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GLOSSARY

Bahasa Indonesia	The Indonesian language
Balai Perguruan Tinggi Repoeblik Indonesia	Centre for Higher Learning of the Republic of Indonesia
Budi Utomo	[Literally translated as] Prime Philosophy
falak	Astronomy
Fikh	Islamic jurisprudence
Hadith	Reports describing the words, actions, or habits of Muhammad
Ilmu	Knowledge
Indische Partij	Indies Party
Indonesische Vereeniging	Indonesian Association
Ing madyo mangun karso	[Those] in the middle should raise the spirit
Ing ngarso sung tulodho	[Those] in front should set an example
Kopertis	Coordinator of Private Indonesian Higher Education
Kyai	The leader of *pesantren*
Pesantren	Local Islamic boarding schools
Priyayi	The local elite
Qur'an	The Holy text of Islam
Raden Mas	Prince
Santri	Students studying at *pesantren*
Sarekat Islam	Islamist Union
Taman Siswa	Local schools established by Soewardi Soeryaningrat in 1922
Tut wuri handayani	[Those] behind should give encouragement

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2015 when I embarked on this study, I presented a paper on the internationalisation of higher education in an international conference in Indonesia. I problematised the very idea of internationalisation in front of an audience of mainly university managers and administrators. In an incredulous tone, one of the audience who was a university manager, responded by asking, "What is so wrong with internationalisation? What is so wrong if we want to be a world-class university?"

The above vignette captures the wide acceptance of internationalisation in Indonesian universities. The acceptance is even more pronounced when compared to earlier attempts of privatisation which encountered such strong resistance that they were rejected. It is interesting to see such different local responses towards global forces, since both privatisation and internationalisation are features of a global ensemble of higher education reforms. In fact most Western countries embraced varying degrees of privatisation along with internationalisation. Yet in Indonesia, privatisation has been strongly rejected but internationalisation is embraced. Internationalisation, therefore, serves as a focal point of entry to analyse the shaping and reshaping of Indonesian higher education in the contemporary period.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the purpose of higher education in Indonesia. I aim to identify the fundamental shift from the purpose described in the 1945 Constitution to a new purpose emerging in contemporary higher education policies and strategies. In Western nations, the shift to knowledge production began from the 1970s. In the Indonesian context, the 1997 Asian financial crisis marked the beginning of the knowledge shift in that part of the world with the post-1997 intrusion of global institutions, such as the World Bank, into the economic reforms which followed. Alerted to this issue, the thesis is a way of identifying and explaining

what is really happening to public education by studying the case of internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. It is explored in two themes of the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. The first theme is the rejection of privatisation, but acceptance of internationalisation. I argue that, despite the rejection of privatisation in order to maintain Indonesia's commitment to public education, the forces of internationalisation carry with them the same unequalising processes of class reconfiguration in this era of neoliberal capitalism. These processes have threatened the democratic ideals of education – a principle upheld by the 1945 Constitution. However, it receives wide acceptance because internationalisation serves national interests in the belief that this strategy boosts the international competitiveness of Indonesia's developing economy. It also fuels national pride, one that positions a developing country as a global player. The earlier market discourses of privatisation reform were too banal to be accepted, but the market internationalisation discourse is attached to the more respectable knowledge internationalisation rhetoric thus making it acceptable.

The second theme explored in the thesis is connected to the first and concerns the social meanings of 'internationalisation'. The understanding of internationalisation as the intellectuals' pursuit of knowledge on a global scale is a very old one and probably contributes to its resilience today. It places primacy on knowledge[1] and to the efforts of intellectual groups who developed knowledge in different places and at various periods of time. Thus,

---

[1] The concept of 'knowledge' used in the thesis refers to how humans understand and represent themselves to themselves in symbolic form. This type of symbolic knowledge is structured epistemically in that it is made up of inferential concepts that create systems of meaning (Brandom, 2000). These systems of meaning have become referred to as disciplinary, that is, as 'bounded' sets of integrated ideas. Moutsios refers to knowledge as a "web of values and meanings even before the actual institution of school and the spread of literacy in the 5th century… to inquire, to learn, and to know the truth" (2018, p. 37). The creation of this type of symbolic representation or descriptive knowledge is in the Enlightenment tradition of seeking for truth. The 'truth seeking' idea of knowledge is contrasted with the postmodern idea of the relativist autonomy of knowledge. For the purpose of this thesis, the idea of knowledge as the creation of the symbolic sphere is integral to the concept of the 'public' in that symbolic knowledge provides the collective representations (Durkheim, 1995) of modern pluralist societies. The purpose of a modern education system, including higher education, is to serve the public (Calhoun, 2006; Marginson, 2011a). At least that is the claim, one seen in the 1945 Constitution.

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contemporary internationalisation can be seen as “an extension of the traditional commitment of universities to learning, and as an exchange of knowledge.” (Yang, 2002, p. 81). However, the increasing commodification of higher education since the post-1970 period of economic globalisation has shifted internationalisation from the supremacy of ‘knowledge’ into ‘market’. The current ‘internationalisation’ term, thus, carries with it two contradictory meanings – ‘knowledge’ as the international creation and exchange of the symbolic sphere and ‘market’ as the operation of the economic sphere. The two meanings of internationalisation act to conceal the contradictory meanings of knowledge internationalisation (the symbolic and the market). I argue that the maintenance of the ‘knowledge internationalisation’ discourse in the contemporary internationalisation practices actually plays a role in securing its acceptance in Indonesian higher education. Internationalisation is more acceptable once attached to the more respectable knowledge internationalisation rhetoric.

The tension between the two forces – the symbolic sphere of the ‘people’ (i.e. the public[2] of modern pluralist society) and the economic sphere of the ‘market’ – is concealed by these contradictions within the meanings of the term ‘internationalisation’. On the one hand, internationalisation has an honourable place in the history of scholarship. It has long played a central role in building intellectual communities throughout Europe, the Middle East, China, India, East Asia and South East Asia as I will show in Chapter Four. These scholarly communities were dedicated to the creation and exchange of knowledge that now occurs in the science, humanities and arts disciplines of today’s universities. It was the activity which led Emile Durkheim (1995) to describe such intellectual work as ‘sacred’. He ascribed a ‘priceless’ value to this symbolic knowledge – a ‘sacredness’ to the human intellectual endeavour. In contrast, ‘internationalisation’ with respect to knowledge in today’s global

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[2] The public dimension in higher education here refers to not only its public nature (literal meaning); but also a way to imagine the sector as an “umbrella public sphere sheltering projects that pertain to the public good… most public functions are associated with the university’s roles in knowledge, learning, and discourse” (Marginson, 2011a, p. 419).

knowledge economy gives a second meaning to knowledge; that of a commodity with a 'price'.

This thesis examines how these two opposing meanings of the internationalisation of knowledge collide in contemporary Indonesian universities. I demonstrate that this 'collision' of meanings has led to the acceptance of internationalisation by university senior administrators and the inclusion of internationalisation in policies and practices. It is believed that internationalisation today continues the noble tradition of truly maintaining knowledge's creation and exchange in the symbolic sphere of human society. However, internationalisation may be a Trojan horse, a 'gift' that will subvert the intent of public higher education for the people into a knowledge market that benefits the wealthy. The latest development of internationalisation likely shows this tendency. There has been a real change in the purpose of higher education from the protection of its role as an institution for the people to a competitive resource in an open globally exposed economy. A recent statement by the Minister of Research and Technology and Higher Education indicates that this change may be accelerating (Antara News, 2018).

Throughout the thesis, I use the terms 'market internationalisation' and 'knowledge internationalisation' to reveal the contradiction within the meaning of the word 'internationalisation'. It is a contradiction located in the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education at the intersection between the commitments to knowledge as the building block of the public's symbolic sphere on the one hand and a commitment to a global education market on the other. This inherent tension between 'knowledge' and 'market' (or the symbolic and economic sphere) is situated within broader discourses of the knowledge economy where different and often contradictory discourses are jostled against each other in an uncomfortable union (Blackmore & Sawers, 2015; Shore, 2010). I show how senior administrators and technocrats in the Ministry of Higher Education as well as universities I interviewed for this study are affected by these contradictions and how they use the contradictory discourses in justifying the agenda (see Chapter Seven).

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This first chapter commences by chronologically introducing the context of contemporary higher education reforms in Indonesia and identifying a localised issue – the rejection of privatisation, but the wide acceptance of internationalisation. It then problematises the fact that internationalisation has been presented as a solution to modern higher education, although it is not clear which problem this solution is to address. The next section reveals the unseen changes to knowledge itself which are affected by internationalisation reforms. The hypothesised problem behind the acceptance of internationalisation leads to the research questions which are concerned with understanding the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. That section is followed by one which describes the scope and method employed to address the questions and develop the argument of the study. The chapter concludes with a thesis map to aid navigation of the complete thesis.

PRIVATISATION AND REJECTION

The origin of privatisation in Indonesia, as in many other so-called 'peripheral' countries (Robertson & Dale, 2009; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002), can be traced to the 1997 Asian financial crisis (Varghese, 2001) and its context within the global capitalist system (Harvey, 2005). During the monetary crisis, peripheral countries such as Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea, sought bailout from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to restore market confidence and stabilise currency. In return for this financial assistance fundamental reforms were required, such as privatising 16 state-owned institutions, including the higher education sector (Purwadi, 2001). The World Bank's report entitled *'Indonesia: The Imperative for Reform'* claims that "There is now overwhelming international evidence to show that privatisation improves the performance of firms and economies" (2001, p. 2.2). This privatisation requirement was made obvious in the attempts to change four top Indonesian public universities into autonomous legal institutions, a move to be followed by other public universities.

Intense contestations within and beyond the universities showed the resistance to what was seen as the commodification of education (Darmaningtyas, Subkhan, & Panimbang, 2009) and the embrace of opportunities to respond to market demands (Nugroho, 2005). The policy fed into national debates about whether privatisation was an attempt to shift the role of higher education from a public good into a money-generating business (Calhoun, 2006). Public debate and student protests took place across the archipelago from the time the Bill was first drafted in 1999 to its revocation in 2010.

The Minister of National Education in office during the period 2009-2014 argued that the privatisation policy was not to make universities more expensive, but rather to make them more independent and less bureaucratic (*The Jakarta Post*, 2009). This might sound progressive. However, due to the authoritarian legacy of the New Order regime (1966-1998) that still affected university life in the form of a bureaucratic model with a narrow technocratic role (Heryanto, 2005; Nugroho, 2005; Rakhmani & Siregar, 2016; Rosser, 2016), university bureaucrats had less experience in managing this decentralised policy. The cost of attending university soared. In just seven years (1995-2002), tuition fees at the pilot universities increased fourfold (Susanti, 2011). The top-down privatisation policy exemplified in the soaring fees, especially those of pilot universities, was easily identified by the public and led to ongoing debate and resistance.

After almost ten years of struggle with no significant results, the last option of legal action was taken by the public intellectuals and educational activists. They filed judicial reviews to the Constitutional Court. They argued that the Act violated the 1945 Constitution because it removed universities from the purview of the government and strongly indicated an attempt of privatisation (Susanti, 2011) despite government denials. On 31 March 2010, the *Higher Education Act Number 9 Year 2009,* which aimed to privatise public universities in Indonesia, was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court and lost its binding force on public universities. The revocation of the policy was considered a victory for civil society and education activists committed to maintaining public education. Government officials,

however, saw the verdict as a setback in reforming Indonesian higher education's capacity to compete in the global higher education field (Rakhmani & Siregar, 2016).

WHY WAS PRIVATISATION REJECTED?

Privatisation refers to the process of shifting public resources to the private realm and is justified by ideas about the primacy of market relations. In this view, the social relations established through the mechanisms of the market are often considered to be the best way to allocate resources and provide opportunities for rational and self-interested individuals (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In the higher education sector, according to the World Bank, privatisation is believed to increase competition amongst universities and therefore increase their productivity and accountability (Robertson & Dale, 2013). However, for critics of the market forces approach, privatisation is a mechanism by which global forces can yoke public sectors across the globe, including higher education, into the global market (Ball, 2012; Calhoun, 2006; Robertson & Dale, 2013).

For Indonesia in particular, such privatisation attempts violated the 1945 Constitution which explicitly secures "the rights of every citizen to access education" (1945 Constitution, article 31, verse 1). Privatisation had presented 'choice' as a civil rights matter and assumed that there is a level playing field in exercising that choice. But the fact is that the soaring tuition fees restrict access only to middle and upper class families. The restricted access for low-income families, the withdrawal of the government's responsibility and commitment in providing access to education, and the increasing signs of commercialisation of education have all contributed to the rejection of privatisation in Indonesia.

The attempt to privatise Indonesian higher education demonstrates a case of top-down policy with institutional command and control imposed from above. In this case, the regulatory bodies are the legislative power (the House of Representatives) and the executive power (previously managed by the Ministry of Education, but now the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education). Such a top-down policy is characterised by a formal and direct way of managing educational reform which binds all public universities. However,

despite the power of those seeking to impose privatisation, the policy was annulled as a result of wide-spread resistance from the public, and thus opened the way for higher education as a sector to adopt a new legal umbrella and a different strategy with respect to Indonesia's relationship to global higher education.

INTERNATIONALISATION AND ACCEPTANCE

I argue that 'internationalisation' has moved into the higher education space in the midst of this legal vacuum created by the rejection of privatisation. The word 'privatisation' had been removed, and for the first time the word 'internationalisation' appears in legislation and policy. 'Internationalisation' is presented as a more benign force, one that would advance the higher education sector by progressively seeking global recognition and building a world-class reputation for Indonesia's top-ranked universities. The term refers to the integration of the global dimension into all areas of university life, encompassing teaching, research and other parts of university system (de Wit, 2002; Knight & de Wit, 1995; Yang, 2002). While the rationale for internationalisation emphasises academic issues, its worldwide policies and practices are overshadowed by economic interests (Codd, 2004; Martens & Starke, 2008; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Singh, 2010; Stier & Börjesson, 2010). In this way, it connects the higher education sector to global market forces but less directly than the explicit privatisation approach.

The term 'internationalisation' *appeared* in the Higher Education Bill drafted in 2011 and led to debate and disagreement. A number of articles had provided the framework for what counted as internationalisation and how to achieve the international standard prior to the Bill's drafting (Ministry of Education, 2011). There was a divided opinion about the benefits of internationalisation during the legislative process to finalise the current Higher Education Act 2012. Some commentators interpreted internationalisation as allowing foreign universities and investment to operate inside the country and considered that it would put local universities at risk (*The Jakarta Post*, 2012). The government's responsibility in managing public goods and resources was questioned.

When the Bill was promulgated in 2012 after a year of bitter debate and amendments, the word 'internationalisation' had *disappeared* and it is not in the current Higher Education Act. It was substituted with the phrase 'international partnership'. According to the Ministry of Education and Culture, the latter term emphasises "the process of integrating international dimensions into academic activities to take part in global interactions" (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012, p. 36). However, critics refer to it as an attempt to soften what is still a global marketisation strategy (Rakhmani & Siregar, 2016; Susanti, 2011). I argue that the abandonment of the word 'internationalisation' in the legislation does not mean that it does not exist as initially intended. It still contains the privatisation component in its meaning. What is of further interest and requires analysis is that, since that time, 'internationalisation' *reappears* as a keyword in the institutional policies and mundane realities of Indonesian universities. In other words, the term is withdrawn from legislation but remains in the institutions themselves.

It is interesting to note this discursive adjustment in how a global discourse influences policy making at a national level. I claim that the disappearance of 'internationalisation' from the legislation and its appearance as a keyword in the university documents is a signal of wider social and political forces. In addition, the *appearance, disappearance* and *reappearance* of 'internationalisation' points to a discursive adjustment regarding the way ideas enter a country and influence its policy making. There has been a successful mediation in this global-local interplay. The word might have disappeared, but its intention remains. It only disappears in the national legislation, but it actually has materialised in the orientation and movement of higher education institutions. These changes to the discourse of internationalisation in legislation and policy are significant. They serve as "windows onto larger processes of transformation" (Shore, Wright, & Però, 2011, p. 12) in capturing the local-global interplay as they occur in Indonesian higher education.

As an academic in one Indonesian public university, I have experienced this changing nature of higher education: from a local national one towards a more global orientation, as well as experiencing the flourishing discourse of internationalisation in the university life. Reflecting on my background as someone who once dealt with the internationalisation strategies and programmes at the international office of my home university for five years (2010 – 2015), I want to understand what is really happening and how the process is understood especially by those implementing it. Royono and Rahwidiati (2013) refer the uncritical acceptance of internationalisation in Indonesian universities, one also in my own experience:

> Ask the managers of any university in Indonesia about their vision for their institution and an almost automatic response would be to become a world-class university (2013, p. 180).

INTERNATIONALISATION: SOLUTION OR PROBLEM?

Like elsewhere, the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education has been presented as part of the solution for modern higher education without actually identifying the problem this solution is to address (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Sawir, 2013; Singh, 2010; Yang, 2002). Internationalisation is assumed to be progressive, positive, and important. The assumption is neutralised and embedded in institutional and national value systems in the forms of policies, mission statements and strategic programmes. Kehm and Teichler (2007) have cautioned that internationalisation "tends to be treated as a highly normative topic with strong political undercurrents" (p. 262).

The wide acceptance of internationalisation confirms the belief of its proponents that it is universally applicable but neglects the fact that "global competition is not a level playing field where each university has an equal opportunity to win" (Marginson & Sawir, 2006, p. 349). The unequal relation amongst nation-states and universities is one critical sign that internationalisation has posed a problem in higher education. This unequal relationship is rooted in the geopolitical landscape of nation-states which impacts on the global competitiveness of its universities. For example, American universities have a dominant position that comes from American power as a global hegemon, public and private

investment in higher education sector, as well as the global role of English in the academic world (Marginson, 2008).

There is a plethora of works investigating the problems of internationalisation. For example, Knight (2013) and Martens and Starke (2008) have noticed the tendency to commodify education through the internationalisation process. Brewer and Leask (2012) critique the increased hegemony of Western knowledge and values within internationalisation processes. Singh (2010) and Sakhiyya (2011) have noted the uncritical importation of internationalisation from developed to developing countries. Internationalisation also plays a role in the brain drain of the home countries, as argued by Marginson (2008; 2006), Tikly (2001), and Yang (2002). Notable scholars point out that the practice of world ranking used to justify internationalisation perpetuates the 'ranking race' (Lim, 2017; Marginson, 2007; Morrissey, 2015; Ordorika & Lloyd, 2015). This is the idea that ranking has become an end in itself, rather than a contributor to developing global capacity in knowledge building and exchange.

My thesis contributes to this worldwide debate on internationalisation by taking the case of Indonesia and considering 'internationalisation' as a fecund site of local-global interaction. The two processes of privatisation and internationalisation might appear as national political matters in Indonesia. However, these seemingly localised forms of higher education reforms are intricately connected to global processes and they have resonance to the current state of higher education elsewhere.

THE SHIFT OF KNOWLEDGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS

What is unseen in the two strategies (privatisation and internationalisation), but what is actually the fundamental feature of both is the change to 'knowledge' itself. Higher education is considered to be the prime motor for knowledge production so that changes to its structure and operation have a profound effect on knowledge. By drawing on Durkheim (1995) and Bernstein (2000), I identify the shift to knowledge occurring in both privatisation and

internationalisation reforms. It is a shift from the privileging of symbolic knowledge to a greater value being given to more economic instrumental functions of knowledge – from knowledge that is 'priceless' to knowledge that can be 'priced' and sold in the marketplace of global higher education.

According to Riley (2015), Durkheim nuances the relationship between forms, functions, and purposes of knowledge. In its form as the type of knowledge produced in the various disciplines, knowledge has an instrument function in that it serves both the economic sphere and the symbolic sphere of modern societies. Knowledge becomes differentiated by the different purposes of each function. As an economic resource, knowledge serves the interests of capitalism. As with other forms of non-symbolic material capital, knowledge is implicated in the creation and reproduction of class inequality. In contrast, as a symbolic resource, knowledge is the means by which modern society creates its 'collective representations'. Its function is to create "a homogeneous conception of time, space, number, and cause which makes agreement possible between intelligences" (Durkheim cited in Bourdieu, 1979, p. 79), or what Bourdieu refers to as 'consensus' which means "the agreement of subjectivities" (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 77).

In functioning to create modernity's means of self-representation, knowledge is the symbolic resource used for the building of the modern nation. In democratic nations, this means creating a sense of shared identity as 'one people' who, despite diverse histories and ethnicities, are recognised in the modern nation's institutions as having equal political status. Anderson describes modern pluralist nations including Indonesia as "an imagined political community… it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion" (1983, p. 5). This is the status of citizenship which awards equal rights. The concept of the 'public' is the idea of this collective equal status with 'the people' recognised as a single social and political entity, and that "access is guaranteed to all citizens" (Habermas, Lennox, & Lennox, 1974, p. 49). Privatising public higher education

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institutions means, according to Calhoun (2006), reorganising the relation of this access to knowledge which should have been a public good.

Indonesian modern higher education, from its establishment in 1950s, illustrates the two different functions that knowledge plays in that nation. Each university equips students with the types of knowledge such as philosophy, civics, and religion which contribute to creating the shared reality of modern Indonesian society as well as building the idea or imaginary of 'Indonesia' itself, a modern nation established with the 1945 Independence Constitution (Anderson, 1983). Like other universities in modern societies, Indonesian universities also provide as compulsory subjects, knowledge that is instrumentalised. Courses in subjects such as medicine, law, and science prepare students for employment in the economy. In this way, the university uses knowledge for both symbolic function (such as a learning space to create a sense of collective consciousness to build a modern Indonesia) and for economic function. This includes preparing graduates for employment within the division of labour.

The recent higher education reforms, such as privatisation and internationalisation, have repurposed universities from their main purpose in providing the symbolic function of knowledge to more contributing to economic development and productivity (Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, 2015). The central issue here, therefore, is not so much a contestation between the functions of knowledge, but the purpose for which knowledge is used. Is knowledge mainly for simply economic purposes or is it also valued for its symbolic function in creating the society's collective representation? The extension and dominance of economic function over symbolic function raises fundamental questions about the purposes of public education. It is the purpose of that function that is central to my argument. I argue that the privatisation and internationalisation strategies have weakened the symbolic function of the university. As Bernstein claims "there is a new concept of knowledge and of its relation to those who create and use it … Knowledge, after nearly a thousand years, is divorced from inwardness and literally dehumanised" (2000, p. 86). The economic function of knowledge, justified by the idea of the 'knowledge economy', has

shifted the public orientation of universities (Marginson, 2011a). It positions universities as 'money generating businesses' (Codd, 2004).

The shift to the dominance of the economic purpose of knowledge over its symbolic purpose is a world trend (Beck, 2010; Bernstein, 2000; Wheelahan, 2012). Indonesia is not alone in experiencing the shift to the commodification of knowledge. This proposition about a fundamental change to knowledge purpose is central to my thesis. In Chapter Three I examine the idea in detail and discuss what happens to knowledge as a consequence of the shift to privileging knowledge's economic function.

Scope and Objectives of the Study

My study employs a sociological approach, particularly a realist one using theoretical concepts as the main analytical explanatory tools (Lourie & Rata, 2016; Rata, 2014). I select 'internationalisation' as an entry point into examining this local-global interplay occurring in higher education. 'Internationalisation' is, therefore, the major concept underpinning this study. I follow the argument made by Tadaki and Tremewan (2013) that internationalisation is "an emergent political project that is imagined, discussed and acted out by university administrators to each other as well as other agents in and beyond the university" (p. 371).

My specific aim in examining the local and global interplay through the internationalisation of higher education is to contribute to scholarship in three ways. The first is to contribute to the debate about the contemporary trend of internationalisation of higher education. I analyse the concept historically to trace its roots in the past as well as revealing its inherent contradictions by theorising the relationship between symbolic and instrumental forms, functions, and purposes of knowledge. Secondly, this investigation will contribute to an understanding of how global forces interact in a dynamic interdependent relationship with local forces which can be linked to dominant class interests. This is undertaken through an investigation of the Indonesian case of internationalisation of higher education. I locate the

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key force of the reshaping in human agency. Thirdly, the study will contribute to critical policy methodology used in the sociology of education by using a discourse-oriented approach to identifying changing discourses in policies using Indonesian higher education to illustrate these discourses at the local level.

Based on an examination of the shaping and reshaping of Indonesian higher education in the last decade, my study addresses two questions:

1. How is the purpose of Indonesian higher education changing as a consequence of internationalisation?
2. What are the implications of this change?

My deeper purpose is to explain what is really occurring in the contemporary public universities in Indonesia through the internationalisation agenda: Does it subvert the 'sacred' or symbolic role of public education in order to serve the market?

Realist Methodology

To answer the two questions above, this study integrates three stages of research that Rata (2014) describes as comprising a realist methodology (Lourie & Rata, 2016; McPhail & Lourie, 2017; Rata, 2014). The stages are: theoretical conceptualisation, policy analysis, and empirical studies. The main concepts I use are 'internationalisation', 'agents' (from socio-economic class theory), 'symbolic' and 'instrumental knowledge', 'knowledge internationalisation' and 'market internationalisation discourses'. These concepts enable me to identify, analyse and explain the contemporary changes taking place in the Indonesian higher education. I analyse policies at both national and institutional level to examine how higher education is regulated to respond to both global pressure and local needs. I carried out a fieldwork at three Indonesian universities as my empirical studies to have a closer look at the changes occurring. The sub-section below discusses this fieldwork in detail.

This realist methodology fits the purpose of this study because it provides "a methodological link between what was happening at the global level with events at the national level and at the level of (institutional) practices" (Rata, 2014, p. 347). I aim to connect the global internationalisation trend with the current internationalisation-related policies of the Indonesia government and with the mundane realities of internationalisation practices at university level. The first stage is using a political economy theoretical framework to examine the relationship between the global and the local. By drawing on sociologists and anthropologists of education (Bernstein, 2000; Blackmore, 2002; J. Friedman, 2007; Marginson, 2006; Rata, 2014; Shore & Wright, 2017; Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013), I examine how global forces attempt to shape educational policies at national level and how, in the interaction, local forces reshape the global for the particular context. The second stage is analysis of national policies that govern internationalisation (despite the disappearance of the word 'internationalisation' itself in the policies). The third stage involved empirical studies to investigate the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education within a broader context of political and economic realities and policies. I undertook a study of the lived experience of the internationalisation agents in three Indonesian universities in which internationalisation is practised.

FIELDWORK

The case studies I undertook at three Indonesian universities provide an illustration of the argument for my thesis. For ethical purposes, I do not name the institutions, nor do I name the participants. I refer to them according to their position and institutional type in order to maintain at least a degree of confidentiality. The reason in doing this is to de-identify the persons and institutions. However, I cannot guarantee that this attempt would de-identify them because they occupy important positions in public institutions. I have informed my interviewees about this possibility on their Participant Information Sheet and received their approval as evident from the Consent Form they signed (see appendix).

The three universities are located in two capital cities of two provinces. In selecting these universities, I used the institutional categories developed by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education in 2016. The clustering presents five distinct categories in the Indonesian higher education system. The four criteria used to categorise a total of 3320 higher education institutions[3] are, i.e. research, human resource quality, managerial quality, and student activities. Out of these four criteria, the defining norm that really distinguishes the institutions is its research orientation. This focus on research demonstrates the attention to the knowledge production capacity of higher education institutions and how this capacity is valued. A university's research performance is mainly measured by, publications that are internally recognised according to the journal or publishers' reputations, citations in these recognised publications and research grants, especially from internationalisation funding.

I took three universities from the first three categories according to their research activity. Category one comprises Indonesian top public universities which are research oriented. There are only 11 universities in this category out of the entire 3320 higher education institutions. Category two consists of both public and private universities whose character is mixed between research and teaching. There are 54 institutions in this second category, 30 of which are public and 24 are private institutions. Category three comprises private universities, polytechnics, and institutes which are mainly teaching oriented. There are 643 institutions in this third category. The rest, category four and five, consist of 2609 private academies, polytechnics, and colleges, and are not used in this work.

I name the three universities in my study according to this clustering. They are category one (C1), category two (C2), and category three (C3). The C1 University included in my study was established post-independence. It is one of the oldest and largest public higher education institutions in the country catering for around 50,000 students. It is ranked in the first

[3] This number excludes the religious higher education institutions which are governed under the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

category by the Ministry due to its high-profile research capacity and its contribution to provide the knowledge to build the symbolic sphere of modern Indonesia – to create a rationalised public and the 'idea' of Indonesia. According to Anderson, "It [Indonesia] is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept of nation was born in an age in which the Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" (1983, p. 7). Higher education, especially the post-independence established universities, helped spread national consciousness and knowledge systems previously limited to a very small intelligentsia (see chapter two on the discussion of the colonised intelligentsia). Because in order to create that 'imagination' of Indonesia as a modern nation, as argued by Durkheim (1995), it requires people who are rationalised and are able to think symbolically.

In terms of internationalisation, the C1 University was one of the founders of ASEAN University Network and is actively involved in the network's development. The C2 University is a state university, and was previously a teacher training college established in 1965. In 2000, it was given a wider mandate to develop a stronger research capacity. With this added research component, it was upgraded to be a state university. Compared to the C1 University, the C2 University is relatively smaller having a student cohort of around 35,000 and a mixed orientation of research and teaching. The C3 University, is a private university established in 1982 as a private teaching medical school. It was promoted to be a private university in 1999 but undertakes only a very small amount of research. It has around 20,000 students.

I conducted fieldwork twice during my study in the three universities. Phase one was in June – October 2015 and phase two in May – September 2016. Several main techniques of data gathering were used: interviews, policy document analysis, and observation. I began by interviewing the Rectors or Vice Rectors, Deans, and the Heads of International Office at the three universities. Each individual interview lasted approximately one up to one and a half hours. I wanted to know how internationalisation emerged, was envisioned and practised at the institutional level (see interview schedule in the Appendix). I used the data throughout

the thesis to illustrate my arguments. For instance, during an interview, the Rector of the C1 University explained what counts as internationalisation to the institution, saying it is about knowledge as much as about being connected to the world economy.

> *Internationalisation is not only about introducing Indonesia to international world, rather, how to open our horizon and knowledge about the global citizen and world.* (Interview with the Rector of the C1 University).

A comment by the Rector of the C2 University showed agreement with the Rector of the C1 University. He also referred to the importance of knowledge in the university internationalisation policy.

> *Internationalisation is when the university could contribute to the world. It's not about standard, it's about contribution. Our research should reach out the world. Our academics should be involved in the global conversation and presenting in international conference. Your writing should trigger a global debate. However small it is, it should reach the world.* (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University).

The Rector of the C3 University did acknowledge the importance of knowledge, but had more economic concerns in envisioning internationalisation for the institution.

> *I think it is inevitable. How small the institution is, we must have the internationalisation vision. Hence our institution. We are a big country with a large population, and we are entering the ASEAN Economic Community. We need to anticipate this. If we do not have qualified human resources, we cannot compete with the other nine ASEAN countries. We will merely be their market. And I think if we do not go international, it will jeopardise many aspects, including knowledge advancement.* (Interview with the Rector of the C3 University).

Chapters Four and Six explore further how university administrators understand internationalisation as well as how the contradictions of the meaning of internationalisation are experienced by these agents (the concepts of 'agents' and 'agency' in relation to the participants are discussed in Chapter Six).

To examine how internationalisation developed at national government level, I interviewed the key person at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. This is the Deputy of Partnership and Foreign Affairs whose main role is to deal with the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. There is a high possibility that this person can be identified. This was explained before the interview proceeded.

My analysis of the documentary data included policy texts and operational materials such as job descriptions in order to identify the keywords, key ideas, concepts and provision of reform policies that are debated and contested (Robertson *et al*., 2012; Shore *et al*., 2011). This sort of data is important in tracing the ambiguity of internationalisation policies that I had initially hypothesised in terms of a disjuncture between the purpose of the university in relation to public (symbolic) or to private interest (economic). In addition, they would show any changes and conflicting ideas in the policies concerning the symbolic purpose of education institutions and their instrumental or economic function.

