



# MASYARAKAT INDONESIA

## MAJALAH ILMU-ILMU SOSIAL INDONESIA

VOLUME 46

NOMOR 1, JUNI 2020

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### MEMAHAMI KUALITAS SUMBER DAYA MANUSIA ORANG ASLI PAPUA (OAP) BERDASARKAN PENDEKATAN *PEOPLE-CENTERED*

**Gusti Ayu Ketut Surtiari, Haning Romdiati, Luh Kitty Katherina,  
Dwiyanti Kusumaningrum, & Ari Purwanto Sarwo Prasajo**

#### ABSTRAK

Kualitas sumber daya manusia Orang Asli Papua (OAP) saat ini belum banyak dibahas. Pengukuran yang digunakan selama ini hanya bersumber pada Indeks Pembangunan Manusia (IPM). Papua Barat dan Papua merupakan dua provinsi dengan nilai IPM terendah di Indonesia. Pertanyaannya adalah apakah ukuran tersebut sudah menggambarkan secara utuh kondisi OAP yang memiliki karakter geografis, sosial, dan budaya berbeda dengan daerah lainnya di Indonesia? Kelemahan pengukuran menggunakan IPM adalah sangat bias pada pertumbuhan ekonomi. Padahal, aspek kognitif dari penduduk juga penting untuk menilai kualitas penduduk. IPM masih mengabaikan aspek subyektif terkait dengan cara pandang penduduk terhadap kehidupan dan lingkungannya. Pada tahun 2016, United Nations for Development Program (UNDP) memperkenalkan ukuran alternatif dengan menekankan pada indikator yang bersifat subyektif seperti penilaian atas kepuasan hidup. Penilaian tersebut digunakan untuk menghargai pilihan-pilihan tertentu atas kebiasaan dan perilaku sehari-hari yang mengacu pada akar budaya setempat. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana pembangunan kualitas sumber daya manusia menurut OAP. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam analisis adalah *people-centered* untuk menganalisis cara pandang, persepsi diri, dan kepuasan serta kenyamanan. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam, diskusi terpumpun, dan observasi lapangan di Kabupaten Tambrauw dan Kabupaten Sorong, Provinsi Papua Barat.

**Kata kunci:** *kualitas sumber daya manusia, Orang Asli Papua (OAP), Indeks Pembangunan Manusia (IPM), Kabupaten Tambrauw, Kabupaten Sorong, people-centered*

DDC: 302.4

### KARAKTER ORANG MADURA, NASIONALISME, DAN GLOBALISASI

**Ardhie Raditya**

#### ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini adalah bagian penting bagi peminat studi-studi Madura yang selama ini sebagian besar ditulis dari sudut pandang orang luar Madura, terutama kelompok peneliti dari Barat. Oleh karena itu, tulisan ini bertujuan memproduksi wacana tandingan terhadap tulisan orang luar Madura yang cenderung memosisikan orang Madura sebagai etnis yang keras sekaligus destruktif. Dengan memakai metode imajinasi etnografis terungkap bahwa karakter terhormat orang Madura tidak seperti yang dibayangkan dalam berbagai literatur orang-orang barat atau kolonial. Orang Madura memiliki kontribusi vital bagi pergerakan nasionalisme anti kolonial hingga pembangunan kebudayaan Indonesia pasca kemerdekaan. Spirit nilai-nilai Islami dan kultur menghormati martabat manusia sebagai lokomotif pembangunan karakter luhur orang Madura. Pasca rezim Orde Baru karakter luhur orang Madura mulai terserak. Kelompok Islam intoleran di Madura berusaha memanfaatkan momentum demokrasi di

Indonesia. Mereka menentang segala bentuk produk globalisasi dan kelompok minoritas Cina yang dianggap tidak sesuai dengan agenda politiknya. Kehadiran mereka berpotensi mengancam tidak hanya pembangunan karakter terhormat orang Madura, termasuk juga, keutuhan bangsa Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** karakter Orang Madura, nasionalisme, dan globalisasi

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DDC: 306.43

## **DARURAT LITERASI MEMBACA DI KELAS AWAL: TANTANGAN MEMBANGUN SDM BERKUALITAS**

**Lukman Solihin, Indah Pratiwi, Genardi Atmadiredja, & Bakti Utama**

### **ABSTRAK**

Dalam rangka membangun sumber daya manusia (SDM) yang berkualitas, Indonesia menghadapi masalah rendahnya mutu pembelajaran di berbagai jenjang pendidikan, khususnya kemampuan literasi membaca di kelas awal sekolah dasar. Padahal siswa yang tidak mampu membaca akan mengalami “efek Matthew” berupa menurunnya motivasi belajar, rendahnya kemampuan menangkap informasi, berpotensi mengulang kelas, bahkan tidak melanjutkan pendidikan (drop out). Artikel ini berusaha mengkaji persoalan tersebut dan mendiskusikan solusinya. Kami menggunakan data lapangan dari beberapa daerah mitra program INOVASI, antara lain Kabupaten Bulungan, Lombok Utara, dan Sumba Timur. Tiga daerah itu tidak dimaksudkan untuk merepresentasikan kondisi Indonesia secara keseluruhan, melainkan sebagai daerah pinggir dengan problem yang kompleks mulai dari kualitas dan kompetensi guru hingga minimnya sarana dan prasarana belajar. Data dikumpulkan pada pertengahan 2019 melalui wawancara dan diskusi dengan guru, kepala sekolah, pengawas, serta fasilitator daerah pada program INOVASI. Analisis yang kami lakukan menunjukkan terdapat tiga persoalan utama, yaitu rendahnya kompetensi guru, kurikulum yang mengabaikan pelajaran membaca permulaan, dan minimnya sumber daya bacaan. Tiga persoalan ini perlu dipecahkan apabila kita berharap masa depan SDM Indonesia akan lebih berkualitas dan berdaya saing.

**Kata kunci:** literasi membaca, kelas awal, kompetensi guru, Kurikulum 2013, buku bacaan anak

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DDC: 306.43

## **MEMAHAMI GENERASI PASCAMILENIAL: SEBUAH TINJAUAN PRAKTIK PEMBELAJARAN SISWA**

**Diyan Nur Rakhmah W. & Siti Nur Azizah**

### **ABSTRAK**

Selepas era generasi milenial berakhir, generasi baru mulai bersiap untuk berperan penuh dalam berbagai urusan dalam kehidupan masa depan. Mereka adalah Generasi Z dan Alpha atau Generasi Pasca-Milenial. Generasi ini mulai menyerbu dunia kerja, tetapi tidak banyak pihak yang paham secara utuh bagaimana memperlakukan mereka nantinya dengan didasarkan pada bagaimana mereka nanti bekerja, berinteraksi, dan membangun komunikasi dalam dunianya. Umumnya, generasi pasca-milenial saat ini masih duduk di bangku sekolah, mempersiapkan diri memasuki era masa depan dengan segala tantangannya. Pendidikan sebagai bagian yang tidak terlepas dalam pembangunan, belum sepenuhnya dijalankan dengan mengakomodir kebutuhan generasi tersebut karena tidak selalu dipraktikkan melalui pendekatan-pendekatan yang berkaitan dengan karakteristik generasi tersebut. Pemahaman lebih mendalam tentang karakteristik generasi ini perlu menjadi perhatian banyak pihak agar praktik-praktik pembelajaran di dalam kelas mampu benar-benar menjawab kebutuhan mereka akan belajar. Pembelajaran dapat disesuaikan dengan karakter generasi tersebut, yaitu identitas yang sulit didefinisikan karena sering berubah-ubah (*Undefined ID*), menyenangkan kehidupan bersama dengan komunitasnya (*Communalholic*), dan bersifat realistis memandang kehidupan (*Realistic*). Kemajuan teknologi dan informasi menjadi salah satu sebab mengapa karakteristik Generasi Pasca-Milenial sangat jauh berbeda dengan generasi-generasi sebelumnya, serta bagaimana mereka menjalankan kehidupannya kelak. Studi kepustakaan terhadap literatur dan publikasi tentang apa dan bagaimana Generasi Pasca-Milenial dipahami menjadi dasar melakukan analisis, sehingga diharapkan mampu memberikan perspektif berbeda tentang bagaimana mempersiapkan mereka menghadapi masa depan melalui instrumen pendidikan. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menawarkan gagasan konseptual tentang praktik-praktik pembelajaran di dalam kelas yang didasarkan pada pemahaman tentang karakteristik Generasi Pasca-Milenial.

