THE INDONESIAN TEACHER CERTIFICATION POLICY:
A CASE STUDY OF POLICY SENSE-MAKING

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degrees of

Curriculum, Instruction, and Teacher Education – Doctor of Philosophy
Educational Policy – Doctor of Philosophy

2016

ABSTRACT

THE INDONESIAN TEACHER CERTIFICATION POLICY:
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Indonesia, like many countries around the world, has been engaged in the effort to improve its teacher quality as the main strategy to elevate the whole educational quality. This dissertation seeks to understand how Indonesian teacher educators make sense of the new teacher certification policy as they are engaged in its implementation. Few scholars have conducted studies that are published in English related to the implementation process of large-scale education reform in Indonesia, including in the implementation of the teacher certification policy, and this study intends to fill this gap. Moreover, teacher educators are, arguably, key implementing agents in many teacher reforms, not only in Indonesia, but also around the world. Surprisingly, there has been little research examining teacher educators in global teacher reforms, and this study intends to fill in that gap as well.

This study uses an integrative sense-making framework proposed by Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer (2002). The framework's main argument is: "What a policy means for implementing agents is constituted in the interaction of their existing cognitive structures (including knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes), their situation, and the policy signals" (Spillane, Reiser, et al., 2002, p. 388). This integrative framework has three core elements: individual sense-making, social sense-making, and policy signals and representations. I used a multisite qualitative case study approach. As the principal method of data collection, I used interviews with various policy actors: 29 teacher educators and 11 ministry officials. I also supplemented the interview data

with document analysis and observation data. In analyzing my data, I relied on data displays. I created role-ordered matrices to display the full data set at once to allow for comparisons of different groups of participants to notice similarities and differences among different roles, as well as patterns, themes, or trends within and across roles and institutions, and to seek for plausibility.

I found that the participating teacher educators had competing logics in their sense-making as they implemented the teacher certification policy. These logics, one focused on individual sense-making and the other focused on social sense-making, were arguably contested and negotiated through a range of legitimacy mechanisms: normative, constitutive, and regulative. The logic related to the social sense-making, the civil service norms, seemed to be the more dominant one, and as a result, the Indonesian teacher educators produced the behaviors that were in line with these norms. They seemed to focus on rules, procedures and regulations, demonstrated compliance and obedience towards the instructions and guidelines, and did not put a strong emphasis on the importance of expertise. These obedient and compliant behaviors have resulted in the relative success of the policy implementation as indicated by the massive number of certified teachers every year (more than 200,000 teachers per year).

This study highlights several implications. First, it considers the influence and potential tradeoffs of the civil service norms in education policy implementation in Indonesian context. Second, this study discusses the implications of a sense-making approach in any educational policy implementation, including putting *learning* at the center of policy implementation. Finally, this study cautions the pursuit of bold reform ideas, not only because those ideas – as helpful and well intentioned as they are – can be damaging, but the complexity of human sense-making will also make learning those ideas very challenging for policy implementing agents.

To my father, Syahril Kasim, my mother, Syafrida,
my wife, Xanty, and my children, Sasha and Iqra.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Becoming a teacher and studying teaching is my life calling and my passion. I am so glad that I made the decision to become a Spartan family. Michigan State University has made me a better teacher and a better student of teaching, and for that I am forever grateful to all the people who have helped me grow. Firstly, I am forever thankful for the amazing support that I received from my advisor and dissertation director, Dr. Lynn Paine. Lynn is a brilliant scholar, an amazing mentor, and a wonderful human being with the greatest heart, who has cross-cultural understanding, sensitivity, and skills that are second to none! She always had great and positive ideas for whatever situation I was in. She was always able to understand my struggles in identifying and putting together the scattered and missing puzzles of my work. Her feedback and support has been extremely vital in the completion of this dissertation and my doctoral program at MSU. Secondly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Mary Kennedy, my first academic advisor when starting my doctoral program, for teaching me so many things about how to think as a scholar and how to do good research. Her influence has been immense in how I think about the problems of teacher education: both in policy and practice contexts. Moreover, I am always very appreciative for the trust and encouragement she has given me in my scholarship and in pursuing my interests. Mary is a fantastic teacher for me.

Next, I would like to thank all the members of my dissertation committee: Dr. Peter Youngs, Dr. Sandra Crespo, Dr. Amita Chudgar, and Dr. Bethany Wilinski. They have been outstanding not only in providing their generous support throughout the whole dissertation process but also in showing me what it means and what it takes to be a good scholar. I have to give a special thanks to Peter Youngs, who was my second academic advisor, for his unwavering

support to me even though he already moved to the University of Virginia. To me Peter is a role model of how to be a collaborative scholar and a mentor for beginning scholars.

I could not have made so much progress with my dissertation work without the support of my friends. In particular, I would like to thank my "*sahabat,*" an Indonesian phrase for best friends, with whom I mostly shared my ups and downs in the program: Abraham Ceballos, Gerardo Aponte-Martinez, Isabella Tirtowalujo, Yu-Han Hung, Eunjung Jin, and Yunjeong Choi. Along with Dwi Agus Yuliantoro and the Indonesian community in the Greater Lansing area, they have been amazing friends for me and my family. In addition, I am extremely grateful for my dissertation writing group members: Gerardo Aponte-Martinez, Yu-Han Hung, Yunjeong Choi, Alyssa Morley, Elise Page-Dixon, Don McClure, Kongji, Jin, Eunjung Jin, Sarah Galey, Jihyun Kim, and Amanda Slaten-Frasier. Thank you so much for reading so many confusing drafts of my work, listening to the messiness of my process, giving constructive feedback, and encouragement that kept me going especially during my lowest moments.

I need to say that my PhD is not only to fulfill my dream but also to honor my parents. In 1985, my father, who was an English professor in Indonesia, rejected the opportunity to pursue a PhD degree in the US. Being a huge fan of cowboy movies and country music, he would have loved to study in the US but he did not want to leave me and my eight other siblings for a very long time. My PhD degree is also to complete the journey of my father, who passed away in 1999. I also dedicate my PhD to my mother, who is one of the most intelligent people I've known. She never went to high school but she could have been a student in a top medical school and become a fabulous surgeon. She must be so proud of my achievement, the first person who obtained a PhD degree in my extended matriarchal family.

Finally, I dedicate my PhD degree to Xanty, the love of my life, my high school sweetheart, and our two amazing kids, Sasha and Iqra – with whom I have shared this journey. They have allowed and trusted me to go through the journey with unwavering love and support. Thank you very much Bunda, Sasha, and Iqra. I love you all so much, and I hope I can make you proud.

PREFACE

Because this study involved human beings, this study required approval from The Michigan

State University's Institutional Review Board (MSU-IRB).

The IRB log number was **x15-409e**.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

LPTK   *Lembaga Pendidikan Tenaga Kependidikan* (Teacher Education Institution)

MOEC   Ministry of Education and Culture. It governs non-religious public and private K-12 schools in Indonesia.

MORA   Ministry of Religious Affairs. It governs public and private religious K-12 schools in Indonesia

PPG   *Pendidikan Profesi Guru* (Teacher Professional Education), the new teacher pre-service program based on the teacher certification policy and the Teacher Law 2005. As of summer 2015, during which time data collection for this study was conducted, the Indonesian government had not started this program

PLPG   *Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru* (Teacher Professional Education and Training), the 10-day training process Indonesia most in-service teachers have to go through to obtain the new teacher certification mandated by the Teacher Law 2005. When talking about their experience in the implementation of the teacher certification policy, study participants mostly referred to their experience in PLPG.

SIUB   State Islamic University of Bhinneka, a pseudonym of a public Islamic higher education institution, a focal institution in this study. One of its colleges, *Fakultas Tarbiyah,* functions as a teacher education institution, preparing elementary and secondary teachers who will teach in (mainly) Islamic schools and general public and private schools, as well as preparing Islamic religion teachers, and Arabic teachers.

SUP   State University of Pancasila, a pseudonym of a public higher education institution, a focal institution in this study. SUP used to be an institute exclusively dedicated for teacher preparation and development. In 1999, it was transformed to a public university that offers non-education as well as education academic programs. The university is considered a teacher education institution because many of its departments and study programs still engage in teacher preparation and development.

CHAPTER 1: SO MANY REFORMS, SO LITTLE CHANGE

Implementing a large-scale educational reform initiative is never an easy task. For instance, in one seminal work using historical perspective, Tyack and Cuban (1997) investigated public school reform in the United States, and found that despite countless reform initiatives for more than a hundred years, the character of classroom instruction and certain organizational features of schools (e.g., age-grading of students, the division of knowledge into separate subjects, the self-contained classroom with one teacher) have not changed much. Researchers in educational reform (e.g., Fullan, 2009; Hatch, 2009; Loogma, Tafel-Viia, & Ümarik, 2012; Luttenberg, Carpay, & Veugelers, 2012) have pointed out that educational reforms, especially the large-scale ones, are rarely successful, and little is known about what causes reforms to succeed or fail.

Indonesia, the country in which this study took place, has its own complicated history of implementation of reforms. The stories of large-scale educational reforms have been more or less the same as what has been portrayed by those researchers. Growing up in Indonesia, it was quite common for me to hear a satirical joke about Indonesian education: "*Ganti menteri, ganti kurikulum,*" which means "A change of the minister of education will result in a change of the national curriculum," and this happens at least every five years. In the past ten years, for instance, there have been three types of curriculum used in Indonesia's education: *Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi* (Competency-based Curriculum), *Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan* (School-based Curriculum), and Kurikulum 2013 (the 2013 Curriculum, focusing on character education). Recent studies examining various educational reform initiatives in Indonesian education – such as decentralization (Bjork, 2005), school-based management (Li, 2012; Sofo, Fitzgerald, & Jawas, 2012), and international-standard schools (Coleman, 2011; Sakhiyya, 2011)

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– seem to agree that the various educational reform efforts have not yielded much in terms of the expected changes. Thus, despite the "routine" curriculum changes introduced by every new presidential cabinet since the 1970s and other forms of educational reform initiatives, Indonesian classrooms continue to be teacher-centered ones emphasizing rote learning (Bjork, 2005; Buchori, 2001; Zulfikar, 2009).

This dissertation seeks to examine Indonesia's teacher certification policy, an expansive, expensive, and current education reform. In particular, this dissertation attempts to understand how Indonesian teacher educators make sense of the new teacher certification policy as they are engaged in its implementation. Teacher educators are, arguably, key implementing agents in many teacher reforms, not only in Indonesia but also around the world. Surprisingly, there has been little research examining teacher educators in global teacher reforms, and this study intends to fill in that gap. In the remainder of this chapter, I introduce the larger context of global reforms of teacher quality, describe the teacher certification policy in Indonesia as an instance of this, and then outline the logic behind this model. I close with a focus on implementation and implementing agents.

Teacher Quality in the Global Education Reform

One of the recent trends in the global education reform is the emphasis on teacher quality improvement (Akiba, 2013; Paine & Zeichner, 2012; Tatto, 2007). The famous quote from the 2007 McKinsey report "The quality of an education system cannot exceed the quality of its teachers" (Barber & Mourshed, 2007, p. 16) has been used as a mantra in many official education reform documents in many countries (Paine & Zeichner, 2012). This trend could have been encouraged by a number of recent research findings by numerous educational scholars (e.g., Chetty, Friedman, & Rockoff, 2011; Nye, Konstantopoulos, & Hedges, 2004; Sanders & Rivers,

1996) that show that teachers make a difference in students' academic achievement.

Akiba and LeTendre (2009) argue that teacher certification has been one of the major policy trends in the recent global education reforms. They explained that, as a result of dissatisfaction with public schools and teacher education programs that was mounted in the 1990s, nations around the world had become concerned by the quality of their teaching workforce. A number of reports produced by international organizations (e.g., UNESCO and OECD) highlighted teacher certification as a measure of teacher quality (Motivans, Smith, & Bruneforth, 2006; OECD, 2005). This concern drove policy makers in many countries to craft reforms that overhaul their teacher education and/or teacher certification systems.

For example, in Georgia, one of the post-Soviet countries, Kobakhidze (2013) describes how teacher certification was used by the Georgian government to improve the quality of the educational system, a move that, Kobakhidze argues, was triggered by the country's deep disappointments with the poor students' performance in international tests such as PIRLS, PISA, and TIMSS. Kobakhidze further explains that the certification policy in Georgia was a mandate from the country's new Law of General Education of 2005. According to this law, by 2014, all teachers in Georgia had to obtain a certification to teach. To be certified, teachers had to pass written standardized exams (except for foreign language subject), which contained close-ended and open-ended questions. Kobakhidze notes that, upon receiving the certificate, Georgian teachers would get a large increase in their salary, a considerable incentive for teachers given that teacher salaries had dropped significantly since the beginning of the post-Soviet era.

Even in countries that have a strong tradition and known quality in teacher preparation, efforts to improve teacher quality through new certification/license policies have also taken place. For instance, Akiba (2013a) describes how Japan, for the first time since 1949, changed

the teaching license policy, from a permanent license (once for life) into a temporary license that needed to be renewed every ten years. To get the renewal teachers had to attend 30-hours of university courses. Akiba reports that the Japanese public and media had portrayed teacher quality as the main cause of the drop in Japanese students' performance on international assessments such as PISA, which, coupled with some reports about teacher scandals, had lowered the high social status and respect Japanese teachers had enjoyed before.

Teacher Certification in Indonesian Educational Reform

Shifting Teacher Status

Teachers in Indonesia used to enjoy a respectable status in the society. In the Dutch colonial era[1], becoming a teacher was considered as a means towards social mobility, especially for the aristocrats and the lower class society (Supriadi & Hoogenboom, 2003). During this time, teachers earned more than most other professions and were placed one level above the average civil servants within the colonial government civil service system. Supriadi and Hoogenboom describe that during the Dutch colonial era, a lower secondary school teacher was able to buy a new car with less than 3 months of their salary, while in late 1990s, a senior secondary teacher had to use at least 4 years of their salary to buy a new car. In addition, despite stratifying teacher education schools based on the division of schools[2], the Dutch colonial government maintained a

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[1] Although the Dutch colonized Indonesia from 1596 until 1942, it only started to open public schools and teacher education schools for the Indonesian natives in mid 19th century.

[2] The Dutch applied a segregated school system. There were schools for the low-class native people, schools for the aristocrats, schools for special ethnic groups (e.g., the Chinese, the Arabs), and schools for the Europeans. The schools for the natives had the least rigorous curricula and used the ethnic and/or Malay language as the language of instruction. Schools for the aristocrats and the special ethnic groups had more rigorous curricula and some used Dutch as the language of instruction. Schools for the Europeans had the highest quality with curricula and facilities comparable to the ones in Holland, used Dutch as the language of instruction, and taught other European languages, such as German, English, and French. The teacher education programs were designed accordingly. For instance, teachers who were trained to teach in the

relatively high quality of all teacher preparation programs by applying rigorous curricula and competitive high-stakes exams. Some programs, especially the ones using the Dutch language as the main language of instruction, were even comparable to the ones in Holland (Suwigno, 2012). Thus, teachers during this era enjoyed high social prestige because of their economic and intellectual status.

During Indonesia's early years of independence, the Indonesian government focused its educational effort on illiteracy eradication through the compulsory six-year basic education program. According to the last census during the Dutch colonial government in 1930, 93% of the Indonesians over 14-15 years were illiterate (Emerson, 1946). However, Indonesia did not have enough teachers because very few Indonesians were educated during the colonial times. In 1939, towards the ends of the Dutch colonial era, from 62 million of Indonesian population, few had qualifications above elementary school level: only 1,012 graduated lower secondary level, only 204 completed upper secondary level, and only 40 possessed college diplomas (Kroef, 1957). The limited number of educated citizens meant that it was very challenging for the Indonesian government to carry out the mandate of the six-year basic education. What made the situation even worse was during the fight to defend independence against the Dutch after World War II ended (from 1945-1949), educated people who might have otherwise been teachers chose instead to enter the military or government (Buchori, 2007).

Thus, during the early years of Indonesian independence, from 1945 to 1970s, the main focus of teacher policy was to fulfill the supply of elementary school teachers, and later, as more graduates from elementary schools continued their education into secondary schools, from 1970s to 1980s, the focus of teacher policy also included the production of secondary school teachers

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native schools were not eligible to teach in other types of schools because their training was inadequate to teach in schools with more rigorous curricula and they were not fluent in Dutch.

(Buchori, 2007). As a result of this pressure to produce adequate teachers, the quality of teacher education programs was compromised, especially compared to the quality of the programs during the Dutch colonial era (Supriadi & Hoogenboom, 2003). The Indonesian government initiated a lot of crash teacher-training programs to immediately fill in teaching positions. Despite this quality reduction, during the early years of Indonesian independence, teachers still enjoyed high social and economic status within the Indonesian society (Jalal et al., 2009; Supriadi & Hoogenboom, 2003). They continued to be regarded as intellectual elites because the majority of Indonesians still could not read and write. Additionally, teacher salaries were still above the average of most other professions[3].

However, this situation started to change in 1970 with the mass expansion of basic education. This expansion was funded by the unexpected huge profit made by the Indonesian government due to the 1970s' world oil crisis. Within a decade, the Indonesian government built tens of thousands of elementary schools all over Indonesia, especially in villages and remote areas. This meant a massive number of schoolteachers were needed immediately, and in far greater numbers than ever before. The government allowed private teacher education programs to grow to help solve the need for teachers, not only in elementary schools but also in secondary schools. As a result, the production of teachers went uncontrollably causing an oversupply of teachers. Supriadi and Hoogenboom (2003) estimate that of the approximately 40,000 student teachers that graduated every year in the 1980s, only 50%-60% were absorbed by the teacher labor market. Moreover, in addition to the problem of teacher oversupply, the mushrooming of teacher education programs in private higher education institutions was not accompanied by

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[3] Supriadi and Hoogenboom (2003) illustrate that a regular teacher in 1950s could buy top quality bicycles, unaffordable for those working in many other professions including top local government officials.

sound quality control from the government. This contributed to a further decline in the quality of Indonesian teacher education programs nationally (Supriadi & Hoogenboom, 2003).

Moreover, in the late 1990s the amount of remuneration for teachers also dropped to its lowest point. Supriadi and Hoogenboom (2003) suggest that the teacher oversupply and the perceived low quality of teacher education programs might have been the factors that led the Indonesian government and many private schools to give a low salary to teachers. It is also important to note that for teachers recruited by the government, they were recruited as civil servants. While civil servants in other sectors of the government usually had opportunities to be involved in lucrative projects for side incomes, most teachers only relied on their salaries for a living. However, teachers considered acquiring the civil servant status as a good thing because it provided them a strong sense of job security in the long run. To get side incomes from the 1990s until the 2000s many Indonesian teachers had to find a second job, often in low status occupations (e.g., tricycle driver, motorcycle taxi driver, street vendor, etc.) (Jalal et al., 2009). Sometimes, their engagement in their second job caused teachers to skip teaching, which led to the problem of teacher absenteeism (Granado, Fengler, Ragatz, & Yavuz, 2007). The low salary and low-status second jobs made teaching much less appealing for top students to choose teaching as their career choice, which arguably lowered the input quality in teacher education programs because those who enrolled were mostly not considered strong academically.

Chang et al. (2014) point out that before the teacher reform started in Indonesia, wages in the teaching profession were comparatively more rewarding for those with lower qualifications (second-year college diplomas or below). That is, they received higher wages in comparison to those in other professions with the same qualifications. However, teachers with higher qualifications received lower wages than their counterparts in other professions with the same

qualifications. This also contributed to the tendency of higher-qualified students to opt out of pursuing teaching as a profession.

Teacher Certification Policy as a Policy Response to Two Issues

In early 2000s, the Indonesian education stakeholders started to be engaged in dialogues about teacher reform, especially to elevate the status of teaching in the society. Chang et al. (2014) explain that there were two forces that were in contestation before the Indonesian teacher reform started. The first group was the teachers and teacher associations, who consistently fought for improved teacher welfare. This group strongly believed that better salaries would make teachers more focused on their main responsibilities as teachers. Teachers and teacher associations argued that when teachers are focused on their teaching responsibilities, they will teach better, and this will lead to improved student academic performance. At the same time, another group, the Indonesian government had become very concerned by the Indonesian students' poor performance in international assessments (e.g., PISA, TIMSS), and according to Chang et al., this concern triggered the government to think about improving the quality of Indonesian teachers. The Indonesian government believed that improving teacher quality was the key to improve Indonesian students' academic performance, and they decided to use the momentum of teachers' and teacher associations' advocacy for teacher welfare improvement to put forward the teacher quality improvement agenda.

In 2005, a new law was passed, called *Undang-Undang Guru dan Dosen 2005* (Teacher and Lecturer Law of 2005). While it is important to note that the Teacher and Lecturer Law of 2005 contains comprehensive improvement strategies[4] for teacher and lecturer quality, most

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[4] In addition to certification, the law includes strategies for teacher recruitment, promotion, distribution, management, recognition of significant career achievement, professional development, and professional organization.

notably certification, this study only talks about the certification of K-12 teachers, not certification of university lecturers. For the purpose of this dissertation, I will refer to the law as the Teacher Law 2005. The main goal of this law is to professionalize teachers and lecturers, and to provide a legal guarantee for teaching to be a profession. The law defines teacher as "professional educator with the main tasks of educating (shaping character and morality), teaching, guiding, directing, training, assessing, and evaluating students in formal early childhood education, basic education, and secondary education" ("Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 14 Tahun 2005 Tentang Guru dan Dosen," 2005, p. 2)[5], and teacher certification serves as formal acknowledgement of the professional status.

 Chang et al. (2014) suggest that the Indonesian government chose teacher certification as a compromise policy tool to achieve the goals of improving both teacher welfare and teacher quality. The policy proposal was to have all teachers improve their academic qualifications (to a minimum Bachelor's degree) and pass new certification requirements. Any teachers who succeed in achieving this would get an improved salary. This idea gathered massive support from the parliament as well as from teachers and teacher associations across the country. Thus, the teacher certification idea led to a big political coalition among all stakeholders (government, parliament, political parties, community leaders, teacher associations, society) who shared the sentiment that teachers' living conditions were poor and the belief that improved welfare would lead to better teacher and teaching quality. Chang et al. suggest that while the government tended to look at the teacher certification as a tool to elevate teacher quality, the other stakeholders still saw it more as a tool to elevate teacher welfare.

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[5] Unless otherwise noted, all of the translation the official policy documents from Indonesian into English is mine.

The Policy Logic and Professional Vision in the Teacher Certification Policy

The logic of the Indonesian teacher certification policy is that by certifying all teachers, teacher quality will improve, and this improvement will lead to improved student learning quality. When student learning improves, it indicates that the quality of the whole education system has been elevated. The logic of the Indonesian teacher certification policy can be summarized in Figure 1 below.
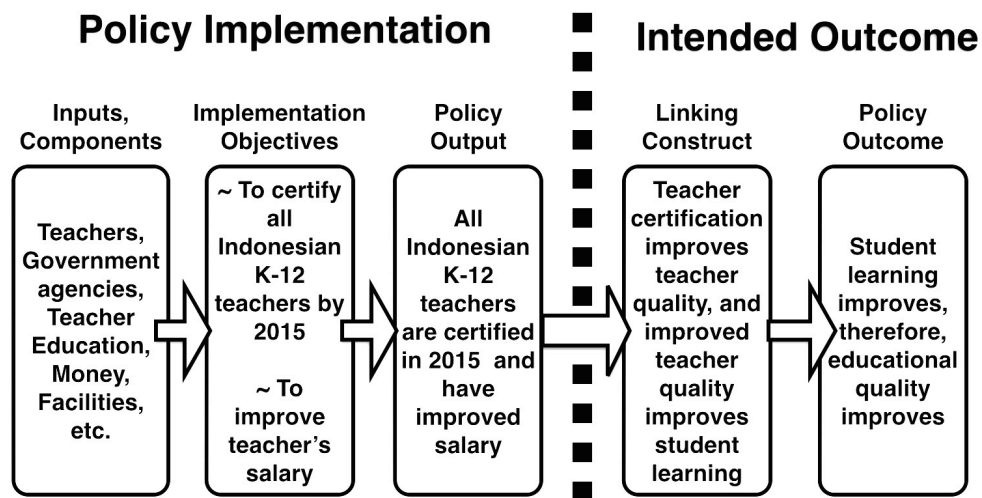
Figure 1. The Indonesian teacher certification policy logic model (1)

Certifying all teachers and improving teacher salary are the main outputs of the policy. The underlying assumption, the linking construct, embedded within the policy is that when teachers have gone through the certification process, their teaching quality will improve, which will positively impact the quality of their student learning, which is a main indication of an improvement in the quality of the whole education system.

The initial target of the Indonesian government was that by 2015 all practicing K-12 teachers who teach in more less 250,000 schools across the nation, both public and private, must have at least a bachelor's degree and pass the new certification exam. Once they are certified,

they will receive a professional allowance equal to their base salary (thus, doubling the base salary). If they teach in remote areas, or hard-to-staff locations, they will receive an extra allowance equal to their base salary (thus, tripling the base salary). As the country with the fourth largest teaching workforce in the world (about 2.7 million teachers in total), funding a considerably improved salary scheme posed a massive budget challenge for the government. However, the Indonesian government was quite optimistic about covering the increased costs to pay teacher salaries due to the 2002 constitutional amendment and the 2003 Education Law, which mandated the government allocate 20% of the state budget for education[6]. Thus, the government was given a new and sustainable funding resource that can finance the new teacher certification policy and the significant increase in teacher salary for many years to come. Costing more than US$5.6 billion (Fahmi, Maulana, & Yusuf, 2011), the Indonesian teacher certification program may be the biggest teacher certification program in a developing country, if not the whole world.

Moreover, the Indonesian teacher certification policy is based on an adaptation of a policy that conceptualizes teachers as professionals who need relevant knowledge, experience, and ethical and personal commitments. As part of its professionalism vision, the policy proposes a vision of good teaching and presumes that the certification requirements are going to lead to practicing teachers being able to enact this vision of teaching. The policy lays out one framing of teacher professionalism, arguing that to be professional, teachers must possess four main

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[6] The Indonesian government started to fulfill this constitutional mandate (to allocate 20% of the state budget for education) in 2009. As an illustration in real terms, in 2002, the amount of state budget money allocated for education was around Rp 100 trillion, in 2009, the first year when education constituted 20% of the state budget, the allocation went up to over Rp 200 trillion in 2009 (Tobias, Wales, Syamsulhakim, & Suharti, 2014). In 2014, state education budget was 368.9 trillion for the sector, and it continued to rise to above Rp 400 trillion in 2015 (Widhiarto, 2014).

competencies: professional, pedagogical, personal, and social (Jalal et al., 2009).

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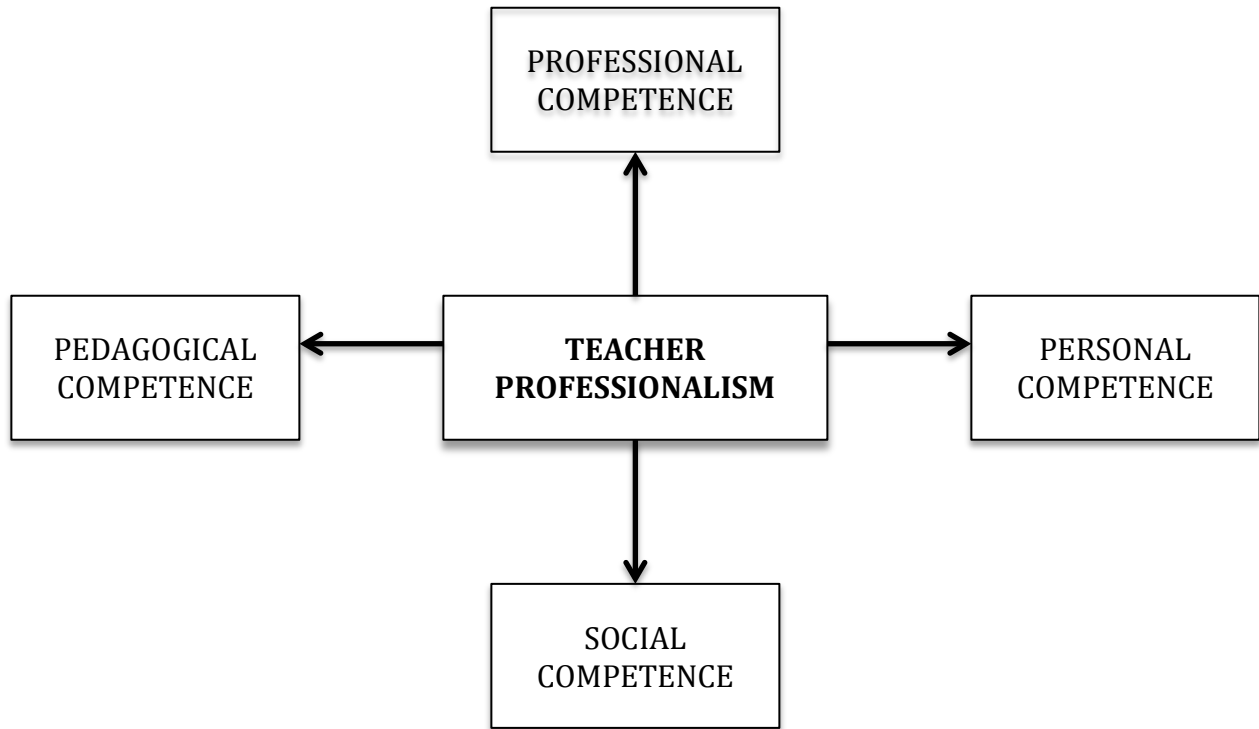
Figure 2. The professionalism vision within the Indonesian teacher certification policy

Professional competence refers to the mastery of subject matter, Pedagogical competence covers areas such as knowledge of learners, skills to design and apply learning methods and evaluation, and professional development. Personal competence refers to a teacher having a mature character worthy of imitation, and having leadership qualities and abilities to nurture all students. Finally, social competence refers to a teacher's ability to communicate effectively and efficiently and develop positive interactions with students, colleagues, parents/guardians, and community with good moral values according to the teacher's religion.

The Indonesian Teacher Certification Model

The new certification model has significant programmatic consequences for both pre-service and in-service education. In the new design of pre-service teacher education, applicants can be graduates of a bachelor's program from any field, not limited to education majors. They will have to take an entry exam before being admitted to a professional teaching program, which can last for one or two semesters. The entry exam involves document assessment (academic transcript, personal details), a test of academic potential, an assessment of professional interests, and a personality assessment. Upon admission to the program, teacher candidates attend various courses in academic skills, subject matter knowledge, general pedagogy, foundations of education, subject- and age-specific pedagogy and methods courses, practical experience, action research, a practicum, and student teaching. For kindergarten and elementary programs, candidates with an education major background only need to take 18-20 credits for one semester, while candidates without a bachelor's degree in education are required to take 36-40 credits over two semesters. All junior and senior secondary teacher candidates have to take 36-40 credits over two semesters. When teacher candidates have completed all the required courses, they will take a final exam. If they pass, they are automatically awarded teacher/educator certificate and are officially certified. At the time of data collection (summer 2015), the Indonesian government had not yet officially started the newly designed pre-service education programs because they still needed to focus on certifying in-service teachers.

