International Student Mobility for Institutional Capacity Development in Indonesia

An analysis of the contributions of international education for civil servants to knowledge networks in development studies and practice

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Abstract

International student mobility (ISM) is increasingly seen as a vital instrument in individual capacity development and capacity development of academic and government institutions. Together with various other forms of transnational higher education such as double degree programmes (DDPs), it has been adapted by many developing countries as a means of national development. This thesis aims to conceptualise the effects of ISM on the formation of knowledge networks in development studies and practice in Indonesia. It seeks to explore the type of knowledge accumulated and circulated through the mobility of students within DDPs, as well as the linkages made to extend the network of universities and government institutions. Furthermore, it aims to assess the applicability of knowledge acquired at home and abroad upon entry or return to the working world. The main data for this research was collected through interviews with Indonesian civil servants who have graduated from DDPs in various fields related to development studies. Overall, this study finds that experiences associated with transnational education itself were positive. However, not all were satisfied with the opportunities upon return to apply newly gained knowledge or skills at their institution.

Key words: international student mobility, knowledge networks, double degree programmes, institutional capacity development

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Lists of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BAPPENAS	National Development Planning Agency
DDP	Double Degree Programme
DS	Development Studies
HE	Higher Education
ISM	International Student Mobility
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
RI	Republic of Indonesia
RPJMN	National Medium Term Development Plan
RPJPN	National Long Term Development Plan
TNHE	Transnational Higher Education

1. Introduction

Between 1975 and 2008, the number of students studying abroad worldwide increased fourfold, making them in relative terms the fastest growing group of migrants (Beine et al., 2014). Student migrants are a key component in the network of knowledge production and act as 'live link' between localities. Despite its importance, literature is scarce on this aspect of international student mobility (ISM).There is a need to shift the focus of analysis to the role of student migrants in knowledge networks, as its distinctive feature is the significance of knowledge accumulation. Furthermore, ISM is increasingly seen as an effective tool to enhance the human capital of a country, which may contribute to its development. Therefore, this research will focus on the contributions of student migrants on the formation of knowledge networks in development studies and practice. ISM in development studies and practice has been chosen as the subject of study due to its explicit importance to the development goals of developing nations. Development studies has often been criticised for its top-down, Western approach. However, it is a field which is increasingly gaining attention in countries, which need to be developed not only in Western but also in their own perspectives. Indonesia is an example of this evolution. A number of double degree programmes between an Indonesian and a foreign university have been established, where at least one of the degrees or specialisations is in development studies. This can be seen as collaboration between a developed and a developing country, which is said to be vital in development research. Moreover, the Indonesian government has included the education of its civil servants into national development planning (GOI, 2014a). It has a number of scholarship schemes to encourage civil servants to pursue further studies abroad, amongst others in development studies. Outward mobility is especially important to Indonesia as a source of new knowledge and technology as inward mobility is still scarce. Only 0.1% of students enrolled in Indonesian higher education institutions are of a foreign nationality (UNESCO, 2014).

1.1. Research Objectives

The main objective of this research is to conceptualise the effects of ISM on the formation of knowledge networks in development studies and practice in Indonesia. It seeks to explore the type of knowledge accumulated and circulated through the mobility of students, as well as the linkages made to extend the network. Furthermore, it aims to assess the applicability of knowledge acquired abroad upon return to the home country.

1.2. Research Questions

In order to attain the research objectives, the following research question will frame the process of this study:

How can international student mobility contribute to shaping knowledge networks in development studies and practice?

Furthermore, this study will be guided by the following sub-questions:

- How do individuals experience international student mobility?

- What type of knowledge is transferred through international student mobility?

- What kind of social networks can international student migrants establish?

- How can international student mobility contribute to "brain circulation"?

2. <u>Literature Review</u>

2.1. Migration and Development

The debate on migration and development has gone through a cycle of optimistic and pessimistic phases (De Haas, 2011). According to developmentalist views of the 1950s and 60s, migration can lead to development through capital and knowledge transfers. The 1970s to 1990s saw a pessimistic outlook on migration and development as it is said to lead to dependency and "brain drain". The 2000s saw a resurgence of the optimism, which saw remittances, "brain gain" and diaspora as vital development tools. Migration can take up many forms and its effects likewise. Two important notions within the migration and development nexus for this research is international student mobility and return migration.

International student mobility is often discussed under the migration and development discourse. It is important to define the term "international student mobility" before entering into the various debates surrounding this phenomenon. 'Mobility' highlights the movement involved in migration rather than privileging the sending and receiving localities (King and Raghuram, 2013). Experiences of mobility will depend on the type of student in regards to the level and subject of study, as well as the destination country. Evidently, 'international' in the context of ISM usually defines the movement across nation-states and this is the interpretation adopted for this research. However, one needs to bear in mind that the international student population also includes students who are in situ, but pursue a degree accredited by overseas institutions (Waters and Leung, 2013). Most studies on ISM thus far have focused on push-and-pull factors of mobility (Raghuram, 2013). Pull factors are the potential benefits attracting an individual to pursue studies abroad, such as increasing language skills, employability and experiencing a different culture. Push factors are those driving them away from their home countries, such as the inability of the latter to provide an adequate education. Accounts as such are rooted within a particular kind of spatial imagination, where places are perceived as independent entities, marked by individuality and distinction. The student may decide to move as a response to comparing the educational opportunities in one country and the career openings it offers with those in another. However, increasingly studies have taken

a transnational approach, where places are no longer seen as independent entities but are linked through migrants who maintain these relationships. Thus, a gain for one must not mean a loss for the other. In addition to individual desires, family histories and experiences of friends, as well as the influence of a wider social network, are also critical factors in choosing to study abroad (Beech, 2014). A study on international degree students in the UK revealed that students sought information and advice from their surroundings, as well as through websites and social media prior to studying in the UK. Those who had friends studying overseas considered studying abroad to be a normal rite of passage. Thus, individual mobility is necessarily relational and social networks are not only passive structures, but also structuring frameworks in decision making.

