

CRITICAL VIEW ON AUTONOMY HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

Sriwiyata Ismail Zainuddin¹, A. Mappatunru²

¹Universitas Sulawesi Barat, e-mail: sriwiyataismail@gmail.com

²Salimerah Institute, e-mail: Andimappatunru28@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

To improve the quality and competitiveness in the global education market, several higher education institutions in Indonesia given autonomy through UU No.12 Tahun 2012 that has been applied in early 2013. Frankly, the autonomy of higher education in Indonesia is a multi-level-policy transferred from World Bank 'Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency Project in 2005' and a part of obligation Indonesia participation in WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services in 1994. This article would like to give critical insights into whether the deregulation and given autonomy to the higher education institutions in the new public management era will bring better financial management and public service. Using literature studies, we find the most autonomous universities (PTN-BH) manage to gain positive revenue growth and become more exclusive in society.

Keyword: new public management, higher education reform, policy transfer

A. INTRODUCTION

Globalization associates to all innovation in all sector, including in the public management sector. In spreading the innovation through all the world, successful action in another place and discourse from international organizations are seemed desirable to be adopted by developing countries in order to catch with others developed a country and reach the global convergence. Therefore, the method of policy transfer is a typical lesson practice applied around the world (Common, 2001). This essay refers to higher education reform policy in Indonesia as evidence of policy transfer. Since this regulation is an adaptation from World Bank discourse, the role of international organization (IO) in the policy transfer is also discussed in this essay. Therefore, to be relevant to the question about how the practice of policy transfer for autonomy in higher education (HE) is useful for public management, this essay will be divided into three parts. First of all, this essay will explore the driving forces of new public management (NPM) and why the learning process through policy transfer is essential. The second part of this essay attempts to explain the involvement of the international organization in the HE reform policy in Indonesia. In this part, the justification of the World Bank will be presented as the rationalization for Indonesia to adopted the discourse. Lastly, this essay will criticize the implementation of this regulation based on the national principle to provide education to all society.

B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

NPM and Policy Transfer; As A globalization

The end of the era Keynesianism is a pointer to the NPM era. However, there is no single answer to explain that the triggers of NPM become popular at

that time (Hood, 1991). Considerable scholars identified the reasons behind a flourish of NPM are various in the context. Keating in his work was proposing the fundamental holistic change in the framework of NPM to address the wasteful practice of old public management (Keating, 1989). Even though, Hood said that no one-fits-all answer to the reason behind NPM, his point of view that NPM is inspired by the successful execution of business management in creating leaner management along with more output with less input strategy (Hood, 1991). In explaining his view, Hood has not a piece of reliable evidence but a temporary hypothesis that 'decreased command-orientation and increased 'results-orientation' is associated with improvements in productivity' (Hood, 1991, p. 16). Politt and Bouckaert in their book give a detail explanation that the frugality reason for NPM referred to discourse in the late 1970s to late 1990s. The further phase which refers to 1990s-2010 and forward, NPM is 'embraced the concepts of globalization, governance, networks, partnerships, transparency, and trust' (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011, p. 11). Despite the different context of point of view, these views in general describing 'NPM as an 'administrative revolution' or a new post-bureaucratic policy paradigm' (Haque, 1996; Hood & Peters, 2004 in Verger & Curran, 2014) with a renewed objective to perform effectively and efficiently (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011).

The last trigger of NPM gives an understanding of why NPM is the widely spread adopted across the world. Massive adoption of NPM globally comes from its attractiveness to answer the quandaries of government (Common, 2001). Nonetheless, the emergence of NPM as a global paradigm is not a coincidence of fads and fashion like what Minogue said (Minogue 1986 in Hood 1991). Common (2001) writes that globalization phenomenon is an elucidation behind the global diffusion of public management reform 'globalisation have influenced the international diffusion of public policy, while policy transfer analysis, as a meso-theory about relationships between governments and how they interact, offers as explanatory framework for the global diffusion of NPM' (Common, 2001, p. 3). Therefore, the globalization and the policy transfer is inseparable to explaining the omnipresent of NPM. It is noteworthy to credit to 'policy transfer' as means that drawing the connection between globalization and NPM.