The documents I studied covered both national government and university level policies. The national government documents ranged from the 1945 National Constitution, government laws, Ministry's regulations, strategic plans, and the Higher Education Long Term Strategy (HELTS). These documents provided useful insights into the narratives of how the national government defines the purpose of higher education as in the Constitution, negotiates with the global political and economic forces, as well as how they manifest in higher education policies to serve as the guidelines for the sector. The key document that establishes the purpose of education for the country is the 1945 National Constitution. The Constitution secures "the rights of every citizen to access education" (1945 Constitution, article 31, verse 1). This short but potent phrase emphasises the universal democratic intention behind education provision, including higher education, for the people and provides the measuring stick against which privatisation processes embedded in the internationalisation strategies may be judged. However, the recent Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Research and

Technology and Higher Education 2015-2019, which also governs internationalisation practices, has seemingly shifted the purpose and commitment of higher education from the public to the market (see Chapter Three for further discussion).

The university documents were comprised of the universities' vision and mission statements, statutes, strategic plans, partnership frameworks and reports, and reports on internationalisation of curriculum. These documents enabled me to investigate the details of internationalisation vision, strategies and programmes carried out by each individual university. Other documents relevant to internationalisation of Indonesian higher education were also analysed. These included the World Bank's reports on Indonesia Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency (I-MHERE). The reports provided insights into how global forces shape Indonesian universities through projects which contribute to their internationalisation programmes.

I also observed the overall context and goings-on of the three universities. The observation included participating in the C2 University's Focus Group Discussions with university administrators to discuss the institution's internationalisation strategies. The forum discussed how the C2 University could sharpen their internationalisation strategies by learning from universities from the first category. This 'mimicking' of strategy is further discussed in Chapter Eight. I also observed and documented critical events occurring in the universities beyond meetings. These included student rallies protesting the raise of tuition fees, the way tuition increases were justified, as well as the welcoming orientation for freshmen. Last but not least, I used job descriptions and interviews to examine the types of work my participants undertook.

INSTITUTIONAL VERTICAL SEGMENTATION

To deepen the discussion of the effects of internationalisation on the three categories of university, university categorisation developed by the Ministry of Research and Technology

and Higher Education can be further segmented according to each university's position in the local market. Such a clustering is an inevitable facet of positional institutional competition (Marginson, 2006). This is because knowledge has been perceived as a major means of production which is produced and reproduced in research. It is more likely that elite institutions, such as the C1 University in my study, benefit from this positional market as they are more research intensive than other categories. The top cluster has more prestige, reputation, and more importantly, institutional capacity. The Head of the International Office at the C1 University was aware of his university's market position and its accompanying prestige.

> *To be honest, our university is already established in terms of its internationalisation. The university's bargaining position or status is not the same. Our university's position is a magnet in itself.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C1 University)

Universities in the second category are more teaching-oriented than research-focused, although the research component is increasing. Despite claiming to be new research-intensive universities, they struggle hard to break into the first elite category by mimicking its programmes and strategies, and are locked out of the market status enjoyed by the top research universities. This concern is shared by the Head of the International Office at the C2 University that the first category universities are 'giant' – "they are giant in terms of funding, research, programmes, and raw input". He admitted that C2 universities, such as his institution, cannot emulate that achievement.

> *Indonesian elite universities… are not only internationally oriented, but also organically they are giant. They are giant in terms of funding, research, programmes, and raw input… So, whatever they produce will be attractive globally… If we are talking about our middle-tier university in 100 or 200 years, I don't think we can catch up with that because we are not designed for that."* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C2 University)

I further discuss this institutional vertical segmentation in Chapter Eight.

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THESIS MAP

The argument I advance in this thesis is developed in the following way.

Chapter One has established the motivation for the study, introduced the problem, presented the argument and propositions, the contradiction between the symbolic and the economic reason, as well as provided the methodological approach and the three stages of realist methodology undertaken to address them. I have described how I integrate illustrative examples from my case study throughout the following chapters.

Chapter Two provides contextual historical narratives of Indonesian higher education. It traces the sector's trajectory from the 16th century up to the present day. The purpose is to better understand contemporary reforms by revealing the changing purposes of Indonesian higher education over time. This historical trajectory builds the localisation proposition by recognising the unique contextual history of the sector which influences Indonesia's current response towards global forces.

Chapter Three theorises 'knowledge' as a constituent element in the global knowledge economy. This chapter demonstrates that 'knowledge' has experienced a profound shift from its symbolic means in creating society's collective representation to knowledge as a commodity for sale. Higher education institutions are the major site for this shift of the social meaning of knowledge. The discussion is central to revealing the unseen but fundamental changes that heavily affect higher education.

Chapter Four explains the concept of 'internationalisation' as a key term in the global discourse of higher education. Internationalisation is the main concept used throughout the study, and this chapter explores the concept as well as tracing it historically. By using the concept, I aim to identify, analyse and explain the shaping of Indonesian higher education as a localised example of the impact of global forces.

Chapter Five describes the use of internationalisation discourses as illustrated through policies and interviews. It shows that while both knowledge and market internationalisation discourses shape Indonesia's higher education, market internationalisation discourse takes different forms in the localised context. This chapter illustrates the internationalisation proposition by focusing on both knowledge and market internationalisation discourses used by the university administrators.

Chapter Six explores the local forces that play significant roles in mediating the global-local interplay and in reshaping Indonesian higher education. It argues that the key for the reshaping is located in human agency. I refer to these local agents of internationalisation as 'university elite'. I identify these agents as a class with distinctive cosmopolitan capitals because they are self-interested in pursuing the localisation process of installing global capitalism through internationalisation strategies. This chapter, therefore, contributes to develop the localisation proposition by focusing on the local agents.

Chapter Seven highlights the agency that mediates the global-local interplay. This chapter argues that there is a tension between the way the local agents see themselves as the agents of cosmopolitan culture and the political economic reality of internationalisation. Cosmopolitan culture that appears to be symbolic, universal and democratic as represented by the university elite belies the instrumental purpose of internationalisation that yokes higher education to the global marketplace. This chapter also contributes to the localisation proposition by advancing the discussion about the tensions and contradictions of internationalisation as experienced by the local agents.

Chapter Eight concludes the study by presenting the main argument of the thesis. I explain how the argument is justified by four propositions concerning global forces, local forces, knowledge shift, and human agency. The four propositions are that (1) global forces are contributing to shaping Indonesian universities, (2) local forces reshape how Indonesian higher education responds to these global forces, (3) knowledge forms and functions

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contribute in contradictory ways to the dynamic of the globalisation-localisation interaction, and (4) human agency is active in the shaping and reshaping process and is in turn altered by this process as a new identity emerges.

CHAPTER II

THE TRAJECTORY OF INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about the history of Indonesian higher education. Indonesia has a unique historical context that made its higher education system distinctive from other countries. The uniqueness is evident in the trajectory of its higher education system, that is from before the colonial period, during colonialism, and post-independence. Each period marks a different stage of Indonesian higher education trajectory. One clear example is the way privatisation was rejected, but internationalisation is accepted, whereas in most Western countries both reforms go side by side. The question which anchors this historical inquiry is: "What is the purpose of higher education in Indonesia?" Revealing the changing purposes of higher education over time is central to understanding the contemporary reforms and the subversion of the education's role in creating a democratic nation, including the enigma of rejected privatisation but accepted internationalisation. The history of Indonesian education shows clearly the deep commitment of the people to a public education system which helps explain the antagonism to privatisation. This commitment was clearly written in the 1945 Constitution securing "the rights of every citizen to access education" (article 31, verse 1).

I begin with an account of higher learning in Indonesia during the 16th and 17th centuries to show the long tradition of knowledge being valued for its intrinsic value as the symbolic means of thought and commitment (Bernstein, 2000; Durkheim, 1995). Section two examines the emergence and establishment of modern higher education during the colonial period in the 20th century. Section three investigates the underpinning principles of the massification period of higher education which occurred from the 1990s. Section four analyses the contemporary reforms, firstly the attempted privatisation, and then the internationalisation of higher education since the turn of the century.

PESANTREN: THE EARLY FORM OF HIGHER LEARNING (16TH – 17TH CENTURIES)

There is little known about the earlier forms of Indonesian higher learning. But surely it had existed in the archipelago long before the Dutch occupation and certainly before the name 'Indonesia' was coined[4] (Bruinessen, 1994; Buchori & Malik, 2004; Wahid, 2001), probably in the form of small intellectual communities which were common in many places including the Middle East, China, India, and Europe (Collins, 1998). By the 16th and 17th centuries, education was characterised by an Islamic, non-formal, and less structured system, including Higher Education (Buchori & Malik, 2004).[5] Arguably, education at all levels was provided by local Islamic boarding schools called *pesantren* (Nakamura & Nishino, 1995).

Pesantren was often referred to as *pondok pesantren* or only *pondok* which means a hut made of bamboo or other light materials. This lightness and simplicity in the past "reflected a heritage of humble origins and scholars wandering in search of knowledge" (Pringle, 2010). The leader of *pesantren*, called *kyai*, arose from the intellectual group as one who possessed outstanding religious scholarship. This scholarly reputation was acquired by studying under recognised scholars and from the recognition of the intellectual group (Pringle, 2010). A *kyai* was responsible for preserving one's scholarship and leadership through knowledge pursuit and consistent involvement in their intellectual community (Dhofier, 1980). Therefore, they were highly mobile in pursuing and disseminating knowledge, as well as in establishing intellectual networks. The importance of the travelling 'international' scholar for my argument is developed in Chapter Four.

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[4] Before the 1945 independence, Indonesia was known as the Netherlands East Indies, Dutch India, and Netherlands India (Kartini, 1964). The word 'Indonesia' was coined in the mid-19th century by a British anthropologist, J. R. Logan, and then subsequently popularised by other Europeans, particularly Adolf Bastian, a German ethnologist. It was then disseminated widely by the nationalist intelligentsia in 1920s.

[5] There were in fact other learning centres, but they seemed to provide primary and secondary levels. Before Islam came in the 12th century, Hindu and Buddhism were the main religions. Hindu was predominant as early as the first century, while Buddhism since the 7th century. Srivijaya Empire had many learning centres and they became Buddhist learning centre in the Asian region (Wolters, 1979). These two religions introduced and used Sanskrit and Pallawa scripts.

Although not as structured as the secular education introduced by the Dutch, the advanced level of *pesantren* was considered higher education because if the graduates at this level decided to pursue further study in the Middle East, such as at Al-Azhar University in Egypt, they were directly admitted to the postgraduate level (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Pringle, 2010). Travelling or mobility is a main feature of the scholarly life of *pesantren* with the *santris* travelling mostly to the Middle East in quest of knowledge. This travelling tradition has been maintained until today and it contributes to the unity of the *pesantren* system, thus stimulating scholarly endeavour (Dhofier, 1980). Bruinessen noted this mobility as follows.

> Most of the early Indonesian authors of Islamic literature spent considerable periods in Mecca, Madina and other Middle Eastern centres of learning. Not only those with scholarly pretensions, also the early Indonesian Muslim rulers looked to Mecca, for legitimation if not also for useful *ilmu* (knowledge)… Although our knowledge of pre-17th century Indonesian Islam is extremely limited, it seems likely that this orientation towards Mecca had been established well before the cited events. (Bruinessen, 1994)

Pesantren provided two ways of learning: classical lecturing for the younger students, and individual learning for the older ones (Yulaelawati, 2009). It applied neither social status nor class distinction in the education system. With reference to this equal treatment, Penders (1977) mentioned that "most children who visit the *pesantren* are of lower-class origin. However, there are also some children of chiefs who receive their education there." (p. 251). *Pesantren* was locally rooted in the Indonesian soil, but its orientation and influence was to a larger world (Bruinessen, 1994). It aimed to educate the society at large without making an economic profit from its activities. Knowledge was valued for its intrinsic worth in enabling people to better understand themselves and their beliefs. It provided basic religious knowledge about Islam and provided practice in reading sacred texts (*Qur'an* and *Hadith*), and in the study of Islamic jurisprudence *(fikh)*, and foreign language studies (Arabic). If resources were available, some *pesantren* offered astronomy *(falak)* and algebra. The *Pesantren* tradition and education is still available until today, but with some adjustment to current needs (Pringle, 2010; Wahid, 2001). The curriculum has integrated non-religious

subjects such as natural science, social science, and arts. Its infrastructure is now more modern with permanent buildings, instead of the bamboo hut of the past. This form of education retains its commitment to the idea that knowledge has a deeply humanising value.

COLONIALISM: THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN HIGHER EDUCATION (20TH CENTURY)

Following the Dutch occupation in 1831 a modern secular education system was introduced, but it was not until 1902[6] as a consequence of the Ethical Policy[7] that higher education was established. The Dutch Higher Education system was mainly vocational and elitist (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Guggenheim, 2012; Jalal & Musthafa, 2001). It was primarily intended as a cheap way to produce skilled professionals in order to meet the shortage of Dutch doctors, engineers, and other professionals who were needed in Europe during World War I (Arivia, 2012; Buchori & Malik, 2004; Ricklefs, 2001). The Dutch established a medical school for indigenous doctors (1902) in Jakarta, and an engineering school (1920) in Bandung. Later in 1924, a law school in Jakarta and an agricultural school in Bogor were established. Those schools mainly provided professional training and were less research oriented than universities in European countries.

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[6] Before Dutch colonialism, it was the Portuguese who occupied several islands in Indonesia, especially the Moluccas or Maluku islands. They established several modern primary schools there and for the first time introduced Latin symbols. These schools were for the children of the local elites to study Catechism of the Roman Catholic Church (Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

[7] Ethical Policy *(Ethische Politiek)* dates from Queen Wilhelmina's speech at the opening of the Netherlands parliament in 1901. However, it was largely symbolic and the actual implementation of these Ethical ideas faltered around 1905. Ethical policy, which was comprised of three policies (irrigation, emigration, and education) was actually not a 'gift' from the colonial government. Rather it was the result of a long struggle by the ethical and association groups in the Netherlands, in response to the conservative colonial politics implemented in Indonesia. By 'ethical' the Dutch meant human rights ideals. These ethical ideas started to emerge in 1899 and were promoted by a liberal Dutch lawyer and statesman, Conrad Theodor van Deventer. He published an article entitled *"Een eereschuld"* (A Debt of Honor) in the Dutch journal *De Gids* arguing that the colonial government had a moral responsibility to repay the wealth that the Netherlands had extorted from the Indies (van Deventer, 1899). This was in contrast with the previous official policy that saw the Indies as a "region for profit making" or *wingewest* (Hurgronje, 1915).

Many observers (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Guggenheim, 2012; Jalal & Musthafa, 2001; Ricklefs, 2001) comment that, in contrast to British colonialism, the Dutch had never really established a national university system to educate the indigenous populace. The educational scheme was limited in numbers and could only be enjoyed by the elite (Jalal & Musthafa, 2001; van Niel, 1960). Yulaelawati (Yulaelawati, 2009) argues that "the purpose of educating Indonesians was not for Indonesian benefit, but for the benefit of the Dutch" (p. 68). In fact, there were 106 indigenous students in total enrolled in these schools up to 1930. It was *pesantren* which provided education for the majority of local Indonesians. Penders (1977) reported that there were 1127 *pesantren* located in Java, Madura and Sumatra. During these decades, the modern higher education system was part of existing social stratification (Yulaelawati, 2009). The social gap was reflected in the student body from top to bottom: Europeans – native aristocracy – prominent Eurasians – Chinese businessmen – indigenous people.

Although democratic ideals about human rights informed the Ethical Policy and were promoted by the small intellectual elite, both Dutch (such as Conrad Theodor van Deventer and Eduard Douwes Dekker) and indigenous *priyayi* (such as Sosro Kartono and Kartini), there were deeply embedded interests in the colonial government that pushed back against the Ethical Policy (Guggenheim, 2012). The privileged indigenous groups in the beginning accepted the practice of educational provision, as it provided them with mobility to Europe. However, the elitist and discriminatory provision of education, as well as the overwhelming common problems experienced by ordinary people such as famine, poverty and epidemics contributed to the growing resentment toward colonialism and increased the desire for autonomy and independence. The educational experience of those who travelled to Europe, and the Western literature they read, helped shape the collective consciousness that the basic principles of human rights had been violated. This national collective consciousness brought together the earlier local separate awareness and movements against Dutch colonialism that had happened locally in many regions. These were, to name a few, the local wars and guerrilla campaigns led by Prince Diponegoro in Java (1825-1830), Captain Pattimura in Maluku island

(1817), Tuanku Imam Bondjol in Central Sumatra (1803-1837), and Teuku Umar in Aceh (1873-1899) then posthumously continued by his wife Cut Nyak Dien (1899-1901).

The first generation of the Indonesian indigenous who studied in the Netherlands was very small in number. The pioneer was Sosro Kartono who went to the Netherlands in the 1890s (Poeze, Dijk, & Meulen, 2014). Born into an aristocratic Javanese family, he was the son of the Jepara Regent in Central Java. Sosro Kartono was the brother of Kartini, the first indigenous woman who received Dutch primary education (1885 – 1891) and keenly wanted to pursue further study in Holland, but was discouraged from doing so by her family. However, her ambition was larger than just going to Europe. She then engaged in intensive correspondence with the Dutch colonial government prior to the Ethical Policy, sending a provocative memorandum to the colonial government entitled "Educate the Javanese!" (Kartini & Taylor, 1974). In one the letter, Kartini wrote:

> By keeping the majority in ignorance one gains control – that could be the slogan of very many high-ranking people who see with regret that others too are striving for knowledge and cultivation. (Kartini & Taylor, 1974, p. 88)

No woman's opinion had ever been sought by the colonial government. However Kartini's commitment to education, and to women in particular, was so strong that she eventually established Indonesia's first girls' school in 1899 by combining Javanese and Western values and practices. Sosro Kartono, the brother of Kartini, at first studied at a Polytechnic in Delft, but then took up the study of Eastern Language and Literature in Leiden (Poeze *et al*., 2014). He made a significant contribution to European scholarship by researching language and identity. For his competency in mastering 24 foreign languages and 10 local Indonesian languages, he was appointed the Head of Translators to the League of Nations in 1919-1921.

Other prominent Indonesians who studied in the Netherlands included Abdoel Rivai, and Noto Soeroto in 1900s. Abdoel Rivai, from West Sumatra, studied arts in Amsterdam. He taught Malay language at Berlitz and was an active writer. He then became a journalist and

his writings contributed to the independence movement. Noto Soeroto was a Javanese prince from Jogjakarta. He studied Law in Leiden 1910. He was not considered a radical Indonesian nationalist like Rivai, but he significantly contributed to Dutch literature by exploring new themes, including introducing Malay language and culture to the Netherlands.

Those who studied in Holland in the 1910s included Tjipto Mangunkusumo and Soewardi Soeryaningrat. They worked hard with a radical Dutch journalist, Eduard Douwess Dekker, who supported Indonesian people to unite in order to stop the colonial ransacking. The three of them established *Indische Partij* in 1912. Members of this party were Indonesian nationalists studying in Holland. *Indische Partij* made an intensive contact with political organisations and societies located in Indonesia, i.e. *Budi Utomo* (literally translated as Prime Philosophy) and *Sarekat Islam* (translated as Islamist Union), where *Tjipto* and *Soewardi* were previously involved in the organisations. Due to its propaganda, *Indische Partij* was banned by the colonial government in 1913. These three people were then imprisoned for challenging the Dutch authorities. After the trial in 1919, Soewardi returned to Indonesia and established *Taman Siswa* schools in Yogyakarta in 1922. By 1939, *Taman Siswa* had established 207 schools, employed 650 teachers, and taught about 20,000 pupils (Hing, 1978). This was because Soewardi believed that Indonesia's liberation from colonialism could only happen if the nation was independent in the production of knowledge, in education (Dewantara, 1967). The anticolonial movement activists considered the significant contribution of *Taman Siswa* to nationalism by encouraging anticolonial sentiments amongst its members. They sought no compromise nor assistance from the colonial government despite the enduring financial difficulties (Hing, 1978; Mcvey, 1967). Unlike the modern education provided by the Dutch, *Taman Siswa* was aimed to provide education for native population and commoners, not merely for the elites. The Indonesian ideal of public education today is in this tradition. Soewardi also changed his royal name into *Ki Hajar Dewantara* and stripped the *Raden Mas* (prince) off his name as a gesture to show his commitment to social equality and education.

The establishment of *Taman Siswa* and *Kartini* schools marked the long-standing principles of national education in Indonesia. Education has been primarily aimed to educate the whole

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population as clearly stated in the 1945 National Constitution, not only the elite and man which would reproduce the existing social inequality. Education is to provide access and opportunities for all despite their social groups, a principle that has been maintained until today though not without contestation. For their contribution, Dewantara was granted as the Father of Indonesian education, and Kartini as the national hero for women empowerment. They were the prominent figures who held an initial awareness that knowledge provides the symbolic collective representation to build a democratic society during colonial period. Dewantara became the first Minister of Education from 19 August – 14 November 1945. Although his term was relatively short, his ideas and ideals of Indonesian education are influential. He formulated his ideals of education in three Javanese maxims:

Ing ngarso sung tulodho – [Those] in front should set an example

Ing madyo mangun karso – [Those] in the middle should raise the spirit

Tut wuri handayani – [Those] behind should give encouragement

The last maxim was used as the motto of the Indonesian Ministry of Education to describe the ideal teacher. After facilitating the learning process, teachers would stand behind their students and give them encouragement to advance their knowledge.

The last but not least generation was the one who played a pivotal role in gaining other countries' support for Indonesia's independence. Mohammad Hatta, the then-to-be first Indonesia's vice president and prime minister, was among this generation. He started his study of Economics at the Rotterdam School of Commerce in 1922. He continued to undertake a doctorate degree, but never completed his thesis. Politics had taken all his time in Holland. He joined *Indonesische Vereeniging* (Indonesian Association), and ran an anti-colonial campaign for Indonesia's independence all over Europe to gain support from other countries (Ingleson, 1979; Poeze *et al*., 2014). This was the time where he met other prominent independence movement and nationalist figures such as Jawaharlal Nehru from India, Mohammad Hafiz Ramadhan from Egypt, and Lamine Senghor from Senegal. In 1927,

Hatta and other Indonesian activists were put behind bars by Dutch authorities for their political activities.

Most of these Indonesian nationalist intellectuals returned home after study, including Hatta. Although this group was small (Finkelstein, 1951), the shared experience of the journeys undertaken by these colonised intelligentsia as well as the national movement in the country contributed to a ripe nationalism that fuelled the anti-colonial movement (Anderson, 1983; Chatterjee, 1993). It was their ideas that helped build the collective consciousness at a national level of the masses by promoting independence and uniting the 17,000 islands now called Indonesia. Intellectuals, therefore, have played a major role in this socio-political movement.

The Dutch education system was overhauled when the Japanese took over the archipelago in 1942. Under a Japanese militaristic colonial regime, the education system in Indonesia in general greatly deteriorated. At this time, Dutch primary schools were closed, which hindered indigenous Indonesians from experiencing educational exposure. All books in Dutch were burned thereby extinguishing the sources of modern knowledge. All teachers and students were obliged to join compulsory military training which exhausted them for intellectual exercises.[8] However, unlike during Dutch colonialism, *Bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) as a national language and identity was freely spoken in public spaces and was even used as the medium of instruction where schools still operated. Later, this 'Indonesianisation' contributed to a ripe nationalism orchestrating a national struggle for independence by means of both pen and sword (Cummings & Kasenda, 1989).

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[8] If the Dutch wanted cheap professionals, the Japanese wanted to have more armies from Indonesia. Japan imposed military training on nearly all layers of Indonesian society through *gakukotai* (students military group), *heiho* (supplement soldiers), *fujinkai* (women military group), and *jibakutai* (dare-to-death soldiers). The training had curtailed education, including higher education.

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RECONSTRUCTION AND EXPANSION (1950S-1960S)

After fighting for independence in 1945, nationalist spirit was at its highest point, as was the desire to invest in national education for nation building (Anderson, 1983). The more than 300 years of Dutch and Japanese colonialism left 80 percent of Indonesians illiterate (Finkelstein, 1951). Under Soekarno's leadership, national leaders were committed to reconstructing national education as a part of creating a democratic society. Unlike the colonial period where education could only be enjoyed by the elite, education in the post-independence period was run with a greater equality. Wider access to educational provision became available at all levels. This commitment was clearly written in the 1945 National Constitution and it remains active until today. The Constitution secures "the rights of every citizen to access education" (1945 Constitution, article 31, verse 1). It reflects the universal democratic intention behind the spread of education, including higher education.

In 1945, *Balai Perguruan Tinggi Repoeblik Indonesia* (Centre for Higher Learning of the Republic of Indonesia) was established in Jakarta. When the Dutch colonial forces returned to Indonesia and occupied Jakarta in 1947, the Centre was moved to Yogyakarta. In 1949, when the Dutch finally recognised the sovereignty of Indonesia, the centre in Yogyakarta was inaugurated as *Universitas Gajah Mada*, and the school in Jakarta was inaugurated as *Universitas Indonesia*. These two universities remain the oldest higher education institutions in Indonesia, and I studied one of them during my fieldwork as the representative of the first category universities.

Education was under expansion during this period despite the basic resource problems such as the lack of qualified teachers and school buildings, let alone textbooks and stationary. According to Finkelstein (1951), by 1949, 4 million children attended 27,000 primary schools. This was a significant number compared to the 2 million children attending 24,000 schools in 1940. The same happened in higher education. Between 1945 and 1950, university enrolment nationwide increased from 1,600 to 5,200 students (Buchori & Malik, 2004), a more than three-fold increase. The demand for higher education provision increased exponentially.

Schools in four other cities (branches of *Universitas Indonesia*) became separate universities. Three teacher training colleges were also established. In 1960s, at least one university was established in each province. Enrolments increased twenty-fold over ten years. However an improvement in quantity does not necessarily mean improved quality (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Cummings & Kasenda, 1989; Hill & Wie, 2013). Many quality issues remained, such as the overwhelming numbers of enrolments, insufficient funding and infrastructure, and low commitment to teaching and research due to poor remuneration.

Higher education under Soekarno's leadership (1945-1965) had a strong tradition of maintaining symbolic knowledge that is, the ideal of knowledge for its own sake as a humanising force – one that Kartini referred to as 'cultivation'. Academics and university students at that time enjoyed substantial autonomy and could exercise critical thinking over government policies. They had influence over certain policies, such as nationalising higher education institutions, adopting the national language *(Bahasa Indonesia)* as the medium of instruction, and repatriating Dutch academics (Anderson, 1966; Buchori & Malik, 2004; Cummings & Kasenda, 1989; Widjojo & Noorsalim, 2004).

This period witnessed a clear formulation of the purpose of higher education, better known as the Three Pillars of Service of higher education. They are education, research and community service. The 1961 Law on Higher Education, which is still in effect today, stipulates that higher education institutions "should not remain as ivory towers but rather must be closely connected to contemporary realities they serve" (Buchori & Malik, 2004, p. 257).

MASSIFICATION AND INSTRUMENTALISATION (1966 – 1990S)

Soeharto's administration provided a favourable climate for higher education growth, particularly under his 'Development' agenda (Buchori & Malik, 2004). In 1975, about 260,000 students were enrolled in tertiary education. This was a rapid increase compared with 150,000 students in 1965. Such a massification of higher education during the New Order period was a response to the burgeoning demand of higher education as a result of the

increasing income level and increasing number of university-age people (Rosser, 2016). Despite this massification, there remains discrimination against various minorities especially during the New Order administration. For example, Ethnic Chinese and children and grandchildren of citizens suspected as sympathisers of the Communist party were discriminated against in terms of their access to public education (Rosser, 2016).

The New Order government pursued a highly centralistic, militaristic and technocratic approach to manage higher education (Guggenheim, 2012; Nugroho, 2005; Rakhmani & Siregar, 2016; Rosser, 2016). This way of administrating institutions responsible for knowledge production castrated the ability to innovate and create knowledge. Until today, academics in public universities are civil servants and controlled by the central government. Their promotion was measured by administrative requirements and performance appraisals that were not related to research productivity (Rakhmani, 2016). Guggenheim (2012) commented on the New Order control over universities:

> The genius of the New Order's control system lay not in the instances of outright oppression of critical scholars, analysts and researchers, but in the use of bureaucratic incentives to undermine the production of knowledge from within the very institutions that created and used it. (p. 142)

The centralist approach to higher education made "higher education subservient to state power" (Nugroho, 2005, p. 147). Universities were to serve the state's ideological political interest and were positioned as a means to disseminate and internalise its 'Developmental' ideology (Farid, 2005; Nugroho, 2005; Widjojo & Noorsalim, 2004). The tasks of universities were to support state policies which meant all research and academic programmes had to comply with and support the 'Development' economic agenda, or the consequences could be marginalisation and even imprisonment. Critical thinking and academic freedom were regarded as destabilising political stability, and thus they were supressed. There was no public and scientific opportunity and space to challenge government policies, including the discussions in political and social science (Hadiz & Dhakidae, 2005). This climate had

successfully curtailed independent and critical thinking in academia (Guggenheim, 2012; Nugroho, 2005).

This authoritarian regime that ruled the country for 32 years (1965 to 1998) had left an anaemic legacy on the higher education sector, such as bureaucratisation and domestication of scholarly activity. Bureaucracy had been abused as a political vehicle to ensure supremacy and maintain political stability and power. It was not intended as a way of serving the public, rather to serve the interests of the ruling elite, at arm's length, through its supporting regional government and political party (Gaus, Sultan, & Basri, 2016). This includes university administration. As an illustration, promotion for university lecturers was carried out based on the approval of bureaucratic superiors rather than on academic merit. Financial support for universities was centralised and extremely rigid. The system was controlled by the civil servant of the state in Jakarta, and budget was approved through political lobbying and deals, rather than actual needs. Within this system, punitive sanctions were applied to institutions that allowed individuals to challenge government authority. This bureaucratic environment had created 'intellectual conformity' (Guggenheim, 2012) which was aligned with the efforts to silence of academic freedom and critical thinking. Rosser (2016) argues that this centralist higher education system has left its remnants to this day, even after the downfall of the New Order.

PRIVATISATION AND INTERNATIONALISATION: INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (21ST CENTURY)

The beginning of the economic turmoil in 1997 (Purwadi, 2001) and the following collapse of the New Order (Rosser, 2016; Susanti, 2011; Welch, 2007) contributed to two major reforms in Indonesia's higher education sector during this decade: privatisation and internationalisation. Privatisation is characterised by shifting resources that are in public ownership to the private realm, whereas internationalisation refers to increasing global partnership and mobility. These two reforms are central issues in this thesis because, although they might appear as different higher education reforms, they share the similar

goals of knowledge commodification and the global marketisation of the higher education sector.

Nevertheless, privatisation encountered strong objection and rejection and was declared unconstitutional in 2010. This resistance demonstrates the democratic commitment to the 1945 National Constitution securing "the rights of every citizen to access education". It also protects the function of symbolic knowledge in creating and distributing a rational "collective consciousness" needed to integrate the modern Indonesian nation (Durkheim, 1995; Rata, 2017a).

The outright rejection of privatisation makes the easy acceptance of internationalisation puzzling. In the midst of the legal vacuum created by the rejection of privatisation, I argue that 'internationalisation' has moved into the discursive space. It has been considered a more benign force, one that would advance the higher education sector by progressively seeking global recognition and building a world class reputation for Indonesia's top-ranked universities. 'Internationalisation' refers to the integration of the global dimension or perspective into all areas of university life that encompass teaching, research and other parts of the university system (de Wit, 2002; Knight & de Wit, 1995; Yang, 2002). While the rationale of internationalisation does emphasise academic issues, its worldwide policies and practices are overshadowed by economic interests (Codd, 2004; Martens & Starke, 2008; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Singh, 2010; Stier & Börjesson, 2010). In this way, it connects the higher education sector to global market forces but less directly than the explicit privatisation approach.

In 2014, President Joko Widodo made a structural change to higher education by establishing a new separate Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. Previously higher education had always been managed under the Ministry of Education as a Directorate parallel to the Primary and Secondary Education Directorate. By placing higher education together with research and technology, the reform shows that serious attention is given to higher

education as an economic driver with a hope that “it will contribute to economic development” (Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, 2015, p. 10)[9]. While this effort might demonstrate increased attention to higher education, it can also be seen as a sign of a weakened insulation between the symbolic and instrumental forms of knowledge (see Chapter Three for this discussion), thus paving the way for the dominance of economic instrumental forms of knowledge over its symbolic, function in developing a modern collective consciousness (Durkheim, 1995).