There are two versions of certification model that have been used for in-service teachers. In the original certification model for in-service teachers (applied from 2007 to 2011), only portfolio-based assessment was used, and if a teacher failed, he or she had to go for further training and had to pass the assessment at the end of the training. A new certification model was

introduced in 2012 as a response to the heavy criticisms regarding the relevance of the portfolio assessments in assessing teacher skills and competency, and a response to the doubts on the portfolio quality control due to the widespread practices of illegal documentation[7]. There are three main channels for certification in this new model: direct certification, portfolio assessment, and teacher retraining (PLPG, *Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru*, Teacher Professional Training and Education).

a) Direct certification. Teachers whose civil service rank is IVC[8] and teachers whose civil rank is IVB but hold a Master or Doctorate degree only need to submit documents to get certified. These documents will be assessed by certification assessors, and if these teachers fail, they have to follow the teacher-retraining channel.

b) Portfolio assessment. Teachers with supervisory position[9] will have to submit a portfolio[10] to get certified. If they do not pass the portfolio assessment, they have to follow the teacher-retraining channel.

c) Teacher retraining channel (*Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru,* [Teacher Professional Education and Training] known with its abbreviation PLPG). Most teachers are certified through this channel. To enter PLPG, teachers have to pass a preliminary test. If they pass, they will attend a 90 hours training program for 10 days which consists of lectures

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[7] There were reports of falsified documents (e.g., falsified seminar/training/competition certificates and plagiarized lesson plans) submitted by teachers for their certification portfolios (Hastuti et al., 2009).

[8] Civil servant ranking in Indonesia ranges from IA-ID, IIA-IID, IIIA-IIID, and IVA-IVE. One's entry level is determined by his or her education qualification. One with a bachelor's degree automatically gets placed in IIIA rank when starting his or her career as a civil servant.

[9] School principals, school supervisors.

[10] The portfolio consists of: academic qualifications, education courses and training, teaching experience, lesson planning and presentation, appraisal by superior and supervisor, academic achievements, professional development works, participation in scientific forums, experience in education and social organizations, and relevant recognition and awards in education.

and workshops. At the end of the program, they will be tested. Suryahadi and Sambodho (2012) explain that the competency test is a two-hour multiple-choice objective test, which examines pedagogical competency (30 percent of the test) and professional competency (70 percent) based on the candidate's teaching subject. The test package is a mix of 25 percent easy problems, 50 percent medium difficulty problems, and 25 percent difficult problems. Each test package has to pass a validation by experts and a validation by a sample of representative teachers. If teachers fail the competency test, they have to repeat the whole process from the beginning.

In my data collection, all teacher educators mainly referred to PLPG when talking about their experience in the implementation of the certification policy. Therefore, most of the discussion about the policy implementation in this study will refer to PLPG.

Teacher Educators as the Policy Implementing Agents

The teacher educators who are in charge of certifying teachers are the senior faculty working in the country's top teacher education programs, all of them public higher education institutions. This means that these teacher educators are civil servants, who were most likely recruited by the central government[11] and managed by a civil service board (*Badan Kepegawaian Negara*) in Jakarta[12]. Every civil servant in Indonesia has a dual system of positions – rank and position (structural or functional) ("Shape and size of public employment," n.d.). Ranks start from IA to ID, IIA to IID, IIIA to IIID, IVA to IVE[13]. In addition, they may

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[11] About 88% of the total 4.6 million civil servants in Indonesia were recruited by the central government, and the rest belonged to provinces and local (district/city) administrators.
[12] Any administrative procedures such as promotion, changes in positions, salaries, etc., have to be approved by this board.
[13] Educational qualifications determine which rank one starts his or her career as a civil servant. For instance, a bachelor's degree holder will start at level IIIA, a master's degree holder will start at level IIIB, and a doctoral degree holder will start at level IIIC.

also have a structural position (e.g., managerial, administrator) and/or a functional position (e.g., lawyer, teacher, teacher educator)[14]. The civil service teacher educators follow this rank system in their career, while at the same time they pursue their functional position trajectory (e.g., as assistant professor, lecturer, chief lecturer, and full professor). As civil servants, they are assessed based on a number of criteria such as loyalty to the state ideology and constitution, work achievement, responsibility, compliance to regulations, honesty, cooperation, initiative, and leadership. As lecturers, they are assessed based on their productivity in three main areas: research, teaching, and community service (Samani, Maschab, & Moenta, 2010). With the new Teacher and Lecturer Law 2005, teacher educators and other lecturers, just like K-12 teachers, are also assessed based on the four professional competencies: professional, pedagogical, personal, and social, and they pass this assessment, they will receive a certification allowance[15].

The teacher educators who certify teachers can be considered as middle-level agents in the implementation of teacher certification policy. They are accountable to the central government offices of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) or the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) in Jakarta[16], and at the same time, they are the agents who determine whether or not K-12 teachers are qualified to obtain professional certificates. As policy agents, they may not simply carry the policy messages as intended by the policy design or the central government; they may adjust or even alter these messages and add their own meanings. In other words, while the teacher educators' sense-making is shaped by the policy messages, their sense-

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[14] Salaries are determined both by rank and position(s). Sometimes the pay from structural and/or functional positions can be much higher (e.g., double or even triple) the salary based on rank.
[15] The certification for teacher educators and lecturers uses a portfolio system.
[16] The K-12 education system in Indonesia is governed by two ministries: the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). Teachers in general public and private schools are managed by MOEC and teachers in public and private Islamic schools as well as Islamic religion teachers are managed by MORA.

making can also shape their actions in the policy implementation. Thus, as middle-level agents, teacher educators are both powerless, having to follow the guidelines set by the central government, and powerful, because they can add new meanings to the policy messages and communicate these messages through their actions in the policy implementation, which K-12 teachers have to follow in order to do well in the certification process and obtain the professional certificate.

The Need to Focus on the Policy Implementation Process

As quoted by news reports, the Director General for Teachers and Education Staff, Sumarna Surapranata, by the end of 2015, about 2.2 million had been certified (Soebijoto, 2016). This means that since 2007, when the government started to implement the policy, an average of 244,000 teachers were certified every year, which is an impressive achievement in terms of policy implementation, considering the size and diversity of Indonesia. However, there has been no indication that teacher certification has improved teacher quality. Numerous studies that have been conducted do not show any indication of teacher quality improvement as an impact of the certification policy (e.g., Al-Samarrai, Syukriyah, & Setiawan, 2012; Chang et al., 2014; Fahmi et al., 2011; Kusumawardhani, 2012; Ree, Al-Samarrai, & Iskandar, 2012; Suryahadi & Sambodho, 2012). At the same time, Indonesian students continue to perform badly in a number of international assessments (e.g., TIMSS, PISA, etc.). This means the assumption of the policy that teacher certification will improve teacher quality and student learning does not seem to take place.

Several scholars on Indonesian education (e.g., Bjork, 2005; Sofo et al., 2012) call for the need to focus on the implementation process when examining Indonesian education reform initiatives. Indeed, very few scholars have conducted studies that are published in English related

to the implementation of large-scale education reform in Indonesia. One of them is Christopher Bjork (2005), who argues that Indonesian policymakers tended to focus on technical matters[17] when asked about the policy implementation process. Bjork suggests that by pointing at these technical issues, Indonesia's policymakers felt that they had successfully done their responsibilities in implementing policy. Bjork further observes that when the central policymakers saw lack of real changes in the field (in the provinces), they would be inclined to blame the local administrators.

Moreover, Bjork (2005) notes that the majority of information about the Indonesian education system has come from reports produced by the Indonesian government and international funding organizations (e.g., the World Bank, the USAID). These reports also often focus more on economic efficiency issues and technical details such as the expenditures, number of desks per classroom, number of training days for teachers, etc. Thus, he argues that the information from these reports are less helpful if we want to understand the realities in the implementation process of education reform initiatives. Understanding these realities is arguably very important because it can help policymakers and policy scholars to get a more comprehensive picture of the complexities of a reform implementation process, including the struggles, challenges, and uncertainties faced by implementing agents throughout the implementation process.

The lack of implementation-focused studies also seems to be true for Indonesia's teacher certification policy. Most published studies (e.g., Al-Samarrai et al., 2012; Chang et al., 2014; Fahmi et al., 2011; Kusumawardhani, 2012; Ree et al., 2012; Suryahadi & Sambodho, 2012)

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[17] For example: lengthy training sessions to teachers and school administrators, regularly scheduled visits to the provinces to meet with school representatives, the production and distribution of guides to implement the policy for schools.

have concentrated more on the impacts of the certification policy rather than the process of policy implementation. Only one study, which was conducted by Hastuti et al. (2009), looks into the implementation aspects of the policy. However, even this study tended to pay more attention to the technical aspects of the implementation, such as the adequacy of guidebooks for disseminating certification information, the determination of teacher quotas, the determination of teacher participants, the compilation of teacher portfolios, the consistency of portfolio grading procedures, or the disbursement of funding and certification allowances.

As a response to the aforementioned research, this study examines the policy implementing process of the teacher certification reform. In particular, this study explores how implementing agents, especially Indonesian teacher educators, make sense of Indonesia's teacher certification policy as they are engaged in the policy implementation. There are at least two potential contributions of this study. First, by focusing on the sense-making of the implementing agents, this study provides a more nuanced and deeper understanding about how a national education policy gets implemented in an Indonesian context. Second, by focusing on the implementation aspect of the policy on teacher educators, this study fills the gaps of our understanding of the Indonesia's teacher certification policy. Previous studies on this policy tended to focus on the impacts of the policy, especially on teacher quality (e.g., content mastery, pedagogical abilities) and on student learning outcomes (e.g., national test scores, international assessment results).

In the remaining chapters, I describe the conceptual framework, method, and the findings of this inquiry. Chapter 2 explains the integrative sense-making framework that is used as the conceptual framework of the study. Chapter 3 elaborates the method employed in this research. Chapter 4 discusses the first part of the findings focusing on the individual sense-making

elements of the teacher educators, which are contrasted to those of the policy makers, as they are engaged in the policy implementation. The discussion of this chapter focuses on the conceptions of good teacher and/or teaching. Chapter 5 discusses two other elements of sense-making--social sense-making and policy signal--and how these two complicate and dominate the sense-making of teacher educators when implementing the teacher certification policy. Chapter 6 summarizes the study findings and suggests possible implications for education scholars and policy makers not only in Indonesia but also in a more global context.

CHAPTER 2: UNDERSTANDING EDUCATIONAL REFORM IMPLEMENTATION
USING A SENSE-MAKING PERSPECTIVE

Sense-making in Policy Implementation

Much of the research on educational policy implementation underlines the complexities inherent in any reform efforts. One of the main difficulties is the fact that reform usually contains not only novel but also complex ideas, which require implementing agents to learn and understand them to implement reform successfully. However, the process to learn and understand new reform ideas itself is a complex one (e.g., Elmore, 1980; Hatch, 2009; Odden, 1991; Sizer, 1985; Spillane, 2004). Unfortunately, this process is often taken for granted. This is where the sense-making perspective can contribute to a better understanding of educational policy implementation. This perspective specifically looks into this taken-for-granted process. The sense-making perspective helps explain how and why implementing agents behave in certain ways as they implement reform policies.

Reviewing policy implementation research, Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) argue that much of the early work on policy implementation has been conducted under the proposition of principal-agent and rational choice theories. According to these theories, an actor or a group of actors, called the principal, assigns another actor or another group of actors, called the agent, to take actions on the principal's behalf (Gailmard, 2014). "The principal requires the assistance of an agent to achieve a particular outcome. The agent's decisions are guided by rational choice ideas in which utility maximization is the guiding principle for human behavior" (Spillane, Reiser, et al., 2002, pp. 390-391). Thus, from this perspective, it is important for principals to have good incentives and monitoring systems to condition the implementing agents to implement policy according to its intended original design.

Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) point out that conventional research looks into at least three factors that contribute to the failure of policy implementation: the principals, the agents, and the governance between principals-agents. For instance, the principals do not communicate the goals of the policy clearly to the implementing agents, or they do not do a good job in supervising the implementation process. Furthermore, the agents' lack of interest and/or lack of ability to implement the policy could also undermine policy implementation. Finally, the unclear principal-agent relations can confuse policy jurisdiction, which may complicate identifying the party who should be responsible in different levels of policy implementation.

Spillane et al. (2002) criticize this conventional analytic tradition because it takes for granted implementing agents' ability to understand policy messages before they even produce certain responses toward the policy. While it is quite often that the reforms ideas are very intellectually demanding, Spillane et al. also notice that a growing number of studies (e.g., Hill, 2001; Wolf, Borko, Elliot, & McIver, 2000) show that implementing agents usually work hard to implement directives from above. Therefore, they suggest that in understanding policy implementation we need to examine why policy implementation does not work as intended by the initial design, even when implementing agents support the policy and work hard to implement it. They suggest that one way to understand this puzzling phenomena is examining the notion of human sense-making.

Numerous education scholars have used the sense-making perspective in examining implementing agents such as teachers (e.g., Coburn, 2001; Ketelaar, Beijaard, Boshuizen, & Den Brok, 2012; März & Kelchtermans, 2013) and school/district administrators (e.g., Coburn, 2005; Ingle, Rutledge, & Bishop, 2011; Matsumura & Wang, 2014; Spillane, Diamond, et al., 2002). Surprisingly, up to now, there has not been a study in education policy implementation that looks

into the sense-making of teacher educators. In some educational systems, such as in Indonesia, the role of teacher educators is very important in teacher reform initiatives. They are considered the experts in the field of teaching and teacher education, whose knowledge, skills, and experience are utilized not only in reform designs but also in reform implementation. Therefore, by focusing on teacher educators, this study intends to fill in the gap within education policy implementation research that uses the sense-making perspective.

In the following section I elaborate the reason why the sense-making perspective fits into the context of the Indonesian teacher certification policy implementation. After that, I discuss the conceptual framework used in the study. I end this chapter by discussing the research questions of this study.

Sense-making in the Indonesian Teacher Certification Policy

The sense-making process is a complex process and reform initiatives usually require "fundamental and complex changes" (Spillane et al., p. 387) on the part of implementing agents. This is particularly true in Indonesia's teacher certification policy. Specifically, according to the Indonesian Teacher Law 2005, the qualities targeted in Indonesia's teacher certification policy are grouped into four different competencies: pedagogical, personal, professional, and social (previously discussed in Chapter 1). The four competencies seem to be very comprehensive in covering not only teaching-related competencies (pedagogical and professional competencies) but also non-teaching related ones (personal and social competencies). One may wonder not only how these competencies look in daily teaching practices but also, more importantly, how and/or what it takes to transform fundamental beliefs and practices of existing teachers in order to comply with these new competencies. Indeed, transforming teachers to adopt these new beliefs and practices written in the new teacher certification policy is the main responsibility of

teacher educators who directly facilitate the teacher certification processes in various teacher education institutions all over Indonesia.

On top of the ambitiousness of the reform, Indonesia's geographic and cultural complexities always present significant challenges in national policy implementation. It is the world's fourth most populous country, a very culturally diverse country with more than 300 ethnic groups and 700 languages, and the most geographically dispersed, with more than 17,000 islands spread in a wide archipelago. (See Figure 3). It has a very diverse cadre of teachers too, ranging from K-12 academic teachers and vocational school teachers spread across public, private, and Islamic schools. With its diversity of cultures and the geographical condition of the country, policy actors and implementing agents at the provincial and lower governmental levels always risk misinterpreting the policy initiated by the central government in Jakarta, because policy messages are very likely to be filtered through socio-cultural-political lenses in local contexts. Thus, a sense-making perspective can indeed be a powerful and useful tool in understanding policy implementation processes in Indonesia.

Figure 3. Map of Indonesia (1)
(Source: http://www.ephotopix.com/indonesia_political_bw_map.html)

What makes a sense-making perspective even more needed in the Indonesian context is the education decentralization initiative, which started in 1990s when former President Suharto was still in power, and continued to gain even bigger momentum after he stepped down in 1998. Arguably, the education decentralization initiative has given more authority to local actors in determining educational policy choices. For instance, Bjork (2005) reports that schools have been given more trust to develop their own curriculum, through local content curriculum or a school-based curriculum. Local policy actors have been empowered to make decisions. Theoretically, decentralization gives more power to local actors to be more independent in making educational policies and to adopt and adapt national policy messages. A sense-making perspective is very applicable for policy implementation studies because local policy actors, in the context of the decentralization policy, have been encouraged to make a more active effort to make necessary adjustments of national policies to fit local contexts.

The Conceptual Framework

Drawing on theoretical and empirical literature on basic cognitive processes, social cognition, situated cognition, and policy implementation, Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) propose an integrative framework that puts sense-making at the center in analyzing policy implementation process. This framework is designed under the main argument: "What a policy means for implementing agents is constituted in the interaction of their existing cognitive structures (including knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes), their situation, and the policy signals" (Spillane et al., 2002, p. 388). The three main elements in the framework – individual sense-making, social sense-making, and the policy signals and representations – are elaborated further in the following sections. The following figure is my illustration of the three elements of this integrative framework.
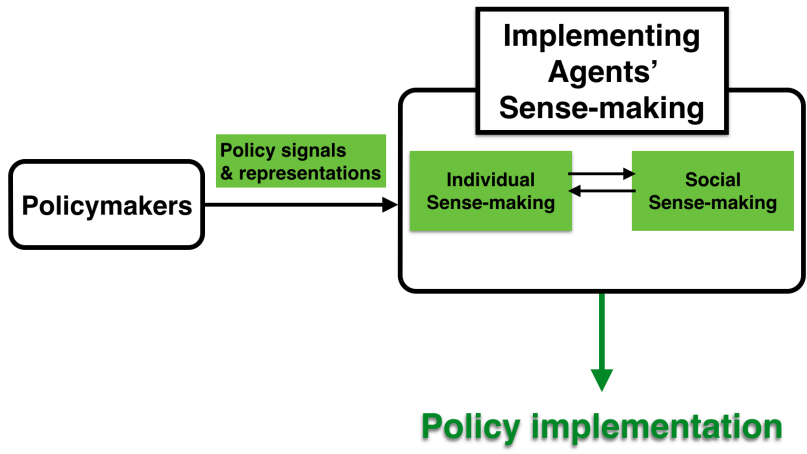
Figure 4. The illustration of the integrative sense-making framework
(Adapted from Spillane, Reiser, et al., 2002)

Individual Sense-making

In the first element, Spillane et al. (2002) explores a number of factors that influence

individual implementing agent as the sense-maker. They discuss that based on literature in

developmental psychology; it is known that one's prior knowledge, beliefs, and experience tend

to actively shape one's understanding of new information. In the context of policy

implementation, implementing agents will most likely understand the policy messages not as

they are, but with their existing frame of reference, their schemas, defined as "knowledge

structures that link together related concepts used to make sense of the world and to make

predictions" (Spillane et al., 2002, p. 394). This means that when making the effort to understand

the content of a policy, implementing agents will intuitively use their schema to process and

comprehend the information within the content. New information becomes understood in terms

of what is known and believed, which may cause confusion because different implementing

agents may have different interpretations of the same message. Moreover, to understand a policy

message may require the agent to do much more than decode the message; it may require the

implementing agent to restructure their existing schemas because what is new may be mistakenly

affiliated with the old. For instance, Spillane et al. describe how mathematics teachers who use their existing schemas to mistakenly think two fundamentally different teaching situations are similar – one uses manipulatives as the basis for exploration and discourse, while the other situation uses manipulatives in a more procedural way.

In addition Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) point out that "emotional associations are an integral part of knowledge structures used to reason about the world and may affect reasoning about value-laden issues" (p. 402). Thus, one's emotions, values, and motivations influence the sense-making process. For instance, when making judgment, people tend to be more comfortable with concrete, familiar situations than with new abstract ones. Strong motivation and emotion can lead to better attention and effort to realize certain desired outcomes and ignore information that will lead to the opposite results. Another example is that people are inclined to maintain a positive self-image, which makes it difficult to make them accept reform ideas which may frame some of their past efforts as a failure.

Social Sense-making

In the second element, Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) draw on studies in sociology, social psychology, and policy implementation to argue that "situation or context is critical in understanding the implementing agent's sense-making" (p. 389). The macro aspects of the situation refer to various thought communities such as: national and ethnic identity, religious affiliation, social class membership, professional identity, and political leanings. The micro aspects of the situation refer to "the immediate environment…contributes to defining the ways in which people make sense of new experiences and situations" (Spillane et al., 2002, p. 406). For example, norms, structures, and social interactions at the workplace can influence how agents understand and respond to a policy. Together, members of a community may negotiate meanings

of a new policy and construct shared understandings, which are then used to examine the old

practices. Spillane et al. remind us that it is important to pay attention to the informal

communities (e.g., textbook publishers, professional development providers, or educational

consultants) and to the historical context of implementing agents and agencies as influential

social context elements in the sense-making process. Finally, Spillane et al. point out that values

and emotions also play an influential role in social sense-making. For instance, the value of

avoiding conflict and disagreement in a certain organizational or cultural setting can be

counterproductive in implementing reform ideas that require the search for alternative ideas and

intellectual disagreements among members of the organizational/cultural community.

Policy Signals and Representations

In the third element, Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) highlight the role of policy design and

representations in influencing implementing agents' sense-making. Spillane et al. explain that

the most common forms of policy representations are a series of briefs, legislations, standard

documents, pamphlets, extended essays, and vignettes illustrating the practical application of

reform ideas. In addition to the need to clearly communicate the underlying principles and

rationale that motivates the reform, there needs to be a creative way to communicate the abstract

policy ideas, which often represent a system of practices. This involves much more than simply

providing thick descriptions of policy documents. Spillane et al. suggest that policymakers

structure systematic learning opportunities for implementing agents, the ones that build on and

engage their schema. These learning opportunities will create some cognitive dissonance to the

agents' existing schema, so that they can see the differences between the new ideas and the old

ones, and what it takes to change and implement new ideas. At the same time, this dissonance

should not be too negative because it can trigger rejection to reform ideas.

Research Questions

Using the aforementioned conceptual framework, the main question that this study attempts to answer is: how do teacher educators, as the policy implementing agents, make sense of the policy ideas as they are engaged in the implementation of Indonesia's teacher certification policy? This main question is further elaborated into the following sub-questions:

a. What are the sense-making elements (e.g., individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation) used by teacher educators in understanding and implementing the teacher certification policy?

b. Are there any differences in the sense-making of the teacher educators as implementing agents and of the policy makers? If so, what are they, and why are they different?

c. How do the sense-making elements (e.g., individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation) influence teacher educators' sense-making in implementing the teacher certification policy?

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

Overview

To capture how the Indonesian teacher educators make sense of the policy as they are engaged in the process of policy implementation, I used a qualitative case study approach, a primary strategy to understand phenomena as they unfold (Yin, 2014). The research questions of this descriptive study are based on the integrative sense-making framework proposed by Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002), which has three main elements: individual sense-making, social sense-making, and policy signal and representation. In this study, I used interviews to identify the influential sense-making elements used by the teacher educators, as the key implementing agents, in making sense of the teacher certification policy as they implemented the policy. Using interviews, I tried to understand teacher educators' emotions, values, prior knowledge, beliefs and experience that shaped their understanding of the policy and informed their actions in enacting and implementing the policy. I supplemented the interview data with observation data to provide nuances of sense-making elements, especially to capture the macro and micro aspects of the social sense-making (e.g., thought communities, professional identity, institutional norms), and policy signal and representation (e.g., policy learning opportunities). Finally, to inform my interview questions and enrich my interview data, I analyzed policy documents (e.g., law, ministerial decrees, teacher certification training guidelines) and reports (e.g., teacher certification training reports) regarding the teacher certification policy. The table below summarizes how the chosen research design connects with the research questions and the conceptual framework.

Main Research Question	Sub-Questions	Conceptual Framework Element	Research Design/ Data Collection Tool
How do teacher educators, as the policy implementing agents, make sense of the policy ideas as they are engaged in the implementation of Indonesia's teacher certification policy?	a) What are the sense-making elements (e.g., individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation) used by teacher educators in understanding and implementing the teacher certification policy	individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation	• Interviewing teacher educators- administrators • Interviewing teacher educators-non administrators • Observing teacher certification training sessions • Analyzing training materials (e.g., certification books, PowerPoint slides) • Observing teacher certification policy learning • Analyzing policy learning materials (e.g., PowerPoint slides)
	b) Are there any differences in the sense-making of the teacher educators as the implementing agents and the policy makers? If so, what are they, and why are they different?	individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation	• Interviewing teacher educators- administrators • Interviewing teacher educators-non administrators • Interviewing central ministry officials, especially from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA).
	c) How do the sense-making elements (e.g., individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation) influence teacher educators' sense-making in implementing the teacher certification policy?	individual sense-making, social sense-making, policy signal and representation	• Interviewing teacher educators- administrators • Interviewing teacher educators-non administrators • Observing teacher certification training sessions • Analyzing training materials (e.g., certification books, PowerPoint slides) • Observing teacher certification policy learning • Analyzing policy learning materials (e.g., PowerPoint slides)

Table 1. Conceptual overview of research design

In the following sections, I elaborate the strategies I used to select sites and participants, and to collect and analyze the data.

Site and Participant Selection

To explore how teacher educators, the agents assigned to implement the teacher certification policy by the policy makers in Jakarta (as the principals), made sense of the teacher certification policy in Indonesia, I selected two types of institutions: one public teacher education institution that was assigned by the MOEC to certify K-12 teachers, and one public Islamic teacher education institution that was assigned by MORA to certify teachers who teach Islamic religion and Arabic language in all schools, and teachers who teach in K-6 Islamic elementary schools. I selected two teacher education institutions as my focal institutions: State University of Pancasila (SUP), the certifying institution under MOEC, and State Islamic University of Bhinneka (SIUB),[31] the certifying institution under MORA. Both institutions are located in a provincial capital in the island of Sumatra, Indonesia. My familiarity with the local culture and language helped me gain institutional access and individual trust from my research participants. Additionally, the local culture is known to be one of the most egalitarian ones in Indonesia. The people of the ethnic group in the city where I collected the data are notorious for being relatively outspoken and more direct than people from other ethnic groups in Indonesia. Thus, in addition to my familiarity with the local culture, I chose this site thinking that the directness and the egalitarian nature of the ethnic tradition would help my data collection process because I believed people were more likely to share their honest views and experiences compared to other cultural settings in Indonesia.

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[31] These names of the teacher education institutions used in this study are pseudonyms.

I used a snowballing technique to identify teacher educators for interview. I started from the top administrators and relied on the information on the university websites to identify whom I should meet and the information of their offices[32]. After I interviewed a participant, I usually asked them a favor, to connect me with other administrators or lecturers, either based on their or my own suggestions. At least they would share the contact information of some other possible participants with me. In some cases, teacher educators even made direct phone calls or text messages to their colleagues. I found this strategy very effective not only with teacher educators, but also with policy makers, because the next participants felt I could be trusted so they would welcome me to interview them.

In total I recruited many more participants in SUP (20 teacher educators) than in SIUB (9 teacher educators). I believe this was due to the more open and collaborative atmosphere within SUP compared to SIUB. In SUP, I interviewed 14 administrators and 6 non-administrators. In SIUB, I interviewed 6 administrators and 3 non-administrators. Below is the summary of the participant information from teacher education institutions.

Institution	Teacher Educator - Administrator	Teacher Educator – Non Administrator	Total Number of Participants
State University of Pancasila (SUP)	14 participants	6 participants	20 participants
State Islamic University of Bhinneka (SIUB)	6 participants	3 participants	9 participants

Table 2. Number of study participants in SUP and SIUB

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[32] Interestingly, when scheduling interviews, I found it more difficult to get interviews when I made the effort to explicitly schedule appointments. I soon learned that the most effective strategy was to simply show up early in the morning or afternoon in the administrators'/lecturers' office, and to ask for their availability during that particular time of the day. More often than not, they happened to be available, and would invite me to come to their office to conduct interviews. As long as they did not have any classes to teach or meetings to attend, they would sit with me for an hour or so, to share their understanding and experience of the teacher certification policy.

In the initial research design, I had planned to interview senior and junior teacher educators to seek variations of sense-making between the ones recruited before the new Teacher and Lecturer Law was first enacted (in 2005), and the ones after. However, since all teacher educators involved in the implementation of Indonesian teacher certification policy are the more senior or experienced teacher educators, this distinction was not relevant. As a result, there were more administrators that I interviewed because only senior faculty members were involved in the implementation of teacher certification, and most of them held administrative roles.

Furthermore, I initially planned to choose teacher educators from elementary teacher education department and teacher educators who prepared K-12 teachers who teach subject areas tested in the Indonesian national exams, such as English language, Indonesian language, and mathematics. However, this plan did not work because SIUB did not have Indonesian language and mathematics departments. While in SUP, I still recruited teacher educators who teach subject areas tested in the Indonesian national exams (English, Indonesian, mathematics, and elementary education departments) and in SIUB, I recruited teacher educators from Islamic Education and Arabic Language Education departments in addition to elementary teacher education department. SIUB certifies Islamic religion and Arabic language teachers. Thus, instead of having the same departments in the two focal institutions, I ended up having different departments in SUP and in SIUB, except for the elementary teacher education.

To generate data from the policy makers as the principals (who assigned teacher educators to act on their behalf in implementing the teacher certification policy), I chose Jakarta as another research site because all central government offices are located in Jakarta, including the central offices of MOEC and MORA. I interviewed officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). I selected participants who

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had been involved in the Indonesian teacher certification policy. At the beginning of the participant recruitment, to identify possible relevant participants, I relied on the information on documents (e.g., policy reports, policy documents, research articles, etc.) and institutional websites. I selected current and former high-ranking officers and middle-level managers who had been involved with the teacher certification policy design and implementation in MOEC and MORA to understand the construction of policy signals and representations. At the later stage of my data collection, I selected participants based on recommendations from my key informants. I used the same strategy as the one I used with teacher educators. I asked my first few participants to help connect me with other potential participants that I had identified or with their colleagues based on their suggestions. This was an effective strategy not only in getting access to key informants but also in gaining their trust because they were personally contacted by another person whom they knew and/or trusted instead of by a researcher who was a stranger to them. In 2014, the new president of Indonesia, President Joko Widodo, separated the higher education management from MOEC into a new ministry called the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (MORTHE). One key participant used to be a high-ranking officer under MOEC but during the interview she was assigned in MORTHE. I interviewed her because she was a former dean of a college of education that was heavily involved in the design and implementation of the teacher certification policy. For policy makers, in total I interviewed seven MOEC officials, three MORA officials, and one MORTHE official. Below is the summary of total number of participants who were ministry officials.