**Kata kunci:** Generasi Pasca-milenial, karakteristik, pembelajaran

DDC: 320.5

## **IMPLEMENTASI NILAI-NILAI PANCASILA PADA MINAT WIRAUSAHA: STUDI KASUS KNPI KOTA SEMARANG**

**Ahmad Zaenal Arifin & Deden Dinar Iskandar**

### **ABSTRAK**

Pancasila merupakan dasar negara bagi bangsa Indonesia. Penerapan nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam kewirausahaan akan mendorong wirausaha baru tumbuh sesuai dengan budaya yang berkembang di Indonesia, yakni sebagai ekonomi kerakyatan yang berciri khas Indonesia. Keberadaan kewirausahaan Pancasila dalam bentuk ekonomi kerakyatan dapat mendorong terciptanya lapangan pekerjaan baru sehingga dapat menjadi solusi dalam mengurangi pengangguran. Secara umum penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk melihat sejauh mana pemahaman akan nilai-nilai Pancasila dapat mempengaruhi minat wirausaha di kalangan pemuda, yang diwakili oleh Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (KNPI). Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini ialah metode kuantitatif dengan analisis Structural Equation Modeling–Partial Least Squares (SEM-PLS). Setelah melakukan penyebaran kuesioner kepada 91 pengurus KNPI dan melakukan olah data menggunakan software Smart PLS3 diperoleh temuan bahwa Perceived Implementation of Pancasila mempengaruhi Attitude, Attitude mempengaruhi Entrepreneurial Intention, dan Entrepreneurial Intention mempengaruhi Entrepreneurial Action. Di samping itu, variabel Access juga mempengaruhi Entrepreneurial Action.

*Kata kunci:* Pancasila, kewirausahaan Pancasila, Theory Planned Behavior

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DDC: 306.4

## **PENGEMBANGAN MATA PELAJARAN UNTUK MEMPERKUAT LITERASI BUDAYA DAN KEWARGAAN**

**Budiana Setiawan**

### **ABSTRAK**

Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan pada 2016 telah mencanangkan Gerakan Literasi Nasional (GLN) yang dilakukan di sekolah, keluarga, maupun masyarakat. GLN juga mengusulkan enam literasi dasar, yakni: bahasa, numerasi, sains, digital, finansial, dan budaya dan kewargaan. Dalam hal ini literasi budaya dan kewargaan kurang mendapat perhatian karena dianggap kurang memberikan nilai kompetitif dalam menghadapi persaingan global abad ke-21. Padahal literasi budaya dan kewargaan menjadi landasan bagi terbentuknya lima karakter dasar, yang meliputi: religius, nasionalis, mandiri, integritas, dan gotong royong. Permasalahan yang diangkat adalah mata pelajaran apa sajakah yang dapat meningkatkan kesadaran peserta didik, khususnya di SMP/ sederajat dalam mendukung literasi budaya dan kewargaan? Aspek-aspek apa saja yang dapat disumbangkan dari mata pelajaran tersebut? Kajian ini bersifat kualitatif dengan metode penelitian desk research (kajian literatur). Hasil kajian memperlihatkan bahwa mata pelajaran yang dianggap dapat meningkatkan kesadaran peserta didik, antara lain: IPS, Seni dan Budaya, dan PPKn. Mata pelajaran IPS mendorong peserta didik memiliki kesadaran sosial dan mampu hidup bersama dalam masyarakat yang majemuk. Seni dan Budaya sebagai pondasi untuk menyelamatkan seni dan budaya bangsa Indonesia yang beragam dalam menghadap era modernitas. PPKn mendorong peserta didik memahami dan melaksanakan hak dan kewajibannya sebagai warga negara Indonesia.

*Kata Kunci:* literasi budaya dan kewargaan, lima karakter dasar, mata pelajaran, peserta didik

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DDC: 320.6

## **RINGKASAN DISERTASI DANCING WITH LEGITIMACY: GLOBALIZATION, EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION, AND THE STATE IN INDONESIA**

**Irsyad Zamjani**

### **ABSTRAK**

Desentralisasi telah menjadi norma global yang mengubah wajah tata kelola pendidikan di banyak negara sejak akhir 1970-an. Indonesia tersapu oleh gelombang ini pada tahun 2001 setelah krisis legitimasi yang parah mengakhiri rezim sentralistik Orde Baru yang berkuasa selama tiga dekade. Menggunakan pisau analisis dari

teori neo-institusionalisme dan mengambil data dari dokumen dan wawancara dengan informan strategis, tesis ini menyelidiki bagaimana legitimasi kelembagaan dari desentralisasi pendidikan dihimpun, dimanipulasi, dan kemudian diperebutkan. Narasi desentralisasi pendidikan di Indonesia pada awalnya dibuat oleh para aktor multilateral dengan semangat supremasi pasar neoliberal. Namun, berlawanan dengan argumen liberal dan kritis yang mengisyaratkan melemahnya negara dan bangkitnya institusi pasar sebagai dampak dari desentralisasi pendidikan, temuan tersebut menunjukkan kenyataan yang agak kontras. Desentralisasi telah memfasilitasi bertumbuhnya negara-negara Weberian di tingkat lokal, yang sama-sama mengklaim legitimasi kelembagaan untuk mengatur pendidikan di daerah dengan caranya masing-masing. Dari studi banding dua pemerintahan kota, Kupang dan Surabaya, tesis ini menunjukkan bagaimana legitimasi otoritas pemerintah pusat terus dipertanyakan di daerah. Terlepas dari tekanan pemerintah pusat melalui penerapan standar nasional, tata kelola pendidikan daerah tetap bertahan dengan model dan praktik yang beragam dan berbeda dari ketentuan pusat. Jadi, alih-alih menjadi basis yang dapat memperkuat legitimasi desentralisasi pendidikan sebagai institusi global, praktik-praktik yang berbeda di ranah lokal tersebut mungkin menjadi dasar bagi adanya suatu delegitimasi. Beberapa negara-bangsa akan memikirkan kembali sikap mereka untuk menyesuaikan diri dengan tekanan global mengenai kebijakan desentralisasi ini jika mereka sadar bahwa kebijakan tersebut berpotensi membawa mereka ke dalam krisis legitimasi yang lain.

**Kata kunci:** *desentralisasi pendidikan, legitimasi, neo-institusionalisme, tekanan global*

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DDC: 306.43

#### **TINJAUAN BUKU**

### **MEMBANGUN KESETARAAN, MENGIKIS KESENJANGAN DAN MEMBUKA PELUANG: MENGUBAH CARA Pandang GURU DALAM MENDIDIK SISWA YANG BERASAL DARI KELUARGA MISKIN**

**Anggi Afriansyah**

Judul Buku: *Reaching and Teaching Students in Poverty: Strategies for Erasing the Opportunity Gap (Multicultural Education Series)*. Penulis: Paul Gorski (2018). Penerbit: Teachers College Press, New York, 234 Pages; ISBN 978-0-8077-5879-3.

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#### **TINJAUAN BUKU**

### **DESENTRALISASI RADIKAL: IKHTIAR PENGEMBANGAN WILAYAH IMEKKO SORONG SELATAN**

**Dini Rahmiati**

Judul Buku: *Desentralisasi Radikal: Ikhtiar Pengembangan Wilayah Imekko Sorong Selatan*. Penulis: Bambang Purwoko, dkk. (2017). Penerbit: Ifada Publishing dan Pusat Pengembangan Kapasitas dan Kerjasama –FISI-POL UGM, Yogyakarta, 170 hlm.



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### UNDERSTANDING THE QUALITY OF INDIGENOUS PAPUAN'S HUMAN RESOURCES BASED ON PEOPLE CENTERED APPROACH

**Gusti Ayu Ketut Surtiari, Haning Romdiati, Luh Kitty Katherina, Dwiyanti Kusumaningrum, & Ari Purwanto Sarwo Prasajo**

#### ABSTRACT

The human development of the Indigenous Papuans (OAP) is still under research. The current measurement is merely using the Human Development Index (HDI). Papua and West Papua are the two provinces with the lowest HDI scores in Indonesia. The question is whether the grade of HDI has represented the actual condition of OAP by considering the local context of geographic, social, and culture. The shortcoming of HDI is the domination of economic growth, whereas the cognitive aspect of the people can also reflect the quality of well-being. HDI remains neglecting subjective aspects related to the inhabitants' perspectives about their life and neighbourhood. In 2016, the United Nations for Development Program (UNDP) published a report on capability aspects of human development, highlighting the need to consider subjective indicators such as an assessment of life satisfaction. The assessment is used to respect particular choices of behaviours and practices that are rooted in the local culture. This paper aims to have a deeper understanding regarding human development from the perspective of OAP. This study utilizes a people-centered approach to analyze the perception of OAP on their self-evaluation and perception of well-being development. The data collection was undertaken through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and field observations in Tambrau Regency and Sorong Regency, West Papua Province.

