIs. The KOPERTIS staff even conducted in-person spot checks of Bidikmisi-recipients' home addresses to verify their low-income status. Although it was not possible to conduct spot checks for every particular student, staff conducted spot checks at a random sample of homes. This required considerable effort from them, travelling in teams to various districts in the province, many of which were a considerable distance away in isolated areas (KOPERTIS official, ID 77, ID 78 and ID 79).

A key feature of the post-1998 political reforms was to install regional autonomy and empower province-level self-development. Accordingly, I was curious to see if the national level policymakers had any views on the role of HE in promoting development at the province or district level, rather than just a more abstract notion of national development. The model of addressing regional inequality at the time of my research was a periphery-centre model, whereby residents from disadvantaged areas are encouraged to access high quality education that remains centred in urban, prosperous areas. When pressed if there were plans to pursue an alternative model of expanding the availability, quality and relevance of higher education in disadvantaged areas[27], a policymaker at the MRTHE expressed support for this policy avenue (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). However, at the time of my research, this approach had received little attention from the state in terms of specific programmes, schemes or funds. The only concrete example cited by the policymaker was the recent trend of state universities

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[27] There is a legal mandate for this in the 2012 Higher Education Law Articles 80-81, which call for expansion of higher education availability at the level of each province and district, at the minimum in the form of community academies. These are small-scale colleges offering diploma-level programmes in subjects that are closely linked to the local economy.

opening up branch campuses in rural districts (ibid.). As will be discussed in chapter 7, this policy was actually an initiative of HEIs and the governor of West Java, rather than the MRTHE itself. Since the time of the fieldwork, there have been signs that the government is now pursuing this alternative approach of distributing high-quality and relevant higher education across provinces more evenly. For instance, the number of district-level community academies has proliferated in recent years. While they only numbered 9 in the academic year 2014/5, their figure has increased ten-fold to 92 as of the 2018/9 academic year (Community Academies 2018). Horizontality of higher education access, for instance through the community academy initiative, is therefore a timely topic for future research to investigate, but is beyond the scope of my thesis.

5.3   Intersections between accountability, quality and fair access

Interviewees did see a link between quality and fair access, reflecting the legal discourse about access to higher education that is of equally high quality. We can call this *horizontality* of access (McCowan 2016). Again, this was expressed as an extension of public accountability. For instance, the MRTHE had set eligibility requirements for private HEIs to participate in the Bidikmisi scheme. Private HEIs must have institutional and study programme accreditation with a minimum B-ranking. This is to satisfy the state that Bidikmisi recipients are accessing higher education that is of adequate quality (MRTHE policymaker ID 71; KOPERTIS official, ID 77). The spirit of the law is that subsidised access should be distributed across a full range of study programmes (the 2012 Higher Education Law Article 74). In line with this, the MRTHE also sets priority subject areas when it allocates its Bidikmisi quota for the private sector (ibid.). Most recently, this had included subjects such as computing education and other technology-related subjects (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). In this way, the state can avoid a situation where scholarship recipients are clustered around a small number of study programmes. The purpose of the policy is also to address the fact that private HEIs are less likely to accommodate Bidikmisi students on high-cost study programmes (such as health sciences), because the 2.4 million IDR tuition fee contribution is nowhere near the actual per-student cost, resulting in a financial loss to the institution per Bidikmisi student enrolled (MRTHE policymaker ID 71; KOPERTIS official, ID 77). By setting target subject areas, the state can at least encourage a minimum number of places in such high-cost study programmes to be filled.

As mentioned above in the case of educational quality, public accountability is felt in terms of protecting the quality of the higher education system overall, not just in terms of protecting student rights. Not only do the institutions need to demonstrate adequate quality, but so do the students. In other words, public accountability extends from an individual sense of student rights to a collective sense of citizen and employer rights to

a higher education system that is of equally rigorous quality. For this reason, there was continued support among MRTHE for academic selectivity in the Bidikmisi scheme. Indeed, the academic success of Bidikmisi recipients was attributed directly to the use of standardised national admissions processes – the high school report entry route (SNMPTN), and the national entrance exam (SBMPTN) (MRTHE policymaker ID 71). The exception was the affirmative action scheme ADik Papua/3T, which had experienced lower levels of academic progress among scholarship recipients. The MRTHE thus had to balance HEI concerns of inadequate student quality on the one hand, (such as inadequate academic progress to merit graduation in the usual 4-year cycle), with the social justice and social cohesion concerns of access and participation on the other hand. Here the MRTHE was prepared to compromise by allowing ADik Papua/3T recipients extended periods of study (and continued funding) before they could reach sufficient academic progress to warrant graduation. They also made requests to participating HEIs to offer matriculation for ADik Papua/3T students prior to commencing studies in order to assist such students in making adequate academic progress. This demonstrates a flexible admissions/strict graduations approach to assuring the quality of the HE system.

5.4 Summary

With regards to educational quality, policymakers have drawn on human capital, neoliberal, Neo-Weberian and network governance rationales for higher education development alike. Admittedly, policymakers define educational quality in terms of labour market responsiveness, expressing human capital and neoliberal rationales. Yet at the same time, policymakers draw on a new-Weberian logic to justify state intervention in regulating quality, in the context of phony or for-profit oriented higher education provision. This suggests a rejection of a fully neoliberal rationale for marketisation, instead arguing for state intervention to protect accountability to the public – both in terms of students and employers. More recently, the state has moved away from a 'classic' form of accountability-as-quality assurance which employs generic, output-based indicators, to a network governance model where professional associations and academics take over the task of discipline-specific quality enhancement. This reflects a partial shift towards professional-oriented accountability.

With regards to fair access policies, policymakers cited human capital rationales as well as *Pancasila* rationales to justify these policies. While the Bidikmisi scheme is framed mainly in terms of human capital and social justice rationales, the affirmative action scheme ADik Papua/3T is additionally framed in terms of social cohesion arguments for development, with a strong emphasis on the third principle in *Pancasila* of national unity.

Finally, the findings reveal that policymakers do assume that accountability refers to both quality and fair access as a joint concern, as expressed in support for horizontality of access. In other words, students must be guaranteed access to HEIs that are of comparable quality, meeting minimum standards of quality set nationally. At the same time, policymakers felt that employers and national reputation must be protected, so state institutions need to adhere to a minimum standard of quality for their student intake. A sense of public accountability thus justifies state intervention to maintain the integrity of the higher education system overall.

6 Institutional perspectives of accountability: educational quality

This chapter moves from the policymaking sphere to the policy implementation sphere, turning the focus to the findings of the three institutional case studies. The focus of this chapter is on educational quality, while the following chapter turns to a discussion of fair access and how that related to quality. To reiterate, the specific research questions guiding the study in relation to institutional perspectives were:

2.   a) In what ways do the beliefs and practices of staff at autonomous Indonesian HEIs (senior management, middle management, lecturers, student admissions/recruitment staff) converge or diverge from government assumptions about accountability reforms, specifically in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access?

b) What alternative beliefs and practices do these staff have in relation to accountability, quality and fair access?

3.   a) What are the accountability pressures that drive beliefs and practices in relation to teaching and learning quality and fair access among HE staff?

b) Do institution type (state-ECB or private), disciplinary area (vocational/professional, sciences or humanities) or job role category (lecturer, middle management, senior management, admissions staff) play a role?

The chapter begins with a discussion of external accountability pressures. These comprise pressure from the state and the labour market. Next, I discuss internal accountability pressures, in other words, the accountability pressures specific to the institutions themselves. These comprise institutional mission, peer accountability, and self-accountability. The third section of the chapter discusses an alternative accountability pressure that transcends institutional or even national context, namely discipline-derived pressures. Here the accountability pressure stems from the norms and values of a body of knowledge. I deliberately discuss this section separately from the other external accountability pressures because discipline-derived pressures function as a normative, practitioner-led pressure rather than a coercive pressure imposed from above (DiMaggio & Powell 1991). The discussion is primarily organised thematically, although I occasionally switch to a case-by-case presentation of the findings when this is more helpful for the reader. The chapter ends with a cross-case comparison of the research findings on accountability of quality, allowing for convenient review of the similarities and differences between the three case studies.

6.1 External accountability pressures

6.1.1 Overview

Across the three case studies, external accountability pressure to the state was tangible. Accountability to the state is demonstrated via three main mechanisms, namely: (i) fulfilling minimum qualification requirements for teaching staff; (ii) adhering to curricular standardisation or SN-Dikti; and (iii) participating in 5-yearly institutional and study programme accreditation. Although accreditation only takes place on a 5-yearly cycle, annual computerised reporting of staff and student data to the new Higher Education Database (PD-Dikti) adds to the continuity and efficacy of state accountability. We can view these state accountability mechanisms as a form of coercive isomorphism, imposed by a state motivated by Neo-Weberian rationales for HE development, keen to demonstrate its public accountability.

Meanwhile, institutions also felt external accountability pressure to the labour market, and this was especially so at the private HEIs. As will be discussed below, these institutions also had a higher degree of consensus over their institutional mission, which in each case was closely linked to religious and social justice ideals. These two factors (labour market pressure and institutional mission) provided a slightly different 'accountability orientation' of the institutions. In effect, they reflect the agency of private HEIs in seeking out opportunities in the organisational field, as they carve out their niche in the market of higher education (Brint & Karabel 1991). In sum, while each institution experienced external accountability pressure to the government, labour market and institutional mission, the relative importance of these pressures varied. The relative strength of these accountability pressures is summarised in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6-1 Relative strength of external accountability pressures

institution	external accountability pressure	
	state	labour market
State-ECB university	strong	moderate
private institute of technology	moderate	strong
private health science college	strong	strong

The characterisation above reveals a general split between orientations to state versus labour market/institutional mission among the state and private case study institutions. However, there is one exception to this pattern. At the health science college, there were two additional state accountability mechanisms at play: (i) the competency exams (UKOM) for health professionals; and (ii) stringent selection criteria for health

professionals seeking public sector jobs that mandate graduation from a minimum B-accredited study programme. This means that accountability to the state is firstly, more pronounced than in non-health science HEIs; and secondly, interconnected with labour market accountability. For this reason, I classify the state and labour market pressures on the health science college as equally strong. This reflects the strong role that central government plays in regulating the health professions in Indonesia. Elsewhere in the world, it may be professional associations or local governments that take on this role instead.

Having provided a broad characterisation of the external forces that exert accountability pressure on institutions, in the following sub-sections I discuss external accountability in more detail. I begin with institutional experiences of the formal, coercive forms of accountability to the state, before turning to a discussion on labour market accountability. I deliberately organise the findings thematically for the section on state accountability mechanisms. This is because the mechanisms are essentially the same for each case study institution (and indeed for all Indonesian HEIs), so it makes sense to discuss this accountability pressure according to the various mechanisms themselves, rather than according to each institution, as that would result in a lot of repetition. In the case of labour market accountability, however, the actual mechanisms in use at each case study differed. Therefore, I discuss labour market accountability case by case, thus allowing me to more clearly highlight institutional variation.

6.1.2 State accountability

6.1.2.1 Minimum qualification requirements

The most basic aspect of educational quality that is defined by the state is the quality of the teaching staff. In the Teachers and Lecturers Law 14/2005, the state has set minimum qualification requirements for teaching staff in terms of the level of qualification required (Article 46 (2) a- b)[28], as well as the accreditation status of the degree awarded and relevance to the subject being taught (Article 46 [1])[29]. There was a clear consensus at all three institutions that this requirement was fair and had a sound rationale. They appreciated that enhancing the education level of their teaching staff would in turn enhance the quality of the learning and teaching environment.

All the HEIs in this study had strategies in place to meet these qualification requirements. For the most part this meant upgrading the qualifications of their existing staff, rather

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[28] "A lecturer will possess academic qualifications at the minimum of a. a Masters for teaching on Diploma or Bachelor's level prorammes; and b. a Doctorate for teaching on post-graduate level programmes."

[29] "Academic qualifications as described in Article 45 above must be awarded by an accredited post-graduate programme that is aligned with their discipline."

than recruiting more highly-qualified lecturers externally. The latter option was not possible at the state institution for the reason that the current cadre of lectures is protected by their civil servant status. (Hence it is not a viable option to simply substitute a member of staff with a more highly-qualified alternative). Beyond that consideration, for both state and private HEIs the option of recruiting higher-qualified lecturers externally is not always possible because the supply of masters or PhD-qualified lecturers in Indonesia is still very limited. The main strategies adopted by staff in managerial positions (senior members of the faculty, heads of department) to achieve the aim of upgrading staff qualifications were: providing internal funding, identifying external funding such as national or international scholarship schemes, granting study leave, and in general fostering a climate of expectation and encouragement for existing staff to study further, even up to the PhD level. This had resulted in a relatively high proportion of PhD educated staff at the state university. The STEM faculty had the highest proportion of post-graduate-educated staff at the university compared to other faculties. Of all the permanent staff on civil servant (PNS) contracts, only one was undergraduate-educated, 53% were masters-educated, and 46% held doctorates. The figures for the humanities faculty were slightly lower, namely 58% and 38% for masters and doctorate levels respectively, with the remaining 4% holding other qualifications (Annual Statistics, 2016).

An alternative strategy is recruiting experts from industry as teaching staff who have sufficient work experience to warrant them equivalent status to a post-graduate. At the institute of technology, they appreciated the non-regular track for lecturers, which recognises professional expertise in lieu of academic qualifications (Research, Technology and Higher Education Ministerial Regulation 44/2015 on National Higher Education Standards Article 27 [9])[30]. This allows them to meet their institutional objective of providing practitioner-centred teaching to their students, without breaching state regulations on minimum qualification requirements. For example, one department had been able to employ a researcher from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) based on these grounds to teach on one of their modules.

6.1.2.2   SN-Dikti

The most comprehensive and explicit definition of educational quality by the state comes in the form of the National Higher Education Standards or SN-Dikti. It appeared that staff at each case study institution were well aware of or well-versed in SN-Dikti. In fact, staff at the state university frequently defined learning and teaching quality or described accountability of learning and teaching to the public using terminology lifted directly from

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[30] "For a lecturer on an undergraduate programme as described in section (8) it is permitted to use a lecturer with a relevant certificate to the study programme and qualified to at least Level 8 of the National Qualifications Framework [KKNI]." KKNI is divided into three main categories: operator (levels 1-3); technician or analyst (levels 4-6); and expert (levels 7-9).

SN-Dikti or the accreditation rubrics (that incorporate SN-Dikti). For example, they referred to "quality of input", "quality of process", "quality of output", "standardised outcomes", "labour market absorption", "performance indicators". This suggests that the state university had internalised the same discourse on quality as the MRTHE. Staff at the private institutions did occasionally refer to these terms as well, but in addition to that they used terminology consistent with their religious mission and pedagogical approach. These included, for example, "integrity", "character", or characterisations of their students as "hard-working", "independent" or "self-confident" learners. Bearing in mind labour market pressure, they also used definitions that referred to things like "practical experience", "professional attitude" and "earning public trust". In sum, the industry orientation provided an alternative source of concepts for educational quality at the two private institutions, whereas engagement with or even internalisation of the state concept of educational quality was more marked at the state university.

It should be noted that institutions still have some autonomy over curriculum design even now that SN-Dikti has been introduced. SN-Dikti dictates generic aspects of the curriculum such as the need to articulate knowledge and skills gained from the learning process, or the balance between theoretical concepts and applied skills for different levels of study. Yet the process of curricular development in terms of the substantive subject content has a degree of flexibility in Indonesia. The bulk of content is normally agreed upon by professional associations, but it is expected that each institution will add content that is unique to its strengths, specialisations and mission. In rough terms, the split between nationally agreed content and institution-specific content is 60-40 (senior management, ID 27, state-ECB university). On the whole, staff at the case study institutions did not express resistance to curricular standardisation and they felt there was enough flexibility in the system to strike a balance between standardised content and content unique to their institutional strengths and aims.

One impact of SN-Dikti on learning and teaching practice is that curricula for each study programme had to be revised (if necessary) to make sure that they addressed each of the eight standards. At the state university, this had quite a disruptive impact on staff, as by coincidence their own rector introduced a revised system of teaching the compulsory first semester courses[31] in the year after SN-Dikti was introduced. This resulted in the year groups following three different curricula: the two oldest year groups following the pre-SN-Dikti changes; the second year group following the SN-Dikti compatible curriculum; and the first year group following the SN-Dikti compatible curriculum with additional changes to the structure of the compulsory first semester courses. The fact

[31] The following courses are compulsory at all HEIs: religion, *Pancasila*, citizenship and Indonesian language (Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 35 [3]).

that staff complied with these changes despite the obvious logistical challenges and disruptions to their academic affairs speaks to the authority of government regulations in Indonesian HEIs.

There was, however one example where an interviewee openly criticised the effects of curricular standardisation. A senior manager at the private health science college lamented that there was now an overly excessive focus on skills and competencies in the country as a result of curricular standardisation. As explained in the passage below, the manager had observed a decline in the space available for the institution to focus on implementing its community-oriented mission, which in turn had a negative impact on the quality of learning for students:

> When I was a student, I feel we had lots of time to interact with society. So, we would often, you know, carry out practice placements in the community … So, the social aspect, the social spirit grew in us alongside the knowledge that we were gaining. Nowadays, students are busy with "I have lab practice, I'm going to have a test in such-and-such". They spend all their time on campus. And the emphasis is more on the cognitive side, the skills, to the extent that the affective side that develops is not about sensitivity to society, … So, the kids are continuously crammed with modules, modules, modules. They don't have time to actualise their knowledge in society (senior management, ID 31).

This passage provides a novel perspective from a private HE provider on the issue of curricular standardisation in Indonesia. On the whole, the MRTHE and policymakers anticipate that there may be resistance to curricular standardisation on the part of private HEIs because it will result in extra work for staff, i.e. going above and beyond the quality of education that staff are currently providing. This assumption speaks to the stereotype of predatory and irresponsible private HEIs. Yet at this case study HEI, curricular standardisation was lamented quite conversely because it *detracts* from the quality of the work that the HEI has already been doing for decades. In other words, the qualification function of education was being valorised at the expense of the socialisation and subjectification functions of education (Biesta 2009).

6.1.2.3 Accreditation

Overall, the most frequently discussed topic in terms of accountability to the state was accreditation. The accreditation instruments are aligned with all other HE regulations i.e. both the minimum qualification requirements and SN-Dikti. Accordingly, participation in accreditation can be viewed as the apex of demonstrating educational accountability to the state. Because accreditation was discussed by interviewees so extensively, I dedicate a slightly lengthier discussion here to this topic. This sub-section is organised in the following way. First, I discuss beliefs and attitudes to accreditation across all three case studies. In other words, I first assess the level of 'buy-in' to the accreditation system.

141

After this initial discussion, I will then turn to a discussion of the impact or non-impact of accreditation on institutional practices.

Institutional and study programme level accreditation follows a complex methodology of scoring submissions and site visits. I provide a detailed explanation in Appendix B of the procedures, content and scoring, and outcomes of accreditation. Table 6.2 below outlines the seven standards that the accreditation instruments are based on, and as such provides a brief and indicative picture of what is at stake in accreditation. As is evident from the relative weightings, there is a strong emphasis on procedural, managerial and financial accountability in the assessment.

Table 6-2 Seven standards used in the self-assessment report for accreditation

	Standard	Relative weighting in accreditation score (%)
1	Vision, mission, aim, target students, and strategy to achieve this	2.63
2	Governance, leadership, management system, and quality assurance	26.32
3	Students and graduates	13.16
4	Human resources	18.42
5	Curriculum, learning process, and academic environment	7.89
6	Funding, resources and infrastructure, and information system	18.42
7	Research, community service, and partnerships	13.16
	total	**100%**
Source: BAN-PT (2011c), 18.		

Firstly, in terms of institutional beliefs about accreditation and attitudinal buy-in to the system, we can say that the accreditation process does exert a considerable accountability pressure on institutions. According to interviewees at all three case studies, pressure to participate in accreditation stems from its ability to convey government approval and instil public trust. This corroborates policymaker rationales about state intervention as an expression of public accountability. As a senior manager at the private institute of technology reflected, the state has a rightful role to play in the wider project of public accountability. Even though an institution's vision and mission "comes first and foremost", and even though the accreditation indicators might not be "highly valued" by the institution itself, accreditation represents a "joint agreement" that "applies to everyone", and so HEIs shouldn't breech any regulations (senior management, ID 51, institute of technology). Likewise, staff at the other two institutions

expressed unequivocal commitment to 'performing accountability' in the accreditation process, even though they simultaneously expressed doubts about the methodology or the indicators used, or the capacity of a short site visit by the team of assessors to accurately capture the breadth of their learning and teaching process. Perhaps the most powerful reason for their commitment to accreditation is that it is a high stakes activity, closely linked to the ability to attract high-ability students, (or, at the private providers, to attract students in general), and hence to secure their continued existence. Participants at each case study, including all of the staff involved in student recruitment and admissions, made reference to an increased public awareness of and public trust in accreditation rankings. Societal expectations of 'good' and 'accountable' education are increasingly being defined via this mechanism.

To quote the original definition of 'coercive pressure' in institutional isomorphism from DiMaggio & Powell (1991, 67), accreditation in Indonesia has the combined force of both "formal pressure" from an organisation upon which HEIs are dependent for resources (i.e. the state), as well as "cultural expectations in society" (i.e. expectations among prospective students, parents and employers for accredited or "officially-sanctioned" higher education). In fact, in the case of the private institutions at least, the former would not be possible without the support of the latter. What the government thinks about their educational quality (as expressed via accreditation rankings) does matter to them, but only because employers and parents continue to place their trust in accreditation rankings.

In the health sciences, labour market accountability bolsters the 'weight' of the accreditation ranking as a lever on HEI behaviour. Hence, we can say that accreditation for health science HEIs reflects both labour market and public accountability. The reason that labour market accountability is felt via accreditation is that public sector employers only accept applicants from minimum B-ranked, preferably A-ranked study programmes. In nursing and midwifery, graduates are very likely to enter the public sector, to work in public hospitals, local health clinics or maternity clinics. Thus, securing a B-ranking for study programmes at the health science college was pivotal to attracting more students, as it opens up access to public sector employment for their students. Hence the accountability of their educational quality was under the scrutiny of both the state and the public-sector labour market. This provided further incentive to not only comply with but to perform well in accreditation. As one lecturer described, the power of an A ranking to attract students is immediate: "Just post the notification on the web and with the Department of Health and Social Services, and your promotion will run itself" (mid-career lecturer, ID 35, health science college).

From the government perspective, the unilateral commitment to accreditation on the part of HEIs is surely positive. At the same time, however, BAN-PT's authority and independence is sometimes perceived by institutions as problematic. Some individuals from the two case study institutions which currently undergo accreditation by BAN-PT (i.e. the state-ECB university and the institute of technology) voiced their concerns about unequal power relations between the state and HEIs, revealing some more critical and reflexive views on accreditation beyond the immediate, pragmatic acceptance of it.

Scepticism about the independence and authority of accreditation is in part due to frustrations with the generic, quantitative instruments used to measure learning and teaching quality across a variety of study programmes. At the state university, one individual from the humanities raised concerns about a power imbalance between STEM/vocational subjects on the one hand and humanities/arts disciplines on the other playing out in the accreditation system. In general, they felt that the liberal arts perspective on educational quality doesn't "make [its] way to the policymakers", while even "the most off-the cuff, slight ideas put forward by academics from engineering or those kinds of disciplines" were "immediately taken up by policymakers". In this context, the lecturer recognised the importance of networking and organising with professional associations and actors from the cultural sphere to enhance the "bargaining position" of the liberal arts camp with policymakers (late career lecturer, ID 04, arts and humanities faculty). This example indicates that there is support among higher education practitioners for the establishment of new independent accreditation bodies (LAM), because they see the potential it offers for taking ownership of educational quality -both in terms of defining learning and teaching quality in the first place, and in efforts to externally evaluate that quality. In other words, some participants at the case study HEIs expressed a desire for accreditation to be reoriented toward professional accountability (as described in chapter 5), rather than being imposed on them in a top-down manner in the name of public accountability.

At the private institute of technology, the problematic nature of 'independence' or 'autonomy' in the accreditation process was also discussed in terms of a power imbalance between well-established institutions and new players in the higher education market. The limitation of the accreditation process does not only stem from imposing generic indicators on discipline-specific contexts, but also from imposing generic instruments on a variety of *operational contexts.* This could mean for example relative inexperience in higher education provision, unfamiliarity with the regulatory environment, insufficient knowledge of the market, or limited material and human resources. As illustrated in the quote below, the summative nature of a 'one-size-fits-all' accreditation

model can't always address the concerns of a newly-founded institution operating in a far more limited, small-scale context:

> In my opinion [the accreditation process] is actually already good, it's good enough, but us in the private sector, to be quite frank, our operational context is ... [pause, smile] right? So that's why I said it should be done case by case. … So, there are private institutions that can't be compared with others, right? The bigger [in English], we are just 'new players' so to speak. So that's the reason why it should be case by base. I don't mean we should postpone it or that the way [accreditation] works now is wrong, that it's not good, …. If it was case by case it would be more … [it could] accommodate what it is you're actually thinking or trying to express. Then you could consider where are your weaknesses, what are the solutions to overcome them. That's my impression having gone through accreditation three times here (middle management, ID 59).

This example shows how difficult it is for members of an institution to maintain and express their own voice on educational quality in the state-HEI relationship when it comes to accreditation. The definition of learning and teaching quality is imposed on their operational context from above, but their operational context is not comparable with those of the well-established players. This illustrates how private institutions, and new players in particular, are positioned as weaker players in the power structure of the Indonesian HE system, rendering them in a weaker position of policy negotiation (Barrett 2004, 253).

Another member of staff at the same institution also commented on the issue of power imbalance in accreditation, this time referring to the power position of the assessors. As the interviewee pointed out, neutrality may be compromised due to the fact that the current cadre of assessors is drawn largely from the flagship institutions, in particular the state universities:

> In terms of accountability [of the system], it would be good if there was an independent evaluation, that's what I mean. At the moment, the ones who assess us are from BAN-PT, where we know there are probably many people from those institutions that are already well-established, who maybe want to defend their quality over there, you know like [their quality] is high, and everyone else has to be below them. Maybe yeah, I don't know, maybe there is a need for some other independent party that can be more neutral (middle management, ID 62).

Indeed, the policymaking cadre of technocrats, as well as the hired experts and consultants working for the ministries tend to be graduates of the elite state universities. Even though the selection criteria for BAN-PT assessors has been made stricter to avoid

conflict of interest[32], the point made by the lecturer above is a valid one. The policymaking sphere and the accreditation body tend to over-represent the voice of the state flagship universities. Of course whether the accreditation process actually results in the wholesale reproduction of flagship university standards across the sector, or the perpetuation of academic and governance models from flagship universities as 'best practice', is hard to prove, and would require extensive further research. The relationship between assessors and institutions in any country context is always going to be vulnerable to power imbalances, and the extent to which the accreditation becomes a genuinely dialogic process of learning, rather than a top-down dissemination of uncritically espoused 'best practice', rests ultimately in the hands of the individuals involved. Nevertheless, we can make an initial observation at least that the agency of private institutions may be weaker than their state counterparts.

Next, I turn to discussing the impact or non-impact of accreditation on institutional practices related to educational quality. Generally speaking, accreditation was experienced primarily as a summative exercise, without necessarily having a formative or developmental dimension to it. Therefore, it didn't generally have a direct impact on teaching and learning practices. We could say that this reflects a broader tendency for quality assurance systems globally to foster improvement in terms of performance in quality assessment, rather than actual educational improvement (Newton 2002; D'Andrea 2007). Interviewees who had been directly involved in accreditation preparations at each of the three case studies shared an understanding that the challenge with accreditation was proficiently capturing and demonstrating the breadth and depth of their learning and teaching quality in the internal review submission. In other words, it was a challenge of 'translating' notions and practices of educational quality that were specific to their discipline or institutional mission and philosophy, into items and evidence that made sense in the language of the internal review submission. This was true even at the health science college, who had recently undergone accreditation via LAMPT-Kes – the independent and subject-specific accreditation body for health sciences. Senior members of staff there did indeed appreciate the two-stage process of mentoring or guidance (*bimbingan*) first, only then followed by assessment (desk review of submission and site visit). Even so, their impression was that the guidance and mentoring was still directed primarily at how to better document your case in the eyes of the assessors, rather than how to enhance the quality of your learning and teaching environment itself. Moreover, guidance from the LAMPT-Kes appointee was still rather generic, whereas guidance from experienced members from their parent organisation

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[32] Research, Technology and Higher Education Ministerial Regulation 32/2016 On Accreditation of Study Programmes and HEIs, Article 14 m; Article 22 l; Article 32 m.

was more practical and helpful in preparing for accreditation. Of course this is not surprising, as the function of an accreditation body by law is simply to 'determine the appropriateness or fitness of a study programme or institution" (Higher Education Law 12/2012 Article 55 [2]). Hence, the experience of HE staff at the three case studies corroborate comments from BAN-PT and LAMPT-Kes members discussed in chapter 5 about the summative nature of accreditation, which precludes a more involved, capacity building dimension to the process.

In terms of any substantive impact on the learning and teaching experience, only a single, concrete example was raised during interviews, namely a new approach to research training adopted at the state university. This was an intervention designed to improve the efficiency of time-to-completion for undergraduate students, who often exceed enrolment beyond the standard 4 years (8 semesters). The most common reason for exceeding the 4-year standard is that students experience delays in the completion of their final-year research-based dissertation. The efficiency of time-to-completion is indeed a relatively important indicator (item 3.1.4a) in the accreditation rubric. It is weighted at a multiplier of 1.3, whereas some other items in the same section on student and alumni are weighted at a multiplier of below 1.0 (BAN-PT 2008a, 3). Upon reviewing their statistics on this indicator, the senior management of the university launched an investigation involving quantitative data collection and focus group discussions (FGD) with students to identify challenges and solutions to the issue of delays in completion of research projects. The resulting intervention integrated research methodology classes and research supervision earlier into the curriculum in semester 4, Year 2 (rather than in the final year) and capitalised on practical placements and community service projects as opportunities to expose students to an empirical research context. In sum, the intervention encouraged students to start drawing explicit links between theory, methodology and empirical research context early on in their degree programme, to avoid the research project standing in isolation at the end of studies, (and hence causing difficulties for timely completion). Related to this, departments were asked to clarify the relative strengths and expertise of supervisors through a 'research roadmap' career plan for staff (senior management, ID 27, state-ECB university). Although the process of evaluation and problem-solving had been internal, the stimulus for these curricular changes had been external – i.e. an indicator from the accreditation rubric (2011 version).

Apart from this example above, there was arguably one other way in which accreditation had an impact on educational practices. Accreditation seems to have encouraged institutions to improve in terms of introducing standard operating procedures (SOP), handbooks, regulations, and guidelines to cover academic affairs. Hence, we could say

that accreditation has spurred institutions to pay attention to the quality of the learning and teaching experience in terms of *transparency* and *procedural* fairness. For example, an interviewee at the state university recognised that to meet the conditions for successful accreditation, their department had to demonstrate the use of several policy documents and monitoring systems. These included minimum course requirements (such as minimum requirements for student and lecturer attendance, minimum requirements for eligibility to sit exams), as well as systems to monitor those requirements (middle management, ID15, state university). The same interviewee did at the same time concede that implementation and monitoring were still challenging in practice. Nevertheless, accreditation seems to have spurred institutions to improve the availability of policies and systems to regulate academic affairs.

The literature review on macro-level perspectives of accountability shed light on the potential for game-playing and impression management to materialise in response to accreditation (Newton 2002). A typical issue affecting the learning and teaching process in this regard is grade inflation. However, there were no references to this at the case study institutions. For example, a lecturer from the state university commented that most lecturers are too far removed from the accreditation process itself for it to result in any systematic changes in their practice. In fact, they commented that: "Those lecturers who like to give harsh grades, who are idealistic, I think perhaps they've never found out that the study programme is evaluated based on students' assessment outcomes" (mid-career lecturer, ID 05, arts and humanities faculty). Even those members of staff who *were* involved tended to forget about accreditation pressures in between assessments, because the gap is as long as five years (ibid.). One lecturer from the same case study institution was aware that grade inflation *can* occur, but they referred to it as a problem at other institutions. As a concrete example, they recounted how the average GPA at a less prestigious HEI attended by one of their relatives was as high as 3.6, whereas the GPA was only around 3.0 at their own institution (mid-career lecturer, ID 19, STEM faculty).