Institution	Number of participants
Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC)	7 participants
Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA)	3 participants
Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (MORTHE)	1 participant

Table 3. Number of study participants who were ministry officials

Data Collection

I used a multisite case study approach collecting data during summer 2015 (from May 2015 to August 2015). As the principal method of data collection, I used interviews with various policy actors: teacher educators and ministry officials. To ensure the comparability of data across research participants, I designed a standard semi-structured interview protocol to ensure a certain degree of systematization in questioning, and altered interview questions systematically as I became more familiar with the participants' circumstances in implementing the teacher certification policy and as I reflect on my early data analysis. I also supplemented the interview data with document analysis and observation data.

Interviews

In total I interviewed 40 participants--29 teacher educators and 11 ministry officials. The interview protocol only served as guidance to cover a number of general topics to help uncover the participant's sense-making on teacher certification policy and the roles of, and expectations for, teacher education institutions (See Appendix A for my sample protocol). The interviews were conducted in an informal and conversational style, in which participants' frames and structures of responses were respected and participants' views were treated as valuable and useful. I pilot-tested the interview two times, once with an American faculty member and once with an Indonesian graduate student. Their feedback helped me finalize the interview questions and protocol.

As a researcher, I attempted to exercise good listening skills, gently probing participants for elaboration and asking follow-up questions. To ensure good interactions during interviews, I prepared myself by reviewing documents, research papers, reports, and newspaper articles on

Indonesia's teacher certification policy and on the involvement of the two focal institutions in the policy implementation. Yin (2014) suggests that when interviewing elites (individuals who are influential and prominent in an organization and/or community), a researcher needs to anticipate being overpowered by them since they may be used to being interviewed by the press or other media. Therefore, before meeting the ministry officials, I prepared myself to ensure that I had good understanding of the policy, to be thoughtful in questioning, and to allow the officials the freedom to use their knowledge and imagination.

Additionally my expertise in speaking Indonesian language and the local/provincial language as well as my familiarity with the local cultural context enabled me to understand interviewees and ask questions that evoked long narratives that illuminated insights to address my research questions. At the same time, I was aware that I needed to be very careful that my familiarity with the participants' language and culture did not lead to reflexivity (Yin, 2014). In other words, I was careful not to inject my own views on the policy in my conversations with research participants.

All interviews were electronically recorded with at least two of the following three devices: a professional quality recorder (Zoom H1 Handy Portable Digital Recorder), a smartpen (Livescribe Echo Smartpen), and a relatively new smartphone (iPhone 6 Plus, produced in fall 2014). To ensure the quality of recording, I used at least one professional quality recorder in every interview. All of the equipment was tested a couple of times before being used in the study to avoid technical or human error during interviews. All data were stored in password-protected files on my laptop and in two external hard-drives. I also took some notes during and after the interviews relying on my memory.

Observations

Additionally, I conducted observations to have opportunities to see the policy-related activities in ways that would show how teacher educators and/or policy leaders expressed their understanding of the policy. I observed the in-service teacher certification professional training (PLPG) sessions to gain some insights about how teacher educators communicate their rationales and meanings of teacher certification policy in their instructional design and implementation. I did not gather much observation data mainly because the teacher certification training (PLPG) sessions took place in the last three weeks of my time in the site. I observed 4 PLPG sessions in SUP, which were facilitated by the SUP teacher educators whom I had previously interviewed. This allowed the participants to be familiar with me, which means that I had gained some trust from these participants by the time I attended their PLPG sessions. In addition I also observed one "socialization seminar[33]" in SIUB in my final week of data collection to gain insight into how policy personnel communicated and expressed the meaning of the reform. An expert from the central office of MORA came to SIUB to facilitate the socialization seminar. Teacher educators refreshed their memory about the important information of the policy and learned some changes or new content of the policy (e.g., the approaches used in the new Curriculum, Curriculum 2013).

I wrote detailed, nonjudgmental, concrete descriptions about what has been observed (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Each observation was followed by a short interview, which mainly

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[33] While in certain contexts the idea of socialization (or in the Indonesian word, *sosialisasi*) has a similar meaning in the Indonesian language with the one in the English language (e.g., disseminating and training people to think and behave according to certain prescriptive sets of norms, values, ideologies, etc.), in the context of socialization seminars, the connotation might be a little different. The word socialization (to refer to socialization seminars) means to introduce something new and/or unknown to someone or a group of people so that the unknown becomes known and understandable. It also has an implication of a more informal and a relaxed atmosphere rather than the idea of training or meeting.

aims at clarifying the information written in the observational notes (See Appendix B for the observation protocol). The observation data were also to develop more focused interview questions both with teacher educators and other policy actors.

Document Analysis

Documents also served as important data sources to describe the policy and discussions of it. Before I started my fieldwork, I explored and examined policy documents, policy reports, journal articles, books/book chapters, and media articles on Indonesia's teacher certification policy. This exploration and examination provided some key information for me that I used for writing my interview questions, and for identifying key policy actors who have the reliable knowledge, expertise, and experience in designing and implementing Indonesia's teacher certification policy. During the data collection, I gathered documents such as the teacher certification training syllabus, materials, and PowerPoint files. These documents helped my understanding about the policy expectations and situational challenges faced by teacher educators during the implementation.

<center>Data Analysis</center>

In analyzing my data, I relied on data displays. Miles and Huberman (1994) explain that display is "a visual format that presents information systematically, so the user can draw valid conclusions and take needed action….Valid analysis requires, and is driven by, displays that are focused enough to permit a viewing of a full data set in the same location, and are arranged systematically to answer the research questions in hand" (p. 91-92). They further explain that data in the display are in the condensed and distilled form to allow researchers to see all data in one place, which will allow "careful comparisons, detection of differences, noting of patterns and

themes, seeing trends, and so on" (p. 92). Below I explain my steps in analyzing the data, starting from data inventory, role-ordered matrices, transcription and translation, and coding.

Reconnecting with the Data through Data Inventory

Prior to creating data displays, I completed a data inventory process in which I listened carefully to all my interview data and wrote general themes that were expressed by each participant in an interview. In order to structure the notes in my data inventory, I created a table in Microsoft Word file for each participant with the following headings: minute, topic/theme/idea, and notes (see Figure 5). I wrote the range of time when a topic/an idea/a theme was discussed, the topic/theme/idea, and my reactions, if any, on the whole dialogue during that time. Due to the fast pace of conversational language and my goal to listen carefully to the interviews, I often needed to rewind the recording to ensure that I understood what was discussed and/or meant by the participants. As a result, for an hour interview, I could spend three to four hours for data inventory, also depending on the time spent for writing and thinking about the notes. Things improved when I used the HyperTranscribe software (see Figure 6). I worked much faster because the software made my navigation of the interview recordings much easier, using simple features such as play, stop, loopback, play selection only, and advance selection. In my estimation the use of the software has cut down my data inventory time to 50%. The following figures are the samples of my data inventory. The first one was done using a simple table in a Microsoft Word file, and the second one was done using HyperTranscribe software.

Minute	Topic/Theme/Idea	Notes
26:10 –	Respondent talks about her resources in understanding how to implement the teacher certification policy. • Socialization from the university. • She is very aware and knowledgeable about the Ministerial Decrees (Peraturan Menteri, often shortened as "Permen." Permen as a word in Indonesian language means candy) that her colleagues nickname her "Dosen Permen" (A Permen Lecturer). The reason why she wants to know all the related regulations is what her dissertation promoter told her, that as a PhD, she has to be responsible as a role model for others in her speech, action, and behavior.	Reference to her academic adviser again!
27:45 –	Respondent talks about what teacher certification policy means to her. • A tool to improve teacher quality. Through the provided training, teachers need to change their mindset about teaching. She acknowledges changing one's mindset is a very difficult job. One reason why it is difficult is the input of teachers in the past was of low quality. The quality of the new generation of teachers is better; therefore, she is optimistic that change can happen. • With improved welfare, many people are interested in becoming teachers, and this makes better quality inputs. • She believes in the importance of quality input in producing quality teachers.	The meanings of the policy Her theory in producing good teachers: → good input!
31:05 –	Respondent talks about the impact of teacher certification policy (besides what has been mentioned: motivation for lecturers to pursue graduate studies, improved input quality in teacher education programs.) • Improved welfare → better-looking appearances (clothes, etc.). • (kodrat wanita? – the nature and obligations as women?) • Feeling overwhelmed to teach. The number of students in undergraduate, graduate programs has increased. She has to teach 40 credit hours per semester.	Impacts of the policy Ok, the themes of welfare and more work are quite common among my respondents. But the theme of "kodrat wanita"? What does this mean? Where does this come from?
35:45 –	Respondent talks about her "mahasiswa asuh" (adopted students).	
38:35 –	Respondent talks about the lack of lecturers in her department. It has been very difficult in recruiting new lecturers while at the same time there have been lecturers who have retired or will be retired. In the next 4 years, 30 lecturers will retire, and it is unclear how they will be replaced. She does not know why it is difficult to recruit new lecturers. She thinks there should be a serious effort to do a logical calculation among decision makers. She is aware that this situation is happening all over Indonesia.	This is related to the theme that teacher educators have too much work.
40:49 –	Respondent talks about the difficulties she has faced in implementing teacher certification policy. • She thinks there should be a longitudinal study whether or not teacher certification creates change. She thinks change is a slow process. Teachers learn little by little. • The training is too short and too fast. • Teachers have to have "daya juang" (fighting spirit), especially the young ones. She cites Al-Qur'an verse about the obligation for men to work hard, and to trust God with the final results. She believes that with a good intention and hard work, little by little we can achieve	Her theory of learning and change: it is slow and it takes process. Training is too short and fast. The values of "fighting

Figure 5. Data inventory sample using Microsoft Word

Figure 6. Data inventory sample using HyperTranscribe software

Role-ordered Matrices: Connecting the Data with the Research Questions

Using the condensed data from the inventory, I created role-ordered matrices to display the full data set at once to allow for comparisons of different groups of participants (e.g., administrators and non-administrators, teacher educators and policy makers, Department A and Department B, etc.), to notice similarities and differences among different roles, as well as patterns, themes, or trends within and across roles and institutions, and to seek for plausibility. Miles, Huberman, and Saldana (2014) explain that data is arranged into rows and columns based on "a set of 'role occupants'…and "the display systematically permits comparisons across roles on issues of interest to a study and tests whether people in the same role see issues in comparable ways" (p. 162). There were two main aspects that I considered most important in my thinking about the matrix display. First, I needed to connect with my research questions. Although research questions in qualitative research are often unfixed, I view them as the main anchor of all elements, including the problem statement, the conceptual framework, the method, and the goals of the research. By connecting my data to the research questions, I assumed that I would make my data analysis relevant to the construction of issues of interest in my research design.

The second aspect in my thinking about data display was the need to highlight the administrative roles and/or positions of the participants. During my data collection and data inventory, I noticed that all participants showed a close affinity to their identity as civil servant in their sense-making process not only about the teacher certification policy but also for other issues in their workplace and in their life (e.g., fear of not following the procedures correctly, sacrificing scheduled classes for administrative meetings). Therefore, I was persuaded to view that this identity and the administrative roles heavily influenced their sense-making process.

I created role-ordered matrices in a Microsoft Word file for each of the three groups of participants: SUP, SIUB, and ministry officials. For SUP and SIUB, I arranged the interview data basing on the rank order of the participants' administrative roles (e.g., rector, head of certification committee, dean, vice dean, etc.). Similarly for the ministry official table, I arranged the interview data basing on the ranking of the participants' administrative roles (e.g., minister, vice minister, general director, etc.).

Transcription and Translation

After I created the matrices, conceptions of good teacher and/or good teaching emerged as a very dominant theme across my participants. 65% (26 out of 40) of the total participants in this study used the conceptions of good teacher and/or good teaching when discussing the policy. Using the matrices and the inventory data, I went back to the recordings and transcribed and translated parts of the interviews that contained the information regarding conceptions of good teacher and/or good teaching. I used HyperTransribe software to do the transcription. Marshall and Rossman (2006) suggest that one fundamental issue in transcription refers to the different nature between spoken language and written language. People do not speak in paragraphs and/or use punctuations, and it is not easy to transfer visual (non-verbal) cues people use when speaking. Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue that transcription should not be seen as "a simple clerical task" but it is "an interpretative process, where the differences between oral speech and written texts give rise to a series of practical and principal issues" (p. 203). Therefore, since I had the most knowledge and understanding both on the content and the context of the interviews, as well as the familiarity with the language and culture of the participants, I did my own transcription to ensure the best interpretation of the recordings. All of the transcription was in

verbatim mode, most of it was in Indonesian language, and in a few parts it was in the ethnic language of the teacher educators in my focal institutions.

Coding Process

After I completed the transcription of the data, I generated codes and went through two cycles of coding. My strategy was to read the interview data and connect it with the main question "How do actors make sense of the teacher certification policy as they are engaged in the policy implementation using the conceptions of good teachers and/or good teaching." I read the interview data numerous times to seek patterns regarding the conceptions of good teacher and/or good teaching. Sometimes I listened back to the recording to help me gather a more complete understanding of the speech (e.g., the intonation, the volume, etc.).

From this coding process, the three most frequent codes were: good teacher-disposition (9 coded quotes), good teacher-content (7 coded quotes) and good teacher-pedagogy (5 coded-quotes). I read all the coded quotes numerous times, and saw two main themes across all the quotes. There were two distinct conceptions of teaching: *mengajar* and *mendidik*[34]. In a nutshell, *mengajar* is related to teacher's skills in subject matter mastery and pedagogical ability, and *mendidik* is related to teachers' skills in developing student character and morality. In total, 81% (21 out of 26) of the participants who used the conceptions of good teacher and/or good teaching used the conceptions of *mengajar* and/or *mendidik* as their frame of reference when expressing their views about the policy. Finally, I wrote my analysis of the data focusing on how the participants made sense of the teacher certification policy using the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*.

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[34] The conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Ensuring the Quality of the Case Study Design

A good case study research is not easy to do. Yin (2014) explains that there are four tests that can be done to assess the quality of a case study research design: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Since this study is a descriptive case study, the internal validity test is not applicable. Construct validity is defined as "identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" Yin (2014). I used some tactics suggested by Yin (2014), which are the use of multiple sources of evidence (interviews, observations, document analysis), and establishing a chain of evidence (linking questions, protocol, evidence, sources, and report). Yin (2014) defines external validity as "defining the domain to which a study's findings can be generalized" (p. 46).

Furthermore, like Yin, I am not seeking statistical generalization, but analytic generalization, which is achieved by using empirical data from the case to shed light on some theory or theoretical propositions, therefore, going beyond the setting of a specific case. This can also be seen as "lessons learned," a working hypothesis or principle, that can be applied to both theory building and other concrete situations, which may not look exactly like the original case. Yin suggests that to achieve external validity, the research design should have clear theory or theoretical propositions. The theoretical propositions or conceptual framework in my study is theory of policy sense-making.

Finally, for reliability, which Yin (2014) defines as "demonstrating that the operations of a study – such as the data collection procedures – can be repeated, with the same results" (p. 46), I created a research protocol that detailed the purpose of the case study, the conceptual framework, the research questions, the data collection and data analysis procedures. In addition I also created a database, I stored narrative and numeric information, documents and other

materials collected from the field in retrievable forms, for instance having a specific research folder on my laptop (electronic files) and a specific portfolio/drawer. This data was organized by dates and topics (e.g., interview data, observation notes, memos, teacher certification materials, policy documents, etc.). For the electronic files, I used special tags (e.g., TE999_interview, TE999_memos, etc.) so the data was easily traceable.

This case study, while focusing on only two institutions, provided rich windows into the sense-making of a range of policy implementers. It included two different certifying teacher education institutions, each with a very different institutional identity. One is a public higher education institution and the other one is a religious one. Within each institution, there was a wide range of participants' departmental backgrounds as well as their institutional administrative roles. Moreover, my sample also included participants from the two ministries that governed the K-12 education system in Indonesia, MOEC and MORA, and the participants' roles within these two institutions ranged from the very top position (minister) until the mid-level manager.

Finally, the coding revealed patterns that allowed me to see the power of two cultural frames. This becomes the focus on Chapter 4. While the teacher educators in this study subscribed to the notion of *mengajar* (emphasis on skills related to subject matter and pedagogy) as a framing of good teacher and/or good teaching, they also advocated the importance of the notion of *mendidik* (emphasis on skills to shape and develop student character and morality). In fact, some explicitly put a greater emphasis on *mendidik* rather than *mengajar*, and were critical of the policy because in their view, it lacked of the component of *mendidik*. On the other hand, the Indonesian government seemed to focus on the notion of *mengajar* in their framing of good teacher and/or good teaching. In particular, they stressed the importance of teachers to be good at

the subject matter that they teach. The elaboration and contestation between these two framings will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Positionality: Occupying A Space In-Between

Coming into my research, I positioned myself as both insider and outsider – therefore, I occupied a space in-between (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). I was born in a teacher's family in Indonesia. My father was an English professor and owned a very successful English language school in my hometown. I spent many of my childhood hours in his classrooms. Despite majoring in international relations as an undergraduate and being offered a job in a big multinational company, I choose teaching as my occupation. I found that teaching is my passion and wanted to pursue it. I enjoyed the psychic rewards of teaching (Lortie, 1975). I have been teaching since 1995. I have taught all age groups, starting from pre-kindergarteners to adults. I have taught in multiple settings: various private language schools in Indonesia; a bilingual (English and French) public elementary school in a small rural town in British Columbia, Canada; a public school district in a very affluent suburban school district in New York State; and a community language program in a private elite university in New York City. In 2009 I started working as a teacher educator in a small new big-foundation-based private university in Jakarta, Indonesia. When I was accepted as a PhD student at Michigan State University in the Department of Teacher Education in 2011, I continued working as a teacher educator, playing the role of field instructor and course instructor in a teacher preparation program with a top reputation in the United States. I was fascinated by the policy issues especially surrounding teacher quality, and decided to take a second major in Educational Policy program in my second year of my doctoral program. I was also involved in a number of research projects with various faculty and researchers outside Michigan State University (e.g., Educational Testing Service)

exploring issues such as: teacher education, teacher professional development, the development of teacher expertise, the influence of globalization on teacher education, and assessing teacher quality using observation videos. After my PhD program, I plan to return to Indonesia and continue to work as a teacher educator, and as a consultant on teacher and teaching quality and teacher and teaching policies in Indonesian and in a global context.

I was very aware that my biography – my background, career, personal identity, professional identity, and professional interests – had an influence in how I generated and read my research data. As a person who has a deep commitment in teaching and teacher education issues, I have a particular frame of thinking, which is very comfortable to me, and this might have influenced in whom and how I listened to during my interviews with my participants, and in how I analyzed the data. For instance, I had an inclination to be connected to, and therefore, paid more attention to, issues related to teacher and teaching. In my research design, I anticipated this inclination by selecting a variety of participants (e.g., different roles, different departments, different institutions, different administrative ranks, different ministries). I wanted to ensure that I was able to access multiple sides of the story of the sense-making and experiences of policy implementation, in particular the ones of teacher educators.

As an insider, I positioned myself as someone who shared the identity, spoke the languages, and had a similar experiential base of the population group I researched. Dwyer and Buckle (2009) explain that an "insider role status frequently allows researchers more rapid and more complete acceptance by their participants. Therefore, participants are typically more open with researchers so that there may be a greater depth to the data gathered" (p. 58). My position as an insider allowed me to be mindful and sensitive to local contexts and to gain trust and insights from the participants in a way that might be very difficult for outsiders. For instance, I

understood not only the type of language that was used including some inside jokes and analogies but also the tone of speech and the non verbal communication expressed by my participants. I think I benefitted a tremendous deal with my positionality as an insider because I could follow the thoughts of my participants easily and could craft relevant follow-up questions quickly, or redirect the conversations in a culturally appropriate way. Most of my participants seemed to be very comfortable to talk with me for a very long time (e.g., an hour, even close to two hours for some) during our first meetings. As a result, I was able to generate the data that addressed my research questions in most of my first interviews with my research participants.

At the same time, I gained trust very quickly that allowed me to obtain permissions to interview teacher educators and policy makers more quickly that I had planned. In some cases, I was even trusted to be given my own desk and to make my own coffee by a department in one university, which was a sign that I was being treated more as "one of us" rather than "a guest who wanted to conduct research about us" by my participants. Additionally, in some interviews, my participants used the local language when speaking to me, which indicated a break from using the more official and formal Indonesian language, which meant that the participants treated me as an insider.

There is a danger, of course, in occupying the mindset of an insider in the research process. I was aware that the assumption of the similarity of identity and ways of thinking made by the participants could have prevented them from fully explaining their experiences to me. Moreover, as a researcher, occupying a mindset of an insider could have also prevented me from critically examining participants' experiences from different lenses.

I believe that my years of working and studying in North America lent me alternative lens and perspectives as an outsider in how I could critically see, hear, and think about my data.

For instance, I have been introduced to more US-based education ideas about teaching and learning since my Master's program in Indonesia, and have been studying and working in the US universities for eight years, in talking about good teaching and learning, so I have been much more familiar with ideas such as multiple intelligences, differentiated instruction, student-centered learning, constructivist approach, alternative assessment, or assessment of, for, and as learning. When I was planning my data collection, I anticipated that I would hear some of these conceptions.

Surprisingly, in my interviews, I did not hear any of those ideas among teacher educators whom I interviewed, nor did I hear any of the policymakers talked about those concepts. After half way through my data collection process, I started to realize that what I heard was something else, which was the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* (which I elaborate in Chapter 4). I have to admit that I had been familiar with these conceptions because I grew up in Indonesia. However, I was not aware about the significance of these conceptions among my research participants. My socialization in the context of US-based education ideas and conceptions seemed to have differently shaped my framing in thinking and imagining what good teaching is and what it can be.

Indeed, the research process has been a process a self-rediscovery, re-socialization, and re-connection for me as an Indonesian to the very Indonesian ideas in education, that are socially and culturally rooted within the Indonesian society, especially the conceptions of good teachers and good teaching. This made me realize that I was indeed playing an in-between role as a researcher, who was neither an outsider nor an insider, "neither here nor there," someone who was in a constant dialectical relationship with the complexities of similarities and differences between my participants' own experiences and understandings and the ones of my own.

Moreover, during my data analysis, I employed at least two strategies to challenge the blinders I might have as an insider. First, I stayed very close to the data and worked hard to create a distance to prevent me from jumping too quickly to the interpretative work. I listened to all recordings and took notes. I was very meticulous in my coding, worked on the verbatim quotes, and listened to the related recordings multiple times. I created multiple tables and matrices to allow me to see data differently, and compared different themes that emerged form different variations of tables and matrices. In addition, during my data analysis, I joined two dissertation writing groups, in which I regularly received not only feedback for the clarity of how I communicated the ideas in my dissertation writing but also critical and constructive feedback on my data and data analysis from peers who were complete outsiders to my research contexts. They asked questions of me, forcing me of what I had assumed, and pushed me to see my data differently. I believe that this interaction pushed me to look at even more nuances in my data; therefore, it enriched my data analysis.

CHAPTER 4: CONCEPTIONS OF *MENGAJAR* AND *MENDIDIK*
IN INDIVIDUAL SENSE-MAKING

Introduction

Using the integrative sense-making framework, this study attempts to understand the

complexities of sense-making in policy implementation. One aspect of policy sense-making is

individual sense-making, which is described by Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) as the

implementing agents' inclination to understand policy messages not as they are, but with their

existing frame of reference, or their schemas, defined as "knowledge structures that link together

related concepts used to make sense of the world and to make predictions" (Spillane et al., 2002,

p. 394). This means that when making the effort to understand the content of a policy,

implementing agents will intuitively use their schema to process and comprehend the

information within the content. New information becomes understood in terms of what is known

and believed, which may cause confusion because different implementing agents may have

different interpretations of the same message. The idea of individual sense-making in policy

implementation can be summed up in the following figure.

Figure 7. Individual sense-making in policy implementation

This chapter describes how the teacher educators and policy makers participating in this

study made sense of the Indonesian teacher certification policy as they implemented the policy,

It also discusses the conceptions of good teachers and good teaching, which were dominant as

the teacher educators and policy makers made sense of the policy. These conceptions were used

by 67.5% of the study participants (27 out of 40 participants) in their interviews; thus, it was a dominant frame of reference in the participants' policy sense-making. I argue that these conceptions of good teachers and good teaching influenced how the policy actors made sense of the Indonesian teacher certification policy when they implemented the policy. Visually, this argument can be seen in the following figure.
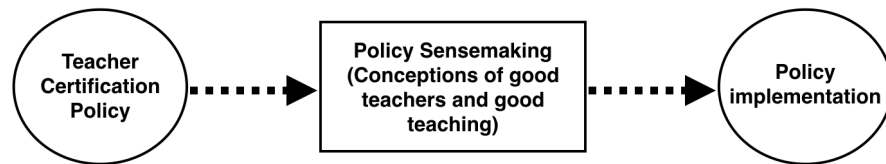
Figure 8. Conceptions of good teachers and good teaching in the implementation of the Indonesian teacher certification policy

When designing the research study, I had anticipated that conception of good teachers would be one of the potential themes used by the study participants when they made sense of the policy. However, I did not anticipate the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* would be the ones mentioned by the teacher educators, but more like the conceptions of good teaching originated from the educational theories that I had learned in my graduate programs in the United States such as student-centered learning, constructivist approach, or differentiated instruction. I designed some questions that provided possibilities for the participants to talk about their conceptions of good teachers. Since I predicted these conceptions would remain hidden when the participants talked about the policy, I decided to ask the questions earlier in the interviews when the participants talked about their work, in which they could potentially talked about their conceptions of good teachers and/or good teaching. For instance, I asked, "When did you feel happiest or most successful as a teacher educator?"; When did you feel most frustrated or least successful as a teacher educator?"; What is your vision for your student teachers?" However, I did not generate much data about conceptions of good teachers and good teaching from these

initial parts of the interview. Rather, the participants used the conceptions of good teachers and good teaching when they responded to direct questions about the policy, such as "What is the meaning of teacher certification policy to you? What are the future challenges in implementing the teacher certification policy?" In some cases the participants expressed their thoughts about the policy using the conceptions of good teachers and good teaching without any prompting at all.

In this chapter I argue that the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* are the central constructs of good teachers and good teaching that were used by the implementing agents in the Indonesian teacher certification policy. The interview data shows that the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* are quite central in how the participants, especially teacher educators, made sense of the policy. Seventeen teacher educators (59% of the participating teacher educators[35]) and four Ministry officials (36% of the participating Ministry officials[36]) mentioned the conceptions of *mengajar* and/or *mendidik* when they were asked about the policy and its meanings[37].

The root word for *mengajar* is *ajar* (noun), which according to the Indonesian-English Dictionary (Echols & Shadily, 2014) means instruction or study. *Mengajar* is an active verb, and

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[35] In total, there were 29 participating teacher educators.

[36] In total, there were 11 participating Ministry officials (policy makers).

[37] The conceptions of good teachers and/or good teaching were the most dominant theme among the participating policy makers, expressed by six of them (55% of total policy makers in the study). While four policy makers focused on the conceptions of *mengajar* and/or *mendidik*, two others focused on the conception of good teacher as learner, emphasizing the notion of a lifelong learner who is engaged in continuous professional development, even after teacher certification process has been completed. The rest of them, five policy makers (45% of all participating policy makers), did not use conceptions of good teachers and/or good teaching at all. One common theme among these five policy makers was looking at the momentum of teacher certification policy to reform teacher education institutions. Since this study focused on the sense-making of teacher educators, I decided not to follow up the theme of teacher education reform expressed by some policy makers in this study.

according to the Indonesian-English dictionary, it means to teach a subject, teach someone, give someone a lesson he will not forget, or train or coach. The passive form of the word *mengajar* is *diajar*. The person who performs the act of *mengajar* is called *pengajar,* which according to the Indonesian-English dictionary means an instructor or a teacher.

The root word for *mendidik* is *didik* (verb)*,* which according to the Indonesian-English Dictionary (Echols & Shadily, 2014) means educate, teach, or train. *Mendidik* is an active verb, which according to the Indonesian-English Dictionary means to educate, bring up or raise children. The passive form of the *mendidik* is *dididik*. The person who performs the act of *mendidik* is called *pendidik,* which according to the Indonesian-English Dictionary (Echols & Shadily, 2014) means educator.

For the organization of this chapter, I first discuss what the teacher educators and Ministry officials talked about when using the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* in the interviews. I compare and contrast how different agencies (e.g., teacher educators from State University of Pancasila (SUP) and State Islamic University of Bhinneka (SIUB), Ministry officials) used these conceptions similarly and differently. Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion about why the policy makers tended to be more focused on the conception on *mengajar* and why teacher educators tended to be more focused on the conception of *mendidik*.

Mengajar and *Mendidik* and the Teacher Main Competencies

There are four main teacher competencies in the Indonesian teacher certification policy: professional competence, pedagogical competence, personal competence, and social competence. The law document[38] explains that professional competence refers to the ability to master the subject matter comprehensively and deeply; pedagogical competence refers to the ability to

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[38] The Teacher Law 2005.

manage student learning; personal competence refers to teacher's personality, good character, wisdom, strong presence, and being a role model for students; and social competence refers to teacher's ability to communicate and interact effectively and efficiently with students, other teachers, parents/guardians, and society. The study participants who used the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* directly and indirectly connected those conceptions to the policy. One of the most telling quotes was made by ibu[39] Namira[40], an administrator in the State University of Pancasila (SUP). She said:

> With the requirement of certification, all of it, with the four competencies, everything must be there. *Kompetensi kepribadian dan sosial* (the personality and social competencies) are not only about *mengajar* but also about *mendidik*. Kompetensi pedagogik dan profesional (the pedagogic and professional) maybe only focus on *mengajar*. Teachers are expected to possess all the competencies, right? With that requirement, the government actually hopes that teachers not only *mengajar* but also *mendidik* and *membangun karakter dan nilai moral* (build character and moral values), just like this nation hopes. (UA-02)

This quote illustrates how the study participants connected the policy's version of teacher competencies with the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*. Two competencies, professional and pedagogical competencies, were connected to the conception of *mengajar*, while the personal and social competencies were connected to the conception of *mendidik*. This connection can be illustrated as follows:

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[39] Ibu or bu is an Indonesian term attached when addressing an older woman, or a woman in a high social and/or professional status.