*Keywords: human development, the Indigenous Papuans (OAP), Tambrau Regency, Sorong Regency, people-centered*

DDC: 302.4

### THE CHARACTERS OF MADURESE, NATIONALISM, AND GLOBALIZATION

**Ardhie Raditya**

#### ABSTRACT

This paper is an essential part for those who are interested in Madurese Studies, which have been mostly written from outsiders' point of views, mainly Western researchers. This paper aims to produce a counter-discourse to the writings of outsiders who tend to position the Madurese as a violent and destructive ethnicity. By utilizing the method of ethnographic imagination, it is shown that the honourable character of the Madurese is unlike what has been imagined in various Western or Colonial literature. The Madurese have a vital contribution to the nationalism of anti-colonial for the development of Indonesian culture after the independence period. The spirit of Islamic values and culture respects human dignity as the locomotive of the development of the noble character of the Madurese. After the New Order regime, the true character of the Madurese begins to scatter. Intolerant Islamic groups in Madura tried to use the momentum of democracy in Indonesia to oppose all forms of globalization products and Chinese minority groups that were considerably not aligned with their political agenda. Their presence



could potentially threaten not only the development of the noble character of the Madurese, but also the integrity of the Indonesian nation.

*Keywords: Characters of Madurese, nationalism, and globalization*

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DDC: 306.43

## **THE EXIGENCY OF READING-LITERACY IN EARLY GRADE: THE CHALLENGES OF DEVELOPING HUMAN CAPITAL QUALITY**

**Lukman Solihin, Indah Pratiwi, Genardi Atmadiredja, & Bakti Utama**

### **ABSTRACT**

To build human capital quality, Indonesia is facing a problem of low learning quality in various levels of education, particularly reading-literacy in early grades of elementary school. This condition will lead to a severe problem because some students who fail at early learning reading may suffer “Matthew effect” which explains the circumstances where they have a lack of learning motivation, low ability to understand information, potential case of repeating classes, and drop out. This article attempts to study the issue and to discuss probable solutions. We use the field data from several regions, which are partnered with the INOVASI Program, such as Bulungan Regency, North Lombok, and East Sumba. These three regions do not represent Indonesia as a whole but as peripheral areas which have complex problems ranging from teachers’ qualities and competencies to learning infrastructure challenges. Data were collected in the mid-2019 throughout interviews and discussions with teachers, headmasters, supervisors, and regional facilitators joint in the INOVASI Program. Our conducted analysis shows that there are three main problems, which are low competency of teachers, the curriculum that neglects preliminary reading subjects, and lack of reading resources. These problems need to be solved if we aspire to realize a more qualified and competitive human capital for the better future of Indonesia.

*Keywords: reading-literacy, elementary school, teachers’ competencies, Curriculum K-13, Children’s reading books*

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DDC: 306.43

## **UNDERSTANDING POST-MILLENNIAL GENERATION: A REVIEW OF STUDENT LEARNING PRACTICES**

**Diyan Nur Rakhmah W. & Siti Nur Azizah**

### **ABSTRACT**

After the Millennial Generation era ends, the new generation begins to prepare to play a full role in various things in the future. They are Generation Z and Alpha or so-called Post-Millennial Generation. This generation is starting to invade the working world, but not many people understand how to treat them based on how they will work, interact, and build communication in their future. Generally, the Post-Millennial Generation is still at school. They are students who prepare to enter the future era with all its challenges. Education, as an inseparable part of development, has not fully been implemented to accommodate the needs of this generation because it is not always practised through approaches related to characteristics of the generation. A more in-depth understanding of the characteristics of this generation needs attention so that the practices of learning in the classroom can fully answer their learning needs. Learning can be adapted with the characters of this generation, namely, the identity that is difficult to define their self-identity (Undefined ID), enjoys life together with a community (Communalholic), and realistic with their life (Realistic). The advancement of technology and information is the main reason why the characteristics of the Post-Millennial Generation are so much different from previous generations, and how they will live their lives later. A literature study regarding what and how the Post-Millennial Generation is understood becomes the basis for conducting the analysis. It is expected to provide a different perspective on how to prepare their future through educational instruments. This paper aims to offer conceptual ideas about learning practices in the classroom based on the characteristics of the Post-Millennial Generation.

*Keywords: Post-Millennial Generation, characteristics, learning practices*

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DDC: 320.5

## **THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PANCASILA VALUES ON ENTREPRENEURS' INTEREST: CASE STUDY ON THE KNPI OF SEMARANG CITY**

**Ahmad Zaenal Arifin & Deden Dinar Iskandar**

### **ABSTRACT**

Pancasila is the foundational philosophy of the Indonesian nation. The implementation of Pancasila values in entrepreneurship will encourage new entrepreneurs to grow up aligned with Indonesian culture which embeds a populist economy characteristic. The existence of Pancasila entrepreneurship in the form of a populist economy can encourage the creation of new jobs, and therefore, it could be a solution to reduce unemployment. This study aims to see the extent to which the understanding of Pancasila's values can affect entrepreneurial interest among young people, represented by Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (KNPI). This research uses a quantitative method with Structural Equation Modeling - Partial Least Squares (SEM-PLS) analysis. After distributing questionnaires to 91 KNPI administrators and conducting data using Smart PLS3, it is found that the Perceived Implementation of Pancasila influences Attitude, Attitude influences Entrepreneurial Intention, and Entrepreneurial Intention influences Entrepreneurial Action. Besides, the Access variable also influences Entrepreneurial Action.

*Keywords: Pancasila, Pancasila entrepreneurship, Theory Planned Behavior*

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DDC: 306.4

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHING SUBJECTS TO STRENGTHEN CULTURAL AND CIVIC LITERACY**

**Budiana Setiawan**

### **ABSTRACT**

The Ministry of Education and Culture has launched the National Literacy Movement in 2016, which has been implemented in schools, families, and communities. The National Literacy Movement proposes six basic literacies, namely: language, numeracy, science, digital, finance, and culture and citizenship. In this case, cultural and civic literacy receives less attention because it arguably contributes less competitive value in facing the 21st-century global competition. Besides, cultural and citizenship literacy is the foundation for the formulation of five basic characters encompassing religious, nationalist, independent, integrous, and cooperative. This article will examine what subjects which can increase student awareness, especially in junior high school in supporting cultural and civic literacy and what aspects which can be contributed from those subjects. This study uses a qualitative method strengthened by desk research. Results show that subjects that are considered to increase student awareness of five basic characters, including Social Studies, Arts and Culture, and Education for Pancasila and Citizenship. Social Studies encourages students to have social awareness and be able to live together in a pluralistic society. Art and Culture contributes as a foundation to preserve Indonesian's arts and culture in facing the era of modernity. The Education of Pancasila and Citizenship encourages students to understand and execute their rights and obligations as Indonesia's citizens.

*Keywords: cultural and citizenship literacy, five basic characters, subjects, students*

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DDC: 320.6

## **RINGKASAN DISERTASI**

## **DANCING WITH LEGITIMACY: GLOBALIZATION, EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION, AND THE STATE IN INDONESIA**

**Irsyad Zamjani**

### **ABSTRACT**

Decentralization has become a global norm that has changed the face of education governance in many countries since the late 1970s. This movement utterly swept up Indonesia in 2001 after the severe legitimacy crisis ended the three-decade-reigning centralist regime of the New Order. Using the analytical concepts of the new institutional theory and drawing upon data from documents and interviews with strategic informants, the thesis

investigates how the institutional legitimacy of educational decentralization was garnered, manipulated, and then contested. The narrative of educational decentralization in Indonesia was initially scripted by multilateral actors with the neoliberal spirit of market supremacy. However, against the liberal and critical arguments that suggest the weakening of the central state or the rise of market institutions as the follow-up of educational decentralization, the findings show a somewhat contrasting reality. Decentralization has facilitated the proliferation of Weberian states in the local district arenas, which equally claim institutional legitimacy for governing the local educational system in their respective ways. From the comparative studies of two local district governments, Kupang and Surabaya, the thesis shows how the legitimacy of the central government authority continues to be challenged in the localities. Despite the central government's pressures for national standards and their enforcement measures, local educational governance survives with different, illegitimate models and practices. Thus, rather than becoming a local basis for reinforcing the legitimating capacity of educational decentralization as a global institution, the different practices might become the local source of delegitimation. Some nation-states would rethink their conformity to the international pressure of decentralization if they were aware that the policy would potentially lead them to another crisis of legitimacy.

*Keywords: educational decentralization, global pressure, legitimacy, new institutionalism*

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DDC: 306.43

#### **TINJAUAN BUKU**

#### **MEMBANGUN KESETARAAN, MENGIKIS KESENJANGAN DAN MEMBUKA PELUANGH: MENGUBAH CARA PANDANG GURU DALAM MENDIDIK SISWA YANG BERASAL DARI KELUARGA MISKIN**

**Anggi Afriansyah**

Judul Buku: *Reaching and Teaching Students in Poverty: Strategies for Erasing the Opportunity Gap (Multicultural Education Series)*. Penulis: Paul Gorski (2018). Penerbit: Teachers College Press, New York, 234 Pages; ISBN 978-0-8077-5879-3.