The 2015-2019 Strategic Plan of the Ministry demonstrates the dominance of this economic instrumental form of knowledge. The keywords in the Strategic Plan are ‘economic development’, ‘nation’s competitiveness’, ‘excellence’, ‘innovation’ and ‘employment’. The language used in the Strategic Plan also shows this tendency. For example, the nation’s competitiveness is “the society’s aspiration” as a consequence of “the global economic environment which leads to market openness and economic integration demanding Indonesia to take part” (Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, 2015, p. 10). The 2015-2019 Plan also clearly positions higher education as “agent of economic development”, as compared to the 2009-2014 Plan which consider higher education as “agent of education and research”.

The current Law Number 12 year 2012 on Higher Education states that the government is committed to provide greater access to higher education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012). However, the internationalisation policy might corrode the commitment to equity issues. Currently, there is an increase in the gross enrolment rate from 18.3 per cent in 2005 to 26.3 per cent in 2010. This means that 5.2 million (out of a possible 25 million) of the group aged 19-23 years are currently enjoying engagement in higher education, 75 per cent of whom are from upper and middle class families. Government scholarships cover only 5 per cent of the enrolment and are nearly always given to the most gifted not in the middle class.

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[9] My translation.

Therefore, although internationalisation is different from privatisation at the outset, they both share a similar mechanism for the commodification of knowledge and serve to consolidate the nation's social stratification.

CONCLUSION

Looking at the historical context of the development of higher education in Indonesia, one could learn that the nationalist intelligentsia played a significant role in bringing about change in the country. In the 18th century, colonialism was a 'normal' practice to expand territorial power and exploit resources. In the contemporary period where incremental withdrawal of government funding on higher education likely happens throughout the world, privatisation of higher education is difficult to avoid. But not in Indonesia. The objection and rejection movement against privatisation led by public intellectuals and student activists has successfully overturned the common sense acceptance of privatisation. The nationalist intelligentsia born during colonialism had successfully built and disseminated a 'collective consciousness' to interrogate the taken-for-granted practice, including colonialism and privatisation. Therefore, despite the confining structures, such as colonialism, developmentalism and privatisation, human agency does make changes through the choices, decisions and actions that individuals make.

Chapter III

The Knowledge Shift

Introduction

This chapter examines one area which comprises the 'core business' of higher education, that is knowledge production. There is a fundamental shift in the way knowledge is produced as a consequence of fundamental changes to the global economy (Beck, 2010; Bernstein, 2000; Rata, 2012; Wheelahan, 2012). The shift from industrial capitalism to knowledge capitalism in the second half of the 20th century has re-framed knowledge as a productive force in the global economy (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Rata, 1996a, 2012). The shift has changed not only the nature of knowledge itself in terms of the relative strength of its instrumental and symbolic forms, but has also altered the relation between knowledge creators and users. Situated in this broader shift, higher education as the centre for knowledge production consequently undergoes a fundamental change in its dual contradictory forms. It maintains its function in preserving the production of knowledge for its moral or humanising purposes in the tradition of Kartini, but acquires greater weight for knowledge's economic function (Rata, 2012; Shore & Wright, 2017).

A question central to this chapter is: what is the purpose of knowledge? – Is its purpose to create the symbolic sphere of a society where its moral, ethical and collective representation shaped? Or is the role of knowledge to serve the economy and in doing so to support the political interests aligned to the global and local elites? To address the question, the chapter will firstly explore the distinction between the two forms of knowledge, and the insulation or boundary that separates them (Bernstein, 2000). Section two uses this theoretical framework about knowledge differentiation and insulation to analyse the shift of the social meaning of higher education. The shift is evidenced in the weakening insulation between the symbolic and instrumental forms of knowledge, thus paving the way for the dominance of the economic instrumentalised knowledge. Section three examines the consequences of this commodification of knowledge in the field of higher education.

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KNOWLEDGE FORMS AND INSULATION

Emile Durkheim used the terms “sacred and profane” (1912/2001, p. 36) to theorise a fundamental distinction between “the ‘sacred’, as an internally consistent world of concepts and the ‘profane’ as a vague and contradictory continuum of procedures and practices.” (Young and Muller 2013, in Rata 2017a, p. 2). Basil Bernstein (2000), following in Durkheim’s intellectual tradition, extended the idea of knowledge differentiation by theorising an insulation or boundary separating the two forms (Bernstein 2000; Moore 2013). This overcame the tendency for Durkheim’s original dyad of the sacred and the profane to present as a polarised binary. According to Beck (2010), it was Bernstein who appropriated the sacred/profane distinction, and took it further to recognise the relationship between the two knowledge types in relation to *the degree of insulation* between them.

Bernstein (2000) argues that the sacred and the profane may co-exist in the same entity, as two sides of the same coin. He conceptualises the relationship between these two forms as an insulation or boundary acting to shore up the two forms so that they could be classified in terms of their difference. Insulation, as Beck (2010, p. 86) defines it, is a “strong classification between education and production”. This means that, when the insulation is strong, there is a clear boundary between the sacred (or symbolic) and the profane (or instrumental) forms of knowledge. This enables “the real autonomy of education” (Beck 2010, p. 86) from economic forces. When the insulation is weakened, or the boundary is blurred, as has been the case in recent decades, the symbolic function of knowledge declines while the instrumental function of knowledge begins to dominate. In contrast, when the boundary between the two spheres remains strong, market conditions have less power to dictate the orientation of higher education and the humanising principle ascribed to the creation of knowledge would remain, as has been the case in the past (Bernstein 2000). Then, education is clearly classified as separate from production, to use Beck’s terms.

Given the central role of knowledge as a productive force in recent capitalism, it is in the higher education sector, particularly in universities and research institutes where knowledge

is created. The differentiation of knowledge theorised by Durkheim and Bernstein can be used in understanding the contemporary discourses of the internationalisation of higher education. The 'sacred' refers to the symbolic knowledge – the one that is based on the humanising principle and humane relation of knowledge which is fundamental to higher education. The 'profane' refers to a more instrumentalised knowledge which leads to technological development, what Marx called the 'productive forces', and the creation of commodities and wealth.

The different ways in which symbolic knowledge, the knowledge created by intellectual communities throughout time (Collins 1998; Moutsios 2017) might be linked to the moral–ethical order is illustrated in the biographies of two computer programming inventors. Tim Berners-Lee's and Bill Gates' inventions have made huge contributions to the global knowledge economy. Berners-Lee invented the World Wide Web in 1989, and Gates invented Microsoft in 1975. Although both Berners-Lee and Gates are computer programmers and their inventions changed the world of computer programming, their approach towards the way in which knowledge should be used is different and enables us to illustrate the concepts of the "sacred" and "profane." Despite the potential of the highly influential World Wide Web to become a huge wealth-generating commodity for its developer, Berners-Lee made it available for the public. He made it clear during his speech to the World Wide Web Foundation in 2008 that the Web is made for humanity:

> *We want the Web to support humanity. Of course, we have huge hopes for humanity… The point about the Web is it's a platform. It should be, for the next generation, for the people who are students now, for people who are children now, they should find that the Web is a canvass that they can draw wonderful things on… I just hope that they will take the foundation that we give them. They will take it and they will build on it and they will be able to give us tools. Give the next generation tools to be able to solve the huge issues that we have. Allow scientists to collaborate together across the world to share their half-born ideas and be able to find the cures for disease. And pursue those ideas about new forms of democracy and meritocracy that had been created on the Web.* (Berners-Lee, 14 September 2008, Washington DC).

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His commitment to the humanising or the sacred principle of knowledge, one that is to be shared for the benefit of all, stands in stark contrast to Gates who privatised Microsoft. In acting as the founder, Chairman, and CEO of Microsoft from 1975 – 2014 with various transitioning roles, Gates becomes one of the world's billionaires. He represents the global knowledge economy and its elites, able to produce and distribute product and profit across borders in ways that challenge nation-states' power to regulate the operations of global capital.

According to Microsoft's 2017 Annual Report:

> *We protect our intellectual property investments in a variety of ways. We work actively in the U.S. and internationally to ensure the enforcement of copyright, trademark, trade secret, and other protections that apply to our software and hardware products, services, business plans, and branding. We are a leader among technology companies in pursuing patents and currently have a portfolio of over 66,000 U.S. and international patents issued and over 35,000 pending. While we employ much of our internally developed intellectual property exclusively in our products and services, we also engage in outbound and inbound licensing of specific patented technologies that are incorporated into licensees' or Microsoft's products. From time to time, we enter into broader cross-license agreements with other technology companies covering entire groups of patents. We also purchase or license technology that we incorporate into our products and services. At times, we make select intellectual property broadly available at no or low cost to achieve a strategic objective, such as promoting industry standards, advancing interoperability, or attracting and enabling our external development community.*
>
> (Microsoft Annual Report, 2017)

The contrasting ways in which Berners-Lee and Gates control the knowledge (both the ideas and the technology) they created illustrate the idea of the sacred–profane dichotomy. Berners-Lee stands in the tradition of those who create and share knowledge freely. In this he holds knowledge as "collective property" (Shapin 1994). The knowledge developed by an individual is drawn from, and contributes to, the available knowledge developed by numerous individuals over time. It followed therefore for Berners-Lee that a particular invention which

has as its purpose the dissemination of knowledge is well suited for sharing. It is Newton's famous aphorism, "If I have seen farther, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants" (Merton 1993, p. 1). The idea that "progression is a progressive capitulation and building on previous knowledge" (Muller, 2006, p. 19).

However, Durkheim's original dyad of the sacred and the profane may be seen as too polarised. It was Bernstein who appropriated the sacred/profane polarity and took it further to recognise the relationship between the two knowledge functions in terms of the degree of insulation between the two knowledge types (Beck, 2010). Bernstein argues that the sacred and the profane could co-exist in the same entity, as two sides of the same coin. He conceptualises the relationship between the 'sacred' and the 'profane' as an insulation or boundary or classification (these words can be used interchangeably). Insulation, as Beck (2010, p. 86) defines it, is a "strong classification between education and production… [and is] the key condition of the real autonomy of education". This means that when the insulation is strong, there is a clear boundary between the 'sacred' and the 'profane' forms of knowledge. This enables "the real autonomy of education" from economic forces. In contrast, when the insulation is weakened or the boundary is blurred as is in the current case since the past 1970 decades, the symbolic function of knowledge declines while the instrumental function of knowledge begins to dominate. In contrast, when the boundary between the two spheres remains strong, market conditions have less power to dictate the orientation of higher education and the humanising principle of knowledge remains, as has been the case in the past (Bernstein, 2000).

By drawing on Bernstein's concept of the degree of insulation or boundary between the symbolic and instrumental functions of knowledge, I explore the change to this insulation and the effect on Indonesia's higher education. According to Beck (2010), the insulation between the symbolic and instrumental sphere began to weaken in the last few decades, with a shift to the dominance of the instrumental function. This is the global phenomenon I identify in Chapter One. As a consequence of this changing boundary, the two functions of knowledge – the symbolic and the instrumental – have become increasingly mixed at the level of discourse.

The conundrum of both knowledge and market internationalisation discourses appears in the interviews I undertook. For example, the Rector of the C3 University justifies the internationalisation vision and practice at his university by the global and regional trends, such as the ASEAN Economic Community. He sees the "need to anticipate this [globalisation and regionalisation trend]. If we do not have qualified human resources, we cannot compete with the other 9 ASEAN Countries." According to him, the consequence of not joining the trend is that "We will merely be their market, and if we do not go international, it will jeopardise many aspects, including knowledge advancement." This shows that both discourses about market and knowledge are used together to justify internationalisation. But the question is, which one dominates?

This shift in the relationship between the two forms of knowledge leads to the instrumental dominance and to the contradictions I argue can be found in the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. A Bernsteinian approach, therefore, offers fundamental theoretical tools to enable me to distinguish between the symbolic and instrumental functions of knowledge central to higher education. This distinction is useful to identify the discourses used to justify the internationalisation policies and practices in Indonesian higher education.

A Profound Shift to Knowledge

The 'sacred' sphere of symbolic or philosophical knowledge has been the very foundation for the existence of universities. The advanced level of *pesantren* that I describe in Chapter Two may be seen as this type of scholarship. Bernstein (2000) argues that knowledge production and creation over the last 1000 years at least and in many parts of the world has been on the basis of a humanising principle and commitment to knowledge advancement. In the same vein, Collins contends that "Intellectual products have their own kind of sacred status, different from the more ordinary sacred objects with which everyday life is also permeated and which hold together personal friendships, property relations, and authority structures" (1998, p. 18).

According to Collins, before the 'modern university' (with its systems and institutions familiar today) was established, knowledge was initially produced through 'interaction rituals'. Similar in function if different in content to the religious rituals referred by Durkheim (1995), it is comprised of various networks of intellectuals who have contributed to the development of knowledge since 600-400 BCE (Collins, 1998). Those who travelled from what is now Indonesia to Al-Azhar University in Egypt were part of this network. Knowledge creation had been for knowledge's sake, or in Bernstein's phrase, the pursuit of knowledge is "to know the unknowable" (Bernstein in Young, 2008, p. 56). The terms used in the past to refer to such scientific activities also evolved. Before the term 'science' was coined in the late 17th century, it was natural philosophy that encapsulated the intellectual venture of scientific inquiry (Lindberg, 1992) in order "to know the unknowable". For instance, during the Hellenistic age (320 – 30 BC), the Museum of Alexandria in Egypt became the centre for a wide range of scientific investigations. Here began the very first practice of human dissection in developing a sophisticated theory of human physiology (Lindberg, 1992). It was the place where the system of latitude for a map of the world was invented to complete the longitude system invented earlier, as well as the birth of geography as a distinctive discipline by prominent scholars such as Eratosthenes and Al-Biruni. The Museum functioned as a 'laboratory' or 'university' familiar today to be the space of knowledge production in that historical period.

Since medieval times in the West, universities have become the major site for pursuing the 'sacredness' of knowledge and extending its social roles to society (Wheelahan, 2012). This sacredness of knowledge is captured in Moutsios' statement "the love of knowledge that is independent of material benefits" (2018, p. 55). The medieval universities, like the earlier intellectual communities in China, India, the Middle East and Ancient Greece, have their origins in religious traditions (Collins, 1998). They originally served as the place for discussing faith and then for questioning faith by developing philosophical and scientific reasoning in the emergent knowledge disciplines (Durkheim, 1995). Durkheim (2006) explains the development of universities with respect to knowledge production:

> "Reason did not contradict faith, but the domain of the one was totally independent of the domain of the other… For the philosophy which dominated the medieval university, for Scholastic philosophy by contrast, these two were but a single unity. It was not a question of juxtaposing reason and doctrine but rather of introducing reason into doctrine, of rendering faith rational… In time the character of the University was to become much more specific… from the sixteenth century onwards and above all in the seventeenth century it was to be considered as a purely secular body." (Durkheim, 2006, p. 96)

The evolution of universities over time has been influenced by the social, political and economic environment which may promote or inhibit their development. Glenys Patterson (1997) traces the history of the modern university to show its origins in the Ancient Greece's intellectual tradition of higher education and learning in the 5th century BC. The word 'university' itself is derived from a medieval Latin term *'universitas'*[10] in describing "the essential identity of the university, that of a community of masters and scholars, associating in the pursuit of higher education – teaching, learning and exploring the frontiers of knowledge and understanding" (Patterson, 1997, p. 8). This mission to pursue the frontiers of knowledge has been the 'sacred' role of university throughout this time (Wheelahan, 2012). The classical principle of higher education for knowledge's sake was carried over into the early modern universities since the initial universities emerged in Greece, in the Roman Empire, in the Middle East and in the Arab world, including the region now known as Indonesia, especially from its connection to the medieval Arab world.

Certainly, the way universities adapt to their surrounding circumstances was neither straightforward nor consistent (Patterson, 1997). They changed in different ways according to the historical period and political constraints. Internal and external factors such as an individual university's capacity, the political regime, and a nation's economy mould the way universities functioned with their respective societies over time. Nevertheless, they maintained a significant degree of autonomy from societal forces (Shore & Wright, 1999).

[10] Indonesian language also uses this exact medieval term *universitas* to refer to university.

They also shared a tradition of international networks which creates a favoured view of international scholarly mobility that feeds into the acceptance of internationalisation today. But, has this ancient sacred tradition of scholarship reached a tipping point as "market-oriented principles of knowledge as commodity, faculty as wage labour, administration as management, student body as consumer public, and the university as marketplace" (Boyer, 2010, p. 74) replaced knowledge that is sacred? Bernstein thought it had, saying: "There is a new concept of knowledge and of its relation to those who create and use it… Knowledge, after nearly a thousand years, is divorced from inwardness and literally dehumanised" (2000, p. 86).

This suggests a fundamental shift as the insulation between the sacred and the profane weakens. The idea of such a major change is central to my analysis of the Indonesian university today. It is such a profound shift that universities throughout the world are experimenting the change (Bernstein, 2000; Rata, 1996a; Shore & Wright, 2017). The decreased insulation between the two knowledge types can be understood a result of the changing political and economic circumstances of contemporary capitalism (Piketty, 2014) which require universities to contribute to a rapidly growing global knowledge economy. As a consequence, the humanising principle of knowledge creation has been desacralised and replaced with the type of knowledge that serves the market (Bernstein, 2000). The 'travelling' (the older term) or 'mobility' and 'internationalisation' (the more recent terms) so favoured by scholars throughout the ages, practices which included intellectuals from South East Asia, has shifted in meaning.

THE SOCIAL MEANING OF KNOWLEDGE

Accompanying the fundamental shift to knowledge from its humanising function to becoming a direct productive force in the economy, is a significant shift in the social meaning of knowledge (Rata, 2012). Social meaning is, as Rata defines it, "meanings that change over time although the actual objects may appear the same" (2012, p. 21). Universities nowadays

may appear to have a similar approach as in the tradition of historical scholarly communities, but their core business has changed.

The shift in the social meaning of knowledge is one where knowledge is valued less as a social good, and more as the means for private economic gain. Observers of higher education agree that contemporary higher education has increasingly been expected to respond to the economic forces of globalisation in the last three decades (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Shore & Wright, 1999; Stier & Börjesson, 2010) in ways that were not seen previously. Wright (2017a) argues that the rationality of positioning universities as drivers of a global knowledge economy is based on 'marketable knowledge' inspired by economic models. Their analysis supports the argument made by Bernstein (2000) and Beck (2010) that there is a weakening of the insulation between the symbolic knowledge and its instrumental functions (Beck, 2010; Shore & Wright, 2017).

Shore and Wright (2017, p. 1) also support this theory of decreased insulation with the term "the [blurring] boundaries of the university". They demonstrate that universities are "under pressure to produce 'excellence', quality research and innovative teaching, improve world rankings, forge business links and attract elite, fee-paying students" (all features of the 'profane' dimension of knowledge) while simultaneously struggling "to maintain their traditional ['sacred'] mandate to be 'inclusive', foster social cohesion, improve social mobility and challenge received wisdom – let alone improve the poor records on gender, diversity and equality" (2017, p. 1-2).

In this contemporary period, higher education is increasingly positioned as the engine of economic growth and a nation's competitiveness with knowledge as its prime means of production (Robertson & Keeling, 2008). The phrase 'knowledge economy' itself literally reflects the 'profanity' of knowledge – the idea that knowledge is instrumentalised for the sake of nation's economy, for the market. Corbel poses a deceptively simple question about the keywords used in the knowledge economy: "If we live in a knowledge economy, why is it

that policy focuses so much on skills?" (2014, p. 104). Corbel investigates the Australian case of the changing meaning of the word 'knowledge' as associated with 'skills' in the period of the ascendance of vocationalism. Despite the word 'knowledge' still being used in the discourse, there is a shift in its meaning. This type of knowledge is more about knowledge as a commodity with a price for sale in the market. This profound shift can be seen in universities worldwide, including in the country of my study – Indonesia.

The current policy documents of Indonesian higher education show insights into the shift of knowledge from an invaluable means of social cohesion to an economic commodity. As an illustration, the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education 2015-2019 explicitly states that the previous Strategic Plan 2009-2014 had positioned higher education as an "agent of education and agent of research". The current Strategic Plan moves the position of higher education to an "agent of economic development" (2015, p. 11). This is despite its reference to the National Constitution in the document that secures "the rights of every citizen to access education" (2015, p. 1). The main performance indicators of its success are also mentioned, such as innovation, employment, industry, and university ranking. The ultimate contribution of this Strategic Plan is to "generate innovation that is able to leverage the nation's competitiveness and welfare" (2015, p. 11). The diagram below is taken from the Strategic Plan which visualises this economic development mission.

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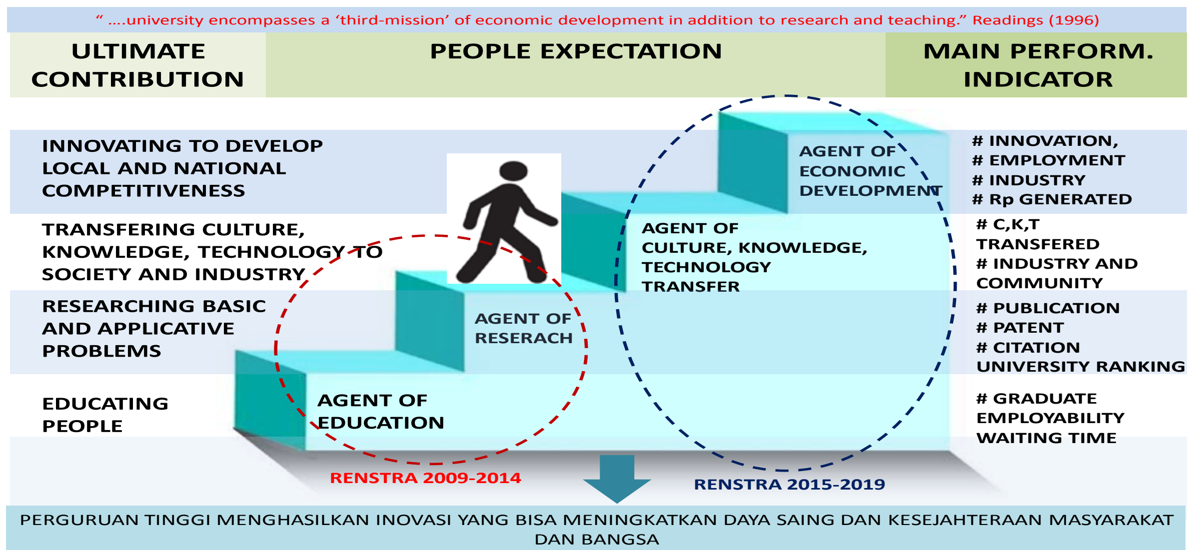

Figure 1: The Shift of Knowledge in Indonesian Higher Education

Source: Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education 2015 – 2019, p. 11

The shift from being an agent of education and agent of research into an agent of economic development demonstrates the shift of knowledge from an invaluable means of social cohesion to an economic commodity. Knowledge in the higher education sector used to be viewed as dealing with 'education' and 'research', but recently it is considered by many as the main engine for economic development. This shift might be drawn from the Indonesian case, but it is actually the trend throughout the world. Why is this happening?

KNOWLEDGE CAPITALISM

The reason for this shift is that universities, whose 'core business' is knowledge production, have become increasingly important for nations in the contemporary global knowledge economy (Currie & Vidovich, 2009). Higher education is now explicitly tied to economic purposes. It is one of the vital institutions in contemporary capitalism that holds strategic importance to the global knowledge economy. Rata (2010) argues that:

> The university's strategic importance to corporate business lies in three areas: It is where the latest and most valuable resource, *'knowledge' is created*. It is where the *knowledge resource is commodified* and placed into the global knowledge market. And of equal importance, the corporatised university is where the ideology of the *knowledge market is created and maintained*. The university produces its own hegemonic discourses. (Rata, 2010, p. 77, my italics)

The growing prominence of higher education in the global knowledge economy has produced a more massive and aggressive internationalisation of higher education and the creation of markets in education (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Shore, 2010). This instrumentalisation and commodification of knowledge for the sake of the economy characterises the period of knowledge capitalism, what is more commonly called the 'knowledge economy' (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Internationalisation contains the dual and contradictory functions of knowledge. It emphasises both the pursuit of 'sacred' knowledge at global levels with its respected historical tradition of scholarly networks, as well as its 'profane' role in levering the nation's competitiveness in the global economy. Contemporary higher education institutions worldwide experience this push and pull between the 'sacred' and the 'profane'. Never before has the economic sphere been this ripely developed to the point where 'knowledge economy', 'internationalisation', 'managerialism' and 'accountability' are such powerful keywords in higher education reform.

This shift in the social meaning of knowledge is "a consequence of the increased role of knowledge and information as a valuable means of production in the global market economy of late capitalism" (Rata, 1996a, p. 225). Knowledge is instrumentalised and treated as a commodity that can be bought and sold across the globe. Internationalisation is one mechanism that channels this global movement of knowledge as a valuable commodity. It is an agenda initially encouraged by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1998) and other international agencies since the 1990s, evident in claims that "the future lay in a global knowledge economy" (Shore & Wright, 2017, p. 1).

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The privileging of knowledge's instrumental purpose alters the relation between the producers and users of knowledge. The formerly dominant humanising principle of knowledge creation and its humane relation to people was manifested in the traditional professional culture of open intellectual inquiry and debate that occurred in scholarly communities throughout the world. This is being replaced by an increasingly market relation in which knowledge is used for an institution's ranking to show its competitive position in the global market.

KNOWLEDGE CAPITALISM AND ITS AGENTS

Ironically, the commodification of knowledge and the prominence of the market in knowledge production is a result of making knowledge available to the masses. The expansion of higher education or its massification since the 1960s has bolstered its marketable value (Rata, 2012). Although the justification for expanding universities includes providing access to its humanising principle or the 'sacred' function of knowledge, in fact increased access serves to commodify knowledge. Bernstein has noted this paradoxical shift:

> "Today throughout Europe, led by the USA and the UK, there is a new principle guiding the latest transition of capitalism. The principles of the market and its managers are more and more the managers of the policy and practices of education. Market relevance is becoming the key orientating criterion for the selection of discourses, their relation to each other, their forms and their research… Of fundamental significance, there is a new concept of knowledge and of its relation to those who create and use it… Knowledge is divorced from persons, their commitments, their personal dedications… Knowledge, after nearly a thousand years, is divorced from inwardness and literally dehumanised." (Bernstein, 2000, p. 86)

The contemporary knowledge economy can be conceptualised as a capitalist economy (Piketty, 2014). This is primarily because the relations of knowledge production are increasingly class relations (Berger, 1986; Rata, 1996a) in which 'controllers' and 'users' are divided in the production of the knowledge commodity and the creation of knowledge, and the academics become the labour force (Boyer, 2010). Slaughter and Leslie use the notion

‘academic capitalism’ to refer to “the reality of the nascent environment of public research universities… in which faculty and professional staff expend their human capital stocks increasingly in competitive situation” (1997, p. 9). While academic capitalism highlights the roles of the academics in capitalist public universities, I focus my analysis on the university elites who play the most influential roles in mediating the global-local interplay in the internationalisation of higher education. As I will argue in the next chapters, it is the upper layer of the new knowledge class, or, as I refer to it in the Indonesian context the ‘university elite’ who control knowledge production. Their work deals with the production and distribution of symbolic knowledge but within the larger context of the knowledge economy where knowledge is increasingly re-framed as a major economic productive force. Although there are contradictions and tensions within this class, its members share common class interests and a cosmopolitan culture (I explore this further in Chapter Six).

This character of knowledge capitalism is different from the industrial capitalism of the *longue durée* (1870 – 1970) which mainly involved material goods and services as its forces of production. The industrial middle class dealt with the production and distribution of the goods and services (Berger, 1986). A new middle class emerged as a result of mass tertiary education during the post-war period whose “expertise and cultural credentials become primary forms of capital giving this ‘new class’ its institutional base and relationship to the market” (Rata, 1996a, p. 225). This is the period where there is an increasing interaction between the economic function and the symbolic function of knowledge in higher education. I identify the Indonesian university elite as those who mediate the conflation of the two functions of knowledge as the insulating boundary between the two functions and forms weakens.

The blurring boundary between the economic and symbolic sphere creates the contradictions in the discourses of Indonesian internationalisation of higher education that I found in my interviews. The Rectors, Deans, and Heads of International Office of three universities as well as the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education all mixed the meaning of internationalisation

so that it meant both the older idea of the sacred creation and exchange of knowledge as well as the international competition for the knowledge commodity. These contradictions can be observed in the discourses used to justify internationalisation. My interviewees were unaware that they spoke about knowledge in ways that mixed its economic and symbolic functions when they discussed the university's internationalisation policies and practices. The market discourse used by my interviewees shows a pragmatic strategy of surviving in the increasingly global competition. Interestingly, this dual discourse creates not cynicism towards what is in effect of the commodification of knowledge, but optimism in responding to internationalisation. Optimism has been the new ideology of development in Indonesian education (Gellert, 2014). The idea is that to survive in the global marketplace of higher education, universities need to participate enthusiastically and choosing to understand internationalisation as knowledge creation and exchange enables this optimism. All the institutions I investigated had this idea and enthusiasm clearly stated in their vision and mission statement as well as in their strategic plans. Keywords such as 'global competition', 'World Class University', 'international reputation' and 'excellence' repeatedly appear in the policy documents as well as during interviews.

These concepts of knowledge forms of the 'sacred' and the 'profane', as well as their contradictory appearance in the discourses, are used to explore the notion of internationalisation presented in the next chapter. They enable me to examine the contradictory appearance of the discourses in detail as demonstrated in the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. I argue that internationalisation is caught in the intersection between knowledge internationalisation discourse as a manifestation of the symbolic creation and exchange of knowledge for the good of humanity and market internationalisation discourse as the expression of a divisive economic globalisation.

CONCLUSION

This chapter examines a shift in the purpose of knowledge from one that has its symbolic value to knowledge that is bought and sold in the global higher education marketplace. The

intensive commodification of knowledge in the sector is a consequence of fundamental changes to the global economy that characterise the emergence of late capitalism in the post-1980s period. This shift in knowledge function has redirected the purpose of knowledge with which to create the symbolic sphere of a society where its moral, ethical and collective representation shaped to serve the economy. In the Indonesian context, this shift is illustrated in the Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education 2015 – 2019 which explicitly states that higher education needs to shift from "agent of education and agent of research" into "agent of economic development" (2015, p. 11).

CHAPTER IV

INTERNATIONALISATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the concepts that I use in seeking to understand the processes shaping Indonesian higher education today. The concept of 'internationalisation' is a major process at work in contemporary Indonesian higher education. I identify two understandings of internationalisation that have been intertwined in the contemporary practice of internationalising higher education. These are 'knowledge internationalisation' and 'market internationalisation'. 'Knowledge internationalisation' is derived from Durkheim's 'sacred' sphere which characterises the period prior to neoliberal globalisation in the post-1970s decades. It refers to the university's commitment to, and quest for the ideal of universally created and shared knowledge. 'Market internationalisation' is from the 'profane' realm, referring to the commodification of higher education in the era of the knowledge economy – a period of neoliberal regulation of the global market. My purpose in distinguishing between the two discourses is to reveal the inherent contradictions within the contemporary practices of the Indonesian internationalisation of higher education.

I show that the two contradictory understandings that inform internationalisation now appear side by side in the language of those who work in Indonesian higher education. In addition, actual practices in Indonesian higher education contain features both of knowledge internationalisation and market internationalisation. The existence of both discourses is located in Indonesia's history and it is in this history that the problem identified in this thesis should be located. Why does Indonesian higher education embrace internationalisation but at the same time reject the privatisation mechanism which characterises the contemporary experience of globalisation? I explain this contradiction in terms of the broader contradiction found in the two conflicting internationalisation discourses. Indonesian higher education is caught in the intersection between internationalisation with its commitment to universal

knowledge ideals on the one hand, and the market internationalisation ideas driven by the political-economic rationale of contemporary economic globalisation on the other.

THEORETICAL TOOLS

My purpose is to explain the internationalisation of higher education that is specific to Indonesia. This chapter contributes to that purpose through the analysis of the main concept of 'internationalisation', as well as through a discussion of how the concept is used in my study. I use concepts in three ways – to identify the object being investigated, that is higher education in Indonesia, analyse it and explain the localising of internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. I begin by clarifying the term and its boundaries and also addressing the associated concept of 'globalisation'. 'Internationalisation' and 'globalisation' are quite different concepts, albeit closely related and often used interchangeably (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Burgess *et al*, 2010; Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009; Yang, 2002).

