

Universität Bremen
Fachbereich Politikwissenschaft

PISA, Public Participation and Policy Making in Education

**The Impact of Online Social Movements and the Shift in Public
Involvement in the Basic and Secondary Education Decision
Making Processes in Indonesia**

vorgelegt von

Vira Agustina

Bremen, 26. September 2017

Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde durch den

Promotionsausschuss Dr. rer. pol.

der Universität Bremen

Gutachter:

Prof. Dr. Kerstin Martens

Prof. Dr. Michael Dobbins

Contents

1	INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH FIELD	1
2	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON ONLINE SOCIAL MOVEMENT	30
3	DESIGNING RESEARCH ON ONLINE SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND THE SHIFT OF THE INDONESIAN EDUCATION POLICY MAKING PROCESS	68
4	THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS IN INDONESIAN BASIC AND SECONDARY EDUCATION	89
5	THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE PUBLIC POSITION.....	107
6	THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA.....	130
7	DISCUSSION ON THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH	150
8	CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY AND FUTURE RESEARCH	174
	ANNEX	178

Detailed Contents

1	Introduction to the Research Field	1
1.1	The R&Rs in the Higher and Lower Ranked Country Perspective.....	6
1.2	Education of Indonesia: Somewhere between Internal Complications and External Forces	13
1.3	State of Art.....	21
1.3.1	Social Media, Public Participation, and Social Movements.....	22
1.3.2	R&Rs, Online Movement and the Shift in Education Policy Making in Indonesia.....	25
1.4	Intention of the Study and Contribution to the Literature.....	26
1.5	Structure of Study.....	28
2	Theoretical Framework on Online Social Movement and the Shift of Indonesian Education Policy Making Process.....	30
2.1	Public Participation	32
2.2	Collective Identity (CI).....	38
2.2.1	Relative Deprivation (RD)	43
2.2.2	Organizational Consciousness	46
2.3	Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)	48
2.3.1	Rational Actor Theory.....	51
2.3.2	Resources.....	53
2.4	Political Opportunity Structure (POS).....	56
2.4.1	Advocacy 2.0.....	59
2.4.2	Political Opportunity.....	62
2.5	Summary	65
3	Designing Research on Online Social Movement and the Shift of Indonesian Education Policy Making Process.....	68
3.1	Operationalization of Variables	68
3.1.1	Public Participation.....	69
3.1.2	Organizational Consciousness	70
3.1.3	Resources.....	72
3.1.4	Political Opportunity.....	75
3.2	Case Selection of Online Social Movement in Indonesia.....	77
3.3	Research Period	79
3.4	Methodology and Data Collection	80
3.4.1	The Qualitative Method of Process Tracing	80

3.4.2	Data Collection Techniques of Expert Interview and Document Analysis	82
3.5	Summary	86
4	Policy Making Process in Indonesian Basic and Secondary Education	89
4.1	The Overview of the Education Policy Making Process of Indonesia	90
4.2	Policy Making in Indonesia: Challenges and Efforts to Improve.....	99
4.3	Curriculum 2013, Social media, and the Change in Policy Making.....	103
4.4	Summary	105
5	The Enhancement of the Public Position in the Basic and Secondary Education Policy Making Process in Indonesia	107
5.1	The Escalation of the Public Awareness of Education Policies	109
5.2	Internal and External Stakeholders Collaboration.....	111
5.2.1	The Public Classification in the Perspective of Policy Makers.....	112
5.2.2	Social Media, Public Perception and the Change of Policy Makers' Perspective in Public Participation.....	115
5.2.3	The Role of Ex-activists in the Shift of Public Participation and the Emergence of Collaborative Participation in Education	117
5.2.4	The Current Condition of Public Participation in the Education Policy Making Process	121
5.3	The more opened political opportunity.....	122
5.4	Summary	127
6	The Role of Social Media in the Shift of the Basic and Secondary Education Policy Making Process in Indonesia	130
6.1	The Rise of Public Involvement in Education Policy Making	131
6.2	Resource Mobilization	136
6.3	The Change in Political Communication	140
6.4	Summary	145
7	Discussion on the Empirical Findings of the Research	150
7.1	Recapitulating the Approach of this Study	151
7.2	Main Findings regarding the Research Hypotheses	155
7.2.1	Online Social Movement and the Shift of Education Policy Making Process	156
7.2.2	The Impact of Social Media in the Online Movement and the Change in the Education Policy making Process.....	160
7.3	Discussion of Research Findings and Explanations.....	169
8	Conclusions of the Study and the Future Research.....	174
8.1	Evaluation of the Study.....	174
8.2	Contribution of this Study and Future Prospects	176

ANNEX180
A. Interview Protocols180
B. Literature References188

Figures, Tables and Illustrations

Figure 1: The Shift on Policy Making Process in Indonesia	4
Figure 2: The Context of Conventional Participation	34
Figure 3: The Context of Authentic Participation	35
Figure 4: Model of Politicized Collective Identity (PCI)	44
Figure 5. The Policy Making Design in New Order Era	93
Figure 6. The Policy Making Cycle in Reformation Era	95
Figure 7. The Strategic Plan of National and Regional Government.....	97
Figure 8. The Regional Education Balance of the East Borneo Province of 2016 ...	120
Figure 9. The Infographic of the Priority of Education Budget Allocation of 2017...	125
Figure 10. Statistic Data of Digital Media Users in Indonesia	131
Figure 11. Meme Representing Movement against the Curriculum of 2013	138
Figure 12. The Snapshot of the Weekly Report of the Social Media Analyses	142
Table 1: Indonesia's Result in PISA Survey from 2002 to 2012	10
Table 2: Indonesia's Result in TIMSS 1999-2011	13
Table 3: The National Recapitulation of the Basic and Secondary Education Data ..	15
Table 4: Indonesian Education Indicators	16
Table 5: Comparison of Conventional and Authentic Participation	37
Table 6: Focus of Study in Organizational Consciousness	72
Table 7: Focus of Study in Resources	74
Table 8: Focus of Study in Political Opportunity	77
Table 9. The Development of Public Participation in Policy Making Process	170

Illustration 2-1: Organizational Consciousness Hypothesis	47
Illustration 2-2: Resources Hypothesis	54
Illustration 2-3: Political Opportunity Hypothesis	64
Illustration 2-4. Theoretical Framework	66
Illustration 5-1: Social Media and the Enhancement of Public Position	128
Illustration 6-1. The Role of Social Media in the Shift of Policy Making Process ...	147
Illustration 7-1. The Online Movement and the Shift of Policy Maker's Perception and Public Position in the Basic and Secondary Education Policy Making Process.....	157
Illustration 7-2. The Role of Social Media in the Online Movement and the Shift of Public Position in the Education Policy Making Process	161

Abbreviations

ABRI	Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia
AEC	ASEAN Economic Community
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BKLM	Biro Komunikasi dan Layanan Masyarakat
BPKLN	Biro Perencanaan dan Kerja Sama Luar Negeri
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia
CI	Collective Identity
FDS	Full Day School
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IBO	International Biology Olympiad
ICTs	Information Communication Technologies
IJSO	International Junior Science Olympiad
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMM	Intelligent Media Management
IOAA	International Olympiad on Astronomy and Astrophysics
IPho	International Physics Olympiad
Kemdikbud	Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture of Republic of Indonesia
Musrenbangnas	Musyawah Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
NPD	Neraca Pendidikan Daerah
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PASKA	Pusat Analisis dan Studi Kebijakan
PCEHRP	Presidential Commission on Education and Human Resource Policy
PCI	Politicized Collective Identity

PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
R&Rs	Rankings and ratings
RAT	Rational Actor Theory
RD	Relative Deprivation
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory
RPJMN	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional
RPJPN	Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional
TIMSS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TLLM	Teach Less, Learn More
TSLN	Thinking School Learning Nation
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

What was social media's role in the establishment of online activism in the education sector? Can this online movement affect policy making in the education sector? The utilization of social media as an alternative to raising a social movement aimed to change a political system is not a new phenomenon in social sciences. The Arab Spring, Tunisian revolution, Egypt revolution, and the *Tsunami Blanco* in Guatemala are some examples of how powerful online activism can be in forcing a change in the sociopolitical life of a country.

The current study focuses on exposing the phenomena of online movements resulting in the shift of public positions in policy making. While previous research usually talks about online activism in political revolutions, natural preservation, or human rights, I elucidate further the correlation among social media, online movements, and the improvement of public participation in the decision-making process in the education sector. For that reason, I analyze the emergence of the phenomena in Indonesian basic and secondary education as a case study. Moreover, the existing research rarely discusses the struggle of developing countries in improving education quality as well as their competitiveness level internationally, especially those which perform poorly in the Rankings & Ratings, namely the PISA survey. In this dissertation, I build a theoretical framework developed to answer two research questions: How did the online movement, stimulated via social media, affect and shift both the paradigm of the policy makers and the public in the basic and secondary education policy making processes in Indonesia? What was the impact of social media in driving the online movement as well as changing the policy making process in Indonesia?

Theoretically, the output of the study contributes to understanding the emergence of online activism affecting policy making processes in the field of education. To explain the phenomena, I use a theoretical framework emphasizing three components of social movement proposed by Meyer (2004): organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunities. I also apply four main theoretical approaches, which are public participation, collective identity, resources mobilization theory, and political opportunity structure. Additionally, I use relative deprivation, rational actor theory, and

advocacy 2.0. as supporting theories to explain the possible driving reasons behind the occurrence of the three elements of social movement. Methodologically, this study was performed with the qualitative technique of process tracing of the basic and secondary education policy making process from 2002 to 2013. In the data collection and analysis, I conducted semi-structured and in-depth models of expert interviews involving 22 interviewees consisting of government officials, legislative members, teacher association members, NGOs, Academics, Activists, and Media experts. I also applied document analysis to policy documents, international documents, and news material related to the topic of study.

From the study, it is concluded that the online movement can change the education policy making process because of three reasons: the pre-existing activists as entrepreneurs successfully evoked the public awareness to educational issues, social media created internal and external collaboration between stakeholders, and a more opened of current political opportunity in Indonesia. Furthermore, the research also reveals three roles of social media in the online movement in the Indonesian education sector, mainly in the increase of public involvement, resources mobilization, and the change of political communication. Additionally, the study revealed several other important factors. First of all, the shared feeling of deprivation in the society caused by the previous authoritarian regime had been an important entry point used by the entrepreneurs of the online movement to raise an online-based collective action. Second, the existence of pre-existing activists as top leaders in the government increased the openness of the political institutions and created a more collaborative policy making process. Finally, the political communication change resulting from the social media era created a condition where the public perception directly influences the policy making process in Indonesia.

Key terms: Indonesia, PISA, online social movement, education policy making process, public participation, collective identity, resource mobilization theory, political opportunity structure, rational actor theory, relative deprivation, advocacy 2.0

Acknowledgements

In the last three years of my doctoral program, there were many people who totally and endlessly supported me in every step I made. These people always pushed me to be more than I thought. For every single act of kindness, love, and trust, I would like to express my appreciation.

First of all, I would like to thank Kerstin Martens, my supervisor, for all the constructive insights, advice, suggestions, and recommendations throughout the whole study processes. Thank you for your motivation, inspiration, and above all kindness which kept me optimistic while conducting my project. I am so blessed to have had this great opportunity and to learn many things from you.

I also want to thank my supervisor, Michael Dobbins, for all his valuable inputs, particularly in the theoretical content, as well as for language advice. I wish I had met you earlier because there must be many things that I can learn from you regarding your knowledge and experiences in this field of study. Nevertheless, it is an honor for me to have had the chance to discuss this research at your beautiful campus in Frankfurt.

I want to express my gratitude to Nicole Henze, Dennis Niemann, Timm Fulge, Martin Leusch, and Michael Windzio for your help and discussion. Your friendliness always cheered up my days. Special thanks to Tonia Bieber for her contribution in providing a great reference in developing this thesis (I do wish I could thank you in person). Also for all lecturers and officials of Universität Bremen for the sharing, knowledge, and support.

For Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan (LPDP) - Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education, thank you for all the support and the opportunity to pursue my dream. I owe the people of Indonesia, especially the tax payers, for giving me the chance to become one of the 1% of Indonesians to obtain a doctoral degree. I do hope the knowledge and experiences I got will help me contribute more to the improvement of the education sector.

I also thank Aaron Derner and Kelly Weleschuk for their help in proofreading my thesis.

To the Ministry of Education and Culture, my colleagues (especially Gita, Dini, Icha, Lucky, Inu, and Desi Elvera) thank you for being the ones who supported me all the way.

Special appreciation to all interviewees involved in this study, especially Mr. Muhammad Nuh and Mr. Anies Baswedan (the former Ministry of Education and Culture) as well as to Mr. Muhadjir Effendy (the current Ministry of Education and Culture). Thank you very much for all of your support and valuable contributions to this study.

I am also so grateful for being a part of Formal Jerman, Cator Bremen, Kalimah, and KMH. Thank you all for your friendship and all the support you gave. Thanks for making Hannover and Bremen so comfortable and homey for me.

To my beloved family, I realize the word *thank you* will never be enough to show my gratitude for everything you have done. For my parents and siblings (Mama, Papa (*may you smile at me from heaven*), Ayah, Bunda, Budi, Linda, Nesia, Adit, Ida) thanks for being there in all my ups and downs. Special thanks to Mama for believing in me, you are the one who always encouraged me to keep studying and continuously be the better version of me. For Prasandhya, my love, partner of life, the one that I can always rely on, who made our journey as a doctoral student-couple wonderful, I owe you so much ay! I love you. For Kanaya, my little pearl, and the baby in mommy's tummy thank you for accompanying me, for being the sunshine, keeping me smiling, and being the driving reason motivating me to finish this study. This work is a present dedicated to all of you.

Finally and ultimately, I thank Allah, the Almighty, the source of my strength, for all His blessings. Alhamdulillah.

Vira Agustina

Bremen, 26 September 2017

Chapter 1

Introduction to the Research Field

Indonesia and International R&Rs: The struggle to Compete within Limitations

Globalization has put pressure on every country to develop economically in order to survive open international competition in all sectors. Setting the standard for quality, rankings and ratings (R&Rs) were designed as one of the references for self-assessment and improvements to enhance a nation's capability and competitiveness both regionally and internationally. At this point, education, as a key to producing qualified human resources to struggle within a borderless society, is also affected by this framework. As elaborated by Hazelkorn,

“The battle for world-class excellence has fused national and institutional priorities, and transformed global rankings from a benchmarking tool into a strategic instrument. What matters is how different governments prioritize their objectives of a skilled labor force, equity, regional growth, better citizens, future Einsteins and global competitiveness, and translate them into policy.”

(Hazelkorn, 2009:16)

Therefore, in many countries, the output of R&Rs directly influences the decision-making process by suggesting appropriate actions and strategies to be better prepared for facing the future. In line with this thought, and as elaborated by Martens et al. (2010:15) “from a micro-perspective of economic background, education is a mechanism to increase the returns of private and public *human capital*; from a macro-

perspective, education is an enabling factor for the growth of productivity and *wealth of nations*".

However, if we investigate further, there are significant differences between the best-scoring countries and the bottom-ranked nations on how they interpret and follow up the output of the R&Rs. In this study, I highlight the performance and the reaction of both the public and policy makers of Indonesia, as a representative of the lowest-performing participants. Despite active participation in the R&Rs for years, bad performance in both of the tests previously did not move the education policy makers in the country to make significant policy changes to improve the national competitiveness level. It is reflected on the steadiness of Indonesia at the bottom ranking of the test. Nevertheless, the connectedness resulting from the social media era, drove the education activists in the country to raise an online movement involving the general public, generating a shift of the public position in the policy making process.

Regarding the online movement, in contrast to the problem of Indonesia and R&Rs, which seems to progress sluggishly, social media exposed its power in driving change in the policy making process, particularly in primary and secondary education. One of the best examples to describe the relationship between social media, International R&Rs, and the change in the policy making process was the establishment of the Curriculum of 2013. Beginning with some articles discussing the result of the 5th PISA survey in 2012, some activists intensively wrote and shared their concern about the actual condition of the education system in Indonesia as reflected by the low scores of students in the tests. This conversation attracted public attention, especially among

active media users causing an escalation of the discussion and turned it into a collective action targeting the policy makers in the education sector.

Responding to the public agitation expressed immensely on social media, in December 2013 the government launched the policy draft of a new Curriculum called the Curriculum of 2013. They argued that this curriculum would bring a significant change in the learning and teaching process that would make students more active in the class. Furthermore, they also stated that this curriculum was designed to increase the aptitude of Indonesia's students so that they could compete better internationally (detik.com).

Taking a look at the social movement raised by social media and the designing process of the curriculum of 2013, there was a significant shift in the policy making process in Indonesia. Previously, in the New Order Era under Soeharto, who ruled the country from 1966 to 1998, there was almost no channel for the public, including the mass media, to criticize or reject a policy made by the government. Moreover, during that period, all information was screened by the regime. As a result, all decisions were designed by a group of elites acting on behalf of the people based on their considerations which then were implemented by placing another stakeholder as the object of their decisions. This model of policy making process was something commonly practiced in all sectors, including education. In contrast, after the Reformation Movement, the biggest social movement in Indonesia's history which overthrew Soeharto's regime in 1998, the freedom of speech and expression had improved the public position in the policy making process. Moreover, the booming of the social media era in the society and the change in global political communication improved public involvement in decision making. As an introduction to the topic of the study, Figure 1 illustrates the

shift of the public position in the policy making process in Indonesia before and after the Reformation era.

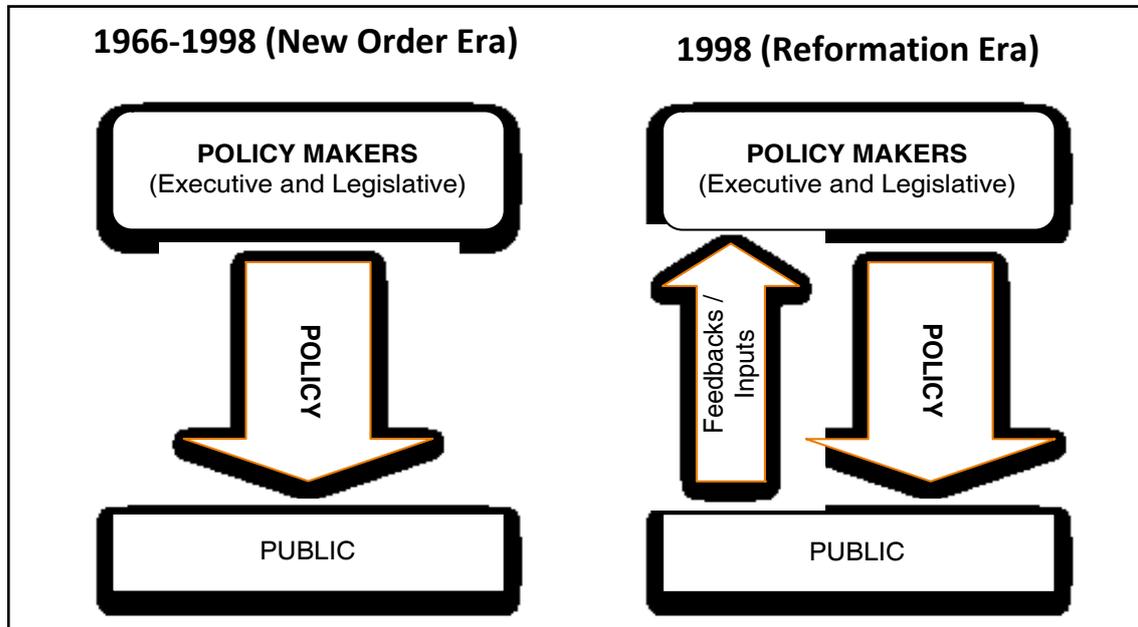


Figure 1. The Shift of Policy Making Process in Indonesia:
Before and after the Reformation Era (Own data)

As described in figure 1, the policy making process in Indonesia during the new order era was conducted in a top-down system in which the public was positioned merely as an object of decisions made. Additionally, in those years, the centralization of power practiced by the ruling regime gave no opportunity for the public to interfere in the decision making process. However, after the Reformation movement dethroned Soeharto, the public gained a wider chance to access and share information, including those related to the policy making process. Moreover, with the social media era creating a more borderless means of communication, the public gained more power to collectively influence the process.

To further study the phenomena, there will be two research questions investigated further in this research:

Research question (1): *How did the online movement stimulated via social media affect and shift both the paradigm of the policy makers and the public position in the basic and secondary education policy making process in Indonesia?*

It is thought-provoking to find out from both the decision makers and the stakeholders' perspectives concerning why the point of view of the decision makers toward the public altered and how the public can directly influence the policy making process in the basic and secondary education sectors. Regarding the question, in my thesis, I argued that social media played significant roles in changing the policy process, for through this channel the awareness of the issue was raised and became a more powerful social force urging the government as the policy maker to change.

Additionally, to explore further the social media roles in the online social movement, the argumentation leads to the second questions:

Research question (2): *What was the impact of social media in driving the online movement as well as making a change in the policy making process in Indonesia?*

In the development process, the output of the current study aimed to contribute to academic research as well as the improvement of education policy making, particularly in developing countries, such as Indonesia. To achieve this goal, first of all, this study provides an additional theoretical perspective on how social media can diversify and

improve social movements, especially in a country with a high number of active users. Secondly, I aim to give a methodological contribution by developing a research design to study the relation of the social media, online movements, and the shift of the public position in the policy making process. Thirdly, this research provides the current empirical information of the study on the online-based social movement and education policy making process. Finally, in supporting the improvement of decision-making, this study provides both the policy makers and the stakeholders of the education sector the recent data and the output of the analysis of the improved public involvement and the production of decisions in basic and secondary education in Indonesia.

In the following section, I introduce the background of the study. Then, I elaborate upon the state of the research, followed by an explanation of the intention of the study and its contribution to the literature. At the end of the chapter, there is a brief information about the structure of the study.

1.1 The R&Rs in the Higher and Lower Ranked Country Perspective

In the education sector, one of the most prominent R&Rs which has influenced both directly and indirectly the policy making process in some countries is the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Initiated by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the survey aims to evaluate global education systems by testing 15-year-old students from both OECD and other participating countries “on how well they can apply their knowledge to real-life situations and be equipped for full participation in society”

(www.oecd.org/pisa/aboutpisa). The result of this international survey provides the participating members with a comprehensive description of the output and outcome of their education system in the implementation context.

More than as a constructive suggestion for the participants, the PISA survey's results have also become what Xavier Pons (2012:208) called *knowledge for policy*. He elaborates the *knowledge* as “a more or less stable, coherent and evidence-based set of utterances which allow people to formulate efficiently (i.e. with strong convincing power) diagnoses and recommendations on the education policy process in general” (Pons, 2012:209). Based on his research on PISA shock discourse within six European countries (France, French-speaking Belgium, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, and Scotland), these utterances as a reaction toward the result can occur in various forms: arguments, inferences, imputations, or instrumentalization. However, an elaboration on how the statements affect the policy making process will be discussed further within the Theoretical Framework.

Among all participant countries' reactions toward the PISA survey result, one of the most remarkable responses which become a spotlight in education policy making discourse took place in Germany. In early December 2001, as the OECD released the output of the first PISA survey held in 2000, Germany, previously thought of as one of the leading countries in education, was shocked by unexpectedly below average scores which lagged behind other OECD members. This awakened the German public and policy makers as it revealed that the national pride of Germany on its education system was based on “no more than mere mediocrity” (Martens and Niemann, 2013:2). Additionally, it invited utterances among the disappointed public which later forced the

government to initiate a change within the system. The hope being that, in the future, the graduates would have a better competency in understanding as well as applying their knowledge in professional life and be able to contribute in developing their national economy (ibid, p. 2).

Similar to Germany's experience, many leading countries also underwent the PISA shock and tried their best to improve themselves. The survey result has created a *Finnish boom* (Watanabe, 2005:12) where many countries sent their policy makers, teachers, and representatives of other education stakeholders to study Finland's system, Finland being the rising star in PISA. According to Ball (2008:54), the Helsinki Department of Education hosts 2,500 international visitors a year who come to see "how Finland gets it right." One of the example countries following this trend is Sweden. As one of the neighboring countries of Finland, the fact that Swedish students did not perform well bothered the public as well as the policy makers in the education sector. "One can also detect some signs of envy towards Finland because of its excellent results" (Ringarp and Rothland, 2010:423). For Sweden it was such an irony since, for years, its education system was a reference for many countries, particularly in Europe, because of its excellent pedagogical development and school systems, whereas the concept developed in Finland was rooted in a much older tradition. Therefore, to improve the education quality and increase their competitiveness, the Swedish conducted a series of reformations in education focused more on the improvement of teacher training and schools.

Additionally, beyond its status as a tool for evaluation and self-improvement reasons, the leading countries are conscious of the fact that positioning created by R&Rs is also

a significant magnet to attract more skilled and talented students from overseas to come and take part in developing the nations, particularly through science and technology. “Institutional rank transmits social and cultural capital that resonates with family, friends, and potential employers” (Hazelkorn, 2008:9). For this reason, there are more developed countries like Germany, USA, Japan, or the UK which are competing in improving their position in R&Rs which “help enhance its visibility and creates brands” (ibid, p.9). They simultaneously also offer various scholarships or facilities to acquire the best talent for securing sustainable national growth.

Moreover, Japan, along with the aftermath trend and as one of the leading countries which also scored unexpectedly low, also took part in this learning-from-the best movement. The released survey result represents a *peak* in the constant debate on academic achievement crisis in Japan, which started in the late 1990s and generated a moral panic over declining academic performance. The “Finlandization phenomenon in Japanese education” established Finland as a symbol of hope in Japanese education reform (Takayama, 2010:52).

In contrast to most developed countries, which have made outstanding efforts in response to the result of the R&Rs, many developing countries, including Indonesia, unfortunately pay less attention and make almost no significant effort to follow up on the recommendations in the country report, despite their active involvement from year to year. For instance, in PISA Indonesia was ranked 64 out of 65 in 2014, the worst position of any country which has actively participated from the first survey in 2000 (see Table 1). Even though the Ministry of Education and Culture had established an

official team, there was only a minor improvement in the learning process made by the policy makers in the basic and secondary levels to meet the established standards.

Table 1. Indonesia's Result in PISA Survey from 2002 to 2012

Source: Tim PISA Indonesia and <http://www.oecd.org/pisa>

Year	Subjects	Indonesia Average Score	International Average Score	Indonesia Ranking	Number of Participant Countries
2000	Reading Literacy	371	500	39	41
	Mathematics Literacy	367	500		
	Science Literacy	393	500		
2003	Reading Literacy	382	500	38	40
	Mathematics Literacy	360	500		
	Science Literacy	395	500		
2006	Reading Literacy	393	500	50	57
	Mathematics Literacy	391	500		
	Science Literacy	393	500		
2009	Reading Literacy	402	500	57	65
	Mathematics Literacy	371	500		
	Science Literacy	383	500		
2012	Reading Literacy	396	500	64	65
	Mathematics Literacy	375	500		
	Science Literacy	382	500		

Another international test on which this study focuses is the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). The test, conducted since 1995, serves to monitor the trend in mathematics and science accomplishment every four years for the fourth and eighth-grade students. Marking 20 years of the test, in 2015 the TIMSS and

PIRLS Study Center released a report on the program as well as the achievement of the performers during the last two decades of participation. In the publication, TIMSS highlights the remarkable accomplishments made by Singapore, Korea, Hongkong, Chinese Taipei, and Japan as the best performers in both Mathematics and Science (TIMSS International Result, 2015). Previously, at the beginning of the test, the Scandinavian states and the USA dominated TIMSS. However, the current top performing countries made a serious effort and learned from others to improve their competitiveness. Their rise in both rankings are but one of the indications of their great accomplishment resulting from an improved education system.

One of the examples of a consistent improvement of education sector performance is that of South Korea. The great achievements in international R&Rs, including TIMSS and PISA, did not stop the reformation in their schooling and teaching system. “Even high achievement in international tests seems not to be a sufficient reason for praising public schools” (Kim, 2004:126). The public continues the debates on the crisis in the education system, and in the meantime continues sending their children to private or alternative schools and hiring tutors for them so that they can have a better quality of education. However, there have been several changes in the school system of South Korea. From the “open education” and “performance assessment” implemented from 1995 to 1999 focused on the “learning process” to the 7th curriculum applied in 2000 concentrated on “achievement level” (Kim 2014:129). Furthermore, the key factor in this sustainable reform in South Korea is the active involvement of its public. Additionally, the government involves the stakeholders in the development of the curriculum, including the ones not closely linked to education. For instance, in 2001,

the government established Presidential Commission on Education and Human Resource Policy (PCEHRP) included the economic stakeholders in the effort to improve the schooling system. However, the public later spoke against the policy making process because the system focused more on the product, not the process of education (Jeong, 2003 cited in Kim, 2014:130). Nevertheless, despite the endless debate, the reformation of education accomplished by South Korea has proven the competitiveness level of its students at top rankings in many R&Rs.

Another remarkable reformation story in education was conducted by Singapore, the closest neighbor of Indonesia. Inspired by the reform in Finland, especially in the teaching process, the government campaigned for the policy of Thinking School Learning Nation (TSLN) which was a vision for a learning environment (Goh, 1997 in Ng, 2008:5-6). Moreover, to accelerate the education in Singapore as well as to develop the TSLN, the Minister of Education of the Republic of Singapore launched the initiative “Teach Less, Learn More” (TLLM) in 2005. The Minister said that TLLM “aims to touch the hearts and engage the minds of our learners. It reaches into the core of education – why we teach, what we teach and how we teach” (Tharman 2005 in Ng, 2008:6). This commitment is driving significant changes in the education system in Singapore resulting in excellent performances in international R&Rs.

What about Indonesia? Despite regular participation since 1999, Indonesia has consistently ranked at the bottom in the TIMSS. In 2011, Indonesia ranked 40th out of 42 participants (see table 2). Ironically, despite the establishment of the national official team for reviewing the performance as mentioned earlier, there were almost no significant policies made by the Indonesian government in the education sector from

1999 to 2013. Therefore, in this study, one of the key investigations is to find out how the policy makers perceived the data before and after the online movement in education took place.

Table 2. Indonesia's Result in TIMSS 1999-2011

Source: Tim TIMSS Indonesia and <http://timssandpirls.bc.edu>

Year	Subjects	Indonesia Average Score	International Average Score	Indonesia Ranking	Number of Participant Countries
1999	Mathematics	403	487	34	38
	Science	435	488	32	
2003	Mathematics	411	467	35	46
	Science	420	474	37	
2007	Mathematics	397	500	36	49
	Science	427	500	35	
2011	Mathematics	386	500	38	42
	Science	406	500	40	

1.2 Education of Indonesia: Somewhere between Internal Complications and External Forces

As the largest archipelago with the longest coastal line, the Republic of Indonesia is located in Southeast Asia and consists of 17,504 islands divided into 34 Provinces. Based on the recent data released by Indonesian Statistics, this country, which possesses 300 distinct native ethnic groups speaking 742 different languages, has an estimated population of over 248 million people and is the fourth most populous country in the

world. Therefore, in contrast to the declining rate of population growth which has become a concern in most developed countries, based on the current population statistic, Indonesia has a demographical advantage. In 2020-2030, 70% of its population will be in a productive age, which is between 15-64 years old. Regarding these facts, it is a great challenge for the Indonesian government as well as the whole nation to develop its great potency, especially the human resources. For this reason, education becomes a significant factor to be improved and accelerated because this plays the most important role in optimizing the output and outcome of the demographic advantage. Otherwise, the abundant potency will be a burden in the future. Additionally, at the same time, the country also faces some problematic issues such as corruption, social conflict, poverty, ecological destruction, and a bare minimum of supporting infrastructure to provide for fair distribution as well as providing adequate public facilities throughout the thousand islands. These challenges, as well as the potencies of human resources, have become the current issues pursued by the policy makers, politicians, and activists, particularly whenever we talk about reformation in education.

Talking about the school system in Indonesia, as stated in the national plan, all citizens are encouraged to attend 12 years of compulsory education (please see the current statistic of Indonesian schooling in Table 3). The primary school in Indonesia consists of elementary school (six years), junior high school (three years), and senior high school (three years). People can choose between state-run, nonsectarian public schools supervised by the Ministry of Education and Culture or private or semi-private religious schools supervised and financed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. In addition to the compulsory education, the government also holds early age education including

playgroup and kindergarten for children aged 0-6 years old. It also pays attention to higher education which is grouped into two categories, public and private, and has four types of institutions: universities, institutes, academies, and polytechnics. However, considering the time of the study, I will limit the focus research on the compulsory education. Moreover, currently, under President Joko Widodo, the higher education affairs are managed by the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education.

Table 3. The National Recapitulation of the Basic and Secondary Education Data

Source: dapo.dikdasmen.kemdikbud.go.id (March 2017)

School Level	Buildings	Students	Classes	Teachers	Educational Personnel
Elementary	148.518	25.298.720	1.088.874	1.628.746	128.160
Junior High	38.594	9.994.796	344.305	651.131	127.293
Senior High	13.401	4.601.958	225.859	314.142	60.277
Vocational School	13.726	4.564.117	162.847	298.984	53.819
Schools for Disabled Children	2.182	120.891	30.387	26.067	2.006
Total	216.421	44.580.482	1.852.272	2.919.070	371.555

Another growing issue in the discourse on the education of Indonesia is budget management. As mandated in article 49 of the System of the National Education Act, every year both the national and provincial governments have to allocate at least 20 percent of their annual budget to the education sector. However, this enormous budget has not managed to improve the education and the human resources quality. The disparity of development, particularly in education, is another significant issue which

has not been overcome by the government. The vast growth in Java and most of the western part of Indonesia, in which more than 58% of the population lives (Indonesian Statistics, 2016), is in contradiction to the condition of the eastern part of the country. The development is also intensively focused in urban areas, while the countryside is left far behind. Also, due to the unfairness of supporting facilities established and the expensive cost of education, most of the Indonesian public only attends 12 years of schooling, and only 20.04% of them spend 19-24 years of study or up to University level (BPS.go.id) (see the table 4).

Table 4. Indonesian Education Indicators

Source: BPS-Indonesian Statistics

Education Indicators	2011 ^{***}	2012	2013
PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL EDUCATION			
School Participation Rate (SPR) 7-12 years	97.53	97.94	98.34
School Participation Rate (SPR) 13-15 years	87.79	89.61	90.62
School Participation Rate (SPR) 16-18 years	57.69	61.30	63.64
School Participation Rate (SPR) 19-24 years	14.47	15.94	20.04
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SD/MI	102.42	104.23	107.63
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SMP/MTs	89.37	89.29	85.69
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SM/SMK/MA	64.10	68.45	66.27
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) PT	18.06	18.85	23.06
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SD/MI	90.98	92.47	95.52
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SMP/MTs	68.22	70.82	73.73
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SM/SMK/MA	47.93	51.77	54.12
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) PT	12.56	13.48	18.08

PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL AND NON FORMAL EDUCATION**)			
School Participation Rate (SPR) 7-12 years	97.62	98.02	98.42
School Participation Rate (SPR) 13-15 years	87.99	89.76	90.81
School Participation Rate (SPR) 16-18 years	57.95	61.49	63.84
School Participation Rate (SPR) 19-24 years	14.82	16.05	20.14
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SD/MI/Package A			
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SD/MI/Package A	102.57	104.33	107.71
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SMP/MTs/Package B			
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SMP/MTs/Package B	89.83	89.49	85.96
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SM/SMK/MA/Package C			
Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) SM/SMK/MA/Package C	64.90	68.80	66.61
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SD/MI/Package A			
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SD/MI/Package A	91.07	92.54	95.59
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SMP/MTs/Package B			
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SMP/MTs/Package B	68.35	70.93	73.88
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SM/SMK/MA/Package C			
Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) SM/SMK/MA/Package C	48.07	51.88	54.25
Educational Attainment Population Aged 15 Years and Over			
Not/Never Attending School	6.73	6.11	5.77
Not completed Primary School	15.08	14.30	14.13
Primary Education (SD/MI/equivalent)	28.48	28.09	28.18
Lower Secondary Education (SMP/MTs/equivalent)	20.21	20.59	20.51
Secondary Education and above (SM/equivalent +)	29.50	30.91	31.41
Pre-School Participation(attending)			
Aged 3-4 years	15.95	18.20	18.02
Aged 5-6 years	33.40	35.54	37.18
Aged 3-6 years	24.50	26.72	27.55
Pre-School Participation (attending and not attending pre-School anymore)			
Aged 3-4 years	19.70	22.09	22.20
Aged 5-6 years	54.61	57.38	59.83
Aged 3-6 years	36.81	39.43	40.92
Illiteracy Rate			
Illiteracy Rate Population Aged 10 years +	6.80	6.28	5.46
Illiteracy Rate Population Aged 15 years +	7.56	7.03	6.08
Illiteracy Rate Population Aged 15-44 years	2.31	2.03	1.61
Illiteracy Rate Population Aged 45 years +	18.15	17.17	15.15

As mentioned in the study published by the Economics Department of the OECD, the critical problem behind the bad performance of the country is not “the lack of resources but rather inefficiencies and misallocation of spending together with weak incentives for education professionals to perform well” (Guichard, 2005:2). Regarding this fact, one possible cause for Indonesia’s steadily weak performance could be similar. Research conducted by the World Bank in Indonesian education in 2013 found that inefficiency in spending the education budget is a significant problem caused by the breaking of the link between policy planning and resources, as well as large exogenous increases to the budget (Guichard, 2004).