[40] Pseudonyms are used for all participants in this study.
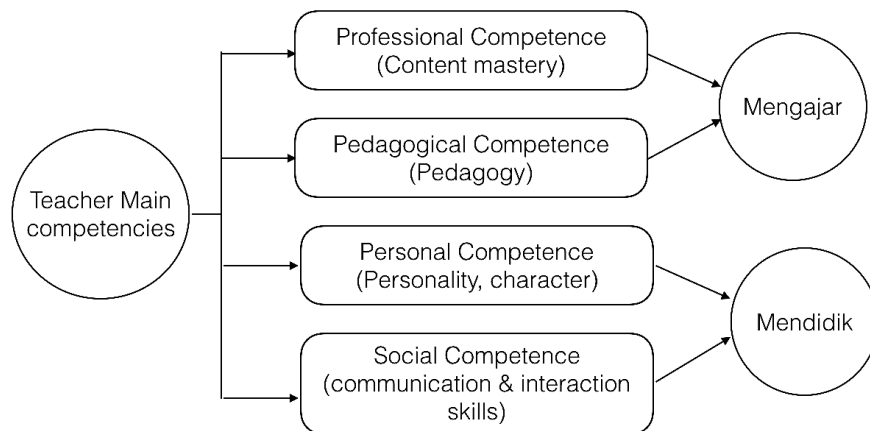
Figure 9. Connecting the four teacher competencies from the Indonesian teacher certification policy and the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*

How participants made these connections will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Mengajar in the Interview Data

There were a number of words used by the study participants that I interpreted as indicators of the conception of good teachers in the context of *mengajar* both related to content/subject matter mastery and pedagogy. I grouped the following words as indicators of *mengajar* related to content/subject matter mastery: *konsep dasar* (basic concepts), *materi* (lesson materials), *konten* (content), *kompetensi akademis* (academic competence), *ilmu/keilmuan* (knowledge), *substansi* (substance), and/or subject matter. I grouped the following words as indicators of *mengajar* related to pedagogy: *strategi* (strategy), *pedagogi* (pedagogy), *cara mengajar* (how to teach), and/or *teknik menyampaikan materi* (content delivery techniques).

The conception of *mengajar* came up in the interviews in a wide range of contexts, for instance, when talking about PPG[41] or PLPG[42], when discussing meanings of or the rationale of

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[41] PPG stands for *Pendidikan Profesi Guru* (Teacher Professional Education), the new teacher pre-service program based on the teacher certification policy and the Teacher and Lecturer Law 2005.

the teacher certification policy, or the intentions of the Teacher and Lecturer Law of 2005. However, in general, when using the conception of *mengajar*, the participants seemed to be in agreement that the policy is a way to push current and future teachers to strengthen their content mastery and pedagogical skills. For instance, when discussing her experience in PLPG, ibu Wati, an SUP teacher educator, who has been involved in the policy implementation from its early stages, believed that PLPG can strengthen teachers' content mastery and pedagogical skills. She said, "…in all of those things, from the ability for mastering *materi* (content) to *strategi* (strategy), they [teachers] had problems. How to teach this or that content? Many did not perform well. So, we fix this problem during PLPG" (UA-03). Ibu Wati saw teacher certification policy, in particular the PLPG, as a way to address the problems of weak content mastery and pedagogical skills that she commonly found among teachers. She implied her expectation that PLPG could provide a solution to fix those problems.

Moreover, when the study participants expressed their expectation that the new teacher certification policy could fix the problem of lack of skills for *mengajar* among teachers, at the same time, they also expressed their concern about the current teachers' quality in content and pedagogy. For instance, ibu Wati further said, "Every time I met teachers, their understanding of the *materi* (content) was always far from satisfactory. It is no surprise that our student learning outcomes are like that [poor] because they are educated by teachers with that level of ability" (UA-03). She also said that she often found teachers in PLPG could not solve mathematical problems taken from the materials they were supposed to teach to their students. Similarly, pak[43]

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[42] PLPG stands for *Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru* (Teacher Professional Training and Education), the process in-service teachers have to go through to obtain the new teacher certification.
[43] A formal term in Indonesian language to address a male to show respect originating from one's status, age, or seniority

Noah, a department head in the State Islamic University of Bhinneka (SIUB), even noticed that some teachers not only had weak content mastery but also taught the wrong content[44] to students because they did not base the content on reliable textbooks or sources (UB-02).

In addition, three policy makers also highlighted the problem of weak content mastery when talking about the policy. They argued that teacher certification would bring a new generation of teachers with stronger content mastery. For instance, ibu Irma, a mid-level manager in the central office of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), who was involved with the policy from its designing phase said:

> So, basically teachers need to be competent first before they are given the [certification] allowance. I think that is a good idea. At least it will elevate the prestige of teachers. We are starting to see that those entering the teaching profession are really people with higher standards. At least they have a high ability in *substansi* (substance, content). They only need to add their pedagogical skills. So, teachers will work with their heart. They really want to be teachers. (PM-04)

Using ibu Irna's quote, we can track some of the logic of the policy design: certification will demand teachers to meet high standards especially in content, and if they meet this demand, they will be given a significant pay raise (with the certification allowance). The teaching profession will be more attractive because of this improved pay scheme, and will attract top students who have strong content mastery to choose teaching as their career. And this will solve the problem of weak content mastery among current Indonesian teaching force. This expectation could become a reality since most teacher educators in this study reported that they observed a change of students' characteristic in recent years after the passing of teacher certification policy. They

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[44] He was talking about teachers teaching Islamic religion not basing on *fiqh* books. (Fiqh refers to the body of Islamic law, detailing the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.)

reported that recent students were generally more intelligent, stronger in content mastery, and more independent in learning, compared to the students they taught prior to the new teacher certification policy.

In addition to the problem of weak content mastery, the study participants used the conception of *mengajar* to highlight the problem of teachers' weak pedagogical ability. For instance, ibu Alya, who coordinated the implementation of PLPG in SUP, observed that in general, Indonesian teachers simply relied on textbooks for pedagogical tools and strategies, and tended to use the textbook materials without considering the context of the classrooms and the student population. Pak Lazuardi, another administrator in SUP, described this teacher dependency on textbooks with the word *tukang*, meaning "assembly man." He said, "Our teachers are exactly like *tukang*. They do not want to read. When *mengajar*, they only rely on textbooks and worksheets, that's it" (UA-12). In this analogy teachers were liked to assembly men who only wanted to assemble readily made materials (e.g., knock-down furniture), and did not want, or did not know how, to create their own materials. In other words, pak Lazuardi framed teachers as only wanting to use ready-made lessons written in textbooks and reluctant to develop lessons on their own.

Mengajar in the Context of the Policy Implementation

It is important to note that despite being initially hopeful that teacher certification policy could fix the problems of teachers' weak content mastery and pedagogical abilities, the participants who used the conception of *mengajar* were not very convinced about the policy's results. For instance, pak Lukman, a key policy agent who was involved in the policy design and directed the early stage of the policy implementation, explained that one of the main factors that drove the formulation of the policy was improving teacher content mastery. However, he

expressed his disappointment with the policy implementation, in particular with teacher education institutions which, in his opinion, did not guard the quality of teacher certification as intended by the policy. According to pak Lukman, teacher education institutions should be more selective in passing teachers in the certification assessment. Pak Lukman said:

> We felt that LPTK[45] was the one who should guard what certification means and what professional teachers mean, because it was supposed to be their after-sales service [to their graduates]. They should be ashamed if teachers graduated from their institution were not good. But now, it is the opposite. They defend those teachers [who were not good] (PM-02).

In this quote pak Lukman seemed to be puzzled by the stance of teacher education institutions, which, instead of meeting the quality expectations of the policy, tended to defend teachers who might not have been eligible to pass the certification assessments. When designing the policy, he estimated only 25%-50% of teachers in each batch would pass certification assessments, and these teachers would need what he called a "tailor-made training," a special professional development program to address teachers' specific weaknesses before they retake certification assessments. However, in reality, the passing rate had always been close to 100% in almost all teacher education institutions who had held PLPG.

Pak Lukman further argued that the emotional factor played a major role in influencing the judgment of most LPTK teacher educators. He shared the story when he held a meeting with LPTK rectors to express his concern about the unrealistic high passing rate in PLPG. During this meeting he said that the LPTK rectors explained that they felt sorry for teachers, especially those who graduated from their institution, who had long been underpaid. Pak Lukman felt the

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[45] LPTK stands for *Lembaga Pendidikan Tenaga Kependidikan* (Teacher Education Institution)

psychological impact of the proposed increase of income in the teacher certification policy was much bigger that he had anticipated. Pak Lukman argued that LPTK teacher educators could not handle the pressure from teachers who had long fought for increased income. Previously, most Indonesian teachers were underpaid for decades, and the new teacher certification policy, which increased teacher's basic salary at least by twice as much, had changed their life like night and day.

Interestingly, some teacher educators echoed pak Lukman's argument and acknowledged that they tended to feel sorry for teachers, in particular the more experienced ones, whom they found struggling in demonstrating a good understanding of the content covered in PLPG sessions. These teacher educators tended to make accommodation for teachers to pass PLPG assessments. For instance, pak Lazuardi, a teacher educator in SUP, admitted that the assessment in PLPG was subjective, partly because LPTKs had to deal with their own alumni. From his experience, he observed that teacher educators tended to pass the struggling teachers even when they did not demonstrate a good understanding on basic concepts of the content they had to teach.

Pak Indra, another teacher educator in SUP, used the idea of sense of humanity in explaining the more lenient approach teacher educators used when facing struggling teachers in PLPG. When asked about what he meant by sense of humanity, pak Indra explained:

First, we valued teachers' effort, that even when they were sick but they tried to attend PLPG sessions. Their willingness to attend PLPG was so high. Second, they came from distant places, from rural areas, and had gone through all the administrative requirements, leaving their family, but if we did not give them grades, it did not feel good for us. It did

not feel right….If we help people who are in need, like these struggling teachers, in our religion, we believe that God will help us too someday in one way or another (UA-07).

There are at least three layers of the idea of sense of humanity expressed by pak Indra in this quote. First, he put a great emphasis on the notion that making and showing effort is highly valued. When teachers made great effort in attending PLPG sessions and submitted assignments, they would be rewarded scores that were good enough that would help them pass PLPG. Second, pak Indra implied that there was an emotional factor that influenced teacher educators to be more understanding toward teachers who went through and sacrificed a lot of things just to come to PLPG location (usually in provincial capitals). Third, using a religious justification, pak Indra pointed out that the act of helping struggling teachers is equal to the act of helping people who are in need, and he believed God would reward this act of helping others in the future. As a result, he made accommodations for teachers who struggled with PLPG materials and assignments (which focused on content and pedagogy) to get grades that were good enough for them to pass PLPG.

In addition, unlike policy makers, teacher educators were more critical about the PLPG format to help improve teacher content mastery and pedagogical ability, especially teacher educators in SUP[46]. In particular, they pointed out that the allocated time is too short to produce satisfactory results. For instance, to teach one particular component (theories on content, theories on pedagogy, action research, or workshop), teacher educators only had a maximum of ten hours. Ibu Wati, an SUP teacher educator, described her frustration in meeting the policy goals. She said:

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[46] 10 out of 20 SUP participants (50%) talked about PLPG as ineffective to teach content and pedagogy to teachers because it was too short, too intense, too exhausting and/or needed better facilities, compared to 2 out 9 SIUB participants (22%) who made similar comments.

I only had maximum 10 (academic) hours to teach a topic, and one (academic) hour is 50

minutes. So, in those 10 (academic) hours, I taught how to develop *perangkat*

pembelajaran (learning tools), *silabus* (syllabi), *RPP* (lesson plans), and *instrumen*

(teaching instruments). I think 10 hours are not enough to make teachers do all those

things well because their initial skills were low (UA-03).

In this quote ibu Wati explained that she did not have enough time to improve teachers'

pedagogical skills as expected, in particular because teachers' initial skills were low. Moreover,

she also implied that for the given time (10 academic hours per component) there were too many

materials she needed to cover, ranging from developing learning tools to lesson planning. In

other words, she implied that it was unrealistic to transform teachers' pedagogical skills within

such a short amount of time.

Moreover, a typical structure in every component (content, pedagogy or workshop) in the

10-day PLPG was: first, teacher educators lectured for 2-3 hours, then they gave teachers an

assignment, which had to be submitted in the following morning. Ibu Namira, another SUP

teacher educator, often found teachers very sleepy during PLPG sessions because they had to

stay up late the previous nights to finish assignments. This happened every day for 10 days in

PLPG. As a result, ibu Namira observed that teachers were very exhausted in PLPG, and did not

learn much even when they had passed the certification assessments.

Therefore, despite having expectations that the certification policy would fix the problem

of teachers' weak content mastery and pedagogical abilities, both the policy makers and teacher

educators in this study did not seem to be satisfied in the implementation and results. While the

policy makers tended to place the blame on teacher education institutions' inability to guard the

quality of the implementation process, which was acknowledged by some teacher educators in

this study, teacher educators tended to be more critical of the format of policy implementation. In particular, they argued that producing the expected quality (transforming teachers to be good at content mastery and pedagogy) within a very short amount of time (10 days) and with such intensity (10 hours per day, with daily assignments to be submitted the following day) was simply unrealistic.

While the participants tended to have mixed views about the policy when using the conception of *mengajar*, they tended to have critical views of the policy when using the conception of *mendidik* to talk about the policy. In the following section I discuss how the participants talked about how they made sense of the policy focusing on the conception of *mendidik*. The section is divided into three sub-sections: the conception of *mendidik* related to teacher personality, character, or behavior, the conception of *mendidik* related to teacher-student interactions, and the conception of *mendidik* related to teacher disposition.

Mendidik in the Interview Data

There were a number of words that were used by the study participants that I interpreted as expressions of good teachers in the context of *mendidik*. Through repeated listening to and reading of the interview data, I noticed three aspects of *mendidik* expressed by different participants: character/personality/behavior, teacher-student interaction, and teacher philosophy. The first aspect is related to traits or values that are expected to be internalized and to be modeled by teachers, such as honesty, sincerity, integrity, patience, or caring. Moreover, this aspect also includes elements of teacher behavior, such as the way they speak and dress. Teachers should display these traits and behaviors that are worthy of imitation by their students. In other words, teachers must practice what they preach. The second aspect is related to teacher-student interaction, especially in their role to shape students' character and morality. This

includes knowing students' names and character, building a close relationship with students, and taking an extra mile to help students especially when they are in need. The third aspect, teacher disposition, is related to values coming from ideological positions and/or worldviews that guide their action as teachers, provide a sense of purpose, and give psychic rewards (Lortie, 1975) in the journey of becoming and being teachers.

When discussing the conception of *mendidik*, some participants used the word *mendidik* explicitly, while some others used other terms. I interpreted the following terms to be related to the ideas of character, personality and behavior: *kepribadian* (personality), *sikap* (attitude), *keteladanan* (exemplary), *tanpa pamrih* (without expecting anything in return, sincere), *sosok guru* (teacher's figure), kesukarelaan (volunteerism), *ketulusan* (sincerity), *keikhlasan* (altruistic), *kejujuran* (honesty), peduli (caring), moral (morality), *etika* (ethics), *cara berbicara* (how to speak), *cara berpakaian* (how to dress), *emosi* (emotion), *pengamal, pelaksana* (practicing what they preach), *nilai-nilai* (values). I interpreted the following terms to be connected to the idea of teacher-student interaction as part of mendidik: *interaksi dengan siswa* (interaction with students), *membina siswa* (develop students), *sense of belonging terhadap siswa* (sense of belonging to the students), *tegur dan hafal nama siswa* (greet and know students' names), and *memerhatikan siswa* (paying attention to students). Finally, the following terms are examples of words used by the participants that are related to the idea of disposition in *mendidik*: *ideologi* (ideology), *kesadaran* (awareness, consciousness), and *panggilan hati untuk beribadah* (the calling of the heart to serve God).

While the conception of *mengajar* was used in a more positive tone toward the teacher certification policy (e.g., sense of hopefulness that the policy will fix the weak content mastery and pedagogical skills among teachers), the conception of *mendidik* was generally used when

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participants tended to be more critical of the policy, especially among teacher educators. This will be further elaborated using the interview data in the next section. I organize the discussion of the conception of *mendidik* from the interview data basing on the three aspects of *mendidik* that I previously discussed: first, teacher personality, character, and behavior; second, teacher-student interaction; and third, teacher disposition.

Mendidik as Teacher Personality, Character, and Behavior

The first aspect of *mendidik* from the interviews is related to personality traits, values, or behaviors that are expected to be internalized and to be modeled by teachers that are worthy of students' imitation. For instance, pak Nuh, an administrator in SUP, spent more than 20 minutes sharing his admiration of his PhD advisor who, in his opinion, embodied the traits of an ideal teacher, a role model for him. Describing his interaction with his advisor like a father and son, he hailed him as someone who was always patient, motivating, sincere, modest, and inspiring. As an educator, he felt his advisor had a comprehensive understanding about human development, which included understanding human emotion. Towards the end of his description of his advisor, he expressed his skepticism that current teachers even after they have been certified could model such role model of his PhD advisor. Pak Nuh, who initiated the use of the local ethnic language in the interview, said:

> That kind of teacher [like his PhD advisor] is difficult. When my generation went to school, we found that kind of teacher, but not for the current generation. *Tanpa pamrih* [Sincere]. That is a real teacher, the one who becomes *tokoh* (a figure), *contoh* (a role model) for us. Every time we meet him, he will give us advise about what to do and not to do. He will tell us to tell the truth no matter how difficult it is. And we internalize it. That is a real teacher, isn't it? Can we find that kind of teachers now? We can analyze

what they learned to be a teacher. Do they also *mengabdi tanpa pamrih* (serve with

sincerity/altruistically)? No matter how much we increase teacher salary, is it possible for

them to be *tanpa pamrih* (sincere)? What happens is after salary increases, teachers will

be shocked, a culture shock. Having lots of money, wanting to be rich, buying cars,

buying this or that, after that, being trapped in debts with the bank. Right? That is what I

have seen. My experience. I am wondering why these teachers are like that. (UA-20)

In this quote pak Nuh expressed his skepticism towards the possibility of change among current

teachers because from his own observation, after being certified teachers did not transform to be

the type of ideal teachers he had in mind – teachers who would serve *tanpa pamrih* (with

sincerity/altruistically). Rather, he observed that after receiving certification, teachers became

consumerists, and were busy buying things, which moved away from the type of personality he

expects to see in good teachers.

In addition, the notion of teacher character or personality does not only include traits

(e.g., sincerity, empathy or caring), but also includes manners such as how to dress, how to

speak, or how to walk. While making a reference to his past experience studying in SPG[47], pak

Nuh elaborated some types of manner that are expected from a teacher:

I am from SPG. In my experience in SPG, teachers *diindoktrinasi* (were indoctrinated)

since the very beginning. Perhaps that indoctrination is important. *Perilaku* (behavior),

such as *cara berbicara* (how to speak), *cara berpakaian* (how to dress), was

indoctrinated to us. Therefore, when my friends did teaching practice, they were very tidy

wearing *sanggul* (bun), long skirts, and long sleeve blouses. (UA-20)

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[47] SPG stands for Sekolah Pendidikan Guru (Teacher Education School), an old model of
secondary-level teacher training school for producing elementary school teachers.

In this quote pak Nuh put an emphasis on manners teachers should embody in their behavior. Implicit in this quote is the expectation for teachers to have standards of behavior that all teachers should do, such as how to speak or how to dress. Moreover, he stressed the importance of indoctrination in teacher preparation especially to ensure teacher candidates display those manners when they do teaching practice. Since indoctrination does not usually happen in a short time, it is not surprising that the teacher educators who used the conception of *mendidik* seemed to be concerned with the new design of pre-service teacher education program (PPG) and the in-service teacher certification training program (PLPG) especially in terms of the length of the provided time to run those programs.

For instance, these teacher educators pointed out that the nine-day PLPG training was perceived as too short to improve teacher character. Pak Muslim, an administrator in SUP, expressed his skepticism towards the production of professional teachers, as intended by the policy, when PLPG was only held for nine days. He said:

> I think PLPG is not really a good solution because to be a professional teacher, we also have to consider the component of *mendidik,* and this cannot be achieved in nine days. Even though we award teachers the teaching certificate, it does not fully describe that those teachers are professional. (UA-11)

Instead of nine days, pak Muslim argued that it would take at least one year of training to achieve the expectations of the policy, and teachers should live in a dormitory where their behavior and activities can be closely monitored. Similarly, pak Syaiful, a teacher educator and the former head of PSG (*Panitia Sertifikasi Guru*, the university's Teacher Certification Committee) in SUP, said that while PLPG had been successful in improving teachers' skills in *mengajar*, it was still unsuccessful in improving teachers' character. Pak Syaiful said:

We want to shape *sikap guru* (teachers' attitude) *untuk diteladani* (to be role models), and we know it cannot be achieved within one week….To produce *sosok guru* (teachers' figure) with *kesukarelaan, keikhlasan, ketulusan* (volunteerism, altruism, sincerity), how to shape that in PLPG? This issue is still untouched. (UA-17)

Both pak Muslim and pak Syaiful were not convinced that PLPG had been successful in producing professional teachers because they believed it would take much longer to shape teacher character, and PLPG only took place for 9-10 days. At the same time, they were critical about the quality of PLPG outputs. In their view, despite being awarded a teaching certificate, teachers cannot be guaranteed to meet the expectations to be professional because the certification training did not focus on the *mendidik* component. I found pak Muslim and pak Syaiful's assessment of PLPG particularly powerful especially because of their multiple roles in the implementation of the teacher certification policy. They were not only seasoned teacher educators but also had held some positions in the regional Ministry of Education offices[48]. By having multiple roles, they would most likely have a more comprehensive view of the policy.

In addition to PLPG, pak Muslim was also critical about PPG, the policy's new pre-service teacher preparation program. He believed that shaping the character of teacher candidates would need longer time than a year. He said, "Teachers have certain characteristics, such as empathy and their attention to students, and these are different from accountants or lawyers. They are different. Is it possible to instill these values within a year?" (UA-11). Pak Muslim's

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[48] Pak Muslim, an administrator when the interview was conducted, was a former head of a city's education office when Teacher Law was passed in 2005. In 2006, when the certification policy started to be implemented, he was appointed as the head of LPMP, a central government's representative agency in provinces dealing with issues of educational quality assurance, including on issues related to teacher certification and teacher quality. Pak Syaiful not only was as a teacher educator but was also the head of LPMP during the interview. In addition, pak Syaiful was the former head of PSG, a university ad hoc body that was in charge of the management of the policy implementation in SUP.

remark indirectly referred to the policy's regulation to allow graduates from non-education majors to apply to PPG, and he was skeptical whether these graduates could adopt the teacher characters that he believed are unique to the teaching profession. A more elaborate remark about teacher educators' skepticism towards the PPG design was made by pak Irfan, a former dean in SUP during the beginning stage of the policy implementation. He also highlighted the importance of spending more time in shaping a teacher's character. Pak Irfan said:

> In PPG, let's say graduates from English Literature, Mathematics majors want to be teachers, and they join the PPG, it will not work. There is no guarantee *sosok guru profesional itu* (the figure of a professional teacher) [will appear] because *aspek kepribadian* (the personality aspect) of a teacher cannot be taught in a few courses in two semesters. It is better we train *kepribadian guru* (teacher personality) in four years [referring to the current practice in LPTK]. When I was an LPTK student, wearing long-sleeve shirts must be like this in the classroom. The (top) buttons could not be open. Your professors told you that you would be teachers, and that was planted in four years since the very beginning [of college]. Now imagine, a [male] graduate from English Literature, wearing an earing or something else. Even though some may approve such behavior, it is not appropriate in our culture. Suddenly he has a bachelor's degree. Then he takes two semesters [in PPG]. In those two semesters, the teaching of teacher personality is most likely very theoretical. Then this student directly becomes a teacher. This is not how we are doing it now [in LPTK]. We shape the *kepribadian* (personality) in four years. It takes time to shape *kepribadian* (personality). (UA-16)

In this quote pak Irfan pointed out that PPG design was weak because it allows graduates from non-education majors to apply to PPG. The main reason was not because of these graduates'

weaker pedagogical competence compared to graduates from education majors as argued by the policy makers, but rather because of more time needed to shape teacher character/personality. In other words, the emphasis for the objection was not on the conception of *mengajar* (content or pedagogy), but rather on the conception of *mendidik*. According to pak Irfan (and pak Muslim), teacher characters are believed to be unique and cannot be shaped within a short time.

Mendidik as Teacher-Student Interaction

In addition to the focus on teachers' personality, character, and behavior, the study participants who used the conception of *mendidik* also underlined the importance of teacher-student interaction when a teacher enacts the role of *mendidik*. This interaction is key in a teacher's effort to shape and develop students' character and morality. For instance, ibu Hana, an administrator in SIUB, observed that many teachers after PLPG were still *pengajar*[49] and not *pendidik*[50] because in her opinion these teachers lacked of care about their students' morals. One of the reasons of this situation, in ibu Hana's opinion, is the policy requirement for certified teachers to teach at least 24 hours per week. If teachers fail to meet this requirement, their certification allowance will not be paid. This requirement is highly problematic because arguably teachers can only spend time to teach classes, and will not have enough time to know and interact with their students, as part of their role for *mendidik*.

Ibu Namira, an administrator in SUP, explained that to teach multiple lessons for 24 hours, a teacher needs time, energy, and knowledge to prepare those lessons, to look for materials, and to develop strategies to meet individual students' needs. She further compared schoolteachers' teaching requirement to the one for university lecturers, who are only required to

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[49] *Pengajar* means the person who performs the act of *mengajar* (teacher, instructor).
[50] *Pendidik* means the person who performs the act of *mendidik* (educator).

teach for 9 hours per week in addition to 3 hours for research and community service (in total 12 mandatory hours). Thus, she believed the requirement is not fair to schoolteachers.

To make it worse, sometimes the school where teachers work fulltime could not give them enough teaching hours. Fearing to lose their certification allowance, these teachers had to go and teach in multiple schools, thus, further reducing the possibility for them to know their students, let alone developing quality interaction with them to help shape their character. For instance, when asked why the *mendidik* component was still hard to materialize, ibu Namira, explained:

> To teach for 24 hours in a teacher's main school is sometimes difficult. To fulfill this requirement they have to run from one school to another. As a result, they do not have time to pay attention to their students' character development. If a teacher teaches 24 hours, and let's say one class is 4 hours, this means that teacher teaches 6 classes. If there are 30 students in one class, it means there are 180 students. How can that teacher memorize the character of 180 students? How can that teacher shape the character of 180 students? (UA-02)

In this quote ibu Namira highlights two problems teachers face with the requirement to teach 24 hours per week. First, teachers sometimes have to run from one school to another just to make sure they have enough teaching hours, so they will get their certification allowance. Ibu Namira implied that meeting 24 teaching hours per week in one school already consumed much of teachers' time and energy, let alone when they had to teach in multiple schools. The second highlighted problem is that teachers have to teach too many classes and students, which makes it difficult for these teachers to know their students personally, let alone to shape students' character.

Moreover, there is a sense of nostalgia when teacher educators talked about the model of an ideal teacher-student interaction, which they believed to be largely absent in the current teaching practices. For instance, pak Muslim, an SUP administrator who was critical about the policy because its lack of emphasis on mendidik, talked about his past experience in PGA (Pendidikan Guru Agama), the old secodary-level teacher preparation school for producing Islamic religion teachers in elementary schools. He explained:

> In my view, *ketulusan mendidik* (the sincerity to educate) is different between general schools and religious schools. I really felt it when I was in PGA that I was really *dididik* (educated) by my teachers. *Ketulusannya* (their sincerity) means they knew our names by heart. When there were school events, they guided us. If we made a mistake, they would admonish us. If we had talents, they would channel our talents. They had time to do all those things. I really felt I was greatly *dididik*. *Dididik* (being educated) is different than *diajar* (being taught). *Diajar* tends to focus only on meeting curricular goals, while *dididik* means shaping character....I think teachers nowadays only do their obligations. They are happy when they have met the expectations of the curriculum. However, they do not know know their students' behavior. Perhaps this is due to the big number of students current teachers have to teach....and they do not even know all their students' names. The emotional closeness of *pendidik* (the person who performs the act of mendidik) and *pengajar* (the person who performs the act of mengajar) is different, and a teacher is both *pendidik* and *pengajar*. To be ideal, like old people said, is difficult, *menjadi guru yang digugu dan ditiru* (to be a teacher whose words are important and whose behavior is worthy of imitation). (UA-11)

In this quote pak Muslims compared the current teacher behaviors based on his observation with his past teachers. In particular, he highlighted the aspect of teacher-student interaction. His past teachers spent a lot of time with him and his peers to guide them and to shape their character. He felt very close emotionally with his past teachers. This is a model that he felt should happen with all teachers. On the other hand, from his observation, current teachers did not know all of their students' names, let alone develop their students' talent and character. According to pak Muslim, unlike his past teachers, current teachers were happy just to *mengajar*, and they were not concerned not to be able to *mendidik*.

Mendidik as Teacher Disposition

The teacher educators who used the conception of *mendidik* also criticized the policy as lacking dispositional clarity. This notion of disposition is related to ideological values of teachers or teachers' sense of purpose. Therefore, these teacher educators made the attempt during PLPG to awaken teachers' awareness of the importance of having clear values and/or a sense of purpose in carrying out their role as teachers. One important construct that was mentioned was *kesadaran*. The root word for kesadaran is *sadar* (a verb). According to the Indonesian-English dictionary (Echols & Shadily, 2014), the word *sadar* means to be aware or to have consciousness. Another form of verb for the word *sadar* is *menyadari,* which means to have the awareness or consciousness*. Kesadaran* as a noun means having the awareness or consciousness. However, when the word *kesadaran* was mentioned by some teacher educators, it meant more than simply having consciousness. Implicit in these teacher educators' remarks was an expectation for those who have *kesadaran* to have the drive to do something as a result of having the consciousness. For instance, ibu Namira, an administrator in SUP said:

I think our difficulty is in making teachers *menyadari* (to have the awareness or

consciousness), because not all teachers *menyadari* that teaching is a noble and important

profession. After they received certification, they went back to their old ways of teaching,

which was just *mengajar,* while we actually need *pendidik* (the person who performs the

act of mendidik) not *pengajar* (the person who performs the act of

mengajar)….Sometimes our teachers did not want to be involved in shaping their

students' character because they felt it was none of their business. (UA-02)

In this quote ibu Namira explained that *kesadaran* is not only shown in teachers' awareness (that

their profession is noble and important), but also in their action, by migrating from the old ways

of teaching, which focused merely on *mengajar*, to the new ways, which includes the role of

mendidik. In particular, ibu Namira pointed out that she would expect teachers who had

kesadaran would realize that shaping their students' character is part of their job as teachers.