In sum, the case study data revealed that the accreditation process is generally speaking a highly coercive form of state accountability pressure, although the extent to which it stimulates a developmental process of quality enhancement, rather than mere 'impression management' (Newton 2002, 43), varies by department, faculty and institution. Even the private HEIs, who are not dependent on the government for their funding (apart from incidental grants) felt strong pressure to participate in accreditation. Unsurprisingly however, the private providers reflected more critically on the way in which state-HEI power relationships played out in the process of accreditation. They

expressed support for a reorientation of the accreditation process to professional accountability to counteract this power imbalance.

6.1.2.4 UKOM

In the health professions, there is an additional state accountability mechanism that is used to assure the quality of graduates, namely the competency exam (*uji kompetensi* or UKOM). This is a written exam where students receive either a pass or fail result (*kompeten/tidak kompeten*). The UKOM is there to protect public accountability, much like the other state accountability mechanisms. There is also a degree of self-interest or self-protection. As a 'user' of health science graduates in the national health care system itself, the state naturally has an interest in assuring the quality of graduates. In line with this, entry into public sector jobs is conditional on a pass result in the UKOM. For the health science college, educational quality was thus not only defined by the state but also *assessed* by the state on their behalf. (Graduation from a student's own institution is not contingent on a pass result, and that remains the jurisdiction of the HEI in question).

In general, staff accepted the government's external assessment of their students' learning outcomes via the UKOM, recognising its role as a measure of public trust alongside accreditation rankings. As one staff member put it, *"it's a signal of our quality"* (middle management, ID39*).* Lecturers expressed satisfaction, even pride at the institution's results, with a pass rate in the range of 80-90%.[33] The student recruitment staff made sure to publicise the results on the institutional website and also via Facebook (student recruitment staff, ID 37). The importance of earning public trust, especially in the context of growing new study programmes, is described very clearly in this comment from a lecturer:

> So last year we had our first cohort graduating [on a Diploma 3 programme], our very first cohort, and thanks be to God we were ranked second in the province after [a state university in the same city]. That was really, how can I put it, what a joy it was, because that was the first step [in this Diploma 3 programme] and this means we have already gained the public's trust. It will have a positive effect, because in the end people will want to enrol in our institution (mid-career lecturer, ID 35).

Because the UKOM results were an important source of public trust, there was commitment to better the results from year to year, with the target being a 100% pass rate in the first sitting. (Students are allowed to resit the UKOM, but obviously the need

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[33] Since this research was carried out, the pass rate has continued to improve. The pass rate for the October 2017 exam session was 98% for the Diploma 3 and Professional Qualification in nursing. The results for each exam sitting are published as appendices to a ministerial decree on the MRTHE's website: http://ukperawat.dikti.go.id/ for nursing; http://ukbidan.ristekdikti.go.id/ for midwifery. Local newspapers also publicise the results.

to re-sit the exam slows down their transition into employment, as well as lowering the institution's pass rate statistics).

On the whole, staff expressed support for UKOM and accepted it as a signal of public trust. One senior manager, however, also pointed out several problems regarding its methodology and ability to have an impact on institutional practices. Firstly, the UKOM is a written test, which leaves it "vulnerable to cheating" (senior management, ID 31). A related point is that UKOM fails to assure the skills and competencies of the student in the way that a clinical or practical exam might do. Hence, it does not fully assess the extent to which curricular standards have been implemented by institutions. A concrete example cited by the interviewee was in the case of training for midwives:

> To be a midwife you have to be able to help give birth, to assist on births, right? But the reality is that in the field, not everyone can do so. Maybe our graduates, OK, they can do that, because we have standards that are in line with the regulations and we actually implement that. So every student has to assist on 50 births. Compared to other places, some students only assist on 10, 15. That is seriously not enough training (senior management, ID 31).

Following on from this, the interviewee questioned whether UKOM could succeed in driving up quality across the health education sector nationally. Results in the early rounds of UKOM reveal a stark disparity in institutional results, not only between private and state institutions but also between state institutions on Java and in other regions. This suggests that the UKOM has not yet had a lasting impact on the quality of health science graduates, even though in principle it functions as a coercive state accountability pressure.

6.1.3 Labour market accountability

The second major external accountability pressure stemmed from the labour market. This pressure was particularly strong for the private institutions, while it was less pronounced at the state university, instead producing mixed reactions there. Labour market accountability tended to vary by institution, both in terms of the specific audience in the labour market they were targeting (commercial sector in the case of the IT institute, mostly public sector in the case of the health science college, and a mix of both in the case of the state-ECB university), as well as the mechanisms used (e.g. tracer studies, internships, entrepreneurship modules, hiring teaching staff with industry experience). Therefore, I discuss the findings case by case, as this allows me to more clearly highlight the differences. A brief summary of cross-case comparisons is provided at the end of the section (6.1.3.4).

6.1.3.1 Institute of Technology

At the private institute of technology, their definition of quality was expressed very explicitly in terms of direct competition with state universities, or competition for jobs in the labour market. When explicitly pressed on which sector/group of people exerts the greatest accountability pressure on the institution (state, KOPERTIS, BAN-PT, employers, or students), one head of department replied that it was the companies, in other words the "end users" (middle management, ID 59). The staff at this private institute cited several mechanisms for making their learning and teaching quality accountable to the needs of employers, or the labour market. Perhaps the most important tool or mechanism was the curriculum itself. As one member of staff put it, the curriculum was devised to "produce graduates who will be accepted by the market" (middle management, ID 59). Indeed, references to a practical-oriented curriculum or a relevant, future-oriented curriculum topped the list of enablers of learning and teaching quality cited by interviewees. By a practical-oriented curriculum they meant things like not just memorising theory (mid-career lecturer, ID 60), and drawing on their personal experiences working in industry to design the curriculum according to industry priorities (middle management, ID 62). A relevant and future-oriented curriculum meant things like having elective modules in advanced-level, recent topics within software engineering. One lecturer recounted how they had indirectly obtained employer feedback on the relevance of their module. A student who had attended a job interview for a Malaysian company had reportedly been praised for their knowledge of a topical subject explored on one of these specialist modules, impressing the interview panel (middle management, ID 56).

A practical-oriented or industry-oriented teaching approach was also described by participants as a feature of every day teaching, even on the generalist core modules. When asked what specific pedagogical methods were preferred to help implement their concept of educational quality, several lecturers referred to using case studies from industry, role play, and simulation based on real industry examples, as well as the more general approach of illustrating theoretical concepts with recent industry examples. For example, in a management theory class for second year students that I observed, the lecturer used the example of the street food seller parked outside the campus every day to simplify the basic concepts of a business theory, and the lecturer also invited the students to give examples from the current IT sector to illustrate a further theory of business trajectories. This lecturer also made a point of contextualising the lecture content in a typical company setting, highlighting expectations of the various departments and organisational levels toward the job roles that the students would be working in.

Bearing in mind competition with other HEIs, it was important for the institution to establish their specialisation. In other words, they positioned themselves as serving "differentiated" demand in the HE market, not just serving "excess" demand (Jamshidi et al. 2012, 793). An example of this in practice was the fact that each department focussed on a specialism or application of their subject in a particular commercial context. For instance, the IT study programme was known for focussing on artificial intelligence. Students undertaking final-year research projects in this programme were encouraged to explore fairly specialised and advanced projects relevant to this specialism, for example by applying AI to the task of image processing (mid-career lecturer, ID 57).

As part of the project to establish themselves as credible competitors in the market, the HEI also offered certification in globally-recognised software programmes to equip their graduates with employable capital, such as certification in Oracle, SAP and Adobe. In a competitive labour market environment, simply being a graduate of a well-known state institution can increase the chances of your CV making it past the first 'cut' of applications. In this context, graduates of private institutions need to signal their worth and competence through other means. The following quote from a member of the senior management illustrates how important certification can be for graduates of private HEIs, at least in the field of technology and media:

> … so even if our students are brave enough to go wherever, they can show that I'm a graduate of [our institution] and I've got a certificate in this, I've trained on it and practised using it. People know the certificate, even though not everyone knows who we are (senior management, ID 53).

In effect, this is a strategy to overcome the fact that graduates of state institutions are prioritised by employers. State institutions might not offer certification because it is considered "too practical", but for the case study institution it is a deliberate strategy to "occupy the niche" (senior management, ID 53).

In addition to their curricular or substantive content forming a competitive niche in the market, their graduate profile also functioned in a similar way. The unique attributes that they presented as part of their image were practical competence and professionalism, which was framed in terms of a 'humility' and 'willingness to learn from employers', as well as in terms of 'integrity' and 'hard work'. These graduate attributes can be seen as professional and interpersonal forms of capital to arm the students with during their transition into the labour market. It was also an outward-looking, global labour market they oriented their students towards. Accordingly, their teaching aimed to "instil a global standard" in their students (senior management, ID 53). Based on promotional material published by the institution and interviews, this international orientation referred especially to multinational corporations based in Malaysia and Singapore.

It was not only the *what* but the *who* that mattered. In achieving a practical, industry-oriented concept of learning and teaching quality, the institution was able to draw on industry experience of their regular teaching staff, part-time lecturers, as well as occasional guest speakers. According to one lecturer, the fact that many of the teaching staff had worked in industry helped them map their learning outcomes against the National Qualifications Framework KKNI during the previous round of their curriculum review (middle management, ID 62). The practical experience of their staff gave them confidence in their ability to design the curriculum "so that what we teach our students is really, actually that content that is used a lot [in practice]" (ibid.). As described in the section above on the need for staff to meet minimum qualification requirements in Indonesia, the institute of technology had also benefited from the non-regular lecturer track. This allows HEIs to employ experts with sufficient industry experience in lieu of post-graduate qualifications to teach on undergraduate programmes.

The industry-orientation of the curriculum and the teaching staff went some way in exposing students to the world of work. In addition, the institute organised activities that placed students directly into contact with work, namely industry visits, study tours, and compulsory internships for which they earned study credits. They also had a well-resourced career advice centre. From the third year of study onwards, students took courses in career planning and leadership and entrepreneurship. Finally, another mechanism used was that of tracer studies and surveys of employer feedback, although staff admitted that data collection was not easy, and they did not have as much employer feedback as they wanted. Nonetheless, the institute had been operating sufficiently long enough for them to spot trends and identify certain companies that tended to employ or even seek out their graduates. This was an important source of affirmation for them.

6.1.3.2 Health science college

At the private health science college, there was also a strong sense of accountability to the labour market, and this clearly shaped their beliefs and practices in regard to learning and teaching quality. However, there is a slight difference here compared to the institute of technology, as health professions such as midwifery and nursing have a clear in-built accountability dimension – accountability to the patient. Hence accountability to the labour market in terms of providing quality graduates is but one step in the accountability chain, with the ultimate goal being serving patients in the community. So in the case of the health science college, there was an overlap between accountability pressure to the labour market, i.e. the hospitals and clinics that would use their graduates, and accountability to the cause of national development more broadly, i.e. enhancing the public health and well-being of Indonesia, which were both a function of the professional-derived normative pressure to provide the best care possible to the patient.

The project of defining the quality of their education provision was intimately mediated by relationships to the hospitals and clinics that constituted practice placement sites or future employers of their graduates. Accountability to the labour market is not just a final, summative measure of their educational success, but a relationship of trust that is built over time throughout the course of a cohort's studies, via work placement partnerships:

> And the trust from the practice placement partners, it's not difficult for us to find partners, because our students feel, how should I put it, they don't make a nuisance of themselves in the workplace so to speak, because our students are prepared, and – according to our partners – more polite, more skilled, more hardworking you know. So that builds their trust in us to take on our students. I mean, there are many health science colleges in [this city], but thanks be to God, we are trusted partners, we don't experience difficulty in finding practice placement sites (middle management, ID 41).

The above quote illustrates the fact that the practical nature of the profession lends itself to accountability to external parties, as work placements are an essential component of the learning process. What is interesting is that student learning was seen as a joint project. Accountability to external users was even 'built in' to the assessment systems, with both lecturers and end-users framed as equally important players in the assessment of student learning. When students were on practice placements, the institution used a system of double assessment, both by the clinical staff who acted as supervisors as well as the institutional lecturers (middle management, ID 41). This gave staff confidence that they could run a "more objective" assessment of student progress (middle management, ID 41).

In addition to feedback gathered from users upon completion of practice placements, the management made explicit efforts to collect user feedback as part of their curriculum review. They did this through routine workshops where health sector representatives were invited to contribute to the teaching and learning strategy, from health clinics, maternity clinics to hospitals (senior management, ID 32). Feedback was sought in quite specific ways, to address everything from cognitive skills, psychomotor skills, affective skills, to "how we want to shape our graduates" (senior management, ID 32).

A commitment to labour market accountability was also evident in other educational activities organised at the college. Expert speakers were invited to give guest lectures on topical health issues. As was typical of the college in general, students were also invited to get involved. They organised a national-level student conference to bring in expert speakers. The goal of such activities was exposure to current research and innovations in health science, but also exposure to expert individuals, such as doctors, who might serve as educational tools for the students.

The orientation of the institution towards work-readiness also had implications for curriculum design and pedagogy. When offering definitions of educational quality, staff frequently referred to the practical-oriented curriculum. For example, on the nursing undergraduate programme, students took a practice placement module each semester starting from Year 2. They began with simple tasks like basic patient care (e.g. feeding, bathing), and moved on to increasingly complex placements, reaching placements in surgery by the final year. Not all health science colleges include practice placements throughout the course of study, but this institution had deliberately chosen to incorporate lab practice and on-site practice placements from as early a stage as possible in order to improve learning outcomes (middle management, ID 40). The orientation towards work-readiness was also supported by in-class pedagogical approaches. The most frequently cited enabler of learning and teaching quality among staff was the case analysis method (CAM) – (also known as case-based learning or CBL). The adoption of this method is made possible through the use of tutorial format teaching (also known as case seminars). During the seminar, a single topic is explored through the presentation of a medical case, which allows for the theoretical and conceptual aspects to be discussed in conjunction with the practical aspects related to patient care. Staff at the case study institution reported the use of CAM in tutorial groups of 8-10 people for certain modules from the second year onwards.

Arguably, the use of practice placements and CAM are options available to all vocational and health science subjects in general. Hence, we might view these as disciplinary trends rather than features particular to the institution. However, comments from staff indicated that not all HEIs in the city had adopted the same approaches, meaning that they were viewed as strategies 'unique' to the college, reflecting the strength of their commitment to professional and labour market accountability. In the field of midwifery, CAM (referred to below by the participant as the tutorial process) was still something relatively new, and even a distinguishing feature that was contributing to positive results in their students' learning:

> So for our learning process, we use tutorials. Elsewhere they only use it in medicine degree programmes, this new process, tutorials. In the field of midwifery, we're in fact – OK not the very first ones right - but you could say we're held up as an example. So for the national competency exams, we always have a high pass rate. And the other institutions, they always ask us, how come your pass rate is so high? …. Because at our institution we've adopted the [CAM] tutorial method for learning. The students are always presented with cases from the field. So when the students are on their placements, or doing the competency exam, … they're not surprised by that anymore (early career lecturer, ID 43).

Furthermore, on the undergraduate study programme in nursing, the college's educational approach had attracted interest from students elsewhere in the city. This had even led to an awkward situation one year where an entire class of 20 students from another college had requested to transfer to the college (middle management, ID 40). This request had been fuelled by word-of-mouth promotion among students between institutions that the case study institution implemented a more effective teaching approach (ibid.).

Alumni of the institution also supported the view that the institution had an excellent learning and teaching process. During promotional events, they referred to this as something that set the institution apart from other providers (middle management, ID 40). Therefore, we can say that the strength of the college's commitment to producing competent professionals, as evidenced via their educational approach (feedback from end users, joint assessment with practice placement staff, exposure to outside experts through conferences and guest lectures, early use of practical placements and CAM), contributed to their brand image. This reputation endorsed the view that the institution was not just serving "excess demand", but rather was offering "differentiated" provision (Jamshidi et al. 2012). It clearly contributed to their ability to attract students, thus forming a unique selling point in a very literal sense.

6.1.3.3 State-ECB university

At the state-ECB university, recognition of specific labour market expectations was not framed as a definitive 'selling point' in the way that it was at the institute of technology and health science college, nor as an integral component of quality assuring the learning and teaching process as it was at the health science college. Instead, external accountability pressure to the labour market was perceived as a sub-component of the more general accountability pressures to 'the state' or 'the public'. Indeed, it was often discussed in relation to two specific state accountability mechanisms – the adoption of curricular standardisation and accreditation. In particular, the discussions centred on the notion of 'competencies' i.e. the increasing demands placed on educators to demonstrate the quality of their programme's learning and teaching in terms of graduate competencies that make sense to future employers.

Among senior members of staff who held responsibility for providing strategic direction, labour market accountability was associated more closely with accountability to the cause of national development. One member of staff (senior management, ID 24) described the need to re-orient research conducted by academic staff to societal needs, and by extension the need to orient teaching and learning toward national development goals. If the teaching and research activities of the university could be responsive to commercial or industry needs, that would support overall national development goals.

Accordingly, if teaching was being made more accountable to or even just mindful of the companies and organisations that comprised the future employers of their students, that was seen by the senior manager as an asset. This position rested on a social understanding of 'private sector' or 'industry' accountability, namely a recognition that companies and organisations are not merely profit-making institutions, but rather organisations that that make specific and concrete contributions to economic and societal development. Another senior manager discussed labour market accountability in relation to the more general topic of curricular standardisation, and in particular the introduction of the competency-based curriculum. Preparing students for jobs/lives outside the university was linked to the project of re-orienting the curriculum from having a 'knowledge for the sake of knowledge' approach, to an application-oriented one (senior management, ID 27). The shift in focus to competencies and learning outcomes was not viewed solely as a response to employability demands or labour market pressures, but rather (in line with the human capability approach) a response to national development needs. In other words, the process of making graduate competencies more explicit and enhancing the employability of graduates was part of a wider project to develop the capacity of their graduates to contribute to their society. As is evident from the following quote, the view of the senior management team is that if a graduate is employable, this also means that they can be of use to, or benefit their society: "Our aim here is to protect our graduates so that they not only graduate from here, but also are able to work as soon as they graduate - To be of benefit, right" (senior management, ID 27).

The same interviewee cited the example of integrating community service into teaching and learning activities as an appropriate strategy for achieving this aim. For instance, students on a marketing module were asked to design relevant marketing strategies for cottage industries in a relatively low-income neighbourhood in the south of the city. Students on a communication module were asked to design occupational health warning stickers relevant to small businesses in the vicinity of the campus. Through such activities, students were connecting knowledge to real-world contexts, and thus enhancing their 'employability', but at the same time were serving their communities and demonstrating their benefit/their use to society. Thus, we can see that even the *implementation* of labour market accountability at the praxis level was associated closely with the cause of national development by this member of the senior management.

Discussions on labour market accountability at the faculty level in turn were framed much more narrowly in relation to discipline-specific norms and employment opportunities, and not so much in relation to broad, national development goals. At the science faculty, lecturers identified overlap between labour market expectations of graduates and discipline-derived expectations of science graduates. Industry, just like the field of

science itself, was described as fast-paced and dynamic, with new applications of science developing continuously. Even so, the fundamental principles of science and scientific research were still essential to the process of applying science in a specific commercial setting, meaning that any perceived demand for a more vocational or practical application of science did not pose a threat to the core learning and teaching activities of the department. For example, a lecturer from the chemistry department explained that the principles or philosophy behind how a piece of equipment works remains relevant and universal, even though the specific instruments and technical equipment in the field of work will undoubtedly vary and change with time (mid-career lecturer, ID 19). Furthermore, many of the soft skills desired by employers such as communication skills and ethics were embedded in the graduate attributes that had been developed for becoming a science researcher. In other words, labour market accountability was quite compatible with the pre-existing beliefs and practices for learning and teaching quality.

In contrast, at the arts and humanities faculty, labour market accountability did not sit so obviously or comfortably with discipline-derived norms and values. Instead, it was viewed as symptomatic of broader trends in the global higher education landscape, namely the rise of employability discourse, an increasingly competitive labour market that graduates were entering, as well as a general climate of public accountability to students, parents, and employers. Hence, participants recognised that there was some overlap between labour market accountability and public accountability. The three major labour market accountability mechanisms cited by staff were: (i) the introduction of modules that sought to enhance the employability of graduates (entrepreneurship and tourism); (ii) the use of alumni surveys to track graduate transition into jobs; and (iii) alumni involvement in curriculum review and the provision of career guidance/career events. The institutional accreditation self-evaluation submission indeed requests information on such activities. Items 3.2.3 to 3.2.4 require information on the implementation and results of tracer studies, and item 3.2.5 requires a description of alumni associations and their involvement on campus (BAN-PT 2011b, 23-24). Hence it is not surprising that the three examples above were cited by interviewees as examples of labour market accountability mechanisms.

When discussing the implementation of such accountability mechanisms, participants at the arts and humanities faculty referred to inconsistencies in both the rationales behind such measures and the capacity of the faculty to successfully deliver such measures. The first and most obvious context in which these inconsistencies became apparent was the introduction of entrepreneurship modules. One lecturer explained how the module

had been introduced based on pragmatic and strategic rationales, rather than academically sound rationales:

> "this [orientation to graduate employment] often causes problems in practice. So in the end, rather than – pardon the expression – so to speak 'make life difficult for ourselves' … in the end we prepare [our students] by providing modules that are practical in nature" (late career lecturer, ID 02).

A lecturer on a different study programme likewise described the introduction of an entrepreneurship module as a result of pressures to make the curriculum "marketable" (late career lecturer, ID 06). The same lecturer also questioned the capacity of the study programme to implement entrepreneurship education successfully, and the ability of the students to gain anything meaningful from it. In their opinion, the module did not adequately equip students with either skills or knowledge and theory (late career lecturer, ID 06). In effect, students were simply asked to sell things, with neither the high-achieving and academically-oriented students nor the academically struggling students benefiting from it.

Arguably, the adoption of the entrepreneurship module at the humanities faculty was an example of mimetic isomorphism. In an era of increased public scrutiny of universities, and a policy environment that emphasises quick transition to labour market as an indicator of educational success, the faculty management sought out "legitimate and successful models" (DiMaggio & Powell 1991, 66) to ensure they were doing the right thing in their organisational field. Entrepreneurship courses are not a mandatory requirement set by the state but adopting them makes sense when they have become an increasingly common feature in the national and global higher education landscape.

The second context in which an unease with labour market accountability was apparent was curriculum review. Although nobody spoke explicitly of a dumbing down of the curriculum, or a vocational encroachment into the undergraduate curriculum, one lecturer described how modules that were "too theoretical" had to be made "more flexible", with advanced content being offloaded to the master's curriculum (late career lecturer, ID 02).

Two staff members also expressed the view that the very notion of 'competencies' put forward by the government via curricular standardisation was overly vocational and too job-specific. For example, the same lecturer cited above felt that the frequent demands to demonstrate graduate competencies and employability outcomes was too "sloganistic" (late career lecturer, ID 02). This overemphasising of specific competencies and vocations was considered inconsistent with the more general and holistic aims of a

humanities curriculum. As one lecturer explained, their aim was instead to develop "a way of thinking and behaving":

> But the system at the national level dictates that we have to prepare something that already has a 'box' in industry. We have to prepare graduates who will do this job. Whereas our aim is to produce graduates who can do many things, because what they'll be doing is not particular skills for a particular task [in English] like that, but a way of thinking and a way of behaving in facing different situations, you know. So there really is a gap between our understanding of what 'competencies' mean (late career lecturer, ID 04).

Finally, the fourth context in which a mismatch between labour market accountability and the staff's own conceptualisation of learning and teaching quality became apparent was in the use of quantitative indicators of post-graduation success. Using indicators such as average number of months to find work encourages an immediate assessment of a graduate's "success". Instead, lecturers considered "success" in terms of long-term impact on society, and the transformative power of a liberal arts education. For instance, one lecturer described their educational aims very clearly in terms of the socialisation and subjectification functions of education (Biesta 2009). They even rejected a human capital justification for higher education participation, arguing that it did not matter to them if one of their students chose to become a homemaker after graduation (late career lecturer, ID 04). The more important concern was that the student would come to practice liberal and tolerant values in their daily life, such as not being a racist, sexist or chauvinist (late career lecturer, ID 04).

6.1.3.4   Cross-case comparison of labour market accountability

By default, graduates of state HEIs benefit from historically accrued prestige, and in line with this, high trust and acceptance by the labour market. In contrast, private providers must work harder to establish and defend their academic reputation. This entails offering students something that can make up for or even rival the perceived quality of their state counterparts. In other words, the very definition of 'quality' of the educational experience that they seek to offer prospective students is shaped by external pressure to the labour market which will either confer their trust in private institutions by accepting their graduates, or express their distrust of these institutions by rejecting their graduates. In the case of private institutions then, organisational interests are responding to the constraints and opportunities in the organisational field (Brint & Karabel 1991) more so than to coercive, regulatory pressures from the state.

Meanwhile, labour market accountability was less a function of organisational interests at the state university, but rather a sub-component of coercive, state pressure. For senior managers, labour market accountability was viewed as one of several dimensions to the

more generally-understood national development mandate of state universities. Lecturing staff in turn tended to associate labour market accountability with two forms of coercive pressure: (i) expectations for employability and career support interventions fuelled by specific questions in the accreditation proforma; and (ii) a general discourse on competencies promoted by curricular standardisation. At the humanities faculty, middle management were seeking legitimate models of labour market accountability from the national and global higher education spheres in a mimetic process of isomorphism. This was linked to a globally framed phenomenon of the arts and humanities disciplines seeking to legitimise their purpose in society in an era of increased public scrutiny.

6.2   Internal accountability pressures

6.2.1   Overview

In this section I discuss internal accountability pressures that shaped beliefs and practices of learning and teaching quality. A key research finding is that internal accountability pressures were equally important to external accountability pressures. At the two private providers, institutional mission was indeed an equally important driver of accountability culture as labour market accountability. At the institute of technology, institutional mission was even stronger than state accountability pressure.

I found that internal pressures work on three different levels of interaction. The first is between staff and their institutional culture. This accountability pressure is concerned with the accountability of staff toward their *institutional mission*, in other words the deliberate values and characteristics that set their institution apart from other HEIs. Accountability here is oriented more towards an ideational force or ideological cause rather than a specific group of people. Nevertheless, it was cited by interviewees as a key accountability pressure shaping both beliefs about educational quality, i.e. the substance or the content of learning, as well as everyday praxis, i.e. the process or the pedagogy behind learning. I characterise the three case study institutions according to how much *consensus* versus *contestation* participants expressed over the institutional mission. The more consensus expressed, the greater the internalisation of the institutional mission into lecturers' beliefs and practices, and hence the more clear-cut and uniform the impact on educational quality. Contestation in turn implies that multiple and sometimes competing conceptualisations of institutional mission were being advocated by various groups at the same time, resulting in a variety of beliefs and practices of educational quality, with some forms perhaps not actually implemented in practice.

The second level of interaction is at the level of organisational culture. Specifically, educational beliefs and practices were shaped by the degree of *peer accountability* that staff enjoyed from each other. It was a very important accountability pressure that drove commitment to implementing educational quality. Indeed, peer accountability appeared to have more bearing on staff beliefs and practices than any of the factors highlighted in the literature review (institutional type, discipline, job role category). I characterise the three case study institutions on a sliding scale of constant to intermittent peer accountability. I use these terms to give a sense of the rhythm or tempo of working life in each case; the more constant peer accountability is, the more it provides a reassuring, cohesive and enabling force. The more intermittent peer accountability is, the harder it is for staff to establish a sense of cohesiveness, continuity, mutual trust and equal participation.

The third level of interaction is that between staff and students. In other words, staff also felt accountable toward their students as learners and as human beings. I call this *self-accountability*. It is accountability at the very individual and personal level, between educator and learner. It also gets at a sense of internal pressure within the individual teacher, deriving from an ethical code that teachers are responding to almost instinctively or reflexively. I choose not to generalise the frequency or intensity of self-accountability to the institution as a whole, as I have done for the previous two categories. The reason for this is that self-accountability pressure pertains to personal practice, rather than the working environment more generally. Instead, I have provided a visual scale to characterise the intensity of self-accountability described by individual participants, ranging from 'background' to 'somewhat strong' to 'foreground'. In essence, I am suggesting that for those participants with self-accountability at the foreground of their beliefs and practices, it was a key feature of their professional identity as lecturers. So much so that it was equally important to, if not more important than the other *external* accountability pressures placing demands on quality learning and teaching (government, labour market), or *institutional* ones (institutional mission, peer accountability).

The concepts of institutional mission, peer accountability, and self-accountability are summarised in Figure 6.1 overleaf. A comparison of how institutional mission and peer accountability were characterised at each of the case studies is also provided.

Figure 6-1 Internal accountability pressures on educational quality

Institutional mission **(institutional culture)**	
	institute of technology
	state-ECB university health science college
	← contestation ——————————————— consensus →
Peer accountability **(organisational culture)**	
	A & H faculty
	STEM faculty
	institute of technology
	health science college
	← intermittent ——————————————— constant →
Self-accountability **(teacher-student culture)**	← background ——————————————— foreground →
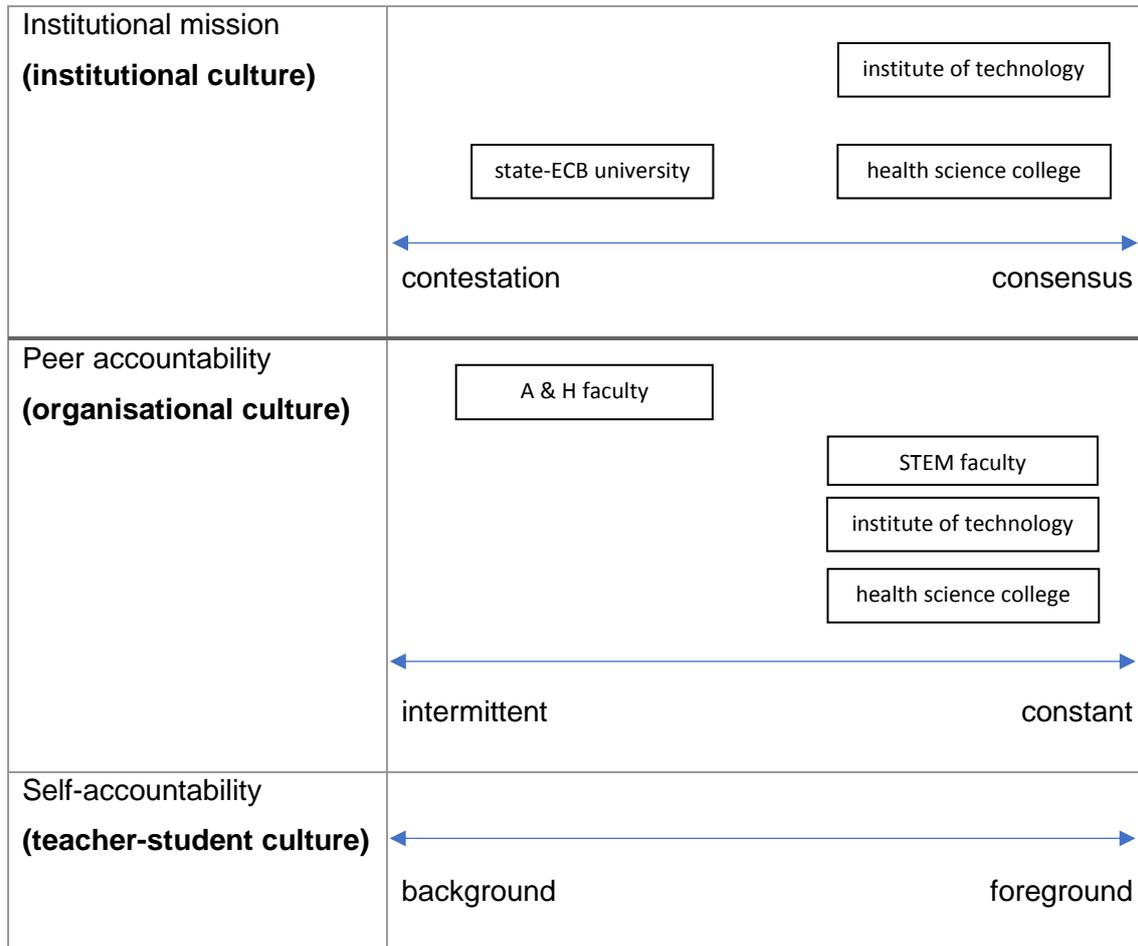
6.2.2 Institutional mission

The following section describes the way in which the institutional mission shaped beliefs and practices in educational quality at each of the case study institutions. I deliberately organise this section of the research findings case by case, in order to more clearly present the unique characteristics of each case. Indeed, while staff at each institution were working toward similar educational goals of qualification, socialisation and subjectification, the values bases they were drawing on in doing so were different. A cross-case comparison is summarised in a brief summary section at the end (6.2.2.4).

