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**The Structural Frame of Academic Culture:  
On the Relation of Science, Economy and Politics –  
The Example of Universitas Gadja Madah, Indonesia**

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## **Introduction**

How is the economic and political surrounding of an Indonesian university influencing its academic culture? What are the challenges a university in Indonesia has to face due to its specific structural setting? What are the goals for which the university is striving as an institution and how do the relevant protagonists at the university behave in this context? After giving information on the methods and background of the research, Section 1 will provide a theoretical framework for the research topic and its different facets. Beginning with an explanation of Peter Weingart's (2003) theory on the mutual influences of the aggregated societal parts science, economy and politics, Section 1 will continue with the explanation of the related Triple Helix. There will then be a description of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of a social field applied to academia, and thus giving a closer look into the individual's behavior concerning academic, political, economic and institutional aspects. The end of Section 1 presents Heru Nugroho's (2005) observations and interpretations of recent developments at UGM specifically the academic activities of the lecturers in the light of the economic and political conditions. The research results will be revealed in Section 2. After a brief orientation to the management and administration environment of the people at UGM, findings and quotes of the informants will be analyzed in the context of Bourdieu's and Nugroho's remarks. In the last two chapters, the research results on the macro perspective corresponding to Weingart's approach are illustrated.

## **Methods and Background**

The article at hand presents research conducted during August and September of 2006 at the Indonesian university Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) in Yogyakarta. It is part of a cooperation<sup>1</sup> project between the *Institut für Völkerkunde*<sup>2</sup> (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg i. Br., Germany) and the *Facultas Ilmu Budaya*<sup>3</sup> (UGM, Yogyakarta, Indonesia). The aim of the project is to gain knowledge regarding the academic cultures of the respective universities. Supported by one lecturer from each university, there are eight German and nine Indonesian students participating in the

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<sup>1</sup> In June and July of 2007, the group of Indonesian students will undertake a corresponding research in Freiburg.

<sup>2</sup> Institute of Cultural and Social Anthropology

<sup>3</sup> Faculty of Cultural Science

project. The research has been conducted in tandems, couples consisting of a German and an Indonesian student.<sup>4</sup> Besides the alleviated access to the research field, this method combines two different perspectives. This became clear during the interviews, in the discussion on how to approach the field and across the number of different interpretations throughout the research process. The tandems immensely enhanced the possibilities and quality of the research project. The cooperation often extended beyond the tandem drawing from the ideas and help of the other students and lecturers. Thus one could benefit from a large pool of ideas as well as contacts, who were necessary and very helpful in gaining access to the field.

My tandem partner Tika Osbond and I chose different individuals from the academic field as informants. Although most of these informants were deans, others included the directors and staff of the study centers, members of the Academic Senate and its head as well as the rector and “regular” lecturers. Due to the high positions of most informants, we conducted formal interviews. Participant observation rather played a minor role. Another source of information, especially on the official bodies and management of UGM, was UGM’s webpage.

## **1. Theories**

### **1.1. Structural framework - Science as a functional system**

Within the last decade there has been a change in the debate conducted by scholars of sociology of science. After observing the societal impacts on the production of knowledge, the focus has been shifted to the structural links between different functional systems - besides science - politics, economy and the media. At the center of attention are the incidents at the borders between science and the other functional systems: Ongoing changes, therefore used resources and the subsequent irritations caused by this within the science-system (Weingart 2003: 87).

The research presented in this paper does not consider aspects concerning the media, but concentrates on the links to the political and economic systems.

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<sup>4</sup> In one case two Indonesian students worked together with one German student.

### **1.1.1. The relation between politics and science**

The political and science systems follow different kinds of system rationalities. While politics operates under the “code of power”, science operates under the “code of truth”. This difference causes several conflicts at the border where the two systems meet. One question that arises is: What are the consequences of the uncontrolled influence of scientific experts on democratically legitimated politics? This question emphasizes the problem of the potentially overproportioned influence of scientific experts, recognizing that scientific truths can still be attached to specific or individual value preferences, leaving space for interest-orientated interpretations. They can therefore offset a democratic equilibrium, as laymen cannot sufficiently control their expertise. Another crucial question is: What consequences does the political instrumentalization have on the “truth-orientated” science? This question discusses the tendency of the political system to use science for the benefit of the political power, i.e. to justify political decisions on a scientific base. The critical point is that the political protagonist may abuse his or her power in order to receive results from the scientific community, which are not in line with the academic standard, thus manipulating the “truth” (ibid. : 91f).

These exemplary questions are supposed to show in extracts the relevant aspects of the political and scientific systems and their overlapping borders. Other related links will be discussed in further detail in Section 2.

### **1.1.2. The relation between economy and science**

Because science can be seen as the source for economic prosperity and for new technological developments which improve the quality of life, scientific knowledge is a strongly demanded good. Once again, both systems (economy and science) strive for different goals and thus show conflicting interests on the activities carried out in the university. While the scientific community applies the standard of qualification to discipline relevant matters and its reproduction, the economy elicits the qualification to economically significant properties. There are also conflicts in defining the research objectives and the availability and provision of the research results to the public, due to the difference of goals in each system (ibid.: 103).