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#### **TINJAUAN BUKU**

#### **DESENTRALISASI RADIKAL: IKHTIAR PENGEMBANGAN WILAYAH IMEKKO SORONG SELATAN**

**Dini Rahmiati**

Judul Buku: *Desentralisasi Radikal: Ikhtiar Pengembangan Wilayah Imekko Sorong Selatan*. Penulis: Bambang Purwoko, dkk. (2017). Penerbit: Ifada Publishing dan Pusat Pengembangan Kapasitas dan Kerjasama –FISI-POL UGM, Yogyakarta, 170 hlm.

RINGKASAN DISERTASI

**DANCING WITH LEGITIMACY: GLOBALIZATION,  
EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION, AND  
THE STATE IN INDONESIA**

(Doctoral Thesis, School of Sociology, College of Arts and Social Sciences,  
The Australian National University, 329 pages, 9 chapters)

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**ABSTRAK**

*Desentralisasi telah menjadi norma global yang mengubah wajah tata kelola pendidikan di banyak negara sejak akhir 1970-an. Indonesia tersapu oleh gelombang ini pada tahun 2001 setelah krisis legitimasi yang parah mengakhiri rezim sentralistik Orde Baru yang berkuasa selama tiga dekade. Menggunakan pisau analisis dari teori neo-institusionalisme dan mengambil data dari dokumen dan wawancara dengan informan strategis, tesis ini menyelidiki bagaimana legitimasi kelembagaan dari desentralisasi pendidikan di Indonesia pada awalnya dibuat oleh para aktor multilateral dengan semangat supremasi pasar neoliberal. Namun, berlawanan dengan argumen liberal dan kritis yang mengisyaratkan melemahnya negara dan bangkitnya institusi pasar sebagai dampak dari desentralisasi pendidikan, temuan tersebut menunjukkan kenyataan yang agak kontras. Desentralisasi telah memfasilitasi bertumbuhnya negara-negara Weberian di tingkat lokal, yang sama-sama mengklaim legitimasi kelembagaan untuk mengatur pendidikan di daerah dengan caranya masing-masing. Dari studi banding dua pemerintahan kota, Kupang dan Surabaya, tesis ini menunjukkan bagaimana legitimasi otoritas pemerintah pusat terus dipertanyakan di daerah. Terlepas dari tekanan pemerintah pusat melalui penerapan standar nasional, tata kelola pendidikan daerah tetap bertahan dengan model dan praktik yang beragam dan berbeda dari ketentuan pusat. Jadi, alih-alih menjadi basis yang dapat memperkuat legitimasi desentralisasi pendidikan sebagai institusi global, praktik-praktik yang berbeda di ranah lokal tersebut mungkin menjadi dasar bagi adanya suatu delegitimasi. Beberapa negara-bangsa akan memikirkan kembali sikap mereka untuk menyesuaikan diri dengan tekanan global mengenai kebijakan desentralisasi ini jika mereka sadar bahwa kebijakan tersebut berpotensi membawa mereka ke dalam krisis legitimasi yang lain.*

**Kata kunci:** *desentralisasi pendidikan, legitimasi, neo-institusionalisme, tekanan global*

**ABSTRACT**

Decentralization has become a global norm that has changed the face of education governance in many countries since the late 1970s. This movement utterly swept up Indonesia in 2001 after the severe legitimacy crisis ended the three-decade-reigning centralist regime of the New Order. Using the analytical concepts of the new institutional theory and drawing upon data from documents and interviews with strategic informants, the thesis investigates how the institutional legitimacy of educational decentralization was garnered, manipulated, and then contested. The narrative of educational decentralization in Indonesia was initially scripted by multilateral actors with the neoliberal spirit of market supremacy. However, against the liberal and critical arguments that suggest the weakening of the central state or the rise of market institutions as the follow-up of educational decentralization, the findings show a somewhat contrasting reality. Decentralization has facilitated the proliferation of Weberian states in the local district arenas, which equally claim institutional legitimacy for governing the local educational system in their respective ways. From the comparative studies of two local district governments, Kupang and Surabaya, the thesis shows how the legitimacy of the central government authority continues to be challenged in the localities. Despite the central government's pressures for national standards and their enforcement measures, local educational governance survives with different, illegitimate models and practices. Thus, rather than becoming a local

basis for reinforcing the legitimating capacity of educational decentralization as a global institution, the different practices might become the local source of delegitimation. Some nation-states would rethink their conformity to the international pressure of decentralization if they were aware that the policy would potentially lead them to another crisis of legitimacy.

**Keywords:** *educational decentralization, global pressure, legitimacy, new institutionalism*

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the countries deeply affected by the global decentralisation movement. There had been several efforts by the country's government to cope with such global pressure (Devas, 1997; Malo and Nas, 1991), but none had much effect until the 2001 decentralisation big bang (Bünthe, 2004; Fealy and Aspinall, 2003). The post-2001 decentralisation was one of the major institutional reforms that ended the dictatorial Suharto's New Order regime in the late 1990s. Before the reform, Indonesia education was highly centralised and fragmented. The management of education was shared between the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) and the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA). The MoEC was responsible for the curriculum of all primary and secondary schools and the personnel of secondary schools: the MoHA was responsible for the personnel of primary and junior secondary schools. Both departments had their provincial and district or municipal offices and this made management highly bureaucratic. The 2001 decentralisation reform dissolved both departments' organisational structures in the regions, which gave the district and municipal governments greater autonomy in running most public service sectors, including education. Adopting common decentralisation practices, some policy reforms were also enacted to give schools a degree of managerial autonomy and to provide the community with a participatory role in policymaking.

Governance fragmentation and inefficiency were the problems that most concerned Indonesian reformers when they firstly discussed and formulated the reform program (Jalal and Supriadi, 2001). By removing the central government's bureaucratic structure from local bureaucracies, it was expected that education delivery would become more efficient and the district government the only education authority in the regions (World Bank, 1998a). However,

this has never been the case. On the one hand, decentralisation was welcomed by local élites as a big increase in power and authority. They do become dominant education authorities which control all public schools and teachers in their territories. On the other hand, despite the central-government structure's removal, education decentralisation reform did not significantly reduce the MoEC's influence. Two years after decentralisation, in 2003, a new education law was passed and the MoEC was given a new role: that is, setting the national education standards. With these standards, the ministry is authorised to inspect school performance through the school accreditation, student performance through the national examinations, and teacher performance through the teacher certification policy. In addition, to ensure those standards were maintained, the central government started to regulate almost all facets of education: from curriculum to school uniforms. There are hundreds of ministerial regulations and trillions of rupiah allocated from the central government budget to support the implementation of the standards. This makes the structure of Indonesian education governance so contradictory: it is radically decentralised but at the same time highly standardised.

The demands of decentralisation and standardisation have become increasingly stronger from the two competing parties: the local and central governments. The MoEC keeps producing and revising regulations and policy strategies to enforce the standards only to find that they are too often neglected by the local governments. Many of the MoEC's regulations of things like school fees, principals' appointment, teacher management and classroom size were evaded because they were at odds with local interests. This practice has frustrated MoEC officials who frequently express their bitterness. They are helpless to deal with all the local noncompliance because the MoEC no longer has the power to apply

political pressure. And, only one decade after decentralisation, the argument for recentralisation is becoming increasingly louder from MoEC officials. In 2011, at a public workshop, the MoEC's Office for Research and Development called for an evaluation of educational decentralisation (Antaranews, 2011; Kompas, 2011b, 2012a; Okezone, 2011; Republika, 2011a). However, reinstating central government bureaucracy in the regions is believed by a prominent education professor and former MoEC senior official to be like 'running into a brick wall' (Participant 34). He believed that the local government resistance to educational recentralisation would be strong because teachers make the largest element of local bureaucracy and local elites will not give up their control.

This thesis proposes that the problem of Indonesian educational decentralisation rests in the question of legitimacy. As it was in many other countries, educational decentralisation was embraced in Indonesia; first, not because the central government needed to create an efficient bureaucracy or democratic governance but because it needed to survive. Decentralisation was, at that particular moment, seen to be the only policy that would ensure the nation's legitimacy to survive in the eyes of the global and local communities. The legitimacy of decentralisation came from its promises of democratisation and efficiency, which were popular discourses at that time. The problem of this legitimacy-motivated policy adoption, however, is the incongruence of the external policy that has been adopted and the internal environment that uses the policy or is addressed by it. In Indonesia's case, educational decentralisation is faced with technically incompetent local government personnel or the inadequate local resources. In this situation, the challenge for the central government, which has devolved its power, is how to efficiently address the technical problems of education without necessarily losing its legitimacy. A failure to manage this situation would lead to bigger complications where the central government legitimacy is questioned and, to some extent, defied. Differences in local education governance practices are an ideal outcome of decentralisation. But the different practices that emerge from the evasion of

central government rules might reflect a situation where the central government's legitimacy is contested. The research questions for this study are formulated as follows:

1. How did the global and local contexts provide the institutional legitimacy for the implementation of the educational decentralisation policy in Indonesia?
2. How did the central government preserve its legitimacy while devolving powers to the local governments, but also retaining significant powers of its own?
3. How has the institutional legitimacy of the educational decentralisation policy been contested at the local level?