Another set fixture in surrounding high-skilled mobility is the issue of 'brain drain', predominantly those from developing to developed countries. Between 2005 and 2009, twice as many articles on "brain drain" were published than in the preceding 15 years. "Brain drain" can be defined as "migration of engineers, physicians, scientists, and other very highly skilled professionals with university training." (Docquier and Rapoport, 2006 in Gibson and McKenzie, 2011:108). However, it has been argued that high-skilled mobility may affect a "brain gain" as the prospects of a better life will lead to many investing in their education to increase chances, but not everyone will end up migrating. Further on the brain drain debate, it has been suggested that 'brain drain` or 'brain gain' are not simply phenomena of an outflow or inflow of migrants; it has to do with actual international transfer and use of human capital resources (Zong, 2002 in Mahroum, 2005). What is more important is how countries make use of flowing human capital rather than where the exchanges take place. Even in the case of outward mobility, skilled individuals cannot move without leaving a trace. This leads to the idea of 'brain circulation'. Another important aspect of this debate is the notion of 'brain waste', which occurs when an individual assumes a profession in which less skill is required than what they have acquired (Garcia Pires, 2015). Although this debate has primarily described the situation of migrants in the receiving country, it may also be applied to return migration.

Return migration, which can be said to be a form of brain circulation, has attracted widespread attention in the migration-development nexus. While most do not question the role of return migrants in development, a recent study on Nepalese student returnees finds

that from the 'emic' perspective of returnees, three fundamental questions that come for returnees before the impact of return have been missed (Ghimire and Maharjan, 2014): Should they contribute? Why does the society feel that they are more responsible to contribute compared to non-migrants? Moreover, even if they contribute, do they have to return to contribute to their home country? This debate about contribution should be kept in mind when studying mobility and migration. While some did return with the explicit intention to apply their knowledge and skills in Nepal, it was not in terms of broader national development, but rather motivated by personal desires. It must also be taken into account which factors assist or hinder returnees in applying their knowledge and skills in their home country. In a study on the effects of migration for India's development, return migrants and non-migrants were questioned on their take on the potential contributions return migrants could have on the development of the country (CODEV-EPFL, 2013). Most agreed that return migration could have an impact through the importation of good work culture and innovative ideas. However, what was observed during the two year study was that the impact varied. Development contributions depended on personal adjustment capabilities and the support structure surrounding the individual. Furthermore, four channels of development were examined: physical return, remittances and investments, knowledge transfer, and social impact. Knowledge transfer was found to be the most important of all.

2.2. Knowledge Networks and Development

A further discourse increasingly linked to international student mobility is that of knowledge networks and development. A knowledge network is a set of nodes that are interconnected by relationship that enable and constrain the acquisition, transfer and creation of knowledge (Phelps et al., 2012). Nodes can consist of knowledge elements (embodied in papers, patents, products), non-human repositories of knowledge (catalogues, databases), and individuals and higher level collectives (teams, organisations), which serve as agents and heterogeneously distributed repositories of knowledge. The relationship amongst those nodes can be cognitive (associations amongst mentally held concepts), social (collaborations amongst individuals and social collectives), technological (human-computer interfaces connecting human and non-human) or associational (combination of elements in the process of creating new

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knowledge). Knowledge can be classified into two categories: explicit or tacit (Hau et al., 2013). Explicit knowledge is easily expressed and communicated through written documents. Tacit knowledge is embedded in an individual's brain or experiences and thus, not easily codified or articulated. Whether knowledge accumulation and transfer can take place depends on an array of factors, such as individual motivations, social capital, knowledge sharing context and the type of industry. A study on the effects of organisational rewards, reciprocity, enjoyment, and social capital on employees' knowledge sharing intentions found that they differ for tacit and explicit knowledge, respectively. Furthermore, the two types of knowledge are said to have different economic values. Tacit knowledge is valued more as it is concerned with direct contact related to complex ways of acquiring knowledge from others.

It has been argued that the distinctive feature of ISM is the significance of knowledge accumulation as a driving factor (Raghuram, 2013). Thus, there is a need to shift the focus of analysis to the network of knowledge production, which consists of both educational providers and student migrants. A study on the relationship between knowledge production and mobility suggests that the nature of different types of research practices implies different spatial relations that in turn influence the motivations for and outcomes of academic mobility (Joens, 2007). Furthermore academic mobility is not only important in the internationalisation of higher education, but also in the development of transnational networks beyond academia. An analysis on academic mobility in the 20th century shows that circular mobility of researchers and academics has played a decisive role in the formation and shifting of knowledge networks (Joens, 2015). It was based on two sets of data on outgoing mobility from the University of Cambridge in the first half of the century and incoming mobility into Germany in the second half. A main finding was that outgoing mobility from Cambridge contributed to the Anglo-American hegemony in education, whereas incoming mobility to Germany has led to the westernisation of its universities. Moreover, institutionalised funding schemes were pivotal for launching the process of mobility and collaboration. Moreover, higher education institutions are seen as vital actors to regional economic and social development (Huggins et al., 2012; Payumo et al., 2014). The flow and stock of knowledge within regions is likely to be influenced by the networks formed by its

universities. The Bogor Agricultural University has become an entrepreneurial research-based institution by successfully managing intellectual property, and through strategic partnerships with private and public entities. A challenge in studying networks is adequately defining the boundaries (Inkpen and Tsang, 2005). Only once this has been done is one able to capture the factors associated with network knowledge processes. This research will, therefore, focus on networks established through double degree programmes between institutions in Indonesia, a developing nation, and developed countries, namely The Netherlands and Japan.