During the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, voices arguing for the stronger orientation of science towards economic needs have been increasing in the political debate on science. The triple-helix model captures this development and is explained in the next section.

### **1.1.3. Triple-Helix Model**

“[The triple-helix model] postulates that the interaction in university-industry-government is the key to improving the conditions for innovation in a knowledge-based society”.

(Etzkowitz, 2003: 295)

The triple-helix model explains the reciprocal adoption of functions in between the university and industry, as well as the state. According to the triple-helix model the university becomes more open and can be more easily integrated into the economic process. The university takes over business tasks, such as the marketing of its knowledge and the formation of companies. At the same time companies start to behave like universities by exchanging knowledge with one another and educating their staffs themselves (Weingart 2003: 108).

As for the political system, the orientation of science towards the economic needs of the society is nothing other than the direction of the activities of knowledge production to meet the demand of the market. Etzkowitz calls this the “process of knowledge capitalization” (Etzkowitz, 2002:2).

In the research presented throughout this paper, the focus of the university staff on the economy as well as economic goals as a dominant motivational force play an important role. Observations on the side of companies were not included and no such research was attempted.

## **1.2. The academic game**

Another theory and helpful pattern explaining the behaviour of protagonists at the university is Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of a social field. “A field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions” (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992: 97). These fields can be seen as games, which have their own rules and goals. People participate in different games at the same time and try to perform well to achieve the goal of each game. However, the players are unequally

equipped with skills. Bourdieu attributes different habitus and unequal social capital to the people. These qualities are a result of the individual's social origin and life course. The performance in a specific social field depends on the history of the individual as well as on the history of the field (Bourdieu/Wacquant 1992, cf. Rehbein 2006: 331).

Bourdieu sees academia as a social field or game which has the goal of accumulating academic capital. Academic capital shows itself in terms of leading positions in the field. He further distinguishes two types of academic capital: scientific capital and institutional capital. Scientific capital is represented by high reputation within the academic society, expressed through publications in prestigious scientific journals. However, institutional capital may compensate for a lack of scientific capital through "an administrative function, a position on a board or membership in a committee" (Rehbein 2006: 331) – all of which are under the strong influence of political and economic capital. Political capital denotes a good network within the political sphere, which, because of its political power, supposedly has influence on the hiring process for certain positions within the university. A similar connection can be drawn to economic capital, which is one's ability or access to the people or organizations, who can provide funds for the activities carried out at the university. These financial benefits have a potentially positive effect on the whole faculty or other organizational units and thus improve the chances of a candidate being elected to a higher position (Bourdieu 1998, cf. Rehbein 2006: 331-333).

Bourdieu's theory presented here will be tested and referred to throughout this paper. The distinctions between the different forms of capital will prove to be quite useful. The relationship between the types of capital and the question as to whether the academic capital can be seen as the common goal of the individuals involved will be discussed at the end of the paper, nurtured by the various insights provided as a result of the research.

### **1.3. BHMN – how it affects academic productivity**

At the end of the year 2000, the Indonesian government changed the status of four major universities into state owned legal bodies - BHMN (Badan Hukum Milik Negara:

"It is considered that the independence of higher education institutions is indispensable to assume the role of a moral and intellectual force with the



credibility of advancing national development and competing in the international arena.”

(Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia. Number 153 Year 2000)

UGM was one of the four universities. Heru Nugroho (2005), a scholar working at UGM, does not see a promising change through this new independence, but rather emphasizes the university's difficult financial situation as being a major problem for obtaining quality academic results. Independence meant a drop in government funding by more than half. In order to continue activities at the university they have to look for other sources, which once again puts them into a dependent and restricted position. Nugroho formulates it as follows:

“The change to campus autonomy has not done anything more than institute a change from state tyranny to market domination.”

(Nugroho 2005: 146)

It is the poor economic situation and the opportunities of the new system that keep the activities in serious research at a minimum and turn education into a money-making business (ibid.).

In the research conducted, the reasons for the low number of publications are asked for and the difficult financial situation is discussed.

## **2. Research Results**

### **2.1. On UGM's own structure**

In order to better understand the informants who were included in the research, one has to see them in the context of their positions within the university. These respective positions in turn must be identified with the different units or bodies of the university in the light of their specific tasks and interests. Consequently this section presents a view on<sup>5</sup> and of<sup>6</sup> the managerial design of UGM, restricted however to its major components and by the number of informants interviewed - it cannot and does not claim to be complete.

This chapter contains two different sections according to the categorization on the UGM webpage. The first one is concerned with units dominated by managerial tasks, the second one deals with units described as academic (i 1).