6.2.2.1 Institute of Technology

The institute of technology is run by a Christian foundation, and their mission is guided by the Christian principles of *calling* and *serving God/serving the community*. These values are articulated explicitly in their well-publicised graduate profile, which includes both *calling* and *character*. The institutional mission is manifest in the physical environment too – posters and signs with motivational Bible quotes were displayed throughout the corridors and classrooms. On a practical, employment-oriented level,

character was defined by some participants in relation to success at work, namely as a prerequisite for: humility and willingness to learn, strong work ethic, and the ability to forge and sustain a career path. On a more abstract, ethical level, *character* was defined by staff in the following terms: integrity, responsibility, being a leader, being a difference maker, and having a positive impact on the nation. In other words, the more generic notion of public accountability and accountability to the cause of national development described by the policymakers was present at the institution. The difference is that public accountability was expressed by staff at the institute of technology using concepts derived from their institutional mission, rather than a *Pancasila* discourse. As one senior manager explained, they wanted their graduates to make a difference, whether in the political, business or social sphere (senior management, ID 53). Character was considered particularly important in the political context of misuse of natural resources and corruption. Therefore, the project of building character was linked to a 'clean' or 'corruption-free' form of national development (ibid.) As an example of this, one manager proudly relayed a story about an alumnus who had chosen to resign from their job rather than be made complicit in an act of corruption (senior management, ID 51).

The discourse of 'clean leadership' at the institute of technology was evident in the way interviewees characterised their organisational culture. Members of the senior management spoke of the accountability pressure they felt towards the cadre of lecturers and student body, and the need to serve as role models for the institution in their conduct. A very literal example of this was provided by one senior manager in relation to maintaining the cleanliness of the campus:

> If our leaders are dirty and disgusting, the whole campus will be dirty and disgusting. But because our leaders will pick up trash and throw it away when they see it, we will feel embarrassed, right? If we don't pick it up ourselves. But if our leaders are dirty, this campus will be dirty too (senior management, ID 53).

A further example of 'clean leadership' was a case where a student was suspected of falsifying a signature on a certificate supposedly issued by a member of staff. The senior management felt the only correct response was to report the student to the police. Even though they "spent a lot of time and money" on the case, and it "caused embarrassment" among the regional KOPERTIS officials, the leadership felt that they had an ethical imperative to confront the student because "it was a matter of integrity" (senior management, ID 51).

Calling is the second key feature of their institutional mission, or an expression of their spirituality. As the head of their student recruitment put it, they are seen as an institution where "Jesus is the centre [in English]" (student recruitment staff, ID 55). *Calling* refers to an awareness of and desire to pursue a particular purpose in life. It is derived from a

personal relationship with God, and a willingness to listen to God's plan for you as an individual. It is linked to the concepts of personal and societal betterment through individual talents. In other words, it is an intrinsic form of motivation, not an external form of pressure. Interviewees emphasised the importance of calling for fostering a sense of communal or society-oriented betterment among their students. Whereas character was necessary for pursuing educational and professional success at the *individual* level, fostering a sense of calling would help students see *beyond* their own success and address their surrounding community. It would help them "have a sense of responsibility to lift up those around them", or "to invite others to better themselves" (senior management, ID 51). Despite the reference to calling as an element of the Christian faith, the most senior manager of the institution was careful to point out that their mission was borne of spirituality in a general and inclusive sense, and thereby their institution was inclusive to all religious adherents, be they Muslim, Christian, Buddhist or Hindu (senior management, ID 51).

This institutional mission to foster calling and character was reflected in the curricular content and pedagogical approach in several ways. Firstly, in terms of curricular content, the institution ran a compulsory module on character education for first year students. This ran parallel to the compulsory modules on religion, citizenship and *Pancasila* that are taught at all Indonesian HEIs[34]. According to one lecturer, the aim of this module was to foster humility before others, and "interfaith humility", for example through the act of joint prayer at the start of the lesson. In fact, nominating a student to lead the class in a moment of prayer was a common (but not compulsory) feature of lessons in general at the institution, another way of practising the values of the institution[35]. Extracurricular activities included prayer groups and bible study groups, which aimed at building a sense of fellowship among the student body. There was also an expectation for lecturers to draw links between curricular content to ethical decision-making in life beyond university. Of course, the senior manager acknowledged that this was not always straightforward, and they wanted to resist an approach that was overly "preachy" or "dogmatic". A humorous example cited by this interviewee was how a basic concept from an economics

[34] Religion, *Pancasila*, citizenship or similar modules have been a feature of Indonesian HEIs since the 1950s. Originally, citizenship education was voluntary, and more militaristic in nature (something like a national defence guard). These activities grew in popularity, at the same time developing into less militaristic and more civic-minded extracurricular activities modelled on the Scouts. From the 1980s onwards, the Department of Education began to regulate citizenship and *Pancasila*-based education more specifically, eventually introducing compulsory citizenship and *Pancasila* education for all HEIs in the National Education System Law 2/1989. A legal mandate for this provision has been continued in the most recent Higher Education Law, No 12/2012, Article 35 (3). The four compulsory subjects are religion, *Pancasila*, citizenship and Indonesian language.

[35] Joint prayer is a common feature in many spheres of public life in Indonesia, including in state and private schools. At state universities it is a common feature at formal events, but not in daily classes.

module, i.e. the function of consumption, could be linked to ethical decision-making, i.e. paying your tithe:

> So if your income increases, usually your consumption increases. Yeah, OK. … so I said, that' can't be, for you, your consumption should be 70%. Why? The first 10% for the one above [smiling]. The next 10% for savings. And so forth (senior management, ID 51).

Arguably, the concept of calling was also reflected in an educational approach which emphasised fostering or 'enticing out' student potential and confidence. Higher education was viewed as a learning journey, on which students develop confidence and develop an awareness of their strengths and their interests. The use of the personal tutor system, which included compulsory academic guidance sessions prior to the selection of study modules for the upcoming term, was a concrete mechanism through which students were encouraged to identify their strengths, talents, and interests. Thus, the institutional culture encouraged both spiritual growth and academic growth.

There were, of course, challenges in realising their institutional mission. For example, many members of staff spoke of the difficulty of measuring the impact of a values-based education. The educational aim of work-readiness was much easier to assess via employer surveys and trends in recruitment of their graduates. Character and calling, however, relate to intangible products such as ethical decision-making, and a care for the wider world. They conceded that it was a struggle to quantify or gather evidence of such outcomes. There were instances where testimonials from alumni validated their aims. Beyond that, however, gauging the success of their mission was more about regular and informal dialogue with students and peers, to get a sense of whether the students and institutional culture were developing in the intended direction.

There were other types of challenges related to the implementation of their mission, namely balancing their mission with inter-faith tolerance and with academic freedom and creativity. Tolerance is tricky to negotiate in practice in Indonesia. On the one hand religion has become *functionalised* (Doumato & Starret, 2008, 13) in Indonesian schools and universities through the compulsory modules on religion, *Pancasila* and citizenship. In this context religion forms a safe, unproblematic and political "instrument for civic good" (Doumato & Starret, 2008, 17), accessible to adherents of all the six officially recognised religious groups in Indonesia. Yet the success of this model has been sorely tested in the post-Soeharto era, with religion (and particularly the issue of cross-faith proselytization) subject to frequent politicisation by power-interest groups. Although the student body and staff were predominantly from a Protestant background, the institution was open to students and lecturers of all faiths. In other words, it was a space where inter-faith tolerance was enacted on a daily basis, in classrooms and staffrooms. But a minority-faith institution had to tread carefully in establishing a mission that was

religiously-derived yet respectful of the implicit contract in the *Pancasila* state not to proselytise across faith groups. As one senior manager explained, a teacher giving advice to a student from a different religious background may be misconstrued as pressuring someone to convert (senior management, ID 51).

Another concern was that the religious character of their institutional mission would become too formalised and institutionalised, to the extent that it would - as the same senior manager put it - "extinguish academic creativity" (senior management, ID 51). For example, the activities of the more creative and media-oriented study programmes were seen to sometimes challenge or conflict with the aims of fostering spirituality and character. This was framed as a "friction" that had to be negotiated. To use Biesta's (2009) terms, it reflects an inherent tension between the *socialisation* function of education, in other words how the student becomes a member of the institutions' socio-cultural order, and the *subjectification* function of education, which is about enabling the student to develop an individual identity, and perhaps even 'independence' from that very same socio-cultural order (p.40). Despite all these challenges listed above, staff nevertheless expressed a high degree of consensus over their institutional mission, as well as a great number of examples of how to implement that mission in their day-to-day practice.

6.2.2.2 Health science college

The health science college also has a religious-derived institutional mission. The college is run by a Muslim organisation (much older and larger than the Christian foundation described above) that is known for its social justice orientation. In addition to the many schools, colleges and universities that it owns, the organisation also runs other public service institutions, such as orphanages, clinics and hospitals. These institutions are run as enterprises on the one hand and help to keep the organisation financially self-sufficient. Yet the institutions are run by a foundation on a charitable basis. Indeed, the term used by the organisation itself to describe its public service institutions can be translated roughly as "*social enterprise*". One senior manager also described their mission as part of an effort to "make their communities prosper" (senior management, ID 32), thus showing alignment with the human capital approach to development envisaged by the policymakers interviewed in this study. The nature of the institution's charitable work is also distinctly linked to their religious *mission* in its truest sense. In other words, they are engaged in missionary work to realise an Islamic society.[36] It is important to note that this was not in contradiction to the *Pancasila* state ideology. As other literature has

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[36] As mentioned above, there is an implicit contract in the *Pancasila* state not to proselytise across faiths. Missionary work in the context of a Muslim organisation, then, refers to the Muslim-at-birth population.

pointed out, contemporary Islamic movements can and often do see their mission as compatible with democratisation, and achievable within the framework of the nation-state (Esposito & Voll 1996; Hefner 2001; Fearnly-Sander et al. 2004). In fact, one interviewee described the institutional mission with reference to the constitutional mandate to "educate the life of the nation", while in the same sentence also referring to the foundation's mandate to "realise an Islamic society" (middle management, ID 39).

The charitable orientation of the college was an important feature that helped to establish its identity in relation to the many private colleges in the province. In fact, one of the most senior managers of the institution defined their institutional mission in direct opposition to other private HEIs, which were seen to be primarily oriented towards profits rather than educational quality:

> There are those who focus on how to make this a money-making machine. But as for me, I feel as though as long as our motive is good, if we have good intentions to simply produce good graduates, the money will come by itself. It will follow (senior management, ID 31).

The institutional mission was manifest in the content of learning in several ways. In terms of curricular content, a group of staff had developed an original module on spiritual therapy for Muslim patients. This included research-based practice guidelines that the staff had developed for addressing spiritual and psychological concerns of patients. Hence, we can say that the institution promoted a spiritual approach to care, positioning health care within a broader framework of spiritual care (mid-career lecturer, ID 35). The idea of spiritual care extended to the student body, manifesting in extracurricular activities. Students who resided at the college dormitory participated in religious study groups consistent with the teachings of the parent organisation. Student societies organised communal prayers and communal celebrations to mark religious festivals.

The concept of care clearly extended beyond the confines of the campus. Indeed, one of the basic principles of education provision that the parent organisation of the college has always sought to achieve is community-orientedness (*kemasyarakatan*) (Hasbullah 1995, 99) Student societies organised community service events or workshops with the help of their lecturers (such as blood donation events, public health promotion events). Community engagement also took place on a more systematic, organised level on the midwifery study programme. Here, students took part in organised community service activities as part of their community midwifery module. As one lecturer from the study programme put it, "students are made to engage with their communities, to socialise among their communities" (mid-career lecturer, ID 34). Another lecturer from a different study programme summarised the approach of the institution thus: "so [the learning] is not only all in classrooms, with the lecturers, but we also go out into the communities

too" (late career lecturer, ID 33). In sum we could say that these curricular and extracurricular activities were part of a deliberate educational philosophy, or pedagogical approach, which emphasised the *spiritual* and *social* dimensions to care. Beyond the cognitive aspects of knowledge, skills, and competencies, the educational goal was to cultivate an attitude or approach that emphasised these spiritual and social dimensions. As one lecturer described: "… when they graduate, we could say it's not just their knowledge and skills that they are carrying forward, but they also have to graduate in terms of their attitude" (middle management, ID 41).

The institutional mission was also evident in the everyday cultural practices of the institution. In other words, the socialisation function of education was carried out in relation to a social unit built on Islamic beliefs and practices - an Islamic society. A concrete example of this would be students leading the class in prayer at the start of every lesson or performing the physical act of prayer at the communal *musholla*[37]. Lecturers periodicallyused short motivational sessions (*kuliah tujuh minit*, or *seven-minute lecture*) as a warmer to start the lesson. These are sessions where students or the lecturer are invited to share stories relevant to a religious theme or value, making connections between that theme and something related to the lesson content or the learning process (late career lecturer, ID 33). The purpose is to start and end the lesson with motivational rather than purely academic content, and in this way to "give the students something extra", to enhance their "spirit to learn, and to succeed" (senior management, ID 31). This aspect of teaching was considered very important by the senior management, and they would routinely ask students directly to evaluate their teachers' classes to check whether the lecturers did indeed include this kind of motivational session, and more generally to check whether the students felt "comfortable and happy" in the lessons (senior management, ID 31). Thus, the lesson format and class environment were spaces that embodied both religious and pedagogical practices of the institution.

Additionally, the uniforms worn by students were both a physical and symbolic reminder of Muslim cultural practices. Female students were obligated to wear a headscarf when on campus as a sign of their Muslim identity – although they were not obliged to do so beyond the confines of the campus[38] (late career lecturer, ID 33). For all the students,

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[37] prayer room
[38] It should be noted that wearing the headscarf was not permitted for female students and staff at state schools and universities during President Soeharto's rule and was in fact associated with fanaticism and anti-nationalist sentiments. In the post-Soeharto era the headscarf has come to symbolise a positive sense of agency, whereas the previous banning of the headscarf is associated with a negative sense of taking away agency. In this context, the headscarf policy of the institution seeks to strike a balance between affinity to the institutional mission on the one hand (i.e. headscarf as a required part of the uniform), and the prevailing socio-cultural norms

both male and female, donning the uniform with the institution's logo clearly visible was a very real way of demonstrating their affinity to the institutional mission and to Muslim cultural practices. As one lecturer described, the uniform and logo were a reminder to students that they were expected to embody the institution's values in their personal and professional conduct, on campus and while on practice placements (middle management, ID 40). In sum, we could say that all the practices described above (curricular content, extracurricular activities, religious activities, prayer, uniforms) are examples of the institution carrying out the *socialisation* (Biesta 2009) function of education, carried out in relation to their Islamic-based mission.

Staff were also concerned with addressing the *subjectification* function of education. On one level, this meant encouraging the students to develop a sense of their 'self' in relation to God. In other words, it was a specifically Muslim kind of self that students were maturing into. On a more general level, there was a sense of developing "the self" or "the subject" in terms of human capabilities. One of the words used frequently by staff when describing their educational philosophy, and the potential impact that higher education had on their students, was "confidence". They sometimes used the English phrases "confident/confidence", but most often the Indonesian language phrases *percaya diri/kepercayaan diri*, which literally translates as to *believe in one self/belief in one self*. They saw the project of higher education as a project of building the self. This was particularly important for students from rural backgrounds who, in the lecturers' own words, often experienced "culture shock" when transitioning to the college environment and life in the city[39].

This emphasis on confidence-building and self-belief was corroborated by comments from three final-year students during one of the classroom observations (*Observation 2 December 2016, 3rd year, 6th semester, Diploma 3 degree programme*). The students had just presented their final assignment – an evaluation of the nursing management policies at their practice placement sites, presented to an audience of external supervisors drawn from staff at the hospital in question. When I asked what the benefit of the presentation session was for their learning, all three responded that it helped them to boost their confidence and become accustomed to communicating what they know to an audience. Furthermore, two of the students mentioned that this was a skill they wanted to take back home to their rural hometowns[40] to be used for the good of the

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on the other (i.e. headscarf as a personal choice, neither forcefully imposed nor forcefully banned)

[39] This issue of culture shock is discussed in further detail in chapter 7 on fair access.

[40] The Indonesian term used was *daerah*. During follow-up conversations with the students, it become apparent that their hometowns were in the province of West Java, like the majority of students at the colleges.

community there. On reflection, we could say that fostering self-confidence was a key *human capability* that helped these young adults to become fully-fledged adult members of their communities. In other words, it isn't enough to go to the city, study at college, graduate, and get a job as a health professional. One also has to develop the self-confidence to communicate that new-found knowledge within one's community and to the wider public. Admittedly, this wasn't an easy process. One of the students described how at first he was timid, and indeed he still feels timid thinking about public speaking contexts, but he has overcome that: "I know I have to do it and now I can do it. I have the confidence to do it" (student C, Observation 2 December 2016). In sum, there was a strong degree of consensus among staff at this case study institution over the value of confidence-building, and we could say this was one aspect of their educational philosophy that contributed to the subjectification function of education.

In terms of the impact of the institutional mission on teaching praxis, staff selected pedagogic approaches that were consistent with the democratic and egalitarian spirit of the parent organisation. Specifically, this meant offering a style of education that emphasised student *participation* and *independence*. These two practically implemented and assessed aspects of student learning formed a key component of the subjectification function of their education provision, namely fostering confident adults. They can also be seen as an extension of (or synonyms for) two of the five principles that form the philosophical basis of education provision for the Muslim organisation in question, namely active-ness (*aktivitas*) and creativity (*kreativitas*). The former refers to putting into practice what you are taught, to create your own actions in order to gain new knowledge, whereas the latter refers to the capacity to be flexible, to adapt and choose tools accordingly in facing new situations (Hasbullah 1995, 99). Given that staff were describing practices that had been established prior to the formal introduction of SN-Dikti in 2015, and that are consistent with the principles of education provision of the parent organisation historically, it is safe to assume these were practices that were derived from either the institutional culture more generally, or at a smaller, departmental level from the teaching culture among their peers. In terms of the source of these ideas about pedagogy, we could say that institutional mission and discipline-derived norms provided the main source, while the terminology about holistic, integrated and interactive student learning promoted in SN-Dikti has certainly served to validate their teaching practices.

Participation was encouraged through various classroom activities that were described by staff as 'student-centred'. Concretely, student-centred learning was defined in the

interviews and in the course study plans[41] (*rencana pembelajaran semester*) as: group work, group presentation, individual presentation, case analysis method or CAM (described above in the sub-section on labour market accountability), seminar, seminar sessions, role play, simulation, demonstration, discovery learning, and collaborative learning.

During an observation of a first-year module (Observation 15 March 2017), I was able to see how presentations and seminar sessions were implemented in practice. A group of three students opened the session by presenting on the topic of the week for 20 minutes (which happened to be immune disorders, including HIV and AIDS), after which the floor was open to students to ask questions. A moderator chaired the session, while an assistant (scribe) noted down each question, which was displayed on the screen via the projector. Not only were the presenters supposed to answer, but anyone from the class could do so, as long as they referred to a source. (Most commonly this was the recommended textbook, but students also used laptops and smartphones to search internet sites for further information). Students then offered follow-up questions and follow-up answers to expand on, clarify, or even challenge previous answers. The tone of the class was respectful, with students prefacing their interjections with phrases such as "permission to offer an alternative definition/permission to correct the previous answer". The moderator would check if the student who had posed the question initially was satisfied (*"Do you accept this answer/explanation?"),* and accordingly either mark it off as having been satisfactorily explored, or as remaining open for further discussion. In this way, over the course of two hours, the class built up a collaboratively-generated exploration of the topic, consolidating and checking their understanding throughout.

Overall, the lecturer was a peripheral figure, refraining from moderating the session. The lecturer sat to the side, recording the student contributions against their names on a register. She occasionally made interjections, offering encouragement, praise, and occasionally cold calling the names of students who hadn't yet contributed. Only on three occasions did she intervene, and this was to contribute a clarification/practical example when students appeared to be struggling to find a satisfactory answer. Importantly, she intervened on one occasion when the discussion seemed to be drifting too far to the affective side of HIV care and neglecting the aspect of medication. In other words, for these first-year students the lecturer's help was still needed to bridge the "discursive gap" between the "vertical discourse" of health science (i.e. medical treatment of HIV/AIDS) and the "horizontal discourse" of the students (i.e. What do I do if my friend finds out they

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[41] A sample of three course study plans from each of the three study programmes (diploma 3 in midwifery, diploma 3 in nursing, undergraduate degree in nursing) was provided during an interview with a head of department 30.11.2016

have HIV?) (Bernstein, 1999, 159 cited in Jenkins et al., 2017, 48). The format of the seminar session illustrates the way in which the college sought to foster active participation among students from the second semester onwards, after the more prescriptive and teacher-directed approaches of the first semester modules.

Assessment practices corroborated the seriousness with which staff treated student-centred learning. Indeed, a sample of course study plans across three different study programmes together with interview data support the observation that the college favoured continuous assessment while eschewing exams-oriented assessment, and that student participation was assessed meaningfully. Some courses did not have any mid-term exams, relying on coursework or practical tests/demonstrations instead. Mid-term or end of term exams typically counted for only 20-30% of the overall course grade. Class participation was between 5 – 20% of the overall grade. One lecturer noted that the exact weighting was negotiated with students as part of their learning contracts at the start of the module (middle management, ID 42). Participation was assessed formally by lecturers using a scoring rubric. The remainder of the overall grade comprised individual or group assignments or other practical tests/demonstrations, again comprising 20-30%. The overall grading system thus reflected an even distribution between exams, assignments and class participation, with each component typically making up no more than 20% of the overall grade.

Independence was the second key feature of the institution's educational praxis. Independence was fostered by assigning students with responsibilities in the running of academic life. As noted above, lessons began with a joint prayer or Qur'an reading (*ngaji*), and this was always led by a student. Students were responsible for organising themselves into groups for in-class group work or group assignments. It was interesting to note during a classroom observation (13 March 2017) that in a context where females usually far outnumber the males, the students independently chose to form groups with even gender distributions. The independence of the students as a group is formalised through the appointment of a student coordinator (something akin to a student representative), who acts as a liaison between the course convenor, the lecturers and the rest of the students in the class. They are responsible for communicating all concerns from the students to the lecturers and vice versa. The seriousness rather than superficiality of the role was evident in the way one lecturer described the student coordinators as the "person in charge", acting as an "extension" of the lecturer's role (mid-career lecturer, ID 34).

In a third-year undergraduate class that I observed (13 March 2017), (i.e. at a stage in their degree where we would expect the students to have developed a fairly comfortable

sense of independence already), the students' independence was clearly evident. The student coordinator even took on the role of teacher when the lecturer had to unexpectedly leave the class, facilitating the class with the assistance of two classmates. An independent approach to learning was also evident in the students' approach to the assignment they were working on (scenarios where they had to use theories from nursing management to calculate the staffing requirements for a hospital ward). When the six groups came up against an inconsistency in the materials they had covered in class, and were consequently unable to confidently complete one part of the assignment, they conferred among themselves extensively to determine the correct answer first, before eventually sending the student coordinator to check with the lecturer. As the student coordinator said: "We're taught to be independent, so for example if we come up against a problem, we figure out the answer ourselves first, and only then do we seek confirmation from [our lecturer]" (student D, observation 13 March 2017). Students in this third-year class also felt assertive about their independence and freedom, enough so to negotiate the details of their timetable and assignment submission formats with their lecturer. Again, the student coordinator played a key role in these discussions, conferring between the students and the course convenor. Reflecting on the relative position of the students vis a vis the teaching staff, the same student remarked: "We negotiate. We can't just get bossed about by the lecturers [laughing]" (student D, observation 13 March 2017). These third-year students thus demonstrated a strong awareness of and ownership over their learning culture.

In terms of challenges to implementing their concept of educational quality, staff felt that the main challenge was material resources. For example, staff mentioned the need to provide adequate and up-to-date lab equipment, and to generate enough income to expand the campus and open new study programmes. They had applied for and won several small-scale grants from KOPERTIS, but major infrastructure works and major lab procurements were still dependent on private donations and financial contributions from the parent organisation (senior management, ID 31). There was less of a concern about implementing their concept of educational quality due to socio-cultural issues, as was the case at the private institute of technology (e.g. inter-faith tolerance, balancing academic freedom and creativity with conservative religious values). As mentioned above in the section on curricular standardisation, one senior manager did view SN-Dikti as a potential threat to the project of socialisation and subjectification, as it brought with it an over-emphasis on skills and competencies, i.e. the qualification function of education. Nevertheless, there was a high degree of consensus among staff over the institutional mission, and considerable institutional experience in putting that mission into practice. On the whole, the interview, observation and documentary data demonstrated the institution's ability to implement their community-oriented mission and their

educational philosophy. Students benefited from an educational approach that embedded community engagement, and pushed them to develop their self-confidence, and fostered their participation and independence as learners.

6.2.2.3 State-ECB university

The institutional mission of the state-ECB university must be defined in strict accordance to state definitions of the purpose and aim of higher education. These comprise the *Tridharma* (teaching, research and community service), the constitutional aim to develop the intellectual life of the nation and supporting the cause of national development based on the principles of *Pancasila*. In this sense, the mission of the university was the same as all other state HEIs. Nevertheless, each state HEI is allowed a degree of freedom in determining its own particular mission. This section deals with institutional mission in this more specific sense. Overall, the institutional mission at the case study university was defined by the rector's vision for pro-community and transformative learning. Yet this mission was characterised by a higher degree of contestation rather than consensus, which resulted in varyingly-defined and varyingly-implemented learning and teaching policies. In the absence of a consensus over the university mission, staff tended to revert to discipline-specific norms to inform their teaching praxis.

The previous rector had initiated a rekindling of the original mission to serve the citizens of West Java, resulting in strongly local, pro-West Java orientation. It was felt that this had become somewhat lost over the course of the institution's development, illustrated by the fact that by the mid-2000s, the majority of the student body comprised the children of urban middle-class families from Jakarta, major cities in West Java, and the rest of Indonesia's metropoles (senior management, ID 24). The current rector and senior management were continuing this work of pro-West Java re-orientation via amplified research, teaching, and admissions strategies that favour students and communities from within the province. (As will be discussed in chapter 7, considerable gains had been made in fair access policies). In terms of an educational philosophy or pedagogical approach, the rector was trying to implement a *transformative* education approach, and foster a collaborative-minded, inter-disciplinary student culture (senior management, ID 24). However, this educational mission was essentially a top-down policy that received mixed responses.

There were two key initiatives driven by the current rector to work towards his vision for transformative education. The first of these initiatives was HITS, or Happiness Integrated Transformation Studies. It was essentially a revamped system of organising the compulsory first year modules (Indonesian language, English, religion, *Pancasila*, citizenship). Instead of students taking these modules in their own year groups within their own departments as had been done in the past, students were now allocated to

joint classes comprised of students from across all the faculties. According to the senior manager, the main aim of this was to cultivate a sense of "togetherness" (senior management, ID 24). Embedded into the HITS approach was an extracurricular module called OKK or arts, sports and creativity, where students were again allocated to groups comprised of a mix of faculties. The OKK activities were supposed to be carried out in the vicinity of the campus, thus aiming to break down barriers between the university and the surrounding community[42]. The specific value or character that HITS and OKK sought to foster was a "spirit of leadership" , by forcing students "to handle people who are different, who are not a homogenous group", and "to organise [activities in] their community" (senior management, ID 24).

Experiences of HITS and OKK, which had just been implemented for the first time, varied among staff. In general, there was acceptance of the ideals and the rationale behind the intervention. For example, a lecturer from the STEM faculty described the aims of the intervention in very positive terms as combating "individualism", promoting the idea that "innovation happens through collaboration", as well as drawing students' attention to "the surrounding community" (mid-career lecturer, ID 19). It was part of a welcome effort by the university management to accommodate the non-academic development of students, rather than being concerned with "purely academic" affairs, and "relinquishing" the cultivation of character to organisations beyond the university (mid-career lecturer, ID 19). At the same time, however, staff tended to either downplay the impact that such interventions as HITS/OKK could have, or highlight the cultural challenges associated with its implementation. For example, the same lecturer cited above positioned OKK as an initial phase of awareness-raising through modest activities, rather than community service 'proper' (ibid.). Meanwhile, at the arts and humanities faculty, there was still a preconception that OKK was supposed to function as a form of community service, reflecting confusion among staff over the intended purpose and recipients of OKK. As one lecturer described:

> It's like community service, so going to the villages, helping them to sweep some areas, to clean up some areas, helping the villagers, educating them about issues. But it wasn't that successful. Because in [this town], it's not that deprived, right? Unless they go to the more rural villages, maybe then it would be more successful (late career lecturer, ID 01).

The above comments highlight the detached and often strained relations between university campuses as a site of privilege and their surrounding communities. Some academics have anecdotally pointed to the increasing trend in the 1990s onwards to

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[42] The campus was walled and guarded by security, though entry during the day time was porous. Most locals who entered the campus did so in the capacity of selling subsidiary services, i.e. running food stalls or providing motorcycle taxi rides

physically remove universities from their community-embedded locations to purpose-built, walled campuses as an extension of de-politicisation of campuses under the New Order regime. Others have in turn linked this to a more general phenomenon of *pragmatisation* of political life (*politik pragmatik*) driven by mass media, whereby empathy among the middle classes with poverty and marginal groups is orchestrated by TV shows, rather than experienced on a personal and community level (Subkhan, 2016, 50-51). Alternatively, the detachment of universities from their surrounding communities is portrayed as a symptom of neoliberalisation, whereby learners are distracted from social issues and busied instead with pressure to compete for high GPAs and extracurricular prestige through various competitions and awards (Subkhan 2016, 53). Whatever the root causes of the situation, it appears that relations with the surrounding community at this case study university were indeed marked by ambiguity and unequal power relations. In this context, the efforts of the university management to go beyond the qualification function of education and address the socialisation function (community-orientedness) and subjectification function (leadership, collaborative approach) were certainly timely and noble interventions. Yet HITS and OKK were essentially top-down interventions, and as such, they remained problematic and challenging to implement.

In terms of alternative, bottom-up attempts to address the socialisation and subjectification functions, a mixed picture emerged across the four departments at the two faculties sampled. Socialisation was more strongly linked to disciplinary norms and behaviour, in other words a project of "academic socialisation" for the students (Lea & Street 2000, 34-35). In terms of subjectification, there was no clear consensus over what kind of subject or self the staff were trying to encourage the students to become, and no clear pedagogical strategy to achieve this. Of course, when questioned individually, staff provided detailed accounts of the particular values and character that they sought to instil in their students. But at the collective level of the department, faculty or university, there was no clear mission being communicated either among staff or to the students, and this rendered the learning environment rather bland in terms of values. This situation was captured most vividly by a senior lecturer from the STEM faculty who characterised the learning environment as "monotone":

> [reflecting on the difficulty the department was facing in enhancing staff-student relations]: Before, indeed I suppose the synergy between student activities and the study programme activities wasn't joined up. So the students had their own system for their own activities, and the study programme had its own activities, and we only met in class, so then the situation becomes like a mere formality, they come, then they graduate. The dynamic was too monotone, you know" (late career lecturer, ID 21, STEM faculty).