There is a vast polemical literature on globalisation which tends to overemphasise the global nature of society, technology, culture, and the economy (Connell, 2007; Giddens, 2002). While there are many disagreements, there is some common agreement that globalisation, in its broadest form, describes the process of global transformation from "states managing national economies, to states managing the global economy" (McMichael in Turner, 2003, p. 36). One of the main problems inherent in globalisation is its dominating economic rationale (Sassen, 2003). This condition is exacerbated by mainstream globalisation theories that appear to be 'ahistorical and apolitical' (Rizvi, 2007) suggesting that globalisation is a natural process of the market at work while burying the colonial experience in the past.

Like 'globalisation', 'internationalisation' is not a new term. The suffix '-isation' attached to the root word 'international' implies a process of change (Knight, 2013). Despite the fact that the term 'internationalisation' has been in circulation for centuries, its prominence in higher education studies is relatively recent and is traced to the early 1980s (de Wit & Merkx, 2012;

Knight, 2004). In the higher education field, 'internationalisation' is a term used to refer to the international dimension of higher education. It includes global mobility and international partnership (de Wit & Merkx, 2012; Knight, 2012). The contemporary practices of the internationalisation of higher education can be associated with the historical roots of universities as institutions with the commitment to advancing universal knowledge (de Wit & Merkx, 2012). This understanding of knowledge is maintained in Indonesian discourse alongside its contradiction – knowledge as an economic commodity.

In order to demystify the concept of internationalisation, I will look at it historically to investigate its origins and sources. This is different from the historical account in Chapter Two. Chapter Two presents the history of Indonesian higher education, while this chapter is the history of the internationalisation of knowledge.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Sociological studies, such as this inquiry, require a historical understanding of not only the object of the study but also the concept employed in the research. The history of the object, that is Indonesian higher education, is presented in Chapter Two in an account of the Trajectory of Indonesian Higher Education, whereas this chapter discusses the history of the concepts. My attempt to historicise the concepts is central to recognising how concepts are built in specific historical contexts and social relationships. As Durkheim argues that concept is historically built:

> "All that constitutes reason, its principles and categories, has been made in the course of history. Everything is a product of certain causes. Phenomena must not be represented in closed series: things have a 'circular' character, and analysis can be prolonged to infinity." (1983, p. 67)

'Internationalisation' is the main concept used throughout the study to identify, analyse and explain the contemporary changes occurring in Indonesian higher education. By historicising 'internationalisation', I reject the flawed assumption that the internationalisation of higher

education simply exists today without any roots in the past (Stier, 2004). Such an ahistorical view on 'internationalisation' leads to the danger of equating internationalisation with globalisation, and thus blundering both terms (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005). More importantly, this historical understanding significantly contributes to answering the central problem in my research – why privatisation is rejected but internationalisation is accepted in Indonesian higher education. This contradiction should be located and understood within both the history of the concept of internationalisation and the trajectory of Indonesian higher education.

Ancient and Middle Ages – the quest for universal knowledge

The internationalisation of intellectual or philosophical activity has been practised from time immemorial (Stier, 2004). The former practices of internationalisation of higher education were characterised by the long-standing commitment of universities to advancing universal knowledge (I discuss this in Chapter Two and Three). From 600-400 BCE (Before the Common Era), academic pilgrimage and mobility were common practices both in the European and non-European universities (Collins, 1998; De Ridder Symoens, 1992). Intellectuals of this period established 'interaction rituals' as a space of international sharing of knowledge amongst the intellectual community (Collins, 1998). The face-to-face interaction rituals have continued since 600-400 BCE and occurred throughout Asia, Middle East and Europe. Collins (1998) illustrates the early period of interaction rituals as follows. Significantly, he includes East Asia in his description which considerably influenced Indonesia some decades later.

> Miletus, the largest city and major trading port on the Ionian coast, was only 20 miles from the island of Samos, where Pythagoras originated; Pherecydes was from Leros, an island 40 miles off Miletus; Heraclitus at Ephesus was in the next city north of Miletus, 30 miles away; Xenophanes at Colophon was another 15 miles inland, a day's journey from Ephesus; slightly farther up the coast was Clazomenae (home of Anaxagoras), with Sardis (home of the cosmological poet Alcman, who later migrated to Sparta) 20 miles inland… A competitive community of Ionian intellectuals existed, from the poets of around 700 b.c.e. onward, down through the next half-dozen generations… *One can tell similar stories of East Asia*. Confucius, whose fame and doctrinal tradition built up over many generations, was not always treated as the

> symbolic property of the Confucian school. He appears as a rather "Taoist" sage in the *Chuang Tzu* stories (ca. 300 b.c.e.). (1998, pp. 61–85) (italics added)

We cannot know the extent to which this knowledge sharing did occur in what is now Indonesia, but the reference above does refer to "similar stories of East Asia", and Indonesia was considerably influenced by this intellectual wave and interaction rituals[11]. This is a term I take up and use in later chapters because it captures shared scholarly endeavour. Within this period, intellectuals needed to travel to hold face-to-face interaction rituals. Certain intellectual networks generated particular intellectual traditions through the interaction rituals which might challenge or compete with other networks. These intellectuals sought cultural and intellectual benefits as they travelled to take part in the interaction rituals so that "besides their academic knowledge, they took home with them a host of new experiences, ideas, opinions, and political principles and views" (De Ridder Symoens, 1992, p. 303). Even as late as the early 20th century members of the Indonesian nationalist intelligentsia, such as Sosro Kartono, Abdul Rivai, and Mohammad Hatta, studied in Europe and then took home with them a new collective consciousness towards freedom and anti-colonialism. According to Collins (1998), the creation of new knowledge was conditional upon the confluence of such interaction rituals, the cultural capital possessed by every intellectual and the emotional energy they sustained. The interaction rituals which required "the movement of intellectuals from place to place fostered cosmopolitanism; (consequently) intellectual reputation became autonomous from services rendered" (Collins, 1998, p. 143). 'Cosmopolitanism' is one of the cultural capitals owned and developed by intellectuals in order to take part in the interaction rituals. This concept of 'cosmopolitanism' is used further in Chapter Six and Seven when I discuss the Indonesian university elite.

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[11] 'Indonesia' as a nation-state was not born yet during this period. But the emerging civilisations recorded by history were Srivijaya and Sailendras kingdoms. They were hegemons in the Malay Peninsula in the 7th century.

Interaction rituals did not only happen in the past. They are maintained today. Such rituals found their forms in academic meetings, such as conferences, symposiums and seminars at a global level, as well as in the relationship between professors and their students. Academics today travel around the world to present their ideas and discuss them in their intellectual networks. At the heart of the intellectual discussion is knowledge sharing. Certain codes and symbols also characterise philosophical discussions in the interaction rituals as they did in the past (Collins, 1998). There is no doubt that academic mobility, encouraged by the internationalisation of higher education today, has its origins in the past. I argue that this link to the past contributes to the current acceptance of internationalisation.

Near to East Asia is Southeast Asia where Indonesia is located. There is little known about the precise interaction rituals occurring in Indonesia during 600-400 BCE. However, knowledge quest as a tradition within the earliest form of higher education was noted in the 16th up to the 17th century (Azra, 2004; Bruinessen, 1994). Azra (2004) records the existence of strong intellectual and religious networks that were made between Indonesian and Middle Eastern scholars in the 17th and 18th centuries. At that time travelling *santri* (Islamic scholars) within the *pesantren* educational system[12] were noticeable across several main islands in Indonesia, but mostly located in Java (Dhofier, 1980; Wahid, 2001). As I mentioned in Chapter Two, these scholars travelled to the Middle East to places such as Al-Azhar University in Cairo, to pursue their postgraduate study taking with them references from their *Kyai* (the Head of *pesantren*) (Buchori & Malik, 2004). The *Kyai* was the foremost scholar in an intellectual network and was responsible for preserving their scholarship and leadership (Dhofier, 1980). Pringle describes that "*Kyai* is a man of learning, deriving stature from his reputation for scholarship and the success of his *pesantren*" (2010, p. 122). Thus, both *Kyai* and *santri* had the passion for knowledge with interaction rituals and extensive mobility characterised their search for

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[12] *Pesantren* is the only educational provider during pre-colonial times in Indonesia (16th-17th century). It was a boarding school that provides the study of Islamic philoshophy, Qur'an, Arabic language and debate in Islamic laws. The learning system was centred on the *Kyai* (Head of pesantren) and *ustadz* (teachers) (Buchori & Malik, 2004; Wahid, 2001). This *pesantren* system still exists today. Most of them have adjusted in terms of their curriculum development and science integration. See Chapter Two for a more detailed historical description of *pesantren*.

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knowledge. Dhofier describes the importance of a scholar's mobility in the *pesantren* tradition.

> Travelling (current term is 'mobility')[13] is a feature of the scholarly life of *pesantren* and contributes to the unity of the *pesantren* system, thus stimulating scholarly endeavour… This flourishing tradition is perhaps the result of cross-cultural fertilization between the Javanese quest for wisdom and the Islamic tradition in which travel for study is a principle feature of the classical educational system (Dhofier, 1980, p. 15).

Internationalisation during this period was based on the quest for universal knowledge. The global mobility of the intellectuals was evident from their pursuit of knowledge on a global scale. Collins (1998) depicts these intellectuals as "a peculiar combination of the intensely localistic and the detached and cosmopolitan" (p. 24). The impact of mobility on intellectuals was seen in the increasing use of a common language (Latin in European countries and Arabic in the Middle East), uniform programmes of study (now called 'credit transfer'), and the recognition of degrees (currently popular as 'joint degrees') (De Ridder Symoens, 1992). Although these practices of knowledge exchange were referred to differently in the past, the internationalisation of knowledge has been the fundamental pursuit of universities as 'international institutions' occupying national localities (Kerr, 1990).

This understanding of internationalisation is a very old one and probably contributes to its resilience today. It gives supremacy to knowledge and to the efforts of intellectual groups who developed knowledge in different places and at various periods of time. In light of this view, contemporary internationalisation can be seen as "an extension of the traditional commitment of universities to learning, and as an exchange of knowledge." (Yang, 2002, p. 81). For the purpose of this thesis, I refer to the discourse surrounding this understanding of internationalisation as the 'knowledge internationalisation' discourse. This discourse

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[13] The centuries-old image of the philosophers' travelling is now replaced by the jet-setting mobile of the global elites and middle class.

prescribes and describes the university's commitment to, and quest for, universal knowledge at a global level through the contemporary term 'internationalisation of higher education'.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY – INSTRUMENTALISING HIGHER EDUCATION

To be clear, Chapter Two presents the instrumentalisation of higher education in Indonesia, whilst this chapter focuses on the global trend (and its effect on Indonesia) of the instrumentalisation of knowledge in higher education. Throughout the colonial period up to World War II (1900s – late 1940s), higher education became more instrumentalised. Political rationales became more dominant in the expansion and practices of universities (de Wit & Merkx, 2012). European colonial power replicated their models of higher education in the colonies as part of political, cultural, economic and academic control. This was very different from the scholar migration of the preceding periods. In Indonesia, a medical school for indigenous doctors, called *School Tot Opleiding Van Indische Artsen* (STOVIA) and *Geneeskundige Hooge School* (GHS) were established in 1902. In 1920 the engineering school *Technische Hooge School* (THS) was set up by the Dutch colonial government (Buchori & Malik, 2004).

From World War II, the United States also expanded its influence into Indonesia, an influence which included higher education policies which strengthened the older tradition of international scholarship. As Irwan (2005) noted, the United States provided grants and scholarship to train brilliant economic faculty graduates from the University of Indonesia to pursue their postgraduate studies at the University of California Berkeley, the bastion of neo-liberal economics. These graduates returned to Indonesia and were later called the "Berkeley Mafia" under the Soeharto administration (Rosser, 2016). They became the key formulators of economic policies by changing Soekarno's policies which were hostile towards Western capitalism and opening up the country to foreign investments, primarily the US. Giant US investors flocked to the country, including the mining giant Freeport-McMoran Copper and Gold Inc. Their influence prepared Indonesia for instrumentalising knowledge for economic development and further strategic cooperation with the US.

The post-1970 period of economic globalisation, and its effect on knowledge internationalisation occurred. Higher education became increasingly commodified as a ‘material’ object to be bought and sold in the marketplace. This commodification is captured in the term ‘knowledge economy’ (de Wit & Merkx, 2012; Olssen & Peters, 2005; Robertson, 2008). This shift of knowledge is further explored in Chapter Three. Internationalisation of knowledge shifted from a political control rationale to become a strategy in the marketisation of knowledge (Martens & Starke, 2008; Singh, 2010). I will refer to this stage of the commodification of higher education as ‘market internationalisation’ to distinguish it from the period of ‘knowledge internationalisation’ which characterises the period prior to neoliberal globalisation. This shift in Indonesia was mostly engineered by the influence of the ‘Berkeley Mafia’, as they were the technocrats of the Indonesian economic related policies.

The discourse of market internationalisation on the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education can be seen in the interview with one of the participants in my study. The interviewee, a Head of International Office at the C1 University, understands internationalisation of higher education very clearly in market terms, something captured in his statement:

> *The centre of the world’s economic growth is Asia. Indonesia is a very big country. Indonesia, in terms of GDP, is number 16 in the world. That is why we belong to G-20. This makes sense. When the world discusses about its current and future problems, the president of Indonesia should be there. Even we cannot avoid participating the meetings. This choice comes from the size of economy, therefore we belong to G20. From the growth of a nation, Indonesia is a player. Even if we are pessimistic to call us as a player, we have a big market. With this big market, we can play our roles very well, ensuring that we are not simply dictated. This means, if they want to have a business with Asia, they have to understand Indonesia. So if they want to start business, they have to know how to make business with Indonesia. And the best way to learn it is in Indonesia. Our Faculty of Economics and Business is the only one in Indonesia which is certified by AACSD, it is the most prestigious accreditation from the United States.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University)

Interestingly and importantly for the argument I advance in this thesis, the former understanding of internationalisation as the spread of knowledge amongst global intellectual community has also been maintained (Brewer & Leask, 2012; Knight, 2012; Knight & de Wit, 1995; Yang, 2002). Indeed, I argue that the maintenance of the 'knowledge internationalisation' discourse in the contemporary internationalisation practices actually plays a role in securing the acceptance in Indonesian higher education in the international market.

THE PARADOX OF INTERNATIONALISATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON INTERNATIONALISATION RESEARCH

According to Susanti (2011), discourses of commodification and marketisation of higher education surrounding privatisation policy are too banal to be accepted. However, they become more acceptable once attached to the more respectable knowledge internationalisation rhetoric. It is not possible to know the extent to which this appropriating attempt of the previous meaning of knowledge internationalisation is an intentional strategy. But there is no doubt that both meanings of internationalisation exist together. This maintenance of the commitment to knowledge internationalisation is best captured in one of the interviewees' comments. The interviewee, a Rector of the C2 University, emphasises 'knowledge as a social good and knowledge for its own sake' in the university internationalisation policy. The Rector encapsulates the university as "a house of knowledge" and suggests that "the advancement of knowledge should internationalise" as follows:

> *Our university is a house of knowledge. Why are we the house of knowledge? Because universities are founded on the basis of knowledge. And knowledge is universal. It transcends across gender, geographical lines, and the boundaries of the world. Therefore, the advancement of knowledge should internationalise. Knowledge is not locally bounded, it is only the case that is local.* (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University).

My interviews with the Rector of the C2 University and the Head of the International Office at the C1 University (in the previous section) illustrate the two different understandings of internationalisation that appear together in Indonesian higher education. The Head of the International Office highlights a more pragmatic consideration of market for internationalisation strategy by measuring Indonesia's position in Asia, while the Rector emphasises the supremacy of knowledge which has a direct line to the internationalisation of the past. This contradiction between market internationalisation discourse and knowledge internationalisation discourse emerges side by side in the language of internationalisation. The conflation of both discourses can also be seen in the interview with the Rector of the C3 University.

> *I think it is inevitable. However small the institution is, we must have the internationalisation vision. Hence our institution. We are a big country with a large population, and we are entering the ASEAN Economic Community. We need to anticipate this. If we do not have qualified human resources, we cannot compete with the other nine ASEAN countries. We will merely be their market. And I think if we do not go international, it will jeopardise many aspects, including knowledge advancement.* (Interview with the Rector of the C3 University).

The Rector of the C3 University uses both 'market' and 'knowledge' to justify the internationalisation vision. This optimism is despite the size and capacity of the institution he leads, "However small the institution is, we must have the internationalisation vision".

The acceptance by the local Indonesian higher education academics of internationalisation in both forms enables the acceptance and running of an internationalisation agenda throughout the nation's universities. As a consequence, the two discourses of internationalisation that I have identified – knowledge internationalisation discourse and market internationalisation discourse – have produced an inherent contradiction in the current understanding of internationalisation of higher education. What this reveals is that the different understandings of internationalisation have become different discourses that are jostled

against each other in an uncomfortable union as internationalisation becomes increasingly the main objective in Indonesian higher education. The two understandings of knowledge and market internationalisation now appear side by side in the language and in the practices of those who work in Indonesian higher education. The inherent ambiguities, even contradictions, appear to go unnoticed as a number of my interviewees demonstrated. I discuss this further in Chapter Seven in an analysis of the statements made by some of my interviewees. The statements show a strong commitment to market internationalisation, but at the same time an equally strong commitment to knowledge internationalisation. My interest is in both the existence of these contradictions within the same individuals and the possible consequences to the university elite.

I argue that the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education is, therefore, caught in the intersection between an emphasis on knowledge internationalisation with its commitment to universal knowledge on the one hand and the market internationalisation ideas driven by the political-economic rationale of contemporary economic globalisation on the other. This inherent contradiction between 'knowledge' and 'market or economy' is situated within broader discourses of 'knowledge economy' where "a new set of discourses has emerged around universities and their role that draws together different, often contradictory, agendas" (Shore, 2010, p. 15). This contradiction leads to a number of deep-seated contradictions in Indonesian higher education policies and practices, and in the way the sector is understood.

STUDIES ON INTERNATIONALISATION

Studies about internationalisation of higher education tend to be polarised. On the one side are those that consider internationalisation as something 'natural and evolutionary'. This tends to come from overestimating the influence of knowledge internationalisation discourse, and side-lining the effect of the political economy. On the other side are those studies that view the process as an imposition, one resulting from over-emphasising the

strength of market internationalisation with all of its political economic realities but neglecting social and political factors.

For those who perceive internationalisation as the natural and inevitable spread of modernity, globalisation is understood to work like a 'mantra' (Rizvi, 2007). Consequently, universities need to align to the international standard and rankings to pursue world class level (Ayoubi & Massoud, 2007; Brandenburg & Federkeil, 2007; Delgado-Marquez, Escudero-Torres, & Hurtado-torres, 2013; Knight & de Wit, 1995). While those studies consider internationalisation objectively and analyse its progress according to certain indicators such as staff mobility, percentage of international students, international publication, and international curriculum, they ignore the fact that "global competition is not a level playing field where each university has an equal opportunity to win" (Marginson & Sawir, 2006, p. 349). Kehm and Teichler have cautioned against such naiveté: "internationalisation in higher education tends to be treated as a highly normative topic with strong political undercurrents" (2007, p. 262). They consider that it ignores the ways in which local forces negotiate with the global pressures.

Those who view internationalisation as an imposition criticise the process as a new form of economic, political and cultural imperialism (Naidoo, 2011; Ordorika & Lloyd, 2015; Samuel & Sutopo, 2013; Singh, 2010). They take a critical standpoint by addressing the question of who are privileged most by this 'global' agenda and construe the mechanism of global governance of national higher education sectors as orchestrated by the powerful international agencies (Robertson & Keeling, 2008; Robertson, 2008).

While such critical inquiry offers worthwhile insights, it suffers from a degree of fatalism and pessimism. It suggests that there are no possible points of transformative actions for higher education (Hargreaves, 1982). This is especially the case for those located in the peripheral countries that are reduced to being seen as the importer or consumer of internationalisation (Sakhiyya, 2011). According to these theories, internationalisation contributes to global

asymmetry by shifting wealth from the developing to the developed countries through the commodification of education (Bassett & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009; Cantwell & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009; Leite, 2010; Singh, 2010). Not only does this reproductionist argument position higher education as part of the determining global capitalist system (Rata, 2017a), it denies any agency to higher education institutions. In the Indonesian context, such a view does not adequately explain how and why certain policies concerning privatisation or internationalisation are resisted or accepted, or as I show, exist in a tension of ambiguity, contradiction and pragmatism. It also excludes completely the long tradition of international knowledge creation and exchange. By doing this, the 'critical' view does the same as the uncritical. Both treat knowledge internationalisation as market internationalisation. By excluding a theory of knowledge, these analyses assume that knowledge is always instrumentalised for economic purposes.

Rather than viewing internationalisation as a natural desideratum of higher education reform or as a new form of imperialism, I argue that the two internationalisation discourses I have identified are constitutive features for the reconfiguration of contemporary higher education sector in a complex world that cannot be reduced to 'the market'. By the same token, Turner has cautioned about the risk of placing primacy on the market as the theoretical framework.

> "Taking the market, in its globalized form, as the theoretical vantage point for understanding globalization tends to produce uncritically one-sided representations of globalization as a "new age" dissociated from previous historical time and space, a synchronic phenomenon that either inevitably will, or already has, succeeded earlier forms of economic, political, social, and cultural life" (Turner, 2003, p. 36)

This standpoint helps to release higher education politics from the shackles of natural-imperial or development-colonisation theorising. I suggest that Indonesian higher education may even serve as a 'ripe site' in understanding mechanisms in which the local and global encounter. This encounter is dynamic not least because the global is "the arena of interaction among localities" (Friedman & Friedman, 2008, p. 4). In other words, the global does not

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simply reproduce the local. Rather, it is the reflection of the emergent responses of the articulation of numerous local processes (Friedman, 2007, 2016). This view rejects both the inferiority of the local as well as the superiority of the global. Highlighting this dynamism is crucial to my study. The simultaneous rejection and acceptance of localised higher education reforms need to be explained not only by attending to the global structure of internationalisation but also recognising the autonomy of higher education institutions which occupy certain localities. Crucially it is an autonomy which arises from the old tradition of the 'sacredness' of the creation and exchange of knowledge; a tradition where the two types of knowledge are insulated one from the other.

Some internationalisation theorists do embrace the over-determining nature of local and global interaction. Terms are used such as 'the glonacal approach' (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002), 'inclusiveness' (Haigh, 2002), and 'global-local tension' (Yang, 2000). What this literature offers is an analysis of the reactive local/national responses towards the changing global structure. But what is missing from such analysis is the central issue of whether and to what extent the internationalisation process should be understood *not* as merely "a spontaneous result of technological, cultural or other impersonal forces without social agents", but as "the project of an identifiable class or social group" (Turner, 2003, p. 37). Responding to Turner's call in order to avoid the reification of globalisation and/or internationalisation, this study takes internationalisation as "an emergent political project that is imagined, discussed and acted out by university administrators to each other as well as other *agents* in and beyond the university" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 371). In light of this view, I focus on the "social agents" engaged in this local-global interplay and their relationship with higher education as its institutional site or structure.

Although social agents act within structures that might constrain the actions, they do have agency to make possible changes of the structures by means of the choices they make. The structures regulating internationalisation are constraining in some ways, but it is useful to consider how they can be reformulated through practices (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013). In addition, this dialectical interaction between agency and structure enables me to explain the

ways in which privatisation was rejected but internationalisation is accepted in Indonesia. So, why and who are these “social agents”? What is their position and role in the university? And what is their understanding of knowledge? These questions are addressed in Chapter Six and seven. The next chapter analyses the policies and discourses of internationalisation by using the conceptual framework from this chapter.

Conclusion

By drawing on Durkheim’s ‘sacred’ and ‘profane’ forms of knowledge and tracing the concept of ‘internationalisation’ historically, this chapter identifies two discourses used to justify internationalisation of higher education through time. They are ‘knowledge internationalisation’ and ‘market internationalisation’ discourses. The contradictory discourses affect understanding about internationalisation and about studies discussing internationalisation. The two discourses are jostled together uncomfortably in the policies and practices of the internationalisation of higher education today.

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CHAPTER V

INTERNATIONALISATION DISCOURSES AND DEBATE AT POLICY LEVEL

INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses Indonesian higher education policies and structures. It draws on relevant policy documents and interviews to illustrate the institutionalisation of internationalisation in Indonesian universities. The analysis of policies and interviews in this chapter uses the conceptual framework developed in previous chapters. The purpose of the analysis is to describe how internationalisation is accepted and institutionalised within the higher education sector. Such an analysis is useful in substantiating the complex dialectics between agency and structure – the agency of the Indonesian university elite in localising internationalisation is viewed as dialectically entwined with the institutional and social structures they influence and are influenced by.

The analysis demonstrates that Indonesian universities show signs of being in a competition, which means that they are now in the market. While both discourses of 'knowledge internationalisation' and 'market internationalisation' shape Indonesia's higher education, the market internationalisation discourse takes different forms in the localised context. Market internationalisation discourse is occurring in university throughout the world, but has its own local 'colour'. In Indonesia that 'colour' is marked by the firm rejection of privatisation yet receptiveness to universalisation. In previous chapters, I have built the argument that this receptiveness is the result of the double meaning of internationalisation. In Indonesia, the localised market internationalisation discourse is more indirect and appears 'bottom-up' as compared to the direct and 'top-down' nature of market discourse of the rejected privatisation. This policy analysis thus contributes to answering the main question of this thesis from the policy and structural perspective. This is the question of the different responses towards two higher education reforms – the rejection of privatisation and acceptance of internationalisation.

The policy analysis focuses on the word ‘internationalisation’ by looking at its appearance, disappearance, and re-appearance in the legislation and policy documents. Crucially the word ‘internationalisation’ is replaced with ‘international partnership’ in the current Higher Education Act year 2012. I have argued in chapter one that the shift from ‘internationalisation’ to ‘international partnership’ signals an attempt to use a more politically appropriate language while at times maintaining the dual meaning of internationalisation: knowledge internationalisation and market internationalisation. Despite the benign term ‘partnership’, the contradiction between knowledge internationalisation and market internationalisation is maintained.

THE CHANGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

After the rejection and nullification of the privatisation policy, that is the *Higher Education Act Number 9 Year 2009* in 2010*,* the House of Representatives drafted another Bill on Higher Education in 2011. The word privatisation had been removed, and for the first time the word internationalisation appeared in the legislation. There was considerable debate and disagreement over the *appearance* of the word ‘internationalisation’ in the Bill. A number of government articles explained the meaning of ‘internationalisation’ and described how to achieve international standards (Ministry of Education, 2011). However, there was widespread agreement within and beyond the parliament, especially between public intellectuals and the government, that not only did internationalisation of higher education violate the Constitution, but also it would lead to the privatisation and marketisation of education – something that has been strongly rejected from the previous privatisation policy. When the Bill was promulgated in 2012 after a year of bitter debate and amendments, the word internationalisation *disappeared* in the current Higher Education Act. Nevertheless, what requires an analysis is that time internationalisation *reappears* as a keyword in the institutional policies and mundane realities of Indonesian universities.

The disappearance of ‘internationalisation’ from the legislation and its appearance as a keyword in the university documents themselves is a signal of how wider social and political

forces find points of entry into the nation's institutional fabric. The *appearance, disappearance* and *reappearance* of 'internationalisation' points to a discursive adjustment regarding how ideas enter a country and influence its policy making. I argue that the word might have disappeared from the legislation, but its intention remains. It only disappears in the national legislation, but it actually has materialised in the orientation and movement of higher education institutions and become a keyword in institutional discourse. These changes of the discourse of internationalisation in legislation and policy are significant, and hence provide a vantage point for studying the encounter of local and global forces as they occur in Indonesian higher education.

POLICY ANALYSIS

Although this thesis highlights the human agency in localising internationalisation, policy analysis throws light on the roles of the agents in mediating the global-local intersection in higher education institutions. In particular, I want to know about the rejection and acceptance of policies, why was privatisation so firmly rejected but internationalisation has found its way into policy through the 'back door' of the institutions themselves rather than through the legislative 'front door'.

Policy analysis works from the idea that policy may serve as "windows onto political processes in which actors, agents, concepts and technologies interact in different sites, creating or consolidating new rationalities of governance and regimes of knowledge and power" (Shore *et al.,* 2011, p. 2). Analysing policy and policy making pertaining to privatisation and internationalisation enables me to reveal how the Indonesian university elite interprets and acts upon the internationalisation concept and develops policies to accommodate the contradictions inherent in knowledge internationalisation. The story of privatisation and internationalisation has shown clearly that policy making does not follow a linear sequence of events from defining a problem, to formulating policy, and onto its implementation, as Shore and Wright (1999; 2011) have described. My task in analysing the internationalisation

policies of Indonesia's higher education institutions means posing a set of questions about how internationalisation works in these institutions.

I use 'policy' to refer to more than just policy documents or texts (Shore *et al.*, 2011; Taylor *et al.*, 1997). Wright (2017b) and Shore (2011) advocate studying policy anthropologically. This approach includes studying the 'chaining of genres' "from speeches, to newspaper reports, to legislation, to ministerial guidance notes, to local policies and beyond that into technologies such as forms, computer screens to fill in or data systems to complete – as well as the discourses used in actual interactions" (Wright, 2017b). I use their approach in conceptualising policy and the anthropology of policy as my way of analysis. The next section focuses on the contestation and debate of internationalisation as occurred in the legislation. Then, these legislative discourses are stitched together with the other 'genres', such as newspaper reports, institutional policies, and university websites. Too much focusing on policy texts – words written in formal policy documents – carries the risks of overlooking the nuances of the context which give the text meaning and significance. However, policy texts do provide useful resources to explore how the meaning of internationalisation is contested and changed as well as how new discourse emerges, is made authoritative, and become institutionalised (Simons *et al.*, 2009). Furthermore, analysing policy documents enables me to focus on the manifestation of internationalisation discourses in the policy documents and how the contradiction of internationalisation as simultaneously 'knowledge internationalisation' and 'market internationalisation' are contained and controlled.

The national policy documents studied for this thesis are the draft of higher education Bill 2011, the Higher Education Act and the 2015-2019 Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. They are the key policy documents pertaining to the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. The institutional policy documents of each individual university that I studied are the university's statute, strategic plan, and development plan which stipulate the university's vision and mission of the C1, C2, and C3 universities. The vision and mission statement is usually displayed on the university's website. The international policy documents relevant to Indonesia's higher education reforms are the

World Bank's Project Performance Assessment Report of Indonesia Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency (2015), and Implementation Completion and Results Report of Indonesia Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency (2013).

Words in policy texts are "carefully selected and much revised in light of the objections of the various interests" (Taylor *et al.*, 1997, p. 15). This means that, although policy is more than just the text, words in the policy documents have the significance of revealing how new meaning emerges and is negotiated. Particularly in Indonesia's case of internationalisation, there is an interesting lexical semantic phenomenon in the policy documents with the disappearance of the word itself and its replacement by 'international partnership' and 'international competitiveness'. Therefore, analysing key words in the policy texts enables me to explore the emergence of internationalisation – with the term 'emergence' here is understood as "how new meanings emerge at the micro level of language" (Corbel, 2016, p. 66).