Teacher educators in SIUB talked about the idea of teacher disposition a little differently

than teachers in SUP. SIUB teacher educators tended to be more philosophical when talking

about teacher disposition. For instance, pak Iqbal, a top administrator in SIUB, argued that the

teacher certification policy frames teaching as a technical profession, in which teachers are

treated like laborers who have certain hours of work and are rewarded a certain amount of money

upon the completion of their working hours. Pak Iqbal said:

When a teacher is only a profession, it's about how much do I get paid? It is about what

tool to measure it. But if there is an ideological element in it, he becomes "*murabbi*" in

the [Islamic] religious term, which means representing God. Calling teachers as *tenaga*

pendidik (education labors) is the mistake of the Western philosophy. As a labor we pay

his work. That's it. (UB-02)

In this quote pak Iqbal critiqued the teacher certification policy design, which, in his opinion, frames teachers as education labors, who get paid according to their work. As a counter framing, he used the concept of *murabbi*, an idea that is quite popular in Islamic education. Kazmi (1999), a professor in the International Islamic University Malaysia, elaborated the notion of *murabbi* in Islam. He explained, "…a *murabbi* is a person who combines life of learning with life of virtue, and hence a perfect and ideal person to learn from" (p. 209). He further explained, "…although a *murabbi* is in search of knowledge but knowledge is not sought either for its own sake or for the sake of improving his/her life here. The search for knowledge is a spiritual and a moral quest undertaken to understand the signs of Allah on the spiritual road to salvation" (p.230). Kazmi contrasted the idea of teacher as facilitator coming from the Western progressive educationists, who, he argued, only focused on teachers facilitating learning abstract knowledge and values, with the idea of *murabbi*, in which teachers' life becomes the text that students learn. In other words, Kazmi said, "In the case of *murabbi* his/her life is the living proof of what he/she teaches is worth learning" (p. 231).

Kazmi's (1999) explanation of the notion of *murabbi* sounds very similar to the remarks of pak Ardi, another SIUB administrator, who emphasized that a good teacher should not only teach students about values and traits but they should also embody them, displayed through teacher-student interaction. A good teacher should practice what they preach. Pak Ardi put it nicely,

Teachers should be *pengamal* (a person who acts based on knowledge) and *penganjur* (a person who tells or gives suggestion). If only *penganjur*, not paying attention to himself, that means nothing because a teacher should be the one who [both] *mengajar*, the one

who guides, and the one who *mendidik*. Teachers must be more skillful than students.

(UB-02)

Pak Ardi emphasized the importance for teachers to be the first person to implement the knowledge that he or she teaches. In fact, he argued that without being a role model, a teacher means nothing, which indirectly showed the idea of the singular duality of the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*. They are inseparable from one another, and together both conceptions shape what a teacher is and is not. Having only one part means having nothing at all.

Discussion

From the interview data, both the policy makers and the teacher educators had mixed views of the policy when using the conception of *mengajar*. On the one hand, both seemed to agree that there had been a need to improve teachers' content mastery and pedagogical ability, and they had an expectation that the teacher certification policy would fix the problem. On the other hand, neither groups seemed satisfied with how the policy had been implemented and both were skeptical whether the policy actually made a difference in improving teachers' content mastery and pedagogical skills. Interestingly, the conception of *mendidik* was used only by the teacher educators, not the policy makers. I noticed three aspects of *mendidik* from the interview data: teacher personality/ character/behavior, teacher-student interaction, and teacher philosophy. When using this conception, the teacher educators in this study seemed to be more critical of the policy compared to when they used the conception of *mengajar*. These teacher educators argued that the certification policy had not addressed the need to improve teachers' ability for *mendidik* both in the context of the new pre-service (PPG) and in-service (PLPG) programs.

Special attention needs to be paid to the requirement for certified teachers to teach a minimum of 24 hours per week to be eligible for certification allowance. This requirement

seemed to have reduced teachers' ability for both *mengajar* and *mendidik*. For *mengajar*, this

requirement could potentially reduce teachers' time to prepare lessons, assess students, and

reflect on their teaching. For *mendidik*, this requirement could potentially reduce teachers' time

to build a good relationship with students, which is important, especially in shaping students'

character and morality. The situation could be even worse when teachers had to teach in multiple

schools to reach 24 teaching hours per week.

The interview data about how the study participants made sense of the teacher

certification policy when using the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* could be summarized

in the following table:

Policy Actor	Supportive of the policy		Critical of the policy	
	Conception of *Mengajar*	Conception of *Mendidik*	Conception of *Mengajar*	Conception of *Mendidik*
Teacher educators	PLPG (In-service) PLPG potentially can fix the problem of weak content mastery and pedagogical skills. PPG (Pre-service) More top students apply to education majors, strengthening future teachers' content mastery		PLPG (In-service) The implementation design (e.g., too short of time, too much materials, too intense) is not supportive to produce teachers with stronger content mastery and pedagogical skills. 24 Teaching Hours per week (post-PLPG) Too many teaching hours reduce the possibility for teaching to *mengajar* well (e.g., lesson preparation, post-teaching reflection/ student assessment time).	PLPG (In-service) There is not enough time to improve and assess teacher character. PPG (Pre-service) There is not enough time to shape teacher character, especially for graduates from non-education majors. 24 Teaching Hours per week (post-PLPG) Too many teaching hours limit the possibility for teachers for *mendidik*. The Content of the Policy Lack of philosophical values (e.g., *mendidik*, *murabbi*)

Table 4. Summary of conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* in the implementation of the
Indonesian teacher certification policy

Table 4 (cont'd)

Policy Actor	Supportive of the policy		Critical of the policy	
	Conception of *Mengajar*	Conception of *Mendidik*	Conception of *Mengajar*	Conception of *Mendidik*
Policy makers	<u>PLPG (In-service)</u> PLPG potentially can fix the problem of teachers' weak content mastery and pedagogical skills. <u>PPG (Pre-service)</u> Graduates from non-education majors can now apply to PPG, strengthening future teachers' content mastery		<u>PLPG</u> LPTKs do not guard the quality of certification assessment because of the emotional and/or psychological factors (e.g., feeling sorry for teachers because teachers' poor economic well-beings in the past; working with own alumni).	

From this table we can see at least two patterns. First, while teacher educators used both conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* when they made sense of the teacher certification policy, the policy makers seemed to be more focused on the conception of *mengajar*. Second, while the conception of *mengajar* was used to be supportive and critical of the policy, the conception of *mendidik* was used (by only teacher educators) to critique the policy. How might we explain these two patterns?

First, I consider the tendency of policy makers to focus on *mengajar*, especially on the content mastery. One way to explain this tendency is that the Indonesian government has long attempted to improve the content mastery of teachers. In particular, the Indonesian government has passed a number of initiatives to improve the institutional capacity of LPTKs to strengthen

their expertise in content mastery. For instance, in the late 1990s, using a policy called "IKIP

Wider Mandate," the Indonesian government transformed all public LPTKs from institutes that

focused merely on education majors into general universities that offer non-education degrees.

The main goal of this policy was to strengthen the expertise of these former IKIPs[51] in their

subject area. Pak Lukman, one of the architects of the teacher certification policy, who was also

a key policy maker in the implementation of the IKIP Wider Mandate policy, explained:

> Why did we transform IKIP to universities with a wider mandate? Because many studies
>
> proved that the teachers graduated from IKIP were good at *pedagogi* (pedagogy) but very
>
> weak at *konten* (content). As a result, their teaching cannot be sophisticated because
>
> despite knowing *teknik-teknik mengajar* (teaching techniques), they were poor at content
>
> mastery. Therefore, many private schools employed graduates from ITB, UI, Gajah
>
> Mada, Computer Science colleges, or whatever[52]. Rarely did they employ IKIP
>
> graduates. (PM-02)

In this quote pak Lukman explained that the government's rationale in passing the IKIP Wider

Mandate policy was to push LPTK (previously called IKIP) to improve their ability to produce

teachers with stronger content mastery. He argued that based on the results from both research

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[51] IKIP stands for *Institut Keguruan and Ilmu Pendidikan* (The Institute of Teaching and Education Sciences). Before the IKIP Wider Mandate was passed, IKIP was the only post-secondary education institution that trained Indonesian teachers and developed education sciences. No other higher education institutions had education majors. Since the IKIP Wider Mandate policy, IKIPs have been transformed to general universities but still maintained the exclusivity to offer education degrees and to prepare teachers. These universities are now called LPTK (*Lembaga Pendidikan Tenaga Keguruan*, the Institution for Educating for Teaching Workers/Labors).
[52] ITB (Institut Teknologi Bandung), UI (Universitas Indonesia) and Universitas Gajah Mada are three top universities in Indonesia.

studies and the employment practices among private schools[53], teachers who graduated from

LPTKs had weak content mastery. He implied that these findings were an institutional failure,

which resulted in the IKIP Wider Mandate policy. The government hoped that by being

transformed into general universities that offer content-specific majors and degrees, LPTK could

strengthen the institutional capacity in content expertise, which would impact their education and

teacher preparation programs. Unfortunately, according to pak Lukman, this policy did not bring

the intended results, which was why when designing the teacher certification policy, the

government wanted to find a new strategy to solve the problem of teachers' weak content

mastery. One main strategy is to allow non-education graduates to apply to PPG to ensure an

improvement of teacher candidate input. In other words, pak Lukman implied that LPTK still

needed to convince the government that they could provide a quality process in their teacher

education programs that would produce teachers with strong content mastery. Thus, this long

history of government effort to fix the weak content mastery problem could be a factor that made

them focus on the conception of *mengajar*, especially on the content mastery, when making

sense of the policy. This reflects a sustained policy theme within the Indonesian government in

regards to their strategy in reforming teachers, which includes reforming LPTK.

On the other hand, teacher educators tended to focus more on the conception of *mendidik*,

which they mainly used to critique the policy. The teacher educators argued that the policy did

not focus on the aspects of *mendidik*, especially in the policy implementation. One particular

theme central to this critique is the lack of time allocated for developing the aspects of *mendidik*

(e.g., teacher personality, teacher behavior, teacher philosophy, teacher-student interaction)

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[53] In the past many private schools in Indonesia did not require teachers to have a teaching license to be teachers in their schools. Thus, many non-LPTK graduates, who did not have a teaching license, became teachers in private schools.

either in PLPG, PPG, or in teachers' work. The teacher educators insisted that more time would

be needed to produce quality teachers with *mendidik* ability and teachers need to have more time

to enact *mendidik* once they become teachers.

One way to explain this insistence on the importance of *mendidik* is to see a sense of

nostalgia in the perspective of teacher educators. As some teacher educators in this study

explained, many current teachers did not demonstrate the qualities they found in their past

teachers. These teacher educators argued that their past teachers either in general schools or in

teacher preparation programs demonstrated abundant qualities of *mendidik* that the teacher

educators felt was very beneficial for their education. These past teachers paid a lot of attention

to students and invested a lot of their time to develop students' character and morality. This

nostalgic reference is best portrayed by the remarks of pak Muslim, an SUP teacher educator,

when describing his past schooling experience in PGA[54]. He said:

> I really felt it when I was in PGA that I was really *dididik* (educated) by my teachers.
>
> *Ketulusannya* (their sincerity) means they knew our names by heart. When there were
>
> school events, they guided us. If we made a mistake, they would admonish us. If we had
>
> talents, they would channel our talents. They had time to do all those things. I really felt I
>
> was greatly *dididik*....I think teachers nowadays only do their obligations. They are happy
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> when they have met the expectations of the curriculum. However, they do not know
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> know their students' behavior. Perhaps this is due to the big number of students current
>
> teachers have to teach....and they do not even know all their students' names. (UA-11b)

In this quote, pak Muslim explained that unlike current teachers who did not take much time to

perform the role of *mendidik*, his past teachers spent a lot of time with students, not only in

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[54] PGA stands for *Pendidikan Guru Agama*, the old secodary-level teacher preparation school in
Indonesia that produced religion teachers teaching in elementary schools

knowing them personally and shaping their personality but also in guiding students and developing their talents. He implied that this kind of teacher-student interaction had a great impact on him, and should be used as a reference for current teachers as models of good teachers and teaching.

Critical Implementing Agents But Smooth Policy Implementation?

In summary, teacher educators tended to be more critical of the policy when using the conceptions of good teachers and good teaching (*mengajar* and *mendidik*) in their sense-making of the policy. One should expect some kind of resistance in the policy implementation from teacher educators who rely on this sense-making. Teacher educators are the key implementing agents in the teacher certification policy since they are the agents that facilitate PLPG and PPG programs all across Indonesia. However, contrary to this logic, the implementation of the teacher certification policy has been very smooth because there have been no reports on the resistance from teacher educators towards the policy implementation. This puzzling contradiction between teacher educators' individual sense-making and the policy implementation process will be further elaborated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: CIVIL SERVICE NORMS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF
TEACHER CERTIFICATION POLICY IN INDONESIA

Introduction

In the previous chapter I have discussed how the conceptions of good teachers and good

teaching, focusing on the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*, influenced both teacher

educators and the Ministry officials in their sense-making of the Indonesian teacher certification

policy. Teacher educators tended to be more critical of the policy because they viewed the policy

implementation ignored the conception of *mendidik*. Furthermore, despite acknowledging the

potentials of the policy to improve teachers' expertise for the components of *mengajar*, teacher

educators also pointed out some issues (e.g., limited training time, too much training material,

high training intensity) in the policy implementation that hindered the policy from reaching its

objectives. On the other hand, the Ministry officials seemed to focus on the conception of

mengajar in their individual sense-making. In particular, they highlighted the importance of

teacher certification policy to improve teachers' content mastery. Interestingly, the Ministry

officials did not say much about the conception of *mendidik* when discussing the policy. Thus,

the different framing on good teacher and good teaching indicated a different sense-making

between teacher educators and Ministry officials as they implemented the Indonesian teacher

certification policy.

However, despite having this difference of sense-making, the implementation of the

policy has been going quite smoothly. That is, the LPTKs who were assigned to certify teachers,

including the two focal institutions in this study, performed their tasks well, as indicated by the

number of teachers who passed PLPG. Data from the Ministry of Education and Culture (n.a.,

2014) shows that from 1,326,304 teachers who went through the teacher certification assessment

facilitated by LPTKs from 2007-2012 nationally 1,238,211 teachers passed the certification

assessment. In other words, LPTKs passed about 93,4% of all participating in-service teachers to be eligible to be certified teachers. It is important to note that some teachers failed not because their poor performance in the certification assessment but because of incomplete attendance in PLPG sessions. These teachers failed merely due to their inability to attend full PLPG sessions (e.g., sickness, family emergencies, labor).

Since teacher educators played a very central role[55] in the implementation of the policy, one may wonder about the reason teacher educators implemented the policy smoothly when they actually tended to be more critical of the policy. I argue that the Indonesian civil service norms (e.g., adherence to rules and procedures, obedience, loyalty, lack of emphasis on expertise) have served as the counter logic that minimizes the influence of teacher educators' individual sense-making logic (e.g., conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*), and as a result the policy implementation has gone quite well. It has generally met its targeted policy output, certifying all practicing K-12 teachers.

In this chapter I examine the influence of the civil servant norms in the teacher certification policy implementation. First, I use institutional theory to focus on implementing agents as social sense-makers. Second, to introduce the civil service norms in Indonesia, I review literature to explain the norms that characterize civil servants in the Indonesian context. Then I use my data (interviews, documents, and observations) to demonstrate the influence of civil service norms during the policy implementation. Finally, I use institutional theory to explain the mechanisms through which the civil service norms served as the dominant logic among teacher educators that resulted in more obedient, rather than more critical, behaviors as they implemented the policy.

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[55] Teacher educators facilitate the new pre-service and in-service certification trainings (PPG and PLPG), and assess teachers to be certified.

Sense-making and Institutional Theory

Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002) explain that a policy-implementing agent is not only an individual but also a social sense-maker. His or her "thinking and action are situated in institutional sectors that provide norms, rules and definitions of the environment, both constraining and enabling action" (p. 405). Spillane et al. argue that institutional theory, despite its relatively one-directional emphasis on how institutional context shapes human agency, could be useful in examining policy sense-making in an institutional context. Institutional theory can help us understand the macro aspects (e.g., national and ethnic identity, religious affiliation, social class membership, professional identity, and political leanings) and micro aspects (e.g., organizational norms, organizational structures) of policy implementing agents' social sense-making.

According to Scott (2014), there are three pillars/elements of institutions: regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive. The regulative element focuses on the establishment of rules and the use of inspection and sanctions (rewards or punishments) to direct behavior. This element is based on instrumentality logic, which assumes that individuals will act rationally by conforming to the rules because they want to gain rewards and/or avoid punishments. The second element, the normative element, focuses on the construction of roles along with those roles' related values and norms, which creates rights and responsibilities. This element is based on appropriateness logic, in which individuals within an institution are expected to know and perform the types of appropriate behaviors in different types of situations/contexts. Finally, the cultural-cognitive element focuses on widely shared conceptions and frames of meaning among individuals within an organization. This element is based on orthodoxy logic, in which

individuals follow desirable, taken-for-granted behaviors, and other alternatives of behavior are inconceivable.

In addition to logics, institutional elements can also determine different mechanisms of legitimacy (Anagnostopoulos, Sykes, McCrory, Cannata, & Frank, 2010). According to Suchman (1995), legitimacy is defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions" (p. 574). Stryker (1994) points out that "legitimacy processes provide a central means through which rule/resource sets *shape action*" (p. 856, my emphasis). She highlights three major themes: legitimacy as behavioral consent to rules through instrumental mechanisms, legitimacy as attitudinal approval of rules through normative mechanisms, and legitimacy as cognitive orientation to binding rules through constitutive mechanisms.

Stryker (1994) elaborates that in instrumental mechanisms, the use of rewards and punishments and resource allocation is expected to lead to behavioral consent from individuals and groups to enact policies. In normative mechanisms, individuals and groups internalize social obligations, which create a belief of rightness about the norms and values of conduct, and lead to compliance and obedience towards the institution. In constitutive mechanisms, conformity is produced because individuals and groups recognize the importance of the binding nature of schemas and policies, regardless of whether or not they approve of those policies. In this type of mechanism, individuals believe that their peers and authorities will also produce the same behaviors. Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) explain that in constitutive mechanisms "the binding character of a given schema can also be enhanced through normative means, when people internalize schema as correct and shared by others, and through instrumental means,

when they are awarded with material resources or confronted with material sanctions" (p. 1267). In other words, constitutive mechanisms can be created through instrumental mechanism (e.g., the binding schema is related to an understanding that other members of an institution will behave by seeking rewards and avoiding sanctions) and normative mechanisms (e.g., the binding schema is related to an understanding that other members will behave according to the internalized norms).

These kinds of mechanisms are evident in the ways in which teacher educators in Indonesia conceptualize themselves as civil servants. Thus, in the next section, I will review the characteristics of civil service in Indonesia highlighting the norms of obedience and loyalty, a strong emphasis on following rules and procedures, and a weak emphasis on expertise in performing roles and functions.

Civil Service in Indonesia

The bureaucratic culture within the civil service in Indonesia, despite a number of decentralization initiatives (e.g., King, 1988; Kristiansen & Ramli, 2006), has tended to create a very centralized system (Bjork, 2003). The culture of civil service in Indonesia is characterized as a patronage-based system, structured by individuals at the top with lots of power and the lower-level individuals with little power. In this system, loyalty and trust are the most important norms, and the top structure expects absolute obedience from those in the lower structure. In other words, questioning authority or orders from the top is not a favorable action and is likely to be punished. On the other hand, following orders and procedures set up by the top structure is rewarded and guarantees a successful career. Thus, the main orientation of the Indonesian civil service is not on producing desirable results or meeting objectives but rather on following rules and procedures (Lateef et al., 2003).

Another feature that characterizes the Indonesian civil service is the lack of a tradition of meritocracy, which results in an under-appreciation of expertise in completing work assignments (Lateef et al., 2003). It started during the Dutch colonization in Indonesia, when the Dutch colonial government tended to recruit civil servants based on their social influence rather than using competitive examinations of applicants' qualifications. During the Indonesian early independent years (1945-1966), the recruitment of civil servants was mainly based on the involvement during the independence war against the Dutch with little attention paid to their relevant prior trainings and/or qualifications to the positions. During more than three decades of President Suharto's leadership (1967-1998), to qualify for promotions or filling key positions in the bureaucracy, the emphasis on the loyalty to the ruling government's party (Bjork, 2003) and seniority (King, 1988) was stronger than technical expertise or relevant educational backgrounds. Thus, the historical context suggests that within the Indonesian civil service tradition, having the relevant expertise would not be the most important factor in a civil servant's career enhancement.

Indonesian teachers and teacher educators in public educational institutions are all civil servants. In the development of their career, public university lecturers follow the same ranking and procedural systems as other civil servants in Indonesia. In a study on the implementation of the decentralization reform in Indonesian education system, Bjork (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006) argues that the Indonesian civil service culture was a prominent barrier in education reform. This culture, he explains, emphasizes obedience and loyalty among educators, and discourages them to be independent thinkers, even though the decentralized curriculum reform initiatives required such independent thinking in developing local-content curriculum.

The significance of the influence of civil service culture in policy implementation is also evident in my study. The data suggest that the teacher educators as the key implementing agents seemed to work according to the civil service norms when implementing the teacher certification policy. Despite being critical of the policy, there were teacher educators who tended to simply follow the guidelines despite being critical of the policy ideas. In the following sections I discuss how different types of data indicate the civil servant mentality among teacher educators in the study.

Civil Service Norms from the Research Data

Policy as Procedures

One indicator of the influence of the civil service norm in the teacher educators' sense-making is the framing of the policy as procedures. Teacher educators in this study seemed to frame the teacher certification policy as a set of procedures that they had to follow. For instance, ibu Wati, a teacher educator from the State University of Pancasila (SUP), when asked about the most useful element of the policy, said, "The policy is SOP [standard operating procedures], rules, procedures, regulations" (UA-03). It is interesting to note here that ibu Wati, who was a university lecturer, a scholar, and most importantly a teacher educator, did not use a scholarly framework related to teacher or teaching in her view of the policy. Instead, she approached the policy as procedures, rules, or regulations. She even used the English acronym SOP, standard operating procedure, which implied a term used in management for standardization or uniformity of performing specific activities or functions.

This adherence to rules and procedures might explain why when asked about problems in the policy implementation, pak Iman, an SUP administrator who was a key faculty in facilitating PLPG in SUP, said that he did not see any problems at all. When further explaining his answer,

he described in details the procedures which the SUP implementing team had done well according to the guidelines written by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Pak Iman even used the word SOP too. He said, "It [the policy implementation] has been running according to the regulations, the SOP, without any problems" (UA-05). Pak Iman further argued that he had a better understanding about the policy compared to his colleagues because he knew the procedures better. The absence of an alternative frame of a scholarly perspective about the teacher certification policy among teacher educators, who were also scholars in higher education institutions, was indeed a surprise for me. Prior to my data collection, I anticipated I would hear a range of views related to teacher professionalization or theories of teacher education or teacher learning when talking to teacher educators in my focal institutions. The lack of such views indicates that the teacher educators in my study many have embraced the identity of civil servants more strongly than their identity as scholars and teacher educators when implementing the teacher certification policy.

Expectation for Obedience

Nine teacher educators from State University of Pancasila (SUP) and State Islamic University of Bhinneka (SIUB) explicitly pointed out that the implementation of PLPG disrupted course schedules in their respective university. They said that lecturers who were assigned as PLPG instructors often had to postpone their classes because they had to prioritize PLPG sessions over teaching university students. As a result, students and lecturers had to agree on a different time for make-up classes. Sometimes lecturers simply assigned independent assignments instead of facilitating face-to-face meeting sessions because it was difficult to find a time that worked for the lecturers themselves. Pak Iman, the SUP administrator who was also his university's certification committee member, admitted, "Indeed [the implementation of PLPG]

disrupted student learning activities, but it is also our obligation to certify teachers. So, we need

to be *pandai-pandai* in managing our time. The most important thing, students are not at loss."

There are at least two things that we can notice here. First, although teacher educators see

teaching university courses as their obligation, they see certifying teachers is an even more

important obligation, and should be prioritized over teaching regular students. The practices to

prioritize teacher certification programs over university regular courses indicated a sense of

obedience among the teacher educators to the higher-ranking structure within a bureaucratic

system. Secondly, the use of the phrase *pandai-pandai* in this quote is very interesting. The word

pandai alone means smart. When it is repeated as in the phrase *pandai-pandai,* it means to be

inventive in figuring out what to do to solve problems without hassling others and without

making it public. The use of the phrase implies an expectation for lower ranking staff to deal

with complications themselves and to carry out duties without giving problems to those at the

higher structural position. In other words, this expectation indicates a typical norm of obedience

within the civil service system in Indonesia.

One rationale for being obedient among civil servants in Indonesia is "not to bite the

hand that feeds." Since civil servants are paid by the government, they feel they have the

obligation to carry out the government's instructions. Ibu Wati, an SUP teacher educator,

explained that one of her strategies in motivating teachers in PLPG to improve their pedagogical

ability was to remind teachers that they are government employees. Ibu Wati said that she

pointed out to teachers that those who did not implement the new curriculum as mandated by the

government did not deserve to receive full salary. She said to in-service teachers in PLPG:

> Now you have to implement this curriculum but you do not do that well. What is the
>
> compensation of your work? Salary. Has the government ever cut your salary? Never.

Well, if you do not do what they government asks you to do, which results in poor

teaching and learning outcomes, does that mean you do your responsibilities well? Do

you deserve to receive full salary? (UA-03)

The quote illustrates the notion that ibu Wati seemed to believe strongly that civil servants have

to do whatever the government asks them to do because the government pays their paycheck. In

this context, ibu Wati believed that teachers had to implement the government's instruction to

implement the new curriculum well; otherwise, they did not deserve to get full salary. When

further elaborating her belief that teachers should demonstrate loyalty and obedience to

government's instruction, ibu Wati connected this belief with having awareness about rights and

responsibilities stemmed from a strong religious faith. She said:

I think teachers should have the awareness related to understanding their rights and

responsibilities, which is also related to our religious faith…. I often tell my student

teachers, if they arrive late in school, how many students will suffer? If we give students

assignments, collect them, but we never check them, is that the right thing to do? Is that

what we write in our lesson plan? Of course not, right? [We write that we will] check,

follow up, and do reflection. Do they actually do all those things? [If not] it is just a lie.

Are those values to be afraid, for instance for arriving late in school, because they fear the

school principal, or do they fear God? (UA-03)

In this quote, ibu Wati seemed to believe that teachers have to draw on their religious faith (e.g.,

fearing God) to carry out tasks set out by the government successfully. It is interesting to note in

this context that ibu Wati made a connection between teachers as civil servants and religiosity.

Not only do civil servants have to obey their superiors in the upper structure of the hierarchy

(e.g., school principal, or central ministry), but this obedience is also connected to the obedience

to God. Thus, by connecting it to a religious rationale, ibu Wati had given a deeper meaning – a religious one – about the importance of being obedient to the top structure within a bureaucracy system.

Weak Emphasis on Expertise

One character of the Indonesian civil service is the tendency to assign staff without relevant expertise to their job postings (e.g., King, 1988; World Bank, 2003). This seems to be true in the two focal institutions of this study. For instance, when I asked pak Iman about whether his appointment as the member of the university's certification committee (PSG) was related to his scholarly interests on teacher professional development[56], he said that it bore little or even no relevance at all. He did not think his superiors knew his scholarly work. Instead, he felt that his appointment to the committee was merely due to his work attitude. He described himself as a very serious and hardworking person who had innovative ideas to achieve expected results.

Moreover, the pattern of assigning people with expertise of little relevance seemed to happen in the PLPG assignment of trainers, and this was mentioned by two teacher educators, one in SUP and the other in SIUB. Ibu Hilda, an administrator in SUP, revealed her observation and experience of lecturers assignment in PLPG that had been conducted in her university. She cleared her throat before sharing her observation, and said:

> Many [lecturers] teach in [teacher] certification are "general practitioners." Do you
>
> understand what I mean by "general practitioners?" They can treat all diseases. In reality
>
> they do not teach the subject here [in their department], yet there [in PLPG] they teach

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[56] When I interviewed pak Iman, he said that he had been researching about teacher professional development, in particular the idea of lesson study for several years. He was pursuing a doctoral degree.

[the subject]. Are the goals met? This happens a lot. Since I became the administrator, I have fought [with lecturers] many times. [I told them] You can't teach this subject [in PLPG]. So, I told the people above [the university certification committee], "Sir, when you assign lecturers, you need to consult with me. These lecturers have expertise in these areas. Why don't you assign them accordingly?" That is what has happened in teacher certification. Thus, do not just blame teachers [for poor results]. Their PLPG trainers also share the blame. If I speak up, people will be angry with me. (UA-01)

In this quote ibu Hilda explained that many teacher educators who were assigned to teach certain topics in PLPG did not have the authority to teach those topics. Even worse, she observed that the teacher educators who had relevant expertise were not assigned to teach the subjects of their expertise in PLPG. As a result, she argued, the objectives of teacher certification policy could not be met, and one reason for that was assigning the wrong teacher educators in PLPG sessions. Ibu Hilda even described that she often fought with lecturers under her administration because she insisted that the teacher educators who taught a subject in PLPG should have a clear record of possessing expertise in teaching that subject. She even described her fight with those lecturers with the word "*perang,*" which means "war," to emphasize the intensity of the situation. However, despite being outspoken and assertive within her department in regards the importance to assign teacher educators with the right expertise, ibu Hilda seemed to refrain from making it a bigger case to the upper structure in her institution. When I asked her further why she was not interested in being an administrator at a higher level to influence change, she acknowledged that her idealist attitude would cause serious problems both for her and her colleagues. Perhaps the norm to keep harmony was even stronger for her than her personal tendency to be critical, which might have led her to say in the interview, "If I speak up, people will be angry with me."