"A double degree program awards two individual qualifications at equivalent levels upon completion of the collaborative program requirements established by the two partner institutions." (Knight, 2011: 301). Double degree programmes (DDPs) between institutions of different nationalities is a form of Transnational Higher Education (TNHE), which can be defined as "any education or training at higher education level provided beyond national or regional borders through mobility of people, program or institution" (Sugimoto, 2006: 1). The most prominent debate surrounding double degree programmes is its potential added value for individuals pursuing them. A number of studies have been conducted on student, graduate, faculty and employer perceptions on this matter (Culver et al, 2011a, b; Knight 2011b). A further debate surrounds the motives and benefits of establishing double degree programmes for participating institutions. It has been argued that there is an asymmetry in power with collaborations between institutions from a developed and developing country. However, if managed well power asymmetry will not stand in the way of enhancing education in the latter (Sutrisno and Pillay, 2013a). Studies on knowledge transfer between partnering institutions have been conducted (Sutrisno and Pillay, 2013b). However, the role of students in transferring knowledge has thus far been neglected. In a network as such a variety of actors will benefit to a varying degree. Indeed, international linkages are widely regarded as vital to the advancement of the knowledge economy of any country (Knight, 2011a; Postiglione, 2013). Numerous higher education institutions in developing countries engage in various forms of TNHE to build capacity and status; DDPs are an example of such. DDPs have great potential for the development of the higher education sector in developing countries. However, their implementation is not without issues and challenges (Knight, 2011b). The greatest challenges are alignment

of regulations between the partnering universities and quality assurance. Furthermore, as English is most commonly used as the language of instruction there may be the issue of `language imperialism`. Furthermore, there is the issue of who gains from transnational higher education. In a study on British TNHE in Hong Kong, it was found that the interest of students was often sidelined (Leung & Waters, 2013). While it has proven to be financially lucrative for educational institutions, programmes are often the last resort for individuals as they had not been accepted to local universities. The Hong Kong government has taken a 'laissez-faire' approach and plays a limited role in the quality assurance of these institutions. Although TNHE expands the higher education (HE) market, it does not necessarily improve its quality.

2.3. Development Studies and Practice

Development Studies and Practice has been chosen as the field of case study due to the importance of collaboration between developing and developed countries. The establishment of double degree programmes in development studies and contributing fields could be seen as an example of such collaboration. As an academic field, development studies (DS) emerged in the 1960s in the United Kingdom as a result of the discontent of social scientists about the insights provided by existing social science subjects, notably traditional economics. Their aim was to provide a multi– and inter-disciplinary study across existing fields. Thus, it can be argued that DS is a cross-disciplinary field that serves to bring together a large number of fields in the study of poverty and inequality (Potter, 2014).
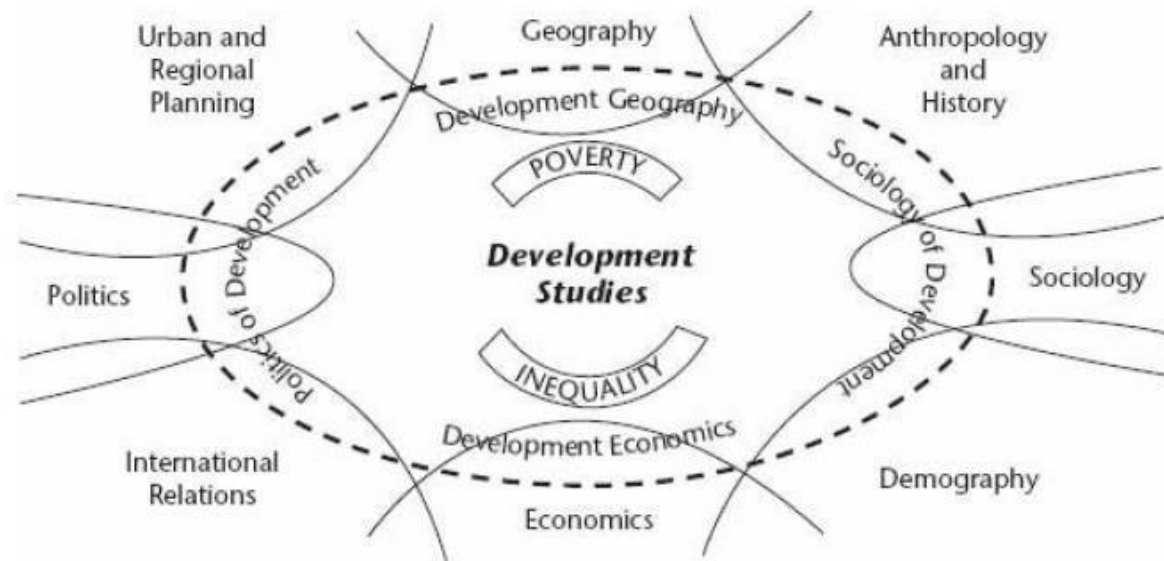
Fig. 1 *– Disciplines contributing to the cross-disciplinary field of development studies (Source: Potter, 2014)*

DS has a normative view of departure to improve people's lives (Sumner, 2006). Thus, it has a commitment to relate teaching and research to practical or policy matters. However, DS has encountered numerous criticisms and thus, formation, over the years. The first critique is on the economics of development, which is said to have led to negative consequences. At the beginning of development studies as an academic field, a prevailing approach to economic development was the Prebisch-Singer hyphothesis of declining terms of trade which claims that not only the laws of demand and supply regulate trade, but also the power-relations between the developed centre and the developing periphery (Chypher and Dietz, 2009). Consequently, import substitution industrialisation was to be implemented and tariffs established to restrict import and protect local industries. Furthermore, the state should ascertain that public expenditure is used more effectively.. However, by the 1970s it was concluded that this approach led to negative consequences by neglecting the comparative advantage of those countries and thus, investments exceeding returns (Rapley, 2007). Neoliberal thinking gained prominence supporting a free market economy in which individuals pursue their self-interest shall benefit society as a whole. This school rejects government interventions, such as taxes as a distribution

tool and were in favour of financial deregulation. The government is only to create a framework conducive to growth.