ANALYSIS OF POLICY DOCUMENTS

The Higher Education Bill (drafted in 2011) emphasised internationalisation with the term appearing as the document's keyword. The amended Bill mentioned that:

> "Internationalisation is the process of aligning local universities with the international institutions" (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 3)
>
> "Internationalisation is the responsibility of the Minister (of Research and Technology and Higher Education)" (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 16)
>
> "Internationalisation of higher education is done through:
>
> a. International standard learning process
> b. International partnership between Indonesian higher education institutions with foreign institutions
> c. Higher education provision by foreign institutions" (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 16)

The detailed description of internationalisation in the Bill included the definition and how internationalisation was to operate drew criticism within and beyond parliament. The direct intention of market internationalisation was easily spotted by public intellectuals (Darmaningtyas *et al.*, 2009; Susanti, 2011). The main concern with internationalisation as articulated by the Bill was that it would render local universities susceptible to global competition by allowing foreign universities to establish branch campuses in the country (The Jakarta Post, 2012). This was noted in one of the Bill's Articles that read "Higher education provision by foreign institutions". The Article was identified as a manifestation of market internationalisation intent. It would mean that foreign institutions were free to establish their campus branches in Indonesia, thus paving the way for foreign investors to capture the huge Indonesian market. The "international standard learning process" also drew criticism in light of the failure that occurred when international standards in secondary schooling were adopted. The case of the annulled International Standard School demonstrated an uncritical importation of international standard learning processes which "erode and corrode the nation's policy-making capacity and the autonomy of defining what is considered valuable in the national education system" (Sakhiyya, 2011, p. 360). The policy of International Standard School was declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in 2013 because it breached the Constitution for discrimination and segregating students (The Jakarta Post, 2013). A legal consequence following this decree was that International Standard Schools had to return to their original status as regular schools and it required the withdrawal of English bilingual education from public schools. This internationalisation trend has received more attention since the annulment of international standard school. The public became more alert to this 'internationalisation' notion, and this was reflected in the debate of this word within and beyond the parliament.

FIRST NODAL DISCOURSE: INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIP

In the face of vigorous criticism and with memories of the privatisation furrow still fresh and along with the international standard school policy, the word 'internationalisation' and its related explanation was removed in the promulgated Act of Higher Education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012). It was replaced by the binomial phrase 'international

partnership' with the word 'partnership' assuming the defining function in the lexical cluster. Corbel argues (2014) that examining such binomial phrases provide clues to the process of word selection in policy texts. I argue that the shift from 'internationalisation' into 'international partnership' signals an attempt to use a more politically acceptable term while maintaining the original intent of internationalisation. Fairclough calls this as a 'nodal discourse', "discourses which subsume and articulate in a particular way a great many other discourses" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 507).

What is left in the current Act is a section on international partnership that reads as follows.

> (1) International partnership of higher education is the process of integrating international dimension into academic activities to take part in global interaction without losing Indonesian values
>
> (2) International partnership should be based on equality and mutual respect by promoting knowledge, technology and humanity for human life
>
> (3) International partnership includes partnership in education, research and community involvement
>
> (4) International partnership in the development of higher education can be realised through, for example:
> a. partnership between higher education institutions in Indonesia with those of overseas in organising quality education
> b. establishment of Indonesian and cultural studies in local and foreign universities; and
> c. establishment of independent scientific communities.
>
> (5) National policies on international partnership on Higher Education will be further issued in the Minister Regulation (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012, p. 36)

The term 'international partnership' or *'kerja sama internasional'* was selected due to its neutrality as a replacement for the more aggressive and ambitious 'internationalisation'. Neutrality is a key feature in the language of policy as it serves to disguise the political (Shore & Wright, 1997). Furthermore, the word 'international partnership' is actually a nodal discourse because it contains the contradictions of the knowledge internationalisation and

market internationalisation dualism which I discuss in the previous chapter. The term captures the idea of knowledge for its symbolic value. It refers to "the process of integrating international dimension into academic activities to take part in global interaction without losing Indonesian values" and "should be based on equality and mutual respect by promoting knowledge, technology and humanity for human life". 'Partnership' is also defined in terms of 'global democratisation' suggesting equality and mutual respect (Featherstone, 2002). 'International partnership' implies the extension as well as institutionalisation of knowledge internationalisation by enabling the long established 'interaction rituals' to occur.

Although the section of the Act does not refer explicitly to economic imperatives, the process of establishing 'international partnership' with foreign institutions does deal with the fact that "while almost all [international partnerships] are marketed under the rhetoric of global citizenship, many programmes are, in practice, narrowly economic and instrumental in their structure and function" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 371). Therefore, although it is only the knowledge internationalisation discourse that appears as the text in the policy document, market internationalisation discourse has its material reality in the shadows of the knowledge internationalisation discourse. In other words, the form of market internationalisation discourse is now indirect as compared with the previously direct market privatisation discourse, a directness that enabled its rejection. This new indirect market internationalisation discourse appears side by side with the old knowledge internationalisation discourse, both in the policy documents as well as in the language of the local agents. And as I showed in the discussion of the history of international scholarship, the new language slots easily into that historical context.

In addition, the word 'partnership' with its positive connotation in 'international partnership' might be intended to anticipate and soften criticism of the market internationalisation discourse as well as display a neutral position towards the contradictions of internationalisation. 'Partnership' demonstrates a certain political positioning in encouraging the idea of a 'bottom up' aspiration for internationalisation with the universities being seen as 'partners' in the process.

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The substitution of 'internationalisation' with 'international partnership' creates an ambiguous space for translating the policy. It is an ambiguous context within which university administrators are unsure about whether internationalisation is a 'mandate' demanded by the government or an 'initiative' taken by the universities. 'Mandate' has a particular Indonesian feel. It refers to something that comes from the government whether or not an official policy is attached to the statement. 'Mandate' is the closest equivalent to the word *'amanah'* in the Indonesian language. Before 1960s, *amanah* was used to refer to policy. Currently, its meaning widens into something beyond policy.

MANDATE OR INITIATIVE?

This ambiguity is reflected in the responses provided by my interviewees. These are the university elite who occupy a range of positions. Some interviewees believe that it is an initiative, some others are unsure about its legal standing. Others, such as the Rector of the C3 University, believe that internationalisation is a university initiative as a response towards societal needs and it is currently the trend in Indonesian universities. His view is captured in the statement below:

> *I think it is more of university initiative. Initiative is borne out of an environment. We are part of higher education and society's dynamic needs. The (internationalisation) initiative emerges from those references. It then becomes the trend in Indonesian universities.* (Interview with the Rector of the C3 University)

The Head of the International Office of the C1 University shares the same view. For the C1 University, there is no doubt that internationalisation is an institutional initiative. However he acknowledges that a public university cannot be independent from 'mandate', as his internationalisation team needs to write proposals to get funding in order to strengthen the International Office.

Internationalisation is an initiative in our university, even though we cannot be independent from the government's mandate. Our international office is mainly funded by the university, but we also receive support funding from the Directorate General of Higher Education. It's by competition, so we need to write proposals to get funding and other supports from them. (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University)

The Head of the International Office of the C2 University is unsure if internationalisation is a government mandate or a university initiative. He refers to internationalisation as "a concept to share and support". He also finds it difficult to describe how internationalisation is introduced by commenting "the awareness [of internationalisation] emerges simultaneously from each individual university around 2009ish".

I am unsure if it is a mandate. I think it is more of a concept to share and support. The awareness [of internationalisation] emerges simultaneously from each individual university around 2009ish… So, we cannot say that internationalisation is a main project, I think it is more a side project… Our focus is still on access or Gross Enrolment Rate. The number of high school graduates continuing to higher education is still very low… When we have dealt with this access issue, we could then move on to the quality of delivery" (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C2 University)

The Head of the International Office also mentions that "internationalisation is a side project", because the focus is more on access than quality. According to the Head of the International Office of the C2 University, it is public 'access' that becomes the main issue in Indonesian higher education, as discussed in Chapter Two that it is clearly written in the Constitution. Therefore, a mandate or even a fixed policy on internationalisation would position higher education against the Constitution. The ambiguity in internationalisation might be a result of the many intents of higher education reforms, but it can also be a strategy to realise it. If this is so, public access to higher education is replaced by the market.

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The Rector of the C2 University is also unsure. He considers that internationalisation is merely an "encouragement" by the government given the absence of "any clear funding and facilities". Nonetheless, "All Rectors have agreed with this commitment to internationalisation".

> *It was previously an encouragement to be World Class University. A soft encouragement, without any clear funding and facilities. So, it's not regulated by law, but by a non-formal encouragement through national meetings. All Rectors have agreed with this commitment to internationalisation.* (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University)

Although my interviewees' responses tend to point towards 'initiative' over 'mandate', the uncertainty is resolved by referring to the competitive grants provided by the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. This includes providing competitive grants for advancing international partnerships (Directorate of Higher Education, 2015a) and developing an International Office in every university (Directorate of Higher Education, 2015b). These grants are provided to promote internationalisation across universities with competitive funding schemes that ensure the internationalisation agenda is running. In addition, rather than articulating the intent of internationalisation through written policy documents, "national meetings" for university Rectors are organised to create a shared vision on internationalisation where "all rectors have agreed with this commitment to internationalisation"

These initiatives work from the assumption, one that is no longer open to debate, that internationalisation has become necessary for the survival of the universities. However they project an impression that internationalisation is not imposed by the government. The requirement is in indirect ways and appears bottom up. This gives the impression that democracy is at work with the universities being partners in the internationalisation enterprise.

My interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education shows this belief in the inevitability of internationalisation. My interviewee explains that "international partnership is necessary" in the heightened global partnership development and agreement, such as APEC and ASEAN Economic Community.

> *We need to look at the global development. There are many agreements which point to the needs of international partnership, moreover in facing ASEAN Economic Community. For example, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting has agreed that APEC members promote student mobility and increase foreign education providers.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education)

INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIP DISCOURSE: LATEST DEVELOPMENT

The most recent development of the international partnership discourse is even more interesting. In 2015, where the interview for this study took place, the government made the commitment to protect local universities. This is done by not allowing any establishment of foreign campuses or foreign investment in Indonesian universities. This government's commitment and attempt to protect the local universities was explained by the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education, during the interview.

> *If we open our doors, foreign universities will flock here. Many people asked me how to establish foreign universities in Indonesia, but we have to be careful. If we compete with them, our local universities will lose. Government cannot then guarantee the safety of its own local universities… This does not really matter for our top-ranked universities, they are relatively safe. But how about the rest majority? They're going to be slashed down.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education)

However, when this thesis was near submission, the commitment has seemingly changed. On 29th January 2018, the Minister of Research and Technology and Higher Education recently

released a press statement saying that by mid-2018 there will be 5 - 10 foreign campuses operating in Indonesia, to name a few, University of Cambridge (UK), Central Queensland University (Australia), National Taiwan University (Taiwan), and the University of Melbourne (Australia). The Minister emphasised that “this is not a form of neo-colonialism in higher education sector, but a collaboration” (Antara News, 2018). The partnership scheme is the initiative undertaken by the Ministry to justify the operation of those foreign universities in the country. This scheme works under the international partnership framework. More practically, the foreign universities will be required to be affiliated with a local private university to operate in Indonesia. They will also be required to focus on certain subjects considered to contribute to economic productivity, such as science, technology, engineering, business and management.

The government believes that this strategy would be able to boost up the quality and reputation of local universities. It accelerates knowledge transfer, improve institutional performance, build world-class reputation, and thus contribute to the nation’s competitiveness. Significantly, the initiative is aimed to respond to market demands for better higher education provision. Indonesia has a considerable top market segment of young people hungry for higher education of world-class quality. They usually pursue their study abroad as full-paid international students mostly in the UK, the US, and Australia. Thus, it makes sense to capture this market by providing them with educational provision of similar quality through this partnership package.

During the completion of this thesis, the ‘partnership’ scheme is hotly debated by not only public intellectuals who disagree with the Minister’s proposal, but also some factions in the House of Representatives. They view the initiative as jeopardising the existence of local universities through such an internationalisation strategy (Antara News, 2018). Although the Minister’s decision might be altered in the future, this recent development of international partnership discourse certainly demonstrates that policy discourse is always “productive, performative and continually contested” (Shore et al., 2011, p. 1).

SECOND NODAL DISCOURSE: INTERNATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS

The second nodal discourse of internationalisation is *'daya saing bangsa'* in Indonesian language or 'international competitiveness' in English. The binomial phrase 'international competitiveness' appears six times in the Higher Education Act (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012, pp. 1, 2, 7, 33) and 25 times in the (Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, 2015, p. iii, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 29). The shift from 'internationalisation' to 'international competitiveness' implies an attempt to massage or at least soften the language in order to make it palatable to a public alert for signs of global market forces given the heightened awareness in the post-privatisation period. It also suggests a sense of urgency that it is a competition, 'We must act or we'll be let out!' But is there really a competition? Does a university need to be competitive to be a university? The taken-for-granted notion of 'international competitiveness' unlikely poses such fundamental questions, moreover to question whether this is a 'constructed' or 'natural' competition. Capitalism is about relentless accumulation, competition is its main way of regulating accumulation.

Although the term 'international competitiveness' has appeared since the early 2000s in several educational policy texts, it is obvious in the current 2015-2019 Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education that international competitiveness is "the society's aspiration" as a consequence of "the global economic environment which leads to market openness and economic integration demanding Indonesia to take part" (Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education, 2015, p. 10). International competitiveness contributes to the inevitability of internationalisation.

My interviewees also use this idea of competitiveness as a rationale for internationalisation. The Dean of the most internationalised faculty of the C2 University states that the faculty's vision is achieving competitiveness in ASEAN and at the Asia level, with the optimism that it will be achieved in five years for ASEAN, and 10 years for Asia level.

> *Step-by-step we need to be able to compete in ASEAN region in 2020. It's in five years to come, I think it's achievable. The next five year would be the Asian level.* (Interview with the Dean of the most internationalised faculty at the C2 University)

The Rector of the C3 University shares the same opinion. He also associates international competitiveness (or the ability to 'compete' globally) with the regionalisation in ASEAN, i.e. ASEAN Economic Community, as a reference for the urgency of internationalisation.

> *We are a big country with a large population, and we are entering the ASEAN Economic Community. We need to anticipate this. If we do not have qualified human resources, we cannot compete with the other nine ASEAN countries. We will merely be their market.* (Interview with the Rector of the C3 University).

The international competitiveness phrase suggests that Indonesia's competitiveness depends on the capacity and quality of its universities to support its broader economic internationalisation agenda. In Wright's statement: "Universities are drivers of competitiveness in the so-called global knowledge economy" (2015, p. 7). Within this logic, the way to improve a university's capacity and quality is through running internationalisation programmes, such as establishing international partnerships, endorsing staff and student mobility and ensuring quality assurance. Universities, in turn, will benefit from the capacity building resources granted by the government in the form of institutional support, competitive grants, and other rewards. This symbiosis is mutually advantageous as both groups are assumed to benefit from the relationship. This is especially the case when such a relation is seen to be built from the bottom (society and university) up to the national government. In this way, it serves to contribute to the societal cohesion and stability that is necessary for the localised regulation of global capitalism.

Despite the shift in terminology and the ambiguity at national policy level, internationalisation has materialised and manifested in the institutional policies and mundane realities of

Indonesian universities. Internationalisation appears in the vision, mission and strategic planning of the universities. It is in the forms of associated terms, such as 'world class universities', 'international recognition', and 'global outlook'. For example, the vision of the top-tier university is "to be an excellent and innovative world class university" (interview with the Rector of the C1 University, also noted from the university's policy document). The Rector of the C2 University envisions the university "to be a conservation university with an international recognition" (interview with the Rector of the C2 University, also noted from the university's policy document). The C3 University also shares the same vision. The Rector states that the university aims "to be an outstanding university on the basis of technology with a global outlook" (interview with the Rector of the C3 University, also noted from the university's policy document). These universities set up international offices to execute their internationalisation programmes as a commitment to internationalisation. It is not an overstatement if Royono and Rahwidiati, observers on Indonesian higher education, comment on this phenomenon: "Ask the managers of any university in Indonesia about their vision for their institution and an almost automatic response would be to become a world-class university" (2013, p. 180).

The government, in this case the regulatory body for Indonesia's higher education, the Directorate General of Higher Education of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education, regularly hold national meetings to assemble university leaders to ensure that internationalisation is ongoing. Therefore, although there is no written central government policy on internationalisation, the national meetings exert a sense of peer pressure amongst university leaders about their institutional vision. The peer pressure within a discursive environment has effectively created a culture of conformity to reform universities' orientation and movement.

The ambiguity and disjuncture between what is written in the policy documents and what happens in the field confirms the argument that policies are not merely confined to texts (Shore *et al.*, 2011). Rather, "a policy finds expression through sequences of events; it creates new social semantic spaces, new sets of relations, new political subjects and new webs of

meaning" (Shore et al., 2011, p. 1). There are official texts which have no significant impacts and materiality, but there are substantial happenings that do not have any policies attach to them. Also, there are nodal discourses that "subsume and articulate in a particular way a great many other discourses" in the policy documents (Fairclough, 1995, p. 507). Therefore, although the word 'internationalisation' is not written in the national policy document, it is still taken as a policy to implement through the working of its nodal discourses.

Tadaki and Tremewan argue that internationalisation is "an emergent political project that is imagined, discussed and acted out by university administrators to each other as well as other agents in and beyond the university" (2013, p. 371). It becomes successful by employing an indirect market internationalisation discourse side by side with the old knowledge internationalisation discourse both captured within one word: 'internationalisation'. The discursive adjustment and practices of internationalisation revealed from the policy analysis indicate a marriage of interests between, on the one hand, the government and the university elite (the university senior administrators) as the local agents, and global players of the higher education market on the other.

GLOBAL PLAYERS

The increasingly significant role of the global players with regard to internationalisation cannot be neglected. According to Wright (2017b), the new global and state structures in the post-war era of colonial independence are highly influenced by global players such as the World Bank, IMF and United Nations. The previous rejected privatisation was imposed by the national government as a consequence of the IMF and the World Bank financial assistance's to Indonesia (Darmaningtyas et al., 2009; Susanti, 2011). However by 2012 following the opposition to privatisation, the government and the global players represented in the powerful intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), such as IMF and the World Bank, had learned from the hostility generated by this approach and so dealt differently with the internationalisation initiative.

In the World Bank's 2013 *Implementation Completion and Results Report* for the project of Indonesia: Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency (IMHERE), one of the Bank's key indicators to measure achievement of the project is that "the draft law on education institutions (*Badan Hukum Pendidikan* – on privatisation) is passed by 2010" (World Bank, 2013, p. iii). But due to public resistance and the revocation of privatisation policy, the Bank sought to find a framework that "allows for more *flexibility* of institutional autonomy and accountability" (World Bank, 2015, p. 8 - my italics). The term 'flexibility' demands an institutional reflexivity to enable the penetration of privatisation discourse into higher education policy making. In other words, institution and policy makers need to "put on a disguise, [by] using other faces and terms" (Heryanto, 2005, p. 72).

The Bank works not only at the national level to render higher education system reform possible, but also supports the implementation of the new Higher Education Act. Universities that win a 'soft loan' from the Bank – a loan usually for developing countries made on terms very favourable to the borrower – have to make institutional and structural adjustments to meet with the World Bank's loan conditionality. There are currently 41 public and private universities in Indonesia involved in the project (World Bank, 2015). The World Bank provides various technical assistance to the universities. This includes providing consultancy for envisioning the university future, developing capacities (financial and physical asset management), making strategic and business plans for the institutions, designing revenue-generating activities, and investing in social responsibility programs (equity scholarship). According to the World Bank, these programmes are believed to leverage the quality of universities in order to achieve the nation's competitiveness in the global 'competition' (2015). Therefore, although internationalisation is not mandated in the Higher Education Act, it is manifested in each individual university through these types of policies and programmes. This is partly because of the role of IGOs in instituting reform in the higher education institutions (Bassett & Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009; Robertson, 2008).

The influence of global players in instituting higher education reforms in nation-states is an evidence that there has been a shift from a predominantly national education system to a

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more global one (Dale & Robertson, 2012). This global political project, with its new configuration of influence and power, requires local agents who possess "an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness towards divergent cultural experiences" (Hannerz, 1992, p. 252). It is the university elite (described in the next chapter) who play considerable roles in localising the global discourse and therefore have the opportunities to negotiate the push and pull between the global forces and local needs.

In sum, the shift from a top-down and direct approach of privatisation to a more bottom-up and an indirect move of internationalisation demonstrates political rationalities and projects to rejuvenate economic and social participation in a globalising economy. This new approach is seen to be inventive and pragmatic. As Tadaki and Tremewan (2013) argue that internationalisation as a political project accounts for agency and contingency in the strategic configuration of actors and their interests within the transformation of global capitalism. As a political project, internationalisation is viewed as an ensemble of "strategically mobilised narratives (or discourses) that marshal diverse and often contradictory interests and assemble institutions, governmentalities, political and economic trajectories, and socio-spatial imaginaries" (Lewis, 2011, p. 227). Indonesia's case of internationalisation shows similar symptoms. Despite the contradictions, internationalisation is believed to hold a certain strategic coherence as a way of engaging with continued national struggles to build a nation and secure national as well as international competitiveness for Indonesia's developing economy. Unlike privatisation where the dominating discourse is market, internationalisation can be associated to the progressive pursuit of knowledge. It suggests the more noble tradition of knowledge. Internationalisation, thus, holds a dual function, both serving the symbolic and instrumental sphere. However, it is likely that although its orientation is directed to more instrumental economic purpose or to compete in the market, the way it is presented is through the symbolic sphere or nation building. This contributes to its wide acceptance in the country.

Like other public sectors, higher education is subject to management reforms that support privatisation and internationalisation in practice. The increasing use of neo-liberal discourses

such as competitiveness, efficiency, and accountability in the policy documents as well as every day activities testify to this shift (Fairclough, Jessop, & Sayer, 2002). However, unlike other public sectors, public higher education institutions retain (and struggle for) a degree of autonomy to demonstrate their commitment to the pursuance of knowledge and social justice. It is an autonomy located in the intrinsic value of knowledge as a 'priceless' good, separated from political and economic interests, as I have argued in previous chapters.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed Indonesian higher education policies and wider structures by drawing on relevant policy documents and interviews. My purpose is to show that although both knowledge internationalisation and market internationalisation discourses are used in the policy and by the university elite, market internationalisation discourse takes a different form in the localised context. Internationalisation is accepted in Indonesia because it suggests the more noble tradition of knowledge and it is believed to build the nation's competitiveness in global economy.

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CHAPTER VI

LOCALISING INTERNATIONALISATION: UNIVERSITY ELITE AND COSMOPOLITANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter restores socio-economic class to the analysis of local agents engaged in the localisation process of internationalisation in Indonesia. Despite the declining trend of employing socio-economic class as an analytical tool in the social sciences (Eagleton, 2011; Friedman, 2007), I argue that the theory is useful in identifying a particular group of people who mediate the global-local intersection. This chapter refers to these local agents of internationalisation as 'university elite'. It deserves a 'class' label because it deals with the means of (knowledge) production and control, processes which require an acting subject. In addition, I want to place greater emphasis on the roles of this class in mediating the local-global intersection regarding the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. It is not enough to consider processes alone as though they exist of themselves without any agency. The emerging class I identify in Indonesian higher education is well encapsulated by the famous aphorism 'Act locally but think globally' – a character of the 'global middle class' into which the agents belong. According to Ball and Nikita, they are the "burgeoning, mobile, post-national middle class who operate on a global scale… in relation to a concomitant and more general process of the internationalisation of education" (2014, pp. 82–83). It is important to note that these individuals are not 'practising academics', although they may have begun their career as academics. Instead, they are members of the senior management at universities. They are the executives of the 'knowledge business' whose roles mainly deal with controlling and managing universities in relation to the local and global pressures. Regarding internationalisation, they are responsible for, to name a few, planning internationalisation policies, promoting global engagement, advancing international partnership, designing internationalisation programmes, and coordinating staff/student mobility.

Both the internationalisation discourses identified in the previous chapters, 'knowledge internationalisation' and 'market internationalisation', promote a culture of cosmopolitanism and ascribe a new cosmopolitan identity to this university elite. In return, cosmopolitanism emerges simultaneously within a dialectical relation to localising ideologies and local identities. Given this dialectical relationship between localisation and cosmopolitanism, I use the concept of cosmopolitanism in the analysis of the relationship between the internationalisation discourses and the university elite. My purpose is to show how they engage in the localisation process of internationalisation and the ways in which they are changed as a result, acquiring a cosmopolitan identity.

This chapter, therefore, aims to advance the discussion of the contradiction of internationalisation as explored in the previous chapter. More specifically, I examine the tension of internationalisation as it is experienced by the subjects in my study. Internationalisation can be theorised as either a cultural disposition taking an individual form or an economic driver. Cosmopolitanism is a form of cultural disposition or identity that appears to be symbolic, universal and democratic. It is an identity acquired by the university elite within the knowledge internationalisation discourse. While the economic context shapes the identity of these senior higher education executives and administrators as the agents of global market and interests, individuals who act in the service of their economic interests acquire a cosmopolitan identity.

RESTORING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS

Socio-economic class theory is employed here as a useful conceptual framework to examine the "social agents" or mediators of global-local interplay of the internationalisation process. 'Class' is a conceptualised social category that explains certain collective position occupied by people in terms of their relation to the process and control of production and to the regulation of those processes and their effects (Poulantzas, 1975). Given my argument that knowledge is a dominant productive force in contemporary global capitalism, and the position

of this university elite in relation to how knowledge is controlled, class theory is a useful theoretical tool to explore the elite's relationship to knowledge 'product'.

The usefulness of class concept and class analysis in social theory has been overlooked nowadays along with the decline of Marxism as a political project (Eagleton, 2011; Friedman, 2007). This is partly caused by the dominant discourse of the 'myth of classless' society which assumes that our society is already meritocratic, whilst in fact it is not (Westergaard, 1972), and partly by the 'cultural turn' in the turning away from the use of class to culture in analysing social stratification (Friedman, 2007, 2016; Rata, 2012; Sayer, 2001).

In the Indonesian context, the issue of class had been swept under the rug by the New Order administration through its anti-communism propaganda since 1965 and the banning of Indonesian Communist Party (Farid, 2005). It was then followed by language engineering and standardisation in 1970s to 'neutralise' words and their meanings (Errington, 1992; Widjojo & Noorsalim, 2004). For example, peasants, labour, urban middle class and traders were referred as 'the masses'. The word *buruh* (which means *labour*) was banned and replaced with *karyawan* (directly translated as *employee/staff*) or *pekerja* (*worker*) instead.

In university life, the study of Marxism was forbidden in order to maintain 'political stability' by repressing analytical and critical thinking over social and economic life (Nugroho, 2005). This banning was regulated by the government policy (TAP MPRS) Number XXV/MPRS/1966. The rejection of the concept of class and class analysis in Indonesia and in Indonesian social science through state-orchestrated discursive practices resonated with the "breaking down of class delineation" in the European and American social sciences in 1950s (Westergaard, 1972). However, it is more extreme in Indonesia because the elimination of Marxism as both a scientific *and* political project was carried out through "one of the biggest mass slaughters in modern history" in 1965 (Heryanto, 2005, p. 64). The institutionalised massacre targeted communists and alleged leftists at the instigation of the armed forces and government.

Approximately 500,000 people were killed between October 1965 and March 1966 (Cribb, 2001). On these particular statistics, Farid (2005) commented that "it is still not clear today how many social sciences scholars, teachers, researchers and students were killed arrested, or exiled and unable to return to Indonesia since October 1956" (p. 169). It was President Abdurrahman Wahid who courageously lifted the banning of Marxism teaching in the university in 2000, despite all the condemnation against his decision (Bourchier, 2001). Even today, Marxism remains a controversial issue in Indonesia (Kasenda, 2014).

Nevertheless, I use socio-economic class theory because the approach has at least three analytical theoretical strengths relevant for my study. *Firstly,* the theory provides a means to theorise the global-local interaction which I have discussed in the previous chapter. It "mediates the form of global-local relationship as the expansive forces of capitalism are mediated dialectically in the shaping and channelling processes of the local" (Rata, 1996, p. 13). The global-local interaction is not a linear process. As this study has problematised in the previous two chapters, attempts to localise global capitalism do not come without resistance. This was demonstrated in the Indonesian context with the rejection of privatisation but the acceptance of internationalisation, albeit in a new contradictory discourse. Socio-economic class theory's emphasis on the dialectics of global-local relationship enables me to explain this rejection and acceptance phenomena in Indonesian higher education policies.

Secondly, socio-economic class theory is concerned with the effort of identifying and analysing the "mediators between the global economic system and the internal economy of the state" (Turner, 2003, p. 50). In order to answer the central question of this study, that is why was privatisation rejected but internationalisation become accepted, I need to identify the local forces that generate significant political influence and moderation in carrying out the changes in higher education sector. The theory helps identify agents and their interests in this localisation process of global capitalism through the discourses they produce or that are produced around them, in this case, the contradictory discourses of knowledge internationalisation and market internationalisation discourses.

Thirdly, Marxism, the conceptual framework that gives birth to socio-economic class, is not merely a theory to Indonesia. It has gained a central yet controversial position in the birth and development of Indonesia as a nation. According to the founding fathers of Indonesia, such as Soekarno, and Tan Malaka, Marxism is like a flame that burns the revolutionary spirit to fight against imperialism and colonialism prior to 1945 independence. The founding fathers of Indonesia were fluent in Marxism and inspired by Marx's works. Marxism gained its influence through infiltration led by Henk Sneevliet, a Dutch communist (Kahin, 1952). The infiltration of Marxism into the biggest trade and labour Islamic organisation called *Sarekat Islam* (Islamic Union) was successful through its young members, such as Semaoen, Darsono, Tan Malaka and Alimin Prawirodirdjo. This was because Sarekat Islam shared the same goals: fighting for the proletariat (who were the indigenous populace) and against the capitalist class (the Dutch colonial power and indigenous elite). The infiltration fragmented the organisational body of *Sarekat Islam* into two, the 'white' (led by Agus Salim) group which maintained the Islamic vision and the 'red' (led by Semaoen) which was based on socialism-communism. Tjokroaminoto, the leader of the party, remained the mediator of both segments. Later, the red wing established a communist party in Indonesia and it marked the birth of Marxism. Despite the contestation and controversy, however, this event demonstrated that Marx's theories brought a new collective consciousness that colonialism was a form of capitalism. The relationship established by the colonial bourgeoisie over the local proletariat could be seen as an economic exploitative relationship. According to Marx (2012), revolution could only happen when workers unite. This was the characteristic feature of the emerging nationalist intelligentsia in the Asian colonies prior to the independence movement in India, Vietnam and Indonesia (Anderson, 1983). As an illustration, in the 1920s, Tan Malaka, the bestowed Indonesia's Father of the Republic, could not avoid learning about the philosophies and the Revolution to imagine Indonesia's future as an independent state and as a Republic. Marx's texts were smuggled inside a can from European ships to Indonesia to fan the revolutionary flame. With this critical spirit, I would therefore argue that Marxism remains a relevant theoretical framework today despite the anti-Marxism propaganda imposed by the New Order administration.

It is never easy to identify and describe this sensitive area, given the overlapping and dynamic nature of class struggle and conflict (Carter, 1985; Gordon, 1978), not to mention its dark history in Indonesia (Farid, 2005; Heryanto, 2005; Nugroho, 2005). But, it is impossible to detach the issues of social structure or class from the wider context that constitutes higher education and its context with nation-states (Friedman, 2007). Reliable sources for explaining the rejection of privatisation but acceptance of internationalisation can be found in "the mundane activities of those who help manage the contemporary global order" (Friedman, 2007, p. 182). The agents who mediate the internationalisation process in Indonesian higher education institutions are participants in my study for this reason.

They are university agents, state bureaucrats, and technocratic proponents. I interviewed them, observed their 'mundane activities', and even joined one of their Focus Group Discussions concerned with designing the institutional internationalisation strategies. The university agent in the top leadership position, that is the Rector, is the key decision maker in the university. I interviewed three Rectors of the C1, C2 and C3 University respectively. Rectors envision the institutional framework and mission of the university. They also have regular meetings (called 'Indonesian Rector Forum') at national level. This is the space where new trends and orientations of higher education institutions are introduced and shared, including internationalisation. Now that the internationalisation of higher education becomes a trending strategy in Indonesia, most Indonesian universities seek to achieve international recognition (Royono & Rahwidiati, 2013). This is reflected in the university's vision and mission statements (Soejatminah, 2011), which I discussed with the Rectors of the three universities. University middle administrators managing internationalisation, such as the Head of International Office and the Deans, are in charge of translating the Rector's vision into more operational programs. I interviewed the Heads of International Office and the Deans of the C1, C2, and C3 universities respectively. They design the internationalisation strategies of the university (from academic to managerial business) and carry out the day-to-day programs of internationalisation, such as monitoring the progress of the programmes (internationalisation of curriculum, summer school, student exchange) up to welcoming

guests from abroad. I also interviewed one state bureaucrat who is responsible for internationalisation programmes at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia. Further description and analysis of these 'mundane activities' of the actors is discussed in Chapter Seven.