Furthermore, ibu Hilda explained that the reason for these intense fights was because of money. Being assigned to teach in PLPG seemed to be a very lucrative source of extra income for teacher educators. Similarly, ibu Khadijah, a teacher educator in SIUB, pointed out the opportunity to earn extra income as a major motivation for teacher educators to be involved in PLPG and a main consideration for the university certification committee to assign lecturers. She described it with the word "*proyek*," which literally means "project," but in Indonesian bureaucracy context it refers to a lucrative side job non attached to one's main responsibilities as a civil servant. When asked about what needs to be improved from the implementation of teacher certification policy, ibu Khadijah said that it was very important to assign teacher educators with the right expertise to teach teachers, which was not the common practice she had observed in the PLPG implementation in her university. She further said, "This is a *proyek*. PLPG is a *proyek*. To stand in front of the class means money (UB-05)." Ibu Khadijah also observed that the assignment of teacher educators with irrelevant expertise in PLPG seemed to be based on the effort for equal sharing of extra income among teacher educators. The university certification committee in her university might have the concern to keep their colleagues happy by opening the access to all teacher educators irrespective of their expertise to participate in PLPG, although they had to sacrifice the quality of the service delivery to in-service teachers who attended PLPG sessions.

The most problematic of all was in the Department of Elementary Teacher Education in SIUB. None of the teacher educators in this department had a background in elementary education and elementary teacher education. When I interviewed pak Ardi, the head of the department, he said:

We still do not have teacher educators with elementary teacher education background, both bachelor's and master's degrees. That is our weaknesses. That's why we received a grade of C for our accreditation. Every year we propose (to the central government) for new lecturers with elementary teacher education background, but it has not been realized until now. (UB-02)

In this quote, pak Ardi admitted that the absence of teacher educators with elementary teacher education background within his department was a major problem. In this interview I did not ask any further questions about the history and the reason behind the establishment of his department but I argue that this is a very troubling condition. The problem of the deployment of lecturers with irrelevant expertise in this context did not only take place in the training of elementary education in-service teachers in PLPG, but it also took place on a regular basis in the pre-service teacher education program in SIUB. Even worse, despite the consistent effort from the department and the university to propose new lecturers' recruitment to the central government[57], their request had not been granted for years. Perhaps this was not seen as the most urgent issue by the central government.

Nevertheless, pak Ardi and his colleagues in his department tended to continue their roles as assigned by their superiors to the best of their ability, despite an obvious lack of expertise in the field of elementary teacher education. In other words, pak Ardi, just like many other teacher educators in this study, tended to prioritize loyalty over expertise, in performing their roles and responsibilities. In the next section I will discuss how different data also showed the dominance of the civil service norms (e.g., strong emphasis on rules and procedures, expectation for obedience and loyalty, and weak emphasis on expertise) during the policy implementation. In

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[57] In Indonesia, the recruitment and assignment of lecturers in public universities, who are civil servants, is processed and decided by the central government.

particular, I will discuss how these norms were evident and were emphasized during an annual

policy socialization seminar, a form of policy learning opportunity for most teacher educators.

Arguably, the socialization seminar, embodies the third sense-making element proposed by

Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002), which is policy signal and representation.

The Annual Teacher Certification Policy Socialization

Most teacher educators in my study referred to the annual socialization seminar as their

regular space to learn about teacher certification policy. The annual socialization seminar is an

event taken place prior to the start of PLPG at a certifying university. In this event, a resource

person from the central ministry (either the Ministry of Education and Culture or the Ministry of

Religious Affairs) comes to a certifying university to provide important policy information

including new changes about the policy. The participants of the annual socialization are teacher

educators who have been assigned as assessors and/or facilitators.

I attended the annual socialization seminar conducted in SIUB. Despite the schedule said

that it would last one whole day, it only lasted half day. It seemed that the teacher educators

would prefer it to end early because it was a Saturday. The seminar started at 9:15 a.m., 75

minutes late than the scheduled time because the speaker arrived late. The vice dean of the

faculty of education filled in the time by going through some procedural and logistical aspects of

the coming PLPG training, such as the assessment of instructors, time allocation for different

sessions, locations of PLPG sessions, and scheduling issues.

The speaker finally arrived. He was a certification expert from the Ministry of Religious

Affairs. He looked smart, friendly, and courteous. He started the session with slides titled

"*Kebijakan Sertifikasi Guru pada Kementrian Agama Tahun 2015*" or "The Teacher

Certification Policy in the Ministry of Religious Affairs in the Year 2015." He spent almost two

hours going through the information in the slides. There were 134 slides in total but he skipped many of the slides. The main theme of his presentation was explaining the regulations, rules, resource allocation, and procedures of the policy implementation both at the macro level (national level) and at the micro level (in LPTK). He took time explaining changes in regulations and procedures. When explaining the content of PLPG, he still talked mainly about the Ministerial Decrees that were used as the basis of the content development. In fact, the real content of the PLPG, such as pedagogical skills, subject area enhancement, lesson planning, curricular/resource development, or action research, was not included in any of the presentation slides. Perhaps there were no major changes in PLPG content that year or he could have assumed that all teacher educators had had a good command of PLPG content. However, there were no major changes in terms of rules, regulations and procedures as well, yet, he spent the majority of time going through them.

Without having a break, the speaker continued his presentation to the discussion about the new national curriculum, the 2013 Curriculum. He opened a new PowerPoint file, titled "*Perkembangan Mutakhir Terkait Dengan Kurikulum 2013: Pembelajaran dan Penilaian*," or "The Latest Update Regarding Curriculum 2013: Learning and Assessment. He had 168 slides, 34 more slides than the previous part, but he spent only 42 minutes, much less than the previous part. Just like the presentation about the certification policy, he skipped many slides. The discussion about Curriculum 2013 started with the law and regulations that were used as the foundation of the new curriculum. When he discussed about the content of Curriculum 2013, he mostly spent time talking about how to fill in forms, such as lesson planning forms and evaluation forms.

Interestingly, teacher educators seemed to be focused when the speaker talked about forms. In one occasion, they spent almost 10 minutes (24% of the total time for the topic of Curriculum 2013) in debating about the relevance of the phrase "*tujuan pembelajaran*" or "learning goal" in the lesson plan form. Different senior professors were also involved in expressing their arguments. Apparently, filling in forms was a favorite topic among the audience. Intriguingly, the arguments expressed by teacher educators were mainly based on old regulations or procedures instead of theoretical or philosophical foundations about teaching and learning. Towards the end, the speaker skipped many slides that had big teaching and learning concepts such as scientific approach, learning strategy, problem-based learning, project-based learning, discovery learning, or authentic assessment. The audience looked restless when the speaker went through the slides about these big concepts. Perhaps the presentation was too confusing, not too interesting anymore, or they could have started to feel hungry because by this time it was close to lunchtime.

When the speaker ended his presentation and the moderator invited questions from the audience, only two teacher educators asked questions. The first one asked about the new regulations regarding determining the feasibility of PLPG locations and new materials for kindergarten teachers. The second one simply requested for the PowerPoint files that the speaker used in his presentation. The socialization seminar ended with eating lunch together in the same seminar room, which had been arranged by the university's teacher certification committee.

This annual socialization seminar reinforced the work expectations within the civil service in Indonesia in at least three ways. First, teacher certification policy was communicated more as rules, regulations, and procedures. Teacher educators were not invited to get engaged in deep scholarly discussions about the policy ideas or the PLPG content. The speaker spent most

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of the time explaining changes in the regulations, new procedures or forms of the policy. There were not even any slides regarding the PLPG content. Even when talking about Curriculum 2013, most of the time spent on non-conceptual slides, such as the regulations, administrative procedures, and filling in forms. Second, the fact that little amount of time spent on complex pedagogical ideas (e.g., authentic assessment, project-based learning, or scientific approach) signaled the non-importance of expertise in the implementation of teacher certification. Each of those big ideas, according to the ministry official, were new ideas from the new Curriculum 2013, that were not covered in the previous annual socialization seminars. I believe it would take more than one minute, or more than one or two slides, to understand what ideas such as authentic assessment or project based learning mean. Finally, the fact that most of the socialization seminar time spent on explaining rules, regulations and procedures signaled the importance for teacher educators to comply with the system set up by the central government. The debate about how to fill in the lesson plan in the new format demonstrated the significance of compliance. Teacher educators felt it was important for them to know exactly how to fill in forms well. Moreover, the speaker's willingness to entertain the questions and opinions about form filling seemed to confirm the expectation for compliance.

It is interesting to note the relative absence of the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik* in the socialization seminar that I attended. The ministry official who became the certification expert in this seminar did not say anything about the importance of the improvement of subject matter mastery for teachers to be certified. In addition, despite briefly addressed some progressive pedagogical abilities, such as authentic assessment, project-based learning or discovery learning, he did not spend much time and tended to skip the slides about these pedagogical strategies that he had prepared. He clearly did not talk about anything related to the

conception of *mendidik*, and interestingly, neither did the teacher educators in SIUB. Both

comments and questions from the SIUB teacher educators did not relate to the conception of

mendidik and did not relate to the conception of *mengajar* either.

I have discussed how the Indonesia civil service norms were evident in the data I

collected. The following table summarizes how the study data indicates the presence of the

Indonesian civil service norms among teacher educators as they implemented the teacher

certification policy.

Indonesian Civil Service Norms	Examples in the data
Framing policy as procedures	• Interview data: "The policy is an SOP (standard operating procedures)." • Observation and document data: The policy annual socialization seminar and slides emphasized on information on rules, regulations, and procedures teacher educators have to comply.
Expectation for obedience and loyalty	• Interview data: - Teacher educators prioritized PLPG sessions over their regular university classes. - Since teacher educators are paid by the government, they have to follow the rules and instructions from the government. - Connecting the rights and responsibilities as civil servants to religiosity. • Observation and document data: - The speaker in the policy annual socialization ensured teacher educators understood the rules, regulations, and administrative procedures, so they would comply with them when implementing the teacher certification policy. This was evident in the details provided in the slides about rules, regulations, and procedures rather than substantial content and conceptual ideas.
Weak emphasis on expertise	• Interview data: - Assigning teacher educators with irrelevant expertise to teach PLPG sessions. - The "*proyek*" mentality • Observation and document data: - Little emphasis was put on comprehending conceptual ideas during the policy socialization.

Table 5. Summary of civil servant norms in the implementation of
the Indonesian teacher certification policy

Coping Strategies

Civil servants everywhere are obligated ways to carry out policy. It was clear in my study that individual implementing policy agents may produce different behaviors when enacting a policy that they might not fully agree with. Different individual agents seemed to apply some strategies to cope with their disagreement of the policy based on their individual sense-making. For instance, in Chapter 4, I discussed how some teacher educators were critical of the policy, which they seemed lack the component of *mendidik*, which they valued highly in their vision of a good teacher. In this section, I discuss examples of two coping strategies: accommodation and avoidance.

Accommodation Strategy

Given the collective tendency to adhere to the civil service norms, my data demonstrate some accommodation strategies that were used by the teacher educators in the policy implementation. In this context, accommodation refers to the act of the implementing agents to creatively make adjustment of the assigned rules and procedures that allows the agents to alter, add, or eliminate elements of rules or procedures that they perceive as irrelevant or unnecessary with the appearance of fully complying to the assigned rules and procedures. One of the accommodation strategies that I found among the participating teacher educators was the leniency in assessing teachers in PLPG. For example, ibu Namira, an SUP teacher educator, was one of the teacher educators who criticized the PLPG design. She believed that the allocated learning time in PLPG was too short; therefore, it was too intense to have teachers learn so many things within 10 days. Ibu Namira argued that real learning takes much longer time. Therefore, when facilitating a session and assessing teachers in her session, ibu Namira tended to focus only

on one particular topic when teaching and assessing teachers in PLPG[58]. She gave an example of facilitating a session on action research, in which teachers had to write an action research proposal within a day. She said that she only assessed the teachers' ability to identify a researchable problem within their school context. She believed it was impossible for teachers to finish other components of action research (e.g., literature review, theoretical framework, research questions) in such a half a day. Thus, she simply gave good scores for other components of action research regardless the quality produced by the teachers in PLPG even when those teachers never worked on those components or showed evidence of understanding of those components.

Explaining her rationale, ibu Namira said, "It does not matter they get a little, rather than nothing. They get one (thing), and will take it home with them. It's better than we give them ten (things), they will throw up all those ten things, so they have nothing to take home" (UA-02). Ibu Namira seemed to realize that it was useless to cover all the PLPG material (e.g., action research) in such a short time. Thus, for her accommodation strategy, she decided to focus on one particular topic (e.g., problem identification), which she would comfortable to teach and to assess in one day. She believed that using this strategy would be more effective than to cover all topics about the action research material in one day. She said that she usually encouraged the teachers in her session to continue the development of their research proposal after PLPG, and gave her phone number in case the teachers needed more help from her not only in developing the action research proposal but also in conducting the action research itself.

Another strategy was inserting the notion of *mendidik* during the PLPG session. For instance, ibu Hana, an SIUB teacher educator, who highly valued the conception of *mendidik* in

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[58] In each PLPG session, the instructor has to assign participation and assignment grades for all individual teachers.

her vision of a good teacher, tried to incorporate "moral stories" in her PLPG sessions to awaken

practicing teachers about the importance of *mendidik*. She observed that many teachers were

more likely to play a passive role in shaping their students' character and morality. Mixing the

ethnic language and Indonesian language, she shared with me one of her most favorite stories in

PLPG:

> I often met teachers in an *angkot*[59]. They said, "If I find my students fighting, I just let
>
> them fight. If I intervene, their parents will come to me and I will be accused to violate
>
> human rights. I cannot have time to take care my own children, let alone other people's
>
> children." I could not believe a teacher would behave that way. Those teachers should not
>
> behave that way. (UB-08)

In this quote ibu Hana pointed out that the teachers whom she met in public spaces, in this case

in an *angkot*, tended to ignore their role to shape student character and morality. She implied that

teachers should have intervened when students fight and should give them advice. Bu Hana said

that by telling stories like this one, she pointed out the importance of the conception of mendidik

to teachers in PLPG sessions she facilitated. She felt that this strategy was effective because she

saw teachers were smiling when she told such stories.

Avoidance Strategy

Research on policy also recognize that implementation sometimes involves passive

avoidance. Avoidance in this context refers to the act of an implementing agent to not seize the

opportunity to participate in an activity in which he or she has to act according to the assigned

rules and procedures that he or she believes are problematic. I see ibu Hilda, an SUP teacher

educator, as an example of an implementing agent who skillfully navigates her disapproval of the

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[59] *Angkot* (stands for *Angkutan Kota*) is a popular form of public transportation in Indonesia. It is
a small minivan can carry 12-16 passengers.

policy. In fact, ibu Hilda was an outlier among my study participants. Despite acknowledging that teacher certification was a good idea, she did not think the policy implementation was effective to transform teachers as expected by the policy. She did not believe that the certification process (e.g., PLPG) had much impact because she believed that changing teachers takes time. She felt there seemed to be a pressure to teacher educators to certify teachers regardless their performances in PLPG. Yet, she often found the majority of teachers in PLPG did not deserve to pass assessments in PLPG. She said she had a reputation of being a "killer teacher" because she often failed teachers who did not make the required effort to perform well in PLPG. Her colleagues often advised her to be more lenient, but she refused to do so. She believed that as a professional she had to give her best in her work. She felt it was against her conscience to give approval of teachers with poor quality to be awarded a professional certificate. Therefore, ibu Hilda, despite being one of the most senior and well-respected faculty in her department, she tended to avoid being assigned as PLPG instructor. Ibu Hilda said:

> So, the teacher certification, in my view, oh my God…. (long pause, long sigh), I want to be replaced by other lecturers (to be PLPG instructors). (I said to the university certification committee) I am very busy, sir. Please replace me with other lecturers, sir….If I do the job, it is like I only do it for the money. I want to develop (change) teachers, but I cannot do it, so what should I do? Sometimes it (being a PLPG instructor) goes against my conscience. (UA-01)

In this quote, ibu Hilda expressed how troubling it was for her to be a PLPG instructor because she felt useless in educating teachers, in meeting the policy expectations. She said that she could not do the job just for the money because she implied that she wanted to change teachers as

expected by the policy. Therefore, she preferred not to be involved in PLPG at all rather than having a moral dilemma within herself.

Despite being a veteran teacher educator in her institution, ibu Hilda was indeed an outlier in terms of her academic background. While most teacher educators in her university graduated from the same university[60], ibu Hilda graduated from a different one. She said that she was treated as an outsider among her colleagues at the beginning of her career and had to work very hard to prove her quality and to be accepted by her colleagues. Ibu Hilda was also one of the two teacher educators in my study who shared the issue of lecturer assignment in PLPG sessions, hinting that the issue of the assignment of PLPG trainers was a very difficult, or even a dangerous, topic to talk about among teacher educators.

Discussion

The data of this study shows that the teacher educators operated under conflicting sense-making elements as they implemented the policy. From Chapter 4, I have discussed how the conception of good teacher and good teaching served as a dominant frame of reference among teacher educators participating in this study when making sense of the teacher certification policy. This frame of reference was used by 69% (20 out of 29) of the participating teacher educators. In particular, 70% of these teacher educators (14 out of 20) explicitly expressed their criticism of the policy because its implementation failed to address the component of *mendidik*, which they perceived as key in their vision of good teachers and good teaching. In this chapter I have examined the data regarding the influence of civil service norms in the implementation of the teacher certification policy in the two focal institutions. The policy implementation seemed to have gone smoothly despite the critical frame of reference among the teacher educators,

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[60] In fact, in Indonesia, it is a standard practice to recruit a university's own alumni to be academic staff.

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especially in regards to their conceptualization of good teachers and good teaching. I argue that the Indonesian civil service norms (e.g., adherence to rules and procedures, obedience, loyalty, lack of emphasis on expertise) served as the counter logic that minimizes the influence of teacher educators' critical frame of reference; therefore, the policy implementation arguably has gone without much resistance, and generally met its targeted policy output, certifying all Indonesian teachers.

When implementing a policy, individual implementing agents do not possess singular sense-making elements. They have multiple (Anagnostopoulos et al., 2010; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). These sense-making elements serve as logics, the frameworks "through which actors make sense of and act in the social world" (Anagnostopoulos et al., 2010, p. 341). These logics sometimes operate in harmony, sometimes conflicting with each other. Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) explain that logics "constrain and enable the potential agency of actors" and "enable actors to make sense of their ambiguous world by prescribing and proscribing actions" (p. 38). In this study, the teacher educators seemed to deal with at least two distinct and conflicting sense-making elements that served as competing logics; one was their conception of good teachers and good teaching (see Chapter 4), and the other one, the civil service norms. Through different mechanisms of legitimacy within their institutions, these logics seemed to have been contested and negotiated. This process finally produced actions and behaviors that were perceived as legitimate by those teacher educators, which were in line with the civil service norms, an orientation to compliance to instructions, rules, and procedures from the top structure. The following figure captures the essential elements of the policy sense-making among teacher educators in this study.

Logic 1
(Individual Sense-making): Conceptions of good teachers and teaching

Teacher Certification Policy

Logic 2
(Social Sense-making): Civil Service Norms

Mechanisms of legitimacy

Normative mechanism

Constitutive mechanism

Regulative mechanism

Teacher Educators' Action: Compliance with rules and procedures

Policy Output: Number of certified teachers

Action reenacts logic, making it durable

The Sense-making of Teacher Educators in LPTK

Figure 10. The sense-making of the Indonesian teacher educators as they implemented the teacher certification policy

Literature (e.g., Bjork, 2003, 2004, 2005; Goodpaster, 2001; King, 1988; Lateef et al., 2003; Smith, 1971) that highlights civil service norms (e.g., expectations for obedience, strict adherence to rules and procedures, and weak emphasis on expertise) in Indonesia argues that these norms are long rooted in Indonesian cultural traditions (e.g., aristocracy culture) and bureaucracy practices since the Dutch colonization and continued to independent Indonesia until the 21st century. Thus, I argue that the current civil servants in Indonesia, including the teacher educators in my study, have internalized the obligations and expectations basing on these norms. Moreover, since all teacher educators who were involved in this study were all considered the senior ones in their institution, they all must have internalized the civil service norms. They must have learned about types of desirable behaviors, obligations and expectations from previous reform initiatives. Therefore, when implementing the teacher certification policy, the teacher educators in this study acted in response to expectations and obligations associated with their roles and positions within their respective organizations using the shared civil service norms, which were perceived as the legitimate action.

From my data, I argue that three mechanisms, namely normative, constitutive, and regulative (Stryker, 1994), supported the eventual outcomes of the policy stance and behavior of the teacher educators. The first mechanism, normative, took place because the teacher educators had internalized the obligations and expectations according to the civil service norms, such as the expectations for compliance and obedience. This mechanism operates under the logic of appropriateness (Scott, 2014), and creates "a belief in the rightness of particular policies and a sense of obligation among people to bring their behavior in line with them" (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007, p. 1267). This is best described by the framing of teacher certification policy, which was originally intended to be framed as a means to accelerate teacher professionalism (Jalal et al., 2009) but as the policy was implemented, it seemed to be mainly framed by the teacher educators as rules and procedures.

In fact, some teacher educators used the term "SOP," an acronym for standard operating procedures when describing the policy. The explicit use of this acronym is quite intriguing since it is an English acronym and non-educational related. Yet, it was used just like a common word for some participants, like ibu Wati, the SUP teacher educator, who said, "*Kebijakan itu kan SOP, aturan, prosedur, rambu-rambu*," which translates into English as "The [teacher certification] policy is SOP, rules, procedures, regulations" (UA-03). Note that when ibu Wati spoke to me in Indonesian language, she used the acronym SOP when describing the policy. This indicates both that the term SOP has been internalized as a common word, which could imply how strongly the adherence to rules, standardized procedures and regulations among teacher educators, and that policy was viewed as standardized procedures. What is even more interesting in ibu Wati's case is that the internalization of the norm to comply with standard of procedures is not only constrained within institutional context but it also reached religious realm. When

sharing her reaction to teachers' inability to comply with standard of procedures such as being punctual, ibu Wati said, "Are those values to be afraid, for instance for arriving late in school, because they fear the school principal, or do they fear God?" (UA-03). The connection between institutional logics and religious logics in this example could arguably be the result of a systematic internalization of civil servant norms not only within the civil service institutions but also religious ones[61].

Additionally, for some other teacher educators, the orientation to produce behaviors that tended to align with the Indonesian civil service norms might have been developed through constitutive mechanisms. Stryker (1994) explains that in constitutive mechanism, individuals within an institution "conform to valid rules in the absence of threats of force and even if conformity hurts their material interests. But validity implies only the recognition to rules, not approval of those rules" (p. 857). In this mechanism, individuals conform to rules not because they agree with them, but because they recognize the binding nature of those rules. They recognize everyone will just do the way things are. Individuals expect their peers will collectively behave according to these binding rules.

I argue that the teacher educators who were critical of the policy, such as the ones who pointed out the lack of attention to the component of *mendidik* in the policy implementation, used this mechanism of legitimacy when they implemented the teacher certification policy. As a result, even though they could not personally agree with the policy and the way it was implemented, they acted according to what they believed the binding rules were. In this case the binding rules were informed by civil service norms. Anagnostopoulos and Rutledge (2007) explain that the constitutive mechanism can happen through normative and instrumental

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[61] Since this study did not intend to focus on religious organizations, the line of analysis connecting civil service norms to Indonesian religious organizations will not be explored.

mechanisms, and this was likely to happen in the context of the teacher educators in my study. The internalization of the Indonesian civil service norms has taken place for decades (Bjork, 2004, 2005), even rooted in the cultural tradition[62] and colonial bureaucracy practices (Lateef et al., 2003; Smith, 1971)). These norms seemed to bind the behaviors of teacher educators who not only worked as scholars in higher educations but also identified themselves as government employees. Thus, despite having critical views of the policy, the teacher educators' understanding and recognition of these norms guided them to act in line with these norms.

A good example of the enactment of constitutive mechanism through a normative mechanism was ibu Hilda's criticism towards the issue of the assignment of lecturers with irrelevant expertise to PLPG sessions. Indicating that it was a difficult, and even a dangerous, subject to talk about, she shared her experience in correcting the situation by rearranging the assignment of lecturers under her administrative jurisdiction. Despite her intense struggle within her own authority, she did not seem to be interested in actively fixing the problem in a larger scale within her institution (her university). Ibu Hilda said, "If I speak up, people will be angry with me" (UA-01). The quote indicates that she preferred to keep the harmony, chose to avoid bigger conflicts, which resulted in her choosing to maintain the status quo of the situation. She seemed to recognize the binding rules even when she seemed to be frustrated by the situation. This is an example of a frustrated obedience, indicated by "the absence of participation in mobilization to change" the rules (Anagnostopoulos & Rutledge, 2007, p. 1267).

However, ibu Hilda, and some teacher educators in this study, did not blindly adhere to the civil service norms. They sought creative strategies in their engagement in the policy implementation. For instance, in the accommodation strategy, some teacher educators were more

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[62] Social disapproval is a very severe form of punishment in a communitarian society like in Indonesia.

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lenient in assessing teachers during PLPG because they simply believed that it was impossible to teach all content during the 10-day PLPG training. Some other teacher educators used the PLPG sessions to insert the component of *mendidik*, hoping that it would help transform teachers' attitude in *mendidik*. A more drastic strategy was to avoid engagement with the implementation, like what ibu Hilda attempted to do in most occasions. She felt conflicted because she saw the involvement in PLPG went against her conscience as a teacher educator. She did not feel she deserve to be paid the money not only because she could not develop teachers PLPG as expected by the design but also because she felt pressured to pass unqualified teachers to be certified.

Moreover, the enactment of constitutive mechanism also took place through instrumental mechanism, which emphasizes on rewards and sanctions. When teacher educators follow the civil service norms, they will gain rewards; on the other hand, when they do not follow the norms, they will gain sanctions. For instance, both ibu Hilda from SUP and ibu Khadijah from SIUB shared their observation that the assignment of lecturers with irrelevant expertise was a common practice, and pointed out this was due to the association of the policy implementation with the idea of *proyek,* a lucrative side job for civil servants. She said, "This is a *proyek*. PLPG is a *proyek*. To stand in front of the class means money (UB-05)." It has been a norm within the Indonesian civil service system to put a weak emphasis on expertise, and a strong emphasis on civil servant ranking and loyalty, when assigning staff to important and/or more senior positions (King, 1988; Lateef et al., 2003). Thus, the practices to assign lecturers with irrelevant expertise to teach PLPG topics were in line with this norm. Some teacher educators might have realized that it was not right for them to teach in PLPG topics that did not align with their expertise, but they might have decided to ignore this thinking because they wanted to gain monetary rewards. On the other hand, if they raised this issue, this could make them lose the opportunity to gain the

monetary rewards because their expertise was not closely aligned with the PLPG topics. Even worse, their intention and participation to raise their critical voice might even harm themselves, just like ibu Hilda's remark, "If I speak up, people will be angry with me" (UA-01).

Summary

In summary, the Indonesian teacher educators in this study had competing logics in their sense-making as they implemented the teacher certification policy. These logics, one focused on individual sense-making and the other focused on social sense-making, were contested and negotiated through all legitimacy mechanisms, normative, constitutive, and regulative. The logic related to the social sense-making, the civil service norms, seemed to be the more dominant one, and as a result, the Indonesian teacher educators produced the behaviors that were in line with these norms. They seemed to focus on rules, procedures and regulations, demonstrated compliance and obedience towards the instructions and guidelines, and did not put a strong emphasis on the importance of expertise in getting the job done. These obedient and compliant behaviors have resulted in the relative success of the policy implementation as indicated by the massive number of certified teachers every year (more than 200,000 teachers per year).

CHAPTER 6: MAKING SENSE OF SENSE-MAKING

The Summary of the Study

Indonesia, like many countries around the world, has been engaged in the effort to improve its teacher quality as the main strategy to elevate the whole educational quality. In Chapter 1, I described how the Indonesian government decided to use teacher certification as a tool to address teacher welfare and teacher quality issues at the same time. By requiring all teachers, including those already with license, to pass the new certification assessment with the new vision of teacher professionalism, the Indonesian government hopes that certification will improve the quality of all Indonesian teachers. When teachers meet the certification requirements indicated by passing certification assessment, their base salary will be doubled, and even tripled for teachers teaching in remote areas, a huge incentive. Thus, this policy is not only conceptually comprehensive and logistically massive, but it is also bold because it implies a long-term commitment to use most of the country's educational financial resources to fund this teacher reform initiative.

However, the devil is in the details. Up to date, the certification policy has not seemed to bring the intended outcomes despite its success to certify almost more than 2.2 million teachers by the end of 2015, nine years after the policy first got implemented. Since numerous studies on the Indonesian certification policy had examined the policy impact and outcome, I was intrigued to look into the policy implementation process, in particular, the sense-making of the implementing agents. I was compelled to look into the role of teacher educators because from the policy design teacher educators played the key role in gatekeeping the policy vision and mission. The Indonesian government assigned teacher education institutions to facilitate certification

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trainings in which teacher educators assess teachers to determine whether or not teachers are eligible to be awarded the new teaching professional certificate.

My fascination for learning and change processes led me to be interested in studying how teacher educators learn policy ideas and change in a reform effort, including in the Indonesian teacher certification policy. This brought me to the sense-making framework. As discussed in Chapter 2, a sense-making framework aims at unpacking the complex process within the policy implementation process. In particular, it looks into how implementing agents understand reform ideas. The assumption of this framework is that the implementing agents' process to learn and understand new ideas is very complex, yet is often taken for granted. The sense-making framework argues that before implementing agents decide about how they will react to reform policy messages (e.g., agree, reject, etc.), they will undergo a multidimensional and multidirectional learning process. Only after this process takes place will implementing agents display behaviors during the policy implementation. In other words, this complex sense-making process influences implementing agents' behavior, which will later influence policy outputs and outcomes.

This study uses an integrative sense-making framework proposed by Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002). Its main argument is: "What a policy means for implementing agents is constituted in the interaction of their existing cognitive structures (including knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes), their situation, and the policy signals" (Spillane, Reiser, et al., 2002, p. 388). This integrative framework has core elements: individual sense-making, social sense-making, and policy signals and representations. The individual sense-making looks into how the sense-making of individual implementing agents is influenced by their prior knowledge, expertise, values, beliefs, and experiences. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated how individual teacher educators in the study seemed

to be influenced by their own conceptions of good teacher and/or good teaching in understanding the teacher certification policy. In particular, they put a lot of emphasis on the notion of *mendidik*, which emphasizes the role of a teacher in shaping and developing student character and morality. When making emphasis on the conception of *mendidik*, the teacher educators in this study tended to be more critical of the policy because in their view, the policy had not paid much attention in preparing and developing teachers to enact the conception of *mendidik*. On the other hand, when the policy makers made sense of the policy, they seemed to put more emphasis on the conception of *mengajar*, which focuses more on subject matter mastery and pedagogical abilities. In particular, due to the past unsuccessful national reform efforts to address Indonesian teachers' weak subject matter mastery, the policy makers wanted to use the teacher certification policy to do a better job in solving this enduring problem in the Indonesian education system. In other words, the sense-making of the policymakers could have been influenced by the past unsuccessful reform experiences.