Additionally, there are three weaknesses in policy making in Indonesia which encompass the education sector, “elitism in policy making, distortion in implementation and the tendency of having an instant way to the entire process” (Rohman, 2002). These factors have positioned all stakeholders of education, excluding the policy makers, as merely objects to the decisions made. In short, the policy making process, especially in the education sector, is a limited issue and is hard to criticize. Furthermore, as the policies made were only based on the elite perception and without appropriate planning and pre-research in assessing the actual conditions, many common problems occur in implementation. This condition is deteriorating even further with the actions of the policy makers who tend to make shortcuts in coping with the problems without any proper evaluation or examination, leading to later inefficiency in the budget because of the unexpected cost of improvement or mitigation of the after effects.

One example that can describe the chaotic nature of the education policy making process in Indonesia is the failure of the international standard school establishment,

which was aimed to advance the level of Indonesian education to meet the international standard. It was annulled later in January 2013 by the Constitutional Court because the output of the policy diverged from its ideal targets in the implementation. This policy violated the 1945 Constitution, which is the highest law in Indonesia, because it created levels of discrimination, allowing only the rich access to the international class due to the expensive cost set by the selected public schools implementing the international program. Beyond the inherent socioeconomic discrimination, the policy also had other significant problems such as the lack of qualified teachers to teach subjects in English and the curriculum which was not designed to meet the international standard.

Regarding the annulment of the international class program, another phenomenon in Indonesia's education policy making was also revealed. The abolition of policies made by the government was a breakthrough within the society because for years it was impossible for the public to interfere in the policy making process. Furthermore, as social media established itself in Indonesia with the rapid boom of Facebook and Twitter in the last decade, there is a significant change in the way a social movement developed as well as in the direct participation of the public. In Indonesia, these social media have become useful tools to raise social awareness and actions towards some issues, including education, forcing both electronic and printed mass media to echo their aspiration.

Considering the issue of internationalization and global competitiveness level, historically, Indonesia had actively involved, even initiated, many international movements. This country is acknowledged as the pioneer of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has unified many countries in Asia and Africa to stand up against the

colonialism and imperialism in the 1950s, as well as the founder of ASEAN, a regional organization for Southeast Asian countries in 1967. Additionally, Indonesia is also actively involved in various international organizations, such as the WTO, OIC, APEC, and OPEC. Moreover, Indonesia is a member of the G-20 major economies and the world's 16th largest by nominal GDP as released by the World Bank and IMF in 2014. However, in contrast to the contribution in the past or present by the various international movements and organizations, Indonesia is still facing problems on its international competitiveness level, particularly in terms of the quality of human resources. The performances in the PISA survey and TIMSS tests as elaborated earlier are two examples describing the situation. However, some students made remarkable achievements in international competition, such as in the International Physics Olympiad (IPho), International Junior Science Olympiad (IJSO), International Olympiad on Astronomy and Astrophysics (IOAA), International Biology Olympiad (IBO), and many others (source: edukasi.kompas.com). Nevertheless, these successes do not represent the actual conditions of Indonesian education. The excellent students triumphing in the competition are just the tip of the education pyramid of Indonesia, for the competitiveness level of the majority of the students is still below the international standard.

Looking at the Human Development Index of Indonesia, we can trace how the improvement in human resources development has progressed only slowly. In the HDI, released by UNDP in 2014, Indonesia ranked at 108 out of 187 countries. In the report, Indonesia's HDI average value is 0.684, below the international average of 0.702. Also, Indonesia lacks skilled human resources, as represented by the fact that only 33.1 % of

its workforce is classified as educated, skilled labor. Regionally, the result indicates that Indonesia's competitiveness is the lowest among the ASEAN-6 because of its average under Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Thailand, and Philippines (Bangun, 2014). This condition is a warning for Indonesia in facing the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), a regional economic integration which will transform ASEAN into a region with free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labor, and freer flow of capital started in 2015 (www.asean.org).

1.3 State of Art

This research will be interdisciplinary, drawing mainly on politics, sociology, communication, and education science since policy and social movements are two issues related to these fields of study. This study is triggered by the fact that academic discourse about low performing countries in R&Rs such as Indonesia is still something rarely conducted. Regarding the existing literature, it is easier to find academic writings discussing how well the top-ranked-countries are coping with the R&R results or the actions they took to improve their quality as well as their position internationally in the upcoming test or survey (see Gruber (2006), Martens and Niemann (2013), Gür et al. (2012), Engel and Frizzel (2015)). Therefore, this research could complete the perspective of R&Rs as a tool to conduct self-development from another new perspective. Furthermore, this study also investigates the relation between the use of social media in leveraging the public position and its influence in the policy making

process. This topic is also limited in academic writings because usually, public involvement emerges in environmental issues or as a part of political discourse.

In the following section, I present some research driving this study, specifically the topic of social media and social movements, and also a highlight of international R&Rs, social media, public participation and the shift in Indonesian education policy making.

1.3.1 Social Media, Public Participation, and Social Movements

One of the interesting discourses pursued by this research is the power of social media in forcing a social movement that leads to a shift in the policy making process. This condition is an uncommon social-political phenomenon, making it a thought-provoking aspect to be analyzed further. A good example of how powerful social media is in driving a social movement is the oppositional movements in Egypt from 2004 to 2011. In this movement, as Lim (2012) elaborates,

“... the role of social media in Egypt revolt was not merely technological but also sociopolitical. Social media represent tools and spaces in which various communication networks that make social movement emerge, connect, collapse, and expand.” (Lim, 2012:234)

Regarding the statement, we can see that the utilization of social media in a social movement can be effectively used because it is not only media used to communicate and interact but also an online platform for discussion with limitless participants. Therefore, the escalation of a collective action can be done quickly yet efficiently.

Furthermore, in a collective action, there is another significant function of social media, which is that it can be used as a tool to raise social awareness. A strong consciousness

of the participant to the issues and agenda pursued by a movement can produce a strong commitment to the movement itself. Additionally, it also builds a sense of belonging to a movement that invites them to take part and be a part of the process because “individuals only participate in collective action when they recognize their membership in the relevant collective” (Wright, 2001 cited in Lim, 2012: 234). In other words, as a platform for a social movement, social media invites not only numerous participants quantitatively but also many committed people who know what they fight for to join the movement. Additionally, another factor which makes a social movement successful as a collective movement, such as in the Egypt Revolution or Arab Spring, is a high biographical availability in the middle east. The term “biographical availability” is defined as “the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities” (McAdam, 1986:70). Therefore the majority of the participants of the movement compose the youth of society, who are also the most active users of the social media networks. The high spirit of the young people and the mobilization made via the social media, which is considered as an important part of their daily life, makes the force behind these movements strong.

A similar movement also took place in Guatemala in 2009 where people undertook a justice movement for the murder of Rodrigo Rosenberg, forcing President Alvaro Colom to resign because of his suspected involvement in the killing. When the collective action took place, the penetration rate in Guatemala was just 1.64% of the population (Del Castillo, 2009). Nevertheless, Facebook became a tool to gather and raise an online justice movement called *Tsunami Blanco* by the press because the

participants of the movement wore white T-shirts in the protest (Harlow, 2010:2). This fact shows that even though the number of active users is low, social media still possess a great potency of power as a tool for social movements. Comparatively, in Indonesia in 2015 the penetration rate of its active Internet users was 34% (88.1 million), and 79.8 million of those were also active social media users (id.techinasia.com). Therefore, its potency to initiate an online social movement that worked offline was even bigger.

Also, as the internet plays a major role in society nowadays, the change does not only occur in the way people connect and relate but also in the way they express their ideas or speak their minds. As a consequence, the online-based public participation usually takes place and becomes a new phenomenon in democratic life. The participation itself is the expectation that “citizens have a voice in policy choices” (Bishop and Davis, 2002:14). Regarding this goal, in the social media era, the e-public participation becomes a more efficient channel to make their voices count in the e-democracy. Therefore, in this study, we can also analyze how social media facilitates the voices of the public in the education policy making process in Indonesia.

However, despite numerous writings about social media and social movements, the academic study of the effect of how social media can drive a change in the education policy making process as pursued by this research, is still limited. The issues of social media and public participation discourse mainly relate to environmental topics or natural resource preservation, such as in Smith and McDonough (2001), Few et al. (2005), Rydin and Pennington (2000), Reed (2008), Werts et al. (2012), Newman et al. (2012). Therefore, this research about the utilization of social media, online

movements, and e-public participation in education policy making could provide a different perspective to the discussion.

1.3.2 R&Rs, Online Movement and the Shift in Education Policy Making in Indonesia

Up to the late 2000s, the topic of R&R was not viewed as an important issue, especially in education policy in Indonesia, although the consciousness of globalization has been commonly discussed since the 1990s. It is quite challenging to find academic writings or news articles pertaining to this issue, and the people are not well informed and pay little attention to it. In contrast to Indonesia's participation in some international competitions, tests or surveys, there were almost no significant policies made based on the R&R results. However, since social media took its place in the society, every single thing is discussed as a personal matter, including the R&Rs. In Indonesia for example, following the publication of the PISA survey result in 2013, some writings and articles were discussing the irony of Indonesia in the test. Written by the former activists and experts in education in Indonesia, these issues were shared massively by people via Facebook, Twitter, and blogs, leading to a serious discussion and later contributing to the establishment of the Curriculum of 2013.

One representative article discussing this topic was published in 2013 by Global Indonesian Voices (<http://www.globalindonesianvoices.com>) contrasting the fact that despite being the happiest, the students of Indonesia were ranked poorly in the PISA Test. In the article, Iwan Pranoto, a professor of Bandung Institute of Technology, said

that the result confirms that the students are not acquiring practical education. In another article, Pranoto (2013) describes the reason that makes students score badly is the Indonesia education system, which is still focused on rote learning while the problems asked in the PISA test require the higher skills of reasoning and comprehension. Also, there is another provoking article which is shared and discussed widely by social media users, written by Elizabeth Pisani, entitled “Indonesia Kids Don’t Know How Stupid They Are.” This article has been shared 783 times via Twitter and received more than 200 comments. This article has awakened the public of Indonesia, especially the active social media users, about the actual condition as well as revealed the problems in their education system where the students, who are so happy in school, do not realize how bad their system is. As the discussion of the disappointment of the current condition of the Indonesian education sector became viral; finally, after the fifth instance of Indonesia’s participation in the PISA survey, the online public utterance drove the government to take offline action. Additionally, this “online movement” is a remarkable breakthrough in education policy making in Indonesia. The effort made by the activists in inviting a larger participation of the public to criticize the education policies had not only revealed the weaknesses of the decisions and educational system, but also opened wider access for the public to influence the policy making process finally.

1.4 Intention of the Study and Contribution to the Literature

International R&Rs have been an interesting topic for many researchers, especially related to education policy as their assessment plays a significant role in perceiving

different nations' struggle to survive in a more borderless society. While at the same time the increase of public participation, which is supported by the vast innovation in the way the society communicates and the booming of social media recently, has changed the policy making process in many countries. In Indonesia, these two issues are intertwined and create a new breakthrough to force an improvement in the education sector by the policy makers as well as activate the role of the public as the subject of policy.

Empirically, for this reason, the output of this research will offer a new perspective on the issue. The use of social media networks in the online movement to directly influence the education policy making process will be analyzed with interdisciplinary approaches. While theoretically, this research will contribute to modernizing the social theory, especially the theory related to the online social movement in the education policy making process.

This research is also a contribution to the society, especially in raising the effective public involvement in education policy making process because the responsibility of education improvement rests not only with the government or particular bodies but also in the hands of the society.

Finally, as a part of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, I expect that the result of this study could provide good academic insight for the institution to improve its policy making process and create a better quality of education for a better quality of human resources.

1.5 Structure of Study

In elaborating the research process, this thesis is organized into the following chapters. *Chapter 1* of the thesis provides information about Indonesia as the object of the research, particularly in the education sector and the dynamics of its policy making process. In this chapter, there is also an introduction to the main topic of this research as well an elaboration on the research problems, questions, and design.

In *chapter 2*, I will describe more the education policy making process in Indonesia. This description is developed by comparing the conditions before the social media era and after it. The timing of the policy making analyzed in the study is limited from 1999 to 2014 because the significant change in Indonesian education took place in this period. Also, in this section, I describe further the correlation between social media and the shift in the education policy making process in Indonesia.

Chapter 3 contains a theoretical framework in which I elaborate the applied theories in this research. The public participation, collective identity, resource mobilization, and political opportunity structure will be the key concepts in analyzing education policy making process in Indonesia and the phenomena which took place in it. To support a more comprehensive study, I also apply some supporting theories, which are relative deprivation, rational actor theory, and advocacy 2.0.

Then, in *Chapter 4*, the more detailed explanation about the design of this research will be elaborated. The qualitative approach and the techniques used in conducting this study will be described as a preface to the empirical analysis in *Chapter 5* and *Chapter 6*.

Then, in *Chapter 7*, there is a discussion on the empirical findings of the research.

Finally, *Chapter 8* elaborates the conclusions of the study and the future research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework on Online Social Movement and the Shift of Indonesian Education Policy Making Process

Research on how people collectively come into an action has become an attractive topic for decades, as elaborated earlier by Kornhauser (1959), Smelser (1962), Gurr (1970), Olson (1965), or Blumer (1969). In the industrialization era scholars identified economic and materialistic reasons as the main driving motive for collective action. Different from previous research, the new social movement theory as explained by Scott (1990), Buechler (1995), Castell (2004), or Kendall (2005) highlight other issues which may invite people to come together for collective action, such as human rights, natural preservation, or even education. These efforts to study this social phenomenon with interdisciplinary approaches have developed further, shaping both the understanding and explanatory views of academics. As the information communication technologies (ICT) play an important part in our society nowadays, they have resulted in many changes in social life, including the way people enact collective action marked by an increase of online social movements. The Tunisian Revolution or the Arab Spring in the late 2000s are two examples of current social movements utilizing Internet-based networks to mobilize people as explained by (Eltantawy and Wiest (2011), Downing (2008), Castells (2015), Rahaghi, (2012)).

However, the majority of research usually focuses more on a political movement or reformation in what Duvyendak and Giugni (1995) call “high profile policy domains,” such as democratization, national security, or energy. These topics are classified under

such categories regarding the level of impact on the sustainability of the policymakers' power within the society. Conversely, in this study, I will pay attention to the relation between the internet-based social movement and the change in Indonesian education policy. The new social movement and the online movement theory can be appropriate approaches in analyzing the relation between social media, social movements, and the leverage of public position in the decision making process.

Additionally, regarding numerous explanations on social movement, to investigate the phenomena in Indonesia as well as answer the research questions I will only focus on the concept of public participation and the emergence of the online movement. Regarding the second focus of study, in this research, I emphasize more the research on the three components of a movement, namely organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunities (Meyer, 2004). Also, in studying how and why the three elements of social movement emerge and drive change within society, I will apply four main concepts; public participation, collective identity, resources mobilization theory, and political opportunity structure. Additionally, there are also some supporting theories used in this study, which are relative deprivation, rational actor theory, and advocacy 2.0. The application of these supporting theories is aimed to gain a better understanding of the possible factors initiating the collective identity, resource mobilization, and improved political opportunity structure in a social movement.

I argue that both the main and supporting theories can provide proper perspectives in analyzing the online social movement in Indonesia. Moreover, they can help the development of a logical framework for the main focus of the current research, which is the online movement and the shift of public position in the basic and secondary

education policy making process based on the decision makers and direct stakeholders' standpoint.

2.1 Public Participation

In the spirit of democratization, one of the indicators applied in measuring a nation's achievement in practicing democracy is the level of public participation. Bishop and Davis (2002:14) define participation as "the expectation that citizens have a voice in policy choices." Moreover, as the ICTs developed, the accessibility to the information improved and the need for more transparent governance become a challenge for the current politicians. The practice of direct democracy in most of the countries nowadays had leveraged the public position in the policy making due to the *democratic deficit* caused by the diminishing of public trust to the government institutions as well as the political process. Furthermore, "participation becomes an attractive strategy not just for policy improvement, but for drawing disaffected citizens back to the political mainstream" (ibid: 15). For this reason, most of the democratic nations pay attention in developing a more conducive governance which encourages the public to involve themselves more actively in the decision making process.

In the involvement of the public in decision making, as recommended by the OECD, the public institutions identify the potency of the people and give an autonomous opportunity for them "to discuss and generate policy options which will be taken into account in a final decision" (PUMA Policy Brief No.10, 2001:3). Practically, the OECD (2001 cited in Kingston, 2007: 139) classifies five types of public participation in policy making, which are:

-
- 1) *Information and transaction* – the government informs citizens (one-way process);
 - 2) *Consultation* – the government consults with citizens (citizen's responses predetermined by government via multiple-choice, closed-question options);
 - 3) *Deliberative involvement* – the government engages citizens in a consultation process (citizens encouraged to deliberate over issues before final response);
 - 4) *Government-led active participation* – the government instigates consultation and retains decision-making powers;
 - 5) *Citizen-led active participation* – citizens are actively engaged in the decision-making processes, alongside the government; citizen decisions become binding; citizens share ownership and responsibility for outcomes.

Another interesting aspect of public participation lies in how it shifts from the conventional to the authentic model of involvement. Furthermore, the public nowadays yearns for more collaborative participation. Previously, in conventional participation as King et al. (1998:320) elaborates, “the administrative structures and processes are the politically and socially constructed frameworks within which the administrator must operate.” Consequently, the administrator holds a full authority in the policy making and place the public at the periphery of the whole process. “Citizen participation is more symbolic than real” (Arnstein, 1969 cited in King et al., 1998: 320). As a result, the public tends to display a reactive and judgmental reaction to the decisions established. In the following figure, King et al. (1998) try to describe the conditions of conventional participation.



Figure 2. The Context of Conventional Participation

Source: (King et al., 1998:320)

In the figure, we can see that the citizens are placed within the outermost level of the policy making process. Meanwhile the administrators, consisting of the government officials and other related decision makers, play an agentive role in bridging the citizens and the administrative system or processes. However, in practice, "administrators are territorial and parochial; they resist sharing information and rely on their technical and professional expertise to justify their role in administrative processes" (ibid: 320). Therefore, public participation occurs too late as the decisions usually have already been set up and the accessibility to the process is limited. As a result, the public tends to give a negative reaction when they find that the output of the process is not as they expected. Also, the sense of belonging within the launched policy is weak because the public perspective was absent in the designing process.

As political communication improves and the policy making process evolves, the context of public involvement also changes. The context of the public participation shifts to the authentic model. As King et al. (1998) discuss further,

“Authentic public participation, that is, participation that works for all parties and stimulates interest and investment in both administrators and citizens, requires rethinking the underlying roles of, and relationships between, administrators and citizens (King et al., 1998: 317).

In application and in contrast to the conventional type, in authentic participations the citizens are placed exactly next to the issue, and the administrative systems and processes lay at the farthest position, with the administrator maintaining their role as the bridging actor in the process (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. The Context of Authentic Participation

Source: (King et al., 1998:321)

In this pattern, citizens have a central role which can influence both the process and the result of the decision. Moreover, ideally, as Innes and Booher (2005) explain, “...participation should be seen as a multi-way interaction in which citizens and other players work and talk in formal and informal ways to influence action in the public arena before it is virtually a foregone conclusion” (Innes and Booher, 2005: 429). Consequently, “the administrative structures and processes are defined by the relationships and interactions of citizens and administrators (King et al., 1998: 321). However, this type of decision making may be more time consuming due to the active discussions between the citizens and the administrators in the design process. Nevertheless, the public’s sense of belonging with the policy is stronger. As a result, the possibility of rejection of the policy made by the public is also lower than in the conventional process.

To highlight the two types of public participation proposed by King et al. (1998), the following Table 5 provides the substantial differences between the two contexts.

Table 5. Comparison of Conventional and Authentic Participation

(Source: King et al., 1998:321)

	Conventional Participation	Authentic Participation
Interaction style	Conflictual	Collaborative
Participation is sought	After the agenda is set and decisions are made	Early; before anything is set
Role of administrator	Expert technician/manager	Collaborative technician/governor
Administrative skills needed	Technical; managerial	Technical, interpersonal skills, discourse skills, facilitation skills
Approach toward “other”	Unequal participant	Equal partner
Administrative process	None	Civics, participation skills, discourse skills
Citizens options	Reactive	Proactive or reactive
Citizens output	Buy-in	Design
Administrator output	Decision	Process
Time to decision	Appears shorter and easier but often involves going back and “redoing” based upon citizen reaction	Appears longer and more onerous but usually doesn’t require redoing because citizens have been involved throughout; may take less time to reach decisions than through traditional processes
Decision is made	By administrators/political and/or administrative processes perhaps in consultation with citizens	Emerges as a result of discourse; equal opportunity for all to enter the discourse and to influence the outcomes

In the context of Indonesia, it is interesting to investigate further its practice of public participation. Moreover, as the third largest democratic country after India and the USA, Indonesia has exhibited a remarkable improvement in holding free and fair elections. Furthermore, the social media boom also significantly increased public participation in

politics as reflected in the increase of the number of voters participating in both local and national elections. Regarding the study, it is thought-provoking to find out how the online movement affected the public participation in the country, particularly in the education sector. Expectedly, the result of the current study can show us to what extent the public is involved in the policy making process in Indonesia, specifically, in which category, among the five types made by the OECD as mentioned earlier in this section. Moreover, we can investigate further how far the policy making process in Indonesia has developed. Also, from this study, we can figure out in which category of the two contexts of public participation elaborated by King et al. (1998) Indonesia's public involvement practice is. Regarding the assumption of a shift in the public involvement in the country as proposed in this study, through this research, I would also like to find out how social media influences the change.

2.2 Collective Identity (CI)

As a component of a social movement, organizational consciousness is a significant aspect of building and maintenance. The people who unite together in an organization or a movement have to understand and believe in the pursued objectives. Otherwise, they will never achieve their goals. As Tilly (1978: 62-63) elaborates, groups sharing strong, distinctive identities and dense interpersonal networks exclusive to team members are highly organized and hence readily mobilized. Consequently, one of the first efforts in any movement is to build a collective identity among the participants. Among various meanings of collective identity (CI), in this project I prefer to use the

definition proposed by Polletta and Jasper (2001) defining CI as an “individual cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution” (Poletta and Jasper, 2001:285). In other words, a CI is an output of the connectedness of a large group of people holding a mutual understanding and shared values in perceiving particular issue(s) taking place in the society. For example, a group of animal lovers against animal testing or environmental activists protesting deforestation. Furthermore, discussing how CI matters to social movements, they state,

“we may engage in moral protest to develop [the] kind of self we want; that what is considered a good strategy is often based on what groups, it is symbolically associated with, and that movement promote new identities as a way to gain power as well as transform selves” (Polleta and Jasper, 2001: 298-9).

In this case, the participants of a movement believe that the driving force possessed by the individuals joining a protest movement will be the fuel empowering the collective action in the pursuit of both personal and collective goals.

However, people usually have a problem with distinguishing interpersonal identities from CI because some may even think they are interchangeable in meaning. Both interpersonal and CI are social extensions of the self but differ in whether the social connections are personalized bonds of attachment or impersonal bonds derived from common identification with some symbolic group or social category (Brewer and Gardner, 1996:83). Based on this distinction, the collective social identities do not require personal relationships among the group members (ibid, p.84). That is why a

social movement via social media is possible, regardless of the fact that the absence of socio-psychological relation may prove more vulnerable.

Moreover, for years, sociologists of social movements have also been attracted to CI as a response to grasp dominant resource mobilization and political process models (Polleta and Jasper, 2001:283). They believe that the CI can answer four kinds of questions: why collective actors come into being when they do, what are people's motivations to act, what is a movement's strategic choices, and what is the cultural effect of a social movement (ibid: 284). Regarding the project, these four questions could be a relevant point of entrance in analyzing the phenomena of the online social movement in Indonesia, as well as identifying the reasons and effectiveness of utilizing social media in the movement, particularly in regards to building the CI.

Another interesting aspect related to the CI, especially in social psychological perspective, is that *identity* itself is something substantial in the raising of strong commitment, particularly in a movement, as identities are the shared social meanings that persons attribute to themselves in a role (Burke and Reitzes, 1991: 242). Therefore, in the context of organizational consciousness, the role of the *entrepreneur*, or the leader of a movement is central, mainly in ensuring the individuals who want to take part in a movement about the significances of their role as a *self* in a collective action. In the entrepreneurial model, Berry (1977: 20-22) states that the majority of movements are formed by an energetic entrepreneur acting without significant increases in grievances. In other words, the key of a successful movement is the entrepreneurship of a particular actor(s) in a movement regardless of the tools or issues used in inviting people to join the action. Therefore, related to the online social movement, it is quite challenging to

investigate who the real *entrepreneur* of the movement is. At the same time, we can also figure out the role of the established organizations in the education sector within the action. The strong leadership and entrepreneurship will significantly contribute to the strengthening of organizational movement. Also, movements with strong supportive social movement organizations are more influential in shaping legislation and policy making (King, 2007:13).

Additionally, another aspect which is essential in a movement is the strong commitment of the *contenders*. Possibly, this is one of the biggest obstacles to online social movements because in traditional movements the participants usually have face-to-face meetings which result in a greater degree of personal familiarity. However, theoretically, commitment occurs as individuals strive to preserve a congruity between their identity and the identity implications of interactions with others (reflected appraisals) (Burke and Reitzes, 1991: 243). Therefore, the person who finds a similarity between their ideology and interests with others in a particular setting or a movement will commit to pursuing the collective goals. In other words, the absence of direct meeting or face-to-face communication probably will not be a significant obstacle in raising engagement in a movement as long as the *entrepreneur* of the movement can optimize the usage of social media to provide information which can develop a collective understanding of the movement's ideas and goals.

In the context of Indonesia, this perspective can be a good starting point to see how the utilization of social media in collective action by the entrepreneur or the leader affects the individuals' collective consciousness as well as strengthens their commitment to support the movement, despite minimal in-person contact. As social media provides

room for the members to discuss, communicate, or share their ideas and thoughts, the leading actor in the movement can rally these voices to raise the fighting spirit of the members as well as to mobilize them. Therefore, in this study I will not only identify the entrepreneur of the online movement in the education sector in Indonesia but also investigate how and why they utilized social media as a platform for collective action.

Moreover, the role, as well as the relation between the members of a movement or an organization, is not only in a personal context, but it is also closely connected to the organizational image. “When a person’s self-concept contains the same attributes as those in the perceived organizational identity, the cognitive connection constructed becomes the organizational identification” (Dutton et al., 1994: 239). This organizational identification is essential for both the sustainability of a movement and the individual’s image making process. “For organizational membership can offer positive attributes on its members, and people may feel proud to belong to an organization, or in this context, a movement that is believed to have socially valued characteristic” (ibid: 240). The concept is relevant, particularly in the social media era, where people love to be noticed by others by sharing their activities or ideas on the sites. That is why analyzing how and why the individuals, as well as the activists who take part in the online social movement in Indonesia, will be another added value to this project. However, in this study I will develop the research more on the perspectives of the policy makers and the pre-existing activists in education. Therefore, the output will provide enriching perceptions of the organizational image and organizational identification from both the actor as well as the decision makers, which is the “target” of the collective action.

Regarding the social movement in Indonesia, in the context of a collective identity-making process, I will apply the concept of relative deprivation as an entry point to answer the four issues proposed by Polleta and Jasper (2001:284) as elaborated earlier in this chapter, which are: why collective actors come into being when they do, what are people's motivations to act, what is a movement's strategic choices, and what is the cultural effect of a social movement. From this perspective, we can investigate further the actual driving force of the participant of a collective action. Furthermore, we can also find out how significant the deprived feeling is in moving people to join a protest movement. This theory can also explain how the entrepreneur of the online social movement utilizes the shared grievances of the Indonesians, especially in their education system, to create a shared identity and raise the online movement.

2.2.1 Relative Deprivation (RD)

In numerous social movements taking place worldwide, the relative deprivation theory (RD) is one of the most prominent concepts applied to explain the emergence of a movement, itself. The relative deprivation occurs when there is discontent because of unexpected conditions within society. Also, RD is considered to be the central variable in the explanation of social movements and is used to explain the quest for social change that inspires social movements (Flynn, 2009:100). In other work, Morrison (1971, cited in Flynn 2009:100) also states that social movements emerge from shared feelings of relative deprivation. Moreover, some scholars think that grievance, which later can be one of the reasons that drive an RD within a society, is still needed in the formation of

a movement. Since, when aggrieved groups or movement entrepreneurs perceive a change, particularly in the policy area, they are likely to try to mobilize activism (Krahn and Harrison, 1992:193). Additionally, related to the collective identity outlined in the following figure, Simon and Klandermans (2001:324) explain that awareness of shared grievances, adversarial attribution to blame opponents, and the involvement of society by triangulation are the three critical ingredients of the process of politicization of collective identity (see Figure 4).

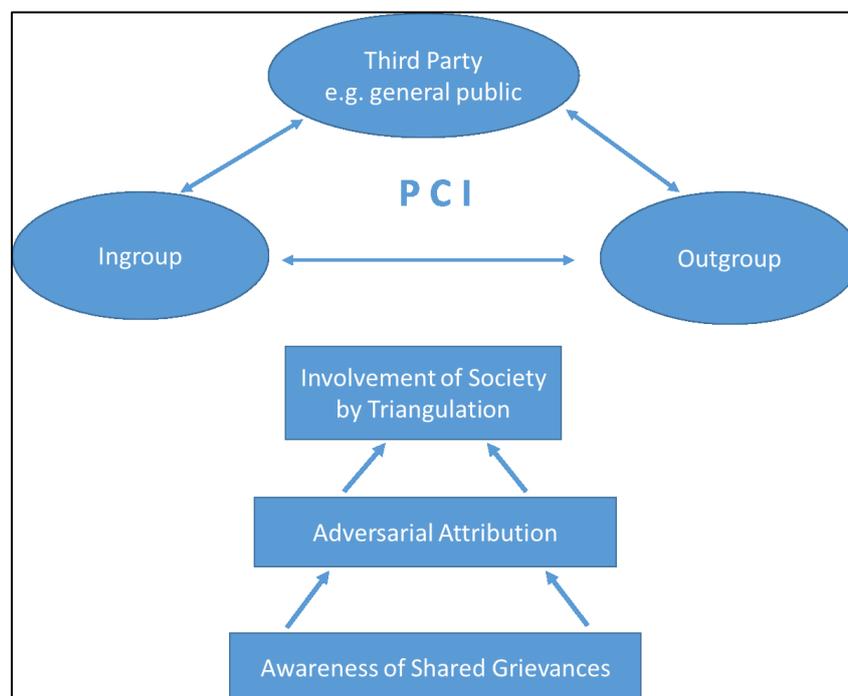


Figure 4. Model of Politicized Collective Identity (PCI)

Source: Simon and Klandermans (2001:324)

Based on these arguments, we can see that the role of RD in a social movement is essential. Consequently, people come into a collective action to end the problem causing the deprived feeling within the society. Therefore, in this study, I will pay more attention to the relative deprivation which drives the social movement in Indonesia.

Before the social movement took place in Indonesia, the education policy making process allowed for limited or even closed opportunities for public participation and positioned the society merely as an object of policies. Moreover, all mass media was fully controlled by the tyrannical regime. This condition caused grievances within the public because they realized there were problems in the education system, but there was no channel to express their disappointment. Considering this pre-condition, theoretically, the RD emerged, and a social movement could then happen at any time. Also, Simon and Klandermans (2001:324) elaborate further, “the feelings of illegitimate inequality or injustice typically outcome when social comparison reveals that one’s in-group is worse off than relevant out-groups.” In fact, this is what happened in Indonesia after the announcement of the PISA survey in 2013, revealing the truth that its education system had failed to improve the quality of human resources and their competitiveness level in International competition. The condition was in line with the central premises of RD theory, which states that individuals or groups will feel deprived when their current circumstances are negative compared to the situations of others (Krahn and Harrison, 1992:192-3).

Regarding this situation, by applying the RD concept, we can figure out the role of relative deprivation, and its significance in the social movement, particularly in the view of the actors, or in this study the policy makers and internal stakeholders in education. Through the study, we can also analyze further how the educational issues evoked the shared feelings which drove the public into a collective action via social media. Therefore, we can also analyze how the in-group and out-group were established as well as their interaction during the movement.

2.2.2 *Organizational Consciousness*

In establishing a social movement, an entrepreneur will try to build a CI to invite more people who share a similar ideology or vision to join the struggle. Therefore, the first entrance which is commonly applied is intensively sharing discourses on the topic relating to the existing grievances of the society. This strategy is an entrance which later helps the entrepreneur to adapt the RD into an establishment of in-group identity and encourage more committed people to come into the movement. The initial process also creates a solidarity which Hunt and Benford (2004:439) define as “the ability of actors to recognize others, and to be recognized, as belonging to the same social unit.”

Another aspect of collective identity is “the making of emotional investments, which enable individuals to recognize themselves” (Melluci, 1988:343). If people have the ability to identify themselves in a movement, they tend to have more commitment to act, lending them more power to pursue their collective goals. Following these arguments, the first hypothesis of the research can be derived:

H I: Organizational consciousness hypothesis

The greater the social consciousness produced by driving public dissatisfaction in the education sector via the social media, the greater the number of participants and the stronger the force behind the social movement for educational policy change in Indonesia.

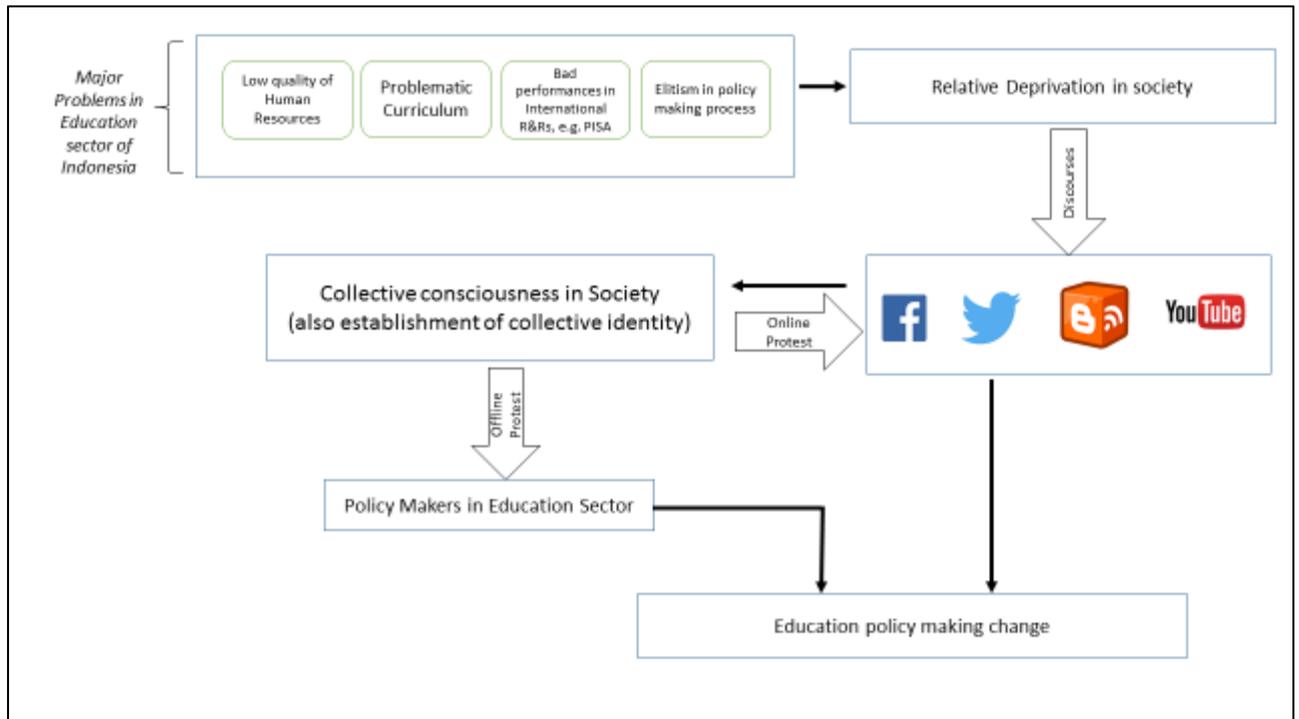


Illustration 2-1: Organizational Consciousness Hypothesis (own data)

In the context of the Indonesian online social movement, the pre-existing activists and organizations are possibly the entrepreneurs who initiated a discussion on the problems in Indonesia's education system. They knew very well the pre-conditions of the society's discontent with the policy making process and its outputs. They utilized the chance to establish a shared identity among a group of people who wanted to reform the policy process, forcing decision makers to make improvements in the curriculum. The era of social media provided them an effective and efficient way to recruit more people as well as to build their commitment to continuous discourse concerning the educational condition in Indonesia. They shared articles or uploaded related news onto Facebook, Twitter, various blogs, and other social media applications to strengthen their social force. Then, the people joining the movement conducted both online and offline

protests to further pressure policymakers so that finally a reformation in the education policy making process took place in Indonesia. Regarding the H1 about the organizational consciousness, it is presumed that the online movement raised by the pre-existing activists via the social media escalates the public awareness of the issues in the education sector indicated by the number of clicks, comments, and shares of the related articles they posted. Also, the assumption of *the greater number of participants* in the hypothesis refers to the more different background of the participants joining the online movement. If previously the protest movement only involved the education activists or experts in the sector in the online-based collective action, with the power of the social media in connecting people, the joining participants can be more varied and open to anyone who concerns with the improvement of the education. Finally, *the strength of the movement* in this hypothesis measured by how far the involvement in the policy making process and how the decision makers react to and follow up the public input on the policy draft.