As a method to adopt NPM, policy transfer is a single concept that will be discussed in this part. The objective to be more effective becomes the dream constructed by NPM. Moreover, the next question is how to obtain the goal? Therefore, policy transfer appears as a method of learning. Various researchers give his argument on this method. Rose (1991), call this concept as lesson-drawing as 'a lesson is a detailed cause-and-effect description of a set of actions that government can consider in the light of experience elsewhere, including a prospective valuation of whether what is done elsewhere could someday become effective here' (Rose, 1991, p. 7). In his view, the lesson explains that a successful program should be transferred as a whole but in a different place without any innovation include. Meanwhile, Dolowitz and Marsh argue that policy transfer is a result of consideration and deliberation of one party to transfer 'which knowledge of policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas in one political system (past or present)' is used in the development of similar features in

another' (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000, p. 5). Adversely with prior definition, Dolowitz and Marsh have tenets that innovation, improvement and adjustment are allowed in the policy transfer.

After understanding the reason behind NPM and its means, the upcoming topic from whom the idea of NPM could be transferred? Evans (2004) states that the inspiration for a new policy agenda can be gain from political success manager from the other government. In his sense, this approach is rational-action-oriented. Because the globalization bolsters the process, this means transplanted can pass through territorial or internationalize. In his work, he adds the other sources of inspiration are enforced by 'influential donor countries, global financial institutions, supra-national institutions, international organizations or transnational corporations, to introduce policy change in order to secure grants, loans or other forms of inward investment' (Evans, 2004, p. 11). These organizations offer institutional and policy reform to countries as if it is a strategy to compete with the other countries or to be not failed among others. Therefore, this approach is deemed as direct coercive policy transfer (Evans, 2004) how the international organization in promoting NPM through policy transfer will be discussed in the next part.

C. RESEARCH METHOD

This paper is a literature study. Literature study is a research conducted by collecting a number of books or texts that are relevant to the object of study. Primary literature sources of this paper come from the critical social science paradigm. Critical social science (CSS) researchers conduct studies to criticize and transform social relations by revealing the underlying sources of social control, power relations, and inequality. More specifically, CSS wants to expose myths, reveal hidden truths, and assist people in improving their lives (W. Lawrence Neuman, 2014: 111).

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

International Organization and Autonomy Higher Education In Indonesia

Most developing countries are still having poor management performance, where IOs' presence aims to lift their performance. The government in developing countries still need to involve in the learning process to obtain effective national development (Evans, 2004). An IO based on Common (2001) are key actors in the policy transfer process in advising input in the decision-making process because the epistemic communities presence is urgently needed to give insights to break the bounded rationality from the government. The IOs have been actively played their part in advice giving since the 1990s (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2011). Even though the way organization internationals work is only to influence the leader, the discourse of the development program from the organization international has persuasive and in some instance appear to be coercive (Common, 2001).

IOs, along with the rise of NPM, continuously promote the adoption of NPM in the public sector management such as governance, health, and so with education. Further in this essay studies higher education reform in Indonesia as an example of policy transfer from IOs. A nucleus of higher education reform

appeared in 2013 identified by changes in the scheme of tuition fee payment. This policy is enforcement of UU No.12 Tahun 2012 that has been applied in early 2013. The applicable law gives a certain degree of autonomy to higher education in order to increase its competitive advantage value and presence among universities in the global market. However, it is noteworthy to understand that UU 12/2012 is the product of transfer policy from World Bank 'Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency Project in 2005' and a part of obligation Indonesia participation on WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services in 1994.

World Bank from its project aimed to support Indonesia Higher Education Long-Term Strategy from the legal framework. Its agenda consists of three main point; quality to create democratic, civilized, inclusive society from comprehensive governance reform including stakeholder and financial management, access and equity to obtain a seamless learning process, and autonomy to decentralize authority from central government by having legal infrastructure, financing structure, and management that encourage innovation, efficiency, and excellence. World Bank funded US\$ 141.54 million to this intentional project until it achieves the UU 12/2012 has replaced UU 9/2009 (World Bank, 2005-2015). The autonomous had given to individual higher education institutions from PP 61/1999 as a state-owned legal entity. However, the World Bank see it was 'complex and marked by contradictions among laws and regulations, especially some regulations related to financial management' (Independent Evaluation Group, 2015, p. 3). Therefore, the higher education institutions need a legal framework to authorize their autonomy along with accountability to be more efficient. This project led to the HE UU 9/2009 proposal, but the Constitutional Court revoked it in 2010. In two years later, World Bank showed its ability to influence Indonesia policy-making the process by UU 12/2012 passage in the middle of 2012.