This kind of detached learning environment had implications for the project of socialisation and subjectification. The same lecturer above cited two examples where the activities of the student societies contradicted formally espoused values of religious and gender equality. The first example was a case where a student association had organised a religious event with a provocative title (using the word '*laskar*'), suggesting a fanatical, exclusive or even violent interpretation of Islam. A second example was the fact that the president of the student association had always been a male. The head of department asked some students to research the reason for this, and was surprised to discover that the students had justified the gender choice based on a belief that leadership roles should always be held by a male according to the teachings of Islam. In other words, the lecturers were confronted with a 'values gap' between themselves and particular sections of the student body. This suggests that the conventional approach at state HEIs to pursue the *socialisation* function of education via the compulsory citizenship and religion modules can be superficial or performative.[43] Instead, values related to nationalism, democracy, religion and gender are explored, tested and challenged more meaningfully when staff open themselves up to closer interaction with students in their extra-curricular affairs, as in the case of this head of department seeking to foster closer ties with the student body at their department.

6.2.2.4 Cross-case comparison of institutional mission as an accountability pressure

Overall, at the two private HEIs, the religious orientation of the institutional mission provided a strong values basis which staff drew on to address the socialisation and subjectification functions of education. These values permeated both the content and process of learning. What was striking about the two private case study institutions was the high degree of consensus over institutional mission. This consensus had implications for the learning and teaching culture, resulting in shared notions among staff of educational quality, as well as a shared use of pedagogical approaches to achieve that aim. In contrast, at the state university staff described contestation over the institutional mission. Internal accountability pressure derived from conflicting ideologies or groups of people, namely the state *Pancasila* ideology, the rector's own vision for transformative learning, discipline-derived norms, other state definitions of education in SN-Dikti and accreditation rubrics. Accordingly, there was not a strong link between institutional mission and the socialisation and subjectification functions of education.

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[43] A point that reinforces this observation is the propensity for state HEIs to be infiltrated by Islamist activists who openly challenge the values of nationalism and pluralism. The scholarship on Islamist movements in Indonesia has indeed highlighted the fact that state university campuses are used as sites for Islamist activists to propagate and consolidate their ideologies. See for instance Noorhaidi Hasan's discussion of the rise of Salafism in 1980s Yogyakarta, which was linked to the success of study circles based at mosques attached to three major state HEIs in the city (Hasan 2006, 53).

6.2.3 Peer accountability

The second key internal accountability pressure was peer accountability. A constant culture of *peer accountability* was vital for the consistent and successful implementation of learning and teaching policies. This is because it entails a shared commitment to and joint responsibility over educational quality. In other words, staff were genuinely held to account over the departmental educational quality by their colleagues or peers, and this helped the department to implement their policies on educational quality in a consistent manner.

6.2.3.1 Professional development systems

Recruitment of new staff is the first step in the chain of building quality human resource capacity. A stringent recruitment and selection process was cited by interviewees at the private institute of technology as a particularly important enabler of accountability culture. The process itself involved a paper application, demo teaching, and an interview. The fact that private institutions have full autonomy over staffing was a huge advantage to them, as it allowed them to hire staff who they thought would "suit" or "fit in with" the institutional culture. One head of department described how they choose lecturers "extremely carefully", favouring those "who understand our vision and mission" (middle management, ID 62). This was corroborated by interviews with members of the senior management, as illustrated in the following comments:

> So we haven't really had many problems. Because usually the head of departments are really picky in choosing our lecturers (senior management, ID 52).

> We don't just look at their academic achievements, like how many publications in international journals, or were they a best performer [in English] at their institution, but does their vision suit us here. So we tell them, right, about what we are like here, -do you think you'd fit in here? – Because if they're not a good fit, how are they going to pass on [our vision] to the students? If our vision, our mission is not the same, it will be difficult. So their educator's spirit really has to be there (senior management, ID 53).

The importance placed on the qualitative aspects of lecturers (such as attitude, suitability with the institution's mission) was corroborated by comments concerning problematic members of staff. One part-time lecturer had been found to be forcing the students to buy some products or materials that they were selling. As soon as this was discovered, the lecturer was fired (middle management, ID 62). In another case, there was a colleague who was deemed difficult as a colleague, unable to work cooperatively. The way of dealing with this situation was to not extend the said person's contract, in effect letting them go (middle management, ID 59). Clearly, a cooperative and collegial attitude was a highly valued staff attribute.

The recruitment and selection processes were described as stringent at the private health science college and STEM faculty, yet they were not considered as crucial to building a culture of peer accountability as other factors, such as the mentoring system or a collegial culture. At the STEM faculty, the middle management had considerably less autonomy than their counterparts at the two private institutions in recruiting new staff. Pending full transition to ECB status, recruitment was still contingent on a centralised process whereby the faculty made requests to open new job posts to the senior management, who mediated this request to the MRTHE. Appointing applicants to permanent posts (equivalent to tenure track) was additionally subject to civil servant employment laws and regulations. This may explain why recruitment was hence not seen as the most important starting point to building a culture of peer accountability at the state university, as they had less control over the process. At the private health science college, in turn, they may have simply faced a smaller pool of potential candidates than the institute of technology, meaning that they could be less picky and selective about recruitment of new staff. Hence, in this context, they placed greater emphasis on other professional development systems as factors contributing to peer accountability.

There was consensus, however, at both the private case study institutions and the STEM faculty of the state university on the importance of induction to building peer accountability. Induction was framed not just as a procedural formality, but as the initial step in a consistently implemented mentoring and professional development scheme. New members of staff were not immediately assigned full teaching responsibilities. Instead, they were incrementally entrusted with greater and greater teaching responsibilities, supervised by a mentor. At the Biology department they referred to the mentor as the "teaching coordinator" (mid-career lecturer, ID 22), at the institution of technology the "coach [in English]" (middle management, ID 59), and at the health science college the "companion " (middle management, ID 40). New or junior members of staff began by observing classes or tutorials, (often joining team-taught classes), moving on to tasks like leading tutorials or particular sessions in a team-taught class, and eventually teaching classes themselves. They were always supported by peer observations to provide them with feedback and advice. Reflecting on the experience, one relatively junior lecturer from the STEM faculty described the process in positive terms, as a fair and developmental system (mid-career lecturer, ID 22).

At the health science college, the highly participatory and independent student culture was seen as an additional reason why new members of staff needed to be acclimatised to the institution first. In this context, they might feel "shocked", or even feel "unable to hold their ground in front of the students", especially final-year students, because the students "are already accustomed to a particular pattern of learning" (middle

management, ID 40), meaning independent and assertive. Hence, induction was not just about developing professionals in terms of their pedagogic competency, but also about socialising staff into the institutional and pedagogical culture. Reflecting on the approach of the three cases above to building their pedagogical and collegial culture, we could say they functioned as "communities of practice" adopting a "situated learning" approach, where participants moved from "legitimate peripheral participation" in the initial stages to "full participation" (Lave & Wenger 1991). As one senior member of staff explained in the context of the biology department, new members of staff "undergo socialisation, to recognise that they are now a biology citizen" (middle management, ID 20). Peer accountability worked two ways here. On the one hand, it was about holding the staff with less experience accountable, ensuring that a certain standard of teaching quality was met. It was also about holding the staff with more experience to account as mentors, obligating them to provide support and guidance to their colleagues rather than leaving them to their own devices.

Once members of staff had reached a relatively established phase in their teaching career at these departments, peer accountability continued to exert itself through team-teaching on modules, routine peer observations, annual performance appraisals, as well as student evaluations of modules. In all the three cases, team-teaching was the norm, except for on elective modules at the more advanced level. Even on the team-taught modules, division of content was based on lecturers' specialisations or preferences. Hence, their career development tracks as researchers were mirrored in their teaching duties. Because lecturers were interacting with each other regularly in the context of team-teaching, there was a sense of joint oversight over teaching activities, in other words a routinised form of peer accountability. Assessment was similarly a domain where peer accountability became relevant. Exam questions and assignments on modules taught to two classes at the same time by two sets of teachers had to be synchronised for consistency, which in turn forced lecturers to check their teaching activities for consistency as well (mid-career lecturer, ID 19, chemistry department). At the health science college, double marking was adopted for practical assessments. This was to ensure objective and fair results on the one hand, but it also had a peer accountability dimension to it. As one member of staff explained, the teaching competency of a colleague can be indirectly assessed via the performance of their students (middle management, ID 41).

Peer accountability also extended to the manner in which performance evaluation was carried out. The STEM faculty had recently adopted an institution-wide system of 6-monthly performance appraisals, linked to performance-based pay. Staff completed "performance contracts" at the start of the period, outlining their projected activities in the

three domains of teaching, research and community service. This was done in quantitative terms, such as number of modules taught, number of students supervised, number of research outputs, number of community service activities. The salary for the following period was based on the extent to which these targets were realised. For example, if only 80% of the targets were achieved, staff would only be paid 80% of their salary. Research activities were weighted higher in the scoring formula, in line with the rector's drive to create a research-intensive university. Despite the quantitative nature of the performance-based pay evaluation, one of the departments insisted on using qualitative indicators as well. The self-evaluation form used by the member of staff and the line manager in the performance appraisal meeting included a 40% weighting for attitude and behaviour (middle management, ID 17, chemistry department). This allowed them to make the appraisal less performative or merely about ticking off a list of agreed activities, and more about demonstrating collegiality and active contribution to the development of the departments' educational quality. At the other department, a manager described how the performance-based pay system merely provided an additional layer of incentive/punishment for staff to buy-in to the pre-existing professional development plans (middle management, ID 20, biology department). The plans to enhance the quality of staff through taking on new research and teaching activities had derived from the culture of mentoring and providing clear career tracks – features of the peer accountability at the department. There was an expectation about rights and duties – everyone had the right to pursue further studies and enhance their career track, but everyone also had a duty to pitch in equally so that the department improved as a whole. The institution-wide system of performance-based pay merely provided the financial reward system to back that up.

At the institute of technology, performance appraisal was conducted annually rather than every 6 months. Staff completed a self-evaluation form which similarly addressed the three *Tridharma* domains of teaching, research and community service, as well as a fourth domain called institutional service. (This referred to supporting the institutional mission, such as enhancement or expansion of its study programmes). There was a distinctly developmental focus to the appraisal, as it formed the basis for personalised career development plans. This demonstrates that it was an expression of the department's peer accountability culture, as all members of staff were expected to take responsibility over their career development, and in this way contribute to the overall educational quality at the departmental level. At the same time, however, it was an evaluation in real terms, as good performance would lead to increased pay. The health science college was the exception in that they hadn't adopted performance-based pay or performance contracts. Instead, they used the national "teaching load" framework (*beban kerja dosen* or BKD) in staff appraisal. The quality assurance unit also conducted

a human resource audit as part of their regular audits. In this context, the HR unit would verbally follow-up any issues with members of staff, such as a fall in attendance, complaints from students about punctuality, or absence from professional development workshops. Hence, we could say that peer accountability extended to the process of performance appraisal, albeit in a more informal and routinised way of close communication between those in positions of middle management (HR unit) and the regular lecturer cadre.

In addition to discussion with and evaluations by line managers, evidence on staff performance was also gathered via student surveys at all three case study institutions. They generally covered aspects comprising the material and non-material learning environment, the teaching materials used, the punctuality of the lecturer, and clarity of the lecturer's teaching. The survey results were summative in the sense that they were considered an accountability mechanism, a way of demonstrating achievements or shortcomings of a module. At the same time, they were developmental, providing the basis for reflection, discussion, and adjusting future practice.

The way in which survey results were handled varied from closed, to semi-open, to open discussion among staff. For example, at the chemistry department of the STEM faculty, the results were discussed openly at departmental meetings, but anonymised and averaged out to the level of the five or six laboratories. Each laboratory head in turn was free to address the results internally in more detail (mid-career lecturer, ID 19). At the private institute of technology, student surveys were discussed individually as a private matter between staff and their line manager, allowing the head of department to follow-up any possible issues, or even reprimand staff, unless there was an acceptable explanation offered by the lecturer in question. There was also interest in the results from the senior management in their aggregated form at the study programme-level. They saw the results as valuable feedback to help them evaluate the development of study programmes in historical context, and to identify needs for expansion or enhancement in terms of physical infrastructure and resources (middle management, ID 59). At the health science college, the results were incorporated into the end-of-course reports, which were submitted to the senior management for evaluation, as well as discussed openly at the departmental end-of-term meetings (mid-career lecturer, ID 35).

6.2.3.2 Collegial cultures

Peer accountability manifested itself through other routinised forms of interaction, not only via the concrete mechanisms related to professional development systems described above. Informal aspects of the organisational culture collectively created a staffroom culture of equal participation and equal responsibility. I refer to these as collegial cultures. Regular staff meetings were cited in each case as a key space where

this was fostered, with staff meeting sometimes as often as weekly in smaller units. At the two private HEIs, this kind of routinised interaction also facilitated a collective sense of student progress, as staff used the space to informally swap stories about their classes. Awareness was raised of individual student needs or challenges, and appropriate strategies could be brainstormed. Thus, a constant culture of peer accountability can have a positive impact on student experience, as a sense of continuity can be established in teacher-student relationships, with a more holistic picture emerging of student progress. Peer accountability was also evident in the management styles adopted at the health science college and the STEM faculty. While the institute of technology and the arts and humanities acknowledged that they tended to stick to a top-down management style, at these other cases there was a deliberately egalitarian or democratic style that went beyond the smaller, departmental unit, and extended to vertical layers of management from the most senior managers to middle management to ordinary staff.

At the health science college, routine academic meetings were held on each study programme (pre-semester, monthly or bimonthly, and end-of-semester), during which lecturers were collectively held to account for running of academic affairs. Each member of staff presented on the completed and/or proposed teaching activities for the next month, to which any member of staff could respond, offering critiques and suggestions. According to one member of staff, the purpose was not to "put someone down", or to "jostle with each other", but rather to "heighten the academic atmosphere":

> So we're used to giving criticism here. Say for example we're in a meeting – "Hey look, this is wrong!" – we're used to that" [laughing] – "Look, that's wrong, it should be like this, and like this, if you do it like that it's not that good" – we just say it, we're used to that. But yeah it's all in the name of improvement (middle management, ID 41).

This type of collective accountability was perhaps even more important or influential than individual performance appraisals, as it provided staff with immediate feedback and guidance on their teaching, including suggestions on what methods or material to concretely put into practice over the next month. In terms of a possible reason or source of inspiration for their approach to staff management, we can see how the democratic and egalitarian principles of the parent organisation were imbued in the college's working culture.

Staff attributed their peer accountability culture to the institutional mission when accounting for its strength. The religious character of the institutional mission provided a source of internal accountability pressure that motivated staff to take responsibility over their teaching work. As one member of staff described, "one's work is an expression of one's faith", meaning that "even if there is no line manager present to hold one to

account, one is always held accountable to one's maker [pointing up]" (middle management, ID 41). With such strong commitment to teaching at the personal level, we can see how it might be easier to consequently establish strong peer accountability relations.

Similar to the health science college, staff at the STEM faculty described a participatory and collegial culture, which made it easier for the management to implement, evaluate and improve their practices. Peer accountability was a constant, rather than a sporadic phenomenon. Managers from both the Biology and Chemistry departments described their staff as "compact" (*kompak*) or "solid [in English]". According to one of the managers, this was an asset to the management, as "it is very easy to invite them on board to introduce some changes" (late career lecturer, ID 21, biology department). A senior member of staff at the neighbouring department described how any changes to their practice were always discussed openly in meetings to create a sense of shared ownership. If there were failures, these were treated as a "collective responsibility" (late career lecturer, ID 18, chemistry department). This kind of participatory approach to management was favoured as it ensures that "a *sense of belonging* [in English] is there" (*ibid.*). Of course, there are always exceptions to the rule, and staff were frank about the challenge of achieving buy-in from every single member of the department. As illustrated in the following quote, however, managers were confident that the right kind of accountability culture and encouragement would bear fruit in time:

> From the total number of lecturers here, we have all colours of the rainbow. So the typical person, yeah, maybe we can invite them to run [with us], maybe some of them, to walk, but we also have those who are difficult to involve at all. Now, that's a challenge. Say for example you ask them to present at a seminar, difficult. Research, difficult. Professional development, also difficult. Like that. It's a challenge. But with – because it happens organically right, the [departmental] environment pushes them, and evidently they've been brought on board somewhat, they've been conditioned (middle management, ID 17, chemistry department).

The above quote illustrates that peer accountability was tipping the scales in favour of constancy, even though there were a few individuals who were somewhat less reliable contributors to the accountability project. Interestingly, it was the departmental culture that was seen by this manager to help motivate such challenging cases, not the formalised system of performance appraisal or performance-based pay. This highlights the significance of peer accountability as a cultural phenomenon in enabling consistent educational quality to be implemented.

While staff at the health science college attributed their collegial culture to the religious-derived institutional mission, there was obviously no comparable mission at the STEM

faculty. In the case of the chemistry department at least, managers attributed the success of a collegial culture to exposure to international partnerships. In particular, participation in a World Bank-funded project to improve the quality of undergraduate education had accustomed them to stringent evaluation requirements, such as meeting specific targets according to tight deadlines (middle management, ID 17).   The department was also involved in obtaining accreditation of its study programme from an international professional association, which had placed further accountability pressure on them. Many of their staff had received their doctoral training abroad, and they still maintained links to universities abroad via student and staff exchange programmes. It is hard to determine a cause-effect relationship here, but there did appear to be an interaction between peer accountability and the international, external-orientation of the department. The sheer logistical challenge of establishing and managing all these external relationships, as well as the intensity of communication required to do so, may have "forced" the department to work collectively. At the same time, without a culture of peer accountability in the first place, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to pull off all these achievements. Either way, the current generation of staff were enjoying the benefits of a constant peer accountability culture, and this allowed them to provide students with a consistently conceptualised and practised educational quality.

6.2.3.3 Explaining intermittent peer accountability

In contrast to the constant accountability cultures described thus far, the arts and humanities faculty at the state university was characterised by intermittent peer accountability. The intermittent nature of peer accountability made it very challenging for study programme managers to implement learning and teaching policies consistently. As a result, teaching praxis tended to vary by individuals.

Admittedly, the faculty shared many of the professional development systems as the STEM faculty, yet these were experienced in divergent ways. A mentoring system for inducting and socialising new staff was absent. In contrast to the gradual, situated learning approach adopted at the Biology department, new members of staff took on average or even higher than average teaching loads (mid-career lecturer, ID 10). This was partly due to the fact that the language-related departments were oversubscribed, in that their staff were deployed at all faculties to serve the demand for compulsory English language modules. This may have also been partly due to the fact that many lecturers began working for the department on a part-time and hourly-paid basis (related to the high demand for teachers described above) before applying for full-time posts, meaning that they were not really viewed as "new" members of staff at the point they transitioned to full-time posts.

In terms of concrete professional development provision for teaching competency, there was some – albeit limited – training. Indeed, at all state universities in Indonesia, staff participate in two mandatory courses in teaching – the induction module called PEKERTI, intended for new and junior members of staff, and the Applied Approach (AA) refresher course for mid-career staff. At the STEM faculty, these were not cited as particularly important by interviewees. Rather, it was their system of mentoring that contributed to a sense of professional development as educators, and to an overall culture of peer accountability. However, at the arts and humanities faculty, these mandatory training sessions were all they had. Whenever asked about induction and professional development opportunities in terms of teaching competence, these were the two examples that staff repeatedly referred to. Even the limited provision that *was* there was considered insufficient or ineffective. Staff complained that the PEKERTI and AA training sessions were too theoretical and prescriptive (mid-career lecturer, ID 10). Alternatively, interviewees highlighted the need for something more continuous and up-to-date, reflecting the need for lecturers to adapt with the times (middle management, ID 12). Another lecturer commented on the lack of seriousness with which staff treated the PEKERTI and AA training:

> "People just show up, listen, go home. Then they get the certificate, and they're done. That's it. … the important thing is that as a [state-employed] lecturer you have got the two certificates. … Nobody ever took it seriously" (late career lecturer, ID 01).

Like elsewhere in the university, six-monthly appraisals and performance-based pay were also implemented at the arts and humanities faculty. Yet the benefits were mainly viewed by interviewees vertically in terms of improving the lecturer-to-management relationship, rather than horizontally in terms of peer accountability. For instance, one lecturer described the performance contracts as an opportunity for them to voice their performance in their own words, meaning they could now communicate their achievements more clearly to the management. For example, they could describe their many research and community engagement projects which had previously either gone unacknowledged or simply earned them "a pat on the back" (late career lecturer, ID 04). Not only that, but they were now rewarded for their efforts in concrete terms by increased pay. Likewise, another lecturer reflected that the year since the introduction of performance-based pay had been the "the most tiring" but at the same time "the most rewarding" for themselves and other "active" colleagues (late career lecturer, ID 01). Horizontally, in terms of bringing everyone in line and "ironing out" gaps between those who worked extremely hard and those who didn't work hard enough, the policy had had little impact as of yet. One lecturer commented that: "Those who are relaxed, well they're still relaxed" (late career lecturer, ID 01).

In terms of explaining why the performance-based pay system was ineffective, the same lecturer as above suspected that the civil servant (PNS) promotion system undermined the performance-based pay system, with scores being "manipulated" by managers and employees alike. This was apparently to create neat linear curves of progress that guaranteed steady promotion in line with number of years served (ibid.) Yet, the STEM faculty also had to employ the PNS promotion system, and managers there did not complain of "manipulation". Indeed, a head of department explained how the two performance evaluation tracks had been harmonised, with the former facilitating better evidence gathering and record keeping, which actually enhanced the transparency of the PNS promotion process (middle management, ID 17). Of course it is difficult to ascertain the full impact of the performance contract and performance-based pay policies after only one year. Nevertheless, there was a noticeable difference between the two faculties.

Like the STEM faculty, the arts and humanities faculty had also introduced student feedback surveys. However, there appeared to be less interest in the results and they were not treated as seriously as a developmental tool. For instance, on the two study programmes included in the sample, student surveys were not compulsory, and accordingly, response rates were low. Results were not discussed at the department level, whether anonymised or not. Instead, they were collected by the faculty management, printed out, and sent directly to the lecturers. As one manager of a study programme described, even if they wanted to discuss the results, they couldn't, as the practice of distributing the results by-passed the line managers (late career lecturer, ID 06). In effect, there was no sense of urgency or purpose about the results, meaning they had little impact, or at least not on a systematic, department level basis. One lecturer described how even a bad result would amount to nothing more than "just personal introspection" (mid-career lecturer, ID 10). Another lecturer from the neighbouring department likewise lamented that "because there's never any punishment, or anything, there's almost no improvement" (late career lecturer, ID 01).

Why did the experiences of staff at the arts and humanities faculty diverge so strongly from the other cases? It appears that the organisational culture was a key factor. Instead of a culture of collegiality, the arts and humanities faculty was marked by a culture of seniority and insularity. Although staff at the STEM faculty acknowledged that attitudes of seniority could occasionally make communication between relatively junior and senior staff awkward (mid-career lecturer, ID 22), overall there was a commitment to "regeneration" (mid-career lecturer, ID 19), and a culture of "collaboration" and "symbiosis" between less and more experienced members of staff (middle management, ID 20). This was evidenced through the mentorship system, the use of career

development plans, and the provision of professional development opportunities, such as joint research projects, support for doctoral study and staff exchange programmes with overseas partners. Younger staff were valued and offered opportunities to flourish. In contrast, at the arts and humanities faculty, lecturers were reluctant to hold their colleagues to account, especially when that colleague was their former teacher, or dissertation supervisor. In other words, the learning and teaching environment suffered from what I would call "accountability gaps". Problematic situations arose when staff in lower and middle management positions had to confront staff who had received complaints from students, be it more trivial matters such as punctuality, or more serious matters such as negligence and incompetence. An example of an accountability gap from the sphere of academic integrity would be a student intentionally falsifying references on a written assignment because they were aware that the lecturer didn't usually bother to read their work in detail, and the student then receiving a high mark. This was a story that a student had confided to one of the interviewees in their capacity as head of the study programme at the time. The interviewee reflected that the line managers frequently felt unable to reprimand incompetent colleagues, let al.one effect a change in their practice:

> … we don't have to report this to anyone, So, it's taken for granted [in English], this is just the way everything is. … There are many of us who are brave enough to say something as well, but there are never any repercussions. Or even, we are the ones who face a problem. For example, that group of people, they come to hate us, … rather than causing a conflict among our friends, or whoever, it's better to just remain silent (late career lecturer, ID 01).

Similarly, the head of another study programme spoke of the difficulty in dealing with problematic members of staff. Their strategy was simply to limit the amount of teaching and supervision for these colleagues who "cannot demonstrate their credibility as educators" (late career lecturer, ID 06). In the sphere of research supervision, when a group of students refused to continue supervision with a problematic lecturer, the interviewee had to resort to taking on these students themselves, even though it meant they exceeded their official teaching load. As they explained: "… we have this lecturer who still places their ego first, who doesn't follow the standards, for example, so like it or not, I had to take [those students]" (late career lecturer, ID 06). We can see these challenges related to seniority as a symptom of the insular and unmeritocratic culture at Indonesian state universities described elsewhere in the higher education literature (Rakhmani & Siregar 2016; Gaus & Hall 2016).

In addition to the issue of insularity, the professional lives of Indonesian state university staff have been hampered by historically poor remuneration, resulting in "academic

nomads" (Gaus & Hall 2016, 140). A lack of adequate remuneration results in weak commitment to their host institution and to the profession in general, with lecturers understandably seeking alternative sources of income. The complex nature of opening new job posts, which requires approval from the senior management as well as the MRTHE, results in departments filling the gaps in their teaching loads with part-time, hourly paid lecturers. State universities with ECB status are allowed to hire staff directly on non-PNS contracts. However, at the time of the research, the faculty was not using such contracts yet as a means to recruit more staff. It is not surprising, then, that a line manager at the arts and humanities faculty complained of a "lack of loyalty" among junior members of staff as they sought work opportunities elsewhere (late career lecturer, ID 06). This makes it hard to establish a sense of continuity and collaboration. There may be sporadic moments of peer accountability, but building lasting trust is hard. Because this problem was absent from interviews at the STEM faculty, further research would be needed to investigate whether the problem of an overdependence on casual, part-time staff is a symptom of arts and humanities subjects more so than in other subject areas.

In sum, intermittent peer accountability may be in part a common experience affecting many Indonesian state universities in general, but at the same time was understood and delineated as a feature of the arts and humanities faculty as an organisational unit. Indeed, the relative position or characterisation of the faculty in comparison to the STEM faculty was commented on by all layers of the management hierarchy – both central and faculty level. A member of the senior management described how certain faculties – including the arts and humanities one - were "slow", with the institution generally experiencing "culture shock" when the reforms associated with autonomous ECB status and the new rector were introduced (senior management, ID 24). A senior member of staff at the office of the dean for arts and humanities described how the performance-based policies had necessitated a reform in terms of "habits, thinking patterns, mindset", inducing something akin to a transitional period of "turmoil" (middle management, ID 11). Thus, even though the two faculties included in the sample were subject to the same peer accountability systems (such as performance-based pay), the two contrasting organisational cultures resulted in divergent outcomes. The STEM faculty enjoyed a more collegial culture, which helped managers to consistently implement policies and teaching praxis in support of educational quality. In the case of one department at least, exposure to international partners and international accreditation had facilitated a more constant peer accountability culture. Meanwhile, the arts and humanities faculty was characterised by intermittent peer accountability, as managers struggled with issues related to a culture of seniority and insularity.

6.2.4 Self-accountability

The third internally-driven accountability pressure that enabled the implementation of educational quality at the micro-level of teacher-student interaction was self-accountability. This refers to the lecturers' sense of responsibility to themselves as an educator, as a professional. Arguably, every professional in the role of teacher/educator feels some level of accountability toward the students in front of them. When self-accountability is in the *foreground* of a lecturer's praxis, however, this means it acts as a primary accountability pressure, equal to or even more urgent than institutional pressures (mission, peer accountability) or external pressures (state, labour market). Even in the *absence* of such accountability pressures (such as the intermittent rather than constant peer accountability at the arts and humanities faculty), self-accountability is sufficiently strong to necessitate action in favour of the students. At this level of analysis, then, accountability of educational quality is by definition something personally experienced and concrete, rather than performative or vague. In this section, I will first define the phenomenon of self-accountability in the lecturers' own words, before then giving examples of what it meant for their learning and teaching praxis.

Definitions of self-accountability encompassed three main aspects. The first aspect was motivation or desire to be an educator, contrasted by participants against credentials or qualifications for teaching. As one early career lecturer described, one of the main factors that facilitates educational quality is a desire to teach, rather than a particular qualification. When a lecturer has the desire to teach, "they are one step ahead [in English], they can learn, they can ask, they can try out new things, and do something more" (mid-career lecturer, ID 08, arts and humanities faculty). In other words, pedagogical self-accountability refers to an intrinsic motivation or commitment not just to teach, but to teach in the best way possible. Similarly, another lecturer stressed that personal motivation and desire were equally important to implementing educational quality as the compulsory training modules in pedagogy at state universities. In their view, achieving a quality learning and teaching environment is easier if "the desire comes from the lecturer themselves". They acknowledged that "studying new [teaching] methodology is certainly difficult", and this difficulty was easier to overcome if the lecturer had the desire to "open themselves up" (middle management, ID 13, arts and humanities faculty).

The second aspect that defines self-accountability is a sense of duty or obligation that binds the lecturer to a moral or ethical code. Another way to put it is that self-accountability is present in the *conscience* of the lecturer. As one senior manager described, self-accountability is akin to self-respect, and the easiest way to detect it is in the conscience of the lecturer themselves:

> To be a teacher, an educator, is a respected profession. … But what is even more important is to be respected by yourself. Me, as a teacher, yes, to be respected means I have a greater responsibility. … so accountability is when – at the utmost, it is when that person can assess [their actions] at the end of the day, and see whether – 'what I have done, I am satisfied with, because I do the best [in English']. Ok. But that's not true for everyone in general right? It's personal. … It starts from inside. … So I say, don't become a lecturer if you're only chasing money (senior management, ID 51, institute of technology).

A lecturer from the state university similarly described self-accountability as something you can assess personally via self-reflection – it is the ability to look back on what one has done and say "I can be of benefit to the students" (late career lecturer, ID 06, arts and humanities faculty). Another senior member of staff, this time from the health science college, also alluded to the moral dimension to self-accountability. Searching for the right term, they referred to the "loyalty", the "moral" or the "principle" of the lecturers to "desire quality for their students" (senior management, ID 31, health science college). This participant differed somewhat in their opinion from the manager at the institute of technology, as they felt this kind of moral or principle could be instilled in colleagues at the institution level, resulting in a collaborative and supportive working culture overall. Hence, they viewed it in direct relation to peer accountability, suggesting that the two are inter-related.

The third aspect of self-accountability relates to the subjectification function of education. Participants described the difference between being a teacher and an educator. While a commitment to the subjectification function of education may have derived in part from the institutional mission (e.g. confidence building, character development), interviewees nevertheless described it as a response to a personally or internally derived accountability pressure as an educator:

> I think it's about how we become a teacher and an educator. There's a difference, I suppose, right. As a teacher, maybe we can only deliver [in English] what we know, so at the minimum, they understand the concepts from the syllabus, ok, that's it. But as an educator, maybe we have a different target, about how to help them become successful. So at that moment when they are able to offer their own form of achievement, that's where the satisfaction comes from, you know (late career lecturer, ID 21, STEM faculty).

Similarly, a senior manager from the institute of technology spoke of a commitment to going beyond the curriculum to inspiring the students to learn, once again reflecting the way in which this foregrounded learning and teaching practice:

> … how to inspire students is the most important thing, - and this is what we always have to remind our lecturers of –if the students are inspired, they can go on to learn by

themselves. If we only drag them along, they will face serious problems. So I still think it's the lecturers, the lecturers are the primary factor [for educational quality] (senior management, ID 52, institute of technology).