A further critique relates to Foucault's notions of knowledge and power in the context of post-development. Post-developmentalism sees development as an arbitrary concept rooted in a meta-narrative that reflects the interest of its practitioners (Rapley, 2007). The goal of development is linked to modernisation, which entails the extension of the control of the Western world. Development in terms of economic growth does not necessarily mean an improvement of living standards for the individual. Post-developmentalism does not deny that an individual increase in income may lead to an individual increase in contentment. However, it argues that if income rises on the national level, contentment of individuals does not automatically increase. Furthermore, central to post-development is not only the inclusion of communities, but also the inclusion of their knowledge. It criticises participatory development for not taking power relations at local level into account. This is a position sustained by writers such as Arturo Escobar (1992).

However, there is now a consensus has that development is not a linear process following one certain path. According to Amartya Sen (1999), a major issue in conceptualising development is the gap between two perspectives – the concentration on economic wealth and the broader focus on the lives we can lead. He is of the opinion that the usefulness of wealth lies in the things it allows us to do, i.e. the substantive freedoms it allows us to achieve. Development as freedom focuses on the expansion of the "capabilities" of the individual to lead the kind of lives they value. Greater freedom enhances the ability to help oneself and also to influence the world. Thus, it is also a determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness. This places an emphasis on human agency, on their ability to act and affect change.

Despite the transformation that the notion of 'development' has gone through, it has been argued that development studies still has not kept up with the evolution of development practices (Kilby, 2012). Fundamental changes are happening in the flows of investment and aid to developing countries, which have an impact on how or what development takes place. Washington is no longer the sole actor in development and its neoliberal policies have been deemed less appropriate after the Asian financial crisis in

1997. Furthermore, the rise of China as a donor and the growth of remittances as financial capital in developing countries relieved the West of much of its duties. Development practices have continuously evolved, and by implication so should development studies. Western development study centres need to engage more intensively with developing countries, in order to find the most appropriate policy options.

2.4. Research Approaches

2.4.1. Post-colonial Method

Many of the criticisms on DS presented above are in line with post-colonialism. Post-colonialism refers to ways of criticising legacies of colonialism. It presents a critique of 'development' as a Western concept and offers an increasingly important challenge to presiding ways of understanding North-South relations. It has been suggested that there is a need for a post-colonial method in development geography (Raghuram and Madge, 2006). A post-colonial method is to take into account the roles the North and the South play in the formation of each other, but also to accentuate that the South is not entirely shaped by its relations with the North. A post-colonial method can be based on three elements. First, it requires greater collaborations between the North and South, such as collaborative programmes between higher education and other institutions, such as government agencies, non-governmental organisations or private entities. Thereby, attention needs to be given that academics do not prevail over others in deciding what constitutes knowledge. Furthermore, there needs to be a change in academic culture, such as in the way knowledge is constructed and regulated. Finally, a post-colonial method requires greater recognition of the importance of research with policy relevance and of measures towards breaking down divisions within and between academia and beyond.

2.4.2. Actor-Network Approach

Influenced by network theorists such as Latour, much recent work on mobility now starts from the premise of motion, i.e. that nothing exists in a pre-mobile state but due to connections in the network all is already in a state of flux and movement (Beech, 2014). At the heart of actor-network theory is the notion of heterogeneous network, which suggests that "society, organisations, agents and machines are effects generated in patterned networks of diverse (not only human) materials" (Law, 1992: 380). An example

of such an effect is scientific knowledge. It is a product of "heterogeneous engineering", where the social, technical, conceptual and textual aspects are fitted together. Knowledge is produced by the scientist, whose research, which leads to this knowledge, was made possible by a combination of materials such as test tubes, organisms, microscopes, articles and other scientists. Knowledge cannot be viewed as inherently powerful or an inherent attribute of any one element or individual, but a property ascribed to particular actions as a network becomes enacted (Fenwick and Edwards, 2014). Actor network approach can be useful in analysing higher education practices where established knowledge of discipline and pedagogy meet fragmented systems, such as mobile virtual worlds, markets and employability demands, attempting to engage in processes of teaching and learning. It can make visible the variety and extent of networks, as well as their heterogeneous composition.

3. **Thematic Context**

3.1. **Geographical Information**

***Map 1** – Indonesia (Source: CIA Maps)*

Indonesia is an archipelago of over 17,000 islands, 6000 of which are inhabited by a population of over 250 million (CIA Factbook, 2014). Indonesia gained independence from the Dutch in 1945 after over 300 years of colonisation. The official language of Indonesia was brought about by the Dutch use of administrative Malay. English and Dutch is widely spoken alongside over 700 local languages. Indonesia is the 16th largest economy in the world, the third largest democracy and the state with the largest Muslim population of 87.2% affiliated with this religion. The median age of the population is 29.8 years with 42.31% in the age category of 25-54 and the sex ratio is approximately one male to one female.