2.3 Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)

The second core component of a social movement is resources. Thus, the resource mobilization theory always takes a place in any discussion of a social movement. One of the points of view used is the actors' perspective, and how these intellectual figures mobilize the resources required in the struggle. As cited in Crawford's article, McCarthy and Zald (1987) state that "RMT attempts to explain social movements by viewing individuals as rational actors that are engaged in instrumental actions that use

formal organizations to secure resources and foster mobilization” (<https://web.uvic.ca>). In short, there are two main components mobilized in the RMT which are the rational actors and the supporting resources of a movement. From the rational actor theory perspective, people will join a social movement when the benefit of joining the group outweighs the cost to the individual (Crawford, 2005:1). Within this angle, the participants of a social movement, including online social movement, rationally chose to take part in the action because they perceived that it would benefit them.

What the benefit perceived by the actors is can be varied; therefore, it is interesting to examine what drove these people to come together in the first place. Moreover, as social creatures, people naturally tend to group with others who share a similar “self-concept.” Regarding this natural instinct, there are two types of attraction toward a movement according to Brewer and Gardner (1996:86), which are: the *personal attraction* “based on personal identities of the individuals involved and similarity of personal interests, attitudes, and values are the primary basis for this form of liking; and the *social attraction* of which the basis is the preferential liking for in-group over out-group members.” These two attractions are significant in creating a collective identity as the construction of the new identity that extends to a beneficiary group and provides psychological rewards winning the affirmation of such an identity deserves attention as a potentially important concession (Amenta and Young (1999:35).

The second component of an RMT is the mobilization of the required resources to support the movement. As the mobilization is also defined as a process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective actions (Jenkins, 1983), the type of the assets that are frequently mobilized by a movement are diverse.

McCarthy and Zald (1997) state that the mobilized resources in the social movement are money, facilities, labor, and legitimacy. While Tilly (1978) says, the required resources are land, labor, capital, and technical expertise. Another classification made by Freeman (1979) puts the resources into two categories. The first one is the tangible assets, including money, facilities, and means of communication. The second type is intangible resources (also called the human asset), such as organizing and legal skills, or the unspecialized labor of supporters. Although the types of resources vary, we should highlight the significance of the ability in mobilizing those resources since movements with high resource levels are more successful at attaining influence than movements with fewer resources (King, 2007, p. 14).

Regarding the theory, in the perspective of online social movement in Indonesia, there are two aspects which are interesting to study further: the rational actors of the movement and the resources mobilized in the movement. The rational actors, in this case, are not limited to the activists in the movement alone, but also the groups which had been established before and took part in the movement. This consideration is made based on the argument that “the mobilization potential of a group is largely determined by the degree of pre-existing group organization” (Jenkins, 1983:538). Therefore, through this research, we could find out how mobilization was conducted both before and after the social media era as well as the type of resources which were mobilized by these actors and groups.

To support this, I will also apply the rational actor theory. I apply this concept for two reasons. First of all, as explained earlier, human resources themselves are one of the intangible resources which play a significant role to both support the movement and

mobilize other required resources for the movement. Secondly, it is also interesting to find out why and how these people joined a movement, particularly when the actors are not *activists* previously, which may happen in the internet age. For these reasons, analyzing the resource mobilization within the rational actor theory approach will give another perspective in explaining the online social movement in Indonesia.

2.3.1 Rational Actor Theory

Among the many theories discussing the correlation between human beings as actors and social movements, the rational actor theory (RAT) is the primary one. This concept originally derived from an economic theory assuming that human beings will choose the most efficient way to maximize gain. The strengths of this concept lay on individual self-knowledge, the importance of reasoned discourse to resolve political conflicts, the predictive power of self-interest as the passion driving human behavior, and the centrality of human agency (Monroe and Maher, 1995:4-5).

However, in the political context, this concept can then be shifted as an explanation for why people tend to use collective action to attain their goals. As Crawford (2005) states “it does not benefit individuals to work towards the common good because they can free ride and allow someone else to act for them while taking in the benefits.” Furthermore, McCarthy and Zald (1987:1216) say that in the perspective of rational actors, the purpose of social movement organizations is to aggregate resources for collective purposes. Therefore, people engage in collective action to increase the chance of achieving their goals.

Additionally, regarding action, the activists in this point of view are regarded as rational entrepreneurs. For, “they are waiting for signals from the state, and other political actors, as well as the reception, accorded other social movement activists so that they can plot action more or less strategically “(Meyer, 2004:136). The rational actors usually can identify well the appropriate timing for enacting a movement. These actors come together and create an action only when they believe that the group, which is collectively established, has a good chance of winning. This kind of perspective, as I mentioned earlier, was developed by economists upon a similar thought which assumes that the driving spirit of a human being in actively taking part in politics is analogous to the reason behind economic participation. Monroe (1995:6) argues that political actors are rational maximizers for they “trade in votes and policies the way trader[s] sell goods.”

Regarding the topic of this study, the rational actor theory could provide a good point of view for analyzing and identifying the rational actors of online social movement in Indonesia. It also will be an additional perspective useful for seeing how these actors emerge and come together in action. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that this theory, as well as others, have many limitations. Some critics state that seeing a political event with an economic perspective is not appropriate, for in politics there is no such thing as “zero-sum” (Monroe, 1995:7). Additionally, many factors may turn people from the rational model of decision making. Though, as a social-political event, the online social movement in Indonesia has to be analyzed in various ways, including focusing on the actors. We have to analyze the actual driving reasons of the activist as one of the rational actors in the movement. Moreover, considering the possibility of the

policy makers' role in controlling and monitoring the public activities related to the policymaking process, we could also find out the perception of the rational actor of the online action from their standpoint. Hopefully, the result of this study will broaden our perspective of actors in social movements.

2.3.2 Resources

Discussing resources in a social movement is interesting and also challenging because there is no specific classification or definition of the types of the resources, themselves. Every social movement may require different resources from others. Not only the type but the manner in which resources are obtained in a movement can affect both the process and outcome of the collective action.

In the context of this research, I will focus more on the human resource component. The reason for this choice is because of the consideration of a human being's role in a movement. People in any social movement play at least two major roles. They act both as the rational actor driving a movement on one side and also as resources acquired by the collective action on another. Moreover, as a rational actor, they are also the ones who collectively take and control the resources needed for a collective action.

Regarding the online social movement in Indonesia, by combining these two concepts, I argue that we can identify the resources used in the movement as well as analyze the role of the rational actors in it. Another interesting point which will become another additional point to this research is that this point of view will also allow us to study the role of pre-existing activists and organizations in the education sector who are currently in action.

Derived from these perspectives, the second hypothesis of the research can be formulated as follows:

H2: Resources Hypothesis

The better the organization of the resource gathering process regarding the utilization of social media, the more resources gained, hence the more powerful the social movement in forcing a change in education policy making in Indonesia.



Illustration 2-2: Resources Hypothesis (own data)

When the PISA survey result was announced in 2012, the public of Indonesia was shocked by the unexpectedly low marks awarded to Indonesia. The pre-existing activists and organization in the education sector in Indonesia started gaining public

awareness about the actual condition of Indonesian education by utilizing both social and mass media through the sharing of articles, blogs, video or pictures. They optimized the momentum to bring the public to see their arguments and invited the people to take action collectively. The public gave a positive response by making this issue viral, particularly on Facebook and Twitter which also attracted the national television channels, radio and newspapers' attention to it. The protest escalated. The rational actors of the social movements emerged. Later, these rational actors, who consist of both the pre-existing activists and the newly engaged members, use both channels again to gather the needed resources.

Furthermore, in the context of the Indonesian social movement, I have a presumption that the major resources, which the rational actors mobilize, were human resources as supporters, facilities, and a means of communication. I base this argument on the current analysis of the content shared on social media and the related news in mass media during the movement until the launching of the new curriculum in 2013. The movement via social media provided a greater possibility for inviting more people to join the movement, as well as equip themselves with sufficient facilities and channels to shout louder so that they could put greater pressure on policy makers. This massive force later generated the shift in the education policy making process in Indonesia.

2.4 Political Opportunity Structure (POS)

The last fundamental component of a social movement is a political opportunity. Eisinger (1973) as cited in Opp (2009:161-2) lay down three features in defining the political opportunity structure (POS). First of all, variables of the political environment are only called POS if they are related to the goals of individuals. Second, the chances of success, also called objective probabilities, which determine how the factors of the political environment can lead to achieving the groups' goals. Third, the POS has to establish a causal relationship. On the other hand, McAdams (1996) also has four conceptions of political opportunities, which are "increasing popular access to the political system, divisions within the elite, the availability of the elite's allies, and diminishing of state repression" (cited in Meyer, 2004:132).

Furthermore, Krahn and Harrison (1992:204-205) state that there are two aspects which construct a political opportunity structure. The first one is the openness within the government to act on a particular set of issues, or what is introduced by Kingdon (1984) as an "open window." The second is the prospect for political mobilization outside the government. In a high-POS condition, there is a space for the public to supervise the policymakers' performance as well as to give their inputs for improvements. However, in many cases, a protest movement takes place when the political opportunity structure is low. As Meyer (2004:128) explains, the "protest occurs when there is a space of toleration by polity and when claimants are neither sufficiently advantaged to obviate the need to use dramatic means to express their interests nor so completely repressed to prevent them from what they want." In other words, a protest movement is a public reaction generated by their disappointment over their inability to access their needs.

There are four related processes which converged to change the opportunities of popular protest profoundly: “the processes consisted of state-making, economic and demographic change, and contention’s cumulative history interwove to create the preconditions for a new repertoire of popular protest that was large in scale and national in scope” (Kriesi, 2004:67).

Regarding those terms and conditions, Indonesia can be a representative case study for how the political opportunity structure changes and opens a chance for a movement. Indonesia was led by an authoritarian regime for more than 30 years during which the public could neither monitor the government nor have access to speak their minds. Additionally, Indonesia also experiences some conditions which possibly leverage the chance for a movement. First of all, the people have the courage to mobilize on their behalf. The emergence of the Reformation era in Indonesia in the late 1990s has opened a wide door for the public to gather and fight for their shared goals together. The fall of the tyrannical regime opened a wider “window of opportunity” to the public. Additionally, mass media, which had before been tyrannically controlled by the regime, also support this movement. Regarding its role, there is an argument that mass media is another component of political opportunity structure – a component that has both structural and dynamic elements (Gamson and Meyer, 1996). Moreover, this situation is made even more conducive by the booming of social media use within the society in the late 2000s. With such a rise, everyone had the potential to be invited to take part in a movement. Therefore, this study will not only focus on the impact of the social media in the collective action but also analyze the role of mass media in supporting the movement in the education sector in Indonesia.

The next condition which enhances the political opportunity of movement is the increasing political openness and the establishment of alliances within the government. As the euphoria of freedom of speech and expression happen in Indonesia, the new political regime tried to cope with the public demands of creating a more transparent form of governance. Moreover, since many of the leading activists got a strategic position in the government as policymakers, the public finally had better access to influence the policy making process. As mentioned, the availability of elite support is one important aspect of a favorable POS. The idea is similar with the argumentation of Kriesi (2004:71) stating that “the larger the number and power movement allies within the public service, the more accessible it will be and the more likely movement actors will have the possibility to influence the public policy.” In fact, following up the public demand of having a cabinet consisting of professional and qualified Ministries, the Ministry of Education and Culture in the First *Kabinet Kerja* – (literally means Working Cabinet) was composed of former activists as well as initiators of some social programs in education. Therefore, in this research, I could also analyze the significance of the availability of alliance within the bureaucracy in the social movement, particularly in the involvement of the public in the policymaking process.

Talking about the factors which enlarge the political opportunity structure, in this research I will specifically discuss the advocacy 2.0 concept. The new stream in a social movement is also the one which enables the public of Indonesia to make an effective collective action which leads to a shift in the education policy making process. This movement has successfully encouraged the public, who usually took every policy for granted, to take a stand and be brave enough to criticize the inappropriate policies made

by the elite in the government. However, in the context of this research, I will limit the discussion on the perspective of activist and education policymakers.

2.4.1 Advocacy 2.0

The invention of website 2.0 by Darcy DiNucci in 1999 which was later popularized by Tim O'Reilly and Dale Dougherty in 2004, has brought a dramatic change in the way people communicate and interact on the internet. People now can chat, share pictures or videos, and talk to other people in different places at the same time. More than just a channel of socialization and communication, web 2.0 later also become a media of social movement or even a political revolution. This virtual room can empower and connect individuals as well as groups (Obar et al., 2012:15-16). Shirky (2008:20-21) also emphasizes how this technology allows us to be “living in the middle of a remarkable increase in our ability to share, to cooperate with one another and to take collective action, all outside the framework of traditional institutions and organizations.”

At the beginning of the 2000s, as web 2.0 emerged, social media was also born and began to take its place in the daily life of human beings in most of the world. Kaplan and Haenlein (2009:60) define social media as a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content. However, web 2.0 had no significant effect on social movements or political mobilization until the 2010s when the technology of smartphones became widely used within the global community.

Moreover, the intensive research and innovation in the communication industries have produced more economical smartphones which are affordable for almost all people in all levels of the economy. Nowadays people of all ages, races, either living in the urban or rural areas hold their smartphones and get connected via web 2.0 applications.

Consequently, the massive use of web 2.0 has not only shifted the face of today's society but also brought changes in the political life of the global community. The activists or NGOs are now also utilizing the social networking sites in their movements. Advocacy 2.0 has been born. "New avenues of political change via the autonomous capacity to communicate and organize, have been discovered by a young generation of activists, beyond the reach of the usual methods of corporate and political control" (Castells, 2015).

In the implementation stage, web 2.0-based social media can be used to supplement offline activism and promote virtual activism (Petray, 2011:923). Additionally, as suggested by Schwarz (2011:2), the activists should use social networking sites like Facebook or Twitter to supplement traditional social networks and information channels. However, we have also to add a special note, the word *activist* here is not only attributed to those who are actively involved in an (offline) organization. It also applies to those who join the online movement without being formally attached to a particular organization or people who utilize the networking in pursuit of their interests or goals, both individually or collectively.

In Indonesia, social activism or online social movement was initiated in the middle of 2009. At that time, the Commission of Corruption Eradication (Komisi Pemberantasan

Korupsi (KPK) in Bahasa Indonesia) was having a systematized movement by the Police Department of the Republic of Indonesia, the Supreme Court and some Legislative members which aimed to limit its power as well as its efficacy in fighting corruption. This condition aroused public anger because the bodies which should have supported corruption eradication were going in the opposite direction. The great grievance of the Indonesian public with the social and political condition made this social movement easy to trigger. Moreover, at the same time, the number of smartphones, as well as social media users in the country, were high. The movement, which was sustainably mobilized by the activist via social media, had a great impact on the society. In short, the public and KPK finally won the battle, and the opponents discontinued their actions to weaken KPK.

This phenomena of a people's victory was about more than just saving KPK. It was also a celebration of the re-establishment of people's power. The public had finally found a channel to intervene in the authority's decisions directly. Besides, we must also not forget the role of mass media in echoing the online movement, including the Indonesian public movement to support KPK. As Castells (2015) states, there is a symbiotic relationship between online activists and mass media in the online social movement era. As the number of online movement activists are usually concentrated in the major cities with adequate infrastructures, mass media can help them in extending the movement by gaining the attention of those who have neither smartphone nor internet access to support and join them. In return, the mass media will have more viewers and users, meaning a better rating for them.

Since the number of active users in social media is getting higher in Indonesia as time goes on, the online social movement has now become a trend within the society for use whenever they find problems or are dissatisfied with policies. In education, the movement for better quality was even more massively conducted. Among all the criticism, discourses, and debates in the education sector, the establishment of the latest curriculum in education was the biggest achievement of the public. Since, for the first time, the government designed an educational policy which included the public's inputs within the formulation. However, there were voices of objection raised from the public and also the education stakeholders due to many problems in the latest curriculum, of which the output was not as they expected. Finally, the implementation of curriculum 2013 was postponed by the Ministry of Education and Culture and is still in the revision process, in which all of the education stakeholders, are also involved.

Additionally, regarding the online social movement in the Indonesian education sector as elaborated previously, the use of advocacy 2.0 in this research will provide a useful point of view in discussing how the social media is utilized by online activists. Furthermore, it will also be interesting to analyze the relationship between online activism and mass media in Indonesia, particularly to find out their degree of interaction and how they benefit each other.

2.4.2 Political Opportunity

In all social movements, the political opportunity is the most critical point which affects the chances of winning or losing, as most of the factors which create and enhance the

political opportunity are established from outside of the organization or movement itself. Nevertheless, in the internet era, the increase of political opportunity is something that can be obtained from the inside of the collective action by creating or optimizing political events. There are some conditions possibly becoming driving reasons for a movement in society, such as the establishment of a problematic policy or a revealed scandal of a leader in a country like what happened in some movements.

Taking a look back at the Tunisian political revolution which ended the dictatorship of Ben Ali in 2011, we have an example of how social media affects political opportunity nowadays. Social media becomes a societal weapon by which people can collectively move and optimize a political incident in order to get back their power, speak their voices, and fight their goals. This revolution, as well as Iceland's kitchenware revolution in 2009, triggered other social or political movements in other places, such as the Egyptian revolution in 2011 and the Aboriginal's protest 2.0 in Australia. Today, it is somewhat common to find a social movement which is mobilized via social media, particularly in developing countries, in which the political and social life is not as stable as in most developed ones.

Castells (2015) states that the role of the internet goes beyond instrumentality. It creates the conditions for a form of shared practice that allows a movement to survive, deliberate, coordinate, and expand. Additionally, the birth of advocacy 2.0 and online activism also established a bigger political opportunity because there is less chance for the policy makers to ignore the public's opinion in their work. Even under a tyrannical regime which limits the internet access or blocks some social media applications to

control the people, a social movement can still take place. In line with these opinions, the third hypothesis of this research is articulated as follows:

H3: Political Opportunity Hypothesis

The better the utilization of social media in the Indonesian online movement, the bigger the political opportunity, thus the bigger the chance for the public to directly contribute to the improvement of the education policy making process.

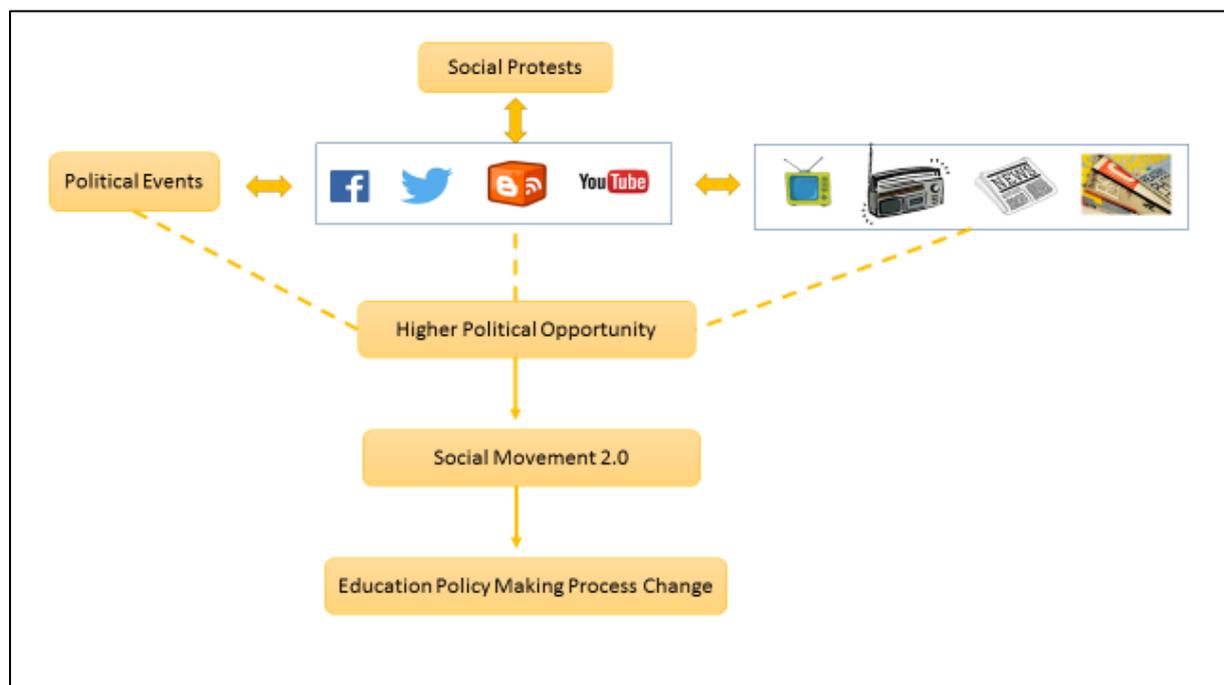


Illustration 2-3: Political Opportunity Hypothesis (own data)

The social movement aiming to reform the education sector of Indonesia has been run for a long time by pre-existing activists and organizations. However, this form of social protest brought almost no significant impact on either the policy makers as the objects

of movement or the society whom they represented. However, as the entrepreneurs, they always try to find the best time to act. Therefore, as the opportunity arose in 2012, they began a new concept of collective action to seize the moment by using social media applications in spreading their missions. They were also successful in attracting the attention of mass media. Additionally, the combination of momentous political events, online movements, and mass media support leveraged the political opportunity and built a better channel to intervene in the policy making process.

2.5 Summary

Concerning the need to see the phenomena of social movement in Indonesian education sector from various perspectives, I will use various concepts to analyze and organize every piece of data found in the studying process. Every concept in this study will build upon the theoretical framework as described in illustration 2-4.

As the main theories, collective identity (CI), resources mobilization theory (RMT), and political opportunity structures (POS) will be applied in investigating the three components of social movement, the concept of collective identity will help in understanding how the organizational consciousness is built and maintained. Meanwhile, the resources mobilization theory will be applied in studying how online activists mobilize the required resources which support their movement. By analyzing the phenomena with this concept, we can also identify the type, form, or classification of resources which are essential for a collective action in the perspective of the movement actors. Then, the political opportunity structure theory can be utilized to see

how the political opportunity takes place. We can also find out the possibility of the emerging opportunity as a situation created by the pre-existing groups or actors.

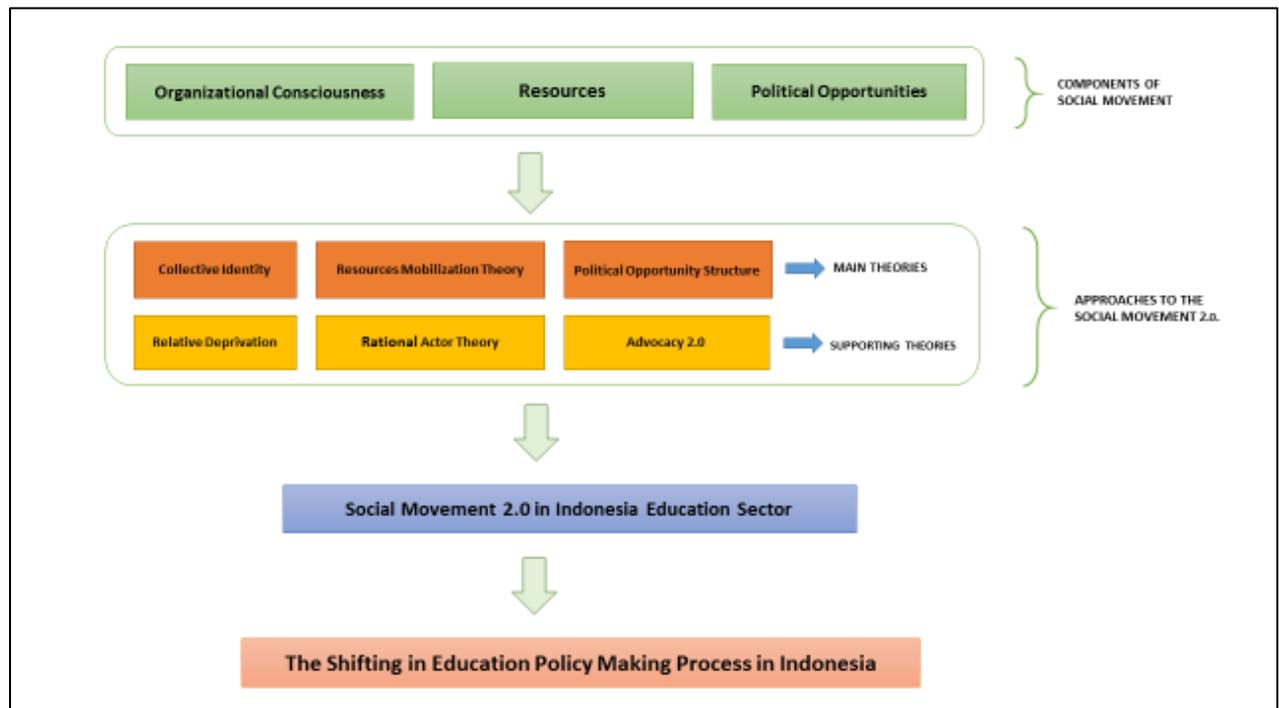


Illustration 2-4. Theoretical Framework on Online social movement and the Shift of Indonesian Education Policy Making Process (own data)

Furthermore, to break down the main theories into a more specific aspect of research, I also use some additional supporting theories to make a further investigation of the three components, developed through the perspective of the movement actors. The relative deprivation (RD) can be one of the relevant concepts to see how the organizational consciousness is awakened. A shared feeling of deprivation within a society could be a high potential reason of a movement to take place. In the context of Indonesia, which experienced living under a tyrannical regime for an extended period, this kind of

potency can exist and become a reason for the people to come and join a movement. Also, the rational actor theory can help us to explain how these actors come together in a collective action. This concept can also be used in defining the actors of the movement itself because, as in other movements, the role of actors is essential. Finally, advocacy 2.0 will complete the theoretical framework in studying the shift in the Indonesian education policy making process. The growth in the number of social media users and improvements in providing internet access has become the core assumption of the rise of the online social movement in Indonesia. This condition opens a broader opportunity for the public to take part and become significant in the policy making process. Also, the role of mass media and their interaction with social media users in the social movement will also be analyzed within the conceptual framework of this theory.

To conclude, the application of both main and supporting theories in the current study will allow me to analyze this topic from various angles. Regarding the vast horizon of the research topic, they will also help in presenting another distinctive description of online social movement in Indonesia as well as to find out the answer to the research problems in multidisciplinary perspectives.

Chapter 3

Designing Research on Online Social Movement and the Shift of Indonesian Education Policy Making Process

Research concerning how an online-based social movement can result in a shift in an education policy making process currently is still limited in quantity. Therefore, through this chapter, I try to formulate a research design which can be applied in investigating the online social movement and the shift of the education policy making process with some related approaches.

Regarding the theoretical framework, I explain the operationalization of variables by identifying the most significant aspects or elements of each theory as a means of guidance in developing the questions for the interview as well as the category used in the required data selection. Therefore, to specify the focus of this research, I will further elaborate the case selection and research period. Additionally, there are also explanations about the technique of expert interview and document analysis applied in this study.

3.1 Operationalization of Variables

In this part, I will develop measurement instruments to analyze the shift in the education policy making process in Indonesia as the dependent variable of the study. First of all, I elaborate the concept of public participation as the central focus of the study. Then, there are lists of the substantial aspects of the three components of social movement,

which are organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunity as the independent variables based on the theoretical framework.

3.1.1 Public Participation

The World Bank (1996: xi) defines *participation* as “a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources that affect them.” Furthermore, another study stated, “the overall objective of active citizenship is to enable people to achieve a multitude of benefits by becoming more actively engaged in their communities with the aim of improving local services and the fabric of their area” (Kingston: 2007:139). Related to the explanations, in the context of the research, the rise in *public participation* is a collective action directly involved in the education policy making process. Moreover, the better openness and the spirit of democratization in Indonesia supported by the internet era has leveraged the public position that makes the people’s opinions significantly counted by the decision makers.

Therefore, the central issue analyzed in the study is the e-public participation of the education stakeholders in Indonesia via social media applications. Additionally, this research will explore the phenomena of e-public involvement from both the policy makers and the direct stakeholder's perspectives. In this case, the direct stakeholder refers to those directly involved in the decision-making process as a representative of the public affected by the change caused by policy, such as academics, teacher’s associations, parliament members, and education activists. For in the formation of policy, it is interesting to find out what Brandley (2009:771) calls *the will to policy* of the decision makers. As a result, expectedly, the study will reveal and explain not only

the struggle of the public to participate in policy making, but also how the government guarantees and facilitates the e-public involvement in the education sector in Indonesia.

3.1.2 *Organizational Consciousness*

The *organizational consciousness* refers to the sense of belonging to an organization or collective action possessed by its members or supporters. It stems from the belief that the institution or movement has a similar goal and ideology. Related to the operationalization of organizational consciousness, specifically in the context of Indonesia, there are two aspects discussed and analyzed in the study, which are collective identity and RD. I argue that these two components engendered the organizational consciousness of the social movement of which the aim was an improvement in the education sector of Indonesia.

Among many definitions of *collective identity*, in this study, based on the initially collected data, I define it as a shared emotional, motivational and social moral connection within a society which enables individuals within it to come together in a movement. This description is derived from the definition elaborated by Poletta and Jasper (2001:285) who describe collective identity as “an individual cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution.” Consequently, in this study, I will further explore and find out the certain emotions, motivations, and social/moral perspectives of both online activists and other educational stakeholders. Expectantly, these three components will lead to a more representative definition of the collective identity of the online social movement within the Indonesian education sector.

Another aspect in studying organizational consciousness is *Relative Deprivation* (RD). In this concept, RD is defined as a sad and depressed feeling causing an unexpected condition which is shared within the society for a long time and continuously escalates, making the situation worse. The RD is believed to be one of the common entrance points in explaining the emergence of a social movement. Historically, the long experience of colonialization and the change in political system from the authoritarian regime under Soeharto to the reformation era possibly resulted in the development of RD in Indonesia. Therefore, in this study I will investigate how the sense of RD emerged and developed in Indonesia and later presumably became a precondition leading to the social movement in the education sector. Furthermore, this concept will also be applied to find out how the online movement entrepreneur uses the RD to evoke public awareness and drive the movement. Furthermore, there is an assumption that the entrepreneur of the online social movement is the pre-existing activist in the education sector in Indonesia, for the articles criticising the schooling system were mostly written by the popular education activists in Indonesia. Additionally, this research also aims to find the relation between the utilization of social media in escalating the feeling of RD and strengthening the collective identity building process within the society.

To guide the development of research tools, in Table 6 I have made a list of foci of study. I argue that by focusing the research on these points, we can find an appropriate explanation of organizational consciousness in the online social movement in Indonesia.

Table 6: Focus of Study in Organizational Consciousness

Source: own data

Aspects of Organizational Consciousness		Focus of study
1	Collective Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Driving force of joining the online social movement in education sector b) Motivation of the participant to act in the perspectives of both online activists and policy makers in education c) Social or moral perspectives of the education system in Indonesia from the standpoint of activists d) The using of social media as a part of strategy applied by the activists in building the collective identity of the participants of the movement
2	Relative Deprivation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Defining the entrepreneur utilizing the shared disappointments of the public on the education issues in the movement 2.0 b) The consideration of the entrepreneur in escalating the public awareness of problems in Indonesian education c) The relation between social media utilizing and the escalating of RD among young generation in Indonesia

3.1.3 Resources

In the context of the current study, *resources* are defined as all kind of assets, materials, and potencies required to support a social movement. In analyzing the resources, there are two basic theories applied which become the references used in the study. The first

concept is *resources mobilization*, in which this study I define as a process of selecting, collecting, and obtaining required resources to support the social movement.

Based on the operationalized concept of resource mobilization, the study will be more focused on two aspects. The first dimension of the research is the *type* of resources needed. I will apply the classification made by Freeman (1979) who puts resources into two categories: tangible and intangible assets. Some example of the tangible assets are money, means of communication, and supporting facilities (e.g. office space or vehicles). On the other hand, the intangible assets are associated with the traits of individuals which can be useful in supporting a movement, such as organizational skill or leadership. However, in an online movement, the resources required for the collective action presumably could be different. Therefore, through this research, we can find out the resources needed in the online social movement from the perspective of the actors.

The second aspect, on which the research is focused, is the *rational actor* which refers to the person who consciously joins and supports a movement because of a similarity in values or ideology and the benefit the collective action offers. By applying the model, this research will investigate further the role of the people involving in the online social movement in Indonesia. The primary assumption used is that the actors of the social movement are both the resources and the mobilizers of the resources. This point will open the chance to find out other possible roles of actors in a social movement, particularly in a collective action raised via social media. Furthermore, the analysis of the actors' role in the movement will also lend additional value in elaborating the resource mobilization process. The standpoint will complete the study so that we will

not only find out the type of the resources but also who the involved actors are and how the mobilization is conducted.

In the following table, there is a list of foci of study in resource analysis. These points are aimed at obtaining a comprehensive explanation of the resource mobilization as a significant process in a social movement.

Table 7: Focus of Study in Resources

Source: own data

Aspects of Resources		Focus of study
1	Resources Mobilization	a) Type of Resources in online social movement in Indonesia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tangible asset (building or facilities) • Intangible asset (skills, leadership) b) Strategy to use the social media in gaining the required resources from the perspective activists
2	Rational Actor	a) The role of preexisting organization in recruiting new rational actor in the movement b) The type of rational actors involving in the collective action c) The role of rational actor as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources • Mobilizer of required resources

3.1.4 *Political Opportunity*

In operationalizing the *political opportunity* concept, I use a definition derived from the POS theory. The term is defined as a condition of political environment enabling a social movement to take place in society. Based on previous studies in this theory, in the context of Indonesia, there are three aspects which become the focus of study (see Table 4-3 below). First is the level of openness of the government. It is interesting to find out how the Reformation era in Indonesia relates to the improvement of the openness of the government, particularly from the perspective of the stakeholders in the education sector involved in the online social movement.

Secondly, the availability of alliances in the ruling regime. The existence of internal supporters could be a key factor in the success of a social movement, particularly in driving a reformation or making a change in the governmental institution or public policy making process. Furthermore, in the Indonesia context, some of the Ministers in the cabinet, particularly the Minister of Education and Culture, formerly were activists. Likely, this is one of the reasons why the online social movement in Indonesia was so successful. Therefore, in the field research, I will also investigate the role of the former activists, particularly in improving the public position in the decision-making practice.

The third focus of the study is the improvement of people's political participation in Indonesia. Considering the current trend in a country where the people are now actively involved in supervising the government and participating in political events, this factor could also be significant in the rise of political opportunity in Indonesia. Related to the public involvement, in analyzing the political opportunity structure of Indonesia, I also

learn about the role of web 2.0 as the basis of the movement. The *advocacy 2.0* conducted by the entrepreneur of the online social movement is defined as the action to empower and facilitate the public's aspiration by utilizing web 2.0-based applications.

There are two focuses of study related to advocacy 2.0 (see also in Table 8). First, the reason behind utilizing application 2.0 in the social movement. Regarding the focus, I will explore the reason, the strength, and the weaknesses of the social media applications in a social movement from the perspectives of the online activists as well as other relevant stakeholders. Then, the second point is the significance of social media in the online social movement in Indonesia. Considering the initial observation of Indonesia nowadays, the huge number of social media users and the political activities on social media are two significant reasons for choosing the focus of study. Through this, expectedly, the study can reveal the relationship between the use of social media and the increase of political opportunity in Indonesia.