Apart from teacher-student relations, self-accountability was also described in relation to a commitment to continuing professional development. A senior lecturer at the health science college felt that lecturers were so committed to fulfilling their professional roles as educators and researchers, to the extent that they eschewed administrative posts (which tend to bring greater responsibilities and salary increases). In their experience, it was difficult for the senior management to appoint staff to such posts, because staff were engrossed in pursuing research projects, developing new study modules, or improving other aspects of their teaching praxis (middle management, ID 40, health science college). In other words, self-accountability to their professional roles *foregrounded* their praxis. This picture is in stark contrast to Nugroho's (2005) depiction of state universities in Indonesia as arenas for power struggle, where staff jostle and vie for lucrative administrative posts while eschewing educational activities.

Self-accountability had implications for how lecturers organised their learning and teaching environment. One lecturer described it as "breaking down the barriers" between teacher and student, and doing away with such old-fashioned stereotypes of the "killer lecturer"[44]. Lecturers had to approach the teacher-student relationship as a "partnership". The adoption of online and social learning platforms such as Google Drive was cited by the interviewee as an example of this. This created a further space were learning materials were shared but also where discussion could take place (middle management, ID 15, STEM faculty). A lecturer from the arts and humanities faculty also described self-accountability in terms of fostering less formal and open relations with students. As a lecturer, they felt it was important to make themselves available to students during "those moments outside of class, relaxed, chatting about the usual things"*,* because it was during such moments that the students "felt more comfortable to air their thoughts" compared to in class. Over time students would become close enough to share not only their wishes but also their demands, or grievances with other lecturers (middle management, ID 13, arts and humanities faculty). Self-accountability also meant opening up oneself to critique from students in order to improve praxis. The same lecturer from the arts and humanities faculty above had also devised their own system of soliciting student feedback to compensate for the ineffective student surveys used at the faculty. During the final lesson, they asked their students to write down any comments and suggestions on small scraps of paper that were immediately collected, as they felt this generated more honest, relevant and immediate comments than the formal surveys. The

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[44] In Indonesian: *dosen killer*. This is slang for a particularly harsh and strict lecturer.

lecturer encouraged the students thus: "I prefer to be criticised rather than to be praised, because if you only praise me, I won't progress anymore. But with criticism, I can improve myself" (middle management, ID 13, arts and humanities faculty). Clearly, this is an internally-driven pressure, rather than a top-down pressure initiated by the senior management, or formalised trough a mechanism such as performance appraisal.

Finally, it is worth reflecting on the relative importance of self-accountability as an internal accountability pressure on educational quality. In the context of intermittent peer accountability, self-accountability becomes crucial for pursuing educational quality, as it can plug the 'accountability gaps' and compensate for ineffective accountability mechanisms. An example of this has already been discussed in the section on intermittent peer accountability, whereby a line manager took on the supervision of a group of research students who were dissatisfied with their original supervisor (late career lecturer, ID 06, arts and humanities faculty). Again, it was self-accountability pressure that led the lecturer to take this action, borne out of a sense of commitment to or responsibility over the students as an educator. While self-accountability is of course not a guarantee of educational quality, it certainly provides a helpful first step towards achieving that aim.

Admittedly, pedagogical self-accountability is linked to an organisational culture of peer accountability, and it can be hard to delineate the two at times. For instance, when you reach a critical mass of staff with self-accountability at the foreground of their praxis, the knock-on effect is a wider culture of accountability towards students and a supportive learning environment. Conversely, a strong culture of peer accountability rewards staff who take ownership of the quality of teaching and learning, i.e. who demonstrate a high degree of self-accountability. In fact, there is some evidence that pedagogical self-accountability was contributing to brand image at the two private case study institutions. At the institute of technology, the institution was known for its "friendly" lecturers who "care" for their students (student recruitment staff, ID 55). The health science college had received transfer requests from students enrolled at other colleges in the city, based on word-of-mouth reputation that their learning environment was more effective and supportive (middle management, ID 40). A senior manager there also felt that it was possible for managers to instil a culture of self-accountability in their staff, thus resulting in a collaborative and supportive working culture overall (senior management, ID 31). However, I am cautious not to make any strong generalisations about self-accountability to the institutional level, because participants were mostly describing their own teacher-student relations at the personal level.

6.3 Discipline-derived pressures

This section describes an alternative source of ideas on educational quality that staff felt accountable to, namely discipline-derived norms. At all three case studies, staff referred to their membership in national-level professional associations. As discussed in chapter 5 on the policymaker perspective, we can view professional associations as key spaces where beliefs and practices of educational quality are formed and circulated. In other words, they speak to a form of professional accountability. Staff also referred to discipline-derived norms as a source of ideas on educational quality in more abstract terms, in terms of epistemology. Therefore, the boundaries of this pressure are blurred, going beyond the institution and also beyond professional associations, attached instead to a body of knowledge. Accordingly, discipline-derived accountability pressures on educational quality represent a normative kind of isomorphic pressure, which explains why professionals across a diverse range of institutions adopt similar beliefs and practices in their working lives. As defined by DiMaggio and Powell (1991, 70), normative isomorphism is a joint project by professionals "to establish a cognitive base and legitimation for their occupational autonomy".[45]

At the two private case study institutions, discipline-derived norms were mainly evident in the way that staff defined graduate attributes – or the qualification dimension to education. There was consensus over which particular skills and competencies had to be met, in order for their graduates to legitimately enter the field of nursing, midwifery, IT, accounting, and so forth after completing their degree. This is evidenced by the fact that extensive input was sought from practitioners, end-users, employers, and industry experts to continuously update and improve their curriculum and pedagogical methods. As discussed above in the section on external accountability pressures, this was also an expression of the accountability they felt towards the labour market. Perhaps the vocational and professional nature of the disciplines at hand explains why the distinction between agentic, normative pressure on the one hand, and externally assessed, coercive pressure of the labour market on the other were blurred. After all, the labour market overlaps with the group of professionals and practitioners who set the norms in the discipline/field. As a result, both coercive and normative pressures combined to shape the qualification function of education at these case study institutions. An example of this would be the use of certification in software programmes (normative pressure) as

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[45] It is possible that the exchange of ideas within professional associations may have also been functioning mimetically, with members from the most prestigious institutions serving as net contributors of ideas, and members of less prestigious institutions adopting those ideas mimetically. Equally, there may have been cross-fertilisation of ideas between professional associations, for example norms from the discipline of health science (problem-based learning, case-based learning) being adopted on other study programmes. However, the breadth of data collected for this study is not adequate to qualify such a claim.

a tool to signal their graduates' professional competency to future employers (labour market accountability).

In terms of the socialisation and subjectification functions of education, the way in which institutional values were put into practice was mediated by discipline-derived norms. In other words, the educational and social values stemmed from the institutional mission, but the discipline or scholarly community was the concrete space in which these values were mapped on to and implemented. An example of this that has already been mentioned is the integration of Christian values (charity/paying your tithe) into an economics topic (consumption). A more substantive example of this phenomenon can be found from the health science college. A group of staff there had devised a research-based set of guidelines for spiritual patient care, which had in turn been developed into a compulsory module in their curriculum. The motivation or commitment to address the spiritual care needs of Muslim patients clearly stems from the religious character of the institutional mission. Yet the process behind curricular innovation, and the praxis of implementing the intervention, was grounded firmly in the discipline of health science. Indeed, one of the staff who had been involved in designing the module described how they did so in accordance with the theory of nursing process (mid-career lecturer, ID 35). The initial idea for the intervention emerged after a workshop on a similar topic run by a lecturer from a state university in the city. A group of staff at the case study college reflected on the need for a more holistic approach to spiritual care, and so they set about designing an intervention. They followed the stages of research, needs analysis, intervention design and piloting, to evaluation. A case study describing how the lecturers had implemented the intervention with a cohort of students was written up and disseminated in a journal published by another state university in the same city. This example illustrates how the praxis of curricular innovation was a project emanating from the institutional values on the one hand, but carried out within a network of professionals that cut across institutional borders.

At the state university, discipline-derived norms informed not only the qualification but also the socialisation and subjectification dimensions to education. At the arts and humanities faculty, a liberal arts education provided a values basis to inform lecturers' understanding of the kind of social values they were working towards (i.e. socialisation), and the kind of role that students should play in the world as adult citizens (subjectification). Hence, discipline-derived norms seemed to be functioning much like the institutional mission did at the two private case study institutions. The social and personal values associated most strongly with a liberal arts education were that of social cohesion/tolerance and criticality. One lecturer explained that the purpose of education was to develop "critical human beings [in English]", not just an economic participant in

the labour force. This was "urgent" for contemporary Indonesian society because it faced many challenges in terms of "socio-cultural politics, intolerance, and misunderstandings". In this context, providing a "quality education" meant educating students with values that steered them away from racist, sexist, or chauvinistic tendencies (late career lecturer, ID 04). In this way, we could say that, the principles of a liberal arts education provided a values basis for addressing the socialisation function (tolerant society) and subjectification function (critical human beings) of education.

Two examples of the socialisation and subjectification functions described above being put into practice emerged during observations at the faculty. In a module on American literature (*Observation 27 February 2017, 2nd Year, 4th Semester*), the history of racial politics was explored through works of fiction by ethnic minority writers. The divergence between the lived reality of minorities in early 20th century U.S. history was contrasted against the egalitarian spirit of the constitution. The lecturer then invited students to critically re-assess the very familiar Indonesian constitution and its spirit of egalitarianism, having first critiqued the American case. In this way, the comparative-historical approach allowed students a means through which they could critically reflect on assumptions about social justice and race in their own country. On a first-year introductory module (*Observation 20 February 2017, 1st year, 2nd semester*), the politically taboo subject of Marxism featured as one of the themes[46]. The lecturer (mid-career lecturer, ID 05) addressed the theme very calmly and confidently, coaxing the students "not to be hesitant" on the course, and to explore topics that were "beyond their comfort zone". To provide extra reassurance, the lecturer added: "Don't think that if you present on the topic of Marxism, you'll become a PKI [communist party] member. And socialism is part of Indonesia's history after all. In fact, the first anti-colonial movements were socialist." In this way, the classroom became a space where the values of tolerance and criticality could be practiced through curricular content. Tolerance in the sense of understanding and learning about political alternatives before making judgements about them, and criticality in the sense of uncovering assumptions about politically taboo topics via the academic principles of inquiry, openness and discussion.

Discipline-specific attitudes to knowledge also impacted how learning and teaching were organised by staff at the arts and humanities faculty. In terms of teaching methods, one early-career lecturer was emphatic that humanities and social science subjects necessitated a "communicative" approach with students. Although a discourse on student-centred learning is evident in SN-Dikti and the accreditation rubrics, the lecturer

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[46] The Communist Party of Indonesia was banned in 1966 in the wake of the violent communist purges that marked the fall of President Soekarno's presidency and the establishment of General Soeharto's New Order regime.

attributed the need for this kind of pedagogy specifically in relation to their discipline. Knowledge is discussed and developed together by the lecturer and the students, rather than simply being a case of 'right' or 'wrong':

> So it's not just … talking at the front, but we also need to evaluate whether they have understood or not. So [teaching should be] modern, communicative, informal, so not like in medicine for example. Because if something is incorrect, then, the lecturer needs to say it's incorrect. But in social sciences, we can discuss it together (mid-career lecturer, ID 05).

These comments about a communicative pedagogy for an inquiry-based epistemology were corroborated by classroom observations in subjects covering cultural studies and literature. Even during the observation of a linguistics class, a discipline which is at times more closely aligned with the norms of natural sciences than social sciences, students were given an opportunity to co-construct knowledge. For example, the lecturer devised hands-on tasks whereby students used their own reading material to find examples and definitions of the linguistic concepts being studied that week (genre, lexical cohesion) (20 February 2017).

In terms of organising the curriculum, discipline-derived norms favoured an exploratory approach to knowledge construction. An attempt to reformat the curriculum structure on a modular basis led by the central management came up against strong resistance from the faculty, because it wasn't consistent with their approach to knowledge. As one lecturer explained, the modular system assumes that you need to have minimal knowledge in A before you can progress to B, thus reflecting a compartmentalised body of knowledge where progression to one sphere is contingent on mastering another sphere first. In contrast, they characterised the arts and humanities discipline as very diverse, with students given the freedom to construct their own body of knowledge according to their own interests. As one lecturer described: "they are set free even to the extent that they don't have to follow or agree with what is taught by their lecturer" (late career lecturer, ID 04).

This comment about students leading the direction of their learning is corroborated by further observation and interview data. In one of the classes I observed (*Observation 20 February 2017, Year 1, 2nd Semester*), the course syllabus was structured thematically, with students exploring the theme of their choice via a group assignment. The lecturer provided an indicative reading list, but explicitly asked the students to discuss the themes and theoretical approaches in relation to practical examples of their choice (for example contemporary cinema, music, literature, art). Students also voted on the coverage of the course syllabus, when it became apparent that the suggested number of topics exceeded

the number of meetings available in the academic calendar. In this way the students and lecturer negotiated the body of knowledge they would be constructing together. The lecturer literally asked the class - "Is there anything you want to negotiate here?" - and proceeded to edit the course syllabus document (displayed on the projector) as students voiced their opinions[47]. In the context of another undergraduate class, the lecturer (late career lecturer, ID 04, Observation 27 February 2017) described how students were made to choose their own assignment topics, in order to give them space to explore their interests. This was not easy, as many students struggled with the role of independent learner. For example, a student had asked their tutor: "*What do you want me to write about?*" This suggests that while there was a commitment to a student-centred pedagogical approach from certain lecturers, it hadn't yet materialised into a uniformly experienced student culture, in the same way that independent learning characterised the student body at the health science college so strongly.

A distinguishing feature of the arts and humanities departments is that normative pressure was not limited to the academic realm of fellow professionals (i.e. lecturers, professional associations), but also to the arts community more broadly, such as "writers, novelists, poets, people involved in theatre" (late career lecturer, ID 04). There was a group of about five colleagues whose professional practice was influenced by *practice as research* (Nelson 2013), *social activism,* and the concept of the *engaged intellectual.* Hence, their professional identity aligned very closely to the communities beyond the confines of the campus, who they engaged with in the context of organising events, collaborating on projects, and performing together. There was also an inward flow of people from the cultural sphere to the campus, with many prominent artists, activists and cultural commentators invited to workshops, seminars, film screenings and performances held on campus. The fluidity of movement between the campus and artist communities in their view contributed to the institution's educational quality, as the student body was exposed to an activist and practitioner-led approach to the arts and literature. It was within this community that understandings of discipline-specific knowledge – and hence educational quality - could be formed and developed by both staff and students.

At the STEM faculty, discipline-derived norms were shaping the socialisation and subjectification functions of education in a narrower sense, within the field of science

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[47] A separate issue is the fact that the logistics of the situation hampered effective student voting, as the class of more than 80 students was packed in a tight space, without any formal online learning platform to support communication digitally. (Lecturers used Facebook and Google applications in the absence of formal platforms such as Moodle or Blackboard). Nevertheless, the commitment or approach to negotiating with students on the syllabus coverage was evident.

itself. Rather than posing the question – *what kind of a student and society do we want to create?* – staff posed the question – *what kind of scientific community do we want to create? And what kind of a biologist/chemist do we want to create?* The social values that staff upheld were inquiry, openness, collaboration, and interdisciplinarity. The personal values that staff idealised were independence, creativity, and ability to apply knowledge to various contexts.

The first feature of a discipline-derived conceptualisation of educational quality was the prominent role assigned to research. The aim was to organise teaching in a way that reflected the norms of scientific inquiry, allowing students to discover and construct knowledge through the act of research. The chemistry department explicitly employed a 'research-based curriculum', and elsewhere in the faculty there was similarly a drive to integrate teaching and research more closely. As a manager from the office of the dean put it, the 'research climate' among the lecturers was being socialised to the students as early as possible. This was via the research climate of the institution in general, and through teaching activities that were explicitly linked to current research projects (middle management, ID 15). Curricular review was seen as an important mechanism to capture this: *the new curriculum that we have just designed directs [the learner] to research"* (ibid.)

The way in which lecturers saw their role as socialising students into the scientific community was evident in the classroom observations. In a class on biotechnology (*Observation 27 February 2017, 2nd Year, 4th semester*), the lecturer made numerous references to the relevance of the field for students' invidivual career choices and future research. In effect, the lecturer was addressing the students as future researchers and potential colleagues. In an elective module for students at a more advanced stage of their studies (*Observation, 20 February 2017, 3rd year, 6th semester*), the lecturer explicitly reiterated the way in which the module supported the research-based curriculum, highlighting potential research directions and career choices for the students. The course objectives listed in the syllabus included the key words "applications", "research" and "real-life concepts". Moreover, the lecturer addressed concerns among students about the utility of the module for acquiring a job, given that bio-molecular simulation didn't necessitate lab experience. What future employers look for in a job interview situation, they assured the class, is not lab experience per se, but rather "the ability to understand concepts", and "to describe a research project in detail, highlighting your creativity". These observations about the way in which lecturers addressed the students illustrates the socialisation function of education being carried out in relation to the field of science. Moreover, we could say that these comments and observations corroborate comments made concerning peer accountability, as they demonstrate a

supportive attitude to regeneration or cultivating the next generation of scientists (in this case students, rather than younger members of staff).

Although a research-based education approach was a discipline-derived conceptualisation of educational quality, it was further bolstered by the current rector's policies to prioritise research activities. For example, at all faculties, students undertaking research projects were being pushed to publish their research findings with the assistance of their supervisor, in the form of co-authored journal papers, and this was seen as a welcome move (middle management, ID 20, biology department). Funding was also made available for students to participate in research training and research dissemination. For example, one mid-career lecturer described how they were able to take six undergraduate students with them to a conference in Malaysia, with the university covering their costs for travel and conferences fees (mid-career lecturer, ID 19, chemistry department).

The second example of discipline-derived norms shaping educational quality at the STEM faculty was the emphasis on an interdisciplinary approach to knowledge. As part of the revamped introductory modules under HITS, the STEM faculty brought students from the various departments together in a joint class. The purpose was to expose students to members of other disciplines and foster a sense of belonging to a broader scientific community:

> People will know what it is that their counterparts are working on. And this will motivate them when they are about to carry out research, so they can collaborate. It doesn't have to be the case that scholarship stands in isolation (late career lecturer, ID 21, biology department).

This interdisciplinary outlook was corroborated by observations at the faculty. In a module on biotechnology (*Observation 27 February 2017, 2nd Year, 4th semester*), the lecturer portrayed the many possible applications of the field positively, saying "Don't be afraid that biology graduates can only find work in certain kinds of jobs." Furthermore, they highlighted the intersections between science and policymaking, explaining how work in this field necessitated an understanding of regulations related to the availability of materials and to ethical considerations. Classes could also become a physical space where interdisciplinarity was practiced very literally. An elective class at the chemistry department I observed (*Observation, 20 February 2017, 3rd year, 6th semester*) was audited by about seven postgraduate students from other faculties such as pharmacy and medicine, reflecting interest in the subject from other disciplines. Hence undergraduate students were exposed to the potential interdisciplinary applications in a very real sense, from people immediately close to them in the same class. When I put it to the lecturer that students and lecturers from other faculties had complained of

miscommunication and even open competition between departments/faculties, making interdisciplinary work very challenging, the lecturer responded with a mixture of surprise and laughter: "That's so the old days [in English], *we're* welcome [in English], *you know*". Interdisciplinarity was associated closely with the values of openness and progress. The lecturer considered these values to be essential characteristics of a good scientist, as well as necessary tools for scientific progress:

> Right now, my research students and I have made our own lab, and we share it. I've taught them up to the same level, they're already beyond that, beyond my level. Because in this way, science will progress. But if we're the type of person who likes to keep science secret, if we don't want to share it with others, if we close it off from them, if when we teach someone, there are still some things that we hide from them, then according to me that is precisely why science will not progress (mid-career lecturer, ID 19, chemistry department).

The values of openness and interdisciplinarity also extended to an international outlook. Throughout the faculty, staff spoke of how important international bilateral partnerships were in enhancing the quality of their education provision. At the Biology department, there were numerous partnerships for staff and student exchange programmes. For instance, staff collaborated with counterparts on research projects, and students went abroad to participate in research training. At the chemistry department, the situation was the same. Recent doctoral graduates played a key role in this regard, by gaining access to joint research projects via their former supervisors (mid-career lecturer, ID 19, chemistry department). Additionally, the department had even established a double degree programme with a partner university in Japan (late career lecturer, ID 18, chemistry department). International exposure was part of a deliberate effort to pursue international benchmarks in quality. If experts were located abroad, then it was the duty of a good scientist and a good educator to seek them out and learn from them. A concrete example of this was cited by a lecturer from the biology department (late career lecturer, ID 21), who recounted how they had invited a student to accompany them on a trip to Thailand. The purpose of the trip was to study how researchers there were using micro algae in commercial applications. The benefits were two-fold. Firstly, this was a way of instilling a culture of seeking international benchmarks in quality science. Furthermore, the lecturer described this type of learning as more impactful for students "Yes! This is what biology is really all about, I said. But if we only tell them stories about it, biology is like this, in front of the class, they won't be able to imagine it" (ibid.).

There was ample evidence to illustrate how the socialisation function of education was addressed at the STEM faculty, or in other words, what kind of scientific community the staff were trying to socialise their students into. It was not as immediately clear what the

link between discipline-derived norms and the subjectification function of education was. Arguably, because staff had a sense of what the ideal scientist was like, and because they were fostering values such as openness and creativity as desirable values, this allowed students room to grow as a subject, or to develop a sense of their own place and identity within the scientific community. For instance, one lecturer felt that a good indication of a high-quality education was when a student becomes capable of effecting change themselves - an "agent of change"

> … so quality according to me is being able to give, … , that something, it's hard to describe it. But yeah, in ideal terms, we could say, when the student graduates, they become an agent of change [in English]. If they only, they only chase after grades, even if their GPA is a perfect 4.0, but what they get is just what they learn from their lectures, that's not quality education in my opinion (mid-career lecturer, ID 19).

What the interviewee is capturing here is something described by Barnett (2007) in relation to student voice. Developing the student's pedagogical voice allows them to become fluent participants in and contributors to their epistemological community, but that doesn't quite go far enough. In addition, Barnett argues, we need to cultivate the student's *ontological* voice, meaning "that emerging capacity to strike out on one's own, and to form one's own view of one's intellectual and professional field" (Barnett 2007, 96). To return to Biesta's point about the subjectification function of education, the purpose of education should also be to provide space and encouragement for growth of the student as an individual, as their own self, as a subject. A further example of staff from the STEM faculty addressing the subjectification function is the way in which lecturers repeatedly offered encouragement and motivation to students to pursue their own academic interests. Lecturers wanted to instil their students with a confidence and self-belief that they too could do important science. An example of this kind of confidence-building is evident in the following comment during a lecture to second year students:

> [teacher displays journal article on projector, from a special edition of Nature]: "Look at all these names listed as authors in the Human Genome Project: Europe, America, Japan, Korea, China. So please go ahead – why don't you become the next name to be listed there?" (Observation 27 February 2017, 2nd Year, 4th semester)

Hence, socialisation and subjectification were addressed at the STEM faculty more narrowly in relation to the scientific community, rather than society in a general sense. The values that were most important were inquiry (for research), interdisciplinarity, openness (for collaboration), and creativity to adapt or apply knowledge. For them, science was clearly a global project, and scientific progress could only be achieved via openness. Arguably, subjectification was addressed in terms of building students'

confidence and desire to do important science, and in this way, have an impact on society.

To summarise, we can say that discipline-derived norms in the vocational and professional-oriented private institutions mainly addressed the *qualification* function of education, whereas at the state university, they *additionally* informed the *socialisation* and *subjectification* dimensions to educational quality. At the private providers, discipline-derived norms merely mediated the institutional conceptualisation of educational quality, forming a concrete, practical and professional domain that the desirable educational qualities were mapped on to. In contrast, in the absence of consensus over the institutional mission at the state university, discipline-derived norms provided the sole basis for not just the qualification, but also the *socialisation* and *subjectification* functions of education. These differences are summarised in Table 6.3 below.

Table 6-3 Discipline-derived accountability pressures

	STEM faculty	A & H faculty	Institute of Technology	Health Science College
Dimension of education impacted	qualification, socialisation and subjectification	qualification, socialisation and subjectification	qualification	qualification
Relation to institutional mission	substitute for institutional mission	substitute for institutional mission	mediates institutional mission	mediates institutional mission
Sphere of impact	department and faculty	some members of staff	institution	institution

A further distinction to note is between the STEM and arts and humanities faculties. Discipline-derived norms were expressed more consistently as a department-wide feature at the STEM faculty, and in turn they had led to specific learning and teaching policies (e.g. research-based curriculum, interdisciplinary values). Discipline-derived norms were also expressed by staff at the arts and humanities faculty, but there wasn't the same level of consistency at the department or faculty level, nor was there a consistent learning and teaching policy to reflect those norms. Rather, discipline-derived norms influenced epistemological attitudes and teaching praxis at the individual level. This is possibly related to the constant versus intermittent peer accountability cultures at the two faculties.

6.4　Summary: accountability of quality across the three case studies

External accountability pressures were important in shaping macro-level perspectives of educational quality. State accountability pressures (minimum qualification requirements for teaching staff, SN-Dikti, accreditation, UKOM) were strong, even at the two private providers. A key distinction between the state-ECB university and the two private case study institutions was the greater weight placed on labour market accountability in the latter. This accountability pressure penetrated even the micro-level sphere of accountability, such as the use of CAM tutorials in health science, or the use of internships in IT.

A key finding is that internal accountability pressures were equally significant in shaping beliefs and practices in relation to educational quality as external ones. The two private HEIs were characterised by consensus over the (religious-derived) institutional mission and a constant peer accountability culture. The strength of these two accountability pressures made it easier for staff to consistently implement teaching and learning policies. The institutional mission also provided a values basis for not only the qualification but also the socialisation and subjectification functions of education. In contrast, the institutional mission at the state university was marked by contestation. In this context, discipline-derived norms at both the STEM and arts and humanities faculties informed the socialisation and subjectification functions of education. The pressure of peer accountability at the arts and humanities faculty appeared intermittent. In contrast, it appeared constant at the STEM faculty. Accordingly, the STEM faculty was able to implement their policies on teaching and learning quality in a more consistent manner, similar to the two private HEIs.

Additionally, self-accountability between teachers and students at the personal level contributed to the overall accountability culture. Self-accountability was positively associated with peer accountability in a potentially cyclical relationship, and it also served to plug accountability gaps at the arts and humanities faculty, where peer accountability remained intermittent. The research findings are summarised in Table 6.4 overleaf.

Table 6-4 Summary of findings: accountability of educational quality

Accountability pressure		State-ECB university		Institute of technology	Health science college
		STEM faculty	A&H faculty		
external	state	*strong*		*moderate*	*strong*
	labour market	*moderate*		*strong*	*strong*
internal	institutional mission	*contestation*		*consensus*	*consensus*
	peer accountability	*constant*	*intermittent*	*constant*	*constant*
	self-accountability	*positive association with peer accountability*	*can plug accountability gaps caused by intermittent peer accountability*	*positive association with peer accountability*	*positive association with peer accountability*
discipline-derived	dimension of education impacted	*qualification, socialisation and subjectification*	*qualification, socialisation and subjectification*	*qualification*	*qualification*
	relation to institutional mission	*substitute for institutional mission*	*substitute for institutional mission*	*mediates institutional mission*	*mediates institutional mission*
	sphere of impact	*department and faculty*	*some members of staff*	*institution*	*institution*

7 Institutional perspectives of accountability: fair access

In terms of fair access objectives, institutions were affected by external accountability pressure to the state, as well as internal accountability pressures as in the case of educational quality. The key difference between educational quality and fair access objectives, however, is the absence of accountability pressures to the labour market or to discipline-derived or normative pressures. In line with this, there are deliberately no sub-headings to address these kinds of pressures in this chapter.

The chapter begins by outlining state accountability pressures. The findings are discussed thematically, as the unique characteristics of each case study have already been made familiar to the reader in chapter 6. A summary table of cross-case comparisons is provided at the end of the chapter to allow for convenient review of the findings across the three case studies.

7.1 External accountability pressures: state accountability

This section is organised thematically according to the various state accountability mechanisms. The first category, which comprises the UKT means-tested fee structure, the 20% admissions quota, and the government-run affirmative action scheme ADik Papua/3T, are mechanisms that only apply to state HEIs. Therefore, the findings in this sub-section relate solely to the state-ECB university. The other categories of accountability mechanisms (Bidikmisi, accreditation, monitoring of data via the HE database) apply to all Indonesian HEIs. In these sub-sections, the findings relate to all three case study institutions. Discussing the case study findings concurrently rather than case by case allows me to highlight how the same, coercive accountability pressures that apply to all Indonesian HEIs were experienced in similar or different ways across the cases.

7.1.1.1 UKT fee structure, 20% admissions quota and ADik Papua/3T

One of the three major accountability interventions by the state to support equitable access to state HEIs was the standardised, means-tested tuition fee structure (UKT) introduced in 2013. Based on interview data at the case study institution, there was clear support for the use of this fee structure. Admissions staff and managers also felt that it was being implemented transparently and fairly. Self-report data on family income and supporting evidence to determine fee status is submitted online by students once they receive their acceptance letter from the university. HE staff were sufficiently confident in their ability to assign students to the relevant fee category based on this self-report data.

A further accountability mechanism that applies to state HEIs is the 20% admissions quota for low-income or disadvantaged students (Higher Education Law 12-2012 Article 74 [1]). As described in the preceding chapter on accountability of educational quality,

regular 6-monthly reporting of institutional data to the MRTHE via the on-line HE Database (Pangkalan Data Dikti) is a feature of state accountability pressure. Compliance with the 20% admissions target is scrutinised as part of this process. As the state university included in my research design exceeded the 20% target, it was unclear to me what the penalties of not meeting the target were, if indeed any penalties were enforced at all.

Staff at the state-ECB university admitted that there had been challenges in the early stages of the adoption of UKT in two regards. The first related to switching between fee categories. Sometimes students need to switch between income brackets due to changes in family circumstances, or they feel that the initial decision on their fee category does not fairly reflect their family income. In such cases, it appeared that faculties were giving students inconsistent advice about how to appeal the change. Moreover, during the early years of implementing UKT, the university had not yet fully upgraded to autonomous status, meaning that it lacked full control of its budgets. As a result, the administrative or procedural aspect of switching a students' tuition status suffered delays. Now, with full financial control over their budgets, they were able to respond to student appeals more efficiently (admissions staff, ID 28 and ID 29). The second issue faced in implementing UKT was harmonising the UKT system with pre-existing faculty practices for organising community service (KKN) and practical work placements (KKL). Staff at the case study faculties noted that dispensing funds for such activities had initially caused significant confusion and required ad hoc adjustments, as fees for these activities are no longer exactable directly from students under the UKT system.

The one state policy that seemed to be problematic and challenging for the university to implement was the national affirmative action scheme – Adik Papua/3T. In principle, senior managers expressed support for the scheme. In terms of managing the academic progress of the scholarship recipients, however, the management acknowledged that the scheme was a challenge, as expressed in the following comments:

> The admissions process [for them] is not the same, but then the learning environment is the same. This is a challenge because some of them are prepared and some of them aren't (admissions staff, ID 25).

> … it's difficult to teach them. … The programme is 'inclusive' only to the point of letting the students in (senior management, ID 24).

The senior management openly recognised that they lacked a systematic approach to support these scholarship recipients. Students on this scheme are entitled to the same guidance counselling as all students through the personal tutor (*dosen wali*) system. Yet the administrators felt that these students needed additional and more specific support

to cope with the learning environment, and they had yet to determine what forms of support were the most effective. At the two faculties where I conducted research, the issue of ADik Papua/3T did not emerge, because the lecturers I interviewed didn't have any experience of these scholarship recipients. Unfortunately, this means I did not have an opportunity to probe this issue further at the study programme level.