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<sup>5</sup> information mainly accessed through official (UGM-website) documents

<sup>6</sup> the view of protagonists in certain positions

### 2.1.1. Management

According to the presentation on UGM's webpage, the main bodies of the management are: The Board of Trustees, the Executive Board, The Academic Senate (AS), The Council of Professors and The Board of Auditors.

The Board of Trustees (Majelis Wali Amanah - MWA) "shall mean the university's highest decision making body that represents the government, the university's community, and the public" (i 2). Besides the rector and the Sultan<sup>7</sup> of Yogyakarta there are two seats reserved for student representatives. The students, however, declined to take them because of the insufficient possibilities to actually participate. A member of the Academic Senate commented:

"This is because if they propose something, it must be done. This is the wrong way. Actually I talk to the students, please don't think what you are thinking should be done."

(i IX: 8).

Other members of the MWA include the National Education Minister, eight others are from the campus community, "which consists of two members of the Professorial Council, one from the AS, two from non-professorial teachers, three from the administrative" (i 4), and "ten more is for the member of the general society that includes alumni and prominent figures in the society" (ibid.). "The academic senate has the deep privilege to recruit the MWA members" (i IX: 2), and additionally "sometimes, you see, that the academic senate has the privilege to evaluate the work of Board of Trustee" (ebd. :1).

The Academic Senate (AS) "shall mean the university's normative body in academic matters" (i 3), as stated officially by the university. Another member of the Academic Senate, when asked what power one has in the AS, answered:

"Moral power. Because I am not dean, I'm not rector. I have no technical power. I have no power to order people. All I can give to them is just an example, just moral power"

(i V: 4).

It should be mentioned at this point, that after asking the informant later in the interview as to who has the power to change this whole institutional setting, he answered:

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<sup>7</sup> An outstanding figure in the Yogyakarta area, as he is the successor of a century old dynasty of monarchs. He has large economic assets (e.g. land) and further plays an important role in the "spiritual understandings" of the people (cf. Schlehe 1998).

“When I start my service as a senate member, I thought that the university president or the rector must be a very powerful person. Capable to control everything in this university, from A to Z. But after I attend a senate meeting, but then I realize, even the rector here is not that powerful (...). Rector and dean are not that powerful.“

(i V: 4).

There are 85 members in the AS. Besides the rector and the deans of all the faculties, few heads from divisional units such as the library and research division are part of the AS. Most of the members are professors, more or less equally selected from all of the faculties (i 3).

Another managerial institution which consists of all professors at UGM is the Council of Professors (CoP). It “shall mean the organ of the university that administers and develops academic life as well as moral and ethical integrity within the university’s community” (i 5). Or, as a member of both the AS and CoP put it: “The main job is to maintain the moral value” (i IX: 2). This is done by means of reports and interviews (ibid.).

The Board of Auditors (BoA) “independently evaluates both the external and internal audit reports on the university’s management for and on behalf of the Board of Trustees” (i 6). Besides the chairman and his secretary, there are three more members on the board.

The last body presented is the Executive Board. Along with the rector, there are several vice rectors included on the board: The Senior Vice Rector for Academic Affairs, the Senior Vice Rector for Administration Affairs, the Vice Rector for Research and Work For Society Affairs, the Vice Rector for Student and Alumni Affairs and the Vice Rector for Cooperation and Development Affairs. Each of their assistants belong to the board as well. Furthermore, there are several directorates part of the Executive Board: Academic Administration, Finance, Planning and Development, Asset Management and Support, and Human Resources. In addition there is the Head of the Central Office, the Head of International Office, the Head of Student Affairs Office and the Head of Development and Cooperation Coordination Office (i 7).

The Executive Board is a rather complex body, which is really just the visible tip of an even more complex and larger administrative iceberg. All of the vice rectors, directorates and offices are split into subdivisions and sections with many more

employees. Regardless, this should serve as a basic insight into the management related units of UGM.

It would be useful to know more about the importance of being part of a particular body or unit in terms of understanding its specific contribution concerning Bourdieu's kinds of institutional capital, the individuals involved supposedly are striving for. Due to the sensitivity of these subjects, especially concerning matters of economic and political profits, as well as the short period of research in the field, only careful statements can be made. There seems to be neither a direct economic profit from being a member of the Academic Senate (i V: 6), nor clear signs that economic capital helps someone to join the AS. It is hard to judge if the membership in the AS is even a desirable option. "I have no motivation, I went there because my friend chose me to go there. I have no other choice" (i V: 2). Potential benefits are even more questionable if one considers the other activities<sup>8</sup> a lecturer could carry out during that time – activities which are more likely to accumulate economic or scientific capital. However, there might be some political capital accessible, in terms of influence on intra-university political affairs. "Once I sat in the senate then, I realized that there is something that I could do (...). So I use my position to anything that I can do. To improve the academic life..." (i V: 2). Being a member of the AS can then provide some political capital, because a member can indeed have an influence on his or her structural environment, even though it may only be marginal. This may be attractive either because of the power itself or because it may mean an improvement<sup>9</sup> of one's own position as a lecturer.