Table 8: Focus of Study in Political Opportunity

Source: own data

Aspects of Resources		Focus of study
1	Political Opportunity Structure	a) Level of Indonesian government openness to the public b) The relation of the availability of alliances in the presidential cabinet and the improved public position in policy making process c) The factor causing the rising of people's political participation
2	Advocacy 2.0	a) The consideration of the rational actors in using the social media in online social movement in Indonesia, b) The significance of social media in the increase of political opportunity

3.2 Case Selection of Online Social Movement in Indonesia

This study aimed to analyze the online social movement which forced a shift in the education policy making process in Indonesia. The change in the public's and political institution's relationship driven by the people's online struggle is something interesting to be analyzed further. This phenomenon became a trend in most developing countries which suffer tyrannical regimes and various social problems (see in Lim (2012), Harlow (2012), Howard et.al. (2011), Tufekci and Wilson (2012), Castells (2015)). The people chose fight for a better life by optimizing and seizing a political opportunity to intervene in governance. Unlike the other studies focusing more on political revolution, in the context of Indonesia the web 2.0-based social movement brought a significant change

in the education sector. The success marked by the establishment of the 2013 curriculum, which later also postponed in implementation due to public objection. For this reason, this study will give added value to the discourse of social-political change in the social media era.

Additionally, concerning the time frame, this study will analyze the education policy making process from the first participation of Indonesia in PISA in 2002 to the fifth survey in 2013. This selection was made because there was a significant change in the reaction performed by the policy makers following the result of Indonesia's performance between the first four surveys and after the fifth participation in 2012. Therefore, in selecting documents and other supporting data, one of the categorizations used in the limitation will also refer to this time sequence. Also, regarding the broad scope of the education sector, this study will focus more on the basic and secondary level (from Elementary to Senior High School) which also fits the PISA survey's category of participation. This limitation is made because, under the current ruling President, the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia only conducts the basic and secondary education affairs.

Seawright and Gerring (2008:295) elaborate that the objective of case selection desires "a representative sample and useful variation on the dimensions of theoretical interest." Therefore, there are two driving forces for making the case selections. In pragmatic consideration, the output of this study is aimed to be applicable as an academic insight for the policy makers, specifically in the education sector in Indonesia. The reformative spirit of this country needs to be supported by providing more constructive ideas and discourses. The second reason is to develop another perspective in studying social

movement and education policy within a contemporary social framework of the developing countries.

3.3 Research Period

The current study assesses the shift of the education policy making process in Indonesia which is presumably driven by the online social movement. In analyzing the change, this study focuses on the different reactions of the decision makers to the result between the first four surveys (2000, 2003, 2006, and 2009) and the fifth one in 2012. Despite establishing a national team since 2000 as mentioned earlier in *chapter 1*, there were no policies or actions made by the MoEC of Indonesia to improve the country's ranking from 2000 to 2009. However, in 2013, after the announcement of the survey in 2012, the government launched the 2013 curriculum as a claimed response to the poor performance of the students in the test. Therefore, there will be an analysis of the framing of the curriculum of 2013 as one of the substantial outputs of the collective action.

Furthermore, related to the thesis of the study about the significance of social media in the movement, there will also be an analysis of the social movement strategy applied by the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and activists in the education sector. I will investigate the motivation of the pre-existing activists' decision to use social media in pursuing their agenda and mobilize an online collective action as well as the offline movement. Moreover, I will also find out the perspective of the policy makers on the strategic change made by education activists in Indonesia.

3.4 Methodology and Data Collection

In answering the research questions regarding the phenomena of the shift of the education policy making process driven by an online social movement in Indonesia, this study will be conducted via a qualitative approach. Additionally, the process tracing, expert interview, and document analysis method also applied in collecting and analyzing the required data as well as arranging the puzzle into a good description.

3.4.1 *The Qualitative Method of Process Tracing*

Applying the *qualitative approach* in studying the correlation between an online social movement and the shift of policy making process will give more possibilities to get a comprehensive perspective. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3) elaborate, the method allows a researcher to “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena regarding the meanings people bring to them.” Regarding this explanation, the qualitative research will provide rooms for having a closer position in studying the phenomena and investigate it by involving the people experiencing the movement and changes first hand.

Furthermore, to support the investigation of the shift of education policy making phenomena, the *process tracing* method is the best approach to use. Process tracing is defined as “a cause-effect link that connects independent variable and outcome is unwrapped and divided into smaller steps; then the investigator looks for observable evidence of each step“(Van Evera, 1997:64). Furthermore, Collier (2011:823) also highlight that “process tracing is a systematic examination of diagnostic evidence selected and analyzed in light of research questions and hypotheses posed by the

investigator.” The focus of process tracing is on studying causal mechanisms using in-depth single case studies (Beach, 2012). The causal mechanism is a theory of a system of interlocking parts that transmits causal forces from X to Y (Beach, 2012; Glennan, 1996, 2002; Bunge, 1997, 2004; Bhaskar, 1979). In the context of the current study, the shift of education policy making process is the output of which its causal mechanism becomes the focus to be investigated further.

In the application, the process tracing initiated by gathering some information, particularly articles shared via social media as well as public responses to them via the networks. This process is performed to identify the key actors in the online movement, including their role in the action. From this step, I built the preliminary assumption about the entrepreneurship of the pre-existing activists in the education sector in the online movement. Moreover, from the early analysis on how the government reacted as documented in the electronic media as well as in official accounts, I developed the postulation of the shift of the policy makers’ perception of social media and how they utilize it to improve communication with the public. Additionally, based on the early investigation and supported by the theories applied in this study, I established the focus of study, made the interview protocol, and listed the potential interviewees and required data which were then gathered in the field research.

During the field research in Indonesia, I applied the initial planning, beginning with the interviews. In the field, I also developed the categories of the interviewees based on the inputs and suggestions of the respondents I had already contacted. This strategy led me to some surprising findings related to the early hypotheses as well as to some other data supporting the research. Moreover, by applying the process tracing method in the study,

I was able to learn the causal mechanism linking the actors, information, and data regarding the phenomena in the policy making process in the education sector in Indonesia. I developed the findings to establish a possible pattern relating all the actors in the online movement as well as to identify their significance in the collective action. The output of the process is elaborated further in the empirical analysis chapters, *chapters 5 and 6*.

Regarding the three variants of process tracing as categorized by Beach (2012), this study is classified as a theory building type, although the output of the research was more purposely to modernize the existing theories of social movement and policy making. The purpose of the research of the theory building type is to build a plausible mechanism linking X: Y based on evidence in the case. Therefore, the application of the method in investigating and analyzing the data gathered, including documents, articles, and interviews aims to find their correlation as well as the connection of one to each other which enable the social movements raised via social media (X) drive a change in the policy making process (Y).

3.4.2 Data Collection Techniques of Expert Interview and Document Analysis

To achieve the objectives as well as to answer the research questions, this study is developed based on the triangulation of data gained from the application of expert interview methods, secondary resources, and policy documents obtained throughout the research. The research variables used in selecting and examining all data to explain how the online social movement drove a shift in the education policy making process in Indonesia.

1) Expert Interviews

The method of interview is something which is closely related to the qualitative approach. It is the most common type of strategy used in collecting primary data in the approach. One of the interview types used in tracing phenomena in social sciences is an expert interview, also called as an elite interview or special interview (Dexter, 1970). The expert interview is designed to explore the expert knowledge in a way which appears to be quick, easy, and safe in its application and it promises to be of good practical value (Meuser and Nagel, 2009). Additionally, the procedure of “expert interviews can elucidate causal mechanisms and help to develop a more general understanding of the phenomena in question” (Nagel et al., 2009: 4). These are the basic of considerations in choosing the expert interview method in this study, especially because of the limitation of current research on social movement and education policy making.

Nevertheless, who is and is not identified as an expert depends on the researcher's judgment (Meuser and Negal, 2009). Furthermore, as Littig (2013) explains, expert interviews are about a person's special knowledge and experiences resulting from the actions, responsibilities, obligations of the specific functional status within an organization or institution. As a result, to help in identifying the ‘expert,’ one of the explanations which can be significant to the issue is elaborated in the Glossary of Education Reform in Indonesia. In education, the term stakeholder typically refers to anyone invested in the welfare and success of a school and its students including administrators, teachers, staff members, students, parents, families, community members, local business leaders, and elected officials.

However, regarding the focus of study, not all of the stakeholders will be interviewed. To add, based on the type of knowledge developed by Littig (2013) which are technical expertise (specialized knowledge, managerial competencies); process-related knowledge (about interactions and decision making); or interpretative-evaluative knowledge (everyday comment), I set up the initial classification. There are 22 interviewees classified under seven categories, which are government officials, legislative members, teacher associations, NGOs, Academics, Activists, and Media. In average, the length of time of most interviews was 45-60 minutes, except two interviews which were conducted in 30 minutes.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured, in-depth model. The interview protocol developed from the focus of study also linked to the theoretical framework. The questionnaire consisted of both open and closed questions. The consideration of using the semi-structured type of interview is the different roles and capacities of the interviewees in the education policy making process. Therefore, by applying this model of the interview, there is a better possibility in exploring the information from the interviewees and give room for them to explain more as well. These interviews were conducted mostly in Jakarta, Indonesia as the *locus* of the research. Also, some online-based interviews were made from Germany. This interview took the form of both face-to-face meetings and via online applications, such as Skype, from September 2016 to March 2017.

In processing the data, the record of the interviews will be transcribed, coded and assessed using the software MaxQDA 12, a special computer program for qualitative content analysis. Also, to evaluate the validity of the interview protocol and the

interviews result, there will be a comparison and cross-checked analysis with the documents and other related applicable data.

2) Document Analysis

Document analysis is “a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents – both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet-transmitted) materials” (Bowen, 2009: 28). In this study as well as in most of the qualitative research, the method of document analysis is applied as one of the ways to triangulate the information gained, particularly from the interview. Moreover, Corbin & Strauss (2008) and Rapley (2007) also state that document analysis is aimed “to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge.” As documents are “social facts produced, shared and used in socially organized ways” (Atkinson and Coffey, 1997:47). Additionally, as Bowen (2009:29) elaborates, there are five functions of documentary material in research. First of all, they provide background and context. The topic of the study was generated from the materials collected at the beginning of the study. The analysis of these initial documents resulted in the research topic. Second, the collected documents can reveal additional questions to be asked. In the form of semi-structured, in-depth interviews used in the study, the materials can be an entry point to explore more information from the interviewees. Third, they function as supplementary data. Fourth, the materials can also be a means of tracking change and development. Finally, they also can be tools for the verification of findings from other data sources.

In the application of the document analysis, there are two issues to be answered: how to select appropriate data and how to collect it. In the selection, I will put the

documents into three categories which are policy documents, international documents, and news material. The *policy documents* are the materials related to the policy making process. This type of document will be collected mainly from the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia. The *international documents* gathered in the research are those related to the international rankings and ratings in which Indonesia actively participated, particularly PISA, TIMSS, PIRLS, as well as the Human Development Index (HDI). These materials will be useful for the comparison of the recommendations suggested by international organizations holding the R&Rs and the policies made by the government within the time sequence of study. Finally, this study also selects and collects the *news material*. The type of news materials gathered in the research are both printed and electronic media, including the material in web 2.0-based applications, such as blogs, Facebook, or Twitter. Additionally, to make the study of these materials more effective and efficient, I will also classify them into the categorization based on the focus of study. By consistently using this classification, expectedly the appraising and the synthesizing of data contained in the document can be optimally conducted.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter I presented the design of the current study. This section begins with the operationalization of research variables derived from the three elements of social movement, which are organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunity. Based on the theoretical framework, I develop the focus of the study of each variable.

In the development of the focus of the research, concerning the phenomenon of social media-based collective action which is becoming a trend in developing countries, the education policy making process in Indonesia was chosen as the case of study. Moreover, the topic of social movements affecting education policy making is still rarely discussed. Therefore, this research can enrich the discourse on online activism and education policy making.

The time frame applied in this study, from 2002 to 2013, is based on Indonesia's participation in the 1st to 5th PISA surveys. The limitation was made because during this period there was a significant change in the education policy making process in Indonesia, particularly in public participation. Moreover, during this period, the role of social media in changing the political communication in Indonesia also rapidly increased.

Regarding the methodology and data collection technique, this study was conducted with the qualitative approach of process tracing. Moreover, to collect the supporting data, the method of expert interview and document analysis were applied. The selection of interviewees for the expert interviews was made based on the type of knowledge the interviewee possessed along the lines of 7 (seven) categories which are: government officials, legislative members, teacher associations, NGOs, Academics, Activists, and Media. In the document analysis, there are three categories of materials collected, which are policy documents, international documents, and news material. Also, to have a more efficient and effective research, the data gathered will also be classified based on the focus of study.

By applying this research design to the whole process of study, hopefully, the research questions can be answered appropriately, and the hypotheses can be tested properly. Finally, this research design is expectedly developed to present an alternative in studying online activism and reformation in the policy making.

Chapter 4

Policy Making Process in Indonesian Basic and Secondary Education

Discussions of policy making is one of the favorite themes in social science and daily conversation alike. The government, academics, politicians, parliament members and other members of society pay considerable attention to a policy decision's production. The main reason is their consciousness of the consequences of policy implementation, being both the subjects and the objects of the decisions. Moreover, as Balls (1994:10) elaborates, "policy is both text and action, words and deeds, it is what is enacted as well as what is intended." Regarding the significance of this social political activity, in most countries, people are not only concerned with the policy making process, but they also want to involve themselves directly in the processes.

However, in some nations experiencing authoritarian regimes, such as Indonesia, public participation in these political activities is limited. For more than 32 years under the Soeharto regime, the government controlled all aspects of the nation, including the media and its contents. Moreover, in that era, the legislative and judiciary bodies were also powerless. In short, there was almost no room for criticism and public involvement was merely a statement written on a piece of policy draft. Nevertheless, activists never ceased the struggle for access to the decision-making process. The global political change and monetary crisis in 1997 finally ended the supremacy built for more than three decades. This end started with a large demonstration initiated by the academics, especially students. They called for the resignation of Soeharto and six reform agendas,

which were the enforcement of the law concerning the eradication of corruption, collusion, and nepotism; the trial of Soeharto and his cronies; constitutional amendment; revocation of the *Dwifungsi* ABRI – the *dual function* of Indonesian Armed Forces; and decentralization of power. The movement successfully overthrew Soeharto and changed the political constellation in Indonesia. However, one of the main factors in the success was the vast development of information technology which enabled the activists of the movement to get the actual information and data about the condition of Indonesia and the crisis which later became their tools in driving the public to support the action. The movement also revealed the importance of ICTs in opening chances for the public to gain a better bargaining position within policy making. The improvement of public participation in the establishment of better governance had just begun.

Back to the topic of the current study, concerning the change happening in the political life of Indonesia, in this chapter I will elaborate and describe the decision-making mechanism of basic and secondary education in general as well as the problems and challenges in the process. Also, I will explain the shift taking place in the decision making process, particularly concerning public position and public involvement.

4.1 The Overview of the Education Policy Making Process of Indonesia

Along with the social and political dynamics of development in all aspects of the nation, the education policy making process in Indonesia has also been affected by the changes taking place, such as the implementation of a more decentralized system or the new

direct vote mechanism in general election. The long history of colonialism, the authoritarian regime, and the recent reformation have each differently molded the decision-making process, particularly on the issue of public position and participation. However, as mentioned earlier, in this study I will focus only on the shift of the policy making process in basic and secondary education in the years of 2002 to 2013.

The significant change in the education policy making process started during the Reformation era. Beginning with the implementation of Law No. 32/2004 about Regional Autonomy, the administration shifted from a centralized to a decentralized system. Therefore, there was a high expectation of having a balance of power between both the provincial and the national governments to accelerate development in all sectors equally. In the education sector, the change affected the basic and secondary schooling system particularly because the decentralization gave a greater degree of autonomy to the provinces and regencies to independently manage their systems, as mentioned in the new Act of National Education System No. 20/2003 which replaces the Act. No. 2/1989. However, despite the aim of the Law, there were many problems on the regional scale which caused the deceleration of development. Moreover, the conditions in some Provinces and Regencies were even worse after the implementation of the Law due to corruption, mismanagement, and some other contingencies.

As a result, in 2014 a new Act of Regional Government (No. 23/2014) was enacted by the Parliament of Indonesia. In article 11 of the new legislation, the education sector was classified as one of the sectors managed by the concurrent government (both the national and regional ones). Furthermore, as elaborated further in article 13, “the

decision of the concurrent management [is to be] made based on the principles of accountability, efficiency, externality, and national strategic concerns.” Accordingly, the national and regional governments had to collaborate in designing and implementing policies related to the sectors under these categories. For instance, the Ministry of Education and Culture set the national standard of education; then the regional government frames local policies to achieve the standard based on their capabilities and characteristics. Additionally, the renewal act also regulated the distribution of power between the national and regional governments, especially in budgetary management. Hopefully, the financial problem will no longer slow down the development of the concurrent sectors in both the national and regional scales.

Regarding policy making in the education sector, currently, there is no detailed blueprint or standard established which can be used as guidance and reference in the education policy making process. Previously, in the New-Order era under the previous regime, Indonesia had set national plans for five and twenty-five years, usually called the Medium and Long-term Development Plans. In these national plans, the targets and indicators in all sectors, including education, were described in detail based on the Guidelines of State Policy established by the Parliament. During this period, the policy making was conducted via a top-down and centralized system. There was no room to influence the process. Tilaar (2000:2) explains that the education in the new order era was directed towards uniformity in both thought and action. Consequently, this regularity also provided no room for local potential and wisdom, except the ones applied or taken by the ruling regime in the process. In Figure 5, we have an illustration of the policy making mechanism in the new order era.

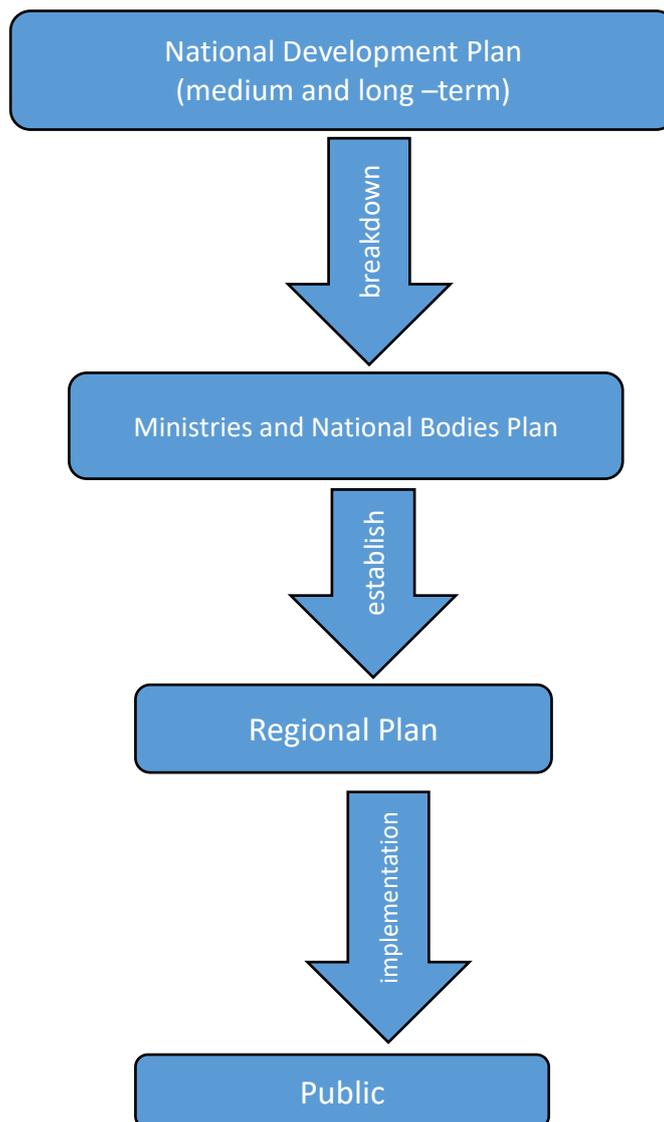


Figure 5. The Policy making Design in New Order Era (own data)

As described in the figure, the policy making process began with the establishment of the national development plan for the short, medium, and long-term. The designing process of this plan was made and decided by the executive bodies and institutionalized by the President with the approval of Parliament. Then, the Ministries and other National Bodies broke down the national plan into institutional or sectoral plans and policies. These plans and policies were later established as regional plans and implemented. Therefore, in reference to public position and participation, there was

almost no chance for the public to interfere at any point within the process because the power of the executive, particularly the President was so strong. Moreover, this uniformity also threatened the preservation and development of the local potencies and wisdom, except the ones applied or taken by the ruling regime in the process.

However, after the regime stepped down, the policy making process changed slightly. In the Reformation era, there were two national plans applied in the policy making process. The first one was the long-term plan established in a Law by the Parliament called Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Nasional (RPJPN), projected for 20 years, five years shorter than the previous product in the regime previous. Additionally, the ruling government established by the winner of the election also designed the five-years national development planning called Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (RPJMN). However, in the design process, the elected President also included the political agendas pursued in his campaign. Therefore, there was a possibility for the public to give input to the candidates about the program they needed to make as a bargaining point if the candidate wants to get their votes. Moreover, as an effort to keep the votes, at the ministerial level the government also conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGD) during the initial step of each policy making process. In this forum, they invited representatives of all stakeholders to review and exercise the policy drafts. This method was also claimed to have been applied by the government in the new order era. However, the selection process of the participant of the FGDs is questionable because there was no clear report of this process to the public. Therefore, to ensure the public of the openness of the government, the government needed to also include the

report of FGDs in the decision process. To further illustrate this process, figure 6 provides us the cycle of the policy making in the Reformation era.

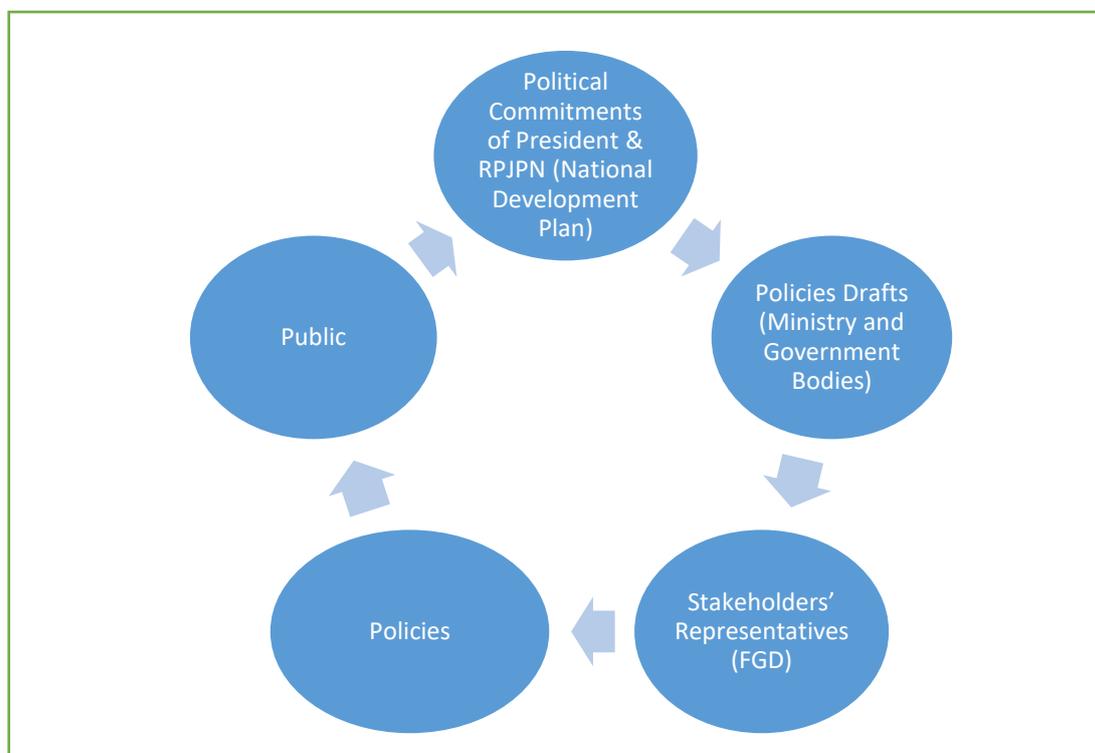


Figure 6. The Policy making Cycle in Reformation Era (own data)

In this cycle of policy making, the elected President launches a national development plan for five years consisting of his/her political promises pursued in the campaign based on the long-term national development plan (RPJPN) established by the legislative body. Then, the ministries and government agencies drafted policies containing programs or regulations as the manifestation of the political commitments. Before the finalization of every policy in the draft, these bodies would invite the representatives of the relevant stakeholders in an FGD to review and provide input for the government. Based on the output of the forum, the policies would be revised,

finalized and launched. Even though the program or regulation of the policy product is established beforehand, the public could still comment on, criticize, or even ask for an annulment if there is an objection concerning the implementation. The reaction, input, or suggestions of the public later can be the presidential candidate's agenda for the next election's campaign.

However, this cycle did not always run as theoretically described. Before the social media era, the public rarely knew about the ongoing policy making process due to a lack of access to the information. Therefore, the public participation in policy making was limited to the inner circle of the ruling government which preferred their alliances to represent the public in the FGDs. Concerning the current situation, in this study, I try to analyze further how social media bridges the public with the policy making process in the Indonesian education sector, allowing the cycle to run as it should. Nevertheless, to complete the explanation of the policy making process in Indonesia, in Figure 7, there is a description of the current mechanism in policy planning making in both the national and regional government in general, which is also implemented in the education sector.

The Relation of Strategic Planning of National and Regional Government

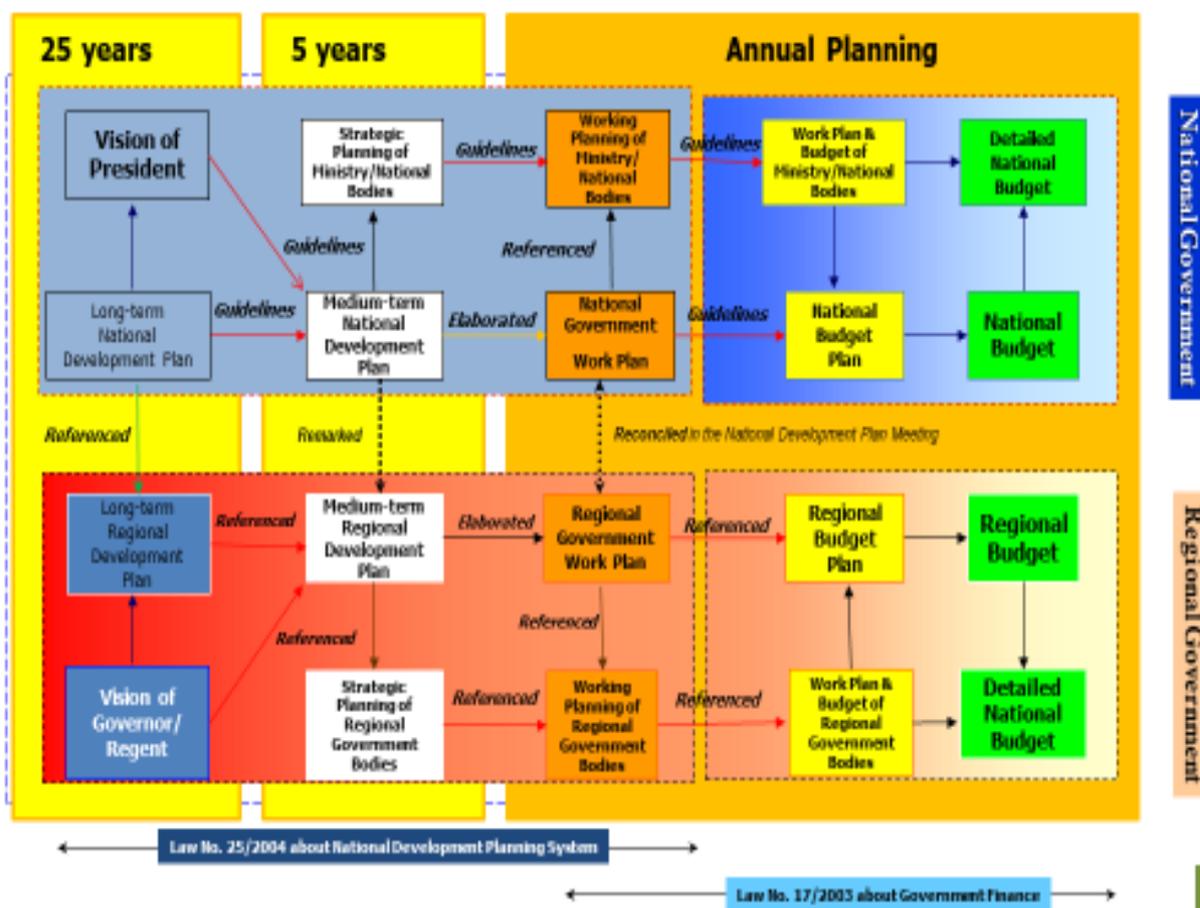


Figure 7. The Strategic Plan of National and Regional Government
(Source: BPKLN - Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia)

In the designing of the medium-term national development plan, the government referred to both the vision of the President and the long-term development plan as regulated by the Law. No 25/2004 about the National Development Planning System. The medium-term then elaborated an annual national government work plan. Based on the annual plan, then the working plan of each Ministry and national bodies would be set up. Following up the process, the strategic plan, later, would be implemented by every

Ministry and National Body in the annual work and budget plan which composed the annual national budget. Meanwhile, at the regional level, a similar processes would also take place. However, in the making of the medium-term regional development plan, the government refer to the vision of the Governor for Provincial level and Regent for the Regency. The final output of this process is the regional government work plan and the regional budget. To synchronize both the work and budget plan of national and regional governments annually, the Ministry of National Development Planning of Indonesia would hold a forum called *Musyawarah Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Musrenbangnas)* – the National Development Plan Meeting.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, both the elected President and Governor/Regent include the political commitments pursued in the campaign as one of the components in the establishment of their vision. Regarding the direct electoral system, the consistency of the elected in actualizing his/her promises in the government programs and policies is an important strategy to maintain the people's vote for the next election. On one side, this condition improved the people's position in the design process of policy, especially in the current situation supported by the ICTs which enable the citizen to access the process behind both national and regional plans via public documents. However, on the other side, the output of the plan was mostly a temporary program with a minim factor of sustainability. The politicians in both executive and legislative bodies paid more attention to how to secure their votes for another five years. Consequently, this tendency in framing the national and regional plans would affect the sector which is supposed to be developed in the long term, such as education. Therefore, if we take a look at the strategic plan of education applied for five years, the indicators or parameters

of the success in achieving the target are abstract. For instance, as elaborated in the Strategic Plan of MoEC for the year of 2015 to 2019 (Kemdikbud, 2015), one of the commitments of the current President is to improve the productivity and competitiveness level of the people internationally; yet, this promise is actualized in a program to improve the role of student, teacher, educator, parents in improving the education ecosystem. Surprisingly, one of the indicators applied in measuring the realization of the plan is *the minimum average score for student behavior is good*. Another example, in measuring the success in the improvement of teacher quality of behavior, spirituality and sociality, the indicator applied is *the percentage of teacher and educator presence at school should be 100%*. These examples reflect how the policy making in the education sector is still problematic. Therefore, the active involvement of the academic, education expert and other relevant stakeholders in the decision-making process is necessary.

4.2 Policy Making in Indonesia: Challenges and Efforts to Improve

In the policy making process of basic and secondary education in Indonesia, both the decision makers and the nation in general face many challenges. In the introductory chapter, I mentioned three basic problems proposed by Rohman (2002), which are “elitism in policy making, distortion in implementation and the tendency of the policy makers to use instant way in the entire process.” Regarding the pattern of public involvement as elaborated in *chapter 2*, these problems also indicate that previously the policy making in Indonesia was held in a *conventional participation* where the administrator had full authority in deciding the policy and placed the public at an

immense distance away from the political process. However, the Reformation era and its spirit of improvement, in policy making included, have slightly decreased these “cultural problems” of Indonesian bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, regarding the current condition, there are some problems in the production of decisions as elaborated by several Indonesian researchers in education, such as (Tilaar and Nugroho (2008), Rusdiana (2015), and Suryadi (2014)). First of all, the challenges in the education policies of Indonesia are caused by weaknesses in policy analyses (Tilaar and Nugroho, 2008:326). In these cases, the government as the central decision makers in the process do not properly review or research the existing or previous policies they made. The word *proper* here refers to the quality of the evaluation process itself. The government does routinely monitor and conduct assessments of their program. However, the process tends to run as a part of the administrative procedure, and the output does not cause any change in the following policies. For example, regarding the PISA and TIMSS, the team made by the Ministry of Education and Culture regularly reported Indonesian students’ performance in the tests, but there was almost no significant improvement in the participation from 2001 to 2009. The steadiness of Indonesia at the bottom level of the R&Rs indicate that the reports did not drive a change in policies related to the improvement of its competitiveness level. The next problem is the absence of supporting data of the actual condition of Indonesian education. Although the Ministry of Education and Culture has a specific working unit which is responsible for the data, the geographical and technological obstacles often cause the updating process to be excessively late. The major problems regarding the data updating process are the bureaucratic complications and the human resources

capacity of the Regional Board of Education in both the Provincial and Regional level. However, this problem should have been overcome if the higher education and research institutions could have taken part in conducting the study and given academic inputs to the policy makers. Therefore, as Tilaar and Nugroho (2008) elaborate further, the empowerment of these institutions is also an effort which needs to be put into the improvement of policy making, particularly in the education sector.

Another problem in the education policy making process in Indonesia is the absence of specific national planning in education, which causes unsustainability in the implementation program and policies. For years, policies were made based on the political promises of the elected President who, based on the law, could not rule for more than two periods or ten years. Therefore, the policies produced are only applicable during that time. As a result, there is uncertainty in the development of the education sector or the continuity of related programs and policies. Also, the unsustainability relates not only to the matter of time, but also among the different levels of education. All aspects related to basic and secondary education policies, such as curriculum and school systems, are designed by different working units partially with limited collaboration in the making process. Suryadi (2014) explains,

“The problem (in education policy making) lies on the (policy makers’) way of thinking which is not comprehensive and exclusively separate the aspect of education in Indonesia in different programs and also run by different working units unconnectedly.” (Suryadi, 2014:105-106)

Before the reformation of internal bureaucracy conducted in the Ministry of Education and Culture, each of the main units in the institution ran their program and activities with only a minimum of coordination between related units. As a result, there were overlaps in the program, particularly in the units with similar structures, such as Directorate General of Primary Education or Directorate General of Secondary Education. Another problem was the tendency of ministries to accuse each other when there was an obstacle in the implementation of a program. As a result, the development of education did not emerge as a collaborative issue, but rather a loose collection of departments often in conflict with one another.

Despite the challenges in education policy making in Indonesia, the spirit of reformation brought some positive influences to the whole process. The Ministry of Education and Culture has been conducting internal bureaucracy reforms since 2010, focusing on three aspects: strengthening the organization of the Ministry, improving management, and structuring and empowering human resources (Kemdiknas, 2010). As the output of the Reformation, the Ministry targets availability, accessibility, quality, equality and certainty of basic and secondary education in Indonesia. The institution also holds an annual meeting called “Rembuk Nasional” – a National Meeting involving the representatives of all education stakeholders. Moreover, this program is a starting point of the general policy making process in education and culture in Indonesia. At this meeting, there are some parallel discussions about the upcoming government agenda and issues in education and culture. Therefore, the output of the program will be collective plans designed and decided together by all of the stakeholders. Another program run by the Ministry to involve the public in monitoring the implementation of

government policies and programs is the “Neraca Pendidikan Daerah” – Education Balance of Regional. The web-based program, launched in 2015, provides open access to data and information on education to the public. Therefore all stakeholders and the public, in general, can actively participate in observing developments as well as analyzing the actual conditions of the education sector in their area. This platform can also bridge the gap of information between the regional and national governments and encourage more collaboration among them (<http://jendela.data.kemdikbud.go.id/neraca/>).

4.3 Curriculum 2013, Social media, and the Change in Policy Making

As the focus of the current study, in this chapter I will also elaborate a case study of how social media drives change in the policy making process in Indonesia. After the launch of the PISA test results in 2013, there were several articles written discussing the irony of Indonesia’s placement in the test. These writings were shared by people via Facebook, Twitter, and blogs leading to a serious discussion, and later a developed sense of social awareness in the Indonesian education system. One representative article discussing this topic was written by Dewi Kurniawati (2013) and contrasted the fact that despite being the happiest, the students of Indonesia were ranked poorly in the PISA Test. In the article, she quoted Iwan Pranoto’s statement that the reason behind the poor student rankings was the Indonesian education system, which still focused on rote learning while the problems asked in the PISA test required the higher skills of reasoning and comprehension.