7.1.1.2 Bidikmisi

Each of the three case study institutions participated in the Bidikmisi scheme. This was compulsory for the state-ECB university, and voluntary for the two private HEIs. In each case, managers expressed support for the Bidikmisi scheme, viewing it as compatible with their own institutional mission to enhance fair access nationally. This suggests that their beliefs and practices about Bidikmisi do not strictly speaking reflect a response to a coercive state pressure, but rather they were motivated in the first instance by their institutional mission. Of course, the scheme involves the state taking responsibility for the costs incurred (tuition fee contribution and living stipend), which may explain why HEIs show support for the scheme. Another key feature of Bidikmisi that makes it appealing to HEIs is the relatively high quality of the student intake. Because Bidikmisi applicants apply via the selective SNMPTN (report card) and SBMPTN (entrance exam) routes administered nationally, this means they demonstrate high prior academic achievement. Indeed, none of the management and student affairs staff at each of the HEIs raised any concerns about drop-out or problems with completion for Bidikmisi recipients. This is consistent with the general trend of good academic progress documented by the MRTHE for Bidikmisi recipients nationally (MRTHE 2017). However, some HE staff at the state-ECB university did associate Bidikmisi status with learning challenges, although the fluid use of the term makes it difficult to distinguish whether staff were referring to students from a rural background in general, or Bidikmisi recipients specifically. This will be discussed in more detail in the section on internal accountability pressures below.

Staff at each case study institution treated the transparency and accuracy of Bidikmisi status very seriously. Again, this may reflect the fact that they had a strong commitment to enhancing fair access, as evidenced in their institutional missions. Like the UKT tuition fee system, the Bidikmisi scholarship also depends on a means-tested criterion of financial need. The scheme likewise relies on self-report data on family income, size of household and typical expenditure. Because the scheme is administered centrally by the MRTHE, eligibility is checked in the first instance by MRTHE staff, using information provided by the applicant and/or their school. Nevertheless, HE staff also established eligibility again at the point of registration in order to guarantee fair and accurate selection.

During the early years of the Bidikmisi roll-out, transparency had become a serious concern for the public, as stories emerged in the media exposing ineligible Bidikmisi students at various state HEIs. The state-ECB university was not exempt, with a lecturer (late career lecturer, ID 02, arts and humanities faculty) recalling an incident from 2010 or 2011 where a Bidikmisi recipient was caught out for not needing financial aid. (Suspicions were raised when it transpired that the student used a motorbike and an i-phone). In response to this climate, over the years, admissions staff at the case study university had devised increasingly comprehensive measures to check Bidikmisi eligibility. Currently, applicants were interviewed separately by student affairs staff on the day of registration to verify their low-income status. Staff also used Google Maps to verify their home address. A sample of students' homes were visited by a team of staff to verify their low-income status, prioritising those cases they were not confident about (admissions staff, ID 28). Logistically, it would have been impossible (and extremely costly) to conduct these spot checks for every Bidikmisi applicant. The total number of recipients was over 700 in 2016 and had reached over 900 in 2015. The management was satisfied that using these methods (face-to-face interview, spot checks at a sample of residences) was sufficient to verify or cross-check the initial checks carried out by MRTHE, and in this way guarantee an adequate level of transparency and fairness for the state and indeed the general public. Hence, there was consensus with policymaker assumptions about Bidikmisi as an expression of public accountability.

The number of Bidikmisi recipients varied between the two private institutions. Accordingly, they had different levels of concern about eligibility checks. The institute of technology had a much smaller number of Bidikmisi recipients and was therefore able to monitor these students much easier. They did not have concerns about misuse of the scheme. The health science college had a sizeable amount of Bidikmisi recipients, and so had invested more time and effort into verifying their low-income status. Like the state university, they conducted site visits to applicants' residences with a team of staff comprising the internal quality assurance unit, the vice-director for academic affairs, and student admissions staff. In the experience of my interviewees, they could only recall a couple of instances when they had decided to reject an application for financial aid based on the outcome of the site visit. Nevertheless, they felt it was important to continue the visits as a measure of transparency and fairness. With the Bidikmisi scheme, they felt an additional level of responsibility and accountability pressure as it is government funding that is being mobilised for the students, and so they felt a sense of duty to treat those funds with care (student recruitment staff, ID 36 and ID 37). Again, this demonstrates a high degree of consensus between policymakers and HEI staff on state accountability mechanisms as a form of 'public accountability' discussed in chapter 5. Of course, this finding relates to cases that have demonstrated support for government HEI objectives

as evidenced via their good accreditation rankings. Other private HEIs may not demonstrate such a high degree of support for state fair access schemes.

7.1.1.3 Accreditation and monitoring via the HE database (PD-Dikti)

Accreditation is the apex of state accountability pressure, and the state uses it to steer HEI behaviour by including some items and excluding others for measurement. There is indeed an incentive to comply with the 20% target for all HEIs via accreditation. Four items in section 3 are on student admissions, three of which measure fair access. They are listed in Table 7.1 below. While the points involved may not seem significant (between 1 to 4 each, in a context where overall scores tally up to the hundreds), they nonetheless send a clear signal from the state to Indonesian HEIs that they are expected to devise and consistently implement equitable admissions policies. The accreditation system rewards them for doing so with the possibility of a higher accreditation score, and hence higher accreditation ranking. Conversely, failure to comply with the equitable admissions objective is "penalised" by a lower score in the accreditation rubric.

Table 7-1 Institutional accreditation items concerning fair access admissions

item number	item description	scoring
3.1.2	An admissions system that gives opportunity for and admits students who have academic potential but are disadvantaged economically and/or physically disabled, accompanied by evidence of implementation of the said system, in the form of support structures (resources and infrastructure)	1 = inadequate 2 = adequate 3 = good 4 = very good
3.1.3	An admissions system that implements the principles of equity	
3.1.4	An admissions system that implements the principle of equalisation of opportunity based on pupil's home province	N_P = number of provinces If $N_P \geq 7$ then score = 4. If $N_P < 7$ then score = (5 + N_P) / 3.
Source: BAN-PT (2011d)		

Of course, the MRTHE also compensates (rather than rewards) private HEIs for participating in the Bidikmisi scheme in a material way via direct tuition fee payments to the HEI. The living stipend paid out to students also removes the pressure from the HEI itself to find financial aid for their low-income students. In this way the state is assisting

private HEIs to meet fair access targets. A challenge in this regard, however, is that the tuition fee contribution (IDR 2,4 million) often falls short of the actual cost a regular fee-paying student would have contributed. As noted in chapter 5 which discussed policymakers' perspectives on the issue, in the case of costly study programmes, the discrepancy between the Bidikmisi contribution and the actual cost can make participation in Bidikmisi prohibitive.

Accreditation is also related to the accountability of fair access policies in another way. The government has opened participation in the Bidikmisi scheme to private HEIs, but this is conditional on a minimum B accreditation ranking for the institution and study programme in question. This provides the government with a certain degree of confidence that taxpayer money is being spent on access to HE that is of adequate quality. Interview data from the two private providers suggests that they agreed with this rationale. They generally welcomed any opportunity to receive financial aid for their students from the government, and they felt it was reasonable for private institutions to demonstrate a minimum level of quality to the government in order to qualify for that aid. Indeed, for the two case study institutions, participation in government-funded financial aid schemes brought them a sense of pride, as it was a signal of public trust. This is further evidence that policymakers and HEIs view state fair access schemes as a form of public accountability.

Computerisation of the admissions process, as well as the centralised monitoring of data by the MRTHE on the HE Database (*Pangkalan Data Pendidikan Tinggi or PD-Dikti*) is another state accountability mechanism that 'protects' fair access. All institutions (state and private) must submit data on the proportion of students receiving financial aid or benefitting from any affirmative action schemes. In this way, the 20% admissions target is monitored by the MRTHE in relation to all HEI types. While the legal requirement is not mandatory for private HEIs, reporting this data nonetheless allows the MRTHE to monitor the extent of equitable access in the system overall.

Computerisation of the admission process and regular monitoring of HE data also help to maintain the transparency and fairness of the admissions process, because they make it difficult to secure a study place via illicit means. Admittedly, socio-cultural practices in Indonesia continue to subvert the integrity and accountability of fair access schemes through the actions of illegal agents. These agents attempt to secure a place of study at a state HEI in exchange for a high fee (i.e. a form of bribery). The desire to secure a state university place for parents is still very strong in Indonesia, fuelling a demand for this kind of activity. Some agents may make genuine attempts to approach the university and secure a place (and indeed they might be employees of the university in question), and some may purely be conning the parents for their money, never even attempting to

approach the university. During the interview with the admissions staff at the state university, they raised this issue (unprompted), citing a recent case from Sulawesi, where the conned parents sued the "agent" (an employee of the university in question) in court after a failed attempt. They conceded that such (failed) cases still transpired frequently at their own university. According to the interviewee, the difference between the situation in the early-mid 2000s and the current set up, however, is that computerisation of the admissions process as well as regular monitoring of student data via PD-Dikti makes it difficult for agents to use their illicit means. Additionally, one of the interviewees emphatically reiterated that the admissions staff "are really strict" in monitoring the process nowadays (admissions staff, ID 25). This suggests that while transparency is certainly aided by the computerisation of the system and the weight of state accountability pressure, it is also contingent on an institutional culture committed to stamping out misuse of the admissions system.

7.2   Internal accountability pressures

The previous section on state accountability pressures has outlined the various national-level fair access policies that affect all Indonesian HEIs. In this section on internal accountability pressures, I will outline the way in which the institutional mission additionally drove commitment to improving fair access via institution-specific fair access schemes. A key distinction between external and internal accountability pressures is that internal accountability pressures additionally had an impact on student retention and well-being, not just on access. This is not surprising, as the practitioner perspective of accountability is concerned with how fairness plays out during the entire course of study in the day-to-day learning environment, not just at the point of entry. Accordingly, in the section on institutional mission I will also outline how student retention and well-being were addressed via financial as well as pedagogical support strategies. These were in part reactive strategies, responding to the dimensions of diversity represented in the typical student intake (e.g. rural background, low-income status). At the same time, they were framed proactively with reference to the institutional mission (e.g. building character, fostering independence). While the institutional mission was clearly a strong driver of fair access schemes and retention and well-being strategies, peer accountability and self-accountability also played a role in supporting fair access objectives. In the sections describing these two internal pressures, I will outline how they helped in the consistent implementation of the institutional fair access schemes and support strategies.

7.2.1 Institutional mission

7.2.1.1 Impact on fair access policies

At the state-ECB university, the senior management conceptualised fair access in relation to a community-embedded vision for higher education. As one senior member of staff described, "the university is now harmonising its programmes with the SDGs", using a concept that they called the "pentahelix" – integrating the five elements of academic life, business life, government, community and media. While the first three elements are common in many HEI strategy documents, they were keen to add community and media to reflect the particularly community-oriented and public-facing nature of their mission (admissions staff, ID 25). This new 'pentahelix' mission resulted in four fair access policies. The first three relate to admission policies and financial aid schemes to attract more students from rural districts to the university, while the fourth is a policy to extend their HE provision to rural districts.

In terms of student demographics, the university explicitly targeted pupils from rural districts in West Java as part of the affirmative action scheme that the senior management introduced. (This scheme is completely separate to the MRTHE-run Adik Papua/3T affirmative action scheme). The original mission of the university was to serve the communities of West Java. Yet, the managers had grown uncomfortable with an intake skewed towards urban, middle-class families from across various provinces in Indonesia, with the number of West Javanese students declining. This was especially concerning for the management when they considered that poverty and well-being indicators for West Java reveal stark inequality between urban and rural citizens (senior management, ID 24). In response to this, the university initiated an affirmative action scheme in 2013 that in effect makes selection more lenient for pupils who complete their high school in a rural West Java district. Applicants still use the national, competitive SNMPTN and SBMPTN routes, but their scores are weighted higher in the selection formula, meaning they are competing among each other rather than directly competing with pupils from the big cities in Java and beyond. The management's assumptions about rural origin as an obstacle to HE access have been confirmed, as the proportion of the intake comprising pupils from such districts has risen since the introduction of the affirmative action scheme. In the 2016 intake, 32.24% of students were admitted under the scheme (Annual statistics, 2016). Comparing the proportion of the affirmative action intake (~30%) and the proportion of students receiving a Bidikmisi scholarship (~10%), it appears that in the context of West Java at least, rural domicile and low-income do overlap as obstacles to HE access. However, this was true only for some of the students from rural districts – i.e. the 10% who qualified for Bidikmisi plus a small overflow amount who were directed by the admissions department to alternative financial aid options. For the remainder of the affirmative action students, low-income status was not the primary

barrier to HE. Instead, the barrier seems to be more about the ability to compete with urban counterparts in terms of academic performance in the SNMPTN and SBMPTN application routes.

The university had also negotiated partnerships with local governments in West Java to fund students from rural districts as part of a scholarship-public service scheme. Under this financial aid scheme, the local government from the students' home district agrees to pay the cost of their tuition. In exchange for this, the student agrees to work for the local government in a field related to their degree upon graduation, for as many years as their degree took to complete. If a student doesn't qualify for Bidikmisi or isn't included in the Bidikmisi quota, the university can nominate the student for this scheme instead. This scheme also included costly degree programmes and had in fact been recently extended to the field of medicine.

The third way in which the university had demonstrated a commitment to the fair access agenda was the fact that it had discontinued the controversial special route to entry. This meant that the entire student intake was under the means-tested tuition fee scheme. In contrast, other state-ECB HEIs continue to use the 'special route to entry'.

The fourth policy that supports the goal of equitable access is the branch campus policy. In 2014, the governor of the province (Ahmad Heryawan 2008-2018) had attempted to establish six new state HEIs to redress the comparatively low (~20%) HE participation rate in the province at the time (Rastika, 2014). However, those attempts were thwarted at the central government level, because the policy strategy at the MRTHE at the time did not accommodate the founding of new state universities (senior management, ID 24). Not satisfied, the governor then worked together with three state HEIs in the province to open up branch campuses as a way of expanding access to those districts with the lowest HE participation rates. The senior management of the case study university at the time was enthusiastic and saw this move as an opportunity to further their commitment to a re-orientation to a pro-West Java mission (senior management, ID 24). Indeed, they opened up a branch campus in one of the coastal districts, which now offers undergraduate programmes in communication science, business administration, fisheries, agriculture and nursing. Since the three state universities began establishing branch campuses, the MRTHE has revised its policy strategy. In fact, it has now passed a ministerial regulation to cover the policy change of branch campuses, recognising the valuable contribution they are making to the goal of fair access (senior management, ID 24).

I refer to the branch campus policy as a manifestation of internal accountability pressure to pursue equitable access to HE. It is of course a little more complex, reflecting several

215

actors and policy junctures. Therefore, it is worth considering the structure and/or agency of key individuals that made this policy possible, both at the province and the HEI level. Firstly, the emergence of the branch campus policy in spite of the lack of policy support from the central level suggests that the decentralisation of power in Indonesia to the level of provinces can serve to facilitate bottom-up policies. This is evidenced by the governor at the time and state HEIs working together to formulate and implement a fair access intervention. Secondly, at the level of the HEI, buy-in to the project was contingent on support from the senior management at the time. Furthermore, the actual implementation of the branch campus policy in the subsequent years was contingent on support from a reform-minded rector, who is motivated by a vision for HE that serves the surrounding community as well as itself. The election of this key individual, in turn, was made possible due to the reform of nomination and appointment systems resulting from the transition to ECB status. According to one senior manager, in the previous system (which still applies for all regular state HEIs) the appointment of key individuals to the office of dean, rector, and other senior administrative posts "can be politicised", rather than selection being based on merit, or the candidate's vision for innovation and improvement (senior management, ID 24). At the case study HEI at least, (although the same cannot be said for other state-ECB HEIs without further investigation), there was a sense of the 'old guard' of bureaucrats being gradually replaced by a 'new guard' of meritocratically selected administrators as a result of the reformed university election system. The interviewee who raised the issue of the branch campus policy happened to have a background in social sciences, and chose to articulate the realisation of this policy (and the pro-fair access policies more generally) in terms of Giddens' (1984) structuration theory. The interviewee acknowledged the importance of both structural forces (reforms to the organisational structure of state-ECB HEIs) and agency (commitment and vision of key individuals, particularly the current rector) as factors that had enabled pro-fair access outcomes.

The student demographic profile of the two private institutions differed from the state-ECB university in that the majority of their students were from within the province of West Java. Accordingly, their fair access policies were not related to boosting the number of West Javanese students, (who already comprised the majority of their student bodies), but rather they targeted other groups within and beyond West Java based on more specific, mission-based criteria.

At the institute of technology, the institutional mission manifested itself in a service-oriented mindset, with character and calling highlighted as core values. Informed by this mindset, the institution had launched a fair access scheme for children of clergy and teachers. These two professions are poorly-remunerated, meaning their families often

struggle to save the requisite sums to send their children to higher education. These two professions are also associated with the mission of serving the community. Hence, the foundation wanted to give back to these professions through a targeted HE access scheme for their families. The scholarship takes the form of a complete tuition fee waiver. For the 2016 intake, approximately 14% of students were recipients of this scholarship. The institution also participated voluntarily in the national Bidikmisi scholarship scheme, thus supporting low-income students via this route as well.

A further policy that the institute of technology had launched was the opening of an e-learning mode of study for one of their study programmes. According to a member of staff who had been involved in its inception, the aim of this programme was to open up access for mature and in-work students whose highest qualification was a high school leaving certificate. Thus, it could provide a chance for adults who might get stuck in a certain job and income bracket to overcome that ceiling and progress further in their careers. They recognised that conventional modes of face-to-face study, even part-time evening and weekend classes, were an obstacle to HE access for many adults who work shift patterns. Provision of a flexible, mostly asynchronous format of HE learning can remove this obstacle. In line with the target demographic, they also kept tuition fee rates relatively affordable for the e-learning programme (middle management, ID 62).

The health science college conceptualised its fair access mission in terms of serving a core demographic of students from rural districts in West Java and students from low to middle income backgrounds more generally. Approximately 15% of the college's student intake qualified for means-tested scholarships, with the majority taking up government-funded Bidikmisi scholarships. Without this government financial aid, it would have been difficult for the institution to support access to HE for so many low-income students. This is because it had limited financial resources available internally to spend on financial aid. Nevertheless, the college does offer some scholarships. Anywhere between 2.5% - 10% of the annual turnover was earmarked for a "social fund" which was used to cover scholarship subsidies (senior management, ID 31). In addition to this, they relied on donations from the private sector (banks, foundations, companies seeking CSR partners). The principles of Islamic finance were also harnessed for the good of the fair access agenda. If need be, money to cover scholarships was also topped up from the *zakat* (alms) contributions of the employees (middle management, ID 39; senior management ID 31). Indirectly, then, the lecturers were supporting poor students' access and retention in a concrete way by contributing to the pool of scholarship funds. In line with the institution's proselytisation mission, they also offered approximately three scholarships a year in the form of full tuition fee waivers for students with demonstrable

achievement in religious studies. (This was assessed by ability to recite a number of chapters from the Qur'an from memory).

The institution also chose to offer relatively lower tuition fees compared to other HEIs in the province offering health science degrees. As one lecturer noted, their tuition fee structure was also easy to understand with clear all-inclusive sums, as opposed to the complex and itemised billing often used at private HEIs. These two factors were a selling point for the institution, helping to attract their core demographic (middle management, ID 41). In other words, retaining generally affordable tuition fees for the *majority* of students was the primary 'fair access' strategy, while obtaining additional funds (whether via the Bidikmisi scheme, other KOPERTIS funds, or private donors) was a supplementary strategy to target low-income students. Student admissions staff also understood their mission to support fair access as a mandate to make the admissions process as easy to navigate as possible for their potential students, particularly for first-generation rural students. The admissions process was made convenient for students in two ways. Firstly, applications were considered on a rolling basis throughout the year, meaning students could choose to apply and enrol at a time that most suited them (and their families). Secondly, the institution offered a one-day test service, whereby students could submit their application, do the entrance exam (for the exam route), receive their results, and enrol all within 24 hours. This was designed to make application convenient for students who had to travel to the college from rural districts beyond the city, and hence might have trouble making it on the three designated days a year that the college ran the entrance exam. About a third of students in the 2016 cohort used the one-day-service route, suggesting it was helpful in making their institution more accessible to students applying from rural districts beyond the city (Annual Admissions Report, September 2016).

The impact of institutional mission on the provision of various fair access policies is summarised for the three case study institutions in Table 7.2 overleaf.

Table 7-2 Impact of institutional mission on fair access policies

	State-ECB university	**Institute of technology**	**Health science college**
affirmative action scheme	*affirmative action for West Javanese students (via higher weighting in admissions formula)*	*n/a*	*n/a*
financial aid for low-income students	*public service scholarship scheme with local governments* *discontinuation of paid 'special admissions route'*	*mission-based scholarships* *voluntary participation in* Bidikmisi	*mission-based scholarships* *voluntary participation in* Bidikmisi *(relatively low tuition fees and simplified fee structure)*
extending provision to hard-to-reach groups	*branch campus in rural district*	*e-learning for mature/low-income students in work*	*n/a*

7.2.1.2 Impact on retention and well-being

The state-ECB university was a highly selective institution as it relied solely on the competitive SNMPTN and SBMPTN admissions routes. In line with this, their student intake had traditionally been associated with students demonstrating high academic achievement. However, the characteristics of the student intake had diversified along with massification. Some study programmes had doubled their intake since the 2000s (for example from 50 students per cohort to about 100 students per cohort at the Humanities Faculty). Thus, while the university was comparatively selective in their admissions (compared to the two private case study HEIs), it was not quite as selective as it had been in the past. Particularly during the period when the 'special route to entry' (*jalur khusus/jalur mandiri*) was running in the mid-to-late 2000s, the number of students entering through non-selective routes increased. Even after the abandonment of this route by the current university management, and reverting back to only the competitive SBMPTN and SNMPTN admission routes, lecturers nonetheless conceded that their student intake was diverse in terms of prior academic achievement.

A second factor that was cited to explain diversification of ability level was the introduction of fair access schemes, whether the national Bidikmisi scheme or the university's own affirmative action scheme. Lecturers often referred to the students' high school background or rural origin when discussing the diversification of ability level, using

these as indicators of the students' relative academic 'quality', rather than referring to any individualised assessment of a student's potential or aptitude. For instance, staff referred to student background in terms of "top-ranking high schools" versus "average high-schools" (middle management, ID 17, STEM faculty), or "high schools from quite a cut-off area of the country" versus "high schools where even the medium of instruction is in English" (late career lecturer, ID 04, arts and humanities faculty). As a result, students varied in terms of "the basic knowledge you would expect a high school graduate to have" (late career lecturer, ID 04, arts and humanities faculty). A rural background was also associated with a lack of preparedness in appropriate study strategies and IT proficiency. As one member of the senior management described, students from cities tend to arrive with the capacity to adopt independent study strategies like forming their own study groups and using IT to assist their studies (senior management, ID 27). This is an advantage that gives them a head start in comparison to their peers from rural districts.

Some interviewees also pointed out the challenges that low-income status brought to the learning environment, although these comments tended to come from interviewees who had direct experience in managing student affairs, rather than the regular lecturer cadre. For instance, low-income status was associated with skipping class because of the need to juggle part-time work with studies (senior management, ID 27), and challenges in managing 'hidden' costs of HE attendance like rent or printing costs for dissertation submission (mid-career lecturer, ID 22, STEM faculty; middle management, ID 13, arts and humanities faculty). Although the proportion of students from a rural or low-income background had increased in the past years, it is important to remember that they nevertheless represented a minority of the overall student intake.

To some extent, the introduction of fair access schemes at the state-ECB university was accompanied by additional financial support strategies for low-income students. Along with the new fair access policies, there was certainly a new sense of urgency about supporting low-income students and avoiding student drop-out. In fact, all interviewees from every department and level of the management hierarchy (unprompted) repeated a phrase that the rector had drilled in to everyone – "Don't let a single student at our university drop out solely because of financial trouble". Yet, data collected across the two faculties revealed a marked difference in terms of concrete support offered to low-income students. At the arts and humanities faculty, financial support strategies were ad hoc. (As will be discussed below, this was related to the intermittent nature of the peer accountability culture). At the STEM faculty, however, there was evidence of the institutional mission translating into systematic, concrete financial support strategies for low-income students, and these are described below.

At the biology department, staff used alumni funding and other departmental funds to meet the financial needs of scholarship students (mid-career lecturer, ID 22). They were aware that it was those students who had moved to the city from elsewhere who were in particular need of help. They dispersed funding to meet their housing, food and other living cost needs, or helped them to identify suitable accommodation. Staff also organised funding for scholarship students to cover printing costs associated with dissertation submission (mid-career lecturer, ID 22). At the chemistry department, staff likewise provided housing support to scholarship students from outside the city, mainly by providing loans to help cover rental fees that were exacted on an annual rather than monthly basis (late career lecturer, ID 18). (Because the Bidikmisi stipend is paid quarterly, it is suited to rental agreements that are based on monthly rather than annual payments). Evidently, the department had made an effort to improve data collection and monitoring of scholarship students, and this had helped them to more accurately and quickly identify those students in need of financial help. They recognised that students are often embarrassed or hesitant to approach the department-level student affairs staff, and so they had enlisted the help of student representatives and the student body more generally to help them identify and "connect with" students in need (late career lecturer, ID 18).

Again at the biology department, a department-wide effort to provide support for scholarship or affirmative action students was also evident in the way that lecturers with student affairs responsibilities acted as liaisons between the students' families and the university management. They were almost serving in an advocacy role. For instance, they helped parents navigate the tuition fee system and assisted them when they appealed for a lower tuition fee category (mid-career lecturer, ID 22). The department organised parent meetings at the start of the year, where lecturers would even hand out their personal phone numbers to the students' family members. Apparently, it was not uncommon for anxious parents to telephone their children's lecturers during orientation week seeking confirmation of their child's whereabouts, if it was getting late and their children had yet to return home (mid-career lecturer, ID 22).

There was some evidence of the institutional mission having an impact on pedagogical support strategies, although the concrete mechanisms used were devised for all students, not students from disadvantaged backgrounds specifically. On one hand, the academic progress of Bidikmisi students was high on the management agenda. Lecturers were reminded by middle management to pay special attention to the progress of their scholarship students and make sure that their GPAs did not fall below 2.0. This is because the student's scholarship is suspended if it does so. Indeed, the computerised academic data management system even prompted lecturers with warnings if this

happened. In the reformed performance management system, it reflected badly on the lecturer if they had students who graduated late or dropped out (late career lecturer, ID 02, arts and humanities faculty). One member of the senior management acknowledged the need for pedagogical support strategies to support retention very clearly. They emphasised that student-centred learning was more than a technical pedagogical method applied in class, but rather an empathy-driven approach to supporting retention for low-income students more generally:

> Sometimes they're off trying to earn some money, you know. And we see it too – oh, there's a student who is poor, and it turns out they're not studying, or they're not able to come to class. So then we as a teacher give alternatives in these special cases. And that's what *student-centred learning* [in English] is actually about, not just something that you implement in class just like that. So it is ultimately something more burdensome. [pause] (senior management, ID 27).

Yet, the onus on providing adequate support to students was ultimately on the personal tutor (*dosen wali*) or the individual lecturer in the classroom. There was no institution-level discussion or training among staff on what kind of counselling or academic support strategies were most effective and appropriate for struggling students. The pre-existing support structures that are in place for all students, namely the personal tutor system and the centralised student affairs helpdesk, were expected to capture and resolve any challenges that students faced. Interviews at the faculty revealed that lecturers were not certain that these were adequate in meeting the particular learning challenges that students from rural or low-income backgrounds faced. In this context, staff at the faculty level were left to devise their own pedagogical support strategies as they saw fit. (Examples of these are discussed in the section on self-accountability below).

At the institute of technology, rural background and low-income status were not considered the main dimensions of diversity affecting the learning and teaching environment. The most common dimension of diversity that interviewees referred to was a comparatively lower ability level of their student intake. This was attributed to their market position as meeting "excess demand" (Jamshidi et al. 2012), meaning that their institution was considered a 'second-best' option that students chose only if they failed to secure a study place at a state university. This was evident in the marketing strategy adopted by the institution, which included active promotion direct to high schools. It was also evident in the use of financial incentives such as discounted tuition fee rates for early registration, and a guarantee to refund tuition fee deposits should the candidate later secure a place at a state HEI via SNMPTN/SBMPTN. The institution had a very flexible admissions process. They did not organise an entrance exam at all. Instead, applications were made using the students high school report card, and supplemented

by a face-to-face interview where possible. There was no absolute quantitative threshold (e.g. minimum GPA). Rather, the selection process prioritised personal interest in the subject, motivation, aptitude and character, which were judged qualitatively through the high school report, letters of recommendation and interview. Despite the lower entry standards, the senior management felt pressure from their lecturers to maintain minimum standards in the quality of their intake: "… *the worse case* [in English] is if I admit students this year whose quality is so low, that the lecturers end up working extra hard" (senior management, ID 53). The implicit message here is that the institution did not feel comfortable stringing along students who they felt were obviously mismatched for their study programmes, or who had very little prospect of completing a four-year undergraduate programme. The recruitment approach hence was to set entry standards low enough to attract sufficient student numbers in the face of competition from other HE providers, but not too low so as to jeopardise quality concerns.

As a result of the flexible rather than highly-selective admissions process, the student intake was characterised by a diverse range of prior academic achievement. As the majority of the intake came from urban backgrounds, low academic ability level was not considered a symptom of rural disadvantage. Rather, it was associated with issues of low self-confidence, low self-motivation, or a lack of independent/critical thinking skills. One lecturer also framed low ability or low self-confidence as a symptom of the secondary education system in Indonesia, which creates a cult of "valorising those students with high scores in mathematics" and belittling the potential of everyone else who may have other talents, such as creative talents in music or arts (middle management, ID 62). The nature of the student intake did have an impact on the learning and teaching environment. For example, one lecturer explained how the kind of students they tended to attract did not have adequate reading ability and critical thinking skills (mid-career lecturer, ID 60). A low-quality student input was also associated with behavioural and motivational aspects of learning. For instance, one lecturer described their job as "helping that kind of student who maybe used to be quite stubborn and unruly, become excited and motivated to learn" (senior management, ID 52).

Although the majority of students came from an urban and middle-income background, the student body also reflected diversity in terms of family income and home province (non-West Java). Firstly, students in receipt of the mission-based scholarship came from low-income backgrounds, as the scholarship specifically targeted this group based on assumptions about low income as a barrier to HE access. Furthermore, about 20% of the student body came from a diverse set of districts across the country, both urban and rural. Therefore, students' academic preparedness and prior academic achievement

may have in some cases reflected structural inequalities at the primary and secondary levels of education in Indonesia between Javanese and non-Javanese provinces.

The institute of technology had clear financial support strategies in place to aid student retention. Although tuition fees were comparatively high, they strove to show leniency in alternative ways. They were careful to exercise caution and confirm the genuine extent of financial need. Firstly, they offered students the opportunity to pay each semester's tuition fees in instalments, thus making payment more manageable. According to a member of the student affairs staff, about 5-10% of the student body regularly applied for permission to use the instalment method, and they tended to do so over the entire course of their studies, meaning their attendance depended on it. In order to qualify, students had to attach a letter of support (*surat keterangan perlu dibantu*) from the neighbourhood head (*kepala RT/RW*), or a statement of low-income (*surat keterangan kurang mampu*) from another trusted source. Secondly, in those cases where the student's family was really struggling to pay outstanding fees, the administration would negotiate a mortgage-style loan agreement. The loan was agreed directly with the institution, not via a bank, with a 6-month grace period after graduation before repayments began. This method was considered a last resort, and there were careful checks and conditions placed on the loan. Students had to secure a guarantor, and they had to demonstrate good academic progress (i.e. potential not only to graduate on time, but also to find work upon graduation).