By referring to the socio-economic structure of the society in relation to the means of production (of knowledge), the power of local actors can be understood as a 'knowledge bourgeoisie'. They are the elite of the 'knowledge middle class'. I discuss the complexity of finding the most accurate terms to conceptualise and describe this group below. It is no longer the old bourgeoisie, those owners of industrial capital, who still significantly influence social change at national level in Indonesia (Aspinall, 2013), but it is the 'knowledge upper middle class' or 'university elite' who play some considerable roles in re-shaping global forces.

This elite may have begun as academic scholars but they are now the senior administrators. They are the university decision-makers and it is they who control how internationalisation occurs in the university – what strategies, policies, and practices are adopted with respect to internationalisation. They are the ones who sought "to differentiate universities through branding, mission statements and strategic plans" in order to find a market niche in the local and global marketplace (Blackmore, 2017, p. 93). In Indonesian public universities (which are represented by C1 and C2 Universities in this study), academics (from ordinary lecturers up to Rectors) are employed by the state as civil servants under the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. In the private universities represented by C3 University, permanent lecturers are managed by the Coordinator of Private HEI (*Kopertis*) as academics and professionals. These university senior administrators occupy the position where they "act as mediators between the global economic system and the internal economy of the state" (Turner, 2003, p. 50). More specifically, Turner refers to this group as "involved with mediating processes of exchange, communication, and consumption, but not directly with production, [they] tend to conceive the social world in terms of market relations and forms

of circulation, while ignoring the role of processes of production and thus of class" (2003, p. 40).

This description fits my participants. The job descriptions of these local actors regarding internationalisation are, to name a few, planning internationalisation policies, promoting global engagement, advancing international partnership, designing internationalisation programmes, coordinating and facilitating staff/student mobility. These job descriptions echo Turner's description of the "mediating processes". These actors exist in almost every Indonesian university. The structural positions they occupy in public universities are established by the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education.

The University Rector in public universities is elected through the university's senate forum where professors from each faculty gather to screen, vote and inaugurate. The senate holds 65 percent of the vote, and the Minister holds 35 percent. The senate's votes are often divided, and therefore the Minister holds considerable power in making the final choice. With regard to the position of the Head of International Office, the Ministry provided institutional grants to encourage the establishment of an international office in every university and to advance its international partnership as a form of commitment to internationalisation (Directorate of Higher Education, 2015a, 2015b). Therefore, a university's internationalisation policies and practices including the institutional international offices are under the monitor of the Sub-Directorate of the International Partnership of the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education (I interviewed the key person of this directorate). Because of this relationship to power and the control of internationalisation policies and practices in the university, these actors distinguish themselves (and are distinguished by others) from other 'ordinary' academics, state officials and civil servants. My study, therefore, investigates the political commitment of these actors – that the members of this class act politically in similar ways due to their duties and responsibilities, even if they are hardly aware of their commonalities.

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The roles played by the Indonesian academic elite are most likely not different from other elite intellectuals found elsewhere in contemporary technological societies (Ball & Nikita, 2014; Carter, 1985; Cohen, 2004; Rata, 1996a, 2011; Shore & Nugent, 2002). As Rata argues that "The burgeoning numbers of tertiary educated professionals of the post-war period have become a distinctive new middle class because of the increased role of knowledge and information as a valuable means of production in the global market economy of late capitalism" (1996a, p. 225). However, with the emergence of the knowledge market in higher education since the 1980s, the senior administrators in universities emerge from out of academia to take up the structural positions and responsibilities. As a consequence, they have direct control of the market operations. They establish and operate the global network of Vice Chancellors, Rectors and Faculty Deans in international consortia (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013).

According to Tadaki and Tremewan (2013), international consortia are the networks where local actors of internationalisation meet and connect to establish values and international institutional relationships. In other words, it is the space where the mediation of local and global interplay occurs. There are various kinds of international consortia usually organised according to geographical area. These include the European University Association, the Association of American Universities, the Association of Pacific Rim Universities, and the ASEAN Universities Network. There are also other consortia which are based on interest, such as the Worldwide Universities Network. These are the sites where internationalisation agendas are established and negotiated by the academic elites. One consortium that my research participants often refer to as their international consortium is the ASEAN Universities Network (AUN). This regional consortium is geographically the closest one as Indonesia is a member of ASEAN, and thus AUN. It has become "the prime mover and strategic alliance for the advancement of higher education in ASEAN" (AUN, 2017, p. 6). Several Indonesian C1 universities are the founders and members of the AUN Board of Trustees, including the one under my study. It has gained currency among Indonesian universities in the way that it pushes the regionalisation agenda of higher education in the ASEAN region. For instance, it sets the regional Quality Assurance on top of the national one and establishes regional credit transfer system among its members.

Historically, it was this knowledge elite who had been influential in bringing about social change in Indonesia – "a committed and even enthusiastic social base for democratic rule and more thorough-going liberal reforms" (Aspinall, 2013, p. 238). In Anderson's language, it was the 'nationalist intelligentsia in the colonies' who led the anti-colonialist struggle. Chatterjee (1993) argued that they were the ones who consequently came to state power by "mobilising popular 'nationalism' and using the Machiavellian instruments of official nationalism" (p. 22). Therefore, although they did not directly own the means of production and are not the bourgeoisie of Marx's account, they are the most active ones (Lev, 1990). The roles played by these actors to bring about change could be traced back to the trajectory of change and the arc of contention in the course of Indonesian history (see Chapter Three on the history of Indonesian higher education). It was mainly these cosmopolitan educated individuals who played considerable roles and exerted influence in bringing about change in the country. They acquired power and status as a result. They also acquired cosmopolitan capital from their international education and networks. Those international networks advanced and solidified as members participated in global interactions, or in Collin's (1998) word, the interaction rituals that I referred to in Chapter Four.

To conceptualise this highly educated (usually Western educated) section of the elite occupying strategic positions in higher education institutions as 'knowledge elite' or a 'knowledge upper middle class' is not unproblematic. There have been considerable challenges in identifying 'classes' historically and specifically. For instance, Rata mentions the conundrum of identifying the 'new middle class' as to whether they can be distinguished as a specific class with its own economic base and political interests that are seen to be the interests of the institution to which they belong (Rata, 1996a). In the Indonesian context, the late humanitarian activist and intellectual *cum* the former President of Indonesia, Abdurrahman Wahid comments on this conundrum:

> "… it is still difficult to speak of a middle class in Indonesia. The backbone of that class is not an entrepreneurial group, as in the case of many other countries, but the professionals, civil servants and military officers, even

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> academics. In fact, what constitutes the elite in other countries is seen as the middle class in Indonesia." (Wahid, 1990, p. 22)

The source of the conundrum in categorising the local actors might be because, as Wahid observed, "what constitutes the elite in other countries is seen as the middle class in Indonesia". Wahid (1990) shares a similar observation with other Indonesian scholars and Indonesianists, such as Heryanto (1996, 2003), Robison (1996), Tanter and Young (1990) and Budiman (2011) who define the boundaries of middle class as professionals, civil servants, military officers and academics. What is unique about the Indonesian middle class, as identified by Wahid (1990) and Budiman (2011), is that they were 'born' two decades after the 1945 national independence. Most of the class members gain their social status through education or formal training which enables them access to government, military and politics. In contrast, during the colonial era, there were only two classes, namely the elite *(prijaji)* and the proletariat *(rakyat jelata).* In 1954, Van Niel observed this social stratification through the account *The Emergence of the Modern Indonesian Elite.* He divided Indonesians during Dutch colonialism into two classes and noticed the 'changing group' of the elite that gave rise to the emergence of the intermediary class between the elite and proletariat.

> "Indonesians, in 1900 and also today, recognise two levels in their society. The great masses of agrarian workers, villagers, and townsmen are regarded as the common people. The administrators, civil servants, and better educated and better situated Indonesians in both towns and countryside are known as the elite or *prijaji…* But the *prijaji* in 1900 were a changing group, for within its ranks were increasing numbers of civil servants and individuals who might best be classed as intellectuals and professional men. A certain number of such persons had always existed, but about 1900 they were coming to be somewhat more Western in their education and training and in their conception of service to state and society" (van Niel, 1960, pp. 15–26).

According to van Niel, the "increasing numbers of civil servants, intellectuals and professional men" led to the birth of the middle class in Indonesia. It was the first stage that marked the consolidation of this new class as the product of modern higher education in the late colonial period (Dick, 1985). Van Neil's observation on the nature and behaviour of this class that they

are "somewhat more Western in their education and training and in their conception of service to state and society" is useful in demonstrating that the middle class and elite is often Western educated, fluent in foreign language (Dutch then or now English), and having some degree of familiarity with its culture. These capitals, which they possess and develop, enable them to operate within two different cultures and function as the mediators of global forces upon the local context. Significantly, in the higher education sector, they are the product of higher education itself, a fact that places this institution into the very fabric of the class' construction.

Another characteristic of the Indonesian elite and middle class is that its members are politically active (Budiman, 2011; Heryanto, 1996). It was this group which demanded Indonesian autonomy and independence from the Dutch government and led the movement both in Europe and in Indonesia (Poeze *et al,* 2014; Ricklefs, 2001; Van Niel, 1960). Van Niel's (1960) description of the nature of this intermediary social group, influencing power but not owning the means of industrial production, holds true until today. Now, the group controls what is the main means of production in contemporary society, that of knowledge. They hold a significant degree of influence and power because of their "conceptual ability, better knowledge and increased opportunity to become involved in politics" (Rata, 1996a, p. 226). Therefore, it is not surprising if we may find this "group of the upwardly mobile… that one might find the most fervent reformers" (Lev, 1990, p. 29). Their emergence and influence cannot be negligible (Aspinall, 2013). By the 1990s social scientists began to include this element of social structure and employ the term 'middle class' to conceptualise this intermediate layer of Indonesian society who are mostly professionals, academics, and civil servants (Budiman, 2011; Heryanto, 1996, 2003; Robison & Goodman, 1996; Van Klinken & Berenschot, 2014; Wahid, 1990).

Statistics on the size of the Indonesian middle class have been contested. It depends on how this layer of 'middle class' is defined. Howard Dick (1985) used consumption criteria to define the middle class and estimated a mere 16.6% in urban Java, the rest being the wealthy elite and the proletariat. Van Klinken and Berenschot (2014) critiqued *The Economist* for reducing

what counts as middle class to "people who are not resigned to a life of poverty, who are prepared to make sacrifices to create a better life for themselves" (p. 3) and setting the income threshold just over US$2 a day. Some research defines 'middle class' households as those that possess television, refrigerator, and mobile phone. Such assessment criteria are reductive in attributing the notion of 'middle class' into the measurement of size, wealth and property. It runs the danger of equating the qualities of middle class with lifestyles and cultural tastes in an essentialist and ahistorical manner (Heryanto, 2003). Thus, the notion of 'middle class' in this study is more than just an economic category. Rather, I focus on the specific segments within the middle classes who play a significant role in mediating local-global interaction within the Indonesian higher education sector. I do this by drawing on Wahid's (1990) observation that it is a new group, not the large middle class of Western countries but the outcome of higher education in Indonesia's post-war decade.

In order to be precise concerning the boundaries of middle class factions for this study, I will refer to these local actors of internationalisation as 'university elite'. It deserves a 'class' label because it deals with the means of (knowledge) production and control. In conjunction with the production and control of 'knowledge' in the higher education sector, the term 'knowledge middle class' may fit because they are academics who are working with and on knowledge. However, not all members of this knowledge middle class are globally-oriented and play a role in higher education to mediate global forces, a position which provides a certain elite cultural capital. Other terms such as 'intellectual middle class' or 'new middle class' are also possible. But in Indonesia the word 'intellectual middle class' describes the opposing social actors (Heryanto, 2003). It refers to a group of few people "who was never tired of making efforts in bridging the gap between the middle-class and the lower class" (Budiman, 2011, p. 490). For the struggle they make, they receive public's "recognition of their commitment to the pursuance of truth, justice, ethics or beauty above all else" (Heryanto, 2003, p. 30). The term 'new middle class' is not accurate either, being often associated with life style and consumptive behaviour (Ansori, 2009; Gerke, 2000; Robison & Goodman, 1996).

In search of the best-fit term, I focus more on the roles of this class in acting as the intermediaries of the local-global intersection regarding the internationalisation of Indonesian higher education. It is the term 'university elite' that best accommodates the point I want to make: the mediation of global forces into local ways as well as the administration of the process. The phrase captures Friedman and Friedman's view that "if only 1.7 percent of the population of the world is on the move (internationally) today, then we have reason to suspect that the globalizing visions are based exclusively on the experiences of the academics and other movers who so identify" (2008, p. 8). This emerging class is well encapsulated by the famous aphorism 'Act locally but think globally' that I mentioned earlier. The globalising vision of the university elites is mostly reflected in the university's motto and/or vision statement. The three universities I studied embed such global orientation in their vision statement and mottos. The C1 University's motto is "locally rooted but globally recognised" and claimed as a "World Class University". The C2 University's motto is "a university with conservation orientation and international reputation". The C3 University's vision statement is "to become an excellent university based on technology and is internationally oriented". Such globalising vision reflects not only the contemporary trend of internationalisation, but more importantly the university elite whose vision is global orientation.

This is the character of the 'global middle class' conceptualised according to Ball and Nikita (2014, pp. 82–83) as the "burgeoning, mobile, post-national middle class who operate on a global scale […] in relation to a concomitant and more general process of the internationalisation of education". Therefore, despite the many possibilities available to refer to these globally oriented individuals in relation to knowledge production and control, the term 'university elite' is provisionally defensible for my study. I aim to highlight the intermediary roles for external capital to operate in Indonesia. It is a useful social construct derived (albeit imperfectly) from empirically observable practices which reveal social relations and structures operating within Indonesian higher education.

Friedman and Friedman's statement that "the globalizing visions are based exclusively on the experiences of the [university elite] academics" is vividly reflected during the Focus Group

Discussion (FGD) on best practice sharing of internationalisation I observed in the C2 University on the 9th August 2016. The invited speaker, the Head of International Office of a university belonged to the first category, shared his internationalisation strategy and explained why it was considered successful. The discussion unfolding in the forum suggested the university administrators' biggest challenge: how to make people also 'see' and share the vision of internationalisation. The speaker emphasised the importance of communicating internationalisation vision to the whole university members. To enable institutional change and realise the globalising vision, the speaker recommended a popular book entitled *"Our Iceberg is Melting"* (Kotter & Rathgeber, 2005) to the university administrators. The book addresses this central issue of how to enable the whole society to 'see' the vision of the top leadership through a fable. According to the FGD speaker, the fable about the penguin captured the problem of internationalisation in Indonesian higher education. This problem of not seeing the internationalisation vision for the local academics and administrative staffs of the university means that the 'globalising vision' is only owned by academics with global engagement experiences. Thus, the roles played by the university elite in higher education sector is to localise the global discourses of internationalisation in order to make it visible for those academics and university workers who are not part of the university leadership elite.

This major class reconfiguration from the industrial bourgeoisie to a 'new middle class elite' based on the knowledge industry contributes to shaping the localised forms of global forces (Rata, 2012). These operate in the public sectors. The university elite is the major actor in the global-local intersection as they are the "new professionals [who] occupy strategic position(s) in the creation of a liberation market" (Kellner & Heuberger, 1992, pp. 19–20). Public institutions in the country, such as higher education, used to be the sites of locally oriented education where both the elites are educated and the working class hoped to gain social mobility once graduated (Nugroho, 2005). However, two major factors have caused the changes into more globally oriented agenda. On the one hand, the nation's shift increasingly from "its role as a site of politics to a site of administration on behalf of the market" has changed the orientation of the higher education sector (Rata, 2012, p. 25). On the other hand, the emerging university elite who occupy strategic roles in higher education institutional

administration has mediated the global forces by reshaping them into local ways. My interviewees may be seen as members of this Indonesian university elite in terms of their strategic political agency. Such agency is the result of the access to and control of knowledge and the involvement of this elite in the increasing commodification of knowledge in the global market. However, such commodification is not straightforward, as my hypothesis of the contradictory meaning of internationalisation shows. This university elite lives in that contradiction and tension. The tension is explored further in the next section.

Much of the available literature about Indonesia discusses class structure in terms of its relationship to political participation or democracy in general (Aspinall, 2013; Budiman, 2011; Dhofier, 1980; Dick, 1985; Hefner, 1993; Heryanto, 1996; Wahid, 1990), social development (Geertz, 1963), consumerism and/or life style (Ansori, 2009; Gerke, 2000; Robison & Goodman, 1996), and media or communication (Smith-Hefner, 2007). The relationship between class and its mediating roles in local-global interplay, especially in the domain of higher education, is under-explored. My analysis contributes to this gap in the literature by illustrating the global-local interplay using the case of Indonesia.

In addition, according to Farid (2005), some of the available studies have led to the deadlock of class analysis in Indonesia. *Firstly,* the first influential studies appear to be political analysis employing class jargon, rather than addressing the relationship between class and capitalism, and therefore there is a failure to understand the capitalist system and the relationship of people to production and the regulation of production. For example, the studies undertaken by the elites of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1950s - 1960s took a class analysis approach. They were initially aimed at studying food production and conditions, but turned out to be classifying the society according to their political stands and prospects towards the party (Farid, 2005; Gordon, 1978; White, 2005). In other words, the concept of class is not used to understand the antagonistic relations in capital as a social relation. *Secondly,* previous studies employing class perspective mainly exhibit ahistorical traits. Despite acknowledging

the importance of history, scholars working in this area are less concerned about how capitalism developed over time (Farid, 2005).

By addressing the two issues posed by Farid, this study attempts to reveal the unseen relation between class and global capitalism within the higher education sector by placing the university elite in relationship to knowledge. But it is a relationship in which knowledge has two contradictory faces. It is both a commodity for contemporary global capitalism and the means by which the elite has created itself as an intellectual group with a distinctive cosmopolitan culture. The field has been under-researched in the context of Indonesia, and this study would like to contribute to this area of inquiry.

It is in periods of globalisation that the university elite has become most salient, especially in developing nations such as Indonesia (Aspinall, 2013). The processes which demonstrate this class' agency include privatisation and internationalisation. What characterises the acceleration of globalising periods is the ascendancy of the roles of the university elite and their articulated discourses. They are the ones "who struggle to generalise their perspective on the world, this is a perspective that can be characterised as 'cosmopolitan'" (Friedman, 2007, p. 184).

THE AGENTS' COSMOPOLITAN DISPOSITIONS AND THE ECONOMIC REALITY OF INTERNATIONALISATION

Both the internationalisation discourses identified in this study, that is, knowledge internationalisation and market internationalisation, promote a culture of cosmopolitanism through the international mobility of the actors and global partnership programmes. The two internationalisation discourses ascribe new identities to the engaged local actors, in this case the university elite, with a cosmopolitan identity (Ball & Nikita, 2014). However, when relating both discourses to the dispositions of the local agents, they can be distinctively distinguished. I argue that internationalisation can be seen as either a cultural disposition or economic driver when it is manifested in the agents' lives and experiences. Cosmopolitanism is a form of

cultural disposition that appears to be symbolic, universal, and democratic, as represented by the university elite as a consequence of the knowledge internationalisation discourse. Whereas economic driver is the political economic reality of internationalisation that positions the elite as the agents of global market and interests. Both cultural and economic disposition describes the nature of the local agents in localising internationalisation. This is where the tension lies.

In terms of a cultural disposition, these are internationalists who operate as players in the global scene and thus possess the required cultural disposition. The Indonesian university elites as the local actors involved in the internationalisation process require, and at times acquire this cosmopolitan capital, that is cultural capabilities that enable one to practice cosmopolitanism (Bourdieu, 1986; Weenink, 2008). It is demonstrated through the global mobility and international partnership programs attached to their job descriptions as Rectors, Heads of International Office, and Faculty Deans. In order to succeed in establishing international partnership, local actors need to have certain cosmopolitan capital to identify and relate themselves with the global society. This cosmopolitan capital includes “Western education, fluency in English, international mobility, global social networks, familiarity with global popular culture, and certain ways of carrying oneself” (Tanu, 2014, p. 583). Such capital has a long history across interaction rituals chain (Collins, 1998). According to Collins, intellectuals need a certain repertoire of cosmopolitan capital to be accepted as members of the interaction ritual and therefore enable them to be globally acceptable and mobile. These “mobile elites, who enjoy the freedom of physical movement and communication, stand in stark contrast to those who are confined to place, whose fate is to remain located” (Featherstone, 2002). This is a cosmopolitan identity ascribed to the engaged actors of internationalisation – the university elite of contemporary Indonesian universities.

The agents represent themselves as agents of a culture that appears benign, universal, democratic and symbolic. This is a culture in which anyone can be included. However, they are actually representatives or agents of the global market. They might think they are

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representing a universal cosmopolitan culture, but in fact they are representing global interests. My interviews reveal that they show little insight into this. The following is an example of how the Rector sets himself as possessing cosmopolitan disposition, in this case English proficiency, to show that he is able to communicate and thus operate globally. The rest of the interview does not seemingly demonstrate his awareness of the geopolitical issues and international agenda of internationalisation.

> *I set an example of good leadership traits – that leaders should speak English, although not that fluent… Which university does not want to be elite universities? We want to stand in line with Harvard, Oxford and Monash universities too, right?* (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University)

English is still considered as a foreign language in Indonesia (Lamb & Coleman, 2008; Widodo, 2016).[14] Although English is increasingly used as the medium of instruction in international programmes at some universities, the language is mainly spoken at schools as a compulsory subject, and in the offices of international government organisations, and international companies only. The rest of the Indonesian population speaks the national and regional languages. It is not surprising when Lamb and Coleman claim that "English has gained its present authority and prestige in Indonesian society; it has become essential *cultural capital* for an information-driven global world" (2008, p. 192). Due to its high status, English has become a marker of one's position in the society and in the workplace, and it has always been associated with cosmopolitanism. Tanu (2014) even argues that proficiency in English, preferably with native-speaker fluency and the 'right' accent, indicates intelligence and being part of global citizen, as the language is one important cosmopolitan cultural capital. The university elite needs to demonstrate this linguistic competence so that their high status is

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[14] English is a foreign language in Indonesia. Unlike Malaysia where English is a second language due to the legacy of British colonialism, Indonesia was colonised by the Dutch and Japan. Neither Dutch nor Japanese was to be the second language in Indonesia during colonialism period. During the Dutch colonialism, Dutch was only spoken by elite indigenous Indonesians *(pribumi)* which was very few. When Japan took over, Dutch was banned, and Indonesian language was encouraged. After the 1945 Independence, Soekarno made a politically and ideologically laden decision that Dutch nor Japanese was chosen to be the language to teach at schools, but English as the compulsory foreign language due to its role in international communication (Widodo, 2016).

reinforced. That is why the Rector of the C2 University indicates his ‘good’ leadership traits as well as his cosmopolitan capital by saying, “leaders should speak English,” and ending with an apologetic confession, “although not that fluent”.

Other than English proficiency, the exclusive cosmopolitan disposition enjoyed by the university elites as part of their role in local-global mediation is mobility. On the point of mobility or travelling, Calhoun (2002) refers to cosmopolitanism as the ‘class consciousness of frequent travellers’, that the internationalisation of higher education provides the opportunity for the “elites across national borders while ordinary people live in local communities” (2002, p. 890). One of my interviews shows insights into this exclusive nature of mobility. My interview with the Head of the International Office at the C2 University demonstrates the fact that in the Indonesian context, “overseas travel is still considered to be a luxurious stuff” because it has the image of “leisure”.

> *Overseas travel is still considered to be a luxurious stuff and leisure. So, whoever travels abroad, either it’s the university administrators or the members of the parliament, there will be a question: ‘Why should travel abroad?’ The question appears because they use the state budget.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C2 University)

Another cosmopolitan disposition is a certain ‘intellectual grandeur’ and cultural reflexivity as a result of high mobility (Roudometof, 2005). This cosmopolitan disposition was vividly illustrated in one of my interviews with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University. My interviewee made the case that “internationalisation is internalisation” in referring to the institutional internal improvement to make the way for internationalisation processes. This way of explaining the importance of internationalisation to an ‘ordinary academic’ is certainly coming from one with a cosmopolitan perspective as his comment shows:

> *Internationalisation is internalisation. It means internal improvement to get ready, because most of the time we forget the small but fundamental things when doing big things. For example, the lecturers are sophisticated, but the*

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security does not speak English so that he could not explain where the toilet is to the foreign students. The admission office is excellent, but the finance cannot serve the foreign students because they feel they do not belong to the international departments so they do not feel like learning English. Acting as if a cosmopolitan institution, but the administrative staff has never even travelled outside Java[15]*, let alone Singapore… I use this definition and description in many of my presentations for best practice sharing of internationalisation in other universities.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University)

The conflation of internationalisation with internalisation displays the 'intellectual grandeur' required (Roudometof, 2005) to determine what counts as internationalisation within the institution and what is required to internationalise. Only those who have diverse cultural exposures have this extent of cultural sensitivity and reflexivity. These cosmopolitan individuals are believed to be globally oriented, attuned to the contemporary global realities and skilful at engaging with other global citizens. Such cosmopolitan people are represented by the university elites in Indonesia. This is the group I have identified as occupying strategic positions in higher education institutions with responsibilities for internationalisation. These global agents possess certain 'cultural competencies' that are not owned by their colleagues. Such competencies include English proficiency, global engagement experience, and Western educated or trained to establish and sustain social network at a global scale.

This supports Friedman's (2007) argument that cosmopolitanism emerges simultaneously with and in dialectical relation to localising ideologies and local identities. As the university elites engage in the localisation process of internationalisation, a cosmopolitan identity is ascribed to them. In the previous section I argued that internationalisation is a vision based exclusively on the knowledge and experiences of the university elite. Although knowledge internationalisation discourse is inclusive in that it appears to be universal, democratic and

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[15] Indonesia is an archipelagic country comprising of 13,466 islands. Java is the most densely populated island as compared to other islands.

symbolic and potentially available to all, in fact it only includes those who possess a certain cultural disposition, that make them acceptable to their fellow university elites in other universities and render them globally mobile. Again, this supports Friedman's (2007) view that the cosmopolitan perspective and disposition is not inclusive, but exclusive. Why is this so?

In the interaction rituals occurred of historical internationalisation, cosmopolitanism is one of the cultural capitals owned and developed by intellectuals in order to take part in the interaction rituals (Collins, 1998). These elite intellectuals developed certain codes and symbols that were shared and communicated only by themselves. These intellectuals also needed to be reflexive and creating 'a new coalition in the mind' to generate new knowledge and theories. Cosmopolitanism involves this process of reflexivity towards one's own culture. The reflexivity towards one's culture and the interest in other culture has emerged as a scientific inquiry since the 6th century BCE (Moutsios, 2018). Moutsios describes that:

> "…curiosity arose to learn and write about other cultures and through this activity to reflect on home institutions. This was part of the scientific spirit which appeared from the 6th century BCE but also of a cultural attitude according to which the foreign society was considered neither inferior nor superior, but simply different." (2018)

This intellectual spirit and grandeur only belongs to "those individuals who possess sufficient reflexive cultural competencies that enable them to manoeuvre within new meaning systems" (Roudometof, 2005, p. 114), a capacity not acquired by 'ordinary people' (Nava, 2002). Therefore, the practice of cosmopolitanism has always been exclusive, although the idea is highly inclusive.

The contradictory nature of cosmopolitanism has potentially located those elite intellectuals in the grey controversial area. On the one hand, they are regarded as change makers, but on the other hand, they are labelled as 'broker' or even 'spy', the *'comprador bourgeoisie'* in Marx language. Indonesian intellectual elites, such as Sosro Kartono, Kartini, Ki Hajar

Dewantara, Tan Malaka, Soekarno and Hatta, were multilinguals and were for sure, highly cosmopolitan, but they were not free from the contradiction of cosmopolitanism. Despite Kartini's breakthrough in education and empowerment for Javanese women, she was criticised as a 'cultural broker' by her own people. Amir Hamzah's contribution to Indonesian early unity was undoubtable, but he was suspected as the Dutch 'spy' and then murdered. It is indeed hard to separate those who were cosmopolitan because they were loyal to the local and those who were cosmopolitan because they rejected the local. Yet the paradox of intelligentsia as manifested in their cosmopolitan disposition and economic-political position demonstrate the significant roles they play in bringing about social changes in the country. Such attributes could also be found in other nationalist intelligentsia elsewhere, such as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Gamal Abdul Nasir. The intelligentsia might always lead the nationalist movement in the early stages with a noble aspiration to overthrow colonial power, but in the end some would argue that they replace it with their own system (Chatterjee, 1993).

The notion of cosmopolitanism is thus not only used to describe as a moral and ethical standpoint suitable for 21st-century global life, but is also useful to identify a manifestation of the rationality of the elite and middle classes (Beck & Levy, 2013; Featherstone, 2002; Roudometof, 2005). It refers to the privilege of "the freedom of physical movement and communication" (Featherstone, 2002, p. 1). Cosmopolitan capital, in this sense, both denotes a competence and connotes a privilege of the elite and middle class. There is a contradiction here. On the one hand, it is only these actors with their global orientation and competence who are able to confidently engage in globalising social arena (Weenink, 2008), thus enabling them to re-shape the global forces into local ways. On the other hand, the process itself accommodates the nature of the global middle class by providing a space to exercise their cosmopolitan capital. This cosmopolitan capital that is already their disposition, in turn, reinforces their status as the elites. So, the two positions are not opposing arguments but refer to the contradiction of cosmopolitanism.

It is in this contradiction where the fracture of cosmopolitanism lies. The fracture allows market internationalisation discourse to 'slip through'. The political economic reality of internationalisation, which is largely market-oriented, positions the elites as the agents of global market and interests. This fracture is unfortunately loaded with the economic disposition of internationalisation as evidenced by the market internationalisation discourse. Here the elites become the agents of global processes, and in order to be the agents they need to have particular cultural disposition. There is a tension of internationalisation as experienced by the agents – the elites might think that they are representing cosmopolitan culture, but in fact they are representing global interests. This tension runs the danger of treating internationalisation as largely a matter of instrumental economic affair dominating over the symbolic one. Or in Durkheim's word, the profane receives more dominance over the sacred.

It seems that the contradiction of cosmopolitanism is analogous with the contradiction of internationalisation. There is an academic-socio-cultural consideration of cosmopolitan that aligns with the discourse of knowledge internationalisation, as well as the political-economic aspects of cosmopolitanism that corresponds with the market internationalisation discourse. Given this analogous contradiction, does it mean that cosmopolitanism and internationalisation have a linear relationship?

There is no linear correspondence between agential cosmopolitanism and internationalisation. In other words, internationalisation does not automatically initiate global consciousness and cosmopolitanism, but it does have a potential to produce cosmopolitan individuals (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005). Internationalisation does promote and provide mobility for the actors, but it does not guarantee that the mobility will provide them with the awareness to negotiate different values and the global geopolitics. As I have stated earlier the agents might think they are representing cosmopolitan culture, but in fact they are representing global interests. According to Tadaki and Tremewan (2013), actors involved in internationalisation need to have the political awareness of the importance of negotiating and establishing values of institutional relationships in the international network, as well as

when enacting internationalisation strategies in their universities. This means that there is a blind spot in cosmopolitanism that it treats internationalisation only as a cultural matter, while neglecting the fact that it is a political-economic dealing (Kehm & Teichler, 2007).

Marx and Engels compellingly argue in their *Manifesto* about this relationship between cosmopolitanism and internationalisation:

> “The need for a constantly changing market chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere . . . the bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market give a *cosmopolitan* character to production and consumption in every country . . . The individual creations of individual nations become *common* property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible” (Marx and Engels, [1848] 1952: 46–47; emphasis added).

Although obviously not addressing the 21st internationalisation of higher education, Marx and Engels’ argument may well suit the current phenomena. Internationalisation of higher education can be seen as the strategy to respond to the ‘constantly changing market’ to the new condition that requires a mechanism to ‘settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere’. Higher education is positioned as a ‘common property’ (in Marx and Engels’ words) or the ‘global public good’ in Marginson’s words (2011b) available for ripe commodification by those with access to its control. Market internationalisation is, therefore, not new, it is rather an extension of old capitalism. Today, the new valuable ‘product’ is knowledge and those who sell the product among their competitors.