3.2. **Development Policies**

Development has been high on the agenda since independence with goals set out in the preamble of the Constitution of 1945. Today, a number of national and regional

development plans outline the diverse challenges to be overcome. These plans are drafted by the Ministry of National Development Planning (GOI, 2010a). The National Long Term Development Plan (RPJPN 2005-2025) has the vision of establishing an Indonesia that is self-reliant, advanced, just and prosperous. A self-reliant nation is defined to be one "capable of realizing a life that is equivalent and equal to that of other nations that are already advanced by relying on the nation's own capability and strength." The term advanced refers to a nation whose "human resources have a national identity, noble morals, and have high quality education." A just nation means that there is "no discrimination in any form, among individuals, gender, nor among regions." Prosperous is a nation that "fulfils all necessities of life and can provide meaning and significance for other nations in the world" (GOI, 2010a: 21). The National Long Term Development Plan is divided into four stages of development which translates into National Medium Term Development Plans (RPJMN). Each RPJMN coincides with a legislature period in order to allow separate governments to set their own priorities in the process of national development, with the condition that they are in line with the RPJPN (GOI, 2010a). The new legislature period began at the end of 2014 and the third stage of implementation has just begun with the RPJMN 2015-2019. It is set to focus on greater consolidation of development by emphasising economic competitiveness on the basis of natural and human resources, and by increasing the capability to master science and technology. In addition to the strategies ahead, the third RPJMN also contains an assessment of the second stage, RPJMN 2010-2014, which aimed at providing a stepping-stone for its successor through greater consolidation of reforms established by its predecessor. The RPJMN 2005-2009 was directed at reforming and developing Indonesia in various fields needed to achieve the vision stated in the RPJPN 2005-2025. The following nine fields have been identified in the RPJPN: Social- culture and religion; Economics; Science and technology; Infrastructure; Politics; Defence and security; Law and state apparatus; Regional and spatial planning field; Natural resources and the environment (GOI, 2010a). Many of the fields identified correspond with the disciplines which contribute to the cross-disciplinary field of development studies.

3.3. Higher Education Policies

Indonesia is seen as a latecomer in education, which may be attributed to the lack of development in colonial and early independence times. Education was foremost provided by the Dutch, most of whom left the country by the 1950s. Today, gross enrolment rates (GER) at all levels are far below those of its ASEAN neighbours (Hill and Thee, 2011). At a tertiary level, the quantity and quality of education is constrained by several factors. Higher education (HE) is reliant on private spending, as government spending is only 0.3% of Indonesia's GDP. Furthermore, government policies make it more difficult to facilitate international academic mobility, which is widely regarded as vital to the enhancement of tertiary education. The RPJMN 2010-2014 aimed to increase the GER of university education from 18% in 2009 to 25% in 2014. Furthermore, it set three targets to increase the quality of HE, namely the certification of ISO 9001:2008[1] at 100% of state universities and 50% of private universities before 2014; widely opening up cooperation of state universities and international education institutions; encouraging 11 universities to enter the Top 500 The Times Higher Education List in 2014 (GOI, 2010a).. The RPJMN 2015-2019 further recognises the need to enhance the quality of and improve access to tertiary education (GOI, 2014c). It identifies 'brain drain' as an issue due to the preference of Indonesian academics to work abroad and their negligence to teach at the home institutions. Furthermore, it aims to improve partnerships between universities, industries and government institutions, which are seen to be imperative for social and economic development.

The Indonesian Higher Education Act 2012 allowed for greater autonomy of state institutions and the set-up of foreign institutions to enable international cooperation (GOI, 2012), which are of special interest to this research. Although strides have indeed been made towards opening up, there are still policies inhibiting international academic mobility, especially inward mobility. All incoming students are still required to seek approval from the Directorate General of Higher Education (DIKTI) under the Ministry of Education and Culture (GOI, 2010b). This process is even more difficult for foreign

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[1] ISO 9001:2008 specifies requirements for a quality management system where an organisation needs to demonstrate its ability to consistently provide products that meet statutory and regulatory requirements, and enhance customer satisfaction (ISO website, accessed 7/8/15).

academics, e.g., lecturers. Thus, Indonesia depends on collaborations or returnees for new or different insights, knowledge and technology. As in other developing countries, universities in Indonesia are increasingly expected to contribute to social and economic development (Payumo et al., 2014). Therefore, it is imperative to enhance the quality of higher education and expand the knowledge network in relevant fields.

4. <u>Research Design</u>

4.1. Conceptual Model

Applying the actor-network approach, knowledge can be seen as an effect of patterned networks of students, previous knowledge and their mobility; as well as teaching staff, graduates and their employers, as well as other non-academic actors. This research sees students and knowledge as actors of equal importance, mutually reinforcing actors in facilitating mobility and thus, in the formation of a knowledge network. This approach will be used, on one hand, to explain the role of students and graduates in generating and transferring knowledge. On the other hand, it will also be useful in explaining how knowledge plays a role in generating mobility. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge the linkage of students becoming university staff or superiors in their workplace in sustaining the network of knowledge.

Moreover, taking into consideration the discourse on migration and development, as well as knowledge networks and development, this study argues that international student mobility not only can enhance the capacity of an individual, but also that of institutions through knowledge production, accumulation and transfer, and extension of institutions' networks. These processes can occur two ways: when civil servants become students and when graduates return to their workplace. The experiences prior to their studies may affect their study experiences and those of others, contributing to the academic world. The interaction with local and international students and staff may bring about invaluable experience for all involved. Moreover, the sharing of experience and knowledge may lead to the growth of development studies, taking into account perspectives of those from the global South. Upon return they may apply the knowledge and skills gained through their studies, in order to contribute to the development of their institution. Furthermore, they may utilise acquaintances made during their studies to widen their own professional and the institution's network. Strong institutions may in turn not only benefit those directly involved, but also the people of Indonesia and contribute to the country's development.

4.2. Research Sites

Fieldwork was conducted on the main Island of Java in Jakarta and Yogyakarta, where state universities with relevant double degree programmes are located. Furthermore, relevant national government bodies are located in Jakarta, such as the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS).