Claimed as a response to these public utterances, at the end of 2013 the Ministry of Education and Culture launched the new curriculum. However, there was a strong negative public reaction over the new policy. Some of them, especially activists in education, doubted the new formula. Meanwhile, the public also had high expectations because the government claimed that this curriculum would bring a significant change in the way of learning and teaching process, leading to more active students in class. The government also stated that this curriculum was designed to accelerate the quality of Indonesia's students so that they could compete better internationally.

Due to some problems in the design process causing distortions in the implementation, public voices asking the government to stop the curriculum were getting louder. Based on the data released by Awesometrics, there were 33.386 tweets about the curriculum from the 1st to the 8th of December, 2014 (liputan6.com). In addition to an uproar on Twitter, social media users in Indonesia also posted related articles or photos to their walls on Facebook to raise public awareness of some of the problems related to the policy and to ask the people to follow the rejection of the new curriculum. Furthermore, the discussion on social media made headlines in both printed and electronic mass media at that time. As a result, the pressure on the government to change the policy was stronger. Following up the discussion and the social movement within the society towards the curriculum, the previous Minister of Education and Culture made an evaluation involving the representatives of the education stakeholders. Based on the assessment and inputs from the stakeholder's review, the Minister decided to do a moratorium on the implementation of the latest curriculum on the 5th of December, 2014 and promised to make some improvements on it.

Regarding the design of the moratorium process of the curriculum for 2013, we can analyze how social media became the platform used by activists and the public in influencing the policy making process. Moreover, the government also used the same media to communicate with the public and gather inputs to improve the policies they launched. Therefore, the case represents the cycle of the policy-making process practiced after the Reformation era in Indonesia as elaborated earlier in this section well.

4.4 Summary

In the initial study on the policy making process in Indonesia, there were some issues addressed by the academics, experts, and activists in the education sector. The change in the political system affected decision making in all sectors, including education. The shift from conventional participation to a more authentic type took place in spite of some obstacles. First of all, the absence of a national education blueprint and the tendency of *votes keeping* performed by the decision makers lead to some problems regarding the formulation of a new education plan. The plan was designed mostly for five years of implementation with abstract indicators. Furthermore, the public participation came late after the policy draft design process, just as with the establishment of the Curriculum of 2013. The strong reaction against the policy and the problems in the implementation resulted in the moratorium of the curriculum to point out that the designing process did not conduct properly.

Following up the findings in the initial study, in this research, I investigate further other possible challenges within the education policy making process in Indonesia, especially

from the perspective of its stakeholders. Furthermore, in this research, there is a deeper study of the design of the revision process of the curriculum for 2013, particularly in regards to public participation in the policy making process via social media. Additionally, I also explore the policy makers' perspectives and their utilization of social media in public communication as well as decision production.

Chapter 5

The Enhancement of the Public Position in the Basic and Secondary Education Policy Making Process in Indonesia

“Education belongs to all, that is why there is an ownership of public in this sector. Therefore, the government cannot do a one-man-show in policy making and place the public merely as an object of the decision. Moreover, what we (government) know is less than what we do not know. So, their insights will improve the policies we make.”

(Interview TW-11)

The reform in all sectors resulting from the social movement in 1998 has changed the policy making process significantly in Indonesia (see *chapter 4*). There were two major shifts brought about by the social movement; the decentralization of power and the freedom of expression for the public. The changes also directly impacted education as it was one of the sectors which decentralized and is closely related to the whole society. As a result, the local government now has more power to decide and design policies adapted to the character and needs of the region. Thus, to ensure the decision-making is implemented properly, the society needs to be empowered through the provision of reliable info, data, and access to the policy making process. Therefore, the booming of the social media era in the late 2000s brought a new alternative platform for the society to be involved directly in the government. The media has enabled the transfer of power not only between the national and regional governmental scale but also from the elite

policy makers to the general public. As a result, there is a significant improvement in public political participation, particularly in regards to policy making.

Regarding such a phenomena, this chapter aims to explain the leverage of the public position in the basic and secondary education policy making sectors in Indonesia based on the empirical analysis of the data and information gathered during the research. The elucidation will focus more on three factors driving shifts in the policy making process. The first subchapter will discuss the escalation of public awareness of the education policies from 2002 to 2013. In this section, I elaborate by comparing the conditions before the social media era from 2002 to 2009 and after the boom between 2010 and 2013. This time selection was made based on the participation of Indonesia in the 1st to 5th PISA surveys. Furthermore, I also explain how the pre-existing activists utilized social media to invite the public attention, creating social force which affected the policy making. Then, in the second subchapter, there is a discussion on the internal and external stakeholders' collaboration resulting from the social media era. In this segment, I try to elaborate how social media increased the partnership of the government and other stakeholders of education. Also, there is a discussion on how the existence of an alliance of education activists increases public involvement in policy making. Section 3 will explain the current political opportunity provided by the online movement concerning the improvement of the public's position in policy making. In the final summary, the relation of the three key factors and the enhancement of the public position in the policy making process is elaborated and the shifting process described.

5.1 The Escalation of the Public Awareness of Education Policies

The rapid advance in the information and communication technologies (ICTs) have changed not only the way people connect to each other but have also provided new efficient and effective tools to communicate or even mobilize social movements. In the education sector of Indonesia, for instance, before the social media era, there was almost no significant movement aimed at changing policies such as curriculum or the schooling system. Nevertheless, education issues were one of the most popular daily topic discussed by people, but the scope was limited, and the impact was not significant due to lack of connection to the policy makers (Interview-TW 21). So, when social media took its place in society, as Shirky (2011:1) states, “as the communications landscape gets denser, more complex, and more participatory, the networked population is gaining greater access to information, more opportunities to engage in public speech, and enhanced ability to undertake collective action.” However, “movements thus have an acute need for a plausible "public good" rhetoric” (Williams, 1995: 125). Additionally, he also elaborates that “the ideational materials available to movements originate in the available political culture but are borrowed and adapted to articulate grievances and motivate action” (ibid: 127). Therefore, the pre-existing activists considering the habits of Indonesians and their talk about the social and political issues seized the opportunity to evoke greater public awareness just as the OECD released the PISA survey result in 2013. The output of the test was the issue they utilized to gain public attention concerning education, maximizing the effect through the massive amount of talk, tweets, posts, and shares related to this topic on social media.. Through the online discussions, articles, and statuses posted by the activists, the public recognized that there

were problems in the education system in Indonesia. Moreover, the internet and smartphone era improved the accessibility to the information and encouraged the activists to speak and set up a discussion involving all members of the society (Interview-TW 03). Furthermore, education is a topic to which everyone in the society has a personal attachment, either as a student, parent or, some other associations making the issue in this sector is a personal concern (Interview – TW 10). Another consideration in making the online movement was the condition of the public in Indonesia. Most of the people do not read newspapers, books, or magazines talking about the issues of the education system. Therefore, activists need to find a customized approach to inform them according to their way of communicating and interacting. In this stage, we can have a clear example of how social media could help the pre-existing activists in evoking the public consciousness by revealing the true condition of the schooling system and recalling the latent relative deprivation in the community due to the previous tyrannical regime. Consequently, the activists as the entrepreneurs of the movement had almost no problem in driving the public to become rational actors taking part in a protest action.

However, the rationality of the community in joining the online movement is still debatable. Some believe that the phenomena could be just an effect of the connectedness of people nowadays supported by the technology (Interview TW-12). Also, the activists, as well as the policymakers, see the protest movement more as a temporary trend, as greater social connectivity is perhaps leading to a more pronounced ‘bandwagoning’ effect. Consequently, similar to other types of social movement, in the online-based collective action the free-rider problem is still present. In this case, the free-rider refers

to people involved in a collective action merely because of their individual interests and have no strong commitment to support the movement consistently. Moreover, the people joining the movement were not activists or experts in the education sector. Additionally, the political action performed by the participants “is the outcome of individual cost-benefit calculations” (Crossley, 2002 and Euben, 1995 cited in Hopkins, 2004:340). People join the movement because they believe that the strategy to protest via the online networks has a bigger chance to influence the decision makers. So, the people join the movement because they believe that the strategy to protest via online networks has a bigger chance to influence the decision makers. Therefore, in the context of Indonesia, the new phenomena of the social media and public participation were not the loud utterances of the people in online discussions, but on how the platform could channel these voices directly to the ears of policy makers (Interview-TW 21). In short, the participation of the public in the online movement concerned two main factors: following the trend and believing that their online collective action had a bigger chance to win.

5.2 Internal and External Stakeholders Collaboration

As the people have better accessibility to the policy making process which is also supported by a more opened government, the public participation also moved forward to a more collaborative one including both the internal and external stakeholders. The internal stakeholders consisting of the actors directly involved the policy making process which I categorize into seven groups in this study consisting of government

officials, legislative members, teacher associations, NGOs, academics, education activists, and Media (see *chapter 3*). The external stakeholders are those who are not directly involved in the policy making process but are affected by the output and outcome of the decisions made, such as students, parents, and the general public. Based on the investigation in the field research, in the sub chapters, I explain some important findings regarding the development of the internal and external stakeholders' collaboration. First of all, social media and the establishment of public categorization affected their strategy in the involvement. Second, social media and the change of both the public and policy makers' perspectives of public participation in the decision-making process. Third, I explain the significant correlation between the presence of alliance in the bureaucracy and the emergence of collaborative participation. Fourth, in this part, I also elaborate the current situation of the public involvement in the education policy making process.

5.2.1 The Public Classification in the Perspective of Policy Makers

The online social movement in the education sector in Indonesia has also shifted the relationship between the government as the inner group and other external stakeholders, especially in the policy making process. Nowadays, "Facebook, Myspace, Twitter, and YouTube allow individuals to become part of the larger political process through their laptops or personal digital assistants" (Evans-Cowley and Hollander, 2010: 397).

In the context of this study, the social media era makes the categorization of the public easier regarding the intention and content of their statements, arguments, or opinions

shared on social media. As the top leader in decision making, and based on interviews with two former and the current Ministers of Education and Culture, social media helped them in mapping and identifying the public. Furthermore, it also aids them in designing an applied strategy for public involvement in policymaking. Additionally, this classification generates different approaches in involvement as well as in the accommodation of their voices in the production of decisions, especially when there is an objection to a policy made, such as in the design process of the Curriculum of 2013.

In the perspective of former minister Muhammad Nuh, who leads the Ministry of National Education and later became the Minister of Education and Culture from 2009 to 2014, there are five types of public in the education sector. The first category consists of the non-governmental organizations managing or running schools and education institutions. In the policy making process, he stated that the ministry in his era made the public in this category as the priority to be involved because their input would also affect the implementation of the policy directly. The second type of public according to him were the activists in education or those who had expertise in the sector but do not run any school or institution. Then the third were the commentators who possessed neither knowledge in education nor managed any educational organization. For these first two types of public, the former minister heard their suggestions, ideas, and recommendations but did not prioritize their insights in the improvement of policy. The fourth category consists of the parliament members. With them, the government actively invited their participation in the decision-making and consultative meetings. Moreover, the government pays more attention to their critiques, advice, and recommendations because the parliament holds power in the legalization of the policy

draft as well as the budget. Finally, there is also another category for the general public, qualified as *ignorant* for they did neither criticize nor react to the ongoing policy making process although they would possibly be affected by the output of the decision made. For the last type of public, the ministry did not have a particular approach to involve them. Instead, the government tried to perform their best in improving the education sector.

Then, under the former minister Anies Rasyid Baswedan, governing from 2014 to 2016, there was no specific classification of the public. In his perspective, the public consisted of various communities or groups which could contribute in the development sector. In public involvement practise during his governing period, the previous minister actively invited the representatives of the communities in the policy making process as well as in the establishment collaborative programs. Having a background as an activist in education, Anies Baswedan already had a good relationship with many communities. Therefore, in this period, the involvement of the public in policy making process more significantly affected the society. However, despite his success in public involvement, the minister led the ministry only for 20 months due to the reshuffle of the cabinet performed by the President at the end of July 2016.

The current Minister of Education and Culture, Muhadjir Effendy, has three categories of the public in the education sector. The first one is the activists and experts who are actively involved in the development of the education sector. The recommendations or inputs from this group are significant in the policy making process, according to him. The second type consists of the activists with no expertise or experience in the education sector. They usually come later in the movement, especially in online activism. In his

point of view, their opinions and ideas should also be listened to but not prioritized in the decision-making process. Finally, the third category of the public is the *haters* who consistently give bad comments on government policy and share hoaxes to the public, particularly via social media networks. To counter their action, the minister tries to provide the public with factual data and information while continuously improving the education sector.

5.2.2 Social Media, Public Perception and the Change of Policy Makers' Perspective in Public Participation

The shift of public position in the education policy making process began under Minister Muhammad Nuh. However, among the policies decided in his era, the making process of the Curriculum of 2013 gained the most public attention. The Minister stated that the curriculum was a response to the public demand for improvement in the schooling system marked by the poor performances in the R&Rs. However, in the interview, one of the activists in the education sector relayed that the policy designed after a plan in place since 2010. She got this information because in the initial process some activists and experts were invited to review the policy draft (Interview-TW 10). However, unexpectedly, the draft of the curriculum launched later was not revised as suggested by the education activists and experts. On the contrary, the Ministry of Education and Culture did an online survey involving the selected education stakeholders aimed at finding out the ideas, opinions, and the general perception of the public toward the policy draft. The results were largely positive, and were claimed as a

symbol of the acceptance of the new curriculum. Nevertheless, the output of the survey itself is doubtful because the whole process was designed and conducted by the MoEC. Also, the samples used were only the schools with grade A, which were limited in numbers and had no significant problems in adjusting the teaching and learning process as designed in the latest curriculum (republika.co.id published on 11th August 2013). Furthermore, due to many technical and conceptual problems in the trial implementation, there was a strong objection and negative reaction by the public, especially from the teachers, academics, and activists in the education sector. As a response to the rejection and critiques, the government tried to make a discursive academic approach mainly targeting the non-governmental group managing school and education institutions and parliament members. Muhammad Nuh stated that the strategy to come door to door to visit the first group was made because they are both the direct object and subject of the new curriculum. He mentioned that if this group accepted the explanation and supported the policy, then 70-80% of the obstacles in the implementation process could be overcome (Interview-TW 11). Also, the government aimed to gain the acceptance of the fourth group, the parliament members, to make sure that there would be no legal or financial problems in the application of the latest curriculum. Unlike the active persuasive approach to the first and fourth group, the government reacted differently to the other groups. Although the activists under the second and the third categories actively posted their criticisms to the policies, the government did not pay too much attention to them. One of the ex-policy makers interviewed in this study gave a statement representing the perspectives of the policy making process in that period,

“The policymaking process should stand on the efficacy for the majority. The public position and the government during the period [was] equal; no one [was] stronger or weaker than [the] other. The government did not force their concept, and not all of the suggestions of the society were accepted.” (Interview-TW 9)

This statement provides a clear description of how the government perceived the public in all categories during the primary process of the designing of the curriculum. The policy makers were open to the insights, criticism, and opinions of the public but they also had a strong power to continue their policy even if there was negative input or objections to it. Moreover, at this early stage of implementation, the social media influence was not as strong as in the succeeding minister era.

5.2.3 The Role of Ex-activists in the Shift of Public Participation and the Emergence of Collaborative Participation in Education

During the tenure of Minister Anies Rasyid Baswedan, the role social media played in the policy discourse within the society was stronger than in the previous one. The discontentedness of the education activists outside of the school systems and the general public in the previous Minister constituted the voices calling to stop the implementation of the curriculum and were louder than before. As a response to these critics, the Anies Baswedan established a review team to evaluate the content and the implementation of the curriculum. In this team, the Minister involved some activists and experts in education. Also, the Minister invited the participation of representatives of some communities to enrich the revision of the curriculum. Moreover, having a background

of being an activist in education, the Minister had a close relationship with the external stakeholders. As a result, public involvement was a main point on his agenda, particularly via social media. In fact, he established a special working unit whose task it was to manage the social media accounts of the MoEC and also observe the ongoing discussion on the online networks, particularly the issues related to education and the policies on it. Moreover, the Minister sought collaboration between the internal and external stakeholders of education because he stated that all members of the society are responsible for the improvement of education (Interview-TW 21). Therefore, during his period of governance, the Minister instructed the working unit of social media to give a technical workshop for the first and second Echelon (the top policy makers), so they would know how to actively communicate with the public via their social media accounts (Interview-TW14).

Additionally, to achieve the collaboration goal, the government also launched some policies or activities involving all stakeholders from the design to the implementation process. In the making process, social media was utilized as the platform for the collaborative agenda. There are two main policies which represent the collaboration of internal and external stakeholders in the era well; the Gerakan Hari Pertama Sekolah - the First Day School Movement or Neraca Pendidikan Daerah – the Regional Education Balance. In the First Day School Movement, the Minister invited the active participation of the parents to celebrate the first day of schooling by accompanying their children and meeting the teachers. This movement is intended to develop a good level of communication and collaboration between society and the educational institutions. As the first step, the Minister established a team consisting of both government officials,

artists, public figures, and representatives of some communities to develop the planning and content of the program. The use of his wide networks of former activists in education made it possible for the collaboration process to be conducted in less than two months with zero cost (Interview TW-14 and 21). Furthermore, the Minister realized that the enormous energy produced via social media-based communication needed to be facilitated by providing channels and never trying to block it, lest the blockage be perforated. Therefore, another important program launched in this period was the Regional Education Balance. This is an online based portal containing updated information about the state of education in a province, including the budget and its allocation, statistics of students, teachers, as well as a contact that can be accessed by public related to education affairs (see the example of the data in Figure 8).

In the infographic, the general public can get information concerning the education in their area. It includes the data about the budget and its spending, the number of students and teachers, school buildings and their current condition, the quality of the teachers, as well as the quality of the schools in a simple presentation. Also, the layout of the information and the better accessibility via social media make it easier for the public to understand the real situation. By being provided with the current condition of the education in their region, the public were driven to be actively involved in supervising the development of the education sector and making sure that the improvement of the system was continuously conducted. Moreover, the infographic includes important phone numbers, allowing people to easily reach officials whenever they find problems concerning education in their area. On the other side, this policy could also motivate the

local government to improve their performance in providing a better education, as now the public can see and assess their achievement every year.

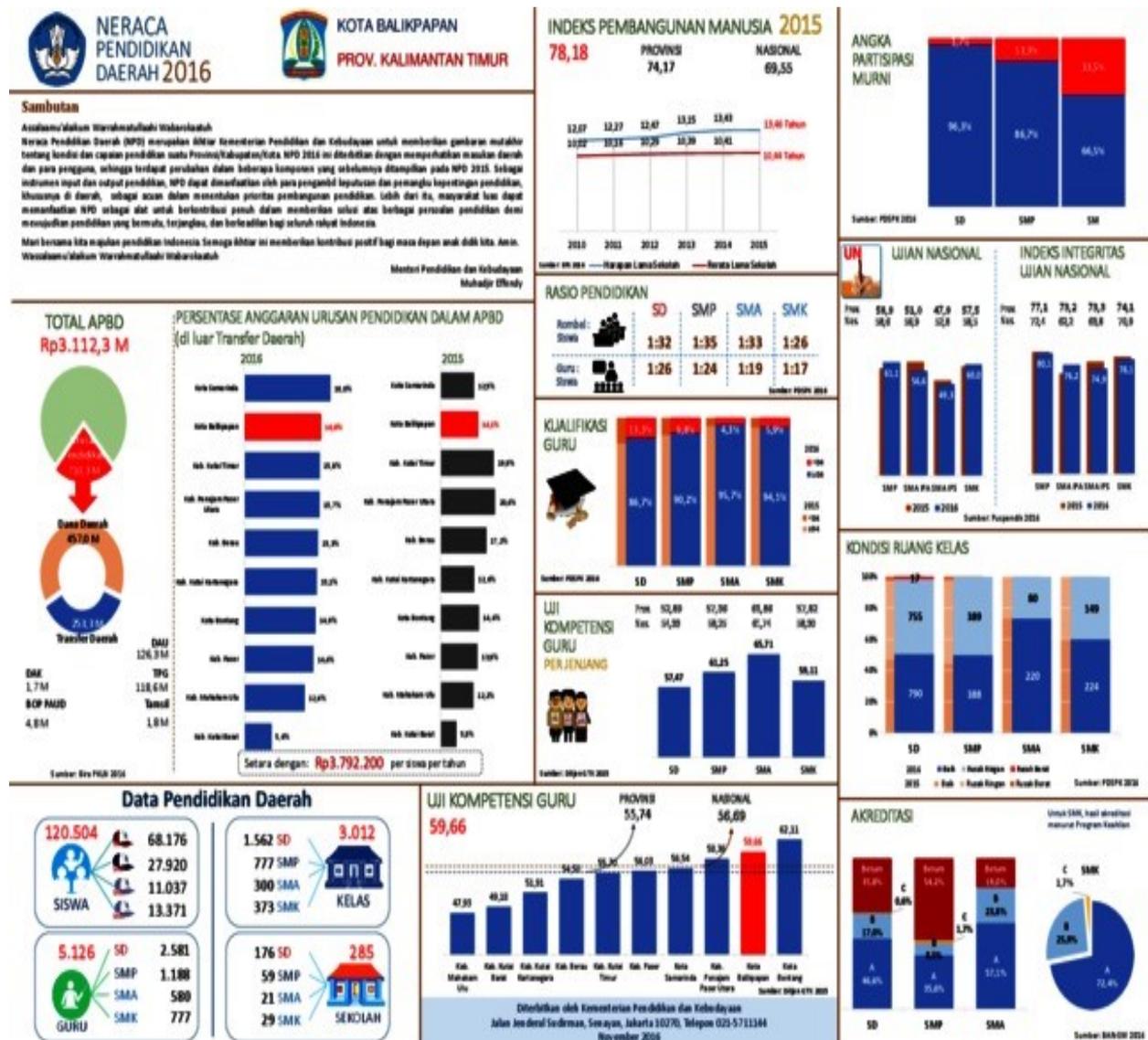


Figure 8. Neraca Pendidikan Daerah Kalimantan Timur 2016 - The Regional Education Balance of the East Borneo Province of 2016 (Source: <http://repository.perpustakaan.kemdikbud.go.id>)

5.2.4 The Current Condition of Public Participation in the Education Policy Making Process

Learning from the former leaders' experiences in public involvement, the current Minister made some changes in communicating with the public. Regarding the click and share habit in the social media era, credibility is still regarded as an important factor for both the public and the decision makers, especially when talking about policy and the movement to influence its production process (Interview-TW 12 and 18). Therefore, the Minister gives more attention to the insights from the activists and experts in education for they have power in the society, experiences and direct participation in the improvement of the education sector in Indonesia (Interview-TW6). Furthermore, he gives a different response to the input and critiques of the new activists who usually have fewer experiences and knowledge in education. The better accessibility to the updated data and information drive the awareness of this group to establish action or movements to improve the education sector. However, because they have less direct influence on the system and the implementation of policies, the Minister does not consider their arguments highly. Nevertheless, the Minister recognizes that they can contribute to the improvement of education because they often provide information about the distortion or unexpected effects taking place over the policy implementation. Moreover, as the leading actors in the online movements, the young activists play important roles in the creative processes, such as maintaining a website or social media content supporting the online movement, as well as recruiting new members. They are also the ones who introduce the benefits of social media as the platform of movement to the senior activists (Interview-TW 03).

Additionally, the minister also analyzes the relation between the government and public performed by the previous ones, especially in the policy making process in both direct and indirect participation. In the Muhammad Nuh era, the public was positioned as the supplementary partner in the decision-making process. So, their opinions and ideas were accepted but did not significantly affect the policy making process of the policy itself. As such, there was a strong reaction against the implementation of the policy, such as in the case of the curriculum of 2013. On the other hand, the Minister Anies Baswedan made the opposite approach by opening a wider opportunity for public involvement. Moreover, his strategy to optimize the usage of social media has strengthened the relationship between government and society, which lead to the improvement of public participation and involvement in policy making (Interview-TW5). However, this method caused a delay in achieving the target set by the President in education, leading to the reshuffling of the Ministry of Education and Culture (merdeka.com, July 2016). Therefore, concerning the two previous experiences, the current Minister tries to accommodate the public voices as long as they relate and support the vision of the President as the main reference of policy making (Interview-TW6).

5.3 The more opened political opportunity

The last key allowing the online movement to impact the improvement of the public position in the education policy making process was the higher degree of political opportunity in Indonesia. The reformation spirit and the freedom of speech supported

by the extensive connectivity among the society members created a better opportunity for collective action. Meyer (2004:128) states that “in such cases, opportunities for social mobilization are also opportunities for policy reform, which encourage each other in a synergistic spiral.” In this case, the social media era creates not only a channel to mobilize the people into a collective action, but also empower the society to apply stronger force for a reformation, particularly in the education sector. Nevertheless, the important enabling factor in the change of public position is the political commitment of the policy makers to openness and transparency. Moreover, in a direct election system, as practiced in Indonesia nowadays, this choice closely relates to the effort to sustain the electability in the next election. Therefore, “participation becomes an attractive strategy not just for policy improvement, but for drawing disaffected citizens back to the political mainstream” (Bishop and Davis, 2002:15). The politicians perceive the word *participation* as a magic mantra to make people feel more powerful. Besides, it also means more voters to secure the policy makers’ position in legislative and executive bodies.

Additionally, two other components creating a political opportunity, according to Meyer and Staggenborg (1996:1663), are “the openness within government to act on a particular set of issues and the prospect for political mobilization outside the government.” Therefore, another factor which enlarges public political opportunity in Indonesia is the establishment of regulations guaranteeing both the freedom of speech (Law No. 9/1998) and the openness of public information (Law No. 14/1998). In the enactment of the laws, the public can both speak their mind and express their acceptance or rejection of policy in various forms, such as demonstrations, parades, rallies, or

oration using all media. They also have free access to the information from the government, including budgeting and planning. On the other hand, the government also has a responsibility to facilitate the rights and develop an accessible and reliable system for the public. In education, the improved political opportunities enabled the society to initiate online movements which later went offline and successfully interfered with policy making as well as its implementation. The first significant movement raised via online was the annulment of the international standard school (elaborated on earlier in the 1st chapter). The movement was initiated by some activists, experts in education and parents pursuing the idea of anti-commercialism in education. They asked for a judicial review of the Article 50 Law No. 20/2003 which became the legal reference in the establishment of the international standard school policy to the Constitutional Court. This movement was conducted both online and offline. The social media and Internet-based news portals were utilized to generate more awareness and to ensure the fair conduct of the review process by the court. Finally, after 11 months of review and non-stop protest movement, in early January 2013, the court annulled the policy implementation. Another similar collective action was the movement asking for a moratorium of the curriculum of 2013's implementation triggered by the pre-existing education activists via the social media platform. As explained previously, the more conducive political opportunities opened a bigger chance for the people to act and influence the policy making process of the latest curriculum collectively. Additionally, the change in how the policy makers communicate with external stakeholders in education make the production of decisions more inclusive. Neraca Pendidikan Daerah – the Regional Education Balance In education and the creation of infographics

containing government budget, activities, and programs (see the example in Figure 9) are the initiatives indicating the willingness of the government to work hand in hand with the society in improving the education system in Indonesia.



Figure 9. The Infographic of the Priority of Education Budget Allocation of 2017

(Source: www.kemdikbud.go.id)

Unlike in the previous regime before the Reformation era, the public nowadays can easily access information, including budgets, which used to be confidential. For

instance, in the infographic, the public can find out the budgeting planning of the Ministry of Education and Culture in detail, including the priorities as well as the budget allocations for each program. Nevertheless, the openness and transparency of budgeting are not a new policy in the Ministry. As mentioned earlier, the Reformation era ushered in a new trend in the society where the public had wider opportunity to access data and information from the state bodies as an effort to ensure that the government run as mandated by the people. However, previously, the information posted on the official website in tables contained so many details and numbers that they were incomprehensible. Moreover, the accessibility to internet connection was also limited before the smartphone era. Therefore, regarding the high demand of the public, the government tried to apply a new method in providing data in an interactive way such as elaborated by Bonsón et.al,

“The main benefits that Web 2.0 offers to public sector entities are the enhancement of transparency and citizen participation. Web 2.0 has favored the emergence of citizen-created content that enriches socio-political debates and that increases the diversity of opinions, the free flow of information and freedom of expression.” (Bonsón et.al, 2012:124)

Therefore, this new strategy could meet the needs of the public for accessible and understandable information. Despite being aimed to ease the reader in understanding policy, the approach to make the infographics was made as an effort to adapt the era of creativity in which the communicators provide tools to help their communicant in accepting the information well (Interview-TW 08). This strategy, so far, has effectively

worked in engaging people's attention with the government program as well as increasing their involvement with policy making. For this reason, the government, especially the Ministry of Education and Culture now continuously uses the infographics in communicating new policies to the public. Furthermore, in some activities such as the First Day School program, the government even invites the public to design the campaign material posted on the official social media accounts. In other words, in some cases, the participation and collaboration of both the public and government happened not only in the design process but also in the publication and implementation.

5.4 Summary

The social movement raised via social media strengthened the public position in education policy making in Indonesia. The shift also brought about the involvement of the public to “the highest level characterized by dialogue and two-way information exchange” (Rowe and Frewer, 2006:6). Three key factors indicate the change caused by the online movement: the escalation of public awareness, the internal and external stakeholders' collaboration, and the improved political opportunity. In Illustration 5-1, I describe how social media enabled the shift of public involvement in decision production.

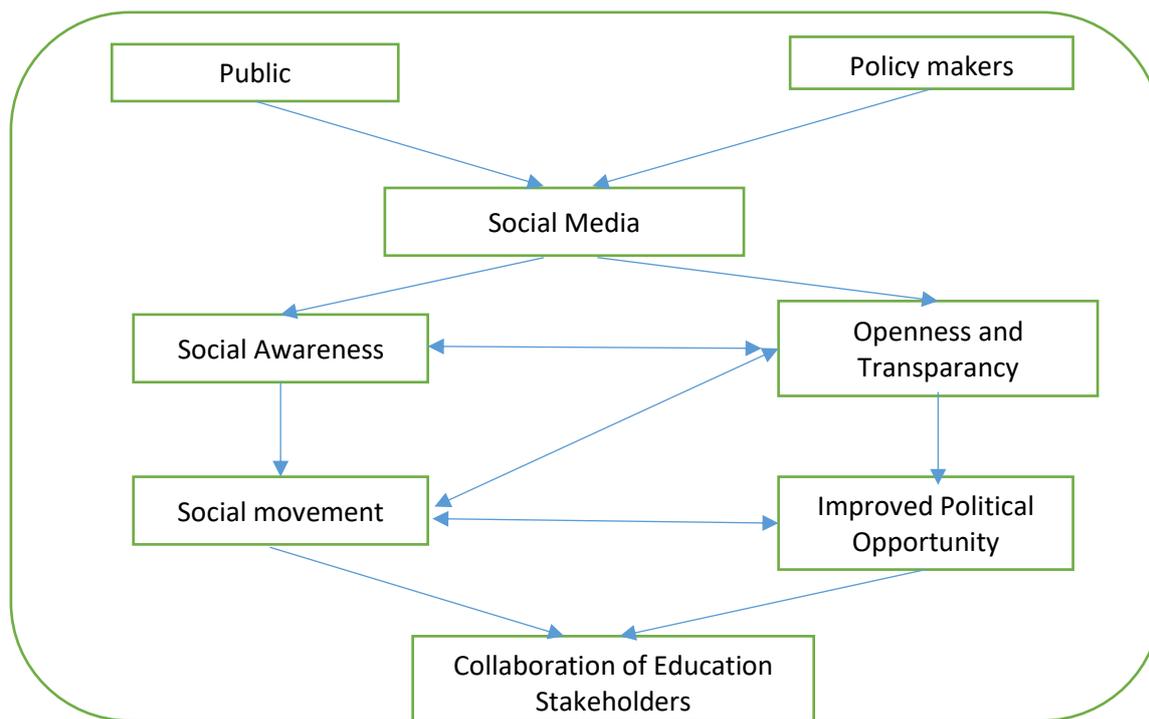


Illustration 5-1: Social Media and the Enhancement of Public Position in Policy Making Process (own data)

In the process, social media was the channel of communication as well the action used by the public leadership, the activists, and the government. At one side, the connectedness resulting from social media interactions among the activists, experts, and the other members of society raised overall attentiveness and the sense of belonging in regards to the policy making process in education. Therefore, the online movement pushing for improvement in education policy occurred. On the other hand, the government, run by a former activist and reformist leader, also optimized the social media networks as a platform to be more open and transparent creating an improved political opportunity for the public which eventually supported a collaboration of both internal and external stakeholders in the policy making process.

In reality, the conflicts between the public and policy makers, as well as among society members, were unavoidable. The hate speeches and hoaxes generated distrust and worsened the relationship between the public and the policy makers many times. Moreover, the tendency of the online activists to complain without strong argumentation created more noise than voice, downgrading the quality of social criticism and rendering them insignificant for the policy makers to consider. Consequently, in the future, the credibility of the reference becomes necessary to be heard and counted in the circulation of information as well as in the policy making. Otherwise, as predicted by some activists, the policy makers were annoyed with the case per case complaints or discussions with limited data or references, minimizing the credibility of the public voice in regards to policy making.

Chapter 6

The Role of Social Media in the Shift of the Basic and Secondary Education Policy Making Process in Indonesia

“The evolution and popularity of social media have provided new techniques for online community engagement and additional avenues for consultation and interaction with citizens and communities in ways that can facilitate dialog, creativity, collaboration, and participation.”

(Bonsón et al., 2012:126)

The dynamic brought by social media has dramatically changed the way people communicate, move, and act, particularly in some developing countries with many active users, such as Indonesia. Additionally, in democratic life, social media has also provided alternative ways to express ideas, formulate opinions, or even interfere in policy making. These changes can greatly affect the means by which people can influence their government in democratic societies. Regarding this shift in the basic and secondary education policymaking process in Indonesia, in this chapter I would like to elaborate the three main roles of social media

First of all, I will explain the relation between the use of social media and the rise of public involvement in policymaking. Particularly, I will focus on how and why the public chose social media as the platform for acting towards the improvement of the education sector in Indonesia. Then, I will discuss the usage of social media in mobilizing the resources to support the online as well as offline movement. Also, there will be a discussion of the change in political communication, particularly from the

policy-makers' standpoint. Finally, I will conclude with a summary explaining social media and its impact on the shift in education policymaking in Indonesia.

6.1 The Rise of Public Involvement in Education Policy Making

The explosion of social media in 2010 brought changes to both social and political life world-wide, including in Indonesia. In 2015, according to data released by id.techinasia.com, Indonesia had around 88.1 million internet users with 79 million of them actively using social media (see the Figure 10).



Figure 10. Statistic Data of Digital Media Users in Indonesia

(Source: id.techinasia.com, November 25th, 2015)

Based on the statistics described in the picture, we can see the potency of social media in Indonesia. Moreover, as smartphones became more affordable, the availability of mobile connectivity in the country outstripped even total population as people began owning and using more than one gadget, especially in urban areas. Moreover, most of the people in Indonesia have a tendency to follow what is happening within the global society in order to feel trendy. This culture and tendency was captured by the preexisting activists as a potential platform to mobilize more people into a social movement. Furthermore, the strategy to gain people's votes via social media networks were successfully practiced by many politicians and movements in the world, as evidenced by Barack Obama's successful campaign in the US. As a result, this trend also marks a new chapter in the political activities of the public leading to a rise in their involvement in the policymaking process. As explained by one of the digital technology developers, these phenomena prove that political evolution is affected by political communication evolution (Interview –TW 12). Additionally, in line with the opinion, Shirky (2011:1) also mentioned, "... social media have become a fact of life for civil society worldwide, involving many actors – regular citizens, activists, nongovernmental organizations, telecommunications firms, software providers, governments." Therefore, in the shift of the public position in the education policymaking in Indonesia, we cannot neglect the important role of social media as the connecting channel for people and policy makers which enables change within the country. Furthermore, as a country pursuing democracy, one of the pillars of the system is media, including social media. As through media, we could deliver opinions affecting the policies because in a democracy we want

to hear people's voices and what happens in the channel is usually perceived as the public expression (Interview – TW 15).