## METHODOLOGY

Methodology is the strategy or plan of action that provides the basis of a researcher's choice and use of particular methods (Crotty, 1998). The researcher's methodological stance is informed largely by the theoretical perspective used to guide the direction of knowledge-seeking. Some scholars offer a number of approaches for doing qualitative research. Creswell (2007) divides the approaches into five: narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study. Meanwhile, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) divide qualitative methods into eight approaches: case study, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, life history, historical method, action and applied research, and clinical research.

From these two lists, the author chose to use case studies as this study's methodological approach. Creswell (2007: 73) regards the case study as a qualitative approach because the researcher 'explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth, data collection involving multiple sources of information'. The main objective of the case study, as Woodside (2010) suggests, is to achieve a 'deep understanding' of two important issues: the sense-making process produced by individuals, and systems thinking, policy mapping and systems dynamics modelling. Meanwhile, Yin (2003) highlights the scope of a case study as investigating 'a contemporary

phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2003: 13). This scope by which the case study approach is limited is relevant to this study, because the researcher seeks to explore the contextual realities behind the adoption of the globalising policy of educational decentralisation in a particular country on one hand, and the comparative responses of such adoption in the country's localities on the other.

With regard to the number of cases being investigated, the Case study research (CSR) is divided into single and multiple CSR (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2003) and with regard to the unit of analysis being examined it is divided into holistic and embedded (Yin, 2003). Holistic CSR examines only one unit of analysis of single or multiple case studies. Embedded CSR studies multiple units of analysis of one or multiple case studies. Generally, this study uses the embedded single CSR, that is, it examines the construction of educational decentralisation policy in Indonesia in two institutional contexts: national and local (see Table 1). It examines the process of institutionalisation from the adoption nationally by the central government to the enforcement of the policy at the local level. From the perspective of the global trend to decentralisation, Indonesia is a legitimate case to study for it has two important reasons needed to justify the use of a single case study: it is a typical and an extreme case (Yin, 2003). It represents a typical case because the country is one that has experienced decentralisation reforms but has not been studied to the extent that others have. It is an extreme case because its reform experience has been regarded as 'one of the most radical decentralisation programs, under which extensive powers are being devolved to the district level' (Aspinall and Fealy, 2003).

However, to follow Scott (2008: 141), institutional codes of decentralisation are not only 'carried and reproduced, but also modified and reconstructed, by the interpretations and inventions of subordinate actors: individuals, organisations, and fields'. In this sense, the decentralisation policy might be applied differently at the local level so that another in-depth investigation needs to be developed to accommodate different

**Table 1.** Embedded Single CSR Design: Educational Decentralisation in Indonesia

| Context                   | Units of analysis   |
|---------------------------|---|
| Global–national relations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Global sources of the institutional pressure</li> <li>• National/local sources of the institutional pressure</li> <li>• Responses to institutional pressure</li> </ul> |
| Central–local relations   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The enactment of decentralisation policy</li> <li>• The enforcement of national standards</li> <li>• Local responses to central standardisation</li> </ul>             |

interpretations. This study then breaks down the second context of the Indonesian case into two second-layer case studies that adopt an embedded multiple-case study approach (see Table 2). This involves two municipal governments that represent different characteristics in relation to the presumed effects of decentralisation. One locality takes more benefit from decentralisation by accumulating more symbolic capital than the other. Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as 'any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognise it, to give it value' (Bourdieu, et al., 1994: 9).

In this sense, the symbolic capital is the one that helps local governments elevate their bargaining power in terms of central–local relations. This symbolic capital is accumulated from strong local economic and popular local leadership. The wealthier is a local government, the more potential it has to advance its autonomy, and vice versa. As such, the presence of a popular leader in the democratic field also garners symbolic capital for the local government to influence the people and hence dominate the organisational field. The more populist a local government is, the stronger is the democratic legitimacy it derives from its constituents. In addition, differences in the possession of symbolic capital will cause differences in local governance practices. The more affluent a district government is, presumably the more capable it is in producing more policy initiatives

and in achieving the demands of national standardisation when compared to one less affluent. As such, the more popular and democratic the local leadership is, presumably the more able it will be, compared to a less democratic one, to facilitate accountability and school autonomy.

Given this logic, the study picked two municipalities to be the subjects of the second layer of the case study: Surabaya and Kupang. Surabaya, the capital city of East Java Province, has the largest municipal government in Indonesia, and its economic growth is among the fastest in the country. In 2013, the statistics agency reported that the city's economic growth was 7.34 per cent, or higher than the national growth, which was 5.78 per cent (BPS Kota Surabaya, 2014). Following decentralisation, the city now has more than 1500 schools, from elementary to senior secondary. Since 2010, the city has been receiving much attention because of its very popular mayor, Tri Rismaharini, whose social reform projects have been recognised with a number of national and international awards. In contrast, Kupang is a small but growing municipality, the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara Province. Its local government is responsible for fewer than 250 schools, from elementary to senior secondary. Compared with Surabaya, which collects more than IDR2.5 trillion in locally generated revenue (Surabaya City Government, 2013), Kupang, in 2013, collected less than IDR80 billion from the same sources (Kupang City Government, 2013). Surabaya mostly relies on local revenue to fund its educational programs, but Kupang, on the other hand, relies mostly on central government subsidies. Arguably, the economic capital of Surabaya's government gives it symbolic capital in terms of central–local government relations. It becomes a bargaining point when resisting pressure from the central government.

Moreover, though not necessarily, economic capital can also create symbolic capital by transforming it into popular policies, and the Surabaya government has shown this. Since Tri Rismaharini assumed office as the city's mayor in 2010, a number of populist policies have been produced, among which is a policy for free education. She has received national and international awards for

her policy innovations. In contrast, little has been heard about policy initiatives in Kupang, and this is most likely because its financial resources are much less than Surabaya's. The relations among local organisation field participants, such as the local education office, schools, education boards and parents are influenced by this symbolic capital of government popularity. Hence, because of its democratic legitimacy, a government with great popularity will enjoy more influence and dominate: in contrast, a government with less popularity risks influence being inadequate to ensure that any policy reforms will be fully effective. The contrast in key characteristics of both these local governments is the rationale for doing the comparative case studies. The second-level CSR project is as displayed in Table 4.2 below.

**Table 2.** Embedded Multiple CSR Design: the Local Government Responses to Decentralisation

| Cases    | Characteristics  | Units of analysis  |
|----------|--|--|
| Surabaya | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher symbolic capital</li> <li>• More autonomy from the central government</li> <li>• More capable of achieving national standards</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local socio-political environment</li> <li>• Relational pattern between local government bureaucracy and schools</li> </ul> |
| Kupang   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lower symbolic capital</li> <li>• More dependent on the central government</li> <li>• Less capable of achieving national standards</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Local policy initiatives</li> <li>• School response to local government policy</li> </ul>                                   |

## RESEARCH FINDINGS

This study seeks to reveal the interaction between global, national and local contexts in preserving the institutional legitimacy of educational decentralisation, using the post-2001 Indonesian education reform as the case study. What makes the Indonesian educational decentralisation reform different from its previous decentralisation trial is not only that it expands the decentralised sector of education to secondary education, but also that the decentralisation extends beyond the educational realm. The reform has not only led to the reorganisation of the central government's



education bureaucracy, particularly through the closing of hundreds of local offices of the central government's ministry of education, but also by the restructuring of the whole education governance system, in which the central government appears like no more playing the dominant role. This then creates a new constellation of political legitimacies on the basis of which the state can manage its education sector.

This thesis tracks the process of the institutionalisation of educational decentralisation in Indonesia since its adoption, as a result of external and internal pressure, until its implementation nationally and regionally. At the heart of this institutionalisation is the question of legitimacy. This thesis looks at how the institutional legitimacy of educational decentralisation is obtained, manipulated and contested. There are three research questions around which the research findings are described in this chapter: first, how did the global and local contexts provide the institutional legitimacy for the implementation of the educational decentralisation policy in Indonesia?; second, how did the central government preserve its legitimacy when devolving powers to the local governments, while also retaining significant powers of its own?; and third, how is the institutional legitimacy of the educational decentralisation policy contested at the local district level?