The institutional mission also had an impact on pedagogical support strategies. As outlined in chapter 6, the institution implemented a teaching approach that emphasised valuing student potential, confidence building, character building, and a hard work ethic. This created a supportive learning environment overall. According to interviewees, this kind of supportive educational approach helped to foster academic progress among students with low ability, low self-confidence or low motivation. Because the lecturers sought to value the potential in every student, they felt a duty to adapt their teaching and assessment methods in response to diverse student abilities. This was described as a more "holistic" approach to education that had to be assessed "qualitatively" (mid-career lecturer, ID 60). In terms of concrete mechanisms to support the pedagogical approach, one lecturer cited a switch to using formative rather than summative assessment for mid-term exams as a means to communicate to the students that their lecturers were interested in their progress and development, rather than exam performance (middle management, ID 62). During interviews and classroom observations lecturers also emphasised the importance of allowing students sufficient time to respond to the teacher's questions, to encourage students to ask questions of their own initiative and admit when they didn't understand something. The goal was to create a classroom

environment where all students felt comfortable enough to test out, develop, apply and question their ideas and knowledge, for example through group tasks or during practical computer-based tasks in the case of the IT modules. Alongside these 'assistive' strategies, students were also required to demonstrate the institutional goals of character, leadership and hard work, and thus take responsibility over their learning. These qualities were assessed through individual assignments and through an end-of-module 'class participation' score. Arguably, we may consider such pedagogical strategies as applicable to any university teacher at any institution. Yet, there was strong evidence that staff framed their pedagogical approach in direct relation to their lower quality student intake, and their market positioning vis a vis state HEIs. This is made clear in the following excerpt from a member of the senior management:

> Sometimes, indeed, it's only the ones who didn't get into the state HEIs that come, because the state HEIs are always the number one choice. ….. But we are convinced that our alumni are as good as their alumni. Oh! not always, they might even be better, because we teach character, consistency, hard work, and maybe that is precisely what is neglected at the state HEIs. They think – I'm already good, I can progress on my own. But here, where our students tend to be, as I said before, who feel inferior, who feel – I'm no good at anything – in the end are able to succeed. We take pride in that (senior management, ID 53).

Cleary, then, the success of their pedagogical support strategy was attributed to the institutional mission.

Much like in the case of the institute of technology, the health science college characterised their student intake in direct opposition to the high-achieving students who manage to get in to state HEIs. They spoke of their comparatively lower "raw input" associated with their market positioning as an institution meeting excess demand. This market positioning was evident in the frequency and intensity of the promotional activities they ran across the province (over 200 promotional events at various high schools) and monetary incentives for registration of friends/family members of current students. Their admissions process was still standardised and rigorous, but because students applied directly to their institution, rather than participating in the national-level admissions routes, admissions was less competitive than in the state sector. They offered two application routes - a high school report card and an exam entry route (in multiple choice question format). The entrance exam was standardised against the national SBMPTN exam, but the college had autonomy to write their own questions. Candidates also had to pass a medical test. The pass mark for selection was determined by the admissions panel each year relative to the performance in that year's cohort. It should be noted that three quarters of the student intake comprised students from rural districts in West Java.

Hence, the comparatively 'lower quality' of their student intake was most likely a symptom of the quality gap between rural and urban high schools in Indonesia.

The dimensions of diversity experienced at the health science college included a complex combination of ability level, rural background and low-income status. These all affected the academic, cultural and linguistic preparedness of their students for HE study. Firstly, the ability level or academic preparedness of the student intake was considered a key challenge for the teaching and learning environment. As one lecturer described, it creates a "challenge" for teaching staff, who have to "dedicate extra time for [the students]" (middle management, ID 42).

Secondly, the implication of rural background for the learning and teaching environment was that many students struggled with culture shock. The transition from a rural to an urban environment was recognised by lecturers as a serious challenge for many of their students. It required not just adaptation to an unfamiliar learning environment, along with all the IT and library systems they were expected to use, but also adaptation to life in a major city in general. As one senior manager put it, their students face a "mental challenge", a "culture shock" in adapting to college life. As teenagers who have grown up in a rural environment, many as children of farmers, they come to the college "with an element of anxiety about them more than a belief in their capabilities" (senior management, ID 31).

Thirdly, rural background also had implications on students' proficiency in using Indonesian as a medium of instruction. Officially, Indonesian is the formal medium of instruction throughout primary, secondary and tertiary education in the country. However, in schools where the teacher is from the same mother tongue group as the pupils, use of Indonesian may be limited, with the local language used more frequently. The implication for this in terms of rural students from West Java entering a college in a major city is that some of them had difficulty using Indonesian as a medium of instruction. As one senior manager described:

> In every class there's always a student who has difficulties with Indonesian. So they use Sundanese in class. So for example if they're asked to give a presentation in front of class, we say 'remember, when speaking in front of the class you have to present in Indonesian'. But in fact they can't do it. 'Eh, ah, eh, ah, eh,' they struggle. So then we ask them – how come you can't do it in Indonesian? –*Ibu na biasana oge* [Sundanese] – See! They even answer us in Sundanese. 'Well usually in class at my school we used Sundanese' they say (senior management, ID 31).

This was corroborated during observations, where I witnessed students occasionally switching to Sundanese when speaking in front of class.

The institutional mission at the health science college resulted in a concerted effort to address student retention and well-being, both through financial and pedagogical support strategies. Firstly, as mentioned above in the section on access, the college positioned themselves in the HE market of the city as the college with relatively affordable tuition fees, and a transparent tuition fee billing system (middle management, ID 41). The fact that the total cost per semester was advertised upfront (rather than billing students for exams, practice placement costs and extracurricular activities separately as is usually the case at private HEIs) was part of their effort to help first generation students navigate the costs of college life more easily. Additionally, the administration was willing to make adjustments for students experiencing difficulty in paying their tuition fees. In such cases, the approach was to find a way for the student to continue, whether by helping the student identify externally-funded scholarships or bursaries, or by allocating them funds from the college's own scholarship/hardship fund. In exceptional cases, the management drew up student loan agreements with students, who repaid their loans upon starting work after graduation (middle management, ID 41).

The institutional mission also had an impact on pedagogical support strategies for disadvantaged students. As outlined in chapter 6, the mission-derived definition of educational quality was articulated as participation, student-centred learning, independence, and confidence-building. This had a positive effect in supporting students with low-ability level, but also specifically for students from rural backgrounds. This is because students are explicitly taught and given ample practice in the learning strategies needed to cope with expectations of 'active participation', 'independence' and 'professional competence' (through the various forms of student-centred learning and practical work experience). The educational environment is geared to afford them opportunities to develop their self-confidence. To borrow a term from Basil Bernstein, theirs was not an "invisible curriculum", where students are left to figure out strategies for themselves, but rather a "visible" one (Jenkins et al. 2017, 48). For instance, class participation was assessed on every module using a clearly publicised scoring rubric. This meant that expectations on what students were meant to do both in class and during independent study was very clear.

The management also sought to address the issue of culture shock beyond the learning and teaching realm. First year students had the option to live in a dormitory presided over by a matron and supervisors, who formed a support network for students. Students could also seek the possibility of living with a host family during their stay in the city as an alternative living arrangement.

In terms of language problems, lecturers attempted to show leniency to rural students. One strategy was to ask the student to submit a written version of their presentation in

Indonesian. In this way, the student was still required to demonstrate competency in expressing the curricular content in Indonesian, while at the same time accommodating their lack of confidence or proficiency in spoken Indonesian. The fact that lecturers were from the same linguistic group may have served as a disadvantage, in the sense that students felt less pressure or urgency to use spoken Indonesian. However, in the lessons I observed, the fact that lecturers could switch between Indonesian and Sundanese was also an advantage. Specifically, when lecturers used Sundanese phrases to offer feedback, praise or encourage student contributions, this had a positive effect on student-teacher rapport. Of course, this point is applicable to all districts in Indonesia, (not just West Java), as Indonesian remains a second language for most citizens, especially those who grow up in rural districts.

Lecturers also recognised the importance of addressing retention and well-being holistically, in terms of both financial and pedagogical support. One lecturer described how retention was the product of three factors: financial leniency on the part of the administration, motivation and support on the part of the teaching staff, and also hard work and persistence on the part of the student themselves:

> So we as the lectures only need to give them motivation that this [financial] problem can be dealt with well. … in fact it's the students who are amazing. Because their motivation is strong. Even with these [financial] problems they can still fight. So the job of us lecturers here is just to keep an eye on their motivation, to make sure that if for example they have a problem, they don't run away, but to say come on, let's solve this problem together. Thankfully here the policies aren't that strict, or rigid. So we can still make an agreement, that 'Oh, I can't pay now but I can pay later', we can still find a way like that. Maybe that's what enables many students who face financial difficulties to carry on (late career lecturer, ID 33, health science college).

Similar to the situation at the institute of technology, the success of the financial and pedagogical support strategies was attributed to a systematic, institution-wide culture. It was also attributed to a sense of unity among staff that derived from their common spiritual values. This is illustrated very vividly in the comment from a staff member with managerial responsibilities:

> I tell our teaching staff this. We, with this kind of *raw input* [in English], have produced quality graduates. This means your service is very great. And we instil this back into their work ethic, their commitment to teach here. And according to me there are several advantages of our institution, the way we are, primarily with our Islam-based spirituality that we all have, with the character of [our organisation], with a unified vision and mission, it becomes very easy [to apply our pedagogical approach] (middle management, ID 40, health science college).

228

A further example of the fact that pedagogical support strategies were associated with the institutional character was provided by another lecturer who described the personal connections between teacher and student. This lecturer in fact saw their culture of care towards students as something resulting from their market positioning. In other words, the culture of care was an asset that private providers have developed in response to their typical lower quality student intake:

> When there's a problem, we call them, like, almost like high school students you know. I mean at university the pedagogical approach is already more mature, you know, 'it's up to you now!' [laughing], right? Even me, my experience studying at a state university, the main thing was your GPA, that's what they paid attention to … the important thing is you graduate, you don't get for example, the lecturer calling you, hey [name] how come in class you were quiet? Here with us we really look after them you know. … That's our advantage the way I see it, because we have compassion for our students, so we look after them. Even when they've just broken up, and you think, how come that student's performance is going down in class, and it turns out they've just broken up, like that [laughing] so it's over the top with us right? [laughing] Over the top. But, OK, that's what I get for being so inquisitive (middle management, ID 41).

To summarise the impact of institutional mission on retention and well-being across the three case studies, it became clear that the institutional mission at the state-ECB university had less of a strong impact on retention and well-being, even though it had clearly been a key driver of introducing fair access policies. Meanwhile, at the private HEIs, institutional mission served as an additional asset that HE staff drew on in addressing retention and well-being, because it provided a clear and unanimously accepted values basis for implementing pedagogical support strategies. To recall a conceptual pairing put forward by Barnett (2011, 541), they were an expression of accountability in an internal, inward sense of remaining authentic to the institutional values, rather than accountability in an external, public facing sense of demonstrating responsibility to external obligations.

7.2.2 Peer accountability

The constant versus intermittent nature of peer accountability at the departments and faculties studied has already been discussed in chapter 6. In this chapter, I will discuss peer accountability in relation to its impact (or non-impact) on providing pedagogical and financial support strategies to aid retention and well-being for disadvantaged students. In the context of fair access, I define peer accountability as a collective sense of responsibility over how to deal with diverse student needs, whether financial (such as resolving an issue with late payment of tuition fees) or pedagogical (such as meeting demands placed on students in terms of their IT/linguistic proficiency).

7.2.2.1 Constant peer accountability

In the above section, I demonstrated that institutional mission was a key driver in introducing fair access schemes. Additionally, when the institutional mission was also accompanied by a clearly articulated teaching philosophy, as in the case of the two private HEIs, this resulted in clear support strategies to aid retention and well-being. At the same time, however, the day-to-day implementation of those support strategies rested on a strong culture of peer accountability. In other words, where peer accountability was constant, it was easier for departments or institutions to consistently implement support strategies.

Thanks to the constancy of the accountability culture among peers at the institute of technology, it was possible for staff to implement their mission-derived pedagogical approach consistently. In terms of supporting retention and well-being, this meant that staff were able to closely monitor student progress on a very personal, individual level. this happened both through the structured personal tutor sessions, as well as more generally via a climate of interest and support from teachers, such as regularly communicating with each other about student progress. Peer accountability was also partly responsible for developing one of the fair access policies, namely the provision of an e-learning study programme for mature, part-time students. Two members of staff had been key in developing this study programme as part of their professional development plans. Hence, the sense of shared ownership and peer accountability over educational quality resulted in a bottom-up initiative to widen access.

At the health science college, a constant peer accountability culture also bolstered the institution-wide pedagogical support strategies. As in the case of the institute of technology, a constant peer accountability culture facilitated close communication between lecturers on student progress and student difficulties, allowing a sense of joint responsibility over student affairs to develop. This was described as a culture of "care" towards students, and a key reason that helped the institution to prevent drop-out:

> The way I look at it, why our drop-out rate is small, because every tutor, every personal tutor, or every lecturer in this environment here always tries to be close to the student. So we care [in English], we don't let the student wander along, searching for the answer by themselves. They're encouraged to always interact with their lecturers (senior management, ID 31, health science college).

Admittedly, the boundaries between institutional mission, peer accountability and self-accountability are difficult to delineate. The above interview excerpt alludes to a personal commitment to student retention and well-being (self-accountability) and a culture of 'care' associated with the institutional mission. Nevertheless, the excerpt also illustrates the importance of peer accountability in consistently implementing the institutional

mission when they refer to "every lecturer in this environment here". This *collegial* aspect to consistent implementation of support strategies was corroborated by comments from other lecturers. For instance, a lecturer described how colleagues "continuously communicate with each other" to make sure that any difficulties faced by students are captured before the problem spirals out of hand (mid-career lecturer ID 34).

At the state-ECB university, a discrepancy between practices among HE staff at the two faculties I sampled was evident. Comparing the research findings between the STEM and the arts and humanities faculties, it appeared that the constancy of the peer accountability culture at the STEM faculty was paying dividends in the realm of retention and well-being as well, at least in terms of financial support strategies. Both departments sampled at the STEM faculty had coordinated strategies in place to assist with financial needs of low-income students. In other words, the sense of shared responsibility over education provision extended to student affairs, and this helped to ensure that those strategies that the faculty and department managers had put in place were implemented consistently. There is a key distinction between the STEM faculty and the two private providers, however. At the STEM faculty, the socialisation and subjectification functions of education were informed not so much by the institutional mission (which was mainly a top-down imposed initiative, e.g. the HITS and OKK initiatives), but rather by discipline-derived norms. For instance, staff defined a quality education in terms of fostering the values of global science and developing students with the qualities needed to be a successful global scientist (interdisiciplinarity, collaboration, research-based inquiry). This had a positive effect on educational quality, but its potential impact on retention and well-being for low-income, rural and low-ability students was less clear.

7.2.2.2 *Intermittent peer accountability*

At the arts and humanities faculty, I argued in the preceding chapter that the peer accountability pressure was intermittent rather than constant. Pockets of learning and teaching champions worked hard to improve the educational quality, driven by a personal sense of self-accountability and/or discipline-derived accountability to the norms and values of their profession. Unsurprisingly, in this context, there was also a lack of joined up support strategies to address retention and well-being for disadvantaged students. On the whole, interviewees at this faculty were not aware of financial support strategies for scholarship/affirmative action students. However, there was one exception to this, According to one interviewee, it was common practice at the arts and humanities faculty and other faculties to provide employment opportunities for students in need of money. They would agree to do some minor clerical tasks for the department (such as photocopying material, or tidying the library). Such tasks earned them income to spend on study costs (middle management, ID 13).

Apart from this example cited by a member of staff with responsibilities at the office of the dean, it transpired that most lecturers I interviewed at the two departments lacked basic knowledge about the Bidikmisi and affirmative action schemes. Some were under the impression that the students had been admitted based on the criterion of financial need alone, not academic merit. Some lecturers wanted to provide better financial advice to their students, but they felt they lacked the knowledge of financial support systems to do so. As one lecturer put it:

> "We as the lecturers have never been informed how to approach Bidikmisi students. How to inform them about scholarships, how to find out their financial status or their respective financial situations. Sometimes then, it becomes your own dilemma you know [laughing]" (mid-career lecturer, ID 10).

The situation described above differs to a great extent to the image of coordinated support from HE staff at the STEM faculty or the other two case study institutions.

7.2.3 Self-accountability

In this section I define self-accountability as a personal commitment to student retention and well-being in one's professional praxis, in a way that is sensitive to the needs of students from diverse backgrounds, such as low-income, rural or low academic preparedness for HE study. At the two private HEIs, there was evidence that self-accountability extended beyond individual cases in an ad hoc fashion. Instead, accountability to the needs of students with a diverse background was strong, both in terms of institutional culture and peer accountability culture. Self-accountability was thus a related dimension of this. At the STEM faculty, the constant nature of the peer accountability culture also had a positive impact on the capacity for the two departments sampled to consistently implement financial support strategies, if not pedagogical ones. In the context of the arts and humanities faculty, which was characterised by intermittent peer accountability, there weren't any systematic student support strategies in place. In this instance, self-accountability plugged such accountability gaps, much like in the case of educational quality policies.

Self-accountability was evident in the way that interviewees described the need for inclusive forms of pedagogy. One lecturer emphasised that the diverse range in ability required flexibility from the teacher, or a willingness to adapt their teaching (late career lecturer, ID 04, arts and humanities faculty). For instance, they employed the principle of differentiation when lesson planning. The lecturer prepared a stock of activities that could be assigned to students depending on the right level of challenge for them. At the same time, the teacher was wary of othering or creating parallel learning tracks, so they also employed peer learning among student groups, thus allowing them to complement each

other's strengths and weaknesses. According to the same interviewee, being inclusive was also about employing a social approach with students (late career lecturer, ID 04, arts and humanities faculty). In order to create an inclusive atmosphere, it was necessary for a lecturer to be informal, and foster "fluid" student-teacher relations, even if students from a rural background felt afraid or shy to participate at first. For instance, inclusion could be fostered through simple actions like spending some time together with students at the canteen.

Another interviewee likewise described the responsibility they felt as a lecturer to adapt their teaching to the needs of scholarship or affirmative action students. They recognised that for some of their students, the curricular content was unfamiliar, challenging, even inaccessible. Hence, the job of the educator became to find a way to make the content and the pace of learning at university accessible and manageable for their students:

> "So what I feel is, how can I put it, the quality is also going down in the sense that the material that I am about to educate them on has to undergo a lot of adaptation first, because they come from isolated or deprived areas, you know, and maybe they get shocked by the style of learning at university. So, in this situation, I have to work harder, be more patient, be more communicative with them, I mean those students who come from, yeah, Bidikmisi students. (mid-career lecturer, ID 05, arts and humanities faculty)

Conversely, a comment from a lecturer at the STEM faculty revealed that sensitivity to the needs of rural and low-income students varied from lecturer to lecturer. Even though the constant peer accountability culture had a positive impact in terms of department-level financial support strategies, in terms of every-day interactions with students, there were still accountability gaps. For example, one lecturer shared an anecdote about a student from a poor background who had suffered a negative experience of othering resulting from their attire (mid-career lecturer, ID 22). The student had been reprimanded and excluded from a class for wearing torn jeans – misunderstood by the lecturer in question as a symbol of rebellion and disrespect. However, it transpired that the student was simply too poor to buy a new pair of jeans. The fact that this student had felt unable to challenge the lecturer involved in the misunderstanding, but at the same time felt comfortable enough to confide in this other lecturer, suggests that sensitivity towards students' background varies from lecturer to lecturer.

7.3 Summary: accountability of fair access across the three case studies

In terms of external accountability pressure, this chapter has demonstrated that all three case studies implemented fair access admissions policies in line with state accountability mechanisms. For the state-ECB university these comprised the UKT fee structure and the 20% admissions target, as well as participation in Bidikmisi and ADik Papua 3T

scholarship schemes. In the case of the two private HEIs, these comprised voluntary participation in the Bidikmisi scheme as well as regular monitoring of admissions policies via accreditation and reporting to PD-Dikti. When accounting for their commitment to complying with these accountability mechanisms, HE staff showed endorsement of the policymaker assumptions about public accountability, including constitutional and *Pancasila* mandates for an equitable education system.

In terms of internal accountability pressures, a strong institutional mission was key in driving institutional admissions policies that supported fair access. These comprised the pro-West Java affirmative action scheme at the state-ECB university, the e-learning programme and the scholarship scheme for children of teachers and clergy at the institute of technology, and mission-based scholarship schemes and participation in Bidikmisi at the health science college. Admissions policies were also shaped by market positioning of each institution, resulting in more lenient and student-centred admissions policies at the two private institutions. A key distinction between external and internal accountability pressures is that external mechanisms impact access, whereas internal pressures additionally impact student retention and well-being.

The findings related to access, retention and well-being echo that of the chapter on quality. Having a values-derived institutional mission, as well as having clear consensus among staff over that mission, helped to create an imperative for financial and pedagogical support strategies, thus impacting student retention and well-being. A culture of constant peer accountability resulted in consistent implementation of those support strategies at the two private providers. At the state university, there was less consensus on pedagogical support strategies, but there were however consistent financial support strategies in place at the STEM faculty, most likely aided by the constant peer accountability culture there. Self-accountability plugged accountability gaps at the arts and humanities faculty, whereas it was more closely related to systematic, institution-wide cultures of student support at the STEM faculty and at the two private HEIs.

In terms of the interplay between quality and fair access issues, the findings reveal that HE staff considered the success of their pedagogical and financial support strategies a key dimension of their educational quality, defined in response to the dimensions of diversity experienced by the institution. Those dimensions included low-income or rural backgrounds, or students with low ability, low self-confidence, low motivation or low academic preparedness for HE study (e.g. IT proficiency, proficiency in spoken Indonesian). This demonstrates that staff did indeed view quality and fair access as two inter-related aspects of HE provision. In essence, the quality of their education provision was defined both *proactively* with reference to their institutional mission and educational

philosophy, and *reactively* in response to the needs of the students who made up their core demographic. A summary of the research findings concerning the fair access dimension to accountability is presented in Table 7.3 overleaf.

Table 7-3 Summary of findings: accountability pressures on access, retention and well-being

	State-ECB university		Institute of technology	Health science college	
	STEM faculty	**A&H faculty**			
State accountability	*standardised tuition fees (UKT) to support low-income students*		*Pressure to secure B ranking to access government scholarship schemes*	*Pressure to secure B ranking to access government scholarship schemes*	
	20% admissions quota for disadvantaged students				
	*Participation in national means-tested scholarship scheme (*Bidikmisi*) and ADik Papua/3T affirmative action scheme*				
	20% admissions quota for disadvantaged students				
	Accreditation system rewards consistently implemented fair access admissions policies				
institutional mission	*affirmative action scheme for rural West Javanese students* *scholarship-public service scheme* *discontinuation of paid 'special admissions route'* *branch campus in rural district*		*mission-based scholarship schemes* *voluntary participation in Bidikmisi* *e-learning for mature/part-time students*	*mission-based scholarship schemes* *voluntary participation in Bidikmisi* *(relatively low and simplified fee structure)*	*access*
	Provides a values basis to support retention and well-being, at least in a financial sense		*Provides a values basis to support retention and well-being, in both a financial and pedagogical sense*		*retention and well-being*
peer accountability	*Consistently implemented student support strategies (financial)*	*Inconsistently implemented student support strategies*	*Consistently implemented student support strategies (financial and pedagogical)*	*Consistently implemented student support strategies (financial and pedagogical)*	
self-accountability	*bolsters faculty support strategies*	*Plugs the accountability gaps at faculty level*	*bolsters institutional support strategies*	*bolsters institutional support strategies*	

8 Conclusion

The aim of the study was to investigate what accountability means to policymakers and practitioners in the contemporary Indonesian HE system, specifically with reference to educational quality and fair access. By including both policymaker and practitioner perspectives, the aim of the study was to compare government assumptions about their current accountability mechanisms with accountability beliefs and practices of HE staff, thus generating a more holistic picture of the contemporary policy environment. I deliberately chose to discuss quality and fair access as a joint policy issue, seeking to identify when and how these two dimensions of accountability intersect.

8.1 Summary of the findings

Accountability mechanisms have conventionally been associated with neoliberal rationales for HE development and NPM tools of governance (Neave 1998; Maassen 1997; Ferlie et al. 2008). In this depiction, accountability of higher education provision is typically understood as a means to assure the quality of higher education provision – 'accountability-as-quality-assurance' (Harvey & Green 1993; Trow 1994; Newton 2002). In this context, quality is defined against state interests, such as cost-efficiency targets and market responsiveness. Interviews with current policymakers and accreditation body directors, however, reveal a much more diverse picture in Indonesia. To an extent, policymakers do indeed endorse human capital and neoliberal rationales for HE development, framing accountability as a tool to assure the quality of HE provision against state interests (economic development, national competitiveness, market responsiveness). Yet, interviewees also rejected a full embrace of market logic and marketisation as a basis for HE development. This is because in Indonesia, there exists a market for deliberately low-quality or phoney HE provision. In this context, the state draws on a Neo-Weberian logic of public accountability (Ferlie et al. 2008) to intervene in the HE market and impose strict rules and regulations. Similarly, it monitors and funds fair access schemes in the name of public accountability, thus demonstrating that accountability is a powerful state tool that is harnessed for both quality and fair access objectives. More recently, the state has also been shifting towards a professional accountability orientation, as evidenced in the encouragement of independent accreditation bodies (LAM) to take over study programme level accreditation, and by involving professional associations in the creation of outcomes-based criteria for accreditation in the place of generic, output-based ones.

The findings identified two main sources of external accountability pressures on the HEIs, namely state and labour market accountability. In terms of understanding how

state accountability mechanisms are playing out at the institutional level, the findings from the three case studies indicate a high degree of compliance with state accountability mechanisms. Both legal mandates entailed in formal laws, as well as ministerial regulations and policies formulated by the MRTHE hold coercive pressure over the case study institutions, both in terms of quality and fair access policies alike. The coercive power of state accountability mechanisms is bolstered by buy-in from the general public and the labour market into the credibility of the accreditation ranking system (DiMaggio & Powell 1991).

Indeed, labour market pressure was another important source of accountability pressure for the private institutions. In fact, it shaped their notion of educational quality very definitively, and even impacted the realm of curriculum design and teaching practice. This was articulated as a practical-oriented curriculum with exposure to industry expertise. This reflects the agency of private HEIs in carving out their niche in the organisational field of the HE market (Brint & Karabel 1991). At all the case study institutions, there was endorsement of the current trend in the MRTHE to move towards professional accountability, with subject experts taking ownership of the quality assurance process. It would be premature to label Indonesia an example of the network governance model of HE (Ferlie et al. 2008), where horizontal policy networks have more control over quality policies than vertical state-HEI relationships. Nevertheless, there was support at the HEI level for the move towards using LAM for study programme accreditation, and for the involvement of subject experts in formulating new outcomes-based accreditation criteria.

An important finding is that in each of the cases, internal accountability pressures were equally important to external ones. Specifically, I found that institutional mission, peer accountability and self-accountability are formidable accountability pressures that shape staff belief and practices in terms of educational quality and fair access. In fact, institutional mission provided such a strong values basis for defining and practising educational quality at the two private HEIs that it impacted not only the qualification function of education (i.e. skills, competencies), but also the socialisation and subjectification functions of education (i.e. character, calling, integrity, betterment of society, participation, independence, self-confidence) (Biesta 2009). At the state-ECB university, where there was more contestation than consensus over the institutional mission, discipline-derived norms provided this values basis instead (interdisciplinarity, collaboration, internationalism in global science, liberal arts values in humanities).

A key contribution of the thesis is also to articulate precisely how micro-level experiences of accountability manifest at the peer and individual levels as peer accountability and self-accountability. While institutional mission provided a values basis that informed the

social justice mission and/or educational philosophy at each institution/faculty/department, peer accountability and self-accountability were two key pressures that drove the consistent implementation of those missions and educational philosophies. Hence, I have extended and further elaborated the concept of accountability from the macro level of state-HEI interaction to the practitioner sphere of lecturer-to-lecturer and lecturer-to-student interaction. This is important because peer accountability and self-accountability bring the analysis of accountability in higher education closer to the frontline, and ultimately, the student experience of HE. Peer accountability and self-accountability have a concrete impact on the student learning experience. For example, when a constant peer accountability culture is present among staff, and staff are further motivated by a strong sense of self-accountability, this can enhance the level of pedagogical and financial support offered to students. It could mean the difference between a student getting overwhelmed by the pedagogical and financial challenges to HE study and dropping out, and a student being adequately supported to overcome those challenges and remain in HE study with adequate levels of well-being.

To an extent, discipline-derived norms were another form of accountability pressure that staff experienced, although it transpired that this was only in the case of educational quality, not fair access. Indeed, discipline-derived norms provided a tangible values basis for staff in defining and implementing their particular notion of educational quality. In the health science and IT subjects this was expressed in terms of having a practical and relevant curriculum, as well as in terms of technical competency. In the science subjects it was expressed in terms of interdisciplinarity, collaboration and an orientation to global science, while in the arts and humanities subjects it was expressed in terms of instilling liberal arts values such as tolerance and criticality.

Considering the findings in relation to fair access, a key finding is also that institutional mission was strong enough at each case study to provoke the senior management and HE staff to go above and beyond state accountability mechanisms for fair access, as they implemented their own mission-derived fair access schemes. Institutional mission also impacted fair access beyond the initial concern of fairness at the point of entry, to fairness in terms of aiding student retention and well-being over the entire course of their study. Retention and well-being were addressed via both financial and pedagogical support strategies.

Related to this point about institutional mission and fair access is the observation that staff experienced quality and fair access as two related aspects of their working lives, especially so at the two private providers. For them, the quality of their educational provision was defined reactively in response to the dimensions of diversity they experienced among their student body – be that low-income status, rural background,

low ability, low self-confidence, or a lack of academic, cultural and linguistic preparedness for HE study. This was also true, but to a lesser extent, at the state-ECB university, where HE staff with a strong sense of self-accountability likewise adopted reactive pedagogical strategies to recognise the needs of students from low-income or rural backgrounds. Interestingly, the urban-based institute of technology even framed low ability, low self-confidence and low motivation as a dimension of diversity that they sought to address, suggesting that fair access is also understood in terms of the academic/ability dimension, not just socio-economic characteristics such as low-income or rural background. In addition to such reactive pedagogical strategies, staff at the two private case studies also framed their educational quality proactively in relation to their institutional mission. In fact, at the institute of technology there was a simultaneous acknowledgement of and resistance to a purely reactive framing of their educational philosophy. Yes, they acknowledged that their students were labelled 'low quality' by an exam-focussed secondary school system and by the competitive admissions routes (SNMPTN and SBMPTN). Yet, they did not fully buy in to the notion that their students were of lower quality, because they believed that their students had academic potential, talent, and value. Hence, they were framing the 'quality' of their students in a broader, holistic sense.

There was a key difference between the state-ECB university and the private providers regarding fairness in terms of retention and well-being. At the private providers, their mission-derived teaching approach, which clearly addressed the socialisation and subjectification functions of education (Biesta 2009), was an asset when it came to aiding student retention and well-being for disadvantaged students. Meanwhile, at the state-ECB university, there was contestation over the institutional mission, meaning that discipline-derived norms instead provided a values basis for the socialisation and subjectification functions of education (i.e. interdisciplinarity, collaboration, liberal arts values). While this was sufficient to match the private providers in terms of having a values-embedded conceptualisation of educational quality, discipline-derived pressures were no substitute for institutional mission when it came to devising financial support strategies for disadvantaged students.

Reflecting on assumptions in the literature that HEI type (Newton 2002), disciplinary area (Henkel 2000, 2005; Lao 2015; Gaus & Hall 2016), and job role category (Newton 2002) are factors that lead HE staff to respond to quality assessment systems in different ways, the experiences of HE staff included in the sample here seem to contradict or at least challenge these assumptions. In terms of HEI type, it is true that the private providers demonstrated more consensus over their institutional mission, with positive knock-on effects. These comprised a consistently implemented pedagogical approach, and in

particular, consistently implemented pedagogical and financial support strategies to aid retention and well-being for disadvantaged students. At first glance, this might suggest that HEI type is a significant factor that shapes accountability beliefs and practices among HE staff. Yet, it should be noted that not all private HEIs subscribe to such an obviously social justice-oriented mission as the ones in included in my sample. Moreover, the STEM faculty of the state-ECB university benefited from a constant peer accountability culture just as staff at the two private HEIs did. In the same vein, this had a positive knock-on effect in terms of a consistently implemented pedagogical approach (i.e. research-based curriculum, interdisciplinarity, collaboration), and consistently implemented financial support strategies for disadvantaged students (if not pedagogical ones). In other words, having a constant peer accountability culture seemed to have more bearing on the consistent implementation of educational quality and fair access policies than HEI type.