Regarding the research, one of the leading questions in this study is why people choose social media as a platform to influence the decision-making process. One of the representative answers to this question is explained by the following statement,

“There are some driving reasons of the public choose to use social media in responding [to] a policy. It is the combination of their willingness to quickly get the insight story of an issue which may not be covered by the mainstream media following the current trend. Moreover, an instant culture which is easy to follow [will] always be favorable in the society.” (Interview-TW 18)

As explained earlier in the introduction, the tendency of the public to have fast and direct access is triggered by the lack of their trust in the bureaucracy as mentioned by Bishop and Davis,

“Evidence from across the OECD world shows rising demands for citizen participation in policy choices. People distrust having others speak for them. They want a direct say, not one filtered through elected representatives or peak lobby groups. Existing patterns of consultation are rejected as insufficient, for they assume interests can be aggregated into organizations that speak with one voice.” (Bishop and Davis, 2002:14)

Moreover, affected by the experience in the new order era, the current political situation puts a high demand on politicians to be open and accessible to the public. Also, “the people are still affected by a consensual truth marked by opinion making by the media.

Consequently, whoever dominates the media, will lead the opinion; then who leads the opinion, will gain the popular vote, and finally govern the owner of the democracy (people)” (Interview-TW15). As a result, to win the people’s heart, the government as well as other politicians have to exist and be active on social media. Consequently, the habit of click, comment, and share makes the people have a better bargaining position in policy making because the decisions currently are driven by the popular perception. Along with the perception, Gibson et al. (2004) explain,

“The neglect has a more substantive basis, however, in that the first wave of theorizing about the role of the Internet in democracy focused very much on its capacity to promote direct democracy. In such models political mediation was largely dispensed with as the new technology allowed for more frequent in-depth communication between individuals. The Internet forms a global network, free from centralized control with intrinsically empowering characteristics – costless, space-less, timeless. As the barriers to mass communication were eroded citizens could participate more fully in decision-making.” (Gibson et al., 2004:1)

Linked to this explanation, another factor improving public participation in political activities is the ability of social media to connect numerous people and establish a new community with a particular set of identities. Garret (1996:6) mentions that “the second mechanism linking technology and participation is the promotion of collective identity, a perception among individuals that they are members of a larger community by virtue of the grievances they share.” In education, for instance, the issues of the schooling system, curriculum, or school uniform could be a serious topic for the public because these topics are something personal regarding their possible roles as students, parents,

teachers, academics, or even concerned bystanders. Additionally, the connectedness resulting from the social media era makes people more confident because it is easier for them to find others who speak about the same opinions or move in the same direction. In other words, "...the internet services allow like-minded people to gather and interconnect" (Biocca, 2006:26). This is also the motivation driving the young activist to act and contribute in developing the online movement. Because the circle of information in the social media made them realize that there are more people with similar thoughts and intentions, who willingly and voluntarily, involve themselves in the effort to make a better education system in Indonesia (Interview-TW 03, 10, and 22).

Additionally, more than a platform for social protests, social media has also created another type of movement in Indonesia marked by the establishment of various online-based communities for education. In Facebook, for instance, we can easily find various types of "Komunitas Peduli Pendidikan"- community care for education, such as Komunitas Pendidikan Peduli Anak dan Balita focusing on the education of children and toddlers education, Komunitas Peduli Anak Jalanan which helps the homeless children gain access to education, or Komunitas Mahasiswa Peduli Pendidikan consisting of university students attempting to improve the education system. Each of these communities pursues their specific goals for the enhancement of education in particular aspects of education reflected in the name of the organization they chose. Also, this new type of online social movement in Indonesia reveals that social media could also be utilized by society members to take real action and solve problems of education first hand. Another interesting find regarding this new type of online movement is how some of these communities also provide the society with alternative

forms of education. The disappointment over the current curriculum drives some members of the society to establish new forms of schooling systems, and they also use social media to share the concept and invite people to join them (Interview-TW 03). As a new kind of social protest of the society challenging the concept pursued by the government, this action is interesting. At the same time, this action also demonstrates that social media enable the public to both interfere in policymaking via online protest movements and work together to improve the system by creating a collaborative action among the society members.

6.2 Resource Mobilization

As well as other types of social movement, the online-based collective action also requires some supporting resources. Therefore, it needs a mechanism to mobilize the assets which fuel the struggle. To fulfill this necessity, social media also plays an important role as a channel for resource mobilization. “Social media broadens the networks to support a collective action” (Interview- TW 10). Another activist related that social media benefits and is helpful in communicating the agenda driving people to contribute directly or indirectly to the movement (Interview-TW 03). Furthermore, McAdam states that “at the micro level (of a social movement), individuals are drawn into participation not by the force of the ideas or individual attitudes but as the result of their embeddedness in associational networks that render them “structurally available” for protest activity (McAdam, 1994:254). In other words, social media plays a major

role in taking the potentially existing human resources into a collective action because of the possibility it provides to build shared goals in improving education.

Regarding the type of resources mobilized via social media networks, in the online movement the need for financial and physical resources such as a base camp, room or working space for coordination is no longer primary. Moreover, "email and hypertext links make it easier than before to mobilize protests quickly and link together previously unconnected individuals, even breaking down traditional barriers of time and space" (Gibson et al., 2004:11). In fact, social media itself can be the main resource of the movement. Therefore, the key to the success of the action lies in the entrepreneurship and the ability to optimize the usage of social media by the activists. As Shirky (2011) explains that,

"Social media can compensate for the disadvantages of undisciplined groups by reducing the costs of coordination...As a result, larger, looser groups can now take on some kinds of coordinated action, such as protest movements and public media campaigns, that were previously reserved for formal organizations" (Shirky, 2011:5)

Furthermore, social media also gives room for collaboration for anyone to contribute their skills, competency, or potency in support of the movement. For instance, a graphic designer can help the improvement of the layout design of the pages or an academic may provide analyses and supporting references to enrich the content of the agenda. "In this way, social media draw upon a fundamental characteristic of Web 2.0 in that they harness collective intelligence" (O'Reilly & Batelle, 2009 cited in Bowman et al., 2012:2298)." A similar situation happened in the protest movement of the

implementation of the 2013 curriculum in Indonesia. The academics and experts in education published some articles containing their evaluation on the policy draft, while other activists created memes or infographics making the experts' recommendations more understandable to the general public (see the example in Figure 11).



Figure 11. Meme Representing Movement against the Curriculum of 2013

Source: Twitter @ReneCC (Posted on December 8th, 2014)

During the movement to stop the implementation of the curriculum of 2013, some creators published memes capturing the objection of the academics, public figures, or experts in education to the curriculum. For instance, in the picture the creator quotes the opinion of Prof. Yohanes Surya, a popular physicist in Indonesia, who against the planning to integrate natural sciences in Bahasa Indonesia in the latest curriculum which

would have reduced the time and quality of the learning process of the subject. Memes are commonly used in the online movement because they represent “a symbolic packet that travels easily across large and diverse populations because [they are] easy to imitate, adapt personally, and shared broadly with others” (Bennett and Segerberg, 2012:745). Moreover, this creativity was also another unique point making the online movement more popular and attractive to the public.

Another strength of social media in resource mobilization is the ability to reach potential participants even in a remote areas, as long as internet services are available. As Bennet explains, “...the internet and other technologies, such as cellular phones and digital videos, enable people to organize politics in ways that overcome limits of time, space, identity, and ideology, resulting in the expansion and coordination of activities that would not likely occur by other means” (Bennet, 2003:20). Therefore, despite the geographical challenge of an archipelago, the proliferation of web access can open up chances for more people to be involved in a collective action or react to policy decisions. Furthermore, through social networks, the residents in remote areas can also provide additional information about their local situation as it relates to the movement agenda (interview-TW 18). As Shirky (2011:3) states, “the more promising way to think about social media is a long-term tool that can strengthen civil society and the public sphere.” Moreover, the current government also actively uses social media to engage the public and generate more enthusiasm for civic participation. Also, the success story of people’s movement in interfering in policy implementation, such as in the annulment of the International Standard School policy, encourages people to be more active in expressing their ideas and speaking their minds.

6.3 The Change in Political Communication

The last role of social media in the increase of public participation in the Indonesian education policymaking process lies in its ability to change political communication among the members of society, particularly between the public and the policymakers. For the first case, social media can also be used as an effective platform for the members of the society to increase a shared awareness and collectively bid for social control of policymaking. On the other side, social media has also become a new casual preference of the policymakers to directly communicate the ongoing decision making process with the general public, mass media, and other relevant stakeholders. social media acts to bridge the channel between the public and policymakers because people feel more comfortable expressing their ideas through social media than via a face-to-face meeting (interview-TW 22). Moreover, in social media, people need not pay as much attention to picking appropriate words or be overly concerned with writing style as they would in a formal letter; yet, the message can still be directly delivered to the decision makers in real time. Nevertheless, regarding the finding of the research, in this section, I will elaborate more about the change of political communication in the perspective of the policy makers.

Beginning in 2010, following some success stories made by various international politicians, the use of social media to gain voters became a new trend in elections worldwide. In Indonesia, a similar political style was also adopted by the candidates of the general election. The recruitment of buzzers or the making of cyber troops to win the people's votes via social media was happening *en force*, especially during the election of 2014. The approach method to communicate with the people via social

media was continued by the elected President, Joko Widodo, who also won the election because of his success in optimizing social media during the campaign. Therefore, concerning the power of social media in society, since 2014, the government has been asking entrepreneurs in digital communication to develop software and technology to catch all the utterances posted in social media and online media to be installed in the special working unit of the President (Interview-TW12). The strategy indicates that digital media has become more significant as it can easily and quickly gather feedback on policies and other decisions. Therefore, there is a tendency in today's' Indonesian political condition for policymaking to be driven by the public perception posted on the networks. As Newman (2004) elaborates,

“The role of the state shifts from that of ‘governing’ through direct forms of control (hierarchical governance), to that of ‘governance’, in which the state must collaborate with a wide range of actors in networks that cut across the public, private and voluntary sectors, and operate across different levels of decision making” (Newman, 2004:204).

Anticipating the rise in public participation in the policy making process, as instructed by the current President, nowadays, most of the Ministries and governmental bodies install the Intelligent Media Management (IMM), a program developed by Indonesia Indicator to gather and analyze the ongoing public discussion in social media, particularly those related to government policies. In the implementation, the Ministry of Education and Culture also applied the software in analyzing social media content and reported weekly the public responses to the policies made by the institution as a recommendation to the Minister and other top decision makers (see the Figure 12).

FACEBOOK

Engaged user



Engaged User



Grafik disamping menunjukkan seberapa banyak user yang engaged terhadap post dari akun Facebook kemendikbud

Semakin tinggi engaged yang tercipta, menunjukkan ada beberapa issue yang menurut fans Kemendikbud cukup menarik dan layak di komentari

Beberapa post* yang cukup banyak dikomentari oleh fans :

- Anugerah PAUD 2016
- Perubahan jadwal pengumuman seleksi GGD

*Untuk screenshot-nya dapat dilihat di halaman selanjutnya

All Content & Creative Material ©2016, Singgera

TWITTER

Engaged user



Engaged User



Grafik disamping menunjukkan seberapa banyak user yang engaged terhadap tweet dari akun Twitter kemendikbud

Semakin tinggi engaged yang tercipta, menunjukkan ada beberapa issue yang menurut followers Kemendikbud cukup menarik dan layak di retweet / reply

Beberapa post* yang cukup banyak dikomentari oleh fans :

- Kewaspadaan terhadap surat palsu Kemdikbud yang beredar tentang bantuan DAK 2016
- Seruan semangat untuk menghadapi Ujian tengah semester

*Untuk screenshot-nya dapat dilihat di halaman selanjutnya

All Content & Creative Material ©2016, Singgera

Figure 12. The Snapshot of the weekly report of the social media analyses using IMM

Source: BKLM Kemdikbud

Once every two weeks the Bureau of Communication and Public Service of the Ministry of Education and Culture reports the output of social media content analysis to the Minister and the special working unit for the Minister, Pusat Analisis dan Studi Kebijakan (PASKA) - the Center for Policy Analysis and Studies. By using the IMM application in analyzing the data, there are some important points presented in the report. From the popular keywords used by the people related to education, the number of likes, comments, and shares, and the info about the peak time and share of voice – the software generates a sentiment score valuing popularity and public perception on the Ministry’s official social media accounts. Also, there is a review of the public responses and discussions via social media on the policy, statements, or Ministry’s program. This report is then used as an important guide in deciding the sustainability of particular programs as well as in projecting future policies (Interview-TW 16). Recently, the current Minister stated that most societal feedback was gained via social media (Interview-TW 06). Additionally, this ministerial report is regularly submitted to the President to inform his decisions concerning the education sector. In fact, some decisions by both the President and Minister to decline or stop certain policies were motivated by the negative response of the public via social media, such as in the planning of the Full Day School (FDS) system. Due to a strong reaction by the public against the policy planning, the President asked the Ministry of the Education and Culture to make some improvements on the concept and reconsider the implementation (<http://nasional.republika.co.id>, 14 June 2017).

Such events led policymakers to implement “test-the-water” strategies at the start of the policymaking process (Interview-TW14). From the perspective of the current Minister,

social media is an opportunity as well in helping to formulate decisions. By optimizing the interpretation of social media, policymakers can easily relay discourse of the policy draft to the public via the networks and see how they respond, gaining inputs or suggestions to improve in the most effective and efficient way (Interview-TW 06). Moreover, he also admitted that the growing discussions on social media affected him in the making of decisions, given some considerations such as the credibility of the protesters and the visions and missions of the President. Furthermore, social media, according to him, can be utilized to catch public aspirations as well as social and political control so that in the implementation process the policymakers scry out possible distortions and unintended effects.

Another advantage of social media is the chance to have a more direct two-way interaction between the government and the public (Interview-TW 05 and TW 08). Nevertheless, from the interviews with some activists, especially the young ones, most of them do not know that the government bodies use the applications discussed above to monitor, analyze, and report the public discussions on social media (Interview TW 10 and 22). They even sometimes thought that the online movement they conducted would not significantly affect the policy making process. This is an interesting fact, because usually “people be more willing to participate if they have a real opportunity to influence both administrative processes and outcomes” (King et al., 1998: 323). Moreover, despite the power of the online movement in affecting the policy making, these young activists also realize that the strategy to make policy driven by popular perception can be destructive for the sustainability of the policy making itself. Furthermore, the public tends to talk more about perceived problems linked to the policy

rather than focus on the policy content as a whole, leading to a potentially overly-critical representation (interview-TW 19 and 22). Therefore, they predict that there is a possibility that shortly the government will take less care in being responsive to the public utterances on social media.

6.4 Summary

Social media played a crucial role in improving the public position regarding the education policymaking process in Indonesia. First of all, the rise in prominence of social media increased the public involvement in policymaking, marked by the online postings showing the enthusiasm of the people to discuss, criticize, or support the policies or programs of the government on Facebook, Twitter or other similar networks. The simplicity and effectiveness of the online communication made social media more preferable as a tool for the public to try to influence the decision making directly. Furthermore, the current global trend in political activities and their utilization of social media as a magnet to attract potential voters granted the people a stronger position in the relation between the government and the public. Moreover, as a country with the biggest number of active social media users in the world, the reaction of the netizens was perceived to be representative of the general population's perception of a policy by the policymakers. As a result, there is a tendency that the popular perception drive the policy making in Indonesia.

The second role of social media is in it's ability to mobilize resources. To support the online movement, social media is also used by activists to gain the resources necessary

to support their cause. Moreover, in the process, social media itself becomes one of the supporting resources for the movement because the networks can overcome many otherwise limiting problems within a movement, such as the free rider problem or a costly recruitment process. Additionally, the phenomena in Indonesia showed that there was a change in the type of resources used in the online movement. In fact, social media enabled an efficient movement with minimal physical and financial support. Moreover, the geographical barriers which usually limit the ability of people in more remote areas to join a movement also decrease. In short, social media in the Indonesian online movement was both the tool to mobilize the resources and a resource of the collective action.

The third role of social media is its capability to affect political communication in Indonesia. From the perspective of the decision makers, social media has increased the intensity of communication between the government and the people. Moreover, the networks lessen the distance between the policymakers and the public because communication via social media is simple, easy, and can be conducted in real-time everywhere. This two-way method of communication brings benefits for both the public and the government. Describing the situation, in Illustration 6-1, I try to illustrate how social media affects the shift in public participation in the education policymaking process in Indonesia.

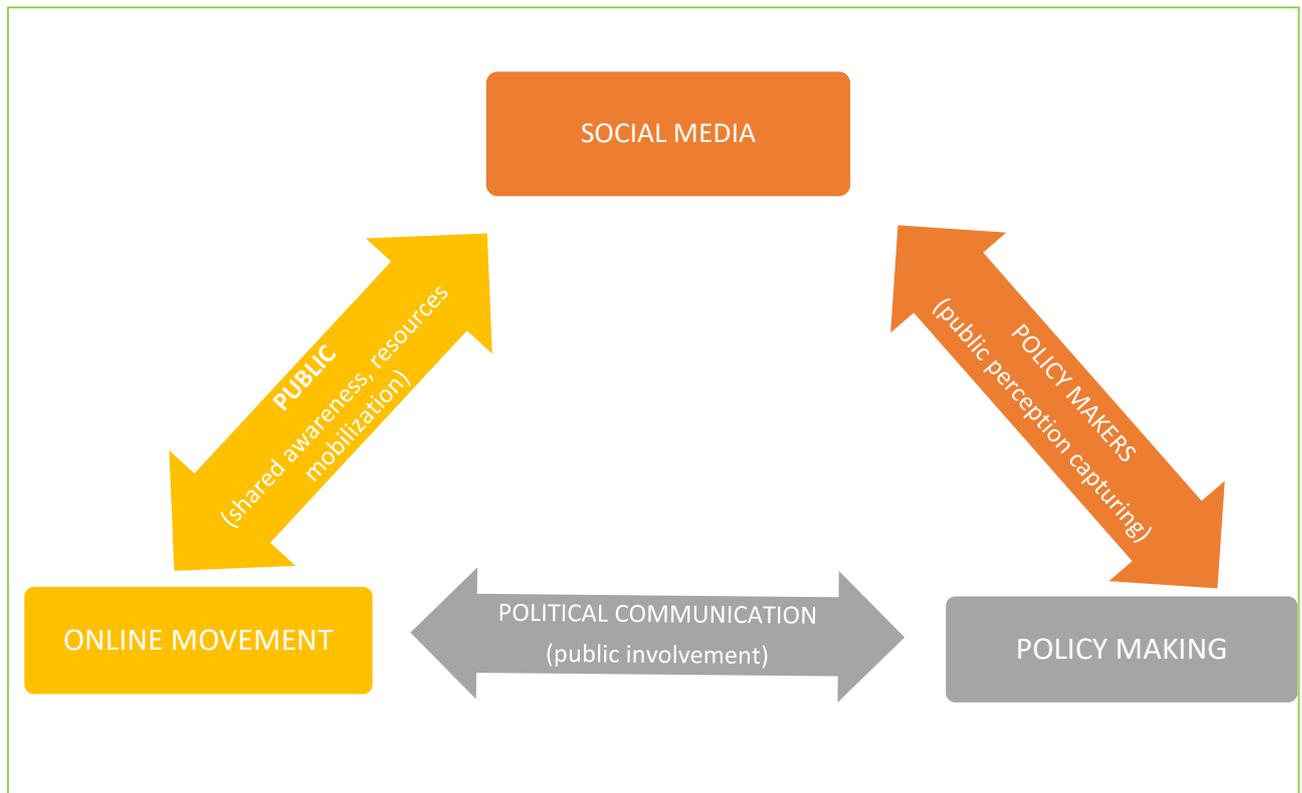


Illustration 6-1. The Role of Social Media in the Shift of Policy Making Process

(own data)

The social media era affects the public by generating an improved shared awareness about education issues as well as mobilizing the resources needed for the act. For the first role, the utilization of social media networks in the online movement creates a connectedness among the members of the society which empowers the society to move together in improving education. At this point, the role of the preexisting and young activists in the education sector was significant because they were the ones providing the data and information in creative and interactive ways that motivated people to join the action. Additionally, social media also plays a vital role in resource mobilization, enabling the online movement to take place in the society. In this case, the networks open more opportunities to more potential participants to join and contribute to the

collective action, including those living in remote areas. Regarding the type of the resources, social media functions not only as a tool to mobilize resources, but is also one of the valuable resources, itself. Social media is able to support collective action, particularly by intensifying the social force of the public as well as by facilitating greater degrees of communication with policymakers.

On the other side, social media also benefits the policymakers, especially in gathering popular perception of the public to support the policymaking process. Also, the current trend in politics to utilize social media generated by the social media boom makes the bargaining position of the public better, as potential candidates are more willing to cater towards the views expressed by the public via social media in order to get elected. Another interesting find in the case study of the Indonesian online movement in education was that the social media era created a new trend practiced by the decision makers in policymaking process known as the “test-the-water” strategy. They realized that social media could be helpful in gathering people’s opinions, reactions, and insights on a draft or planning of policy effectively and efficiently. This scheme was applied by the government to examine the policies as early as possible and to improve the content, reduce the cost and time of assessment, and minimize the potency of objection during the future implementation.

Finally, because of the online movement run by the public and the change in the policymaking process resulting from social media, there was a more intense political communication between the public and the policymakers. This situation, later, improves public participation and involvement in the decision-making process. Moreover, the voices of the people become more significant in the policymaking process because the

social media era generates a more open and transparent method of governance. It facilitates the ability of the public to do a 24/7 monitoring and evaluation of the government performance. Nevertheless, there is a need for the public to improve the quality of their comments and voices based on reliable and accurate data. Also, they need to see and target the movement for the improvement of the education sector holistically, not case-per-case in what they practice today. Otherwise, the policymakers will not pay attention to their clamor, and the improved condition of public participation will not be sustainable in the future.

Chapter 7

Discussion on the Empirical Findings of the Research

The phenomena of social media affecting the social political changes have been an interesting topic to study. In Indonesia, the locus of the research, the social media boom has changed policy making in the education sector, particularly in leveraging the public involvement in the process. Also, the high percentage of internet penetration resulting from the extensive development of communication technologies, such as smartphones, enable a higher degree of connectivity between people. As a result, the online-based collective action has become a new trend in global society as an effective way to reform or even revolutionize the political system, as took place in Indonesia.

As the case of this study, this research investigates further the shift of the public's position regarding the basic and secondary education policy making process, especially in the making of the curriculum of 2013 triggered by the consecutive poor performances in the international R&Rs, reflected in the results of various PISA surveys, TIMSS, and HDI. Furthermore, this study developed by focusing on three elements of social movements proposed by Meyer (2004), which are organizational consciousness, resources, and the political opportunity structure.

This chapter summarizes the study process and findings, as well as highlights the theoretical and empirical suggestions. First of all, it reviews the theoretical and methodological approaches applied in studying the phenomena of the online movement leading to the shift in public position in the basic and secondary education policy

making process in Indonesia from 2002 to 2013. Then, in the second part, there are empirical analyses of the data and information collected in the research which then refer to the hypotheses proposed at the beginning of this study. Lastly, I analyze the appropriateness of the theoretical framework regarding the research process and its output and the possibility of the application in another similar study.

7.1 Recapitulating the Approach of this Study

The current research aim is to study the impact of social media on the establishment of online studies leading to the improved public position in the basic and secondary education policy making process in Indonesia. The design of the study was developed to answer two proposed *research questions*. First, how did the online movement stimulated via social media affect and shift both the paradigm of the policy makers and the public position in the basic and secondary education policy making process in Indonesia? Second, what was the impact of the social media in driving the online movement as well as constraining a change in the policy making process in Indonesia? To achieve this research goal, I investigated the online movement and decision-making process in the education sector by focusing on three components of collective action: organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunity structure. Furthermore, in this project, I use the design process of the curriculum of 2013 as the example of the case study. The selection of the case study was made considering the making of the policy itself in which the public was actively involved throughout almost the entire process. Besides, the time limit applied in the study coincides with a time

when the government was in active discourse with social media users regarding the low ranking of Indonesian students in several R&Rs, particularly PISA and TIMSS.

Empirically, the output of this research will offer a new perspective on the issue of online-based social movement and the education policy making process, especially in developing countries with high levels of both internet and social media penetration. Furthermore, the usage of the social media networks in the collective action to directly affect the education policy making process will be analyzed with interdisciplinary approaches. Theoretically this research will contribute in modernizing social theory, especially theory related to the role of online social movements in education policy making processes. Moreover, this research is also a contribution to the society, especially in raising the effective public involvement in education policy making process, because the responsibility of education improvement rests not only with the government or particular bodies but also in the hands of the society.

To explain the phenomena of the shift of the public participation in the basic and secondary education policy making process, the *theoretical framework* developed in the research focused on the concepts of the public participation and three components of social movements proposed by Meyer (2004), which are: organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunities. In the further study, there are three main concepts applied in the study process which are collective identity, resource mobilization, and political opportunity structure. The collective identity was used to study how the organizational consciousness developed in the online movement by the entrepreneur resulted in a particular shared character among the participants of the action. Then, the resources mobilization approach was utilized to find out the type of resources collected

in supporting the online movement as well as the role of social media in the gathering process. Finally, the political opportunity structure is applied to identify its role in enabling the social movement to take place and how social media affects the improvement of the political opportunity in Indonesia. Additionally, there are also three supporting theories used to explain how the three components of the online movement are produced, namely relative deprivation, rational actor, and advocacy 2.0. The RD approach is applied in exploring how the pre-existing activists used the concealed disappointment of the society concerning the education quality due to the previous tyrannical regime in driving the people to openly and directly become involved in a collective action for a better system. Then, the rational actor approach is applied in studying the relation of the utilization of social media in online movements and the mustering of the motivation of the people to join the action. Advocacy 2.0 enables the exploration of the strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities of the online activism via social media. In other words, both the main and supporting concepts are applied to help analyze how the three components of the collective action emerged through the utilization of the social media network as the platform of movement.

Based on the theoretical framework, I developed three hypotheses explaining how each component of the online movement emerged and contributed in the online movement causing an improvement of the public position in the education policy making process. I assumed that the improvement of the public position in the decision-making process resulted from the success of the social media in driving the online movement particularly in developing the organizational consciousness, mobilizing resources, and improving the political opportunity. With the organizational consciousness hypothesis

H1, I assumed that the greater the social consciousness produced by driving public dissatisfaction in the education sector via the social media, the greater the number of participants and the stronger the force behind the social movement for educational policy change in Indonesia. In hypothesis H1, it is assumed that the usage of social media in the social movement attracted more people to join and collectively act with a stronger force to affect the education policy making process. Additionally, in resources hypothesis H2, I presumed that the better the organization was concerning resource gathering regarding the utilization of social media, the more resources would be gained to support a more powerful social movement in driving change in the education policy making process. In this case, I saw the potential strength of social media as an effective tool for the gathering of the required resources to support the online movement. Then, in the political opportunity hypothesis H3, I highlighted how a better utilization of social media in the Indonesian online movement may enlarge the political opportunity and open a bigger chances for the public to contribute to the improvement of the education policy making process directly.

At the initial step of the development of the *methodological framework*, I created a focus of study regarding the three components of a social movement, which are organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunity structure (see *chapter 2*). This list of the foci of study, developed from the theoretical approaches, enable the further study and elaboration of how each component occurred and interrelated to each other in the online movement. The list also helped in designing the research instruments, such as the interview protocol, as well as the process of data selection and collection. Moreover, it was useful in ensuring the study process was conducted as planned by

providing a framework and limitation so that the research was focused. Regarding the empirical methods, this study applies the qualitative approach because this method could provide a chance to closely study the phenomena and investigate it by involving the actors of the movement directly and personally. A qualitative approach was applied with the process tracing method to help identify and to understand the causal mechanism that takes place in the phenomena. In the data collection, I conducted semi-structured and in-depth models of expert and elite interviews. There were 22 interviews involving key actors of the online movement and the policy making in the basic and secondary education sector in Indonesia as well as academics in education policy, political communication, and media studies. I also apply document analysis methods to support the research. The policy documents mainly gathered from the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia. There are also international documents collected relating particularly to the international R&Rs from PISA, TIMSS, World Bank or data of HDI. Finally, to support the study, I also gathered some news material related to the topic of the study including relevant social media content.

7.2 Main Findings regarding the Research Hypotheses

The biggest social movement in Indonesia, called the reformation movement, successfully brought down the previous tyrannical regime and dramatically changed the social and political life of the country in 1998 (elaborated in *chapter 4*). In line with the reforming spirit brought by the transition era, there were three major changes that took place in Indonesia, which were the decentralization of power, the change in the election

system, and the freedom of expression. These three aspects also changed the power relation between the national-local governments as well as public policy makers. As a result, the people gained a better position in the political process, including policy making. In this section, I will elaborate more the findings of the study describing the empirical output related to the phenomena of the online social movement and the shift of the public position in the education policy making process in Indonesia.

7.2.1 Online Social Movement and the Shift of Education Policy Making Process

In *research question 1* I asked how the online movement raised via social media affected and shifted both the paradigm of the policy makers and the public position in the basic and secondary education policy making processes in Indonesia. In Figure 6, I present the empirical output of the study regarding the question. This description developed through a focus on three key factors indicating the change brought by the online movement based on the standpoint of the public and the policy makers who affected and are affected by the modification. The three points, as explained in *chapter 5*, are the escalation of public awareness, the improved political opportunity, and internal and external stakeholders' collaboration.

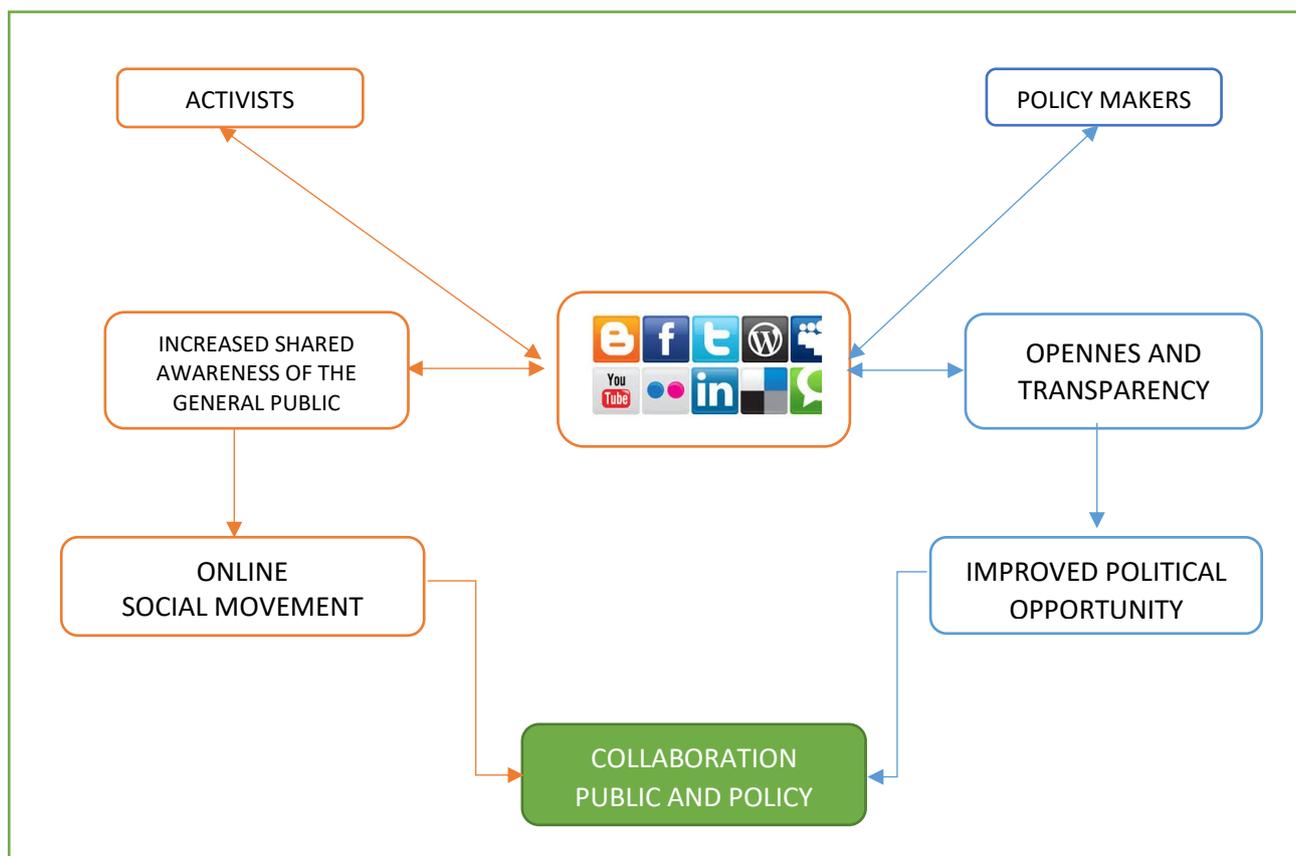


Illustration 7-1. The Online Movement and the shift of policy maker's perception and public position in the basic and secondary education policy making process

(Source: own data, logo of social media: clipartlogo.com)

In the phenomena of the shift of the basic and secondary education policy making process in Indonesia, as described in Illustration 7-1, social media created a different effect for both the public and the decision makers. For the public, it was the pre-existing activists in the education sector who initially recognized the potency of the social media networks as a current popular trend in connecting people massively. They realized that this new media could support their effort to influence the policy makers to improve education in Indonesia. They began by posting articles and sharing actual data and

information about the education of Indonesia in their personal and institutional social media accounts, particularly Facebook, Twitter, and Blogs. They posted mainly about the performance of Indonesia in some international R&Rs, such as the PISA survey, to highlight the actual output of the Indonesian education system reflected in the students' competitiveness level internationally. This strategy successfully created utterances among the general public, particularly the active social media users in Indonesia, which has second biggest online community in the world. The condition also marked the increase of public awareness of the problem and issues pertaining to education. Beginning with clicks, shares, and comments, this public utterance gradually escalated into an online movement forcing the policy makers to react and solve the problem. "Citizen participants spoke of their profound frustration with the capacity of public bodies to respond to their concerns" (Newman, 2004:213). The online movement in the education sector in Indonesia was born.

However, some experts and activists in the education sector believe that the public concern over education was not a new phenomenon caused by social media. They have already had serious concerns about education, but had limited access and information about the actual condition. Before social media, however, these kinds of utterances in the society ended up as mere gossip or rumor with no power to move people to collaborate. Moreover, previously, there was no direct access to the policy makers, leading the people to think that protesting would change nothing. Therefore, social media was effectively used by the activists to use this latent potency in the society resulting in a more powerful collective action and forcing a change in education. This is the difference made by social media in the formation of political opinions which

changed people's mind as proposed by Shirky (2011:5). Moreover, as Newman (2004) explains,

“In part this (the social media) is viewed as potentially overcoming the decline of interest in party politics, and in part because representative democracy is viewed as too hierarchical, bureaucratic and party bound to be able to deal effectively with questions of identity in a multi-cultural and global/local world” (Newman, 2004:204)

On the other side, the change in the way people communicate and interact with the boom of social media also transformed political communication globally. Some political phenomena, like the Egypt revolution, and Obama's victory in the 2012 USA Presidential Elections, drove politicians to actively get involved in the virtual world because of its potential to massively move people effectively. A similar situation occurred in Indonesia. The politicians started to use social media as their main platforms to win people's votes. Also, the governmental bodies created official social media accounts in an effort to facilitate public demands of having direct communication with the policy makers. As Bonson et al. (2012:126) explains, the usage of ICTs created new forms of participation improving social consciousness and citizen engagement. Furthermore, the change in people-policy maker communication also resulted in a more open and transparent government. The decision makers could no longer hide or ignore the public utterances on social media because it would significantly affect their votes in the upcoming election. As a result, there was an improved political opportunity enabled by the online movement initiated by pre-existing activists to influence the decision-making process. In the education sector, one of the important policy outputs produced

by the collaborative work between the government and public was the 2013 curriculum. Claimed as a response to public critics on the students' performance in PISA, TIMSS, and PIRLS by the Minister of Education and Culture in that period, the establishment of the curriculum marked this as a significant achievement of the public. For the first time, the people involved and influenced the policy making process in the education sector, of which curriculum is a core principle.

7.2.2 The Impact of Social Media in the Online Movement and the Change in the Education Policy making Process

In studying the online movement and its relation to change in the Indonesian education policy making process, it is also interesting to analyze the role of social media in the emergence of the phenomenon. Therefore, *research question 2* questioned the impact of social media in driving the online movement as well as constraining a change in the policy making process in Indonesia. In analyzing the roles of social media in the online movement and the shift of the public position in the education policy making process, I develop the explanation based on the actors involved in the process which are the general public, the activists, and the policy makers as described in Illustration 7-2.