It is more coherent to apply Bourdieu's theory (of accumulating academic capital as the goal) to the leading positions in the managerial units, such as Rector or Chairman of the Academic Senate. They are not non-paid side jobs, but full jobs including a salary. One can conclude that there is a comfortable economic profit to be gained in these positions just from observing the luxury cars



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<sup>8</sup> e. g. giving additional classes at private universities, research activities; private business activities.

<sup>9</sup> Improvement can be seen once again in terms of accumulating academic capital.

they are using. It is hard to judge to what degree the election of these positions have been influenced by the political and/or economic capital attributed to the candidates. However, there is no doubt that at least some scientific capital is a prerequisite for obtaining such a leading institutional position.

More relevant than the primary monetary income seems the political capital of the position, which improves ones chance to advance into higher positions of national politics and to even gain access to political departments: “We have seven of our main administrators [sic] in government cabinet” (i IV: 2). At this point it becomes interesting to ask the question why the “players” want to accumulate academic capital. They might have a common goal, but do they have the same intentions? How important is the academic capital to each “player”? Is it just an instrument for attaining other goals? It seems necessary to split up the different capitals and their implicit goal value. It is questionable that all scholars with high scientific capital strive for high managerial positions in order to become a politician in the government. It is further doubtful if they even appreciate such a managerial position. On the other hand, there is evidence that other participants of the academic field do so. Goals might also change through time. Although this does not make it easier to understand the actions within the academic field, but it is indispensable to realize this complexity in order to not draw false conclusions.

The focus of the next chapter will be on academic units. So the role of leading positions will be extended to another setting.

### **2.1.2. Academic units**

The academic units observed during the research were faculties and study centers. There are 18 faculties and 28 study centers<sup>10</sup> at UGM. While all faculties offer undergraduate, graduate and doctorate programs, the study centers have a more diverse field of activities. Most centers are primarily dedicated to research activities, either through contracts by the Indonesian government or international organizations. In this case the study centers are guided by outside forces in their research topics rather than academic considerations. As one lecturer, a non-member of a study center, said:

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<sup>10</sup> Study and Research center are used synonymously here.

“Also in my observation most of research centers in this university spend their time and energy to do research project, that have little relevance to academic work. So they just ah... they carry out other project from government institution, or somebody else. But not a pure academic research”.

(i V: 6).

An informant, who works in a study center mentioned that although it often works as described above, there is another procedure as well:

“...we try to develop our interest here, the center. So if we really want to do research in the certain topics, then we develop the proposal, and we submit the program to the donor agency...”

(i I: 3).

He continued to give several examples of research projects that were initiated in such a manner. Other activities of the study centers include trainings and workshops for government staff, but also non-academically educated citizens who should be qualified in certain issues, promoted and financed by either the government or international organizations (i I: 3). Some of the study centers also offer funds for Master and Doctorate programs.

Leading positions in the field of academic units are directors of the study centers and the deans and vice deans of the faculties. The respective staffs elect these positions. Although the units are labeled as being academic, the tasks of these positions are mainly non-academic, as stated by one of the deans interviewed (i VII: 1). He said:

“You have to think about the promotion of lecturers and the employee because we have two parts of employment. They who teach and they who do administration. And the number is almost equal, the number of both employee is almost equal and that’s the function of the dean to make sure that everybody of course have responsibilities and also to make sure that they are rewarded”.

(ibid.).

Another function mentioned was the task to establish collaboration with other institutions (e.g. universities, funding agencies, etc.) to raise extra funds in order to get additional income for the lecturers (ibid.). Bourdieu states that the common goal of the academic game is the accumulation of academic capital. Concerning institutional capital, the position of a dean may be considered an accumulation of such and therefore shows a goal character for the members of the academic field. But how then is the following statement in line with Bourdieu’s theory: “...no wonder very few people want to be a dean...”(ibid.: 2). Other informants argue similarly. Either it is an expression of modesty or it shows that obtaining such a position is not a goal commonly shared by the participants of the academic field. Are other individuals rather concerned with the

accumulation of scientific capital? But then again, why is the publication rate of UGM lecturers only 0,2 publications per lecturer per year? Before trying to answer the last question in a later chapter, it is important to note that there is evidence that a number of deans obtained jobs in governmental departments and that the present rector used to be the director of a study center (i I: 2). So there also seems to be a relevance of those positions in order to accumulate further political capital.

The implications of these issues will be further dissected in the next chapter, in which the focus will be on the motivation of the participants in the academic field.

## **2.2. Who is a winner in the academic game?**

One of the approaches chosen to learn more about the importance of the leading positions was to take a deeper look into the motivation of the people in the field. Aware of the methodological weakness to obtain “true” answers in response to direct questions regarding their motivation, the answers nevertheless give us an idea of the impression that the informants want to present. Further, some of the arguments they brought up will help contribute to be able to look underneath the mask of self-representation.