Transfer of HE reform illustrates the multi-level-policy transfer process. Evans (2004) describes this as an integrated adjustment process the ideas transmitted to the public manager. Adopted or not to adopted the advice from the IO is the government decision. Sriwiyata (2018) said that the state in the development program appears as a moderate factor that could be fastening or slowing the process. Moreover, the case of HE reform, Indonesia government has delayed the process of policy transfer but agreed to adopt them.

The autonomy gained by HE institution is varied based on their performance. There are three categories that degree of autonomy given (Table 1). PTN-BH has the highest degree of autonomy. It operates similarly to the business unit. The allocation of universities to these categories is selectively assigned by the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education by referring to their performance evaluation. The classification of HE institution accordingly is showing that PTN-Satker is weakest among others. Indisputably, the classification creates a hierarchical relation. Instead of providing the democratic-humanist education service, the regulation, in general, aimed to deregulate the state intervention in the HE which can be said as part of 'neoliberalization' by World Bank to intensify its intervention in the developing countries.

Table 1. Degree of Autonomy HE in Indonesia

Degree of Autonomy	PTN-SATKER	PTN-BLU	PTN-BH
Authority to manage financial	×	✓ (with restriction)	✓ (as like legal entity)
Academic Authority (employ lecturers, establish new faculty, etc.)	×	×	✓
Government Subsidy	✓	✓	✓

Typical of the NPM transferred in this HE reform is the restructuring and changing in the budgeting process. Common (2001) said the modernization in the public management identic to privatize wisely and effectively. He argues that privatization will activate the competitiveness of public organization (Common, 2001). Therefore, the PTN-BH status as legal entity justifies the profit-oriented activities of HE institutions. Meanwhile, on the budgeting side, the PTN-BLU and PTN-BH get a lesser government subsidy compare to the PTN-SATKER. Therefore they have to be cost-efficient and self-governing to manage their revenues. The detail technical explanation of running PTN-BH is enclosed to PP 26/2015.

Self-governing in financial management by competing in the economy market is challenging to the educations service provider as it was not their focus. Multi-tasking in generating higher revenue while serving the education is not necessarily showing the positive trend in the financial report from top universities (Table 2). The study is comparing the growth revenue year to year from 2015 to 2016 and 2016 to 2017 when the PP 26/2015 has been applied. Despite unavailable data in the table, it shows some universities managed to gain positive growth on their revenue in the last years while some of them are underperformed and experiencing negative growth.

Table 2. Top Universities Annual Growth Revenues

University	Revenue Growth (yoy)	
	2016	2017
Universitas Indonesia	5%	30%
Universitas Gadjah Mada	11%	-7%
Institute Technology Bandung	14%	15%
Institute Pertanian Bogor	28%	1%
USU	na	4%
UPI Bandung	na	na
UNAIR	7%	6%

(source: universities' financial report edited by author)

Critics on Autonomy Higher Education;

World Bank intervention in liberalization PTN-BH edifices that policy transfer is based on the hegemonic relation or in other words it has coercive intention. Even though World Bank has no direct role and power in Indonesia' decision-making structure, through Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency (MHERR) and the passage of PTN-BH World Bank elucidate its intervention in setting neoliberalism agenda to Indonesia HE institutions. Therefore, it can be said that UU 12/2012, and PP 26/2015 promote the concept of neoliberalism. As known, neoliberalism appears after the failure of Rosevelt Global New Deal to maintaining the hegemony of global capitalism in the 70s (Bernstein, 2010). Therefore, an international institution like IMF, World Bank and WTO are the heirs of the Bretton Wood system which also stand on the credo of Laissez Faire. Undeniably, the agenda of this organization has ideological and political intention.