With regard to the first research question, a finding of this study is that the reform was adopted as a response to external pressure from powerful global institutions on the one hand, and the internal crisis of state legitimacy emanating from local movements against centralised authorities on the other hand. Chapter 5 has highlighted that the Indonesian government could not resist the pressures of the World Bank and other international funding organisations to save the country from the economic catastrophe that undermined the long-standing centralist government and, in turn, led the country to one of the worst legitimacy crises in its history. Decentralisation was imposed as a loan condition by the World Bank and also became the magic wand that progressively dampened secessionist aspirations from the regions and eventually restored the legitimacy of the national state. Educational decentralisation was infused

into this celebratory moment and implemented as a taken-for-granted consequence, even when its guidelines were yet to be formulated. From the central government's perspective, educational decentralisation reform was more a legitimacy-making project than a technical approach to solve the real educational problems. There was an initiative to systematically revise the education decentralisation strategy by establishing a special task force but its recommendations vaporised when the 2001 decentralisation reform started.

In relation to the second research question, as Chapter 6 has discussed, this study found that the central government used a decoupling strategy to delegitimise the local government's role, and for the central government to retain its control in education. Decoupling is built on two foundations: efficiency and confidence (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The discourse of 'inefficient locals' was prominent among the central government officials, who argued that decentralisation would lead to the politicisation of education personnel. The argument for efficiency was also used to play down local government officials' capacity in handling technical education matters. In 2003, a new education law was introduced to redefine the central government's control and to limit the role of local government in education. The new law adopted decentralisation with the ritual of 'confidence and good faith' (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This meant that decentralisation was subsumed in the new law but the lawmakers then entrusted the central ministry of education to set the details. The central government made some effort to restore its influence through the creation of a national standardised system of education. The law has inspired hundreds of government and ministerial regulations that stipulate every detail of how education arrangements should be; from curriculum to classroom size. To support the implementation of these standards, the central government increased education funding and introduced a number of centrally coordinated inspection mechanisms, such as teacher certification, national examinations and school accreditation. Despite its political repercussions, the government reiterated that this standardisation is a professional project, developed by independent professionals and aimed at 'improving

professionalism and institutional accountability' (GoI, 2005).

For the third research question, this thesis shows that the decoupling strategy does not always result in efficiency and confidence as the institutional theory claims. It is not always successful in settling the discord between institutional legitimacy and technical efficiency. For local governments, educational decentralisation is simply one part of the greater political decentralisation policy that provides them with more autonomy. In this context, a return of central government control cannot provide technical efficiency because it runs counter to local governments' autonomy. As it turns out, beyond the central government's control, the standardisation does not result in field structuration, that is, the structural convergence of education arrangements. Rather, it leads to destructure or the breakdown of hierarchy and coordination. In this sense, local governments complement decentralisation with their respective agendas, which are seen to support their autonomy. The extent to which the national standards of education might be adopted by the local governments as institutional pressure depends on whether they support or legitimate the local government's interests.

For such question, the author conducted two case studies, of Kupang and Surabaya, which represent different styles of local government. Kupang is a poor area that relies for most of its education funding on central government transfers and is supposedly more bound to follow central government directives. On the other hand, Surabaya is a big city that generates its own funding to support most of its education needs, which tends to make it unresponsive to the adoption of the central government's rules. However, the fact is that the central government support does not necessarily influence local government response to the central government rules. Neither Surabaya nor Kupang let themselves be confined by central government standards in organising their local education system. They adopted the national standards eclectically so long as those standards served their purposes. It is the established local socio-political environment that continues to guide the local governments' arrangement of education.

In Kupang, the current unchanged neo-patrimonial bureaucracy facilitates a highly politicised education governance, centred on the mayor and his political allies. Education resources are seen as political capital to support the ruler's legitimacy. Teachers are drawn into political contestation to win positions in school and government administrations. The local education office employs many teachers in administrative roles: senior positions are filled by teachers who manage to maintain their patrimonial loyalty to the mayor. School policies are subverted by external interests, that is, by parents, bureaucrats and politicians. The student admissions policy, for instance, which should have been the responsibility of school-based management, is highly politicised to accommodate the high demand by parents for their children to be enrolled at favoured schools. Despite most of its education funding coming from the central government, the Kupang local government is not bound by central government regulations. For instance, it allows public primary schools to demand tuition fees despite the central government's prohibition, and the local education office has never followed the national standards in the appointment of principals.

In Surabaya, the present local education system is organised in the managerialist way; the local education office has been given a considerable degree of autonomy to run schooling matters free from mayoral political intervention. The education office is free of officials from school-teaching backgrounds; instead it has career bureaucrats with management aptitude and skills. Public school principals are recruited through a transparent process developed and operated by a third-party consultant. The education office has launched a number of management reforms to install a performative culture in school governance, such as teacher performance allowances, budget restrictions and school rationalisation. School managements are standardised on the basis of this performative regime. Surabaya may be a case where national standards accordingly apply and are, even more progressively, advanced. In the case of school rationalisation, for instance, the local government refers to the central government's standard of student-per-classroom limits and adds its own criteria to restrict the issuing

of school licenses. However, the adoption of central government education standards does not necessarily imply that all central government prescriptions are followed. The local governments, for instance, insist on implementing the already prohibited, exclusive, international standard school system.

**Table 3.** Education Governance in Kupang and Surabaya

| Characteristics                   | Kupang                                 | Surabaya                                   |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|
| Government structure              | Neo-patrimonial state                  | Neo-managerial state                       |
| Decision-making authority         | Centralised in the office of the mayor | Decentralised to the city education office |
| Personnel recruitment             | Political                              | Procedural                                 |
| Control mechanism                 | Individual loyalty                     | Performance audit                          |
| School management                 | Politically co-opted                   | Standardised                               |
| Affiliation to national standards | Eclectic but rarely adopting           | Eclectic but mostly adopting               |
| Idealised values                  | Equality and accommodation             | Equality and competition                   |

## Some Theoretical Implications

### *The New Institutionalism and the Study of Change*

Though used in an array of organisational studies, the theoretical assumptions of the new institutionalism have been continuously criticised. With respect to our discussion on educational reform, some critics have claimed that institutional theory is not viable for analysing organisational change. It is regarded as a theory that could not forecast change. Greenwood and Hinings (1996) note that, because of its weakness in analysing the internal dynamics of organisational change, ‘the theory is silent on why some organisations adopt radical change whereas others do not, despite experiencing the same institutional pressures’. More specifically, Kraatz and Zajac (1996) conducted a particular study to prove the institutional theory’s inadequacy in analysing organisational change. They examined some institutional axioms against the change in the behaviour of American liberal

arts colleges during the period 1971 to 1986. They found that organisational changes during that period could not be said to result from the process of institutional isomorphism. Instead of becoming similar over time, the liberal arts colleges had been increasingly showing heterogeneity. They also observed that technical environments became an important factor in organisational changes, although they were institutionally illegitimate. And, those technically adaptive changes ‘had no negative implications—and often had positive implications—for organisational survival and health’ (Kraatz and Zajac, 1996: 831).

Indeed, as Scott et al. (2000) argue, organisations will change radically when they experience a profound institutional change. Otherwise, they only adopt the change ceremonially and keep to the old practices to maintain technical efficiency (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This profound institutional change is conceptualised as deinstitutionalisation (Oliver, 1992) or destructureation (Scott, 2008). Both concepts have much the same meaning, that is, the breakdown and discontinuity of traditional forms of belief systems, patterns of behaviour, governance structure and activities of the organisation. Oliver introduces three antecedents of deinstitutionalisation: functional, social and political (Oliver, 1992), which I found useful in analysing the deinstitutionalisation of the Indonesian New Order’s centralist regime that led to the introduction of the new decentralised SYSTEM. Hence, contrary to the critics, neo-institutional theorists like Scott (2008) and Oliver (1992) believe that deinstitutionalisation provides a strong basis for the institutional analysis of change.

However, I see the problem being deeper than merely the compatibility to analyse change. As this study has suggested, even within a profound institutional change, the resistance to the change remains potential: not only from the actors in favour of the *status quo*, but also from new actors who find their interests unfulfilled as the change ensues. In this case, despite the adoption of decentralisation, the reformist central government formulated a new mechanism to retain its central control because it assumed that local government officials were technically incompetent, which in the future would affect the

quality of educational provision. As the reform evolved, the central government's tendency to recentralise the system becomes much stronger. Many, many regulations were produced by the central government and trillions of rupiah were issued to preserve central control. Hence, I argue that what is more important is not whether a theory is feasible to analyse the change, but rather whether it is able to question, criticise and illuminate the essence of the change itself.