Map 2*- Java (Source: CIA Maps)*

4.3. Sample Selection

The main target group of this study is graduates of double degree programmes in development studies and contributing fields. There is no unified database for double degree graduates. However, there are alumni databases at individual universities. One university in Japan, JPN-A distributed an e-mail to their alumni regarding my research, after which a number of graduates contacted me. If it had been possible to gain access to alumni databases of the universities to create sampling frames, cluster sampling was to be used for these target groups. A simple random sample was to be drawn from each cluster (Bernard, 2011). As I had not been able to gain access to these databases and sufficient information is lacking, the snowball sampling method was used (Overton and van Diermen, 2014). My initial contacts, graduates of double degree programmes, have referred me to further respondents within that target group. Furthermore, snowball sampling or respondent driven sampling is to be used for other individuals associated with the knowledge network, such as university staff, scholarship donors and employers of graduates.

I interviewed a total of 19 double degree graduates and communicated via e-mail with a further 3. Out of these 22, 11 were male and 11 female. They completed 7 different DDPs at one of 3 local and one of 5 foreign universities. 15 graduates completed their study abroad at one of 4 Dutch (NL) universities, and 7 graduates completed their study

abroad at JPN-A. 19 are currently working at 9 different government agencies and 3 at Local -B. A list of the different programmes they pursued and the institutions they work for can be found below.

List of Respondents I - Graduates and Programmes

Type	Local Degree	Local University	Foreign Degree	Foreign University	No. of Online Comm.	No. of Interviews
1	Economics	Local-A	Development Studies	NL-A	1	7
2	Economics	Local-A	Economics	NL-B	0	2
3	Economics	Local-A	Economics	NL-C	0	2
4	Economics	Local-A	Development Economics	JPN-A	1	4
5	Development Economics	Local-B	Development Economics	JPN-A	1	1
6	Geo-Info	Local-B	Geo-Info	NL-D	0	1 (+1*)
7	Spatial Planning	Local-C	Spatial Planning	NL-B	0	1
Total					3	18 (+1*)

Tab. 1 - List of double degree graduates based on programmes

*Graduate pursued the pilot programme before it became a double degree programme. The structure, courses and assessments were the same as the double degree programme.

List of Respondents II - Graduates and Institutions

Institution	No. of OnlineComm.	No. of Interviews
Audit Board of RI	0	2
BAPPENAS	1	5
Directorate General of Taxes	0	2
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	0	2
Ministry of Forestry	1	1
Ministry of Maritime and Fisheries Affairs	0	1
Ministry of Public Work	0	2
State Ministry for Acceleration Development of Disadvantaged Regions	0	1
Statistics Indonesia	1	0
University Local-B	0	2 (+1*)
Total	3	18 (+1*)

Tab. 2 - List of double degree graduates based on institutions

All but Type 6 graduates spent a year at the local university and subsequently one year at the foreign university. With the exception of Type 7 graduate, they all were civil servants at national or regional government institutions prior to their Masters' studies. They were required to have had at least two years of work experience at the government institution before applying for a scholarship funded study programme. Most of these graduates were married prior to their studies, many with children. They left their families behind to pursue their overseas degree. Type 7 graduate and Type 6 graduates were fresh graduates when starting their Masters' programmes and took on teaching positions as civil servants after their Masters' studies. Type 6 graduates spent 3 months in the middle of their degree programme overseas. All graduates financed at least parts of their studies through local and/ or foreign government scholarships. With the exception of those working at Local-B and the Directorate General of Taxes, graduates received a scholarships through BAPPENAS scholarship schemes. Those at Taxes received scholarships through the Ministry of Finance and those at Local-B financed their study abroad through StuNed. The graduates interviewed were between their late 20s and early 40s. Names of respondents have been altered to uphold anonymity where possible.

In order to gain a well-rounded view on this topic, associated individuals of the knowledge network were also interviewed. A list of their positions can be found below.

List of Respondents II - Associated Individuals

Type	Associated Individual	No. of Online Comm.	No. of Interviews
1	Employer/ Superior	0	1
2	Scholarship Donor	0	2
3	Local University Staff	0	(3*)
4	Foreign Single Degree Graduates	1	3
Total		1	6 (+3*)

***Tab. 3** - List of associated individuals*

*These university staff members were also graduates of double degree programmes.

4.4. Data Collection

Data collection was conducted within a period of three months between March and June 2015. This research is of qualitative nature. The following three methods

complement each other in gaining insight into the relationship between international student mobility and knowledge networks:

4.4.1. Online Communications

An online questionnaire was distributed to a small number of graduates in the initial phase of this research. This questionnaire was to capture an overview of graduate perceptions on knowledge accumulation and established links. Furthermore, the analysis of the response helped to identify linkages, i.e. further target groups, and formulate questions for semi-structured interviews. It was conducted in English as a self-administered online survey through *qualtrics.com*. E-mail communication was used to establish initial contacts with universities and graduates. Furthermore, e-mail correspondence was used to collect information where neither face-to-face meetings nor Skype was possible. As respondents were dispersed throughout Indonesia or even the world, the internet was an efficient way to reach a greater number of respondents (Bernard, 2011).

4.4.2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews are suitable when there is only one chance of interviewing respondents and when respondents are accustomed to efficient use of their time. Interviews are based on a guide with a list of questions and topics to be covered (Bernard, 2011). All but one of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, either at the offices of respondents or at a restaurant during lunch time. The other interview was conducted through Skype. Each interview lasted 20 – 40 min.

Semi–structured interviews were conducted to gain a deeper insight into:

(a) individual experiences.

(b) the type of knowledge produced/ transferred and the linkages established.

The guides were drafted in English and Indonesian with consultation of an Indonesian native speaker to ensure the clarity of questions. Although participants are assumed to have sufficient English skills through their international study or working environment, deeper insights may be gained by engaging with them in their native language. Participants were made aware that they may answer both in English and

Indonesian, however they felt most comfortable. Interviews were eventually conducted with a varying degree of mixture between both languages. All interviews were recorded with full consent of participants.