Sense-making is not only an individual but also social process. It is situated in "particular 'thought communities,' including, but not limited to, professions, nations, political parties, religions, and organization" (Spillane, Reiser, et al., 2002, p. 393). I also found the influence of the social aspect of sense-making in my study, in fact, it is, I argue, the most dominant one. In Chapter 5, I discussed how the Indonesian civil service norms seemed to dominate the sense-making process of teacher educators when they implemented the teacher certification policy. Indonesian teacher educators in public educational institutions, like all teacher educators in this study, are all civil servants. In the development of their career, public university lecturers follow the same ranking and procedural systems as other civil servants in Indonesia. Using the institutional theory I explained that the Indonesian civil service norms (e.g., adherence to rules

and procedures, obedience, loyalty, lack of emphasis on expertise) have served as the counter

logic that minimizes the influence of teacher educators' critical frame of reference (e.g., the lack

of mendidik in the policy implementation). The internalization of the Indonesian civil service

norms has taken place for decades (Bjork, 2004, 2005), even rooted in the cultural tradition and

colonial bureaucracy practices (Lateef et al., 2003; T. M. Smith, 1971). These norms seemed to

bind the behaviors of teacher educators who not only worked as scholars in higher educations but

also identified themselves as government employees. Thus, despite having critical views of the

policy, the teacher educators' understanding and recognition of these norms guided them to act

in line with these norms.

Interestingly, the policy signal, the third element in the integrative sense-making

framework, seemed to reinforce the civil service norms. As I discussed in Chapter 5, when I

attended the annual socialization seminar, the regular policy learning space for most teacher

educators during the policy implementation, I found that the emphasis of rules, procedures and

compliance was very dominant throughout the seminar. The ministry official who came as the

resource person, the policy expert, spent much of the seminar time to explain laws, regulations

and procedures. Very little time was spent on talking about the content of the certification

training, including the new information regarding the new national curriculum. In fact, it was

even more interesting that there was an absence of the discussion around the conceptions of

mengajar and *mendidik*. The ministry official did not address, let alone give emphasis on, the

subject matter mastery at all. He did talk a little bit about some new pedagogical strategies, such

as authentic assessment or project-based learning, but he skipped most of the slides that he had

prepared about those strategies. On the other hand, the teacher educators who attended the

socialization seminar did not make any comment related to the conception of *mendidik*. Their

comments and questions were mostly about rules, regulations, and procedures. Perhaps, it was no surprise that when asked about what the policy meant to them, some teacher educators, like Ibu Wati of SUP, said "The policy is SOP [standard operating procedures], rules, procedures, regulations." While one could be more understanding if a bureaucrat has such view, it is very intriguing to hear such perception from a university professor.

It is important to note that not all teacher educators seemed to simply comply with the norms. In my study I learned that a few teacher educators exercised some strategies to cope with the dominance of the norms that they might not approve of. Some teacher educators used accommodation strategies, for instance, by using their involvement in the teacher certification training (PLPG) to incorporate what they view as the neglected parts of the policy implementation (e.g., the conception of *mendidik*). Some other teacher educators were more lenient in the certification assessment to accommodate the problem with PLPG design (e.g., too little time to learn about important concepts and skills). I also learned that some teacher educators seemed to use avoidance in approaching the policy. They would find ways not to be too involved with the policy implementation because of their disapproval of the way the policy was implemented. However, these teacher educators, especially the ones who used the avoidance strategy, were the outliers in my study, perhaps in the whole public teacher education institutions in Indonesia.

Sense-making is a multidimensional and multidirectional process. As shown in this study, individual implementing agents are influenced by numerous elements (e.g., conceptions of good teacher and/or teaching, civil service norms, socialization seminar) when learning and understanding about the policy, which later influences how they respond and behave in the

policy implementation. Yet, the responses and behaviors are not oriented to one, but many possible directions.

Next, I highlight some possible implications of this study. I first talk about the study implications for Indonesian context, underlining the civil service norms. I end this chapter by discussing how the case of the Indonesian certification policy offers useful lessons for global policy actors and scholars who are interested in teacher and/or education reform.

Implications

Civil Service Norms in Indonesia: What Does It Mean?

Superficial policy implementation? This study indicates that the compliance behavior shown by the participating teacher educators might have been produced because of the influence of the Indonesian civil service norms. The Indonesian civil service system is a heavily centralized bureaucracy (Bjork, 2005) that favors a top-down approach in policy implementation. Elmore (1979) explains that in a top-down approach of policy implementation, the main assumption is "more explicit policy directives, greater attention to administrative responsibilities, and clearer statements of intended outcomes will improve implementation" (p. 603). He further explains that in this approach, the implementing agents (the street-level bureaucrats) heavily rely on superiors for guidance and are required to view compliance as the most positive value. He argues that in a top-down policy implementation, "Compliance with orders and procedures displaces competence, or becomes the equivalent of competence, in interactions between lower-level public servants and clients" (p. 610). In this top-down approach, discretionary acts based on the implementing agents' knowledge and skills are discouraged because they have to rely on standardized solutions.

The Indonesian teacher educators assigned to implement the policy were civil servants who worked in public universities. As civil servants, the teacher educators were expected to display obedience by focusing their work on following the prescribed rules and procedures decided by those at the top structure of the bureaucracy. According to this norm, the most legitimate action, therefore, is to comply with the instructions. Any disruption of harmony such as disagreements, conflicts, let alone subordinations, will be seen as an act of disobedience and disloyalty and can be severely punished. On the other hand, following the civil service norms will bring rewards, including lucrative monetary remunerations and positive impressions from superiors. Thus, it seemed that when the teacher educators did not approve of the policy ideas, they tended to adhere to the policy and implement it as instructed by their superiors because they believed following the civil service norms is the most logical action to take and because they wanted to obtain rewards and avoid sanctions.

Considering the complexity of the sense-making, the act of compliance among the implementing agents in this study could be interpreted as at least three things. First, the compliance behavior does not necessarily mean the implementing agents understand the policy ideas but it rather points to their understanding of rules, regulations, and procedures related to the policy. Second, the appearance of support for the policy through the implementing agents' behavior does not necessarily mean their approval of the policy ideas. The teacher educators might have simply perceived that following the civil service norms (e.g., obedience, loyalty, following procedures) was the most legitimate action given the working context/environment they were situated in. Third, the focus on the regulatory and procedural aspects of the implementations might have taken away the focus on the cognitive elements embedded in the policy ideas (e.g., the vision of teacher professionalism, progressive learning approaches). These

elements should be at the heart of the policy ideas and need to be mastered by the teacher educators because they should carry a solid understanding when they teach K-12 teachers in the certification training sessions.

When implementing agents' institutional sense-making tend to orient towards adherence of rules, regulations, and procedures in an education reform policy implementation, the change that takes place may be superficial, not substantial. In the case of the Indonesian teacher certification policy, the teacher educators' tendency to focus on rules, regulations and procedures seemed to have contributed in the significant increase of teachers with better credentials (e.g., bachelor's degree, professional teaching certificate). However, this increase did not seem to follow by the expected substantial changes in terms of teachers' content and pedagogical knowledge, teaching practices, and student learning outcomes (Chang et al., 2014).

Making sense of the civil service norms. When I designed the study, I anticipated the influence of civil service norms on teacher educators making sense of the policy. However, the influence was even stronger than I had anticipated. There are several things that I would like to highlight in terms of the domination of the civil service norms among teacher educators in their policy sense-making. Firstly, when I designed the study, I purposefully selected two different institutions (SUP and SIUB)[63] hoping that there would be variations in how teacher educators made sense of the teacher certification policy. However, as I found in my data, there was a common pattern in how SUP and SIUB teacher educators made sense of the policy, especially in how the civil service norms tended to dominate their policy sense-making. This was striking.

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[63] SUP (State University of Pancasila) is a public and non-religiously affiliated university, and SIUB (State Islamic University of Bhinneka) is a public university that focuses its academic programs on Islamic Affairs.

Secondly, there were very few participants who seemed to challenge the civil service norms. One of them was ibu Hilda, an SUP teacher educator, who criticized the assignment of lecturers in PLPG, which, from her observation, often did not match the lecturers' expertise. Ibu Hilda said:

Many [lecturers] teach in [teacher] certification are "general practitioners." Do you understand what I mean by "general practitioners?" They can treat all diseases. In reality they do not teach the subject here [in their department], yet there [in PLPG] they teach [the subject]. Are the goals met? This happens a lot. Since I became the administrator, I have fought (with lecturers) many times. [I told them] You can't teach this subject [in PLPG]. So, I told the people above [the university certification committee], "Sir, when you assign lecturers, you need to consult with me. These lecturers have expertise in these areas. Why don't you assign them accordingly?" That is what has happened in teacher certification. Thus, do not just blame teachers [for poor results]. Their PLPG trainers also share the blame. If I speak up, people will be angry with me. (UA-01)

There are two things I would like to highlight from this quote. First, ibu Hilda was an outlier, in the sense that she seemed to position herself against the norms by protesting to the supervisor who she perceived did not do a good job by assigning lecturers with irrelevant expertise to teach a subject in PLPG. Ibu Hilda said, "I told people above, 'Sir, when you assign lecturers, you need to consult with me. These lecturers have expertise in these areas. Why don't you assign them accordingly?" Ibu Hilda's action to protest people in the higher positions in the organizational hierarchical structure did not conform with the civil service rules, which expect obedience from people at the lower position of the organizational power structure. However, even as an outlier, ibu Hilda seemed to understand that there was a limit to the degree in which

she could display her disobedience. She did not seem to want to disrupt the status quo, as represented in her remark "If I speak up, people will be angry with me." Therefore, ibu Hilda's reluctance to go further with her disapproval of policy implementation indicates how strongly the the civil service norms dominated discourse and action.

The third indicator of the domination of the civil service norms is the idea of policy as standardized procedures. To show this indication, I would like to use the quote from ibu Wati, an SUP teacher educator, when she was asked about the important meaning of the teacher certification policy. To make my point I present the quote verbatim from the interview in the Indonesian language and in English. Ibu Wati said: "*Kebijakan itu kan SOP, aturan, prosedur, rambu-rambu.*" (UA-03) – "The policy is *SOP*, rules, procedures, regulations." (UA-03). What is most intriguing to me is the use of the term SOP, an acronym for "standard operating procedure." When ibu Wati spoke in Indonesian language, she used the acronym SOP, which was taken from a foreign language context (English) as if it were a common word. In other words, the focus on rules and procedures could have been so strong that even a foreign acronym such as "SOP" had been internalized as a common word. Moreover, the quote also showed that for ibu Wati, the important meaning of the policy was that it was a set of procedures, rules, and regulations, which could indicate the strong influence of the civil service norms in ibu Wati's sense-making of the policy.

The fourth indicator was related to the lack of scholarly thinking in how the teacher educators made sense of the teacher certification policy. Since the participating teacher educators were senior academic faculty in their respective universities, I initially anticipated hearing some connections to educational theories or concepts when they made sense of the teacher certification policy. However, to my surprise, this did not happen. This relative absence of scholarly thinking

could indicate how strong the domination of the civil service norms was in the teacher educators' sense-making.

Civil service norms: The tradeoffs. I was struck by the power of the civil service norms to shape and in effect limit how the agents understood and enacted policy. But it is important to also note that considering Indonesia's socio-cultural, geographical, and historical contexts, the civil service norms can offer some advantages. Indonesia has a large population, with more than 250 million people, the world's fourth largest, consisting of more than 300 ethnic groups and more than 700 spoken languages. There are more than 50 million students and about 3 million teachers working in more than 250,000 schools in 33 provinces all across the archipelago with more than 17,000 islands. These contextual elements pose enormous challenges for any national policy implementation in Indonesia at any given time. To organize, supervise and control a policy implementation in Indonesian context can be extremely overwhelming. Therefore, it is understandable that it can be much more manageable for policymakers in Jakarta to have local implementing agents who operate within the norms that expect implementing agents to be obedient and compliant. Using these norms, the central government tightens its control and reduces the complexities of policy implementation within a country that is, by nature, already very complex.

Figure 11. Map of Indonesia (2)
(Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Indonesia#/media/File:LocationIndonesia.svg)

The history of the Republic of Indonesia saw how the country experimented with loose and tight control of the central government. During the first decade of its independence, Indonesia experimented with a more decentralized government, and regional governments were given autonomy to govern their own affairs (Bjork, 2003). However, this eventually led to political and economic instability, and separatist movements in a number of areas all across Indonesia. After declaring martial law in 1959, the Indonesian president at that time, President Sukarno, tightened the central government's authority using the theme of national cohesion. Bjork further explains that when Suharto became the next Indonesian president, he quickly disciplined the government bureaucracy by emphasizing the loyalty to the state as the main important value in working as civil servants. Those who rejected this value would be perceived as threats and would be removed and heavily penalized, including using the Anti-Subversion Law, with its maximum penalty of death. As a result, Indonesia experienced a period of political stability for most of the president Suharto's era because oppositions and critics were silenced and punished.

Moreover, during President Suharto's era, the state ideology of Pancasila[64] was abused for the interest and purposes of the central government's power and power control, in which the government's official interpretation of Pancasila was the sole interpretation allowed to exist. Any distortion to it was considered dangerous and could be subjected to the Anti-Subversion Law. In fact, beginning in the late 1970s, the central government required regular Pancasila indoctrination trainings, not only to all soldiers and civil servants, but also to politicians, doctors, teachers, lecturers, and students at all levels including the ones in non-government institutions.

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[64] Pancasila, a term originated from Sanskrit language, means five principles, which are: 1) believing in one Supreme God; 2) just and civilized humanity; 3) the unity of Indonesia; 4) democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives; and 5) social justice for all people of Indonesia.

There was a special government organization that organized the socialization of Pancasila, and this organization had branch offices in each of the Indonesian provincial capitals. The socialization of Pancasila during the 32 years of President Suharto's regime led to a uniformity in viewing the national ideology and country's history. Thus, in addition to controlling oppositions and critics, Suharto's government also controlled the intellectual political and ideological discourse, by controlling the interpretation of the state ideology and socializing this interpretation systematically to all layers in the society. This control further reinforced the culture of obedience and loyalty, which are the civil service norms, not only among government employees but also to those working in private institutions.

Bjork (2003) argues that one of the main reasons most citizens accepted President Suharto's highly centralized authoritarian rule was its ability to produce rapid economic development. With a more stable political climate compared to Indonesia's early years of independence, the Indonesian government managed to focus on the economic development, which brought Indonesia to be one of the most promising Asian countries with rapid economic growth in 1990s. Bjork (2003) says, "most citizens willingly sacrificed freedom and autonomy in exchange for stability and a more comfortable standard of living" (p. 193). Thus, the stability, influenced by the successful effort of Suharto's regime to instill the culture of obedience and loyalty among the Indonesian bureaucracy and society, could have been a major influence for its rapid economic development. Therefore, from this standpoint, one could argue that the civil service norms, with their emphasis on absolute obedience and loyalty, could be a positive element for governing in the Indonesian context.

However, when economic development stalled, such as during the Asian financial crisis in late 1990s, political stability was shaken[65]. Due to this economic crisis, President Suharto could not contain the opposition to his power, and resigned on May 21, 1998. The vice president B.J. Habibie became the new president during the political transition period. Indonesia held a relatively more free and fair general election in June 1999 (Liddle, 2000), which was accompanied by a number of decentralization regulations especially in the administrative and fiscal and financial matters (Lewis, 2010). This transformed Indonesia from "one of the most centralized countries in the world into one of the more decentralized ones" (Hofman, Kaiser, Goga, Chakeri, & McCarthy, 2003, p. i).

Studies show that decentralization did not seem to change much of the norms among the Indonesian civil servants, who are used to the behavior internalized during president Suharto's regime (e.g., Lateef et al., 2003). In a study on the implementation of Local Content Curriculum (LCC) as part of the education decentralization initiative, Bjork (2004) describes how the teachers as the local implementing agents seemed to continue working within the civil service norms even when they had been instructed to be more autonomous in their work. Bjork writes:

> When offered control of the LCC, they demurred and continued to wait for their superiors to instruct them how to carryout their work. The mismatch between central expectations and local realities produced a state of paralysis at all levels of the education system. Central education officials assumed that teachers had assumed leadership over the LCC. In actuality, local educators continued to wait for direction from the capital (p. 251).

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[65] Triggered by the regional economic crisis, Indonesian currency, Rupiah, depreciated against the US dollar, from around 2,400 to the dollar in January 1997 to 16,000 to the dollar at one point in January 1998 (Levinsohn, Berry, & Friedman, 2003). The free fall of Rupiah led to a sudden massive uncertainty in the country's economy, which resulted in a rapid increase in the prices of food, clothing, housing, and health.

The teachers in Bjork study seemed to have been used to simply following rules, procedures and regulations stated by their superiors. Thus, when given the power to determine their own curriculum and instruction, the Indonesian teachers, who had been used to working under the civil service mindset, did not seem to seize the opportunity. Perhaps they were not used to being empowered to take initiatives to create their own curriculum content, so they still preferred to wait for the guidance, instruction, and direction from the central government.

   Civil service norms are culturally-rooted. Despite the rapid and radical changes in the government system in Indonesia since the fall of President Suharto in late 1990s, from a tight centralized system to a more open decentralized system, the civil service norms continued to exist. One may wonder why these norms are difficult to change. One way to explain this is that the civil service norms are not a set of new norms that surfaced during the modern independent Indonesia but they are rooted in the country's cultural legacy. Koentjaraningrat (1988), dubbed the father of Indonesian anthropology, explains that the civil servant mentality actually has its roots in ancient kingdoms in Indonesia and past Dutch colonial administration. This mentality originated from groups of people, descendants of noblemen and white-collar workers, living in the centers or urban areas of past kingdoms or colonial government. Koentjaraningrat explains that in the Indonesian civil servant mentality "the goal of work is to achieve a high position and acquire its symbols….which are non-productive, such as a big house, ostentatious decorations, the title of *haji*….Therefore, each continuing effort is not channeled to creative work" (p. 116). One of the examples given by Koentjaraningrat is the possession of expertise, such as academic titles, which, in the civil servant mentality, is not seen as needing to be used and make contribution to the society, but rather as a symbol of status and position.

Furthermore, Koentjaraningrat (1988) describes the worldview within the Indonesian civil servant mentality, which, I argue, is connected with the tendency to be obedient, compliant, and to center their work on following the directions and instructions from their superiors. There are three main concepts of the worldview in this context: *nrima* (to submit), *sabar* (to be patient), and *ikhlas* (sincerity). *Nrima* is related to one's ability "to accept suffering and disappointments because they are one's fate" (p. 119). *Sabar* is related to the ability of self-control in accepting bad luck with the hope that it will turn to good luck in the future. *Ikhlas* is the ability to extinguish oneself in order to be in harmony with one's environment as determined by his or her fate.

The professional and social behavior within this mentality, according to Koentjaraningrat (1988), is oriented towards the leaders, the elders, or those with more senior statuses or positions. Those in the lower ranking positions not only feel the honor to serve those in the higher rankings, but are also expected to shower the superiors with presents to maintain good relationships, which, Koentjaraningrat argues, is a main source of corruption. The communication pattern is typically from the top to the bottom, and not the other way around. The orientation towards leaders also leads to, what Koentjaraningrat calls as "window dressing" reports. He describes:

> If the head visits a section in his own department, or if leaders in the central government visit the provinces, the most important ritual is to have a briefing session where there are reports from the subordinates; but these reports are usually "window dressing." There is seldom an attempt on the part of superiors to really understand the actual conditions and there is no customary channel by which subordinates may report the real situation to their superiors. (p. 120)

Implied in this description is a typical expectation from the superiors to get superficial reports that please his or her ears and the lack of need to know the realities in the field. Koentjaraningrat explains that if subordinates make mistakes, they will not feel shameful about it unless their superiors know the mistakes. However, Koentjaraningrat also acknowledges that the orientation towards superiors can be very positive if the superiors set out good examples for their subordinates, in which they can mobilize the subordinates for development activities in a massive scale.

Is a professional vision feasible? Given the overwhelming challenges and complexities of governing in Indonesian context and understanding how the civil service norms are in fact deeply rooted in the country's past cultural practices and histories, one may wonder whether the norms could be changed at all. A number of regulations and initiatives in Indonesian bureaucracy have been passed to promote good governance values (e.g., transparency, accountability), especially since the end of President Suharto's era in the late 1990s, but the norms still seem to dominate the practices of the Indonesian civil servants, including the teacher educators in this study. Thus, what does it mean to work as teacher educators, who are also civil servants, in the Indonesian context?

From a skeptical view, one possible answer is for the teacher educator to be obedient using the rationale described by the proverb "Do not bite the hand that feeds" or you will be in trouble. The remark from ibu Wati, a teacher educator from the State University of Pancasila, may represent this type of rationale. When telling her interaction with the in-service teachers in the certification training, she reminded teachers to implement the new curriculum the way they are told to by the government. She said:

Now you have to implement this curriculum [mandated by the government] but you do not do that well. What is the compensation of your work? Salary. Has the government ever cut your salary? Never. Well, if you do not do what they government asks you to do, which results in poor teaching and learning outcomes, does that mean you do your responsibilities well? Do you deserve to receive full salary? (UA-03)

In other words, ibu Wati pointed out that since one is paid by the government, he or she must do whatever the government asks you to do.

Another possible answer is for teacher educators to perform their roles according to the notion of "*pandai-pandai*,"[66] to ameliorate the frustration they face in dealing with the civil service norms, especially when they are located in the lower structure of the administration hierarchy or in the lower civil service administrative rankings. This requires teacher educators to be creative and inventive to solve the real problems by bending the procedures directed from their superiors without the appearance of disobeying the superiors' instructions. Acting this way, teacher educators can be effective in using their expertise in making a difference in their work without getting into trouble and by making their superiors look good because the job gets done.

Finally, this makes me wonder whether a professional vision is feasible for teacher educators who are also civil servants in Indonesian context. Is it possible for teacher educators to work based on an autonomy to think and act based on their expertise in their field, given such domination of the civil service norms in the Indonesian context? Using the sense-making framework, I wonder whether sense-making elements can be altered, and if so, how can it be

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[66] As explained in Chapter 5, the phrase *pandai-pandai* is from the root word "*pandai*" which alone means smart, but when it is repeated, this means it means to be inventive in figuring out what to do to solve problems without hassling others and without making it public. The use of the phrase implies an expectation for lower ranking staff to deal with complications themselves and to carry out duties without giving problems to those at the higher structural position.

done? My work as a teacher educator already tells me that changing sense-making at an individual level can be extremely challenging, such as changing the view of teaching gained from the "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie, 1975) – understanding of teaching based on one's years of schooling experience. Despite attempts to point out the complexities of teaching and learning, many teacher candidates (and also practicing teachers) still feel that teaching is easy and simply rely on their memories of good and bad teachers they had in the past. Thus, if changing individual sense-making is so hard, I argue that it is even harder to change social sense-making, especially the one deeply rooted in societal cultural traditions such as the Indonesian civil service norms. Perhaps it will take more than a generation or two for Indonesia to transform these norms, even if the Indonesian government and people are really serious about taking this initiative.

Teacher educators, just like other university lecturers, could play an influential role in leading this initiative of long-term and slow transformation. As intellectuals, they are in the best position to understand the complexities of the task and to put together a systematic academic and professional inquiry of how Indonesian can transform the norms, and construct useful knowledge and understanding to navigate the transformation. Moreover, since the orientation towards leaders is very strong within the civil servant mentality (Koentjaraningrat, 1988), what is needed in this transformation, I argue, are leaders who set good examples of how to act based on a more professional vision. These leaders can slowly change the behavior orientations of their subordinates and empower them to be more independent in performing their roles. However, given the scale of Indonesia, it needs a lot of this type of leader to reach a critical mass that can empower their subordinates to be transformed to work not using the civil servant mentality but

using a professional culture, by being more independent and being rewarded for their expertise and contributions to real work, and not to gain positions, statuses, or symbols of power.

Implications for Global Education Reform Movement

Implementation requires learning. Reform usually requires individuals to change, not only to transform ways of doing but also ways of thinking and ways of being. A vast body of literature (e.g., Hatch, 2009; Tyack & Cuban, 1997) has shown that change is a difficult outcome in many large-scale educational reforms. Even when reforms are designed well and implemented carefully, the intended changes seem to be very hard to materialize. This study, using a case study of a national education reform in Indonesia to improve teacher quality, reinforces the notion in the literature on educational reform that reform implementation is a very difficult and complex process and that intended results are difficult to achieve.

Indonesia's teacher certification policy is a massive and comprehensive reform initiative that combines the ideas of credentialing, licensing, and incentives to improve teacher quality. At the heart of this policy implementation are teacher educators, assigned by the central government to facilitate the certification training and to determine whether or not teachers are eligible to receive the new professional teaching certificate. In order to do this, they have to learn all elements of the policy, and organize the certification training in their universities every year.

However, as argued by Spillane, Reiser, et al. (2002), in policy implementation, new ideas are always understood by the implementing agents through the lens of their existing schemas, which are based on, among others, values, norms, past experiences, and understandings, and this was also true in this study. Teacher educators in this study showed indications that their understanding of the policy ideas and messages were influenced by their conceptions of good teachers and their identity as civil servants. Instead of capturing the

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professional vision of teaching as intended by the policy, they used their past understanding about what good teachers mean, focusing on the conceptions of *mengajar* and *mendidik*.

In particular, the teacher educators were critical of the policy because they believed it places too much emphasis on the conception of *mengajar* and a weak emphasis on the conception of *mendidik*. This insistence on the importance of *mendidik* seemed to originate from the teacher educators' past experiences both as students and student teachers. They referred to their past most memorable teachers whom they highly admired because they demonstrated a stellar job in *mendidik*. They referred to these teachers as "the real/true teachers." They also showed a great fondness to their past teacher education experience by emphasizing the importance of the indoctrination process they went through as student teachers. This process helped them to develop their teacher character/personality, which they believed to be the foundation necessary to perform a teacher's role for *mendidik*.

The difference in viewing the notion of good teachers and good teaching (e.g., the emphasis on mengajar or mendidik) among policy makers and policy implementing agents in this study underlines the importance of unpacking the contested notion of what makes a good teacher in any teacher reform. So far, educational scholars and researchers do not have an agreement about how teacher quality is defined (Kennedy, 2010c). This possibility of multiple meanings of teacher quality should be made explicit and addressed in any teacher reform implementation because it is very likely that the implementing agents, such as the Indonesian teacher educators in this study, have different conceptions of what teacher quality means different from that of the policy makers. Addressing these differences may improve the coherence between the main ideas in the policy design and the ones during policy implementation, although we need to take into account that the process to learn new ideas and

embrace them may take a long time. In this study, the policy learning opportunities for the teacher educators, the implementing agents who carried the meanings of the policy to K-12 teachers, took place in intensive short meetings, workshops, or socialization seminars. These learning opportunities did not seem to be sufficient to allow deep learning about core ideas in the teacher certification policy, including the conceptions of teacher quality.

On the quest for teacher quality. Despite a widespread agreement about the importance of teacher quality, education stakeholders (scholars, practitioners, and policymakers) do not have agreement about the definition of teacher quality. Reviewing debates on teacher quality among researchers and policy analysts, Kennedy (2008, 2010b) explains that there are many dimensions of teacher quality that are circulating among education stakeholders, which is likely to be related to their situational needs. For instance, for serving recruitment purposes, teachers' test scores are often used as indicators of quality (e.g., Corcoran, Evans, & Schwab, 2004; Gitomer & Latham, 2000; Luschei, 2012), while for equitable teacher distribution purposes, teacher credentials (e.g., licenses, certificates, experience) are often used as indicators for teacher quality (e.g., Ingersol, 2006; Peske & Haycock, 2006). Teacher educators often relate teacher quality with their ability to continue to grow over time through reasoning about and learning from experiences (Hiebert, Morris, Berk, & Jensen, 2007; Hollins, 2011; Rosaen, Lundeberg, Cooper, Fritzen, & Terpstra, 2008). Those interested in observable teacher actions often relate teacher quality to specific teaching practices (e.g., Bell et al., 2012; Desimone, Smith, & Ueno, 2006; Smith, Desimone, & Ueno, 2005), and those interested in teacher dispositions often relate teacher quality to specific beliefs and values (e.g., Johnson & Reiman, 2007; Kyles & Olafson, 2008; Olafson & Schraw, 2006; Osguthorpe, 2008). Finally, for those who want to figure out the most productive use of expenditures tend to use student achievement

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gains as indicators of teacher quality (e.g., Hanushek, 2002; Hedges, Laine, & Greenwald, 1994; Krieg, 2007; Stronge, Ward, & Grant, 2011).

Kennedy (2008) proposes three categories to sort out the aforementioned dimensions of teacher quality. She proposes as key categories: personal resources, performance, and effectiveness. She explains that personal resources are defined as "qualities that teachers have even before they are employed as teachers and that are often assumed to contribute to the quality of their teaching practice" (p. 60). This includes beliefs, attitudes, values, personality traits, knowledge, skill, expertise, and credentials. The performance category refers to "the work teachers actually do in their daily practice" (p. 60), which includes practices within and outside the classroom. Finally, the effectiveness category is related to the teacher's effect on student learning, which includes student scores, motivation, and sense of social responsibility and social justice.

When viewed using the proposed categories by Kennedy (2008), the Indonesian teacher certification policy addresses mainly the personal resources category of teacher quality. The policy proposes a vision of teacher quality basing on four main competencies as stipulated in the Indonesian Teacher Law, which are: professional competency (subject matter mastery), pedagogical competency, personal competency (character, disposition), and social competency (good communication, interpersonal skills). These competencies cover a number of dimensions of teacher quality. The first one is related to teachers' tested ability, in particular for the professional and pedagogical competencies. During the certification process, teachers are assessed through a number of assessments, consisting of written (for content mastery) and teaching practice tests (Kartono et al., 2015). When a teacher receives a tally above a pre-determined minimum score, he or she will pass the certification training and will be awarded a

professional certificate, which indicates quality (Jalal et al., 2009; Kartono et al., 2015). The second quality dimension in the Indonesian teacher certification policy is related to teacher disposition, especially the personal and social competencies. Jalal et al. (2009) explain that the personal competency requires teachers to have a personality worthy of imitation and an ability to nurture individual students character and morality, and the social competency requires teachers to communicate effectively and efficiently with students, colleagues, parents, and community, and to display behaviors according to moral values based on social and religious norms. Finally, the entrance to a certification process requires a certain academic credential (e.g., a bachelor's degree), and the completion of the certification process will award a professional credential, which indicates the possession of required qualities to be a good teacher (Jalal et al., 2009; Kartono et al., 2015). All of these dimensions – tested ability, disposition, and credential – fall into the category of personal resources. The Indonesian teacher certification policy does not focus on the other two categories of teacher quality – performance and effectiveness.