### *External And Internal Legitimacy*

The new institutional theory has been pre-eminent for its concern with external legitimacy. It is said that an organisation's conformity to its external environment is for the sake of gaining institutional legitimacy. This external legitimacy ensures an organisation's survival in a field with many other organisations (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The concept of external legitimacy is useful in analysing the institutional effect of education reform in the context of globalisation. Davies and Guppy (1997) propose that the institutional convergence of economic globalisation and global rationalisation has driven the isomorphic characteristics of education reform in Anglo-American nations. Similarly, in his study of Michigan public-school reform, Lubienski (2005) highlights the globalisation of marketised environments as the condition for the emergence of competition-oriented reform in the local arena. Other institutional scholars have claimed that educational decentralisation has become a 'world model' (Daun, 2007) or 'global ideology' (Baker, et al., 2005) so that nations across the world predominantly lean to it. In this study, it is also an assumption that the globalising effect of decentralisation reform has touched Indonesia, thanks to the institutional influence of global organisations.

Nevertheless, as this study has also conceived, an external legitimacy is not the only reason Indonesia adopted decentralisation. No less an important factor is the national response to its internal legitimacy, which had also deteriorated. Here, the internal crisis of legitimacy refers to Habermas' depiction of the crisis of the state-led capitalism as follows:

After all, the state apparatus does not just see itself in the role of the supreme capitalist facing the conflicting interests of the various capital factions. It also has to consider the generalisable interests of the population as far as necessary to retain mass loyalty and prevent a conflict-ridden withdrawal of legitimation (Habermas, 1984: 656-7).

The internal crisis of legitimacy arises from the unredeemed 'generalisable interests of the population', which in the Indonesian context was exhibited in the massive popular distrust of the centralised New Order regime. Not only had centralism effected severe bureaucratisation and inefficiency as the World Bank contended, but, for the local population, centralism was believed to be responsible for having siphoned all the local resources to Jakarta. Therefore, the adoption of decentralisation must also be seen in this context, that is, to maintain 'mass loyalty' (Habermas, 1984).

Not only that—the inclusion of internal legitimacy into institutional analysis is also important in the context of the institutional versus technical environments distinction. Friedland and Alford (1991) have noted that such a distinction has distorted the nature of institutional analysis that should bring everything back to an institutional lens: even technical is institutional. I argue that internal legitimacy would also blur the boundary between institutional and technical environments; when the institutional legitimacy becomes contrary to the technical efficiency, the whole organisational function would be at risk. In the Indonesian case, the central government has an understanding that the consistent application of decentralisation would run counter to the effective provision of education because of the assumptions of local officials' technical incompetence. Therefore, another scheme to ensure central control must be put in place. However, this move is easily spotted by local governments, which already enjoy autonomy. The effect is that local officials are disinclined to follow the central government policies.

### ***Bringing the State Back into the Institutional Analysis of Education***

In its earlier development, the institutional analysis was concerned with the nation-state development as the main reason behind the expansion of modern mass education. It was believed that the worldwide expansion of mass education was the outcome of an ideological process of rationalisation and nation-state formation. Education was regarded as the means to produce rational individuals who would legitimate their full membership in the new nation-state (Boli, et al., 1985; Ramirez and Boli, 1987). As the number of new nation-states increased after the second World War, so did the need for educated citizens who would be significant for building equal international relations and economic competition. The connectedness among organisations worldwide had driven governance structures in every nation-state to maintain their institutional order and thus to become isomorphic. Educational governance has been part of this isomorphic reality. The similar arrangements of educational organisation ranged from the establishment of ministries of education as the national education authority, the acceptance of schooling as a model of state-sponsored education (Boli, et al., 1985; Meyer, et al., 1992; Ramirez and Boli, 1987), and even the emphasis on similar subjects in school curricula (Benavot et al., 1991). Governments became more active in taking over and controlling educational responsibilities that previously had been accepted by institutions, such as churches and other private entities.

Nevertheless, since the early 2000s there has been some criticism of this kind of state-centred analysis of education. Davies et al. (2006), for instance, contend that the state-centred institutional analysis of education is no longer relevant because the institutional environment has changed. They argue that private education is now growing and there has been much political rhetoric that accuses public schools of being substandard. Therefore, they call for a more market-oriented institutional analysis that puts more emphasis on divergent, rather than isomorphic, change and on recoupling more than decoupling (Davies et al., 2006). Similarly, Rowan (2006) argues that some market-based reforms in American

education have forced student performance to be more closely inspected, which allowed the rise of learning support industries, such as testing companies and private tutoring, and increasing the diversity of education actors. In this sense, not only do educational organisations have to respond to external institutional pressures (government rules or social ideals) but now they also have to respond to demands on their internal technical effectiveness (students' test preparedness, competitive curricula, or effective school management). Meanwhile, in her study of the US No Child Left Behind policy, Burch (2010) contends that for-profit firms have replaced the state's role in performing structural isomorphic pressure through selling outdated curriculum. She also claims that the proliferation of private-sector educational institutions has led to the structuration of neoliberal ideology and practices in the organisational field of education (Burch, 2010).

However, the Indonesian case provides a different context of environmental change. Here, private schools have proliferated in the field of education since the nation-state's formation, but only one per cent of them are as competitive as, or better, than public schools. There is no 'market' in the field when most schools are using the same national curriculum and the few alternative private schools are too expensive (McGinn and Welsh, 1999: 44). The decentralisation reform does change the institutional environment but it is toward the proliferation of state rather than market institutions. Decentralisation has allowed the central government to invent another way to retain its control over national education governance by regulating the standards. However, this control has never been effective because the decentralisation has created politically more autonomous local governments, which realise full command over their respective education sectors. This then hampered the realisation of the school-based management program because, as part of the local bureaucracy, school personnel are subject to local bureaucratic arrangements. Hence, from the national perspective, rather than promoting an isomorphic change, the proliferation of these decentralised states has led to diverging changes. As we have seen, Kupang and Surabaya have different education arrangements despite

being subject to the same national standardisation pressure.

I have used this divergent effect of the proliferation of state institutions to reinterpret Scott's concept of destructureation. Instead of using the concept for simply identifying the breakdown of established institutions (Scott, 2008), for me destructureation is the process whereby the dynamic of institutional pressures fail to produce structural convergence in the field. The dynamic might arise from either the unsuccessful decoupling of the organisation's technical arrangements from its institutional environment, or the conflict between the organisation's external and internal legitimacy. In our case, the destructureation is the result of the conflict between external and internal legitimacy. Because they run counter to the interests of local government autonomy, many local governments ignore the implementation of some national standards, which in many instances accommodate the World Bank's prescription and follow common global practices.

## **SOME POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

### **A Standardised Anarchy**

The benefits of educational decentralisation have become a worldwide rationalised set of beliefs whose adoption gives the nation-state external legitimacy to run its education management. It has prevented Indonesia from being caught in a global spotlight as international institutions, like the World Bank and UNESCO, critically and regularly inspect its education governance and compare it with the ideal implementation of education management. It also adds to the country's confidence that its education governance has been part of the global trend and aiming at the shared global objective of a more efficient and competitive education management.

However, the pressure of educational decentralisation also came internally from the central regime's crisis of legitimacy that threatened the nation's survival. During the late 1990s, a number of regional movements demanded more control over their own territory and threatened to secede from the Republic. The adoption of internal pressure has trapped the nation into

a more serious game of legitimacy. In 1999, President Habibie enacted new laws to enable local autonomy; educational decentralisation was simply attached as part of this district-based political decentralisation big bang, with no regulatory framework established. The devolution of power to its sub-national territories in 2001 has created new, uncontrolled local 'states'. This gave the nation-state legitimacy to survive but at the same time eroded much of its influence.

Just two years later, in 2003, a set of more technical regulations for decentralisation was introduced, that is, through the promulgation of new national education system law. The law restores the central government's power but in a different form. The central government then started to impose many regulations to standardise the management of education throughout the nation—but it was too late. As a former vice-minister acknowledged, local governments had been overjoyed with their autonomy. The standardising effort faced more challenge because a new local government law was introduced in 2004, which granted local government elites a new source of legitimacy: popular suffrage. Since then people have voted directly for local leaders. This allows the excuse for local leaders that they are more obliged to attend to their constituents' needs than to those of the central government.

Standardisation implies a legitimate action of governing. It denotes the established relation of power, with the standard maker being the competent and legitimate power holder on the one hand and those upon which the standards are imposed being the incompetent and, might be, illegitimate, on the other hand. Standardisation, then, constitutes a coercive institutional pressure in reference to which all organisations in the field construct their legitimate structure and, therefore, gears the whole field towards structural isomorphism. However, when the standard maker is aware that such an institutional constellation is absent, that the standard maker is not the only legitimate power holder in the field and that its legitimacy to govern can be contested, then what has been standardised is only anarchy.

Based on the degree of the legitimacy problem, the standardised anarchy can be

characterised into two general behaviours: the general inconsistency between central and local policies and local resistance to the central policy. The central-local policy-practice inconsistency has a lower degree of legitimacy and the problem is mostly justified by the differences in resource capacity. The implementation of the national program of free basic education is more successful in Surabaya than Kupang because Surabaya generates sufficient local revenue to enable it to fund its schools; Kupang does not. Yet, from the national perspective this could not be the reason because the central government has allocated school operational grants and some other development funds to all schools, particularly in more needy areas like Kupang. Other cases like the failure to fulfil the standardised student-teacher ratio, size of physical infrastructure, and teacher qualification are examples of general inconsistency.