4.4.3. Secondary data

An analysis of documents can provide a mechanism for understanding social and organisation practices (Coffey, 2013). Curricula of the various local and foreign institutions involved in double degrees, were analysed for differences or similarities in approaches to development and compared to the individual experiences of graduates. Furthermore, development policy documents of relevant government institutions were analysed and compared to data collected through interviews on the type of knowledge transferred and produced. This is to give an example of how different perspectives on development may be put into practice.

4.5. Analysis

Interviews were transcribed by me. All data collected in Bahasa Indonesia went through a back-translation process to ensure accuracy of the translation. The initial translation from Bahasa Indonesia into English was done by me. The back translation from English into Bahasa Indonesia was done by an Indonesian native speaker, who holds a BA in English literature studies. All data were manually analysed, through eliminating irrelevant and repeated statements, coding and categorisation (Roulston, 2014). Moreover, memos were written to capture linkages and impressions not evident through reading transcripts of interviews.

4.6. Positionality

This research focuses on university graduates, most of whom now work at national government institutions, university staff and other individuals, who can be said to belong to the elite. Elite research poses a number of issues on self-positioning and there has been no consensus on how they should be dealt with (Scheyvens et al., 2014). In foreign elite research, the status as an outsider may be an advantage as one is seen as non-threatening. However, when studying elites in your home country "the structural components of [your] personal and social background become fundamental variables that intervene in

research processes" (Gazit and Maoz-Shai, 2010: 209 in Scheyvens et al. 2014). Positionality issues were exacerbated by my own identity struggle as a foreigner, but with Indonesian backgrounds and familial ties. This may have introduced unintentional bias in face-to-face interviews (Sumner and Tribe, 2008). The contradiction between my physical appearance as an Indonesian and my use of language or behaviour as a foreigner may have affected the type of information respondents choose to disclose.

4.7. Limitations of Study

The main limitation of this research is the degree of inference. The sample of this research is very limited in size. The universities chosen as starting points for this research are state institutions. All of the graduates interviewed financed at least parts of their studies through local and/or foreign government scholarships, most with the condition of return. This study will not include ISM associated with private institutions or privately funded. Therefore, it will not represent the formation of every network in development studies and practice. It is even an incomplete representation of the network chosen as no interviews could be conducted with foreign scholarship donors and university staff. Moreover, Indonesia is a large, diverse country and thus, there are different perspectives on development. This study was carried out in urban areas on the main island of Java. Hence there may be limitations on applicability of results to rural areas, especially on the outer islands.

5. <u>Findings</u>

5.1. Individual Experiences

5.1.1. Motivations

Individual motivations are a deciding factor as to whether knowledge accumulation and transfer take place or not. Thus, before embarking on an analysis of knowledge, it is important to understand how individuals have come to pursue international degrees and how they experienced studying at home and abroad.

> ***"If I had to present it, 60% for the experience and 40% for the education"***
> **(Ihsan, Type 1 Graduate, Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

In interviews, when asked about their motivations to pursue a double degree, all respondents agreed that it was mainly for the experience of studying abroad and for personal growth. The quote above reflects the answer given by most of the graduates, who were keen to gain insights into other cultures, way of thinking, and way of life. A noticeable difference was seen in the answers given by Type 6 graduates, whose main motivation for choosing the programme was not the overseas experience. For them it was merely part of an interesting study programme. Moreover, they only became civil servants as university staff after they had completed their Master's programme.

Not even a handful mentioned they expected to gain knowledge that was not available in Indonesia. Eko, Type 2 Graduate, a civil servant at the Ministry of Forestry, explicitly said that he expected the knowledge he would gain in Indonesia and the Netherlands to be different. Aulia, Type 7 Graduate, university staff at Local-B said besides the experience of studying abroad, she was also interested in the study content. At the time, double degrees were still rare and in her field of spatial planning and regional development, the Netherlands was seen as the leading country. Furthermore, the partner universities abroad and at home had promising curricula. She also sought information from a professor at Local-C, where she also pursued her undergraduate studies, as to what were the emerging topics in the field at the time.

> *"We are even chased down here - have you done your Master's?"*
> *(Ayu, Type 1 Graduate, Poverty Reduction - BAPPENAS)*

Those working at BAPPENAS said that employees were encouraged to pursue further studies. Indah, a Type 2 graduate of the Directorate of Macroeconomic Planning, has now continued to do her PhD abroad at NL-B, where she had completed her Master's degree. Many stated that career prospects was an important motivation for pursuing further studies. Besides personal ambitions, another motivation given by Ayu was to make her mother happy, as her parents expected their children to pursue further studies. Furthermore, for those with their own families, the DDP was a good balance for gaining overseas experience without being apart from their loved ones for too long.

> *"I decided to take economics of development, because I worked in a national park in Indonesia, which [requires] sufficient skill and knowledge in managing local people who live near and inside the forest. Main problems found in the park were how to increase people's welfare while at the same time [conserving] the forest and wildlife living there"*
> **(Amalia, Type 1 Graduate, Head of Sub-division Research Follow-ups and Cooperation - Ministry of Forestry)**

Most graduates who pursued an economics or development economics degree had no background in these fields. Amalia, who pursued an undergraduate degree in Biology was one who specifically mentioned the added value of pursuing the programme for her job. However, it was not the first choice for all. Many would have rather studied a programme in a different field or studied abroad entirely. The determining factor for many was the availability of scholarships for civil servants.

> *"I was taking advantage of the privileges of a civil servant. [...] to study for free, to get a scholarship"*
> **(Nabi, Type 1 Graduate, Ministry of Maritime and Fisheries Affairs)**

Nabi at first wanted to pursue further studies in environmental science, as it is more related to his Bachelor's degree in Fishery and his work in the quarantine department. However, he took what was offered to him. Scholarships are tied to a list of programmes, which the institutions see fit with their needs or are restricted due to funding. Yuli from the Training Unit of BAPPENAS said that funding from abroad depends on the political situation and also how well the head of the unit maintains relationships with counterparts overseas. Thus, many were not given any other option as to the degree they eventually pursued. Type 6 and Type 7 graduates were not civil servants prior to their Master's studies, thus they had 'free pick' of what they wanted to study.