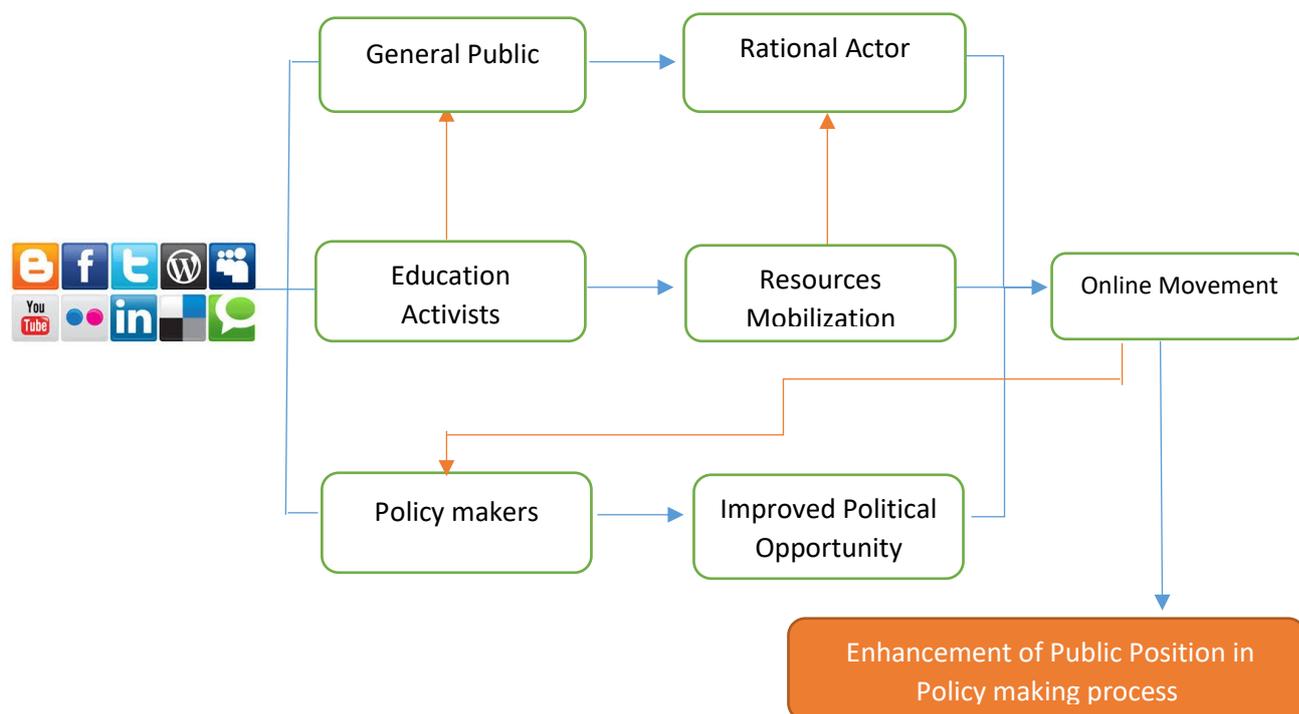


Illustration 7-2. The role of social media in the online movement and the shift of public position in the education policy making process in Indonesia
(Source: own data, logo of social media: clipartlogo.com)

For the general public, social media enables them to access the updated and actual data and information of current issues, including issues pertaining to the education sector. The articles, postings, and news supplied by the pre-existing activists which were shared via the networks had increased public awareness of the existing problem. Additionally, driven by the power of social media to connect people massively, people then easily find those who share similar concerns and want to act to solve the problem. As a result, people with similar goals unite and establish groups which later support the online movement. The rational actors also emerged. They are called rational because they realized that the collective action raised via social media would be more powerful and

bring direct impact in improving their conditions as well as influencing the decision-making process; rather than gossiping or conducting a demonstration on the street as was done traditionally.

Meanwhile, for the activists, social media was significantly helpful in mobilizing the resources necessary to support the collective action. The networks enabled the entrepreneurs of the movement, which were the activists, to invite more people to join and gather potential human resources to support the action. Also, in the online movement, the type of resources collected were different from traditional ones. The need of buildings or base camps, vehicles, or other material equipment were diminished. In contrast, the online movement focused on creating more creative content to enlarge the number of participants and expand the networks so that the force for the policy makers produced by the action was made stronger. From the study, it is also revealed that for the activists social media was also one of the required resources in the movement itself. The networks could reach bigger audiences and the media could be an effective tool to facilitate communication, coordination, and escalation of the collective action.

Finally, from the perspective of the policy makers, social media and the online movement raised via the networks drove them to be more open to the public, particularly regarding policymaking. The global change of the way people connected to each other also changed the communication between the public and the government. The need of a direct and transparent interaction facilitated by social media reduced the gap between the public and the policy makers. Moreover, the policy making process became more efficient than before the era. Interestingly, the government of Indonesia now practices

a new trend called “test-the-water” approach in initiating policy making. They post the planning or idea of the future policy on their social media accounts to see how the public reacts to it and gather their insights, critiques, and suggestions to improve the concept. This new trend and the change in the pattern of communication indicate there was an enhancement of public position in the education policy making process in Indonesia. Public involvement was not merely conducted in FGD as a former mechanism of decision making, but conducted in a more opened and accessible way for everyone.

In the following section, I will elaborate further the empirical analysis related to the theoretical assumptions stated in *Chapter 3*. There will be an explanation of the findings regarding the organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunity structure in the online movement and the shift of the public position in the education policy making process in Indonesia.

1. Organizational Consciousness

The output of the research on how the pre-existing activists raised the shared awareness and drove the public to join the online movement in the education sector is in line with *Hypothesis 1* elaborated in *Chapter 3* of the theoretical framework. It was presumed that the greater the social consciousness produced by driving the public dissatisfaction identity via social media, the greater the number of participants and the stronger the force behind the social movement for educational policy change in Indonesia.

In the study, it is figured that the pre-existing activists, also called as the senior activists, are the entrepreneurs responsible for initiating the online movement by optimizing the boom of social media in the society by providing the public with articles and statuses

containing their opinions of the current condition of Indonesian education. These activists realize and make use of the habit of the Indonesians in general who actively follow and share the hot issues via social media. Furthermore, as mentioned by some interviewees, the issue about education is always interesting to the society. For most of the community members, an issue on education is something personal, regarding their possible role as students, parents, teachers, or family members who care about the future of their children. Therefore, the utterances on education are not something new in the country. The critics of the education system have been discussed in educational forums or community meetings. However, this talk only involved limited people in the educational community or institutions. Moreover, before the social media era, this public discussion merely ended up as a daily conversation with no effect on the improvement of the education sector. The struggle and movement to reform the education system has also been conducted for a long time by the activists but rarely heard by the community because mass media rarely captured this issue on their headlines. More than that, the previous tyrannical regime made the public prefer to accept the policies decided by the government passively. Therefore, the social media era provided a breakthrough in the social movement for the education system. It empowered the former activists as well as the junior ones to invite more people in a bigger collective action. Additionally, the global trend in political communication changing the politicians perspective in the effort of maintaining the votes also made the people believe that their voices now are significant and may drive changes in the policy making process. A perfect example of this political shift is the design process of the curriculum of 2013. As an essential policy, the process behind the curriculum began

with the disappointment of the society over the result of the education system in Indonesia marked by the poor performances in some R&Rs. The government, as instructed by the President in that period, decided to follow up the public protests by designing a new curriculum. However, the initial drafts were criticized and rejected by the public because of many problematic contents and the unclear implementation plan. Then under the new cabinet, the following Minister, Anies Baswedan, postponed the implementation and established a review team consisting of academics, activists, and experts in education. Moreover, public suggestions were also considered in the revising process. The improvement process of the curriculum is still conducted while at the same time it is going to be implemented by the current Minister, Muhadjir Effendy. Nevertheless, the policy makers committed to involving the public in the process; therefore, they call the last curriculum *a living curriculum* to ensure the development of the policy will be continuously done.

2. Resources

To support the collective action, resource mobilization was also an important aspect to study further in the current research of the online movement in Indonesian education. In *Hypothesis 2* of resources in *Chapter 3*, I proposed the assumption that the better the organization is at resource gathering regarding the utilization of the social media, the more resources gained, hence the more powerful the social movement in forcing a change in education policy making in Indonesia. As the output of the study, it is concluded that the social media played a significant role in the mobilization of resources. In line with the hypothesis, the networks made the mobilization process more effective and efficient. The high level of internet penetration and vast innovation of

mobile phones allows people to have better access to information, data and even join collective action more easily. Therefore, the online movement can also have a greater opportunity to get potential human resources to support the escalation of the action. These *intangible* resources are more important in the online movement. As mentioned by Joinson (2003:188), the internet engine nowadays focuses more on social connectivity than content. Therefore, the creative hands developing the presentation of the social media as the platform of movement become more important nowadays. For example, memes and infographics currently are preferable in a movement or social campaign than pages of articles or data. Both of the products attract more people to care about the educational issues or problems and drive them to join the action.

Regarding the type of the resources mobilized, the online movement relies less on rooms and facilities such as offices or buildings because of social media, as a resource, is a borderless room to chat, discuss and make plans for collective action. Moreover, the networks are also able to overcome geographical barriers and reach participants living in remote areas. This is something important in Indonesia as an archipelagic country. The capability to gather more people in action makes the online activism more powerful because the policy makers nowadays realize that the way they react to social protests, particularly via social media, can affect their electability in the next election. In other words, the online movement requires more intangible resources to support the action. Social media, as the media of mobilization as well as the supporting resources for the action, provides opportunities for its participants to contribute and collaborate in the action actively. As a result, the online movement creates a more effective action

with greater support and stronger force affecting the policy making process in the education system.

3. Political Opportunity

In *Hypothesis 3* also stated in *Chapter 3*, I assumed that the better the utilization of social media in the Indonesian online movement, the bigger the political opportunity, thus the bigger the chance for the public to directly contribute to the improvement of the education policy making process. However, in the study, I found that this component resulted not only from the usage of social media as a platform of a social movement, but is also driven by the change in global political communication. The openness and transparency of the current policy makers results from the political experiences revealing how powerful a tool social media as a tool of a social movement turned out to be, massively mobilizing people and resulting in impeachment, the annulment of policies, revolution or even winning a presidential election. Moreover, the vast development of ICTs and the evolution of communication make social media a daily need of most people nowadays. Both citizens and decision makers are connected to each other as individuals or as representatives of their institution via social media. Moreover, in Indonesia, the government had established some regulations guaranteeing the freedom of speech and the accessibility of public information (see *chapter 5*). This commitment is also another reason for the success of the online movement in Indonesia. Nevertheless, the online movement in Indonesia also contributed to the improvement of public political opportunity, especially in the education policy making process. In the perspectives of the decision makers, the tendency of the public to directly complain or

criticize the draft of a policy or an established program indicates their willingness to be directly involved in the improvement of the education sector. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the society conducts their responsibility to supervise the government and its bodies well. As “changes in the political opportunity structure are unlikely to have any effect unless they are perceived as being important by those concerned– here by officials, citizens and service users” (Newman, 2004:218). Therefore, the collaboration and two-way communication between the public and the decision makers may take place in the society. Moreover, the policy makers also admitted that the public activeness on social media makes the policy making process more effective and efficient, particularly regarding gathering feedback and finding out the people’s reaction on a policy plan. However, the problematic issue regarding this strategy is there are more noises than voices produced in the reaction performed by the public. Despite the access opened by the government to the public disposition, in general, the complaint, feedback, or responses given to the policy makers did not have accurate data or references. This attitude downgraded the quality of public involvement in the policy making process. Moreover, this condition also makes the government less likely to heed their comments or pay attention to the movements they raised. Therefore, both the activists and the general public have to improve the quality of their comments or critiques. Otherwise, the online movement will no longer affect the decision-making process in the future.

7.3 Discussion of Research Findings and Explanations

Unlike the previous study about social media and social movements which usually dominates with the topic of political and natural preservation, the present study discusses the phenomena of online movements in the education sector.

The organizational consciousness was raised primarily by the pre-existing activists in education by raising the public awareness and awakening the relative deprivation shared by the people due to their disappointment with the education system which previously could not be expressed due to the limits placed upon them by the authoritarian regime.

The utilization of social media as the platform of the online movement also lead to the change of the public as active social users into rational actors in the collective action.

The entrepreneurs of the movement successfully ensured the public that their collective voices would affect the policy making process. Moreover, in the spirit of reformation, the policy makers in Indonesia committed to guarantee the freedom of speech and open wider access for the citizens to public information. Also, the change in political communication globally also drove the government to be more open, particularly in sustaining their electability. Additionally, to highlight the development of public participation in the new order era and after the reformation, in the following Table 9, I summary some important points marking the change happened during the period.

Table 9. The Development of Public Participation in Policy Making Process
in Indonesia (own data)

Point of Discussion	Period		
	New Order Era (1966-1998)	Reformation Era	
		Before Social Media Era (1998-2008)	After Social Media Era (2008 – now)
Type of participation* (based on King et al. (1998))	Conventional participation	(Transition to) Authentic Participation	Authentic Participation (not totally)
Type of policy making	Centralized; top down	Decentralized (partially); top down with minim public involvement	Decentralized (partially); more participative and collaborative with public
Key actor(s) in policy making process	President and executive bodies (administrators)	Administrators, representatives of public/stakeholders	Administrators, representatives of public/stakeholders, general public (social media users)
Accessibility to information	Limited access; mass media were controlled	Access to information opened; accessibility to information and data of general public was still limited	Access opened and reach more people; information and data sharing is almost unlimited
Chance to social movement	Limited	Big; a lot of demonstration took place in this period	Big; online movement is more preferable in this era
Public perception and reaction toward policy making process	Passively accepted the policies, almost no critics	The general public were still passive; the activists give stronger reaction in the policy making process	Both activists and general public (social media users) are active in the policy making process
Background or type of public involved in policy making	Unknown due to limited space for public involvement	Activists, academics, politicians	Activists, academics, politicians, social media users

During the New Order Era under Soeharto's regime, the government applied the concept of conventional participation. The policy making is conducted in a top-down and one-way system. Moreover, the centralization of power and governance made the

President the final authority. During his ruling period, the policy making process was fully run by the executive bodies, even the legislative and judicative institutions were under regime control. Also, in the era, both printed and electronic mass media were supervised, and there was limited access for the public to data and information, particularly related to political decision-making. There was also limited opportunity for the public to engage in collective action or protest movements. Demonstration was prohibited, and the government controlled the activities of non-governmental organizations. As a result, people passively accepted and obeyed the policies made by the policy makers. There was almost no criticism of the government. Therefore, during this period it was hard to identify the background of the public involved in the policy making because the public participation was so restricted.

Then, in the reformation era starting in 1998, there was a transition from conventional to more authentic participation. Decentralization of power was also conducted although still limited to some sectors, including education. Public participation increased marked by the involvement of citizen representatives or stakeholders in the process, but the mechanism of decision-making was still top-down. Access to the data and information was opened up; yet, the accessibility of the public to it was still limited. Nevertheless, many demonstrations happened in this period indicating the improvement of the opportunity for the public to make a collective action such as the protest movements led by activists and academics, especially college students. However, in general, the public was still passive in the policy making process.

After the social media boom, public participation in Indonesia moved further toward a more authentic one. The regional government gained more power and authority to

manage the territory but still limited by the law. Furthermore, because of the wider accessibility, the public could get more data and information, including that related to policy making which enabled them to involve themselves more actively in the process. Regarding the protest movement, in this era, the online protest or action was preferable than marching on the street. The rapid increase of the mobile connectivity also made the background of the people joining the protest action more varied. For instance, in the education sector, currently, the protest actions are not only involving activists or experts but also parents, students, and communities in the society.

Despite the discussion about the development of public participation in Indonesia, in the research, there are also two interesting findings related the topic of study. First of all, there is a relation between the existence of the pre-existing activists as top decision makers and the increase of public involvement in the policy making process. From the interviews with some activists in education and policy makers, the highest level of public and government collaboration in education sector took place under the period of Minister Anies Baswedan. As a former activist, he initiated many education movements, the involvement of all stakeholders and communities in education and culture reflected in his policies and program, such as in the establishment of Neraca Pendidikan Daerah – The Regional Education Balance as well as the Gerakan Hari Pertama Sekolah – The First Day of School Movement. He also introduced the use of infographics in communicating government policies or information to the public and the optimization of social media in public engagement.

The second interesting finding in the relation between social media and the policy making process was the application the Intelligent Media Management (IMM), software

to gather and analyze the ongoing public discussion on social media particularly those related to government policies. This unexpected discovery during the study strengthens the basic argumentation that social media affects the policy making process in Indonesia. In fact, the public reaction can change both the process and outcomes. Therefore, some interviewees stated that currently the public perception drives the decision-making process in Indonesia. However, the information on the implementation of this software is limited. Most of the activists I interviewed do not know about the application. In other words the public, in general, does not realize that their conversations on social media, particularly those relating to policy, were documented, analyzed and considered by the policy makers.

Nevertheless, I realize that the perspective of decision makers applied in this research may not cover the other possible factors which may exist in the online movement from different angles. Therefore, there are some potential issues to be analyzed in further research, such as the motivation of joining an online movement from the general public's standpoint. Considering all the findings and outputs of the study, I argue that the theoretical framework used in this research appropriately explains the phenomena of the online movement and the improvement of the public position in the basic and secondary education policy making process in Indonesia. The qualitative and process tracing methods also helped me in developing the current study and lead me to interesting and even unexpected findings during the investigation as elaborated previously in *chapter 5 and 6*.

Chapter 8

Conclusions of the Study and the Future Research

In this final chapter, I would analyze the entirety of my research. Beginning with an evaluation of the study, I will elaborate on its strengths and weaknesses. Then, I wish to discuss the contribution of this research both theoretically and empirically. Additionally, I will elaborate on prospective research and possible approaches for the future study.

8.1 Evaluation of the Study

The discussion on the topic of education as either a system or policy currently is still dominated by the issues and problems of the developed countries. Therefore, a study of the social-political phenomena in Indonesia offers a differing perspective on the formulation of education policy. Related to the international R&Rs issue, this research also revealed an interesting discussion of a low-ranked country's struggle in improving education quality and increasing its level of competitiveness. Applying interdisciplinary perspectives in studying the phenomena of online movements and the shift of public participation in education policy making, the research exposed how the utility of ICTs can drive a collective movement and change a political process. Another additional point of this study is my background as a bureaucrat who experiences the policy making process in the education sector first hand. This condition was helpful for me as a researcher, especially in data collection and selection as well as in the development of the study. My experiences in the education policy making process

enabled me to set up criteria for the data used in the study. Moreover, I had better accessibility to the required data and information. The internal network I have was also useful in inviting the participation of the interviewees involved in the study, especially the top decision makers, such as Ministers of the first Echelons. Therefore, I had the opportunity to do the initial study and conduct the research more effectively. Additionally, the output of this study, expectedly, could be academically insightful and applicable for the improvement of the policy making process in the Indonesian basic and secondary education sectors.

Nevertheless, this study had some limitations. First of all, the research only focused on phenomena taking place in a country with a low basis for comparison with the experiences of other countries experiencing similar problems or political conditions. The lack of former studies on similar topics, as well as the limitation of resources and time to do the research lead me to focus this research merely on the phenomena occurring in Indonesia's education sector. Secondly, regarding the multi-disciplined approaches applied in the study, the elaboration of the concepts in explaining the research topic and the empirical findings may not have been comprehensively conducted. Finally, the perspective of policy makers and internal stakeholders used in explaining the online movement and the shift of public participation could not completely describe the phenomena because there are also some points which should be explained from the general public's standpoint, as they are both the subject and object of the action.

8.2 Contribution of this Study and Future Prospects

Theoretically, this study contributes to modernizing social theory as it relates to the discourse of new social movements, specifically regarding the usage of ICTs in the online collective action, specifically in the development of organizational consciousness, resource mobilization, and the improvement of political opportunity. The research also reveals a new perspective on the benefit of social media in improving the public position in the policymaking process and in strengthening the democracy of developing countries such as Indonesia. Empirically, the output of this research could give another point concerning how the online movement can also support the effort to improve the quality of education. Furthermore, the findings of the study expose an alternative form of public engagement in the policy making process by adapting the preferred communication methods so that the gap between the public and the decision makers is decreased. The elaboration of the transformation in political communication and the phenomena of public perception driving the policymaking process grants additional perspective to public policy studies in observing the process as a social phenomenon which may affect changes within the society. Also, as an official of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia, I expect the result of the study could be an appropriate recommendation for the policy makers in improving the decision-making process. Additionally, in the future, the theoretical framework applied in this research can also be operationalized in analyzing similar phenomena regarding social media in other sectors, particularly in developing countries with similar conditions and potencies.

Regarding future studies, there is some prospective research which could be conducted related to the framework, method, and output of the current work. First, due to the lack of study of education in developing countries, I expect this research could encourage other similar studies. Therefore, academics can also contribute more in providing valuable insights for governments, organizations, or other relevant stakeholders to help them improve the education system as well as the future of the nations. Secondly, related to public participation as the focus of this study, it would also be thought-provoking to do further research on the procedure of public involvement itself. As Renn et al. (2004) elaborates,

“The rationality of public input depends, however, on the procedure of involvement. Provided citizens are given a conducive and supportive structure for discourse, they are able to understand and process technical information and to articulate well-balanced recommendations” Renn et al. (2004:319).

This research will complete the puzzle of the current project about public participation in the policy making process and help both the decision-makers and the society members to develop an effective scheme of public involvement. Furthermore, future research could also be designed to find out “the legitimation of the public recommendation in the policy making versus the competing claims by interest groups and elected or appointed decision makers” (ibid: 199). The issue of legitimation of people’s voices is significant because even in public participation, the final decisions lay in the hands of the policy makers. It is important to keep the sustainability of the direct democracy because this is what keeps “the community life vital and public

institutions accountable” (Roberts, 2004: 315). Furthermore, it is also interesting if the future study of education policy and the social movement conducted in a different perspective, such as from the public or the indirect stakeholders’ point of view. Also, the application of the quantitative or mixed method can also provide a different output which may complete the current study. Finally, since the ways in which people communicate keep evolving, in the future another prospective study would be seeking an explanation concerning how public involvement performed in tandem with the policy makers after the social media era, especially in the countries which historically experienced the phenomena of social or political change at the hands of an online movement.

ANNEX

A. Interview Protocol
The shifting of education policymaking process in Indonesia

Data of Interviewee

Name	:
Institution	:
Position	:
Date of Interview	:

Introductory protocol

To support the note-taking, I would like to audio tape our conversations today. For your information, only the researcher on the current project will be privy to the tapes. In addition, you are highly advised to sign a form stating that: (1) all information will be held confidential, (2) your participation is voluntary and you may stop anytime you feel uncomfortable, and (3) this participation is not intended to cause any harm. Thank you for your agreeing to participate.

I have planned this interview to last for no longer than one hour. During this time, I have several questions that I would like to cover. If time begins to run short, it may be necessary to interrupt you in order to push ahead and complete this line of questioning.

Introduction

I ask you to be the respondent of this research because you have experiences and knowledge regarding the topic of this study. In this interview, I would like to explore your perception, ideas, and opinion about the phenomena of the recent shifting of education policymaking process in Indonesia which presumably has been influenced by the online social movement via social media.

I. The shifting of the education policymaking process in Indonesia's basic and secondary education system

In this section, I will ask several questions to explore your opinion and perspective of the shifting of the education policymaking process in Indonesia. The main focus is the establishment of the curriculum 2013 and the different reaction of the policymakers to the international rankings and ratings, particularly Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA).

1. In your perspective, how do you see the education system in Indonesia before and after the Reformation era, especially in basic and secondary level?
2. Talking about the policymaking process, do you find some differences in the process before-and-after the social media era (in the late 2000's)?

The Ministry of Education and Culture launched the Curriculum 2013, which is claimed that it has involved all educational stakeholders in the design process and also aimed to improve the competitiveness level of Indonesian students in the R&Rs. This Curriculum 2013 was created due to the bad result in the 5th PISA survey.

3. How do you see the designing process of the curriculum 2013?
4. How was the public involvement in the making process?

II. Social Movement 2.0

In the second part, I will ask several questions to find out your perspective of the organizational consciousness, resources, and political opportunity in the context of social movement 2.0 in Indonesia. This part is also aimed to see how the three elements support the online social movement and drive a change in the policymaking process in Indonesia.

A. Organizational Consciousness*a) Collective identity*

1. In your perspective, what can motivate you to join a collective movement, particularly in the education sector?
2. If you join a movement in the education sector, what is your role in the movement?
3. Who are possible actors who initiate and drive the movement?
4. What kind of 'self-perception' you can have or build by joining a social movement?

b) Relative Deprivation

1. In your opinion, what conditions can cause the protest and movement in the society?
2. Do you think there is/are a group/people use this issue to drive a social action?
3. How effective the using of social media in raising people awareness of a crisis or social problems?

B. Resources*a) Resources Mobilization*

1. What kind of resources needed to support a social movement?
2. How the participants of the movement collect them?
3. How can effective the social media in facilitating the collecting process?

b) Rational Actors

1. Who was/were the key actor(s) of the social movement in the establishment of curriculum 2013?
2. What was the role of the organization or activists in the education sector in the movement?
3. How did you recruit new members to support the collective action?

C. Political Opportunity*a) Political Opportunity Structure*

1. Do you think the current government is open to the public opinion or public insight?
2. In your opinion, who are the actors playing a significant role in bridging the public and policy makers?
3. How is the public's political participation in Indonesia nowadays?
4. Does the public's political participation affect the improvement of political opportunity in the society?

b) Advocacy 2.0

1. Why do more people in Indonesia prefer an online social movement nowadays?
2. How can the social media enlarge the political opportunity in Indonesia?
3. What are the factors which make a social movement can be successfully done in Indonesia?

Interview Protocol**Perubahan proses pengambilan kebijakan pendidikan dasar dan menengah di Indonesia****Data Responden**

Nama	:
Institusi	:
Jabatan	:
Waktu pelaksanaan Interview	:

Untuk mendukung pendokumentasian, saya akan merekam wawancara hari ini. Sebagai informasi, hanya peneliti yang memiliki akses ke rekaman. Sebagai tambahan, Anda disarankan untuk menandatangani form yang menyatakan bahwa: (1) semua informasi akan dirahasiakan, (2) partisipasi Anda bersifat sukarela dan Anda bisa menghentikan wawancara kapanpun merasa tidak nyaman dengan proses ini, dan (3) partisipasi ini tidak dimaksudkan untuk menyebabkan masalah terhadap pihak lain. Terima kasih atas kesediaan Anda untuk berpartisipasi.

Saya telah merencanakan wawancara ini agar berlangsung tidak lebih dari 1 jam. Selama proses wawancara, saya akan mengajukan beberapa pertanyaan. Jika terjadi kekurangan waktu, mungkin saya akan menginterupsi Anda untuk beralih ke pertanyaan selanjutnya agar seluruh informasi yang diperlukan dapat terpenuhi dengan baik.

Pengantar

Saya meminta Anda untuk menjadi responden dalam penelitian ini karena Anda memiliki pengalaman serta pengetahuan terkait dengan topik riset ini. Dalam interview ini, saya ingin mengeksplorasi persepsi, ide, dan pendapat Anda terkait fenomena

perubahan dalam proses pembuatan kebijakan pendidikan di Indonesia yang dalam hipotesis dipengaruhi pergerakan sosial melalui sosial media.

I. Perubahan proses pengambilan kebijakan pendidikan dasar dan menengah di Indonesia

Pada bagian ini, saya akan menanyakan beberapa pertanyaan untuk mengetahui pendapat dan perspektif Anda terhadap perubahan yang terjadi dalam proses pembuatan kebijakan pendidikan di Indonesia. Fokus utama kebijakan ini adalah penyusunan kurikulum 2013 dan perbedaan reaksi para pengambil kebijakan terhadap peringkat dan prestasi dalam kompetensi Internasional, khususnya survey *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)*, sebuah survey yang dilakukam oleh Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) untuk mengukur performa pelajar berusia 15 tahun yang telah mendapatkan pendidikan dasar dalam bidang matematika, sains, dan kemampuan membaca.

1. Menurut Anda, bagaimana sistem pendidikan di Indonesia sebelum dan setelah Era Reformasi, khususnya pada tingkat dasar dan menengah?
2. Bicara mengenai proses pembuatan kebijakan, apakah Anda merasa ada perbedaan antara masa sebelum maraknya penggunaan sosial media dan setelah era sosial media (di sekitar akhir tahun 2000)?

Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan meluncurkan Kurikulum 2013, yang diklaim telah melibatkan seluruh stakeholder pendidikan dalam proses penyusunannya dan juga ditujukan untuk memperbaiki daya saing pelajar Indonesia dalam kompetensi Internasional. Kurikulum ini dibuat sebagai reaksi atas hasil buruk yang diperoleh Indonesia dalam survey PISA ke-5 di tahun 2012.

3. Bagaimana menurut Anda proses penyusunan Kurikulum 2013?
4. Bagaimana pelibatan publik atau eksternal stakeholder pendidikan dalam proses penyusunan Kurikulum tersebut?

II. Social Movement 2.0

Pada bagian kedua, saya akan menanyakan beberapa pertanyaan untuk mengetahui pendapat Anda mengenai kesadaran berorganisasi, sumber daya, dan kesempatan politik dalam kaitannya dengan pergerakan sosial berbasis web 2.0 di Indonesia. Bagian ini juga ditujukan untuk mengemukakan bagaimana ketiga elemen tersebut mendukung pergerakan sosial secara online dan mendorong perubahan dalam proses pembuatan kebijakan di Indonesia.

D. Kesadaran Berorganisasi

a) Identitas Bersama

1. Menurut Anda, apa yang bisa memotivasi Anda untuk ikut serta dalam sebuah gerakan bersama, khususnya di bidang pendidikan?
2. Jika Anda terlibat dalam sebuah pergerakan di sektor pendidikan, kira-kira apa peranan Anda dalam pergerakan tersebut?
3. Siapa yang menginisiasi dan menggerakkan pergerakan sosial di bidang pendidikan saat ini?
4. Citra seperti apa yang Anda dapatkan atau bangun saat terlibat dalam sebuah pergerakan sosial?

b) Deprivasi Relatif

1. Menurut pendapat Anda, kondisi seperti apa yang dapat menyebabkan protes dan pergerakan masyarakat?
2. Menurut Anda, apakah ada kelompok atau perseorangan yang menggunakan isu tersebut untuk mendorong sebuah gerakan sosial?
3. Seberapa efektif penggunaan media sosial dalam meningkatkan kesadaran masyarakat terhadap krisis atau permasalahan sosial?

E. Sumber daya

a) Mobilisasi Sumber daya

- b) Sumber daya apa saja yang diperlukan untuk mendukung suatu pergerakan sosial?

-
- c) Bagaimana para aktivis memperoleh atau mengumpulkan sumber daya tersebut?
 - d) Seberapa efektif sosial media dalam membantu proses pengumpulan atau penggalangan sumber daya tersebut?
 - e) *Tokoh intelektual/rasional*
 - 1. Siapa saja, menurut Anda, tokoh utama atau penting dalam pergerakan sosial terkait pelaksanaan kurikulum 2013?
 - 2. Apa peran organisasi atau aktivis/tokoh pendidikan dalam pergerakan tersebut?
 - 3. Bagaimana cara Anda mengajak partisipan atau masyarakat untuk mendukung gerakan bersama tersebut?

F. Political Opportunity

a) Political Opportunity Structure

- 1. Apakah menurut Anda pemerintah saat ini terbuka terhadap pendapat atau masukan masyarakat?
- 2. Menurut pendapat Anda, siapakah aktor yang berperan besar dalam menjembatani hubungan antara publik dan pembuat kebijakan?
- 3. Bagaimana partisipasi politik masyarakat di Indonesia saat ini?
- 4. Apakah partisipasi publik mempengaruhi perbaikan kesempatan berpolitik di masyarakat?

b) Advocacy 2.0

- 1. Mengapa lebih banyak orang di Indonesia yang memilih pergerakan melalui sosial media akhir-akhir ini?
- 2. Bagaimana sosial media memperbesar kesempatan politik di Indonesia?
- 3. Faktor apa saja yang membuat pergerakan sosial dapat berhasil dilaksanakan di Indonesia?

B. Literature References

- Aberbach, J. D., & Christensen, T. (2012). Why Reforms So Often Disappoint. In *22nd World Congress of the International Political Science Association*.
- Aldrich, H. E., & Zimmer, C. (1986). Entrepreneurship through Social Networks. In *California Management Review* (pp. 3–23).
- Altheide, D. L. (2000). Tracking Discourse and Qualitative Document Analysis. *Poetics*, 27(4), 287–299.
- Alyusi, S. D. (2016). *Media Sosial: Interaksi, Identitas dan Modal Sosial*. Jakarta: Prenadamedia Group.
- Amenta, E., & Young, M. P. (1999). Democratic States and Social Movements: Theoretical Arguments and Hypotheses. *Social Problems*, 46(2), 153–168.
- Anderson, J. O., Chiu, M. H., & Yore, L. D. (2010). First cycle of PISA (2000-2006)-International Perspectives on Successes and Challenges: Research and policy Directions. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*, 8(3), 373–388.
- Andrews, K. T. (2001). Social Movements and Policy Implementation: The Mississippi Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, 1965 to 1971. *American Sociological Review*, 66(1), 71–95.
- Anfara, V. A., Brown, K. M., & Mangione, T. L. (2002). Qualitative Analysis on Stage: Making the Research Process more Public. *Educational Researcher*, 31(7), 28–38.
- Ashford, L. S., Smith, R. R., De Souza, R. M., Fikree, F. F., & Yinger, N. V. (2006). Creating windows of opportunity for policy change: Incorporating evidence into decentralized planning in Kenya. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 84(8), 669–672.
- Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An Organizing Framework for Collective Identity: Articulation and Significance of Multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130(1), 80–114.
- Atkin, J. M., & Black, P. (1997). Policy Perils of International Comparisons: The TIMSS Case. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 79(1), 22–28.
- Ayres, J. M. (1999). From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 566, 132–143.
- Ball, S. J. (1998). Big Policies/Small World: An introduction to international perspectives in education policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 119–130.
- Ball, S. J. (2009). Privatizing education, privatizing education policy, privatizing educational research: network governance and the “competition state.” *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(1), 83–99.

-
- Bang, H., & Esmark, A. (2013). A systems theory of Good Governance. In *ICPP 2013 - International Conference on Public Policy*.
- Bangun, W. (2014). Human Development Index: Enhancing Indonesian Competitiveness in ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). *International Journal of the Computer, the Internet and Management*, 22(1), 42–47.
- Banks, J., & Oldfield, Z. (2010). State Pensions and the Well-Being of the Elderly in the UK, 4(2014), 60–66.
- Barnes, T. J., & Sheppard, E. (1992). Is There a Place for the Rational Actor? A Geographical Critique of the Rational Choice Paradigm. *Economic Geography*, 68(1), 1–21.
- Benford, R. D. (1997). An Insider's Critique of the Social Movement Framing Perspective. *Sociological Inquiry*, 67(4), 409–430.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–639.
- Bennett, A. (2010). Process Tracing and Causal Inference. In *Rethinking Social Inquiry* (second ed.).
- Bennett, A., & Checkel, J. T. (2011). Process Tracing: From Philosophical Roots to Best Practices. In "Process Tracing," *American Political Science Association Annual Convention*.
- Bennett, W. L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 20–39.
- Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The Logic of Connective Action. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739–768.
- Berliner, D. C. (2006). Our Impoverished View of Educational Research. *Teachers College Record*, 108(6), 949–995.
- Bernhard, S. (2011). Beyond Constructivism: The Political Sociology of an EU Policy Field. *International Political Sociology*, 5(4), 426–445.
- Bernstein, M. (1997). Celebration and Suppression: The Strategic Uses of Identity by the Gay Movement. *American Journal of Sociology*, 103(3), 531–565.
- Bevir, M. (2013). *A Theory of Governance*. Berkeley Planning Journal (Vol. 26). University of California Press.
- Bhatnagar, B., Kearns, J., & Sequeira, D. (1996). *The World Bank participation sourcebook*.
- Bieber, T., & Martens, K. (2011). The OECD PISA Study as a Soft Power in Education? Lessons from Switzerland and the US. *European Journal of Education*, 46(1), 101–116.
- Bishop, P., & Davis, G. (2002). Mapping public participation in policy choices. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 61(1), 14–29.