Meanwhile, the local resistance-based standardised anarchy arises exclusively from the problem of legitimacy. The resistance occurs because the local government sees the central regulation as challenging its local political autonomy. The Kupang recruitment system for school principals is an example of this. Rather than adopting the ministerial regulation on the standard for the selection and appointment of principals, the local government uses its own system because the regulation mandates the assignment of an independent committee as the selector. But an independent committee would be counter to the mayor's authority to control appointments as he wishes in his bureaucracy. Surabaya's refusal to dissolve the international standard school system as mandated by the Constitutional Court is another example. Despite the judge's rejection of her (the mayor) interpretation, the mayor insisted that her government only needs to eliminate the core problem behind the system ban, which is commercialisation, without necessarily dissolving the whole system. The fact is that Kupang and Surabaya both survive despite neither complying with national policies and the central authorities are unable to apply sanctions.

The cases of Kupang and Surabaya have shown that all localities with different social, political, economic and cultural backgrounds can

be potential sites where standardised anarchy is upheld. This is to say that the standardised anarchy is not about what happens in localities, but about the institutional arrangement at the national level. It is an ideal of educational decentralisation that the areas to which the power is devolved are managing their education systems differently, based on their own culture and capacity. In this sense, the role of the central government is to assist those that struggle. Standardisation can be an alternative to finding a national balance between different practices. However, in the case where the central government interference tends to be resisted, the standardisation is better not to be introduced through a coercive, regulatory institution, but rather through a cultural-cognitive institutional channel. Independent, non-state organisations such as universities and professional associations can take this role.

#### ***Towards the Separation of Normative from Regulative Institutions in the Decentralisation Context of National Standardisation: a Policy Recommendation***

Scott (2008) maintains that institutions have three fundamental pillars: regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive. Through the regulative pillar, institutions constrain and regularise behaviour by means of coercive rules and sanctions. The state is the manifestation of the regulative institution. Meanwhile, normative institutions comprise values and norms: the former refers to the conception of preferred social behaviour; the latter refers to the appropriate means to achieve such values. Normative institutions are the domain of the professions. In addition, cultural-cognitive is the realm of tradition and cultural belief through which people have a shared understanding and taken-for-granted compliance.

National standards of education are retained through the combination of normative and regulative institutions, in which professionals develop the standards and the state enforces them through coercive instruments: regulations and bureaucracy. This study would suggest that the central government might retain its national standards in the decentralisation context by separating the normative from the regulative institutions. To

some extent, normative institution can establish collaboration with the cultural-cognitive.

By separating the normative from regulative pillars, the national standard would become a rule-like national benchmark where local governments and schools adopt it, not as an obligation but as a suitable choice. The central government would leave the role of promoting the implementation of this national benchmark to the professionals. The central government would hire and distribute these professionals to give advice and assistance to local governments and schools with technical educational problems. The locally based professionals can be recruited from local universities, academia or from reputable school managers. They would be given the autonomy to interpret the national standards and adjust them for the local culture and capacity. These professionals would help the local education policymakers in developing competitive local advantages, so that the variation effect of educational decentralisation would be based on those different advantages. No government or ministerial regulation should be in place to enforce the standards. Rather, the national standards are promoted and campaigned for through professional and cultural forums: academic discourse, religious meetings, mass media and internet-based social networking discussion. As the process continues, these standards would become a legitimate rationalised myth to which local governments and schools refer in an accepted way.

The involvement of non-state actors would also solve the problem of legitimacy because overlap can be avoided. Professionals have their own basis of legitimacy, which is expertise, whereas the states have their basis of legitimacy, which is legality. So, the two institutions would create the relation of constraint within the organisational field of education. The relations of these two institutions in the field would result in structuration rather than destructure, because each institution could not intervene in the other's domain, otherwise, they will lose their legitimacy. The professionals would not create regulations because they would not have power to enforce. As such, the local governments could not argue against professional advice on technical matters because they lack expertise legitimacy. Indeed, it

is possible that the two institutions might come into conflict, particularly when their respective interests are unfulfilled or challenged as the result of the interaction. However, the conflict will affect restructure rather than destructure because at worst the system would force particular professional groups to withdraw their membership in the field and the local government would seek alliances with other professionals to give its policy more expertise legitimacy.

### **Limitations**

Educational decentralisation has been one among other popular topics within the larger subject of educational reform. This topic, education decentralisation, can be examined using many analytical tools with varying degrees of rigour and based on a range of theoretical foundations. This thesis, however, only plays a minor role on the stage of such a giant universe. Given this, this thesis has some limitations.

First, this thesis is analysing the global–national–local relations that describe the context of education decentralisation policy in Indonesia. However, it attends only a little to the global aspect in favour of the national and the local. Ideally, there would be a particular section for a comparative analysis of the effect of globalisation in other countries that shared similar or different characteristics with Indonesia. Instead of doing this, the thesis provides such analysis as part of the literature review. In awareness of such a limitation in this study, the globalisation factor is seen more as theoretical than the practical implication of the institutional perspective. This thesis focuses more on the local effects than the global.

Second, although the prime focus of education decentralisation is on the most local level of governance, which is the school level, this study does not base its analysis at this level. Schools are seen as but one among many other members of local organisational fields (Bromley and Powell, 2012). Therefore, although it is implied that the structuration and destructure of the field can affect school autonomy, the study is not concerned with the analysis of the internal dynamics of schools in exercising autonomy. Further study,



however, is recommended to look at this school dynamic so that the essential goal of Indonesia's decentralisation can be assessed.

Third, the study does not seek to reveal the effect of education decentralisation reform in terms of technical educational outputs, such as governance, accountability, enrolments, student performance, dropout rates, and so on. Nor does it aim at assessing the policy implementation in terms of effectiveness or suitability for some local governments. Instead, the study is concerned with the understanding of education decentralisation as a global policy and how this policy is negotiated for the sake of national and local interests.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis argues that educational decentralisation is a never-finished project. The key to its adoption is the duality of global and local pressures. Despite the strong and constant pressure coming from the nation-state's external environment, the structural change to decentralisation would never have been made unless there was an internal crisis of legitimacy that forced that change. France is the best and an extreme example of how external pressure is not enough to change the established structure of its centralised education governance. Despite much pressure coming from its external environment (European Union, OECD and even UNESCO), the French centralised education governance has strong internal social legitimacy because the system satisfies all the expectations socialised in the local culture (Baker, et al., 2005). The Indonesian case itself has shown that the external institution found fertile ground in the regional resistance against the centralised state.

Once the new structure of decentralisation is set, and external and internal legitimacies have been garnered, the national policymakers must start to think how the new structure might work to technically address educational issues. Because of its external nature, the new legitimate structure is not necessarily correlated with what is perceived as a technically efficient strategy. At this stage, the strategy has to make sure that efficiency is achieved while legitimacy is also retained. In Indonesia, despite adopting the decentralised structure, the central government

officials thought that the structure would not promote an efficient educational strategy because they have no trust in the local officials. Therefore, a new mechanism of central control is introduced without necessarily altering the decentralised structure. The central ministry of education issued the national standards of education and hundreds of ministerial regulations are promulgated to limit local administrative flexibility.

Although the decoupling strategy protects the institutionalised structure from external inspection so that external legitimacy is well-preserved, the case is not the same from the internal legitimacy perspective. Local governments know that standardisation is another way of centralisation and they know that the formal structure of decentralisation legitimises them not to be bound by those standards. Thus, rather than gearing the organisational field of education to convergence and shared understanding (structuration), the failed decoupling has led to uncoordinated policies and fragmented governance. Despite the standardisation, local governments keep governing their education differently regardless of the standardised rules. They adopt those rules eclectically as long as they serve their local interests. The effort of standardisation in the decentralisation context has otherwise created an anarchic standardisation.

The destructure reflects a turning point in the institutionalisation of educational decentralisation. In the ideal structuration, decentralisation creates different but legitimate local practices: they are different as a natural consequence of decentralisation itself and are legitimate because those practices are implemented in the regulatory framework on which the central and local governments have consensus. These ideally different local practices would provide the empirical basis to support the legitimacy of the established global or national institutional model. However, in Indonesia this ideal is not the case because decentralisation has created different but illegitimate local practices. They are illegitimate because those practices are not based on the solid consensus of legitimacy between the central and local governments. Thus, rather than becoming the empirical ground to support the legitimacy of the established institutional model, these

practices tend to delegitimise such institutions. In the larger picture, the institutionalisation of educational decentralisation has reversed to become a de-institutionalisation process.

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