The case study findings also problematise the role of disciplinary area as a possible factor shaping accountability beliefs and practices among staff. On the one hand, there did seem to be more resistance to formal, state accountability mechanisms at the arts and humanities faculty. This was particularly clear in the case of labour market accountability, where efforts by the faculty to incorporate employability interventions were viewed by some members of staff as tokenistic or sloganistic. This corroborates previous research on staff responses to quality assurance systems in Thailand (Lao 2015) and Indonesia (Gaus & Hall 2016), where staff from humanities were more likely to express resentment of these systems compared to their counterparts in STEM subjects. However, not all staff members from the humanities faculty expressed resentment towards formal state accountability mechanisms. Moreover, some staff members representing other disciplinary areas (health science, IT) were also critical of formal accountability mechanisms, including curricular standardisation and accreditation. Whatever individual staff members attitudes towards formal accountability mechanisms were, ultimately we can assume that staff across all three HEIs from all disciplinary backgrounds did comply with these formal mechanisms to a large extent. This is evidenced by their successful performance in institutional and study programme accreditation, with all case studies achieving at least a B-ranking. This suggests that the relationship regarding disciplinary area and accountability culture is much more nuanced. At the very least, it seems problematic and premature to suggest based on these findings that staff from one particular disciplinary area are more or less likely to accept or reject formal state accountability mechanisms. The one conclusion that seems plausible to draw is that staff members from all four disciplinary areas expressed a strong sense of accountability to discipline-derived norms. These resulted in discipline-specific notions of educational quality that informed their pedagogical practice.

In terms of job role category, the findings also challenge assumptions in the literature that members of senior management are more likely to endorse accountability mechanisms, with more junior members of staff more likely to resist and challenge those mechanisms. Rather, the findings reveal that a strong sense of internal accountability pressure profoundly affected HE staff, regardless of their seniority in the organisational hierarchy. Specifically, accountability was experienced at the collegial and personal levels as constant and self-accountability. Peer accountability drove staff to hold the quality of their learning and teaching to account amongst each other in a consistent and meaningful manner, rather than in an intermittent or performative, tokenistic manner (Newton 2002). The exception, of course, was the arts and humanities faculty. In this case, peer accountability was intermittent rather than constant, although self-accountability was a strong enough pressure for some individual lecturers to fill the accountability gaps. Again, self-accountability was not the preserve of one job role category alone, but rather was expressed by a range of staff members from different job roles.

It should be noted, however, that the data were only collected from three purposively selected institutions, and therefore cannot speak on behalf of all autonomous HEIs in Indonesia. It may be the case that HEI type, disciplinary area and job role category do shape accountability beliefs and practices in some kind of generalisable, noticeable way when taking into account a broader sample of Indonesian HEIs. At the minimum, however, the findings of this study suggest that peer accountability and self-accountability are two key internal accountability pressures that can generate positive outcomes for students in terms of pedagogical and financial support strategies, and that have the propensity to transcend any differences among staff characteristics in terms of the HEI type, disciplinary area or job role category they belong to.

8.2   Limitations and future research directions

There are two key limitations related to the case study selection. Firstly, I only selected minimum B or A-accredited institutions, meaning that they are not representative of the quality and character of all Indonesian HEIs. In particular, the choice of private HEIs reflected institutions that are on the mission-oriented rather than profit-oriented end of the spectrum of private providers. The decision to select case study institutions with comparable accreditation rankings was of course deliberate, as it allowed me to compare and contrast the institutional mission and working culture across the three case studies in a way that 'controlled' for the quality of their institutional performance, at least as assessed by the government via accreditation. It does, however, mean that I cannot generalise the findings to all of the private sector or to all state-ECB HEIs. In line with this, future research could investigate a more diverse sample of state-ECB HEIs and

private HEIs in order to generate a more representative picture of HEI behaviour in response to state accountability mechanisms. The research findings of this study suggest that labour market pressures as well as internal accountability pressures (institutional mission, peer accountability) are worth investigating, so future research conducted at other HEIs could start by investigating these accountability pressures, in addition to identifying any alternative sources of accountability pressure.

The second limitation resulting from my case study selection is to do with the locality. All the cases were from the same province of West Java. Again, this was a deliberate choice as it allowed me to simplify the parameters of the analysis somewhat. This is because it allowed me to pinpoint institutional differences that could clearly be attributed to the relative characteristics and market positioning of each institution, rather than being a reflection of their general environment. For instance, a state university located in one of the most deprived provinces of Indonesia might have more comprehensive and clearly articulated fair access policies and pedagogical support strategies than a state university in Java, but that could simply be a reflection of the fact that the typical student intake in that province comprises a greater proportion of low-income and rural students. Indeed, the pilot interview data that I collected suggested that 'fair access' is experienced in very different ways by HE staff at Javanese and non-Javanese HEIs. For instance, the 20% admissions rule seems irrelevant at an institution where well over half the student intake are categorised as low-income. Conversely, in Jakarta, some private HEIs fall far below the desired 20% target for fair admissions. In those instances, we need to explore which mechanisms might incentivise or encourage greater participation in fair access schemes. Therefore, future research on quality and fair access policies could involve a diverse sample of HEIs drawn from a mix of provinces, in order to build a more comprehensive picture of quality and fair access dynamics in Indonesia.

Related to this point of different fair access dynamics across the various provinces, future research could also explore graduate life and employment outcomes in relation to fair access schemes and inter-province inequality. To illustrate, one of the pilot interviewees from a province in the comparatively underdeveloped Eastern part of Indonesia felt that the central and local governments were not doing enough to develop economic and labour market opportunities within the province, meaning that the majority of their graduates still felt the pull towards Java upon graduation. This leaves the local university in an ambiguous position, as an institution that 'imports' high skills labour from outside the province to work at the institution as teaching staff, but that 'exports' local youth to more enticing labour markets beyond the province once it has upskilled them. Therefore, future research could identify the way in which inter-province inequalities play out in

national labour markets, with a view to devising customised access policies that are most relevant and beneficial for the educational and economic priorities of particular provinces.

Another limitation of the study was that the student perspective was not investigated as in-depth as the HE staff perspective. Future research could explore the nature and impact of HE participation via interviews, FGDs and surveys among current students and alumni, including Bidikmisi and ADik Papua/3T recipients. By exploring the qualitative dimension of their life and employment outcomes, assumptions about the qualitative contribution of institutional pedagogical approaches could be tested out. Opening up the student perspective also has a theoretical advantage, as it could allow for a greater diversity in theoretical perspectives on fair access. For instance, future research could address some of the social and personal framings of educational quality outlined in the literature review. In this way, it could also enrich current theories that combine social justice and quality dimensions, such as a human development framework for higher education (Boni & Gasper 2012) or Walker and Wilson-Strydom's (2017) framework for socially just pedagogy.

8.3   Implications for policy

In terms of fair access, a key finding is that the state-ECB university had actually harnessed its new-found autonomy to enhance the use of fair access schemes. This is in stark contrast to earlier literature on the behaviour of state-ECB universities, which has highlighted the tendency for these institutions to undermine fair access objectives through their admissions policies, particularly through the use of the special admissions route (Welch 2007; Darmaningtyas et al. 2009; Susanti 2011). The fair access policies adopted by the case study university (affirmative action via weighting SNPMTN/SBMPTN scores higher for target groups, MoU with local governments for the scholarship-public service scheme) could serve as models for other state-ECB universities to adopt. At the same time, by contributing a more nuanced, pedagogically framed investigation of how the Bidikmisi scheme plays out at institutional level, this study has highlighted how quantitative indicators of success (such as Bidikmisi recipients' GPA) may mask inequalities between faculties in terms of the quality of the fair access experience. Indeed, one of the state-ECB faculties offered considerably lower levels of financial support to students from low-income and rural backgrounds. This suggests that large state institutions need to evaluate and standardise their support strategies in order to offer more consistent and more effective support. Consultation with academic affairs staff, student support staff, Bidikmisi alumni and current Bidikmisi recipients is recommended in this regard.

The study has also contributed a qualitative assessment of the contribution that two private HEIs are making to the national objective of fair access. A key finding was that the private HEIs were particularly well-equipped to serve students from low-ability, low self-confidence, low-income and rural backgrounds thanks to their institutional mission and student-centred pedagogical approaches. This finding supports arguments for mission diversity in the HE system. Indeed, these smaller, mission-based HEIs were able to make a positive contribution to not only the qualification, but also the socialisation and subjectification functions of education in a manner that supports fair access for students from diverse backgrounds. Diversity of higher education institutions can support diversity in access, as each HEI carves out its niche in the organisational field, identifying a particular demographic that they can serve through tailored and relevant provision. Following on from this, we can say that the current approach from the MRTHE to open up participation in national fair access schemes (i.e. Bidikmisi) to private HEIs is justified.

In terms of the global agenda to achieve fair access to quality higher education for all groups in society (Sustainable Development Goal #4), the recent HE reforms in Indonesia provide a valuable insight into one possible strategy for pursuing this aim. Taking a comparative perspective with other middle-income countries, the 2012 Higher Education Law is quite striking in that the 20% admissions quota must be *distributed throughout the full range of degree programmes offered* (Article 74 1). As a counterexample, the ACCESS project in Colombia has prioritised enrolment of low-income students in shorter, vocational degree programmes as a cheaper alternative to post-secondary access. Vocational programmes were made attractive by lowering entry standards (Uribe 2013, 116) and by offering full-cost tuition fee loans for 2 to 3-year programmes rather than the 75% offered for longer degree programmes (Uribe 2013, 118). Unsurprisingly, this programme suffered serious challenges with completion, and there were high rates of drop-out (ibid.). Meanwhile, entry standards have been maintained in Indonesia's Bidikmisi scheme, and funding covers the full duration of the degree programme. Accordingly, the academic progress of participants has generally been good.

Indonesia's Bidikmisi scheme is also of interest in that it has been successfully opened up to the private sector, albeit with certain conditionalities attached. Participating institutions must meet minimum quality requirements (i.e. the study programme must be accredited to at least a B grade), and they must regularly report data on the scholarship students' academic progress back to the MRTHE. One challenge has been the fact that it is harder to achieve distribution of scholarship recipients to 'a full range of study programmes' as the spirit of the law dictates, because the tuition fee contribution far exceeds the actual per-student cost on high-cost study programmes such as dentistry or

pharmacy. Thus far, the MRTHE has tried to address the concern of achieving a full distribution of study programmes by setting priority subject areas for private HEIs participating in Bidikmisi. So far, the voluntary nature of participation in Bidikmisi, coupled with the setting of priority subject areas, may be sufficient in curbing predatory behaviour by private HEIs, and ensuring that public funds are used accurately. For comparison purposes, the PROUNI scheme in Brazil involves private sector HEIs, but they are compensated not via upfront tuition fee contributions paid by the state, but through a more complicated incentive system. Essentially, if private HEIs meet a 10% quota in admitting disadvantaged students (defined on criteria of type of high school attended, low-income and race), in exchange they receive a tax break from the state (Somers et al. 2013). The HEIs can enrol PROUNI students in any number of degree programmes. Anecdotally, this can result in the HEIs profiting from the scheme, when enrolment of PROUNI students is concentrated on low-cost humanities degree programmes, and hence does not match the amount saved via tax breaks. This kind of scenario is avoided in the Bidikmisi set up by use of upfront tuition fee contributions that the state pays directly to the private HEI. The only 'incentive' is the prospect of a better accreditation rating, as 'consistent implementation of fair access schemes' is one criterion that is judged on the institutional accreditation rubrics.

The findings also have implications for our understanding of how accountability reforms impact (or fail to impact) educational quality of higher education. I deliberately set out to exclude a typical state HEI context in my sample, but it transpired that the arts and humanities faculty at the state-ECB university represented features of a typical state university. In effect, this was useful as it allowed for a comparison of the impact or non-impact of increased autonomy via ECB status on faculty-level accountability cultures. It allowed me to identify precisely what it was about the STEM faculty that helped them overcome some of the traditional barriers to quality enhancement at Indonesian state universities (insularity, seniority, dependence on nomadic part-time staff).

Evidently, the constancy of the peer accountability culture was the key difference. Specifically, the culture of peer accountability at the STEM faculty permeated all aspects of professional life, from formal professional development systems (induction, mentoring, career development, appraisal and promotions) to the collegial culture (shared ownership of work, shared responsibility over work, frequent and frank communication). Since both faculties were subjected to the same institution-wide accountability systems, such as performance-based pay, a computerised academic record-keeping system, and student feedback surveys, and since both faculties exhibited highly divergent practices and outcomes in response to those systems, we can assume that the faculty and department level culture was a key factor mediating accountability beliefs and practices.

According to the middle management at the STEM faculty, participation in an externally-funded quality enhancement project had made them grow accustomed to the pressures of organisational change and meeting performance targets. This suggests that external accountability pressures have a cyclical relationship with internal accountability pressures, as each level of pressure feeds off the other. The managers also attributed their open and collegial culture to their international and interdisciplinary outlook. This outlook was cultivated via joint research projects and bilateral study exchange programmes with foreign HEIs, as well as regular attendance at international conferences.

It is worth considering, then, what other state or state-ECB universities in Indonesia can learn from the experience of the STEM faculty in devising quality enhancement interventions. The professional development systems and international/interdisciplinary connections are two features that could be replicated at other faculties, in the hopes of obtaining similar positive outcomes in terms of enhancing educational quality. Institutional support for internationalisation, or even collaborative projects with other institutions within Indonesia, may help to overcome a culture of insularity and promote a culture of peer accountability. In particular, it would be important to diversify recruitment, take up use of direct employment contracts rather than PNS ones, and to implement meritocratic and qualitatively judged performance appraisal systems that encourage staff ownership over department-level progress. These systems would have to be backed up by sufficient funding for faculty to engage in professional development activities, such as participating in international conferences, joint research projects with international partners, as well as conducting their own research projects locally that can feed into the teaching curriculum and community service activities. In other words, staff need to be afforded concrete opportunities and resources that will allow them to advance their professional development and contribute in meaningful ways to the departmental educational environment.

Apart from professional development systems and internationalisation, creating a collegial culture is possibly the most important objective for a state university undergoing change management. It is also the most difficult feature to replicate, as it involves making changes that are socio-culturally risky, such as holding more senior members of staff to account over mistakes, negligence or underperformance. It will take longer to implement, and rest on the ability of individuals in key leadership roles to create a climate of peer accountability and lead by example. There were some systems that seemed to facilitate constant peer accountability, namely the use of mentorship schemes and the practice of team-teaching. Additionally, the practice of mid-term staff meetings at the health science college where staff present and solicit peer feedback on the progress of their modules

was considered helpful for creating a climate of peer accountability and for developing the ability of staff to select and adapt appropriate pedagogical strategies. These strategies (mentorship schemes, team teaching, Q&A-style mid-term progress meetings) could be considered helpful tools for managers seeking to create a constant peer accountability culture. This may apply both at Indonesian HEIs, and also at HEIs in other country/institutional contexts that have experienced similar barriers to quality enhancement.

8.4   Implications for research

Firstly, it is worth reflecting on the utility of accountability as a conceptual tool in research on quality and fair access in higher education. I began the research project with some hesitation about the bland or elusive notion of accountability. While it became clear during the review of Indonesia's HE reforms that the government of Indonesia at least has a clear and explicitly defined notion of accountability (standardised quality and fair access), I was unsure how HE staff would define accountability. In particular, I did not want to conduct yet another quality assurance study, with interview data centering mainly on issues of compliance and performativity. Ulitmately, accountability transpired to be an extremely useful tool for inquiry in exploring issues about educational quality and fair access. Indeed, accountability was far more than an empty policy buzzword. It was certainly not limited by research participants to a notion of bureaucratic, financial or procedural transparency. The interview responses and the classroom practices I observed demonstrated that accountability is indeed a living and breathing phenomenon that permeates the working lives of HE staff, at the institutional, peer and even individual level. Accountability proved to be a highly generative analytical concept, perhaps because it forces the researcher and research participant to identify meaningful relationships and sources of pressure that have a direct bearing on everyday beliefs and practices.

In particular, the concepts of peer accountability and self-accountability are promising, as they are applicable to the broader research base on organisational cultures in higher education. In particular, they may contribute helpful analytical tools to the study of pedagogical reform in higher education. For instance, a study at a UK university found that strong collegial commitment and self-reflexivity on the part of individual lecturers were key factors that drove a departmental intervention to redesign a 'socially just curriculum' for their diversified student body (Jenkins et al., 2017). Initially, the trigger for reform came from an external accountability pressure, namely a review by a national quality assurance agency. Yet, in the case of this sociology department, a culture of peer accountability as well as instances of self-accountability combined to implement the actual reform of departmental practices. Similarly, a study of pedagogical reform to

promote critical thinking in Rwandan universities found that improvements in student learning were achieved at a faculty that was characterised by a "highly collegial working environment", where staff designed and implemented their curriculum collaboratively (Schendel 2016, 499). Even though external accountability pressures were in place to promote pedagogical reform at all Rwandan universities (via formal policies), departmental culture was influential in shaping pedagogical reform outcomes, as evidenced by higher scores in assessments of student critical thinking ability. This insight is echoed in the findings of this doctoral study, which found that internal accountability pressures, and in particular a constant peer accountability culture, were key in shaping pedagogical support strategies for students.

Finally, a key contribution of the thesis is to demonstrate the importance of integrating a practitioner perspective into theorisations of accountability in higher education. In particular, the thesis has demonstrated the benefits of bringing in pedagogy and values into the accountability equation. In this way, the overlap between the two policy concerns of educational quality on the one hand and fair access on the other became clear. In other words, accountability helps us to form conceptual maps that identify which factors can exert enough pressure to support a socially just pedagogy, and which factors can in turn undermine that objective.

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Appendix A: Translations of interview rubrics
STATE-ECB – Lecturer

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: coordination with head of QA at faculty level? Senior management? others?
- Other roles (including outside the HEI)? Member of any professional associations?

***

ACCOUNTABILITY

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). Actually, even me and my colleagues in the UK can't always agree on what exactly accountability is or what it should be. So first I'd like to ask you personally, what do you think accountability of HE is, ideally?

- Academic affairs (teaching, research) vs non-academic affairs (financial)?
- Who is a [lecturer / head of study programme / senior management / QA staff] accountable to? (eg students, parents? Other lecturers? Middle/senior management? MRTHE? Employers/users?)
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?
- Hopes for the enhancement of accountability in the future?

EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

The laws and regulations mentioned earlier also require HEIs to provide a sufficiently high quality education. According to you, how would you define educational quality? In its ideal sense?

- What is the role of a [particpant's job role] in providing a quality education?
- And the role of others? (middle management, senior management, students, public?)
- What are your experiences of educational quality at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging efforts to achieve educational quality?
- Hopes for the enhancement of educational quality in the future?

EQUITABLE ACCESS

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **and ADik schemes.**

- Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?
- Do you think such students still require additional support? (eg mentoring, extra classes?)
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

STATE-ECB – quality assurance units

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: coordination with head of QA at faculty level? Senior management? Vice-rector academic affairs? Involvement in admissions process and accreditation?
- Other roles (including outside the HEI, eg assessor for BAN)?

***

ACCOUNTABILITY & educational quality

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). Actually, even me and my colleagues in the UK can't always agree on what exactly accountability is or what it should be. So first I'd like to ask you personally, what do you think accountability of HE is, ideally?

- Academic affairs (teaching, research) vs non-academic affairs (financial, governance, management)?
- What is the role of the QA unit/senior management in ensuring accountability?
- What about the role of other staff at the HEI (heads of study programme, lecturers, students, public, MRTHE?) How would you described the HEI-accreditation body relationship? Any feedback on the accreditation process?
- Specfically in terms of teaching and learning quality (i.e. not research, governance, etc), what policies and practices do you think are currently working well? Where do you still face challenges/obstacles?
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?
- Hopes for the enhancement of accountability & educational quality in the future?

EQUITABLE ACCESS

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **and ADik schemes.**

- According to you, are such programmes being run in a transparent manner at this HEI?
- Do you think the admission process in general has become more transparent since adoption of the UKT policy? Since transition to autonomous ECB status?
- Do you think such students still require additional support? (eg mentoring, extra classes?)
- [if not addressed after answers to the above: Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?]
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: coordination with Senior management? Vice-rector academic affairs? Faculties?
- Other roles (including outside the HEI, eg assessor for BAN)?

***

ADMISSIONS PROCESS

Can you describe the admissions process at this HEI for me? (for now, the general process for everyone, not concerning scholarship students)

- Setting selection criteria?
- Determining student quotas?
- Process from the student perspective- application, notification of result, registration/enrolment

Can you describe how the admissions process supports fair access schemes? (Bidikmisi**, ADIk, any other schemes?)**

- Process from the student perspective- application, notification or result, registration/enrolment – who flags their low-income status?
- Eligibility and transparency?
- Sources of funding to cover scholarship students?
- Any efforts to promote HEI to specific groups?
- Any concerns with educational success of scholarship students?
- Do you think such students still require additional support? (eg mentoring, extra classes?)

ACCOUNTABILITY OF EQUITY OBJECTIVES GENERALLY

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **and ADik schemes.**

- According to you, are such programmes being run in a transparent manner across Indonesian state HEIs?
- Do you think the admission process at your HEI has become more transparent since adoption of the UKT policy? Since transition to autonomous ECB status?
- Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: coordination with the various directorates? Vice-rector academic affairs? QA units? Offices of the deans?

***

ACCOUNTABILITY & educational quality

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). Actually, even me and my colleagues in the UK can't always agree on what exactly accountability is or what it should be. So first I'd like to ask you personally, what do you think accountability of HE is, ideally?

- Academic affairs (teaching, research) vs non-academic affairs (financial, governance, management)?
- What is the role of the middle management/senior management in ensuring accountability?
- What about the role of other staff at the HEI (heads of study programme, lecturers, students, public, MRTHE?) How would you described the HEI-accreditation body relationship? Any feedback on the accreditation process?
- Specfically in terms of teaching and learning quality (i.e. not research, governance, etc), what policies and practices do you think are currently working well? Where do you still face challenges/obstacles?
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?
- Hopes for the enhancement of accountability & educational quality in the future?

EQUITABLE ACCESS

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **and ADik schemes.**

- According to you, are such programmes being run in a transparent manner at this HEI?
- Do you think the admission process in general has become more transparent since adoption of the UKT policy? Since transition to autonomous ECB status?
- Do you think such students still require additional support? (eg mentoring, extra classes?)
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: remit, responsibilities?
- Other roles (including outside the HEI)? Member of any professional associations?

***

ACCOUNTABILITY

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). Actually, even me and my colleagues in the UK can't always agree on what exactly accountability is or what it should be. So first I'd like to ask you personally, what do you think accountability of HE is, ideally?

- Academic affairs (teaching, research) vs non-academic affairs (financial)?
- Who is a [lecturer / head of study programme] accountable to? (eg students, parents? The Middle/senior management? The foundation that owns the HEI? Employers/users?)
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?
- Hopes for the enhancement of accountability in the future?

EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

The laws and regulations mentioned earlier also require HEIs to provide a sufficiently high quality education. According to you, how would you define educational quality? In its ideal sense?

- What is the role of a [particpant's job role] in providing a quality education?
- And the role of others? (middle/senior management, the foundation that runs the HEI? Students/parents? public?)
- What are your experiences of educational quality at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging efforts to achieve educational quality?
- Hopes for the enhancement of educational quality in the future?

EQUITABLE ACCESS

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **scheme.**

- Can you tell me about the background of your students at this HEI?
- Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?
- Do you think such students still require additional support? (eg mentoring, extra classes?)
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

PRIVATE HEI – Student recruitment/student affairs

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: remit, responsibilities?

***

DESCRIPTION OF ADMISSIONS PROCESS & MARKET POSITION

- Can you please describe your admissions process? I mean from planning, setting targets for student numbers, promotion, to testing/selection, admissions and registration.
- Can you tell me about the typical background of your student intake at this HEI?
- What image do students/parents have of your HEI? What are they looking for in their HE experience? Are they aware of accreditation status?

- [**finance/student affairs staff:** can you please describe the process of administering scholarships, or other ways of supporting students who are having financial difficulties?]

ACCOUNTABILITY

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). I'd like to ask you about your understanding and experiences of accountability.

- How does your department experience the issue of accountability? Can you describe the relationship between your department and the other directorates/senior management?
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?

ACCOUNTABILITY OF EQUITY OBJECTIVES

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **scheme.**

- Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future? [probe experiences of private HEIs more generally if possible]

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: remit, responsibilities?
- Other roles (including outside the HEI)? Member of any professional associations?

DESCRIPTION OF WORK REMIT UNIQUE TO THE PARTICIPANT

- As a [Deputy director of academic affairs/head of department/ study programme convenor], tell me about your professional development policies and practice (eg CPD, developing lecturer's teaching skills, staff appraisal)

***

ACCOUNTABILITY

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). Actually, even me and my colleagues in the UK can't always agree on what exactly accountability is or what it should be. So first I'd like to ask you personally, what do you think accountability of HE is, ideally?

- Academic affairs (teaching, research) vs non-academic affairs (financial)?
- Who is a [participant's job role] accountable to? (eg students, parents? Lecturers? senior management? The foundation that owns the HEI? MRTHE? Employers/users?)
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?
- Hopes for the enhancement of accountability in the future?

EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

The laws and regulations mentioned earlier also require HEIs to provide a sufficiently high quality education. According to you, how would you define educational quality? In its ideal sense?

- What is the role of a [particpant's job role] in providing a quality education?
- And the role of others? (lecturers? senior management, the foundation that runs the HEI? Students/parents? public?)
- What are your experiences of educational quality at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging efforts to achieve educational quality?
- Hopes for the enhancement of educational quality in the future?

EQUITABLE ACCESS

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **scheme.**

- Can you tell me about the background of your students at this HEI?
- Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?
- Do you think such students still require additional support? (eg mentoring, extra classes?)
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHY

- Number of years worked here at HEI?   Faculty/Study programme?   Administrative posts?
- Daily activities: remit, responsibilities?
- Other roles (including outside the HEI)? Member of any professional associations?

DESCRIPTION OF WORK REMIT UNIQUE TO THE PARTICIPANT

- As a [Director or the HEI/Director of academic affairs/Finance Director], tell me about the internal and external quality assurance processes in place at your institution. (interaction with other departments/directorates?)

***

ACCOUNTABILITY

Several recent laws and regulations demand HE providers to be accountable (2003 National Education System Law, 2012 Higher Education Law). Actually, even me and my colleagues in the UK can't always agree on what exactly accountability is or what it should be. So first I'd like to ask you personally, what do you think accountability of HE is, ideally?

- Academic affairs (teaching, research) vs non-academic affairs (financial, governance)?
- Who is a [participant's job role] accountable to? (eg students, parents? Lecturers? Middle management? The foundation that owns the HEI? MRTHE? Employers/users?)
- What are your experiences of accountability at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging accountability?
- Hopes for the enhancement of accountability in the future?

EDUCATIONAL QUALITY

The laws and regulations mentioned earlier also require HEIs to provide a sufficiently high quality education. According to you, how would you define educational quality? In its ideal sense?

- What is the role of a [particpant's job role] in providing a quality education?
- And the role of others? (lecturers? middle management? the foundation that runs the HEI? Students/parents? MRTHE? public? Employers/end users/industry?)
- What are your experiences of educational quality at this HEI – has it materialised or not? What factors are currently enabling or challenging efforts to achieve educational quality?
- Hopes for the enhancement of educational quality in the future?

EQUITABLE ACCESS

Several policies resulting from the recent education laws and regulations aim to make access to quality HE more equitable, in terms of equalisation of access between provinces, and for students from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. For example, the Bidikmisi **scheme.**

- Can you tell me about the background of your students at this HEI?
- Do you think your HEI can play a role in the national goal of equalising access to HE, specifically for low-income students/students from disadvantaged backgrounds? Examples?
- How do you address transparency in the fair access schemes in place at this HEI?
- Hopes for widening access /equalisation of quality in the HE system for the future?

Appendix B: Overview of accreditation in Indonesia

Procedures

Accreditation follows the same three basic steps regardless of institution type or location. The first step is completing the self-evaluation rubric. There are two separate rubrics and scoring matrices - one for the institution level and another one for the study programme level[48]. The second step is a desk-based assessment of this self-evaluation by a pair of BAN-PT assessors. The third stage is an institutional visit (average 3 days) by the same pair of BAN-PT assessors (BAN-PT 2008c). The visit involves the assessors conducting interviews and observations with staff and students in order to verify and clarify the content of the paper self-evaluation submission. The site visit culminates in a discussion of the draft assessment between the assessors and the management, and these discussions are incorporated into the final assessment report. This must be delivered within a week of the site visit. The institution/study programme receives both a summary of the numerical score and accreditation status awarded, as well as a feedback proforma with suggestions and comments for improvement.

Content and Scoring

The overall score for institutional and study programme accreditation is derived from two sources. The primary source (90%) is the HEI's self-evaluation submission. Both the study programme and institution self-evaluation are based on seven major criteria or 'standards' related to management, infrastructure, resources, academic affairs, research and community service. A complete list is provided in Box 1 below. They predate the National Higher Education Standards (or SN-Dikti), but they are similar and hence map on to the eight sub-components of SN-Dikti quite logically (content of learning, process of learning, assessment of learning, graduate competencies, teaching and support staff, resources and infrastructure, management, funding) (BAN-PT 2011a, 6-7)[49]. Each of the seven standards are broken down into further sub-items, which are scored on a scale of 1-4 using an accompanying scoring rubric with detailed descriptors/formulas (BAN-PT 2011d; BAN-PT 2008b). For institutional accreditation, the seven major standards are weighted differently. For example, the items on quality of human resources count more toward the final score (18.42%) than the items on quality of students and graduates (13.16%). For study programme accreditation, each of the 100 items is weighted individually. For example, in section 3 on students and graduates, item 3.1.4a on the rate of on-time graduation is weighted x1.3, while item 3.1.4b on the rate of drop-out/withdrawal is weighted x0.65 (BAN-PT 2008a, 3). The scoring matrix is publicly available, meaning that HEIs are fully aware of the relative importance of the seven standards and the sub-items.

The overall score is supplemented by a second source (10%), namely an evaluation of the submission's quality overall. The assessors judge this on four criteria: the accuracy and completeness of data, the analytical quality demonstrated in identifying and solving problems, whether or not there is a clear strategy for development and enhancement,

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[48] As mentioned in Chapter 3, the aim of the MRTHE is to eventually replace the generic instruments with more specific ones. To date, specific instruments are available for diploma, undergraduate, masters and doctoral study level. Discipline-specific instruments are also available for the Professional Qualification in Accounting, Professional Qualification in Teaching, and the Post-graduate Professional Qualification in Psychology.

[49] Since the passing of the 2012 Higher Education Law, BAN-PT have been working on improved iterations of the accreditation instruments to more closely align with SN-Dikti. They plan to have these revised instruments in place by 2018.

and the comprehensiveness and coherence between the seven sections. Again, the four criteria are scored on a scale of 1-4 using a scoring rubric with detailed descriptors (BAN-PT 2011d, 72-4; BAN-PT 2008b, 57-59).

Box 1 The seven standards of the self-assessment report submitted to BAN-PT

		Relative weighting (%)
Standard 1	Vision, mission, aim, target students, and strategy to achieve this	2.63
Standard 2	Governance, leadership, management system, and quality assurance	26.32
Standard 3	Students and graduates	13.16
Standard 4	Human resources	18.42
Standard 5	Curriculum, learning process, and academic environment	7.89
Standard 6	Funding, resources and infrastructure, and information system	18.42
Standard 7	Research, community service, and partnerships	13.16
	total	**100%**

Source: BAN-PT (2011c) *Akreditasi Institusi Perguruan Tinggi: Buku V Pedoman Penilaian Dan Evaluasi Diri AIPT*. Jakarta: BAN-PT, 18

Outcomes

The numerical score forms the basis of the accreditation status and ranking awarded (BAN-PT, 13) as follows[50]:

- <200 not accredited
- 200-300 accredited, C (satisfactory)
- 301-360 accredited, B (good)
- 361-400 accredited, A (very good)

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[50] A recent regulation on accreditation has actually changed the terminology to good (baik), very good (sangat baik) and excellent (unggul), with a good rating meaning the National Higher Education Standards have been met, and a very good or excellent rating meaning the standards have been exceeded. See Education and Culture Ministerial Regulation 87/2014 On Accreditation of Institutions and Study Programmes, Article 3 (4)-(5).