It may be that this arbitrary relationship between internationalisation and cosmopolitanism, in all their contradictions, renders internationalisation acceptable in Indonesia. But is this cosmopolitan capital sufficient to create a transformative and emancipatory internationalisation, as suggested by Tadaki and Tremewan (2013)?

David Harvey sharply critiques the fluctuating meaning of cosmopolitanism as follows:

> "Cosmopolitanism here gets particularized and pluralized in the belief that detached loyalty to the abstract category of "the human" is incapable in theory, let alone in practice, of providing any kind of political purchase even in the face of the strong currents of globalization that swirl around us." (Harvey, 2000, p. 530)

To Harvey, cosmopolitanism is not enough. In the context of internationalisation of higher education, cosmopolitan theories reduce the meaning of internationalisation into the realm of culture, worldview, and horizon wider than that of a nation-state (Latour, 2004). Cosmopolitanism neglects the political economic reality of internationalisation of higher education, and thus blurring the boundaries, or isolation (in Bernstein's word), between the symbolic and the economic instrumental sphere. Perhaps this is why my interviews show little insights on the awareness on the international agenda. The cultural cosmopolitan disposition they acquire does not necessarily equip them with the analytical tools of global agenda of internationalisation. Consequently, the local agents become unaware that they are actually representatives of the global market.

Harvey (2000) and Latour (2004) propose a new intellectual terrain that shifts from merely the cultural realm of cosmopolitanism into 'cosmopolitics'. It is an apposite term for cosmopolitanism.

> "The presence of *cosmos* in *cosmopolitics* resists the tendency of *politics* to mean the give-and-take in an exclusive human club. The presence of *politics* in *cosmopolitics* resists the tendency of *cosmos* to mean a finite list of entities that must be taken into account. *Cosmos* protects against the premature closure of *politics*, and *politics* against the premature closure of *cosmos*… Cosmopolitanism was a proof of tolerance; cosmopolitics… is a cure of the malady of tolerance" (Latour, 2004, p. 454)

Latour (2004) is in line with Harvey (2000) that cosmopolitanism is not enough. Although being cosmopolitan is a new ascribed identity acquired from the internationalisation process,

a shift to cosmopolitics would enable these local actors to negotiate the push and pull between global pressures and local needs. This includes equipping the agents with analytical tools of international agenda through the internationalisation of higher education, and how the process positions them as the agents of global interests. Tadaki and Tremewan (2013) make a comment on the relationship between internationalisation and cosmopolitanism, and argue that:

> "The best intentioned and most theoretically or ethically compelling narratives of regional or cosmopolitan solidarity cannot necessarily prevent initiatives from failing. What is needed to proceed is a vision of solidarity that emerges from and is consistent with the practices that actually compose internationalization projects, *critically reflective of these politics in the making.*" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 375) (italics added)

Tadaki and Tremewan (2013) acknowledge that 'cosmopolitan solidarity' is not sufficient for internationalisation practices. It is cosmopolitics – that is "critically reflective of these politics in the making" – that will contribute to the emancipatory internationalisation project. Only a few of the local actors in my study show insights into this global political awareness or 'cosmopolitics'. In my interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education, the Director General of Higher Education demonstrated his political awareness and agency in rejecting a government-to-institution partnership agreement. The self-aware description of his political agency is cited in the following:

> *We were once angry with Usintec... The agent was merely a broker... We could smell out where the business is going, then we rejected it.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education)

This shift is important, as Tadaki and Tremewan argue, that the university elite actually plays "a transformative (rather than subservient) role for universities in regional economies and discourses of development" through the international consortia (2013, p. 384).

Conclusion

I have adopted these two concepts of 'cosmopolitanism' and 'cosmopolitics' as useful conceptual tools to examine the consciousness of the global middle class as the local actors in mediating the process of internationalisation of higher education. This is because internationalisation discourses – given the increasing mobility of people, ideas, and capital – have political repercussions both on the nation and the higher education institutions. They are the sites where political, economic and cultural negotiation take place. It is these actors who conduct the negotiations. The success of internationalisation is in the hands of the local actors with not only their cosmopolitan global view but also the cosmopolitical thinking required to design strategic internationalisation, especially for developing countries, such as Indonesia.

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CHAPTER VII
UNIVERSITY ELITE AND THEIR DISCOURSES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter extends the discussion of the agents in the previous chapter by focusing on the use of internationalisation discourses and their relationship to cosmopolitanism. My purpose is to show how these discourses influence and are influenced by the agents. This chapter argues that what the agents actually 'say' and 'do' shows the two contradictory discourses, therefore illustrate my argument that there are two discourses co-existing. The discourses they espouse demonstrate the contradiction of internationalisation, while the discursive practices pertain to their roles in decision making and networking which involves 'interaction rituals' and cosmopolitanism. In addition, cosmopolitan culture that appears to be symbolic, universal and democratic as represented by the university elite belies the instrumental purpose of internationalisation that yokes higher education into the global marketplace. From the interview, observation and other supporting data, it is clear that the internationalisation agents possess and display the cosmopolitan capitals: mobility, global network, English proficiency and cultural reflexivity, as well as decision making. However, there is a tension between the way the local agents see themselves as the agents of cosmopolitan culture and the way they are actually positioned as intermediaries of global interest and agenda. Interestingly, despite this tension and contradiction of internationalisation and cosmopolitanism, it does not lead to any tension or confusion to the agents. Rather, this conundrum generates a sense of energy and gives a powerful rhetoric to internationalisation contributing to its acceptance on a large scale.

HIGHLIGHTING AGENCY

This chapter examines the agency that acts within the structure of Indonesian higher education. Structures can be constraining, but they are not the only determinants. It is the agents that make choices and decisions that can shape and reshape higher education structures and policies (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002; Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013). Marginson

and Rhoades define agency as "the ability of people individually and collectively to take action *(exercise agency)*, at the global, national, and local levels" (2002, p. 289, italics added). In the Indonesian context, as I have argued in previous chapters, it is the university elite (i.e. the university administrators and higher education technocrats) who play significant roles in translating global forces and re-shaping global discourses (in this case, internationalisation), as well as influencing national policies and institutional practices. This focus on human agency is, therefore, significant in understanding the roles of the local agents in mediating the local-global interplay which renders internationalisation agenda up and running in Indonesian higher education.

The account of the roles of the local agents is mainly drawn from the fieldwork I undertook for this study in 2015 – 2016. I interviewed and observed the agents in conjunction with their roles and responsibilities pertaining to internationalisation as Rectors, Deans, Heads of International Office in three universities, and the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. The job descriptions of these local agents regarding internationalisation are, to name a few, planning internationalisation policies, promoting global engagement, advancing international partnership, designing internationalisation programmes, coordinating and facilitating staff/student mobility. The description presented in this chapter is thematically categorised according to key ideas in what they 'say' (discourse) and 'do' (discursive practices). The discourses they espouse demonstrate the contradiction of internationalisation, while the discursive practices pertain to their roles in decision making and networking which involves 'interaction rituals' and cosmopolitanism.

Discourses and Contradiction

The two discourses characterising internationalisation – knowledge and market internationalisation – are inherently contradictory (see Chapter Four for the full discussion of the concept and contradiction of internationalisation). Although contradictory, the knowledge and market internationalisation discourses work side by side in the language of

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the local agents as they run the institution. The agents employ both discourses in including internationalisation in their institution in different ways: the ‘knowledge internationalisation’ discourse is maintained while simultaneously and somewhat ambiguously considering ‘market internationalisation’ discourse for strategic purpose.

The interview data will provide the detail for my argument that the knowledge and market internationalisation discourses that appear to be used together despite their contradiction. Interestingly, this ambiguity and contradiction of internationalisation does not lead to any tension or confusion to the agents. Rather, this conundrum generates a sense of energy and powerful rhetoric to internationalisation, and thus, acceptance on a large scale. My interview data capture this ambiguity and contradiction of internationalisation as the following section shows.

KNOWLEDGE INTERNATIONALISATION DISCOURSE

The ‘knowledge internationalisation’ discourse is maintained in contemporary internationalisation practices. My interviewees use several key terms in referring to ‘knowledge’ which can then be categorised into ‘knowledge internationalisation’ discourse. The key terms are ‘knowledge’, ‘horizon’, ‘contribution’, and ‘innovation’.

The Rector of the C1 University describes internationalisation from the perspective of ‘knowledge’, for example that internationalisation deals with “how to open our horizon and knowledge about the global citizen and world”. The Rector associates internationalisation with its cosmopolitan character which deals with horizon, knowledge, and worldview (Latour, 2004). It is indeed a powerful reason to justify internationalisation by seeing it only from this ‘knowledge side’ while ignoring its political-economic reality. The Rector also points out the optimism to change the world through internationalisation by recounting the success of Indonesia’s first President in influencing the world.

> *Internationalisation is not only about introducing Indonesia to international world, rather how to open our horizon and knowledge about the global citizen and world. So, it's not simply allowing other countries to learn about us, simply proud that we are being investigated and researched so they will be knowledgeable about us – this is not internationalisation. Rather, how to open our horizon to understand the world, which in turns will strengthen Indonesia's leadership. In the old days, Soekarno (the first President of the Republic of Indonesia) was the founder of Non-Block movement and Asia-Africa Conference. This is the proof that we can make a change in the world. That is the essence of internationalisation – by lifting up Indonesian values.* (Interview with the Rector of the C1 University)

The Rector of the C2 University also demonstrates the influence of knowledge internationalisation discourse in rationalising internationalisation. Again, this deals with the cosmopolitan character of internationalisation. The Rector explains his concern about why the pursuit and impact of knowledge should reach international levels through internationalisation. He refers to the institution he led as "a house of knowledge". The Rector emphasises that the universality of knowledge is characterised by the nature that "knowledge is universal" – that it "is not locally bounded, it is only the case that is local". He further elaborates that knowledge should "transcend across gender, geographical lines, and the boundaries of the world". It is due to this reason that the Rector believes "the advancement of knowledge should internationalise". Furthermore, he explains what counts as internationalisation, and to him, it is about the internationalisation of knowledge.

> *Internationalisation is when the university could contribute to the world. It's not about standard, it's about contribution. Our research should reach out the world. Our academics should be involved in the global conversation and presenting in international conference. Your writing should trigger a global debate. However small it is, it should reach the world.* (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University).

The Rector's explanation about the correspondence of internationalisation's foundation with the university's pillar can be seen as influenced by knowledge internationalisation discourse. The universality of knowledge and the 'global conversation' of intellectuals (or in Collins' word

‘interaction rituals’) are the main features of internationalisation that has existed since 600-400 BCE (Collins, 1998). This understanding of internationalisation is from time immemorial and still practised today. Knowledge is the university’s main concern and tradition, and therefore it will always stand.

The Rector of the C1 University advances the knowledge internationalisation discourse into the interplay between the local and the global with the university’s vision: “locally rooted, globally recognised”, and how the university could play its role within this interplay: local innovation but “can be globally implemented”. The Rector understands very well that internationalisation is located within this local-global interplay. This understanding is manifested in the university’s vision, established by the Rector along with other senior administrators in the university. This means that the university elite possess the “globalizing visions [which] are based exclusively on the experiences of the [university elite] academics” (K. E. Friedman & Friedman, 2008, p. 8). The Rector illustrates this vision by utilising the agent’s own research trajectory.

> *Our university should be locally rooted and globally recognised. This means the presence of our university should impact on the nation’s social, economic and cultural development, so that we could contribute to Indonesia’s civilisation. Internationalisation should be based on our local strengths. Our local strength is diversity. For example, to handle disaster response in Papua, we cannot simply apply a disaster method that has been implemented in Java. We have tried this, and it did not work out. This difference demands creativity and innovation to generate the appropriate disaster approach and method. If we advance this thinking to a global level, Indonesian diversity makes us learn to innovate that can be globally implemented.* (Interview with the Rector of the C1 University)

My interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University also shares the similar discourse of knowledge internationalisation, one about contributing to the local-global interplay through research and publication. He mentions that “internationalisation should make our university to become World Class University. If we have a research on solar energy, then the research findings should contribute to the world.” He uses the metaphor “our university colours the world” to refer to the knowledge contribution through

internationalisation. He also suggests the strategy in internationalising local ‘knowledge’ produced by saying that “local knowledge matters but it can be wrapped with a global package so that it can be published”. What is interesting in this interview is that he understands the position of the university in national landscape by stating that the C1 “university is already established in terms of its internationalisation”. He reasons that it is due to the research capacity and privilege the C1 University has by acknowledging the fact that “the university’s bargaining position or status is not the same” and its “position is a magnet in itself”.

The maintenance of the ‘knowledge internationalisation’ discourse with its diverse manifestations in the contemporary internationalisation practices plays a role in securing the acceptance in Indonesian higher education. ‘Knowledge’ is always seen as progressive and noble and thus no one can be against the matter (Robertson, 2008b). Moreover, when the word ‘internationalisation’ is attached to ‘knowledge’, it will add a sense of progressivism to the discourse. But, whose knowledge is internationalisation? This is one question that opens up the discussion of the political in education.

Whose knowledge? The knowledge of internationalisation or the “globalizing visions are based exclusively on the experiences of the (university elite) academics and other movers who so identify” (K. E. Friedman & Friedman, 2008, p. 8). These agents hold knowledge production and control in relation to internationalisation policies and practices. Thus, to the agents who influence and are influenced by the discourse, knowledge internationalisation discourse serves as a powerful rhetoric to internationalisation not least because it suits the agenda, but because it has been the international dimension of knowledge for centuries. The discourse has the potential to depoliticise the politically charged internationalisation, especially in this period after the rejection of privatisation.

The ‘globalising visions’ are exclusive (K. E. Friedman & Friedman, 2008), but then are re-shaped to become more locally relevant and understandable. Regarding the ‘globalising

visions', the agents' localisation role is localising both internationalisation discourses, that of knowledge and market internationalisation so that they are understood and internalised by others. For instance, my interview with the Head of the International Office at the C1 University discusses this 'globalising vision'. The Head of the International Office names this as "globalising strategy". In the interview, he explains that even the "freshmen are fed with ASEAN Economic Community".

> *We need to have a globalising strategy. Our 2015 freshmen here are fed with ASEAN Economic Community. Even the flash mob that they presented formed an ASEAN symbol. This is the message that we want to deliver to the new students: Now, our business is ASEAN.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C1 University)

The way the C1 University elite translate their globalizing vision to students is by celebrating the contemporary regional/global marker, in this case ASEAN. As mentioned by the Head of the International Office, the closest one to Indonesia is ASEAN Economic Community. The celebration is organised into a flash mob which forms the logo of ASEAN (see Figure 2 for the bird-eye view photograph of the flash mob). It orchestrates 9,500 freshmen wearing different colours of hat to perform the flash mob presentation entitled "the Integration of Knowledge to Welcome the ASEAN Economic Community". The enthusiastic and celebratory flash mob delivers the university's message to the new students: "Now, our business is ASEAN" (Head of the International Office at the C1 University).

Figure 2. Flash mob presented by the freshmen of C1 University symbolises the ASEAN logo, 2015

The heightened internationalisation of higher education employs contemporary global markers such as ASEAN Economic Community as described above. The global markers point to another internationalisation discourse which sits alongside with knowledge internationalisation, that is market internationalisation discourse.

MARKET INTERNATIONALISATION DISCOURSE

Unlike the 'knowledge internationalisation' discourse which seems straightforward, 'market internationalisation' discourse appears to be strategically ambiguous. Some interviewees strategically define the market, some others refer to the market indirectly by using other terms or speaking ambiguously.

Market internationalisation discourse appears surprisingly direct in the language of the Head of International Office of two universities, the C1 and C2 Universities. Both interviewees refer to the market in a very explicit way. The Head of International Office at the C2 University explains that internationalisation was a debate in the beginning and aimed by the university elite to find a niche market. This marketing strategy was proven to be successful as internationalisation has shifted from a mere "branding" (by the use of the word 'standard' in the university vision) into more concrete programs.

> *Internationalisation was a debate… It was aimed to find a market gap, in marketing language, a niche market… Around 2008 and before, the university administrators felt that internationalisation was not an easy thing to do. That's why the decision makers at that time used the word 'international standard' for the university's vision. It was a deliberate attempt or 'safety net', so that if there are international activities running in the university, we can claim that it's international standard. The current university administrators attempt to move the locomotive into more concrete manifestations. The word 'standard' will soon be changed into 'reputation or recognition', so that it will take us into a real research output or accredited journal, or things than can be measured and quantified. In sum, the history started from branding, then it started to flow and make more sense to everyone. For example, some study programmes are now funded to achieve international accreditation, such as ASEAN University Network and ABEQ.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C2 University)

The Head of International Office at the C1 University also understands internationalisation of higher education very clearly in market terms. In the interview, he describes the market opportunities of the university's internationalisation and positions the university in a strategic way. This might also be because of the advantageous position of the C1 University which has the magnet to attract the local as well as global market. He also refers to a global prestigious accreditation that the university has secured to portray how competitive and attractive the university is in the global market.

> *The centre of the world's economic growth is Asia. Indonesia is a very big country. Indonesia, in terms of GDP, is number 16 in the world. That is why we belong to G-20. This makes sense. When the world discusses about its current*

and future problems, the president of Indonesia should be there. Even we cannot avoid participating the meetings. This choice comes from the size of economy; therefore, we belong to G20. From the growth of a nation, Indonesia is a player. Even if we are pessimistic to call us as a player, we have a big market. With this big market, we can play our roles very well, ensuring that we are not simply dictated. This means, if they want to have a business with Asia, they have to understand Indonesia. So, if they want to start business, they have to know how to do business with Indonesia. And the best way to learn it is in Indonesia. Our Faculty of Economics and Business is the only one in Indonesia which is certified by AACSD, it is the most prestigious accreditation from the United States. (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University)

The influence and use of market internationalisation discourse is obvious in another line of the interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University. He is aware of this fact and thus declares without hesitation that “Foreigners come here for business, for investment”.

Foreigners come here for business, for investment. Moreover, with the ascendance of ASEAN Economic Community, borders become thin. We understand this is all about business. No one comes to me to purely learn about culture. We accept many delegates from foreign universities. They come here not to help us, but to help themselves. (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University)

It is interesting how the Head of the International Office is able to see the “attraction” of the university in the eyes of foreign institutions, and what foreign universities want from his institution. C1 University, like many other category one universities in Indonesia, has the brightest people in the country to study with them. Within the last five years, Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Finance, provides scholarships for those with a ‘Letter of Acceptance’ (evidence that one meets the requirement to study abroad) and other requirements, such as personal statement, IELTS/TOEFL certificate, and passing the selection tests. Awardees of this scholarship are mostly from the category one universities, such as C1 University. The Head of the International Office relates the flocking foreigners to the

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university with this scholarship opportunity by commenting that “Indonesian students who pursue their study abroad are usually hard working, smart and rich, although from scholarship. There is nothing more attractive than that.” He describes this ‘attraction’ of the C1 University in an idiom that “Indonesia is sugar to ants”. The idiom “sugar to ants” suggests that Indonesia is a huge market for foreign institutions. Then he continues adding “There would not be anything to attract, but Indonesian people. They (foreign institutions) come here to provide a Letter of Acceptance, mostly our students will get a scholarship -- without judging this is good or bad.” This direct attribution of the market is then moderated and neutralised with the statement “without judging this is good or bad”. On another part of the interview, the Head of the International Office at the top-tier university describes the market segmentation for the university’s course package. He exemplifies the point with reference to ‘tropical diseases’ course and its market segment, that is Africa.

> *Tropical diseases. We are not selling the technology. The brightest doctors from Europe will be desperate in handling tropical flu. Well, anything tropical basically. This is what our university offers. We are aware that there are many tropical countries. They have got large population too, so the market is highly promising. We imagine our market segment is Africa, the one in the equator.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University, emphasis added)

It is interesting to see that market internationalisation discourse appears to be prominent in the language of some of the interviewees. However, other interviewees refer to the market more carefully and indirectly, as well as ambiguously. This might be because of the public rejection against privatisation, which provided the lesson that market discourse should be dealt with differently, given the considerable opposition to higher education being reformed as a business in the global market. This different attitude towards market discourse is shown by one of my interviewees. The Head of the Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education selects the word carefully to refer to ‘market’. He mentions that Indonesia does have “not opportunities, but something interesting” for foreign universities. It is unclear what this “something interesting” means, but it might include ‘market’ as well.

> *We organise a national meeting of internationalisation in Jogja next week. International office people from at least 85 Indonesian universities will come to talk about mobility. I invite speakers from many ranges, such as British Council. Coincidentally, I also got an offer from European Union. The EU delegates came to me and asked me if they could organise an educational exhibition for universities. I told them to meet my network of International Office to present their Erasmus Mundus. A group of delegates from Brussels will come. So, we have got… not opportunities… but <u>something interesting</u> for them.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education, emphasis added)

The ambiguous reference for the market means that although it is reframed, a market discourse does shadow Indonesian higher education. This ambiguity creates a conundrum in the use of both discourses. But as I have argued, although contradictory, both discourses are merged together in the running of contemporary internationalisation.

THE CONUNDRUM

I have mentioned that the ambiguity and contradiction of internationalisation does not lead to any tension or confusion for the agents and have argued that this conundrum generates a sense of energy and powerful rhetoric to internationalisation leading to acceptance on a large scale. This conflation of both discourses was found in the interview with the Rector of the C3 University. The Rector conflates knowledge internationalisation discourse with market internationalisation discourse. He shared his concern on the urgency of competition and 'knowledge advancement' in order to avoid being simply a market for foreign institutions.

> *However small the institution is, we must have the internationalisation vision. Hence our institution. We are a big country with a large population, and we are entering the ASEAN Economic Community. We need to anticipate this. If we do not have qualified human resources, we cannot compete with the other nine ASEAN countries. We will merely be their <u>market</u>. And I think if we do not go international, it will jeopardise many aspects, including <u>knowledge advancement</u>.* (Interview with the Rector of the C3 University, emphasis added).

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Like the Rector of the C3 University, the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education conflates both discourses. The speaker associates promotion which relates to market internationalisation discourse with 'quality'. The notion 'quality' could be critically interrogated, however, it is not the focus of this thesis. But in the interview, the agent seemingly refers to 'quality' as the overall performance of higher education institutions including the knowledge production.

> *Actually, when talking about quality, our universities can compete with our neighbouring countries. It all depends on how we promote our universities. So, I hope with this internationalisation, we could improve our quality.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education, emphasis added).

In another part of the interview, the agent (the Head of Partnership at the Ministry) makes a strong statement that "It is not right to see higher education provision from a trade perspective". Nevertheless, simultaneously he acknowledges that internationalisation "is something that we have to face". This contradiction of internationalisation occurs in one individual and seems to be resolved by not taking the distinction further. The conundrum even bolsters the energy to be well-prepared for internationalisation which is presented as non-problematical.

> *But we need to bear in mind that education is not an investment in Indonesia. It's not right to see higher education provision from a 'trade' perspective. On the one hand, trade offers investment opportunities. But on the other hand, we have the rules of the game. So if we come back to internationalisation issue, it is something that we have to face. That's why we have to prepare. First, we prepare the laws, regulations, and guidance. Second, we support universities to expand their international partnership. And thirdly, we design programmes to realise it.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education)

The Head of Partnership at the Ministry brings the contradiction of internationalisation into a wider discussion of trade agreement with APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation), of which Indonesia is an APEC member. My interviewee explained that the Indonesian

government has ‘protected’ its universities from the attack of foreign satellite campuses by establishing many requirements. This protection is necessary to safeguard the existence of its 558 universities, 251 polytechnics, 143 institutes, 1,104 academies and 2,434 colleges (PDDIKTI, 2017). But in the end, the argument goes that APEC agreement is very binding so that it left no choice for Indonesia as its member to “enhance cross border higher education institution mobility” (Richardson, 2015, p. 1).

> *There are many education providers from overseas who want to establish their branch campuses in Indonesia. But our legislation has mentioned the many requirements. Malaysia is more open in welcoming this partnership. They do not have as many population and universities like us. So, perhaps it’s easier to control. And I think, the branch campuses do not only chase local students, but also those from its surrounding countries, including Indonesia. We have a very large population, if we open the door too wide, they (the providers) will flock here. That is why we have to protect ourselves, we have to be careful… But on the other hand, we have a commitment with APEC to open ourselves. I do not know the stories behind APEC agreement for this point on higher education, but I think so far we are open.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education)

My interview with the Rector of the C2 University supports this conundrum. The Rector recounts the complexities of internationalisation in the beginning, but then continues with full approval and support to internationalisation. Again, this agent is able to embrace the contradiction of internationalisation in a practical way by designing internationalisation programmes in the university.

> *University internationalisation is a mandate from the Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE) so that Indonesian universities would be World Class University. It is a target, and DGHE establishes some indicators, such as, first, the minimum numbers or percentage of foreign students enrolled. This seemed unrealistic. Then it shifted. Until today, there isn’t any clear guidance regarding how a university has been internationalised. The second indicator is through university ranking. Our university prefers Webometric. The third indicator is international accreditation. I think these are brilliant endeavours, and therefore our university takes part in the agenda. In 2009, our university statute mandates that the university’s vision is to be a conservation university with an international*

standard. This is a legal product that strengthens our internationalisation attempts. That is why we are continually undertaking this project. We have clearly stated in the Statute that our university aims to be a conservation university with an international reputation in 2020. We make attempts to realise this vision to become a World Class University. It is getting closer now as it is 2015. Five years is a short time to go global. Therefore, I push all units to reach this international level. We need to pass the national standard for quality management and academic performance first. The study program accreditation is based on national standard, only then we could move to the international accreditation. We start from the smallest unit, that is the study programme. The Head of the study programme is happy now, because they have bigger allowance for the position. But in return, they have to increase the accreditation. We then encourage the best study programmes to develop international curriculum funded by IDB. This is done step by step. Secondly, we push our lecturers to publish in international journals, especially Professors. If they cannot publish one single article in three years, then we will cancel the allowance. We have to be firm in quality. Quality is not a choice, it is a target. (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University)

The Head of the International Office of this C2 University shared a similar energy with his Rector. He takes internationalisation for granted as "not a detrimental trend, but a beneficial one". He mentions some benefits of internationalisation in the university, such as the international curriculum in several departments, overseas studies and training for the lecturers, and international publication with peer-review process. He projects that they are something that will not likely start without any internationalisation vision. Although at the end he admits that this is all about the autonomy to allocate funding.

Our <u>first</u> reason is due to the <u>trend</u>. Internationalisation could trigger a multi-plier effect. For example, without an internationalisation vision, there would not be any international curriculum today, there wouldn't be any vision to be world class universities. Without an internationalisation vision, perhaps our lecturers won't be that interested to have an international training or pursue their further studies abroad. Without an internationalisation vision, we wouldn't be familiar with what Scopus is. This would be a buzzword in the last three or five years. Everyone is talking about it. In fact, it is only a small picture of what counts as a peer-reviewed journal. But, we talk about it as if Scopus is everything… Therefore, we have to start from a trend. <u>Secondly</u>, this is <u>not a detrimental trend, but a</u>

> <u>*beneficial*</u> *one so that we would allocate funds more freely. The willingness is right and everyone is going to the same direction, and one day this side project will be a main project… Finally, we will see that university exists not as a beacon of knowledge, but as a beacon of welfare and wellbeing of the people.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C2 University, emphasis added).

This interview clearly shows the importance of the economic instrumental purpose of knowledge, than its symbolic one: "…university exists not as a beacon of knowledge, but as a beacon of welfare and wellbeing of the people". Therefore, the next question after 'Whose knowledge?' relevant to this discussion is 'Knowledge for what?'. The big narrative of the 'knowledge economy' equates 'knowledge' with 'economy', or in an even more instrumental way as knowledge for the sake of the economy. This is becoming increasingly the case. Universities whose core business is knowledge production have been increasingly positioned as the main engine for the nation's international competitiveness in the contemporary global economy (Currie & Vidovich, 2009). The notion 'knowledge economy' captures this condition as well as the contradiction of internationalisation – the *knowledge* and the market or *economy* – which appear side by side in the language of the agents.

The contradiction of internationalisation occurs not only in the language of the agents (what the agents 'say'), but also in their mundane activities in running internationalisation. This contradiction of internationalisation in the mundane activities (what the agents 'do') is explored through their distinctive cosmopolitan nature which is also inherently contradictory.

COSMOPOLITANISM OR COSMOPOLITICS?

This section develops ideas introduced at the end of the Chapter Six in order to demonstrate my argument that there is a need to shift from understanding internationalisation from its mere cosmopolitan cultural character (cosmopolitanism) into considering the political economic reality of internationalisation (cosmopolitics). As my interviews show, there is a tension between how the university elite see themselves as agents of cosmopolitan culture and how they are actually positioned as intermediaries of global interest and agenda.

The distinctive cosmopolitan nature of the university elite which is ascribed and described by both internationalisation discourses can be subsumed under the notion of 'cosmopolitanism'. Cosmopolitanism itself entails active agency which denotes "a capacity both to make and pursue [internationalisation] claims and to have such claims made and pursued in relation to oneself" (Held, 2010, p. 70). The depiction of the agents' cosmopolitan nature is drawn from the interviews, observations and other supporting data such as the university's policy and other documents. It is clear that the internationalisation agents possess and display these cosmopolitan capitals: mobility, global network, English proficiency and cultural reflexivity as well as decision making. These are the capitals that are not typically owned by ordinary academics.

To support the values of cosmopolitanism in the name of knowledge pursuit, the C2 University published a book that compiles the stories of its academic staff in pursuing further studies in five continents. The Rector who wrote the preface of the book commented on the mobility of the academic staff members as a form of commitment to internationalisation:

> Studying abroad offers many useful opportunities and interesting experiences. Not only that it advances knowledge and expands one's horizon, studying abroad recounts many worth-noting global engagement experiences. People from many parts of the world gather to share their knowledge and ideas. These experiences are extracted in this book. (Rector of C2 University, 2016, pp. viii–ix)

The Rector not only emphasises knowledge and horizon as the main benefits of studying abroad, but also "global engagement experiences" which are central to cosmopolitanism. When I asked the Rector of the C2 University about the new Dean of the most internationalised faculty, the Rector commented on this person's attributes, and why the Dean deserves the position. It is mainly because of the new Dean's English proficiency, commitment to knowledge, and international network. Despite the political goings-on behind, the Rector highlighted the Dean's cosmopolitan nature that accorded the agent a structural position in the internationalisation-driven university.

> *First, because the new Dean speaks English very well. Secondly, the person has a bold commitment to knowledge and scholarship. Thirdly, habitat recognition. We can be a centre of excellence if we have an international community that recognise us. She is internationally recognised and affiliated to international professional associations.* (Interview with the Rector of the C2 University)

The cosmopolitan nature of the Dean is proven by her being globally oriented, attuned to the contemporary global realities and skilful at engaging with other global citizens. My interview with the Secretary of the International Office at the low-tier university also demonstrates similar testimony. The Secretary of the International Office commented on his colleague (the Head of the International Office) referring to his international network and nimble networking skill – the reason he joins the office.

> *I started to be actively involved in internationalisation programmes when our Head of International Office returned from Norway. In 2014, he completed his PhD in Norway where he established several international networks. He moved fast to benchmark with other universities and inviting speakers/resources from the university where he studied.* (Interview with the Secretary of the International Office at the C3 University)

The interview shows that the cosmopolitan capital of the Head of the International Office is partly obtained from his PhD study in Norway. The person benefits from the "interaction rituals" (Collins, 1998) he becomes involved in during the PhD study – knowledge advancement, confidence in engaging in globalising social arena, foreign language proficiency, and international network. These cosmopolitan capitals are obviously in the person's disposition (language proficiency and networking skills) before entering the "interaction rituals". But it is through this site of global interaction that the cosmopolitan nature and the local identity is reinforced as the university elite.

The Head of the International Office of the C1 University recounts the main message he has just delivered in his speech in welcoming a group of exchange students from the United States of America a couple of hours before the interview. The speech below displays his

cosmopolitan qualities: mobility (travelling to US), English proficiency, cultural reflexivity (a cultural lesson gained from mobility), and intellectual grandeur (excellent oratory skill). The speech also displays his wit and cultural reflexivity in taking popular culture into account (choosing Tom Cruise and Angelina Jolie) to understand a concept of diversity and multiculturalism through the importance of cross-cultural experience and understanding.