It was somewhat surprising for a Western person to hear that all but one of the people interviewed denied having any motivation to come into their position:

„Motivation? Well I’m not supposed to be dean but basically because others in my generation is so busy, they let me to be dean“.

(i VII: 1).

This informant explained the process how he became a dean:

“...only two other persons join the campaign but the other two tried very hard to make sure that they will not be elected. But the rule is you have to have more than one candidate. So the other two reluctantly, they just follow the rule, they joined, and of course I won the election. I won because they didn’t want to be a dean.”

(ibid.: 2).

For the director of a study center, the question as to what his motivation was in becoming the director seemed to have been surprising. He hesitated and said:

“That’s something I haven’t think. It’s because as a director I was elected by the people here, so not my motivation.”

(i I: 1)

Only one dean explained his motivation: “I would like to dedicate my life more useful to our community” (i VIII: 2).

From these answers, we cannot draw a clear interpretation. However, it is reasonable to assume that there is higher base salary awarded to the leading positions in comparison to regular staff members and lecturers. The crucial point is the additional income one can generate from side jobs. It depends on the faculty, but a common task of some deans is the organization of additional income for the lecturers because the base salary is very low (i VII: 1). This task does not seem very popular. Instead, one dean argued that the reason for the unattractiveness of the position, is that the dean must sacrifice time for such duties while others are able to teach (ebd.: 2). On the one hand, teaching might be perceived as a more satisfying job than organizing cooperation with other institutions in order to improve the financial situation of the employees. On the other hand, there might also be a financial advantage as a lecturer, because they are able to accept more teaching or private business activities while the deans are busy with management activities and that without a direct profit. So an interesting aspect would be to compare the effective income<sup>11</sup> of a regular lecturer with that of a dean. Unfortunately it was not possible to receive this information through the research. But the argumentation of the dean gives some support to the view that a regular lecturer can have a higher effective income than his respective dean.

To sum up what has been presented so far, the advantage of being a dean, a director of a study center or the head of an administrative unit is presumably higher base salary compared to lower positions in the hierarchy. Additionally, the positions offer not only a promotion within the university, but also promising opportunities to access jobs in national politics. Both options may serve as ways to accumulate either economic or political capital. Without question a certain degree of prestige is connected to such a leading position as well. This prestige stems mostly from the hierarchical difference: The dean has power over the employees of his faculty because the lecturers are evaluated by the dean and vice deans. Furthermore, all informants of higher positions had very representative offices, which also contributes to the attractiveness of the position. Concerning the un-popular characteristics of leading positions in the academic field, one must remember the administrative work, about which most informants complained. Either because of the intrinsic value of teaching or the financial opportunities that might exceed their own, they were unsatisfied about not being able to

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<sup>11</sup> All incomes (basic salary plus additional job's incomes)



teach as often and undertake research activities. It is possible that the informants feared a loss of academic reputation through the interview and so rhetorically defended themselves, it may also have been that they generally want to meet the expectation of the individuals involved in the academic field, who supposedly strive for academic excellence, but are internally convinced that they are better off with the jobs they have.

In conclusion, there is evidence that people want to accumulate political capital as well as economic capital and that they do so by adding up their institutional capital in terms of accessing leading positions. There also seems to be proof that some take a more direct path to accumulate economic capital and care less about the position they are in, seeing as the correlation between a high position and a high income is not that clear. Referring to Bourdieu and returning to the question as to why the people strive for academic capital (leading positions), this seems to be an interesting aspect. A leading position is usually associated with a higher income. Without this higher income, a leading position, at least in the institutional field, apparently loses some of its value. Now the term of a leading position can also be applied to one's status in the process of accumulating economic capital. This needs to be done in order to stay within the logic of Bourdieu's theory. For multiple reasons, the composition of different capitals<sup>12</sup> and the valuation of a particular goal seem to be very dependent on the individuals and their specific interests. For a number of lecturers, it is more convenient not to put much effort into the accumulation of scientific and institutional capital. Instead, they try to earn more money and do so via the most effective way, which is to teach further classes at other universities or to participate in a research project.<sup>13</sup>

### **2.3. “No money, no culture, no research”**

After considering the role of institutional capital and leading positions in that field, we turn our attention to the different aspects of scientific capital and the behavior of people accumulating that capital. Research is at the center of academic activity, according to the Indonesian concept of Tri Dharma: Teaching, Research and Service to Society (Nugroho 2005: 145). With this in mind, it is all the more surprising that the publication rate is 0.2 publications per lecturer per year. Nugroho attributes the low

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<sup>12</sup> economic capital, political capital, institutional capital, scientific capital

<sup>13</sup> rather projects of low academic relevance

level of research activity to the poor economic situation of the lecturers and the lack of incentives. They are busy with teaching, “because it is the way they can save themselves from the confines of the small salaries they receive as civil servants” (ibid. : 144). What do the lecturers believe to be the reason for there being so few publications?