Harvey (2013) in his New Imperialism book suggest spatio-temporal-fix theory to explain neoliberalism in the global capitalism expansion attempt including in the education sector (Harvey, 2013). Spatio-temporal-fix delineates the vicious cycle of capitalism. The theory is an answer to surplus value from capital accumulation. Capitalist naturally invests their surplus into promising profit activities both directly from business expansion or indirect investment. Harvey (2013) categorize the activities into three desirable circuits; primer circuit (new plantation or business expansion), a secondary circuit (investment on infrastructure which indirectly supports their business productivity), and a tertiary circuit (social expenditure in health and education). He states that the tertiary capital circuit is a long-term investment. Capitalist gains indirectly return from research and development or skill training investment which oriented to improve the social condition. Thus, MHERR project through substantial investment PTN-BH indicates tertiary circuit in spatio-temporal-fix elements.

Through UU 12/2012 and PP 26/2015, PTN-BH, universities are potential means to investors in distributing their capital accumulation. Deregulation of state involvement and autonomous of HE institutions as a legal entity means HE institutions can improve their capacity by following market mechanism including to be as attractive as possible to investors. In World Bank report stated that 'MHERR means improving the quality of HE through targeted investments, and by strengthening the management and administration of HEIs' (World Bank, 2005-2015).

Targeted investment and strengthen management embodied to PTN-BH may sound like an ideal to HE institutions in Indonesia. Formally, the prior ideal concept expected to create effective and efficient pedagogy culture in Indonesia at least as it is stated in the World Bank eloquence proposal. However, a project which has discursively succeeding neoliberal agenda into PTN-BH is not always run as it is designed for. As it has discussed earlier, given autonomous to universities internal management (financial) is not in all occasion determine the positive growth in f their annual revenues.

In another instance, the autonomy of HE in Indonesia also has debated in

terms of education paradigm. There is a fundamental shift that changes the way universities think about the quality of HE – is caused by the logic of accumulation precedes the enthusiasm to provide equitable education for all Indonesians). It is exposed in the hierarchical classification of HE based on performance evaluation. In this sense, the power relationships within universities create exclusivity rather than illustrate the spirit of emancipation. The deregulation of the state means the cut of operational subsidy toward the universities; therefore, the exclusivity gives PTN-BH authority to charge a high tuition fee.

Nonetheless, deregulation mandates superiority to PTN-BH while national principle to provide education as public and social responsibility becomes inferior. As Giroux argues ‘neoliberal public pedagogy strips education of its public value, critical content, and civic responsibilities as part of its broader goal of creating new subjects wedded to the logic of privatization, efficiency, flexibility, the accumulation of capital, and the destruction of the social state’ (Giroux, 2011, p. 10) Quoted from national news, Prof. Dr. Dwia Aries Tina Palubuhu rector Universitas Hasanuddin – a university-mandated as legal entity in the early 2017, said that ‘after legally as PTN-BH we are optimistic to target IDR 400-450 billion because we no longer have limitation from ministry’ (Okezone.com, 2017). Optimism reflected on her statement confirms Giroux argument that PTN-BH prioritizes capital accumulation instead of providing education that accessible for all society.

PTN-BH exclusivity is also narrowing goodwill of poor society to attain HE. Not only deregulate state intervention, but the autonomy of HE is also creating distance between institutions and the poor. Thus, HE with high quality and performance stays exclusive to the poor, even though there is a scholarship to fund them, it will only accommodate a small part of poor who want to enrol in the top universities. There have been various movements, demonstrates, and petitions initiate by the student to refuse the autonomy of HE in Indonesia (Probo, 2012; Herdiana, 2012; Kurniawan, 2016; Metro TV News, 2018). However, the initiatives are always drowned by universities repressive. If the autonomy of HE is a part of the democratization of HE institutions, the opposition of students should be absent in this policy implementation. It leads to a critical question, is this regulation based on public issues? Who is benefited from this policy? Where is the public interest accounted in this policy transfer adoption? If this policy is only contributing to the internal management of public universities and repels its value to serve the education to all Indonesian society. It can be said that the policy transfer of autonomy HE in Indonesia is not necessarily improving their ability in providing education to all level society. In another way, the notion of NPM is inherent to neoliberalism agenda to make sure global capitalism is running smoothly.