> *Before I visited the US and when I understood the country only through Hollywood movies, I thought everybody in the US was like Tom Cruise and Angelina Jolie. My first visit to the US for the first time in 2007 has changed my view. Commuting from Queens to Manhattan using Subway has given me an eye-opening experience, how diverse the American people are. There in the subway I witnessed the US is really a melting pot of ethnicity, colours and cultures. Only by visiting the country, you will understand the country* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C1 University) (original text in English)

With such observable cosmopolitan qualities, the agents are expected or assumed to be able to expand the institution's global network. Because of this expectation, these agents distinguish themselves and are distinguished by other ordinary academics as possessing cosmopolitan capital and thus playing significant roles in global engagement. Ordinary academics do travel and thus have a certain degree of mobility, but it is for knowledge pursuit *an sich*, such as international conferences and workshops. Whereas the mobility of the university elite is aimed at expanding the global network of the institution. In addition, as mobility is part of the job of this elite class, it is usually state funded. The Head of the International Office at the C2 University spoke of the complexity and negative images associated with using the state budget for international travel as "it is still considered to be a luxurious stuff and leisure".

> *The main problem with outgoing mobility deals with the image of travel itself. First is finance issue. We all know that it is expensive to travel abroad. The second one deals with the exit permit or administrative issue. This is because when a civil servant goes abroad and it is funded by the State Budget, we need to get the exit permit from the Ministry of State Secretariat. The bureaucracy is complex and long. The third one deals with the image. Overseas travel is still considered to be a luxurious stuff and leisure. So, whoever travels abroad, either it's the university administrators or the members of the parliament,*

there will be a question: "Why should travel abroad?" The question appears because they use the state budget. Consequently, the direct and indirect image is negative. (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C2 University)

The negative image of the agents' mobility might also because of its 'exclusive nature' as it is not available for other ordinary academics. Contextualising Friedman and Friedman's (2008, p. 8) argument that "globalizing visions are based exclusively on the experiences of the [university elite] academics" in Indonesian higher education sector is partly a result of the exclusive nature of mobility. This suggests that although cosmopolitan culture might appear inclusive and democratic, it only includes the elite and excludes the rest.

Therefore, although internationalisation promotes and provides mobility for the agents, it does not guarantee that the mobility will provide them with the awareness to negotiate different values and to initiate global geopolitics. In other words, while internationalisation could potentially produce individuals with cultural cosmopolitan identity and capital, it does not automatically initiate global consciousness and global geopolitics regarding internationalisation of higher education. Mobility alone does not suffice. The Dean of the most internationalised faculty at the middle-tier university shares her personal experience in engaging in international consortia, in this case an ASEAN forum. In the global forum, she believes that all delegates "have an equal competence" and thus her inferiority complex may not restrict the process of her global engagement.

I do not actually speak English very fluently. But I am determined to speak the language, as long as my interlocutors understand, then I think so far so good… There were only two delegates from Indonesia in the ASEAN meeting, one of whom was me. The other delegate was feeling somewhat inferior. I don't know why? I think we may not feel that way. All of the delegates including from Singapore, the Philippine, Malaysia and Thailand actually have an equal competence, but perhaps the problem is because we cannot fully articulate what we know in English. That is why I insist to speak English. (Interview with the Dean of the most internationalised faculty in the C2 University)

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The Dean's reflexivity on the internationalisation process displays a certain degree of global consciousness and awareness. It shows a shift from a mere cosmopolitanism to cosmopolitics. In a broader scale, this cosmopolitics deals with the real "politics [of internationalisation] in the making", as Tadaki and Tremewan note the agential practices of internationalisation (2013, p. 375).

In order to highlight the importance of shifting to cosmopolitics, I deliberately repeat my interview data with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education at the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education. This is because my interview data which shows this insight of cosmopolitics is very limited. The speaker recounts the way the Director General of Higher Education demonstrated his political awareness and agency in rejecting a government-to-institution partnership agreement. The self-aware description of his political agency is cited in the following:

> *We were once angry with Usintec. But it's with the person, not with the programme. The agent was merely a broker. The person only talked about money with the Director General (of Higher Education), not about policy or programmes. We could smell out where the business is going, then we rejected it.* (Interview with the Head of Partnership, Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education)

In this small illustration drawn from two interview excerpts, it can be seen that embedding a cosmopolitical awareness into the local agents of internationalisation is necessary to ensure the realisation of emancipatory internationalisation processes. Cosmopolitanism might be automatically attributed to the local agents of internationalisation, but not cosmopolitics. The agents deal with cosmopolitics when they negotiate and establish values of institutional relationships in the international network, as well as when enacting internationalisation strategies in their universities (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013). Cosmopolitics enables the university elite to play "a transformative (rather than subservient) role for universities in regional economies and discourses of development" through the international networking and partnership (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 384). This is a vision where internationalisation

is not “merely the project of a western centre, but become gradually assembled from a range of cross-cultural dialogues” (Featherstone, 2002, p. 3).

CONCLUSION

This Chapter focused on the agent mediating the local-global interplay: the university elite, by using material from the interviews. The language used by the university elite in justifying internationalisation vision and practice shows the two contradictory discourses. The university elite possess considerable cosmopolitan cultural capital in order to “think globally, but act locally” regarding the internationalisation mission. They might think they are representing a universal cosmopolitan culture, but in fact they are representing global interests. Cosmopolitan culture that appears to be symbolic, universal and democratic as represented by the university elite belies the instrumental purpose of internationalisation that yokes higher education into the global marketplace. Therefore, a shift from cosmopolitanism to cosmopolitics would equip the local agents with the analytical tools of global geopolitics with regard to internationalisation of higher education.

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CHAPTER VIII

REPURPOSING INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION THROUGH INTERNATIONALISATION

INTRODUCTION

This concluding chapter draws together the argument of my thesis. I have demonstrated that Indonesian public universities are being repurposed through the internationalisation of higher education. I have established this argument through four propositions. They are: (1) global forces are contributing to shaping Indonesian universities, (2) local forces reshape how Indonesian higher education responds to these global forces, (3) knowledge forms and functions contribute in contradictory ways to the dynamic of the globalisation-localisation interaction, and (4) human agency is active in the shaping and reshaping process and is in turn altered by this process as new identities emerge.

The chapter advances the discussion by suggesting that the repurposing process affects Indonesian higher education in unintended ways. The main unintended outcome is to compromise the role of education in re-shaping a democratic Indonesia into a knowledge market operating in the interest of business elites. It is education that integrates a pluralistic and heterogeneous society such as Indonesia (Rata, 2017a). If education is subverted in this way, then what will integrate Indonesia? I predict this subversion as having different effects and consequences to the three categories of Indonesian universities (C1, C2, and C3 categories). One serious unintended consequence of this is the growing elitism of the category one universities and the commodification of knowledge in higher education sector.

REPURPOSING INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION THROUGH INTERNATIONALISATION

The argument I have made in this thesis is that Indonesian universities are being repurposed through the internationalisation of higher education. I justify this argument by examining

global, local, and agential forces. The global forces deal with the hegemonic ideas that are circulated through discourses, in this case – internationalisation discourses. These discourses shape understandings about internationalisation globally and are also shaped by internationalisation practices of the global elite institutions. In local practices, the discourses are observable through the language used by the agents. My argument that global forces interact in a dynamic interdependent relationship with local forces is developed by analysing the Indonesian contextual history of higher education that makes it distinctive from other countries. The post-World War II on going Independence's commitment to providing as wide access as possible to 'symbolic knowledge' is evident in the rejection of privatisation attempt. This is within the historical trajectory of higher education sector and the purpose of its establishment and massification as contributing to education's role more broadly in fostering democracy and social cohesion in nation building (Rata, 2017a). Consisting of 1,300 ethnic groups inhabiting in 13,466 islands, education plays a significant role in integrating the country's diverse ethnic groups, those who "will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson, 1983, p. 5). Adding to Anderson's (1983) argument, I would argue that it is not only 'print capitalism' that integrates Indonesia, but more importantly education. Higher education was to lead this endeavour by creating the type of knowledge that provides what Durkheim (1995) referred to as 'collective representation' or Bourdieu's (1979) 'shared reality'.

However, since the 1990s, knowledge, as a constitutive product in the global knowledge economy, has undergone a profound change from its 'pricelessness' as a symbolic resource to a 'priced' commodity. This knowledge shift is even more evident in Indonesia in the way internationalisation, through international partnership discourse, has changed higher education policies from the protection of its role as an institution for the people to a competitive resource in an open globally exposed economy. I have put forward four propositions that contribute to the tensions occurring within the contemporary internationalisation of higher education. This tension manifests in different ways as I explore in my four propositions. The first is that there is a tension between the local global interplay.

This tension deals with the first (globalisation) and second (localisation) proposition: that the global forces which shape Indonesian universities meet the local forces which reshape how Indonesian universities respond to the global forces. The second tension occurs in the knowledge forms and functions as the constituent element in the global knowledge economy: whether it is the instrumental function of knowledge that takes control and dominates as is the current case of internationalisation, or the maintenance of clear boundary between the symbolic role of knowledge and the economic production. The fourth proposition refers to the agential forces to those who play considerable roles in mediating the tension between global-local interplay and in localising the global discourses of internationalisation. These four forces shape and reshape the ways Indonesian universities respond to global pressure, in this case to the internationalisation agenda specifically, and they are discussed in turn below.

FIRST PROPOSITION: GLOBAL FORCES OF INTERNATIONALISATION

The forces of contemporary global capitalism produce dominating ideas that are circulated through discourses. These discourses shape understandings about internationalisation globally and are shaped by internationalisation practices of the global elite institutions.

There are two contradictory understandings about the meaning of internationalisation; 'knowledge internationalisation' and 'market internationalisation'. 'Knowledge internationalisation' characterises the period prior to neoliberal globalisation. It refers to the university's commitment to, and quest for, the ideal of universally created and shared knowledge needed to create a unified, democratic and prosperous nation. This idea of knowledge is not only a feature of the European Enlightenment but is characteristic of older periods of international intellectual activity (Collins, 1998). 'Market internationalisation' refers to the phase of the commodification of higher education in the era of the global knowledge economy. This is driven by the political-economic rationale of contemporary economic globalisation. I argue in Chapters Four and Five that these two discourses appear side by side, often unconsciously in the language of those who work in Indonesian higher

education. The two internationalisation discourses are also evident in the policy documents and interviews where they appear interchangeably.

While both discourses shape Indonesia's internationalisation of higher education, market internationalisation takes different forms in the localised context. The localised discourses appear more indirect and bottom up as compared to the direct and top-down nature of market discourses such as the rejected privatisation. It is through examining the 'nodal discourses' – nodal points where the discourses intersect – that the contradictory nature of the internationalisation discourses can be revealed.

Global discourses are circulated by powerful agencies such as Intergovernmental Organisations and Global Rankers. Global university rankings, to name a few, Times Higher Education, QS World University Rankings and Shanghai Jiao Tong, are very powerful in projecting themselves as global references to define a university's global excellence. One unintended consequence of this ranking process is the endless superficial pursuit of global rankings by universities in various locations, including Indonesia. Elite universities usually claim a place for themselves within this spatiality (Ordorika & Lloyd, 2015). The rest will find their own ways to define themselves. Even QS's motto "Who Rules?" explicitly ascribes an elite status for the winners of this race for rankings. As Indonesian universities are not included in the dominant global rankers, they use alternative rankers such as Webometrics to position themselves. This pursuit for global rankings is superficial, not least because global rankings only hold 'weak expertise' doing whatever it takes to attain their audience attention (Lim, 2017). Marginson (2007) has warned that this global ranking fever potentially leads a 'rankings game' which perpetuates an academic 'arms race'.

SECOND PROPOSITION: LOCALISATION

The localisation proposition argues that the Indonesian contextual history of higher education makes it distinctive from other countries. This means that what happens in Indonesian higher education also happens in other countries to a degree that global forces are driven by the

same economic imperative, but each country responds and reshapes the global force in different ways according to its own history and circumstances. An example of this in the case of Indonesia is that privatisation was rejected, but internationalisation is welcomed. In contrast, the tertiary sector in Western countries embraced varying degrees of privatisation along with internationalisation. Indonesia's strong commitment to provide as wide access as possible to symbolic knowledge, something central to the massive growth of the sector in the post-Independence declaration, has been evident in the rejection of the privatisation attempt. This can be understood in the context of Indonesia's higher education sector's historical trajectory and the purpose of its establishment and massification.

The unintended consequence of this local reshaping is the growing elitism of the top tier universities in Indonesia, a feature well recognised in the literature, for example Fitzgerald (2017), Marginson (2006), Ordorika and Lloyd (2015). This is due to the existing vertical segmentation of higher education institutions. According to Marginson (2006), the vertical segmentation is inevitable, as each individual university has different capacities, reputation and market position.

The C1 University in Indonesia is the most privileged by the internationalisation agenda. For them, internationalisation is not a new agenda. These university administrators are aware of their privileged institutional position. The Head of the International Office at the C1 University I interviewed proudly explained that its internationalisation programme is well established and their reputation is "a magnet in itself". They win the local and national competition as well as having more confidence to compete globally.

> *The university's bargaining position or status is not the same. Our university's position is a magnet in itself.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C1 University)

The case is different with the C2 and C3 universities. For these two clusters, internationalisation is a brand strategy to leverage the institution's position in the local,

rather than global marketplace. They struggle to emulate the elite universities' internationalisation record by mimicking their programmes and strategies, but find themselves locked out. They remain part of a nationally focused education system prioritising teaching and community service. The Head of the International Office of the C2 University shares this concern. He believes that the elite universities (such as C1 University in this study) are "organically… giant, they are giant in terms of funding, research, programmes, and raw input. Even their students and lecturers are the best in their field". The term 'giant' here means that the elite universities are not just 'big' in his understanding, but 'super-big' so that it leaves a huge gap to catch up or simply follow their internationalisation tracks. He admits this 'gap' by stating "I don't think we can catch up with that".

> *I am not sure if my theory is proven or not. But we need to see that Indonesian elite universities, such as ITB, IPB, UI and UGM are not only internationally oriented, but also organically they are giant. They are giant in terms of funding, research, programmes, and raw input. Even their students and lecturers are the best in their field. So, whatever they produce will be attractive globally… If we are talking about our middle-tier university in 100 or 200 years, I don't think we can catch up with that because we are not designed for that. Our main products are teachers, and they can be sold overseas.* (Interview with the Head of the International Office at the C2 University)

The Rector of the C3 University also shares this concern. He is very aware of his institution's position in the higher education cluster and local marketplace. However, he is of the belief that "However small the institution is, we must have the internationalisation vision". Although it is not quite clear why he holds the vision and how it will be implemented.

> *I think it is inevitable. However small the institution is, we must have the internationalisation vision. Hence our institution.* (Interview with the Rector of the C3 University)

What happens to the C1, C2 and C3 universities from my fieldwork provides illustrative insights into what is happening to Indonesian universities nationally. Royono and Rahwidiati (2013) capture this national trend: "Ask the managers of any university in Indonesia about their vision for their institution and an almost automatic response would be to become a

world-class university" (2013, p. 180). The acceptance of the internationalisation agenda by most Indonesian universities appears to be deepening the existing vertical segmentation and gap in the sector. This is a worrying trend because it consolidates stratification. The agenda is played out within a spirit of competition and with a seemingly uncritical acceptance (Sakhiyya, 2011).

As elsewhere, elite universities in Indonesia dominate the production and distribution of both symbolic as well as economic forms of knowledge. The dominance is accrued from the significant material and human resources they possess, their long standing reputation, and extensive local-global networks. This dominant position is further reinforced through the internationalisation process. Fitzgerald (2017) argues that "the educational marketplace works to the advantage of universities that use their histories and traditions, image and reputation, to further reinforce their privilege, position and power" (p. 63). This process occurs globally and within countries. In Indonesia, the top-tier universities, such as the C1 University in my study, have their elite status reinforced in the local and national playing field through internationalisation policies. This local elitism is a direct illustration of how internationalisation is played out in the global arena. Because Western universities were established early and benefitted from colonisation, the dominance of the Universities within the elite group is reinforced through the internationalisation process (Marginson, 2006). Their status serves as the benchmark for the internationalisation of higher education throughout the world. This aggravates the already asymmetrical global relationships amongst higher education institutions.

THIRD PROPOSITION: A PROFOUND SHIFT IN KNOWLEDGE

The third proposition concerns what happens to 'knowledge' itself as a constituent element in the global knowledge economy. Higher education has increasingly become the site of intense arguments as to what constitutes progressive knowledge creation, indeed what 'progressive knowledge' is. In Chapter Three, I discuss how knowledge undergoes a profound change in its very constitutive form. The fundamental shift is observable in the ways

knowledge is being played out in the internationalisation processes. As a consequence, higher education as the centre for knowledge production undergoes a fundamental change in its dual contradictory forms. Universities maintain their function in preserving the production of knowledge for intellectual, moral and aesthetic purposes and for its symbolic role in creating a society's modern collective consciousness, but the economic function of knowledge acquires greater weight. Knowledge is priceless but it now has a price – as a commodity – to be bought and sold in the market place. This profound shift in the value of knowledge alters its very creation. It affects the ways in which universities respond to the revaluing of their 'product'. I have illustrated this argument using relevant policy documents in Chapter Three.

The unintended consequence of this shift is the heightened commodification of knowledge. As a consequence of the weakening insulation between the symbolic and economic forms of knowledge, universities increasingly treat knowledge as the main force of production to be produced, protected, and then sold in the market. Some of the trends that describe this commodification tendency are the commercialisation of intellectual property rights through patents and licenses, the intensive entrepreneurial engagement and partnerships with industry, and of course the raising of student tuition fees (Shore & Wright, 2017). During my fieldwork in 2016, there were student protests both in the C1 and C2 Universities I studied rallying against fee raises. In the name of internationalisation, universities charge higher fees for providing international standard learning experiences and facilities. Despite the fact that privatisation was rejected and it appears that universities have maintained their role in nation building, such events are clear evidence of a creeping privatisation – the growing commodification of knowledge in higher education institutions and the price it now has. Internationalisation appears to be another mechanism to commodify and marketise knowledge (Sakhiyya, 2016), or it is privatisation by another means.

FOURTH PROPOSITION: HUMAN AGENCY IS ACTIVE

Internationalisation is not merely a global process without social agents. The key force in the global-local interaction is the agent who plays an influential role in reshaping higher

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education. By drawing on Marx's theory of social class, I identify and explore the roles of this social agent in mediating the local-global interplay and localising global discourses. This discussion is in Chapters Six and Seven. It is worthwhile recalling that in these chapters I argue that internationalisation is not merely a spontaneous outcome of globalisation without social agents (Turner, 2003). Rather it is "an emergent political project that is imagined, discussed and acted out by university administrators to each other as well as other agents in and beyond the university" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 371). The local agents engaged in this local-global interplay and in the reshaping process of Indonesian higher education are identified as the 'university elite'. I have used class labels and analysis because these concepts deal with the means of knowledge production and control. The discourses they espouse illustrate the contradiction of internationalisation, while the discursive practices put those ideas into policy and practices as well as decision making and networking. This argument is illustrated through interview and observation data that I have included throughout the thesis as illustrative of my theoretical argument.

Human agency matters because, although internationalisation discourses and higher education structures may be constraining, it is the local agents who are able to make possible changes to higher education structures through the choices and decisions they make (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013). They can decide whether to strengthen or weaken the insulation between the two knowledge forms, as well as to negotiate or comply with global forces. This study contributes to an increased awareness and knowledge of how agents maintain the insulation of the two knowledge forms through internationalisation practices. The classification between the two forms and negotiation of the local-global interplay are observable from the discourses and discursive practices around the agents which I have explored in Chapters Six and Seven. Highlighting the active role of these agents within the wider structures of higher education, discourses, and global forces enables possibilities for transformation.

I name the agents as the university elite not only because they deal with the production and control of knowledge but because they also mediate global forces. As a result of the access

to, and control of, knowledge production, they hold considerable strategic political agency. The agency reveals itself in the choices and decisions they make in global networking as well as in running the university's internationalisation strategy. Certainly, the agents need to have certain cosmopolitan capital to connect to global society. They need fluency in English, global social networks, familiarity with global culture, and international mobility. Accordingly, cosmopolitan identity is ascribed to the agents. Nevertheless, there is a tension between how the agents consider themselves as the agents of cosmopolitan culture that appears to be symbolic, democratic and universal, and how they are actually positioned as the intermediaries of global interest. I have argued in Chapters Six and Seven, a mere cosmopolitanism is inadequate to push the global democratisation vision in the international consortium (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013).

CODA: FROM COSMOPOLITANISM TO COSMOPOLITICS

As an attempt to go beyond critique and explore ways to develop critical awareness, a shift from cosmopolitanism to cosmopolitics is required to enable "new moralities of internationalisation [to] emerge as academic faculty and staff can work together to practise a progressive vision of global interconnectedness" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 375). Having a cosmopolitan identity is not enough (Harvey, 2000). The agents need to be aware that there are symbolic and instrumental values to be negotiated in the international network, an awareness illustrated by one of my interviewees.

The Head of the International Office of the C1 University made it very clear that, as a local-global mediator, internationalisation agents need to have a "comprehensive understanding over global issues as well as proficiency in formulating scientific solutions that are often multidisciplinary".

> *We do not want to be dictated to by anyone, that's for sure. We are not afraid of any countries, that's obvious. We will not compromise our sovereignty and sovereign rights of our nation-state, that's no doubt. In this peaceful era, those efforts are not done through taking up arms but diplomacy. Our struggle occurs in the classy negotiation table and in the glorious meeting rooms. Our victory is*

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> *no longer determined by our survival in the underground bunker with subsistence. Our endeavour to fight against the dominance of other countries is no longer determined by the many bullets fired in a war.*
>
> *In an international interaction, our power is now determined by our ability to understand and master global governance as well as the ability to convincingly deliver and defend our nation's interest in front of hundreds of selected individuals representing their own countries. Our respect is determined by our comprehensive understanding over global issues as well as our proficiency in formulating scientific solutions that are often multidisciplinary, then delivering them in an illuminating language which invites agreement from international colleagues.*
>
> *In international forums, our existence is no longer determined by quantity as it will only affect the photo session, but will be easily drowned when one can only smile and keep silent in discussions. Our respect is determined by the courage to stand up or raise our hands then speak politely and diplomatically by demonstrating a comprehensive understanding then sympathetically fight for our national interest.*
>
> (Interview with the Head of the International Office of the C1 University)

The local agents with the inscribed cosmopolitan identity need to have cosmopolitical understanding, or in my interviewee's language, the "ability to understand and master global governance as well as the ability to convincingly deliver and defend our nation's interest". This shift from mere cosmopolitanism to cosmopolitics is important to consider internationalisation of higher education as a transformative space in the period of the global knowledge economy. Internationalisation is the space where various values and interests become visible and contestable (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013). Cosmopolitical awareness is central in this process as an analytical tool to negotiate and pursue different values if internationalisation is taken as a global democratic project (Featherstone, 2002).

I conclude my argument that localisation does affect how Indonesian higher education responds to global forces and knowledge shift, and within this global change, human agency holds considerable influence in this localisation process. The prominence of human agency

opens up fissures for change and enables the possibility of realising the transformative and emancipatory internationalisation of higher education (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013). However, this depends upon the self-awareness of the local agents who enact internationalisation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR RECTORS

School of Critical Studies in Education

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND
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Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 623 8899
Facsimile 64 9 623 8898
www.education.auckland.ac.nz

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Rector

Project Title: Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

My name is Zulfa Sakhiyya and I am currently studying for a Doctoral degree in Education at the Faculty of Education, University of Auckland. I am on study leave from my lecturing position at Semarang State University. My study will investigate the internationalisation of higher education in Indonesia. I am interested in your university's internationalisation policies. Thus, I would like to invite you to be part of my research by participating in a sixty-minute interview, and a follow-up interview if you or I wish.

With your permission, the interview will be recorded in *Bahasa Indonesia*. I will then transcribe the interview and translate it into English. You can ask me to turn the recorder off during the interview, leave the interview, or not answer a question if you wish. If you wish to receive the transcript to edit for accuracy, please let me know on the Consent Form. The audio recordings and transcription will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Faculty of Education of the University of Auckland. After a six-year period the information will be destroyed. You may withdraw from the study at any time but your interview data can only be withdrawn two weeks after the interview.

I would also be grateful if you allow me to access the university's relevant policy documents. Please be informed that due to the public nature of your position, you may be identified in the research. However you may request that a pseudonym to be used instead of your actual name.

If you are interested and able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you could fill in the consent form (attached).

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this research possible. I hope that my research will provide insight for you regarding your internationalisation policies.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

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Head of School: Associate Professor Carol Mutch

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For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 373-7599 ext. 83711. Email: ro-ethics@auckland.ac.nz

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 11 June 2015 for 3 years until 11 June 2018, Reference Number 014737.

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: Rector

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title **:** Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher **:** Zulfa Sakhiyya

I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.

I understand the interview will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour.

I understand that I have been asked to provide the researcher with the university's philosophical statement of aims regarding internationalisation.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, I am likely to be identified by the public nature of my position. However I do/do not request a pseudonym to be used instead of my actual name.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview without giving a reason.

I understand that the interview data can only be withdrawn two weeks after the interview.

I understand that after all of the interviews have been completed on _____, that I may not withdraw any information.

I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: ____________________________

Name: ____________________________ [please print carefully]

Date: ____________________________

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 11 JUNE 2015 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 014737.

APPENDIX B: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR DEANS

School of Critical Studies in Education

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Dean

Project Title: Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

My name is Zulfa Sakhiyya and I am currently studying for a Doctoral degree in Education at the Faculty of Education, University of Auckland. I am on study leave from my lecturing position at Semarang State University. My study will investigate the internationalisation of higher education in Indonesia. I am interested in your university's internationalisation policies. Thus, I would like to invite you to be part of my research by participating in a sixty-minute interview, and a follow-up interview if you or I wish.

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If you are interested and able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you could fill in the consent form (attached).

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this research possible. I hope that my research will provide insight for you regarding your internationalisation policies.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: Dean

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title **:** Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher **:** Zulfa Sakhiyya

I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.

I understand the interview will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour.

I understand that I have been asked to provide the researcher with the university's philosophical statement of aims regarding internationalisation.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, I am likely to be identified by the public nature of my position. However I do/do not request a pseudonym to be used instead of my actual name.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview without giving a reason.

I understand that the interview data can only be withdrawn two weeks after the interview.

I understand that after all of the interviews have been completed on _____, that I may not withdraw any information.

I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: ____________________________

Name: ____________________________ [please print carefully]

Date: ____________________________

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APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR HEADS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICES

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Head of the International Office

Project Title: Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

My name is Zulfa Sakhiyya and I am currently studying for a Doctoral degree in Education at the Faculty of Education, University of Auckland. I am on study leave from my lecturing position at Semarang State University. My study will investigate the internationalisation of higher education in Indonesia. I am interested in your university's internationalisation policies. Thus, I would like to invite you to be part of my research by participating in a sixty-minute interview, and a follow-up interview if you or I wish.

With your permission, the interview will be recorded in *Bahasa Indonesia*. I will then transcribe the interview and translate it into English. You can ask me to turn the recorder off during the interview, leave the interview, or not answer a question if you wish. If you wish to receive the transcript to edit for accuracy, please let me know on the Consent Form. The audio recordings and transcription will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Faculty of Education of the University of Auckland. After a six-year period the information will be destroyed. You may withdraw from the study at any time but your interview data can only be withdrawn two weeks after the interview.

I would also be grateful if you allow me to access the university's relevant policy documents. Please be informed that due to the public nature of your position, you may be identified in the research. However you may request that a pseudonym to be used instead of your actual name.

If you are interested and able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you could fill in the consent form (attached).

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this research possible. I hope that my research will provide insight for you regarding your internationalisation policies.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

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Supervisor: Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: Head of the International Office

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title **:** Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher **:** Zulfa Sakhiyya

I have been given and understand the Participant Information Sheet for this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered.

I understand the interview will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour.

I understand that I have been asked to provide the researcher with the university's philosophical statement of aims regarding internationalisation.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, I am likely to be identified by the public nature of my position. However I do/do not request a pseudonym to be used instead of my actual name.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview without giving a reason.

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I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: ____________________________

Name: ____________________________ [please print carefully]

Date: ____________________________

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON 11 JUNE 2015 FOR (3) years, Reference Number 014737.

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR HEAD OF THE PARTNERSHIP AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET: Head of the Partnership and Foreign Affairs, Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education

Project Title: Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

My name is Zulfa Sakhiyya and I am currently studying for a Doctoral degree in Education at the Faculty of Education, University of Auckland. I am on study leave from my lecturing position at Semarang State University. My study will investigate the internationalisation of higher education in Indonesia. I am interested in your university's internationalisation policies. Thus, I would like to invite you to be part of my research by participating in a sixty-minute interview, and a follow-up interview if you or I wish.

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If you are interested and able to participate in this research, I would appreciate it if you could fill in the consent form (attached).

Thank you very much for your time and help in making this research possible. I hope that my research will provide insight for you regarding your internationalisation policies.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher: Zulfa Sakhiyya

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM: Head of the Partnership and Foreign Affairs, Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS.

Project Title **:** Internationalisation of Higher Education in Indonesia

Researcher **:** Zulfa Sakhiyya

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I understand the interview will involve a time commitment of approximately one hour.

I understand that I have been asked to provide the researcher with the university's philosophical statement of aims regarding internationalisation.

I understand that if the information I provide is reported/published, I am likely to be identified by the public nature of my position. However I do/do not request a pseudonym to be used instead of my actual name.

I understand that I may withdraw from the research at any time up until and during the interview without giving a reason.

I understand that the interview data can only be withdrawn two weeks after the interview.

I understand that after all of the interviews have been completed on _____, that I may not withdraw any information.

I agree / do not agree to be audio taped.

I agree to take part in this research as outlined in the Participant Information Sheet.

I would / would not like a copy of the completed thesis emailed to me.

Signed: ____________________________

Name: ____________________________ [please print carefully]

Date: ____________________________

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APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR UNIVERSITY RECTORS

The University

1) Could you tell me something about your position and your vision for the university?

Internationalisation Policy

1) What do you think the internationalisation of Indonesian university will do for Indonesia in the Asian region and in the global landscape?
2) How do you think the internationalisation policy affects the university response to the local region?

Internationalisation in the University

1) Could you tell me about the origin of the university's internationalisation policy? Is this a mandate from the Ministry or university's initiative?
2) What outcomes do you see the university's internationalisation policy leading to?
3) What is happening within the university as a result of internationalisation policy? For example, have you increased the number of students coming from the Asian region?
4) Would you be willing to give me copies of internationalisation policy of your university?

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR FACULTY DEANS

The Faculty

1) Could you tell me something about your position and your vision for the faculty?

Internationalisation in the Faculty

1) Could you tell me about the origin of the faculty's internationalisation programme?
2) What is happening within the faculty as a result of internationalisation policy? For example, have you had any international programmes in the faculty?
3) Would you be willing to give me copies of internationalisation programme documents of your faculty?

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APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR HEADS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICE AT UNIVERSITY LEVEL

International Office

1) Could you tell me something about your position and your role regarding the university's internationalisation?

Internationalisation in the University and Faculty

1) When the international office was firstly established in this university?
2) What is happening within the office as a result of internationalisation policy?
3) What are the internationalisation programmes the university run?
4) Would you be willing to give me copies of internationalisation documents of the university? For example, letters of MOU with universities abroad and other kinds of international partnership.

APPENDIX H: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR HEAD OF PARTNERSHIP AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MINISTRY OF RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The Deputy of Partnership and Foreign Affairs

1) What is the role of the Deputy of Partnership and Foreign Affairs in the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education?
2) What was the reason for dividing the Ministry of Education into two – the Ministry of Research and Technology and Higher Education as well as the Ministry of Education and Culture?

Internationalisation Policy

1) Could you tell me about the origin of the internationalisation policy in Indonesia? Does it have anything to do with the previous privatisation policy?
2) What do you think the internationalisation of Indonesian university will do for Indonesia in the Asian region and globally?
3) How do you think the internationalisation policy affects the university's response to the local region?
4) Would you be willing to give me copies of the Ministry's internationalisation policy documents?

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