To begin, none of the informants tried to question either the verity of the publications statistic, or the negative effect on the achievement of their academic goals. Instead they were well aware of and concerned about it. As one lecturer explains: “But what kind of idea, what kind of a new thought we have produced from this campus? Double zero!” (i V: 3). At another point in the interview he stated:

“I question the motivation of my colleagues here, whether they came to this university with ah... with pure motivation to serve their life in academic life or they just came to this campus, because they could not find somewhere else to get another job good.”

(i V: 2).

After asking another informant if he thought the small publication quota was the biggest problem, he confirmed, saying: “Yes, I think this is one of the biggest problems” (i VI: 8).

Now, what do the lecturers believe to be the reason for that? After confronting him with the statistics of 0.2 publications, he said: “Yes this is small and maybe this is not our culture to do publication. We have done lot of work, but...”(i VI: 7). After suggesting that maybe the low salary motivates the lecturer to look for more profitable activities than researching and publishing, he added:

“You are right because we don’t have enough time to write because our salary is not enough, it is just for one week. We still have three weeks in a month. We have to increase our salary. Besides, we don’t have good writing culture like you. Based on my experience when I was in Australia, everyone have to write and publish, this is the thing that we will be known by people. Then we feel that it is enough what we are doing without the publication. For example to say something in front of the audience or to publish something, some people think this is impolite. Don’t speak loudly, or something like that. Maybe it looks greedy because you speak, it’s something like that, ...”

(ebd.: 7-8).

Here the informant confirms the argument of the bad financial situation. He explains an aspect of Javanese culture,<sup>14</sup> which connects research and publishing to a greedy attitude, a quality not appreciated in the society. In the previous quote he is referring to “writing culture” as a general aspect missing in people’s habitus or social capital, as

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<sup>14</sup> He identifies it as Javanese later on in that interview

Bourdieu would call it. When it was suggested that the difficult financial situation might be a reason for so few publications, a dean responded by saying that:

“Publishing academic works has less to do with the money. People who earn more is not equal with the motivation to publish. People who do research, they do research even though it has no financial reward, so publication is much more related to, I don’t have an exact word for this, spirit – academic commitment?”  
(i VII: 7).

Another informant also denies financial matters as being a reason for the low research productivity. The lecturer argues:

“Some people tend to attribute this situation to our poor economic situation, but maybe that’s true, maybe that’s not. Because financial situation in Indian university is not better than Indonesia. My colleague in the Philippines, their economic condition is not better than us here. But they are productive. From year to year, there always new book from the Philippines, there always a good number of academic article produce from India. (...) I tend to believe economic is not the factor. I believe that the root of this problem is our academic culture. That we don’t have serious academic culture. People do not come to this place to learn, people come to this place to get money, to get salary, and to get diploma. People do not come to this place to produce knowledge. (...) Here work means producing money, that’s all.”  
(i V: 3).

Would not more lecturers be involved in research and publication activities if they had a little more money? Would they keep on striving for money? These questions aim to answer the question whether taking on side jobs outside UGM is kind of a survival strategy in the absence of alternatives seeing the “basic salary of 160 USD “ (i V: 3) is too low. Or is it rather only the opinion of the informant, that people are looking for the money, no matter if the “sacrifice” of a publication is more or less in terms of financial benefits?

“...some of my colleagues, face on the reason that you have mentioned. They start to look money somewhere else outside the university. They work here, the work there, and they neglect their student. They become rich. And when I’m saying rich, it means rich. It means my friend can buy three BMW. Only few people in Europe can buy three newest BMW, right? But people can do that here. So he must be wealthy rich. Not only rich. But he is still looking for more money and he never stop.”

(ibid.: 4).

From this statement one can conclude that a rise of the salary would not foster research activity. This view does not support Nugroho’s explanation. Instead the arguing for it seems to be an excuse for the informant. He continues to uncover his perception of the real reasons:

“One of the most popular excuses is our economic situation. (...) I will tell you, your salary may be limited, but there are many research funds, you can access. (...) In this globalized world, you can refer, officially you come from this university, but you can accept research fund from other university in Europe, other place, China, Japan, everywhere. Just like people in Europe can do research here. People just lazy to do that. So that’s an answer: People just lazy to do that.”

(ibid.: 5).

Upon asking another lecturer about how much time he spends on lecturing and researching, he replied:

“In one semester I have to teach six subjects. And because of that, it is difficult to do research. So actually I do research in July or June up to August because I have a break for two months.”

(i II: 4).

It is not obvious what he means by “have to teach”. We can infer that it is a requirement for the faculty rather than a choice. However this cannot be said for sure. So eventually there is another reason brought up.

It is a multifaceted set of answers and hard to identify any commonly-held views. Some see the low salary as a reason for the few publications, other believe it to be an excuse. They mention the laziness of lecturers or their quenchless thirst for money, the latter of which can be pursued rather elsewhere than in scientific activities. From general observation in the field it is certain that there are academicians involved in serious research. To judge the relative number of them is not possible with the base of the research conducted. However, in regard to Bourdieu, it remains to be said that there are scholars busy with accumulating scientific capital and striving for an academic reputation ultimately for a leading position in the academic field. But there are indicators that there are a large number of lecturers who are neither much concerned about a leading position, whether that be institutionally or scientifically, yet economically.