E. CONCLUSION

It can be concluded from this essay that the effectiveness of policy transfer in serving public management is dialectics. International organization as the agenda setter in some instance is considered uncovered ideological intention. The agenda of autonomy higher education in Indonesia is evidence that policy

transfer is a means to global capitalism expansion rather than serving better public management. Even though the financial performance several universities showing an impressive number, this essay concludes the top-down policy transfer is not necessarily accommodated the interest of the public. This essay suggests that the public policy making process should not put public interest away even though in the name of efficiency and effectiveness. Because public goods belong and have to be accessible to the public. This essay has a limitation in exploring the other performance of universities aside from their financial report and an area for improvement for future study.

REFERENCES

- Bernstein, H., 2010. *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*. Canada: Fernwood Publishing.
- Common, R., 2001. *Public Management and Policy Transfer in South East Asia*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Dolowitz, D. P. & Marsh, D., 2000. Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making. *Governance: an International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 13(1), pp. 5-24.
- Evans, M., 2004. Introduction: Is Policy Transfer Rational Policy-making?. In: M. Evans, ed. *Policy Transfer in Global Perspective*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 1-9.
- Evans, M., 2004. Understanding Policy Transfer. In: M. Evans, ed. *Policy Transfer in Global Perspective*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 10-42.
- Giroux, H. A., 2011. *On Critical Pedagogy*. London: The Continuum International Publishing.
- Harvey, D., 2013. *New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Herdiana, I., 2012. Tolak UU PT, Iman Berguling di Atas Ban Terbakar. [Online] Available at: <https://news.okezone.com/read/2012/07/19/373/665598/tolak-uu-pt-iman-berguling-di-atas-ban-terbakar> [Accessed 2019 February 20].
- Hood, C., 1991. A Public Management for All Seasons. *Public Administration*, 69(1), pp. 3-19. Independent Evaluation Group, 2015. PROJECT PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT REPORT INDONESIA MANAGING HIGHER EDUCATION FOR RELEVANCE AND EFFICIENCY PROJECT (IBRD-47890 - IDA-40770). [Online] Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/185401468188648046/pdf/97132-PPAR-P085374-SecM2015-0221-Box391488B-OUO-9.pdf> [Accessed February 2019].
- Keating, M., 1989. Quo Vadis: Challenges of Public Administration. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 48(2), pp. 123-131.
- Kurniawan, B., 2016. 1.000-an Mahasiswa UGM Demo Menolak UKT dan Relokasi Kantin Bonbin. [Online] Available at: https://news.detik.com/berita/d_3201547/1000-an-mahasiswa-ugm-demo-menolak-ukt-dan-relokasikantin-bonbin [Accessed 2019

- February 20].
- Metro TV News, 2018. Mahasiswa Makassar Kompak Tolak UU PTN. [Online] Available at: <http://video.metrotvnews.com/headline-news/4baozdaK-mahasiswamakassar-kompak-tolak-uu-ptn> [Accessed 2018 February 20].
- Okezone.com, 2017. Jadi PTN-BH, Unhas Siap Capai Target Pendapatan Rp450 Miliar. [Online] Available at: <https://news.okezone.com/read/2017/01/18/65/1594337/jadi-ptn-bh-unhas-siap-capai-target-pendapatan-rp450-miliar> [Accessed 2019 February 20].
- Pollitt, C. & Bouckaert, G., 2011. *Public Management Reform A Comparative Analysis—New Public Management, Governance, and the Neo-Weberian State*. 3 ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Probo, M. K., 2012. Tolak RUU Pendidikan Tinggi, BEM KM Beraksi. [Online] Available at: <http://www.balairungpress.com/2012/03/tolak-ruu-pendidikan-tinggi-bem-km-beraksi/> [Accessed 2019 February 20].
- Rose, R., 1991. What Is Lesson Drawing. *Journal of Public Policy*, 11(1), pp. 3-30. World Bank, 2005-2015. Project; Managing Higher Education for Relevance and Efficiency. [Online] Available at: <http://projects.worldbank.org/P085374/higher-education-relevanceefficiency?lang=en&tab=documents&subTab=projectDocuments>