The emphasis on the personal resources category does not only happen in Indonesia but also in other contexts globally. For instance, in the United States, in addition to teacher effectiveness (as a result of recent federal policies such as No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top), the policy makers and policy researchers have been more focused on teacher inputs and licensure (personal resources) (Knight et al., 2015). The emphasis on the personal resources category (e.g., credentials, tested ability) of teacher quality also happens in countries such as France, Georgia, or Japan (Motobo Akiba, 2013b). So, in the midst of the current trend of global education reform movement, what does it mean for a country to focus its effort to improve teacher quality focusing on personal resources?

I argue that reformers need to be aware that when they choose to spend resources on a particular category of teacher quality, such as personal resources, it means that they do not focus on other categories (performance and effectiveness), and they should not hope for results in those categories. In Indonesia's case, the focus on personal resources does not seem to impact other categories (e.g., performance, effectiveness). The Indonesian government has put together a massive concerted and comprehensive effort to improve teacher credentials (e.g., academic qualifications, certification) using a very attractive financial incentive program (e.g., doubling base salary), yet teacher practices do not seem to change much and student learning outcomes have not shown any significant improvement. A set of studies conducted by the World Bank indicate that the Indonesian teacher certification policy had no significant effect in improving teachers' subject matter knowledge, pedagogical skills, classroom practices, and student learning outcomes (Chang et al., 2014).

At the same time, the Indonesian certification policy is only one strategy embedded in the Teacher Law 2005. One may argue that the law envisions a more comprehensive strategy beyond certification. For instance, it also includes a system of continuous teacher professional development as another piece of theory of action in improving teacher quality. Nevertheless, teacher certification policy is a major effort, costing billions of dollars, and will continue to burden the Indonesian education budget for many years to come because the Indonesian government will have to pay significantly improved salaries for all practicing teachers[67] (Cerdan-Infantes et al., 2013; Chang et al., 2014). This situation will limit Indonesia's capacity to invest in others categories of teacher quality: performance and effectiveness. In addition, the huge absorption of education budget to pay teacher salaries will also limit Indonesia's capacity to

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[67] With the assumption that all teachers who teach must have a certification.

invest in other significant areas, such as pre- and in-service teacher education, early childhood expansion, compulsory education expansion to senior secondary, and tertiary education, and will likely to continue to do so (Chang et al., 2014).

By allocating most of its budget on teacher salaries and allowances, Indonesia seems to have "placed most of its eggs in one basket." Even if all Indonesian teachers are transformed and can enact the new professional vision of teaching as expected by the certification policy, to improve the quality of teaching and learning, other areas in the educational system (e.g., infrastructure upgrading, teacher pre- and in-service programs, curriculum development, school management and leadership) need a lot of investment too. This will pose considerable challenges and dilemmas for the Indonesian government in managing the country's education reform in the future. In fact, this cautionary note may not only apply to Indonesia, but also in other educational systems as well.

Additionally, a number of Indonesia top policy makers whom I interviewed in this study already expressed their disappointment regarding the implementation process and the impact of the policy. They seemed to be frustrated by the what they perceived as the unwillingness of teachers and teacher educators to reform themselves especially after all the struggles[68] that was made to pass Teacher Law 2005 that aims at professionalizing all teachers and lecturers. Thus, they did not have much hope that the policy would make a difference in improving teacher quality, and tended to see the certification as a symbol of unconditional appreciation towards teachers for their service and recognition of their elevated professional status. Although there is a possibility of the misinterpretation of the reluctance of teachers and teacher educators to change,

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[68] For instance, there were long and difficult debates between the government and the parliament about teacher reform strategy. While the government emphasized the need to improve teachers' skills, the parliament wanted to focus on increasing teacher welfare.

perhaps the Indonesian policy makers were also disappointed because they assumed that improved teacher quality would automatically lead to improved teaching quality.

Indeed, there is a serious danger in equating teacher quality with teaching quality as embedded within the linking construct of the Indonesian teacher certification policy. Although numerous recent studies (e.g., Chetty et al., 2011; Nye et al., 2004; Sanders & Rivers, 1996) have underlined the central role of teachers in determining student learning quality, policy makers need to understand that teacher quality does not solely guarantee the production of quality teaching. The assumption in the Indonesian teacher certification policy is that teacher quality improvement will automatically lead to the improvement of teaching and learning in the classroom. The logic of the Indonesian teacher certification policy can be described as follows:

Teacher certification → improves *teacher* quality → improves *teaching* quality →
improves student learning quality → improves educational quality

Figure 12. The Indonesian teacher certification policy logic model (2)

Kennedy (2010b) argues that in thinking about teaching quality, educational researchers and scholars might have overestimated the influence of personal traits, and therefore, might have overlooked situational contextual factors that normally influence teaching situations. In addition to time, materials, work assignments, institutional practices and policies, since "teaching is a practice of human improvement" (Cohen, 1988, p. 55), the success of a teacher's teaching is very much dependent upon students' readiness (cognitively, emotionally), cooperation, and motivation to learn. These situational and contextual factors are even more complicated for teachers when we also take into account that teachers often have to satisfy multiple clients, such as students, parents, and society (Labaree, 2000), who may have diverse and contradictory ideas about what teaching quality means.

A learning-centered policy implementation. I argue that the Indonesian teacher certification policy has been compromised from its original intentions. As demonstrated by this study, the complexity of human sense-making among teacher educators posed a considerable challenge for the policy implementation process in Indonesia. Likewise, any other context around the world will face similar challenges. The interaction between elements of individual sense-making, social sense-making, and policy signals will shape how policy ideas are interpreted by agents, and this interpretation will inform agents' behavior during the implementation process.

Indeed, the complexity of human sense-making brings a different nuance to educational policy implementation because it places implementing agents' learning at the center of the process. In other words, policy makers should consider a learning-centered policy implementation approach. This approach asks questions such as:

- How do implementing agents learn and understand policy ideas as they are introduced to, and implement, those ideas?

- What elements influence implementing agents' process of learning and understanding new policy ideas, and how do these elements interact that result in implementing agents' behavior?

- How can a policy implementation effort anticipate the complexities of human sense-making that lead to a more successful policy implementation?

Although a sense-making approach does not mean to replace conventional models of policy implementation, it can be very useful in illuminating implementing agents' processes in interpreting policy ideas. Sense-making framework is a way to understand the complexities within the taken-for-granted implementation process that usually takes place in a "black box." It

is a very useful framework because policy implementation always involves human beings. Understanding these hidden and often taken-for-granted processes can help policy makers to anticipate and mitigate potential problems during implementation to avoid the unproductive use, or even unintentional and/or productive misuse, of valuable, and very often very limited, resources. Reform ideas are usually new and complex ideas, and it is quite difficult and takes time to learn them carefully. However, like the implementation of the Indonesia's teacher certification policy, the pace of learning new ideas and the pace of the policy is not even. Policy makers, like the Indonesian ones, usually influenced and/or driven by political pressures, tend to expect the implementation and change to take place fast, most likely too fast, especially, in the context of Indonesia, given the comprehensiveness of the policy, the number of people involved, and the complexities of Indonesian cultural diversity and geographical challenges. I argue that the more complex the reform ideas and the bigger the resources that need to be organized, the more time needed to learn those ideas successfully.

Learning new ideas is both an individual and social process, which makes sense-making a very dynamic process. Therefore, in understanding the sense-making process, policy makers and education scholars need to pay attention not only to the implementing agents' internal frames of reference, but also the social elements that may influence understanding and behavior. Since implementation usually takes place within an institution, the norms and values within the institution may affect implementing agents' sense-making. Moreover, the policy learning opportunities may send important signals to implementing agents regarding the expected norms, values, and legitimate actions expected from them in the implementation process. Thus, in a sense-making process, we need to pay attention to the totality of the interaction of the sense-making elements.

The potential danger in the failure to understand the complexity of human sense-making, I argue, is a condition called "reform fatigue" – so many reforms, so little change. Policy makers keep changing one set of reform with another, because nothing seems to work. In fact, something may actually be working, but because understanding new and complex ideas takes time, may be not as fast, not as linear, as assumed by the policy design or as expected by the policy makers. As a result, a new set of reform ideas is introduced, which ends up to be seen as a failure too, and will be replaced by another set of reform ideas. In the end, many resources (time, money, expertise, etc.) are wasted for many reform efforts, yet little change happens, and the educational quality does not improve much. Moreover, implementing agents could be exhausted, and even more dangerously, become more and more skeptical with reform ideas.

A cautionary note on the pursuit of bold reform ideas. Education reformers should be cautious about pursuing "bold ideas" in education reform – ideas that are radically different than the ones in the past, that try to change everything at the same time. Kennedy (2010a) argues:

> "…bold ideas are part of our problem, for by definition they are unrealistic, out of range, over the top. Ultimately, bold ideas fail because they don't take real circumstances into account or because they expect too much from people. Eventually, each of us runs out of gas, gets tired and disheartened. Bold ideas require too much change. People resist, and new initiatives fall apart" (p. 17).

Kennedy points out that the fundamental nature of our real circumstances is a web of actors and institutions who are interconnected in multifaceted ways, influencing and responding to each other to accommodate a range of interests, rules, and circumstances. Current practices, as flawed as they may be, at least some of them are part of the solutions of the problems we dealt in the past. When reform ideas are bold ideas that try to make radical changes for everything all at once

– as helpful and well intentioned as they are – they will abandon solutions and flaws at the same time. Implementing bold reform ideas will create new problems, which reformers may not anticipate, which researchers and practitioners may still have no answers to. It should be no surprising that what reformers believe as solutions can end up as more damaging problems than the problems they try to solve.

Moreover, even when bold ideas are implementable, reformers still need to consider the complexity of human sense-making. Understanding radically new, different, and complex ideas is a very challenging task for any policy actor anywhere. Making sense of these bold reform ideas will go through a complex interaction of each actor's individual and social sense-making elements, and the kinds of learning opportunities they receive about those bold ideas. Therefore, I argue that education reformers, including the ones focusing on teacher reform, should refrain from seeking radical changes because they are unrealistic, can be even more damaging than the current situation, and will likely lead to wasted valuable and already limited resources. Bold reform ideas must be approached carefully and thoughtfully. The pursuit of them should allow sustained inquiry and continuous learning opportunities for all policy actors, and should seek for incremental changes over time.

Final Note

This study looks into the sense-making of Indonesian teacher educators in the teacher certification policy – a massive, expensive, and current large-scale reform in Indonesia, a country with the world's fourth largest education system. The policy is embedded within the Teacher Law 2005, which contains a comprehensive plan for teacher quality improvement in Indonesia. My study focuses K-12 teacher certification, one of the strategies in the law, and it is the major one – a bold reform indeed. In particular, this study focuses on teacher educators as

implementing agents in the policy implementation. I am aware that with a shift of focus, for instance using the angle of policy makers, the data can offer different insights. Therefore, I intend to revisit my data and study some potential themes (e.g., teacher management issues, teacher education reform) that can be further explored to get a more comprehensive understanding about the complex and dynamic sense-making process of the implementation of the teacher certification policy in Indonesia.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Verbal/Oral Consent

This study used a verbal/oral consent that covers the following elements:
1. Description of the research and investigators conducting the research;
2. Explanation of the procedures (e.g., notes, audio recording);
3. Duration of the subject's participation;
4. Subject protections (e.g., extent to which confidentiality will be maintained);
5. Permission to begin the research;
6. Whenever feasible, the participants will be given the contact information of the researcher (e.g., business card, copy of the script with contact information listed).

Verbal/Oral Consent Script

My name is Iwan Syahril. I am a PhD candidate at Michigan State University in the United States. I am interested in the reform of teachers and teacher education and especially its relations with the new certification policy. I would like to hear the perspectives of different people who have been involved with the policy. I chose to study here because I really want to understand teacher education reform with the new teacher certification policy on the ground. I hope today, I can learn about your experience with the reform and the policy. I would like to know more about your mission, about what you are doing, certainly I would like to know about the changes you are making, the ways the policy comes into play for you.

Your participation will involve at least one informal interview that will last between thirty minutes and an hour. This research has no known risks. Please know that I will do everything I can to protect your privacy. Your identity or personal information will not be disclosed in any publication that may result from the study. Notes that are taken during the interview will be stored in a secured location. Would it be all right if I audiotaped our interview? Saying no to audio recording will have no effect on the interview.

The Indonesian translation

Nama saya Iwan Syahril. Saya seorang kandidat PhD di Michigan State University di Amerika Serikat. Saya tertarik dengan reformasi guru dan pendidikan guru di Indonesia dan terutama hubungannya dengan kebijakan sertifikasi yang baru. Saya ingin mempelajari berbagai macam perspektif yang berbeda-beda. Saya memilih untuk melakukan studi saya di sini karena saya benar-benar ingin memahami kondisi riil di lapangan. Saya berharap saya bisa belajar banyak dari pengalaman Bapak/Ibu sebagai dosen yang mendidik guru dan calon guru, tentang misi Bapak/Ibu, kegiatan-kegiatan Bapak/Ibu sebagai dosen, perubahan yang terjadi, serta dampak kebijakan sertifikasi bagi Bapak/Ibu.

Partisipasi Bapak/Ibu akan melibatkan setidaknya satu wawancara informal yang akan berlangsung antara tiga puluh menit dan satu jam. Penelitian ini tidak memiliki risiko. Privasi Bapak/Ibu akan saya lindungi semampu saya. Identitas atau informasi pribadi Bapak/Ibu tidak akan diungkapkan dalam publikasi dari penelitian ini. Catatan yang diambil selama wawancara akan disimpan di lokasi yang aman. Apakah boleh saya merekam wawancara ini? Jika tidak, hal tersebut tidak akan berpengaruh pada jalannya wawancara.

Interview Questions for Teacher Educators Non-Administrators and Teacher Education Administrators

My general strategy in asking questions was:
1. Ask the institution/work-related questions.
2. Ask the policy-related questions

This strategy was used when the person is very welcoming and approachable. The rationale of this mode was to allow the teacher education administrators to speak in the public speaking mode at the beginning of the interview. Later in the interview, I switched to the policy-related questions. When the interviewee was not very welcoming or when I knew that I did not have a lot of time to interview the teacher education administrators, I made sure to switch to the second part (asking policy-related questions) as soon as possible. A sample of transition was to say something like:
"*That is very interesting. So, one thing that I have been very interested is about the new policy. And I am curious. Tell me about the new policy.*")

Questions for teacher education administrators

Part 1: Questions about the institution/the work
- Tell me more about your department, and the directions you are going. What are you working on?
- Tell me how you are organized, what your goals are.
- I know you have multiple functions, I know there is a range of functions within your department, but I am particularly interested in the one relating to teacher education. What are your visions of teacher education? Tell me about the kinds of teachers you are trying to produce?
- What do you see as you help your teachers do and become? How does that affect your work as an administrator, in working with faculty, with units within the university?"

Transition
As you know I am interested in the new teacher certification policy. I understand policies do or don't affect things and I understand different people have different experiences with the new teacher certification policy.

Part 2: Questions about the policy
- This may sound like a foolish question, but I am curious what's your experience with the policy. How did you learn about it?
- I am curious about how much have you had the exposure with the policy. To what extent do you come in contact with this new policy?
- What does the policy mean to you? Do most people in your institution agree about this? Why/why not?
- What have you done with it? How has it changed things? How hasn't it changed things?
- What is hard about it? What makes a lot of sense?

Questions for teacher educators non administrator

Part 1: Questions about the work
- Tell me about your work. Tell me about what you do. What do you teach? How do you design your course?
- What's the hard thing about this work?
- What are your goals for your students? What are your hopes for them? Is it something that is shared by everyone in your department/faculty/university? Is it something that everybody develops on his/her own? Are there some clear statements?
- Can you tell me one story when you feel really successful? (that will get to their ideal version of an outcome)
- Can you tell me a story when a student did not meet your expectations? How did you know they had not met your expectations? (i.e., not passing test, bad attitudes)

Transition
As you know I am interested in the new teacher certification policy. I understand policies do or don't affect things. I am curious how much you have had exposure to the policy.

Part 2: Questions about the policy
- I understand that different people have different experiences with the policy. This may sound like a foolish question, but I am curious what's your experience with the policy? How did you learn about it?
- What does the policy expect of teachers?
- What does the policy mean to you? How does it influence your work? How does it connect to what you've always been doing? In what ways have you been making adjustments? Do most people in your institution agree about this? Why/why not?
- What is hard about the new teacher certification policy? What makes a lot of sense?

The Indonesian translation

<center>**Pertanyaan Wawancara**</center>

Pertanyaan wawancara untuk dosen/profesor LPTK Non-Administrator dan dosen/profesor LPTK Administrator

Bagian 1: Pertanyaan tentang lembaga / pekerjaan

- Pertama-tama, boleh diceritakan sedikit tentang fakultas/jurusan Bapak/Ibu, tentang organisasinya, dan tentang tujuan serta arah pengembangannya.
- Apa-apa saja yang Bapak/Ibu kerjakan saat ini?
- Ada banyak fungsi dalam fakultas/jurusan Bapak/Ibu, tapi saya sangat tertarik dengan fungsinya sebagai lembaga penghasil tenaga kependidikan (guru). Boleh diceritakan visi Bapak/Ibu tentang pendidikan guru? Guru-guru seperti apa yang ingin dihasilkan dari sini?
- Apa yang sering Bapak/Ibu amati dalam proses seseorang menjadi guru, baik calon guru maupun guru yang sudah mengajar? Bagaimana hal itu mempengaruhi pekerjaan Anda sebagai administrator, dalam bekerja dengan fakultas, dengan unit di lingkungan universitas?

Transisi

Seperti yang Bapak/Ibu ketahui saya tertarik pada kebijakan sertifikasi guru yang baru. Saya mengerti sekali kalau ada kebijakan yang bisa membawa pengaruh dan ada juga yang tidak, dan saya juga mengerti jika orang yang berbeda memiliki pengalaman yang berbeda dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru baru tersebut.

Bagian 2: Pertanyaan tentang kebijakan

- Ini mungkin pertanyaan yang naif Pak/Bu, boleh Bapak/Ibu ceritakan sedikit tentang pengalaman Bapak/Ibu dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru. Bagaimana Bapak/Ibu pertama kali mendengar/mempelajari kebijakan tersebut?
- Seberapa besar Bapak terekpos dengan kebijakan tersebut? (i.e., pelatihan, rapat, dll)
- Apa makna kebijakan sertifikasi ini bagi Bapak/Ibu? Apakah sebagian staf di jurusan Bapak setuju dengan pendapat Bapak/Ibu? Mengapa / mengapa tidak? Bagaimana dalam level fakultas atau universitas?
- Apa pengaruh kebijakan sertifikasi terhadap pekerjaan Bapak? Bagaimana kebijakan tersebut membawa perubahan, atau tidak membawa perubahan di institusi/pekerjaan Bapak/Ibu?
- Kesulitan seperti apa yang Bapak alami dalam hubungannya dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru? Hal-hal yang apa dari kebijakan sertifikasi yang paling berarti?

Pertanyaan untuk dosen LPTK bukan administrator

Bagian 1: Pertanyaan tentang pekerjaan

- Boleh Bapak/Ibu ceritakan sedikit tentang pekerjaan Bapak/Ibu. Ceritakan sedikit tentang apa yang Bapak/Ibu lakukan. Apa yang Bapak/Ibu ajarkan? Bagaimana Bapak/Ibu merancang perkuliahan yang diajarkan?

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- Boleh diceritakan kesulitan yang Bapak/Ibu hadapi dalam melaksanakan pekerjaan Bapak/Ibu?
- Boleh juga Bapak/Ibu ceritakan sedikit tentang tujuan Bapak/Ibu untuk para mahasiswa/mahasiswi? Apa harapan Bapak/Ibu untuk mereka? Apakah tujuan dan harapan ini sama dengan tujuan/harapan para staf dosen lainnya di departemen Bapak/Ibu? Bagaimana dengan fakultas / universitas? Apakah tujuan dan harapan ini merupakan hal yang personal? Apakah ada pernyataan resmi dari jurusan/fakultas/universitas?
- Boleh Bapak/Ibu ceritakan pengalaman ketika Bapak/Ibu merasa benar-benar sukses sebagai seorang dosen LPTK? *(Yang akan mendapatkan versi ideal dari hasil)*
- Boleh Bapak/Ibu ceritakan pengalaman ketika mahasiswa tidak memenuhi harapan Bapak/Ibu? Bagaimana Bapak/Ibu tahu mereka tidak memenuhi harapan Bapak/Ibu? *(Yaitu, tidak lulus uji, sikap buruk)*

Transisi
Seperti yang Bapak/Ibu ketahui saya tertarik pada kebijakan sertifikasi guru yang baru. Saya mengerti sekali kalau ada kebijakan yang bisa membawa pengaruh dan ada juga yang tidak, dan saya juga mengerti jika orang yang berbeda memiliki pengalaman yang berbeda dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru baru tersebut.

Bagian 2: Pertanyaan tentang kebijakan
- Ini mungkin pertanyaan yang naif Pak/Bu, boleh Bapak/Ibu ceritakan sedikit tentang pengalaman Bapak/Ibu dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru. Bagaimana Bapak/Ibu pertama kali mendengar/mempelajari kebijakan tersebut?
- Seberapa besar Bapak terekpos dengan kebijakan tersebut? (i.e., pelatihan, rapat, dll)
- Menurut Bapak/Ibu, apa yang diharapkan oleh kebijakan sertifikasi guru untuk para calon guru dan guru?
- Apa makna kebijakan sertifikasi guru bagi Bapak/Ibu? Bagaimana hubungan kebijakan ini dengan pekerjaan Bapak/Ibu? Apa ada penyesuaian-penyesuaian yang Bapak/Ibu lakukan terkait dengan kebijakan ini (i.e., terhadap cara pengajaran, tujuan pengajaran? Proses bukan struktur)? Apakah sebagian besar staf dosen di jurusan Bapak/Ibu setuju tentang pendapat Bapak/Ibu ini? Mengapa / mengapa tidak?
- Kesulitan seperti apa yang Bapak alami dalam hubungannya dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru? Hal-hal yang apa dari kebijakan sertifikasi yang paling berarti?

Interview Questions for Ministry Officials

Part 1: Questions about the institution/the work
- Tell me more about your institutions, and the directions you are going. What are you working on?
- Tell me how you are organized, what your goals are.
- I know you have multiple functions, I know there is a range of functions within your institution, but I am particularly interested in the one relating to teacher reform. What are your visions of teacher reform?

Transition

As you know I am interested in the new teacher certification policy. I understand policies do or don't affect things and I understand different people have different experiences with the new teacher certification policy.

Part 2: Questions about the policy
- I understand that. This may sound like a foolish question, but I am curious what's your experience with the policy. How did you learn about it?
- I am curious about how much have you had the exposure with the policy. To what extent do you come in contact with this new policy?
- What does the policy mean to you? Do most people in your institution agree about this? Why/why not?
- What have you done with it? How has it changed things? How hasn't it changed things?
- What is hard about the new teacher certification policy? What makes a lot of sense?
- What would a teacher education classroom/professional development session look like in the new teacher certification policy? What would it take to get a teacher educator to do this?
- What is different about educating teachers in the latest teacher certification policy compared to educating teachers according to the previous policy? Why is that **[differences identified]** important for educating teachers?
- What does it mean for someone to be a good teacher according to the new teacher certification policy? Is this different from what it meant to be good at teaching according to the old teacher policy? If so, how?
- What has your office done to get teacher educators to adopt the vision of teacher quality in the new teacher certification policy in their classroom teaching? How did you introduce teacher educators to the vision of teacher quality in the new teacher certification policy? How would you have done things differently with unlimited resources?
- Would a teacher educator need to know anything new to adopt the vision of teacher quality in the new teacher certification policy in their classroom? What would they need to know? How would you give them this information?
- What would a teacher educator need (e.g., curricular materials) in order to do these changes? Do most Indonesian teacher educators have this knowledge/materials? If not, why not?
- Has anything been happening in teacher education classrooms/teacher professional development sessions as a result of the vision of teacher quality in the new teacher certification policy? If yes, what has been happening? If not, why not? How do you know?
- Where did the vision of teacher quality in the new teacher certification policy come from? Why did your institution decide to initiate these changes?

The Indonesian Translation

Pertanyaan wawancara untuk Pengambil Kebijakan (semua pertanyaan) dan Pejabat di Organisasi Internasional (pertanyaan 1-7)

1. Akhir-akhir ini kita sering mendengar perbincangan tentang peningkatan kualitas guru. Apa yang terjadi? Kenapa terdapat penekanan terhadap kualitas guru?
2. Banyak perbincangan bahwa "sertifikasi guru akan meningkatkan kualitas guru." Pernahkah Anda mendengar tentang hal ini? Dari mana? Pernahkah Anda mendengar ini sebelum kebijakan sertifikasi guru yang baru digulirkan? Dari mana?
3. Mengapa sertifikasi guru dianggap begitu berharga atau penting bagi pendidikan guru dan calon guru? Untuk seluruh sistem pendidikan? Menurut Anda, apakah kebanyakan kolega Anda di institusi ini setuju tentang pendapat Anda tersebut? Jika ada ketidaksepakatan, hal apa yang menyebabkan ketidaksepakatan tersebut?
4. Sebagian berpendapat bahwa memiliki sertifikasi tidak menjamin seseorang untuk menjadi guru yang baik. Apakah Anda setuju? Mengapa demikian?
5. Apakah institusi Anda meluncurkan program-program yang berkaitan dengan peningkatan kualitas guru akhir-akhir ini? [Buatlah daftar setiap inisiatif yang disebutkan oleh informan. Jika informan menyebutkan program tertentu maka Anda perlu menanyakan ide-ide tentang kualitas guru seperti apa yang dipromosikan program tersebut?] Jika tidak, mengapa tidak?
6. Seperti apa pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru di [sebutkan salah satu inisiatif / program tertentu yang telah disebutkan oleh peserta sebagai jawaban pertanyaan di atas]? Apa yang harus dilakukan agar dosen/profesor di LPTK dapat melakukan pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan dengan baik?
7. Apakah ada perbedaan dalam pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru antara kebijakan sertifikasi yang baru dengan kebijakan sebelumnya? Jika iya, seperti apa perbedaan tersebut? Mengapa perbedaan itu penting dalam pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru?
8. Dalam konteks apa yang dipelajari guru dalam pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan yang mereka dapatkan, apa ada perbedaan antara kebijakan sertifikasi guru yang baru dengan yang lama? Jika iya, perbedaan seperti apa? Mengapa demikian? Apakah Anda pikir perbedaan ini penting? Mengapa demikian?
9. Apa artinya bagi seseorang untuk menjadi guru yang baik sesuai dengan kebijakan sertifikasi guru yang baru? Apakah ini berbeda dengan kebijakan guru sebelumnya? Mengapa demikian?
10. Apa yang dilakukan oleh institusi Anda untuk membantu dosen/profesor LPTK agar dapat mengadopsi visi kualitas guru dalam kebijakan sertifikasi guru pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru yang mereka lakukan? Bagaimana Anda memperkenalkan visi kualitas guru dalam kebijakan sertifikasi guru yang baru kepada dosen/profesor LPTK tersebut? Jika Anda memiliki sumber daya yang tak terbatas, hal-hal apa lagi yang akan Anda lakukan?
11. Apakah dosen/profesor LPTK memerlukan pengetahuan/keterampilan baru dalam mengadopsi visi kualitas guru dalam kebijakan sertifikasi guru di pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru yang mereka lakukan? Jika iya, hal-hal baru seperti apa yang perlu mereka ketahui? Bagaimana Anda akan memberikan informasi ini kepada mereka? Apakah sebagian besar dosen/profesor di LPTK memiliki pengetahuan/keterampilan ini? Mengapa demikian?
12. Apakah dosen/profesor LPTK memerlukan sarana/prasarana baru dalam mengadopsi visi kualitas guru dalam kebijakan sertifikasi guru di pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru yang mereka lakukan? Apakah sebagian besar dosen/profesor di LPTK memiliki sarana/prasarana ini? Mengapa demikian?

13. Apakah ada perkembangan baru dalam pengajaran/pembelajaran/pelatihan guru sebagai akibat dari visi kualitas guru dalam kebijakan sertifikasi guru? Jika iya, apa yang telah terjadi? Jika tidak, mengapa tidak? Bagaimana Anda mengetahuinya?
14. Dari manakah visi kualitas guru dalam kebijakan sertifikasi guru? Mengapa institusi Anda memutuskan untuk melakukan perubahan dari kebijakan yang lama?

Appendix C: Observation Protocol

**Research title: The Implementation of the Indonesian Teacher Certification Policy:
A Case Study of Policy Sensemaking and Policy Borrowing**

Iwan Syahril
Michigan State University

I conducted the classroom of each teacher educator that I interviewed at least once. The main goal of the observation was to supplement the data from the interviews. When observing I paid particular attention to the intended goals and objectives of the course or a particular lesson or activity (based on either the collected documents or on the teacher educator's thinking when designing the instruction), how these goals/objectives were communicated in classroom activities (including teacher educator's lecture/speech), and how teacher educators felt about the implementation of the goals/objectives after the lesson was over. My intention in collecting all of this information was to get a sense of teacher educators' framing of good teaching/teacher or teacher/teaching quality. The intention of doing observation was to immerse into the institutional setting of my focal institutions, to reduce the impression of an outsider by the research participants.

The following were the questions I asked either pre- or post observation.

Pre-observation questions
- I will observe your class today. Tell me what your goals are.
- What are you planning to do? Why are you doing that? Where did you get those ideas?
- How does this lesson connect with the rest of your teaching in this class? Can you tell me where it fits in? What's the importance of this?
- How is this lesson typical of your class in terms of content, process, and activities?
- What expectations do you have for your students? How do you hold them accountable for? How do you grade them? How do you evaluate their performance today?

Post-observation questions
- I am intrigued by (an activity). Tell me what were you thinking about (an activity).
- How do you feel it went? Why do you have that view? Where did you get those ideas?
- Do you always do that?
- Why did you do (an activity)? Do you think your colleagues share that opinion? Why/Why not?

Appendix D: Observation Note-taking Form

Date/Time: _____
Place/Classroom: _____
Instructor: _____
Course title: _____
Lesson topic: _____
Lesson objectives: _____

What happened (Record the names/types of the activity [i.e., a discussion on classrooom management, group work to create a rubric, a slide presentation on effective assessment, etc.] and what the teacher educator does and says when communicating the goals/objectives)	**My comments/questions**

Follow-up notes (e.g., reflection, and some more information based on a (brief) interview post-observation)

_____
_____
_____
_____

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