#### **2.4. Economy and UGM**

So far there have been several aspects considered, which demonstrate the frictional boundaries between the societal fields of science and economy: Economic capital is a way to access leading institutional positions. Although no clear evidence has been found to link the two, that does not mean that they are irrelevant whatsoever. Secondly, financial aspects in the motivation of the people and its influence on the

attractiveness of certain institutional positions. And lastly, we considered the challenging financial situation of the faculties, which affects the employed lecturers and may subsequently have an effect on their research activity. In this chapter, the triple-helix model will be referenced with regard to the UGM example. How much has the university become a market orientated institution with business-like aspects? To what degree does the economy have an influence on the research objectives, removing science from pure academic considerations?

UGM is not only known to the public of Yogyakarta because of its educational and institutional character, but also because of its great physical presence. The 357 hectares of land (i 10) are not only used for classroom buildings, libraries, laboratories and offices, but also for business activities something one would not expect from a rather “traditional” point of view. The business tasks of the university do not remain in research related areas and the marketing of their knowledge, but include a series of “regular” businesses on campus. Besides several copy-shops, supermarkets, cafeterias, telecommunication centers and post services owned by the university, UGM also rents real estate or land to the private banks which have offices on campus. It is also possible to rent many university facilities for different purposes (e. g. weddings, big commercial fairs). It should be added that even the study centers have to pay a certain *university fee* for using the infrastructure. “We have to give certain percent to university and we can negotiate the amount, depend on the money we have in our pocket” (i II: 3). The money in the pocket depends again on the income they can generate from their activities (cf. i II, i I). In effect, there is a sort of intra-university economy which supports the image of the university as a business like organization.

The surrounding economy plays a vital role in supporting the activities in UGM. Before BHMN the university could cover 90% of its costs from the government. Nowadays it can only cover 30% (i VIII: 1). This means that 70% of the funds have to be raised from other sources. One dean comments:

“Of course we are not trained as a manager of a company, we don’t know what to do getting the money, so the first victim is the students or the parents.”

(i VII: 3).

Although a large share of the funds is collected through student fees, this source is not enough. The deans and study center directors interviewed referred to a constant need for further and politically less problematic funding. In this regard, all of the informants

confirmed the important role of funding from international organizations, private businesses, foreign universities, NGOs, foundations and governmental orders. Some of the study centers were established with the help of the World Bank, others with the help of foreign universities.<sup>15</sup> As mentioned in a previous chapter, there are two kinds of funding, each of which has different implications for the academic value of the research. On one side are the proposals, through which they try to get funding for a research topic that the center chooses rather out of academic reasoning. On the other side are the research projects, which have a topic defined by the sponsor. The last option demonstrates the tendency to orientate the research work to the economic needs the market indicates. As the sources of pure academic funding are very limited, it becomes evident that the triple-helix model appropriately describes the procedures at UGM.

Not only the study centers, but also some faculties have a close relationship with third-party funding. This however strongly depends on the particular discipline. The medical faculty for example maintains partnerships with pharmaceutical companies and cooperates with the European Commission for two projects (i VIII: 3). Another interesting example has been described as follows:

“We have a good collaboration with Total, the oil company, in East Kalimantan. They are willing to support financially our students, while doing community services to East Kalimantan until now, they will be continued... depending on the money.”

(ibid.: 4).

Another dean gave the example of a sponsorship that is based in the commitment of the company's social responsibility.

“We find many companies, we hate cigarettes, but sometimes we love their money. So we don't allow them to advertise here but if they have money to spend, and if they want to pay for the scholarship system, then I ask them to send the money, not the advertisement.”

(i VII: 4).

According to the research conducted, there was only a small amount of evidence showing collaboration with the private business sector, such as technological developments generated by the university being sold to the market. Nevertheless, several institutions at UGM have carefully looked for the possibilities of a market through which they could profitably offer their services. The potential of these resources, however, can only be accessed by those disciplines which are economically

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<sup>15</sup> e.g. from Norway, Holland, Singapore

more relevant. Faculties in the field of philosophy or language have a more difficult time accessing those markets in comparison to the medicine or economics. Measured by the academic quality, the influence of the economy on research activities is often looked at with preoccupation. Still there are spill-over effects of this collaboration, which again raise the opportunities, also of valuable academic research, even if it is “only” a plus of books or technical equipment which supports academic activity.