-
- Bonsón, E., Torres, L., Royo, S., & Flores, F. (2012). Local e-government 2.0: Social media and corporate transparency in municipalities. *Government Information Quarterly*, 29(2), 123–132.
- Bordt, R. L. (1997). How Alternative Ideas Become Institutions: The Case of Feminist Collectives. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 26(2), 132–155.
- Bortree, D. S., & Seltzer, T. (2009). Dialogic strategies and outcomes: An analysis of environmental advocacy groups' Facebook profiles. *Public Relations Review*, 35(3), 317–319.
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40.
- Bowman, N. D., Westerman, D. K., & Claus, C. J. (2012). How demanding is social media: Understanding social media diets as a function of perceived costs and benefits - A rational actor perspective. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 28(6), 2298–2305.
- Boyce, C., & Neale, P. (2006). Conducting in-depth interviews: A Guide for designing and conducting in-depth interviews for evaluation input. *Pathfinder International Tool Series Monitoring and Evaluation*, 2, 1–16.
- Boyd, D. M., & Ellison, N. B. (2008). Social Network Sites: Definition, History, and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210–230.
- Breakspear, S. (2012). The policy impact of PISA: An Exploration of the Normative Effects of International Benchmarking in School System Performance. *OECD Education Working Papers*, (71), 1–32.
- Brennan, G., & Pinctus, J. (1987). Rational Actor Theory in Politics: A Critical Review of John Quigging. *The Economic Record*, (March), 22–32.
- Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. (1996). Who Is This “We”? Levels of Collective Identity and Self Representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), 83–93.
- Brunori, G., & Rossi, A. (2000). Synergy and Coherence through Collective Action: Some Insights from Wine Routes in Tuscany. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 40(4), 409–423.
- Buček, J., & Smith, B. (2000). New approaches to local democracy: Direct democracy, participation and the “third sector.” *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 18(1), 3–16.
- Burke, P. J., & Reitzes, D. C. (1991). An Identity Theory Approach to Commitment. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 54(3), 239–251.
- Burnard, P. (1991). A method of analyzing interview transcripts in qualitative research. *Nurse Education Today*, 11(6), 461–466.
- Burstein, P., & Linton, A. (2002). The Impact of Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Social Movement Organizations on Public Policy: Some Recent Evidence and Theoretical Concerns. *Social Forces*, 81(2), 380–408.

-
- Caporael, L. R., & Brewer, M. B. (1995). Hierarchical Evolutionary Theory: There Is an Alternative, and It's Not Creationism. *Psychological Inquiry: An International Journal for the Advancement of Psychological Theory*, 6(1), 31–34.
- Carlsson, L. (2000). Policy Networks as Collective Action. *Policy Studies Journal*, 28(3), 502–520.
- Carroll, W. K., & Hackett, R. A. (2006). Democratic media activism through the lens of social movement theory. *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(1), 83–104.
- Casson, M., & Giusta, M. Della. (2007). Entrepreneurship and Social Capital: Analyzing the Impact of Social Networks on Entrepreneurial Activity from a Rational Action Perspective. *International Small Business Journal*, 25(3), 220–244.
- Castells, M. (2008). The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), 78–93.
- Castells, M. (2010). The power of identity. *The Information Age Economy Society and Culture*, 2, 537.
- Castells, M. (2012). *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Cerulo, K. A. (1997). Identity Construction: New Issues, New Directions. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 385–409.
- Chhotray, V., & Stoker, G. (2009). *Governance Theory and Practice*. Oxford Handbook of Governance. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chism, N. V. N., Douglas, E., & Hilson, W. J. (2008). Qualitative Research Basics: A Guide for Engineering Educators. *Rigorous Research in Engineering Education*, 1–65.
- Christensen, H. S. (2011). Political activities on the Internet: Slacktivism or political participation by other means? *First Monday*, 16(2).
- Christiansen, J. (2009). Four Stages of Social Movements. *EBSCO Publishing Inc.*, 1–7.
- Clarke, A. E. (2003). Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction*, 26(4), 553–576.
- Coglianesse, C. (2002). Is Satisfaction Success? Evaluating Public Participation in Regulatory Policymaking. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Cohen, J. L. (1985). Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 663–716.
- Collier, D. (2011). Understanding Process Tracing. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 44(4), 823–830.
- Cooper, B. S., Cibulka, J. G., & Fusarelli, L. D. (eds.) (2015). *Handbook of Education Politics and Policy* (2nd Edition). New York: Routledge
- Crawford, S. (2005). Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movements.

-
- Crouch, M., & McKenzie, H. (2006). The logic of small samples in interview-based qualitative research. *Social Science Information*, 45(4), 483–499.
- Dalton, R. J., Bürklin, W., & Drummond, A. (2001). Public Opinion and Direct Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(4), 141–153.
- Davis, J. A. (1959). A Formal Interpretation of the Theory of Relative Deprivation. *Sociometry*, 22(4), 280–296.
- Della Porta, D., & Mosca, L. (2005). Global-net for Global Movements? A Network of Networks for a Movement of Movements. *Journal of Public Policy*, 25(1), 165–190.
- Diani, M. (2000). SOCIAL MOVEMENT NETWORKS VIRTUAL AND REAL. *Information, Communication & Society*, 3(3), 386–401.
- Diani, M. & McAdams, D. (eds.) (2003). *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- DiCicco-Bloom, B., & Crabtree, B. F. (2006). The qualitative research interview. *Medical Education*, 40(4), 314–321.
- Dobbins, M. (2009). Transforming Education Policy in New Zealand – A Case Study Analysis. *TranState Working Papers*, 97.
- Dobbins, M. (2014). Explaining change and inertia in Swedish and French education: A tale of two corporatisms? *Policy Studies*, 35(3), 282–302.
- Dolin, J., & Krogh, L. B. (2010). The relevance and consequences of pisa science in a danish context. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*, 8(3), 565–592.
- Downie, C., & Marshall, N. (2015). Public Involvement Online: Planning Meets Facebook © and Twitter ©. In *State of Australian Cities Conference 2015*.
- Downing, J. (2008). Social Movement Theories and Alternative Media: An Evaluation and Critique. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 1(1), 40–50.
- Dreyer, S., & Ziebarth, L. (2014). Participatory Transparency in Social Media Governance: Combining Two Good Practices. *Journal of Information Policy*, 4(4457), 529–546.
- Dutton, J. E., Dukerich, J. M., & Harquail, C. V. (1994). Organizational Images and Member Identification. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39(2), 239–263.
- Easton, D. (1957). An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems. *World Politics*, 9(3), 383–400.
- Effing, R., Hillegersberg, J. Van, & Huibers, T. (2011). Social Media and Political Participation: Are Facebook, Twitter and YouTube Democratizing Our Political Systems? *Electronic Participation*, 6847(April 2011), 25–35.
- Eltantawy, N., & Wiest, J. B. (2011). Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 1207–1224.

- Engel, L. C., & Frizzell, M. O. (2015). Competitive comparison and PISA bragging rights: sub-national uses of the OECD's PISA in Canada and the USA. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36(5), 1–18.
- Eskridge Jr., W. N. (2001). Channeling: Identity-Based Social Movements and Public Law. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 150(1), 419–525.
- European Institute for Public Participation (EIPP). (2009). Public Participation in Europe An international perspective, (June), 1–49.
- EURYDICE. (1997). *The role of parents in the education systems of the European Union*.
- Evans-Cowley, J., & Hollander, J. (2010). The New Generation of Public Participation: Internet-based Participation Tools. *Planning Practice and Research*, 25(3), 397–408.
- Ewalt, J. A. G. (2001). Theories of Governance and New Public Management: Links to Understanding Welfare Policy Implementation. In *American Society for Public Administration Newark*. Newark.
- Figazzolo, L. (2009). Impact of PISA 2006 on the education policy debate - The OECD and PISA. *Education International*, 1–35.
- Flynn, S. I. (n.d.). Relative Deprivation Theory. In *Sociology Reference Guide: Theories of Social Movements*.
- Fominaya, C. F. (2010). Collective Identity in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates. *Sociology Compass*, 4(6), 393–404.
- Fredericks, J., & Foth, M. (2013). Augmenting public participation: enhancing planning outcomes through the use of social media and web 2.0. *Australian Planner*, 50(3), 244–256.
- Frey, B. S., Kucher, M., & Stutzer, A. (2001). Outcome, process and power in direct democracy: New econometric results. *Public Choice*, 107(3–4), 271–293.
- Fulge, T., Bieber, T., & Martens, K. (2016). Rational Intentions and Unintended Consequences: On the Interplay between International and National Actors in Education Policy Timm Fulge, Tonia Bieber, and Kerstin Martens University of Bremen, Germany. *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*, 453–469.
- Gamson, W. A. (2007). Bystanders, Public Opinion, and the Media. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (pp. 242–261). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Garrett, R. K. (2006). Protest in an Information Society: A Review of Literature on Social Movements and New ICTs. *Information, Communication & Society*, 9(2), 202–224.
- Gibson, R. K., Römmele, A., & Ward, S. (2004). *Electronic democracy: Mobilisation, organisation and participation via new ICTs*. *Political Theory*.
- Giugni, M. (2009). Political Opportunities: From Tilly to Tilly. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 15(2), 361–368.

-
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597–607.
- Grant, N. (1995). Public Interest Group Entrepreneurship and Theories of Group Mobilization. *Political Research Quarterly*, 49(1), 119–146.
- Gschwend, T. & Schimmerlfenning, F. (eds.) (2011). *Research Design in Political Science*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gugiu, P. C., & Rodríguez-Campos, L. (2007). Semi-structured interview protocol for constructing logic models. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 30(4), 339–350.
- Guichard, S. (2005). *The education challenge in Mexico: delivering good quality education to all*. OECD Economics Department Working Papers (Vol. 447).
- Guldbrandsson, K., & Fossum, B. (2009). An exploration of the theoretical concepts policy windows and policy entrepreneurs at the Swedish public health arena. *Health Promotion International*, 24(4), 434–444.
- Gür, B. S., Çelik, Z., & Özoğlu, M. (2012). Policy options for Turkey: a critique of the interpretation and utilization of PISA results in Turkey. *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(1), 1–21.
- Gurney, J. N., & Tierney, K. J. (1982). Relative Deprivation and Social Movements: A Critical Look at Twenty Years of Theory and Research. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 23 (Winter), 33–47.
- Hakim, C. (2005). *Research Design: Successful designs for social and economic research*. (M. Bulmer, Ed.) (Second edi).
- Hamann, E. T., & Lane, B. (2004). The roles of state departments of education as policy intermediaries: Two cases. *Educational Policy*, 18(3), 426–455.
- Harlow, S. (2011). Social media and social movements: Facebook and an online Guatemalan justice movement that moved offline. *New Media & Society*, 14(2), 225–243.
- Harzing, A. W., Baldueza, J., Barner-Rasmussen, W., Barzantny, C., Canabal, A., Davila, A., Zander, L. (2009). Rating versus ranking: What is the best way to reduce response and language bias in cross-national research? *International Business Review*, 18(4), 417–432.
- Hazelkorn, E. (2008). Globalization, Internationalization, and Rankings. *International Higher Education, Internationalization*, 8–11.
- Hazelkorn, E. (2009). Rankings and the Battle for World-Class Excellence: Institutional Strategies and Policy Choices. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, 21(1), 1–22.
- Heijden, H. Van Der. (2006). Globalization, Environmental Movements, and International Political Opportunity Structures. *Organisation and Environment*, 19(1), 28–45.

-
- Hemmer, C., & Katzenstein, P. J. (2002). Why is There No NATO in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism. *International Organization*, 56(3), 575–607.
- Hiebert, J., Stigler, J. W., Jacobs, J. K., Givvin, K. B., Garnier, H., Smith, M., Galiimore, R. (2005). Mathematics Teaching in the United States Today (and Tomorrow): Results from the Study. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 27(2), 111–132.
- Hill, D. T., South, S., Asia, E., November, N., & Hill, T. (2003). Plotting public participation on Indonesia's Internet. *South East Asia Research*, 11(3), 297–325.
- Hintz, A. (2012). Challenging the Digital Gatekeepers: International Policy Initiatives for Free Expression. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2(2012), 128–150.
- Hintz, A., & Milan, S. (2009). At the margins of Internet governance: grassroots tech groups and communication policy. *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, 5(1&2), 23–38.
- Hochschild, J. (2009). Conducting Intensive Interviews and Elite Interviews. In *Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research*.
- Honig, M. I. (2003). Building Policy from Practice: District Central Office Administrators' Roles and Capacity for Implementing Collaborative Education Policy. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 39(3), 292–338.
- Hopkins, N., & Kahani-Hopkins, V. (2004). Identity construction and British Muslims' political activity: beyond rational actor theory. *The British Journal of Social Psychology / the British Psychological Society*, 43(Pt 3), 339–356.
- Hoskins, B. L., Barber, C., Van Nijlen, D., & Villalba, E. (2011). Comparing Civic Competence among European Youth: Composite and Domain-Specific Indicators Using IEA Civic Education Study Data. *Comparative Education Review*, 55(1), 82–110.
- Hunt, S. A., & Benford, R. D. (2004). Collective identity, solidarity, and commitment. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Indratno, A. F. T. (eds) (2013). *Menyambut Kurikulum 2013*. Jakarta: Kompas Media Nusantara.
- Innes, J. E., & Booher, D. E. (2004). Reframing public participation: strategies for the 21st century. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5(4), 419–436.
- Irvin, R. a., & Stansbury, J. (2004). Citizen participation in decision making: Is it worth the effort? *Public Administration Review*, 64(1), 55–65.
- Jacob, S. A., & Furgerson, S. P. (2012). Writing Interview Protocols and Conducting Interviews: Tips for Students New to the Field of Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 17(42), 1–10.
- Jenkins, C. J. (1983). Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 9, 527–553.

- Joachim, J. (2003). Framing issues and seizing opportunities: The UN, NGOs, and women's rights. *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(2), 247–274.
- Jones, R. S. (2013). Education reform in Korea. *OECD Economics Department Working Papers*, (1067).
- Kahn, R., & Kellner, D. (2004). New Media and Internet Activism: From the “Battle of Seattle” to Blogging. *New Media & Society*, 6(1), 87–95.
- Kamens, D. H., & McNeely, C. L. (2010). Globalization and the Growth of International Educational Testing and National Assessment. *Comparative Education Review*, 54(1), 5–25.
- Kaplan, A. M., & Haenlein, M. (2010). Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media. *Business Horizons*, 53(1), 59–68.
- Keeler, J. T. S. (1993). Opening the window for reform. *Comparative Political Studies*, 25(4), 433–486.
- Kendall, M., Harris, F., Boyd, K., Sheikh, A., Murray, S. A., Brown, D., ... Worth, A. (2007). Key challenges and ways forward in researching the “good death”: qualitative in-depth interview and focus group study. *BMJ*, 334(7592), 521–521.
- Kim, J. W. (2004). Education Reform Policies and Classroom Teaching in South Korea. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 14(2), 125–146.
- King, B. (2008). A Social Movement Perspective of Stakeholder Collective Action and Influence. *Business & Society*, 47(1), 21–49.
- King, C. S., Feltey, K. M., & Susel, B. O. (1998). The Question of Participation: Toward Authentic Public Participation in Public Administration. *Public Administration Review*, 58(4), 317–326.
- King, G., Honaker, J., Joseph, A., & Scheve, K. (2001). Analyzing Incomplete Political Science Data: An Alternative Algorithm for Multiple Imputation. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1), 49–69.
- Kingston, R. (2007). Public Participation in Local Policy Decision-making: The Role of Web-based Mapping. *The Cartographic Journal*, 44(2), 138–144.
- Kitschelt, H. (1986). Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movement in Four Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*.
- Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilization and Participation: Socioal-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory. *American Sociological Review*, 49(5), 583–600.
- Klandermans, B., & Oegema, D. (1987). Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps towards Participation in Social Movements. *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 519–531.
- Klumpp, L., Pont, B., Toledo-Figueroa, D., Albiser, E., Wittenberg, D., Zapata, J., & Fraccola, S. (2014). Education Policy Outlook. Germany, (April).

-
- Knodel, P., Martens, K., & Niemann, D. (2013). PISA as an ideational roadmap for policy change: exploring Germany and England in a comparative perspective. *Globalization, Societies and Education*, 11(July), 37–41.
- Koopmans, R. (1999). Political. Opportunity. Structure. Some Splitting to Balance the Lumping. *Sociological Forum*, 14(1), 93–105.
- Korpi, W. (1974). Conflict, Power and Relative Deprivation. *The American Political Science Review*, 68(4), 1569–1578.
- Krahn, H., & Harrison, T. (1992). “Self-referenced” relative deprivation and economic beliefs: the effects of the recession in Alberta. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne de Sociologie*, 29(2), 191–209.
- Kriesi, H. (2004). Political Context and Opportunity Structure. In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (pp. 67–90).
- Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M., Bornschier, S., & Frey, T. (2008). *West European politics in the age of globalization*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview: A phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 14(2), 171–196.
- Kvale, S. (1999). The Psychoanalytic Interview as Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 5(1), 87–113.
- Lamb, S., & Fullarton, S. (2002). Classroom and school factors affecting mathematics achievement: A comparative study of Australia and the United States using TIMSS. *Australian Journal of Education*, 46(2), 154–171.
- Lane, J.-E. (1981). The systems model and political science, 201–214.
- Lanjouw, P., Pradhan, M., Saadah, F., Sayed, H., & Sparrow, R. (2001). Poverty, Education, and Health in Indonesia: Who Benefits from Public Spending? *Policy Research Working Papers*, 1–63.
- Leizerov, S. (2000). Privacy Advocacy Groups Versus Intel. *Social Science Computer Review*, 18(4), 461–483.
- Lentz, B. (2014). Building the Pipeline of Media and Technology Policy Advocates: The Role of “Situated Learning.” *Journal of Information Policy*, 4(2014), 176–204.
- Leslie, P. (1972). General Theory in Political Science: A Critique of Easton’s Systems Analysis. *British Journal of Political Science*, 2(2), 155–172.
- Levinson, B. A. U., Sutton, M., & Winstead, T. (2009). Education Policy as a Practice of Power: Theoretical Tools, Ethnographic Methods, Democratic Options. *Educational Policy*, 23(6), 767–795.
- Lewis, S., Pea, R., & Rosen, J. (2010). Beyond participation to co-creation of meaning: mobile social media in generative learning communities. *Social Science Information*, 49(3), 351–369.

-
- Lim, M. (2012). Clicks, Cabs, and Coffee Houses: Social Media and Oppositional Movements in Egypt, 2004-2011. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 231–248.
- Lim, M. (n.d.). Democratised / Corporatised: Contesting Media in the Post-Authoritarian Indonesia.
- Lingard, B., Martino, W., & Rezai-Rashti, G. (2013). Testing regimes, accountabilities and education policy: commensurate global and national developments. *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(5), 539–556.
- Littig, B. (2013). Expert Interviews. Expert Interviews as „ qualitative “, less standardised interviews. *Expert Interviews. Methodology and Practice*.
- Lombard, M., Snyder-Duch, J., & Bracken, C. C. (2002). Content Analysis in Mass Communication: Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability. *Human Communication Research*, 28(4), 587–604.
- Macintosh, A. (2004). Characterizing E-Participation in Policy-Making. In *Proceedings of the 37th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*.
- Macnab, D. S. (2000). Forces for change in mathematics education: The case of TIMSS. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 8(15), 1–18.
- Macnamara, J. (2006). Media Content Analysis: Its Uses; Benefits and Best Practice Methodology. *Asia Pacific Public Relations Journal*, 6(1), 1–34.
- Madell, D., & Muncer, S. (2005). A study from a “rational actor” perspective. *Information, Communication & Society*, 8(1), 64–80.
- Maduz, L. (2010). Direct democracy. *Living Reviews in Democracy*, 2(March), 1–14.
- Mahoney, J. (2012). The Logic of Process Tracing Tests in the Social Sciences. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 41(4), 570–597.
- Malterud, K. (2001). Qualitative research: standards, challenges, and guidelines. *The Lancet*, 358, 483–488.
- Marginson, S., & van der Wende, M. (2007). To Rank or To Be Ranked: The Impact of Global Rankings in Higher Education. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 11(3–4), 306–329.
- Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), 522–525.
- Martens, K., & Niemann, D. (2010). Governance by Comparison – How Ratings & Rankings Impact National Policy- making in Education. *TranState Working Papers*, 139.
- Martens, K., & Niemann, D. (2013). When Do Numbers Count? The Differential Impact of the PISA Rating and Ranking on Education Policy in Germany and the US. *German Politics*, 22(3), 314–332.
- Martens, K., Nagel, A., Windzio, M., & Weymann, A. (eds.) (2010). Transformation of Education Policy. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

-
- Mason, C., Kirkbride, J., & Bryde, D. (2007). From stakeholders to institutions: the changing face of social enterprise governance theory. *Management Decision*, 45(2), 284–301.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2004). Causal Explanation, Qualitative Research, and Scientific Inquiry in Education. *Educational Researcher*, 33(2), 3–11.
- Mayer, D. S., & Staggenborg, S. (1996). Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity. *American Journal of Sociology*, 101(6), 1628–1660.
- Mays, N., & Pope, C. (1995). Rigour and qualitative research. *BMJ*, 311, 109–112.
- McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212–1241.
- McDaniel, A. (2010). Cross-National Gender Gaps in Educational Expectations: The Influence of National-Level Gender Ideology and Educational Systems. *Comparative Education Review*, 54(1), 27–50.
- McLellan, E., MacQueen, K. M., & Neidig, J. L. (2003). Beyond the Qualitative Interview: Data Preparation and Transcription. *Field Methods*, 15(1), 63–84.
- Melanie Punton, & Katharina Welle. (2015). Applying Process Tracing in Five Steps. *CDI Practice Paper Annex*, (10), 1–8.
- Menter, I., Mahony, P., & Hextall, I. (2004). Ne'er the twain shall meet? : modernizing the teaching profession in Scotland and England. *Journal of Education Policy*, 19(2), 195–214.
- Meyer, D. S. (2004). Protest and Political Opportunities. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 125–145.
- Meyer, D. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Conceptualizing Political Opportunity. *Social Forces*, 82(4), 1457–1492.
- Monroe, K. R. (2001). Paradigm Shift: From Rational Choice to Perspective. *International Political Science Review*, 22(2), 151–172.
- Monroe, K. R., & Maher, K. H. (1995). Psychology and Rational Actor Theory. *Political Psychology*, 16(1), 1–21.
- Nedelmann, B. (1987). Individuals and Parties - Changes in Processes of Political Mobilization. *European Sociological Review*, 3(3), 181–202.
- Newann, J., Barnes, M., Sullivan, H., & Knops, A. (2004). Public Participation and Collaborative Governance. *Journal of Social Policy*, 33(2), 203–223.
- Ng, P. T. (2008). Educational reform in Singapore: From quantity to quality. *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*, 7(1), 5–15.
- No, G. P., & Sciences, S. (2007). Kathrin Leuze GSSS Working Paper Varieties of Transitions from Higher Education to Work, (3).
- Nugroho, Y. (2008). Adopting Technology, Transforming Society: The Internet and the Reshaping of Civil Society Activism in Indonesia. *International Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society*, 6(2), 77–105.

- Obar, J. A., Zube, P., & Lampe, C. (2012). Advocacy 2.0: An Analysis of How Advocacy Groups in the United States Perceive and Use Social Media as Tools for Facilitating Civic Engagement and Collective Action. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2(2012), 1–25.
- OECD Public Management Policy Brief. (2001). Engaging Citizens in Policy-making, (10).
- OECD. (2007). How Do Rankings Impact on Higher Education? *IMHE INFO - Programme on Institutional Management in Higher Education*, (December), 1–4.
- Olken, B. A. (2010). Direct Democracy and Local Public Goods: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia. *American Political Science Review*, 104(2), 243–267.
- Oser, J., Hooghe, M., & Marien, S. (2013). Is Online Participation Distinct from Offline Participation? A Latent Class Analysis of Participation Types and Their Stratification. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(1), 91–101.
- Ostrom, E. (2000). Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(13), 137–158.
- Owen, G. T. (2015). Qualitative Methods in Higher Education Policy Analysis: Using Interviews and Document Analysis. *CEUR Workshop Proceedings*, 1542(9), 33–36.
- Palen, L., & Liu, S. B. (2007). Citizen Communications in Crisis: Anticipating a Future of ICT-Supported Public Participation. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems - CHI '07* (p. 727). New York, New York, USA: ACM Press.
- Palen, L., Anderson, K. M., Mark, G., Martin, J., Sicker, D., Palmer, M., & Grunwald, D. (2010). A vision for technology-mediated support for public participation & assistance in mass emergencies & disasters. In *Proceedings of the 2010 ACMBCS Visions of Computer Science Conference* (pp. 1–12).
- Patrick D. Smith, Maureen H. McDono. (2001). Beyond Public Participation: Fairness in Natural Resource Decision Making. *Society & Natural Resources*, 14(3), 239–249.
- Pavone, T. (2015). Case Studies and Process Tracing Outline, (Spring), 1–21.
- Petray, T. L. (2011). Protest 2.0: online interactions and Aboriginal activists. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(6), 923–940.
- Piven, F. F., & Cloward, R. A. (1991). Collective Protest: A Critique of Resource Mobilization Theory. *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, 4(4), 435–458.
- Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective Identity and Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 283–305.
- Pons, X. (2012). Going beyond the “PISA Shock” Discourse: an analysis of the cognitive reception of PISA in six European countries, 2001-2008. *European Educational Research Journal*, 11(2), 206–226.

-
- Postmes, T., & Brunsting, S. (2002). Collective Action in the Age of the Internet. *Social Science Computer Review*, 20(3), 290–301.
- Prasad, K. (2012). E-Governance Policy for Modernizing Government through Digital Democracy in India. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2(2012), 183–203.
- Pritchett, L., Sumarto, S., & Suryahadi, A. (2002). *Targeted Programs in an Economic Crisis: Empirical Findings from the Experience of Indonesia*.
- Punton, M., & Welle, K. (2015). Straws-in-the-wind, Hoops and Smoking guns: What can Process Tracing Offer to Impact Evaluation? *CDI Practice Paper*, (10), 1–8.
- Rahaghi, J. (2012). New Tools, Old Goals: Comparing the Role of Technology in the 1979 Iranian Revolution and the 2009 Green Movement. *Journal of Information Policy*, 2, 151–182.
- Reber, B. H., & Kim, J. K. (2006). How Activist Groups Use Websites in Media Relations: Evaluating Online Press Rooms. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 18(4), 313–333.
- Reiter, H. (2017). Analysing interviews : Coding BIGSSS demand-tailored methods course, (April).
- Renn, O., Jaeger, C., Rosa, E., & Webler, T. (2000). The Rational Actor Paradigm in Risk Theories : Analysis and Critique. In M. Cohen (Ed.), *Risk in the Modern Age: Social Theory, Science and Environmental Decision-Making*.
- Renn, O., Webler, T., Rakel, H., Dienel, P., & Johnson, B. (1993). Public participation in decision making: A three-step procedure. *Policy Sciences*, 26(3), 189–214.
- Riley, K., & Torrance, H. (2003). Big Change Question: As national policy-makers seek to find solutions to national education issues, do international comparisons such as TIMMS and PISA create a wider understanding, or do they serve to promote the orthodoxies of international agencies? *Journal of Educational Change*, 4, 419–425.
- Ringarp, J., & Rothland, M. (2010). Is the grass always greener? The effect of the PISA results on education debates in Sweden and Germany. *European Educational Research Journal*, 9(3), 422–430.
- Roberts, N. (2004). Public Deliberation in an Age of Direct Citizen Participation. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 34(4), 315–353.
- Rowe, G., & Frewer, L. J. (2000). Public participation methods: A framework for evaluation. *Science Technology & Human Values*, 25(1), 3–29.
- Rusadi, U. (2015). *Kajian Media. Isu Ideologis dalam Perspektif, Teori dan Metode*. Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Rusdiana, H. A. (2015). *Kebijakan Pendidikan “dari Filosofi ke Implementasi”*. Bandung: Pustaka Setia.
- Sackmann, R. (1995). Wandel der Bildungsstaatlichkeit. Effizienz und Denationalisierung, (1972), 1–6.
- Sackmann, R. (1998). Institutionalistische Generationsanalyse sozialer Ungleichheit Generationsbegriff : Generationsbeziehungen und Generationsverhältnisse, 1–25.

-
- Sahlberg, P. (2006). Education Reform for Raising Economic Competitiveness. *Journal of Educational Change*, 7(4), 259–287.
- Sahlberg, P. (2007). Education policies for raising student learning: the Finnish approach. *Journal of Education Policy*, 22(2), 147–171.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *International Communication Association*, (Winter), 103–122.
- Schlesinger, P. (1997). From cultural defence to political culture: media, politics and collective identity in the European Union. *Media, Culture & Society*, 19, 369–391.
- Schmidt, W. H., & Mcknight, C. C. (1998). What can We Really Learn from TIMSS ? *Science, New Series*, 282(5395), 1830–1831.
- Schneider, C. Q., & Rohlfing, I. (2013). Combining QCA and Process Tracing in Set-Theoretic Multi-Method Research. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 42(4), 559–597.
- Schulz, W. (2005). Measuring the socio-economic background of students and its effect on achievement in PISA 2000 and PISA 2003. In *Annual Meetings of the American Educational Research Association*.
- Schwarz, E. A. G. (2011). Political Mobilization through Online Social Networks. *Sociology the Journal of the British Sociological Association*, (July), 1–36.
- Schwarz, E. A. G. (2011). The Impact of Social Network Websites on Social Movement Involvement. *The Journal of the British Sociological Association*, (August), 1–37.
- Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), 294–308.
- Sellar, S., & Lingard, B. (2014). The OECD and the expansion of PISA: New global modes of governance in education. *British Educational Research Journal*, 40(6), 917–936.
- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European Politics. A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *Journal of Communication*, 50, 93–109.
- Seo, H., Kim, J. Y., & Yang, S.-U. (2009). Global activism and new media: A study of transnational NGOs' online public relations. *Public Relations Review*, 35(2), 123–126.
- Shangapour, S., Hosseini, S., & Hashemnejad, H. (2011). Cyber social-networks and social movements Case study: Tehran (2009-10). *International Journal of Scientific & Engineering Research*, 2(1).
- Simon, B., & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized Collective Identity A Social Psychological Analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56(4), 319–331.
- Simon, M. (2016). Participation without Limit. In *The Dream Is Over* (pp. 56–64).
- Slavin, R. E. (2004). Evidence-Based Education Policies: Transforming Educational Practice and Research. *Educational Researcher*, 31(7), 15–21.

-
- Smith, T. M., & Baker, D. (2001). Worldwide Growth and Institutionalization of Statistical Indicators for Education Policy-Making. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 76(3&4), 141–152.
- Snow, D. (2001). *Collective Identity and Expressive Forms*. Center for the Study of Democracy Working Papers.
- Songer, D. R., Cameron, C. M., & Segal, J. A. (1995). An Empirical Test of the Rational–Actor Theory of Litigation. *The Journal of Politics*, 57(4), 1119–1129.
- Spence, D. B. (2001). The Shadow of the Rational Polluter: Rethinking the Role of Rational Actor Models in Environmental Law. *California Law Review*, 89(4), 917–918.
- Stachowiak, S. (2009). Pathways for CHANGE : 6 Theories about How Policy Change Happens. *Organizational Research Services*, 1–14.
- Stein, L. (2009). Social movement web use in theory and practice: a content analysis of US movement websites. *New Media & Society*, 11(5), 749–771.
- Stewart, D. W. (1981). Systems Theory as Grand Theory. *Adult Education*, 31(3), 142–154.
- Strauss, A. L., & Corbin, J. M. (2007). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. *Basics of Qualitative Research Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (3rd editio). SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Suh, D. (2001). How Do Political Opportunities Matter For Social Movements? Political Opportunity, Misframing, Pseudosuccess, and Pseudofailure. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 42(3), 437–460.
- Sumarto, H. S. (2008). Promoting Citizen Participation in Local Governance in Indonesia: Practices, Policies, and Agenda.
- Suryadi, A. (2014). Pendidikan Indonesia Menuju 2025. Outlook: Permasalahan, Tantangan & Alternatif Kebijakan. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya Offset.
- Sutapa, M. (2008). Kebijakan Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Kebijakan Publik. *Manajemen Pendidikan*, IV(2), 12–16.
- Sweis, R. F., Lenett, B., & Glaisyer, T. (2013). Spectrum Policy Reforms: Supporting Democracy and Economic Development in Jordan. *Europe*, 3, 552–574.
- Takayama, K. (2010). Politics of Externalization in Reflexive Times: Reinventing Japanese Education Reform Discourses through “Finnish PISA Success.” *Comparative Education Review*, 54(1), 51–75.
- Talja, S. (1999). Analyzing Qualitative Interview Data: The Discourse Analytic Method. *Library & Information Science Research*, 21(4), 459–477.
- Tamcke, M., Jong, J. de, Klein, L., & Waal, M. van der. (2013). *Europe - Space for Transcultural Existence ?* (Vol. 1). Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Tansey, O. (2007). Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-probability Sampling. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 40(4), 765–772.

-
- Theo Jans, M. (2007). A framework for public policy analysis and policy evaluation. *IES Research Colloquium*, (September), 2.
- Tilaar, H. A. R. & Nugroho, R. (2012). *Kebijakan Pendidikan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Tilly, C. & Wood, L. J. (2013). *Social Movements, 1768-2012* (3rd edition). New York: Routledge
- Tolbert, C. J., Mcneal, R. S., & Smith, D. A. (2003). Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effect of Direct Democracy on Political Participation and Knowledge. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 3(1), 23–41.
- Tsuneyoshi, R. (2004). The New Japanese Educational Reforms and the Achievement “Crisis” Debate. *Educational Policy*, 18(2), 364–394.
- Turner, B. S. (2009). *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*. The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory. Chichester, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Turner, D. W. (2010). Qualitative interview design: A practical guide for novice investigators. *The Qualitative Report*, 15(3), 754–760.
- UNDP. (2014). *United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2014*.
- UNICEF. (2013). At a glance: Indonesia.
- Valenzuela, S. (2013). Unpacking the Use of Social Media for Protest Behavior: The Roles of Information, Opinion Expression, and Activism. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(7), 920–942.
- Van Erera, S. (1997). *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. New York: Cornell University Press
- Van Laer, J., & Van Aelst, P. (2004). Cyber-protest and civil society : the Internet and action repertoires in social movements. In *Handbook on Internet Crime* (Vol. 75, pp. 230–254).
- Walkenhorst, H. (2008). Research on International Higher Education Policy – Linking Indicators with Concepts.
- Walker, I., & Mann, L. (1987). Unemployment, Relative Deprivation, and Social Protest. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 13(2), 275–283.
- Walker, M. (2006). Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(2), 163–185.
- Watts, D. J., & Dodds, P. S. (2007). Formation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(4), 441–458.
- Webler, T. (1999). The craft and theory of public participation: a dialectical process. *Journal of Risk Research*, 2(1), 55–71.
- Webler, T., & Tuler, S. (2002). Unlocking the Puzzle. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 22(3), 179–189.

-
- Webler, T., Kastenholz, H., & Renn, O. (1995). Public participation in impact assessment: A social learning perspective. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 15*(5), 443–463.
- Webler, T., Tuler, S., & Krueger, R. (2001). What is a good public participation process? Five perspectives from the public. *Environmental Management, 27*(3), 435–450.
- Wedel, J. R., Shore, C., Feldman, G., & Lathrop, S. (2005). Toward an Anthropology of Public Policy. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 600*(1), 30–51.
- Wendt, A. (1994). Collective Identity Formation and the International State. *The American Political Science Review, 88*(2), 384–396.
- Wesley, J. J. (2010). *Qualitative Document Analysis in Political Science. T2PP Workshop.*
- Whitty, G. (2006). Education(al) research and education policy making: is conflict inevitable? *British Educational Research Journal, 32*(2), 159–176.
- Williams, R. H. (1995). Constructing the Public Good: Social Movements and Cultural Resources. *Social Problems, 42*(1), 124–144.
- Williamson, J., Ranyard, R., & Cuthbert, L. (2000). A conversation-based process tracing method for use with naturalistic decisions: An evaluation study. *British Journal of Psychology, 91*(2), 203–221.
- Wiseman, A. W., & Baker, D. P. (2005). The Worldwide Explosion of Internationalized Education Policy. *Global Trends in Educational Policy, 6*, 1–21.
- World Bank. (2014). World Bank and Education in Indonesia. *News, 1–5.*
- Yitzhaki, S. (1979). Relative Deprivation and the Gini Coefficient. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics, 93*(2), 321–324.
- Yitzhaki, S. (1982). Relative deprivation and economic welfare. *European Economic Review, 17*(1), 99–113.
- Yulaelawati, E. (2009). A New Theory of Education Reform in Indonesia: Globalisation and Recontextualisation in the Postcolonial Condition. Jakarta: Nagara.
- Zald, M. N. & McCarthy, J. D. (2009). Social Movements in an Organizational Society. New Brunswick & London: Transaction Publishers

Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich die Arbeit ohne unerlaubte Hilfe angefertigt habe, keine anderen als die von mir angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt habe, und die den benutzten Werken wörtlich oder inhaltlich entnommenen Stellen als solche kenntlich gemacht habe.

Vira Agustina

Bremen, 11. August 2017