Another structural force, politics, even more appropriate government, has a twofold influence on the university. Its economically relevant effect should be brought up at this point. A large part of the projects that the study centers and faculties undertake, come from the government. Studies, policy implementation, the revision of laws and trainings of government staff - it is all financed by the government. The other effects of interaction with the government will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **2.5. Politics and UGM**

As soon as the institutes begin to look for funded projects, the research topics are already assigned. This often implies that there is a tendency away from pure academic considerations and therefore has its impact on the academic culture. This is also an effect of governmental funded projects. Any other influence of politics on the academic work, which could be termed “manipulation”, was denied by all informants. Hence, in this chapter the focus will be on how science influences politics.

“So the government are more open now than in the past, during Soeharto administration, after the reform, the government is quiet open and become open to the university. The dialogue between university and the government become more frequent, much more neutral.”

(i IV: 2).

These are the words of Sofian Effendi, the rector of UGM. In contrast there is a statement from another informant who has worked on different projects from governmental departments:

“I don’t think that the research that we did and the recommendations that we give to the government really give effect to the political changes.”

(i II: 5).

Between these divergent views many other perceptions could be found throughout the field. First, voices, supporting that their work has influenced political decision-making and its process will be presented. Then, critical expression towards the relevance of the scholars’ effort will be asserted.

Upon asking the dean of the medical faculty about cooperation with the government, he gave the following examples:

“The insurance adopted by the ministry of health came from our faculty. The insurance concept, health insurance. (...) Five years ago we establish the center of malaria control in our faculty. Actually the center is established, because of demand of the ministry of health.”

(i VIII: 7).

In response to the same question, an informant from a study center mentioned his appointment as an expert to revise a specific law and continued:

“I don’t know, whether that is, according to you, it is an important influence or not. But what I think that this will influence a lot on the policy making process, also our friend involved in the discussion on other law, (...) domestic violence law. So by involving several members directly or indirectly will have influence on the policy (...) Even when we finished our survey, sometimes we go to Jakarta to present our result to a lot of ministries. Last time we did it for Indonesian Family Life Survey, we present to Bapenas, to Ministry of Finance, to Ministry of Health, to Ministry of Population Welfare, and so many ministries, so that...they are aware about the existing report and we expect that they will consider this input for their...”

(i I: 4).

After asking him whether he felt that they had considered the reports, he continued:

“Yea, sure. Because for instance in revision. Even though it is not been finish yet now, we have still discussion now, discussion with the political party about the revision. But I’m sure the input from the academicion [sic] is really important for the revision.”

(ibid.).

Later in the interview he gave another example:

“We just finished cooperation with local government, city local government to develop what we call citizen charter, to develop what we call a client-base policy. For instance when they provide service like a ... for identity card, and we develop forum involving NGO, and also household, also government to discuss what the policy should be develop, and we becoming the facilitate for this.”

(ibid.).

So there are clear signs for different kinds of impacts on political decisions to some scholars at UGM. The dean of the Faculty of Social and Political Science denied seeing any impacts resulting of the research of his faculty. He did, however, mention that “during reformasi, the reformulation of constitution mostly based on document provided by this faculty”.

More concerns about the considerations of their research results came from another lecturer involved in a study center:

“I don’t think that the research that we did and the recommendation that we give



to the government really give effect to the political changes. (...) They invite some universities to compete to get the budget then we are doing research based on the project that they decided before. But the result or the research is not directly affected the department. Maybe they don't read, I think they don't read."

(i II: 5).

Of course once again each discipline has a different relevance with regards to political decision-making. For this reason, many of the people interviewed denied that their work had any influence on political processes.

In sum it is difficult to give any objective judgment on the possible impacts of research results on governmental policies. Nevertheless, different opinions can be recognized and provide an insight into the many forms of interaction with the government.

## **Conclusion**

The academic culture, too, is a wide field and the more you look into it and scrutinize a certain aspect, the new fields of interest appear just as wide as before. This paper touched a set of topics which could not be dedicated much depth, instead, the significance of the scope of aspects has emerged and also the manifold views and estimations concerning the academic field. It is a portrait of the individual interpretations of those participating in the academic field of UGM. Following the framework of Bourdieu's description of the academic field and player's different habitus and social capital, it has been possible to take a theoretical approach on the specific situation of the exemplary people involved in the field. We encountered difficulties in trying to categorize their goals and motivations. But we learned about their variety. Shifting the focus from the individual's situation to a macro-perspective of the structures in the form of aggregated societal parts, it became apparent how the structural embedment of UGM is affected by the economic and political spheres, which do not only surround them, but also often penetrate the academic culture in its various dimensions. UGM is not only affected by external influences, but also affects societal processes itself. This has come to light through the exploration of its range of involvement in political affairs. This paper tries to capture some of the numerous ties within and between the micro- and macro-levels, the structural settings, the cultural aspects and the personal preferences and thus represents the interconnectedness of the

factors and processes constituting parts of the academic culture, which again constitutes other fields.

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## Interviews

- i IX: Interview (09.2006)
- i V: Interview (09.2006)
- i IV: Interview (09.2006)
- i I: Interview (09.2006)
- i VII: Interview (09.2006)

i VIII: Interview (09.2006)  
i VI: Interview (09.2006)