From the perspective of a lecturer, the motivation of a student and type of experience wanted are also of great importance. They are determining factors in the success of a student. Ian, a lecturer of Type 6 programme, who was a graduate of the programme himself, said that if the motivation was only to party and travel, the student will not grow. There must be a willingness to learn.

5.1.2. Study Experiences

When asked about their experiences studying at home and abroad, the immediate answer given by many was on the interaction with teaching staff.

> *"The way of teaching [abroad] made it easier for us to express our ideas"*
> **(Eko, Type 2 Graduate, Ministry of Forestry)**

The way of teaching abroad was found to be less of a one way street than at home, especially in the Netherlands. Lecturers were not only lecturing, but engaged students in creating the learning environment. Students were treated as equals to teaching staff, encouraged to work independently and also to share knowledge amongst each other. The graduates felt, in both the Netherlands and Japan, that the teaching staffs were very supportive and attentive. Furthermore, was the issue of absence. Where it was mandatory in Indonesia, in the Netherlands it was up to the students themselves as long as they would pass the examination. Furthermore, at the overseas institution students were given a broader choice of courses. They were also able to take classes outside of their

department. Agus, a Type 4 graduate and civil servant at the Directorate General of Taxes, took a variety of classes, e.g. at the E-business department of JPN-A. Moreover, an interesting statement he made was that he did not necessarily feel the development focus of the economics at JPN-A. He mentioned the one module he was able to pick at Local-A, which was development economics. Ihlas, who graduated from the same programme and now works at the Directorate of Food and Agriculture, said he was able to tailor his studies at JPN-A more towards what is relevant for his work. He took subjects such as public-private-partnerships and cycle management of overseas loans. Most agreed that abroad, their studies were more practical than in Indonesia. Yulia, Type 4 graduate and civil servant at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, spoke of visits to private and public entities as part of her courses.

> ### *"In my batch there was a Chinese and a Tibetan. So I learned about politics"*
> ### (Intan, Type 1 Graduate, Ministry of Culture and Tourism)

Friends were in fact another difference mentioned by most. The learning environment at the institution abroad was more international than at home with their own estimation of 80-90% of the students being from various developing nations, although some of them did have a couple of international students in their batch at the Indonesian institution. Abroad, through work groups or foremost informal settings students could learn about each other's cultures and the development of their countries. Another aspect mentioned was the use of the English language. Although the language of instruction is English at all institutions, it was not the language of interaction outside class in Indonesia. If something was unclear it could be discussed again in Bahasa Indonesia or the local language. This affected the learning process for some, where they felt that they had to put more effort studying abroad than at home.

In addition to the issue of language, those who pursued a pure economics degree in both countries specifically mentioned that the workload at the foreign university was considerably more difficult. Novi, a Type 3 graduate and civil servant at the Audit Board, said she was not used to the fast learning pace attributed to the term structure in the Netherlands as opposed to the semester structure in Indonesia. Eko, also mentioned that

at NL-B he would study after class or the whole day on days off until nightfall. A further difference mentioned was the source of learning material. In Indonesia, learning was primarily based on text books, whereas at the foreign institution many journal articles were used and students were encouraged to look for their own study material.

For many it was a challenge even at the Indonesian institution as their academic background was far from economics. Whether the programme they pursued was their first choice or not, they all embraced the opportunity to explore a new field. Although it was far from what he knew, Nabi took up the challenge as a chance to gain knowledge in a new field. Economics turned out to be 'extraordinarily' difficult. However, he enjoyed the less mainstream subjects, which gave him insights into interactions between the North and the South. Most agreed that the time at the Indonesian university laid a good foundation for their time at the overseas university, where topics were discussed in depth. Intan faced another challenge during her studies in Indonesia. Even though she was officially on study leave, she was still called into work. She spent the mornings at university and the afternoons at the office. She said that it was not fun having double the workload and that she would have rather studied abroad entirely so she would be left alone by her office. Agus also indicated that the studies towards his degree are not optimal for his work. He stressed the difference in studying with fellow bureaucrats and those of private institutions at JPN-A. He was of the opinion, that short courses are better to develop professional capacity as one can share experiences between fellow civil servants working in taxes.

For Type 6 graduates the experience was in many aspects different to the others. First, they only spent a fraction of the time overseas of those of the other programmes. When asked about her experiences abroad, Uta, a graduate and now lecturer of Type 6 programme, began by telling about the Indonesian group who were in the Netherlands with her. She went abroad by herself, but was picked up by friends who brought her to the apartment, which had been organised, and she lived with Javanese people. The classes she took at NL-D focused on research design, which was useful upon return to Local-B where she did her research. For Uta and Ian, their time in the Netherlands was only a glimpse in the ways of studying and living abroad. It seems their experience during their PhD studies affected them more in terms of personal and professional growth. They spent

a greater amount of time abroad, mingled more with international students and staff, and could truly immerse more in the study and living culture. This was especially true for Uta, as she had learned French prior to commencing her studies in France and the working language at the university was French. Although Ian attempted to learn German in Austria, the working language for him was English.

All in all, the respondents agreed that the way of learning and teaching was different, not necessarily the academic knowledge. Through interaction with teaching staff abroad and other international as well as local students, they gained valuable experience. Not just in the university setting, but also in daily life. Those in Japan mentioned the work ethics of the Japanese, their discipline in simple matters such as queuing. Furthermore, the people in the village where they lived often facilitated events to teach international students about the Japanese culture, such as drinking tea together, wearing kimonos and trips to other regions. For many it was also an eye-opening experience as it was their first time leaving Indonesia.

> *"It's the experience of interaction; interaction with people, with classmates, with teachers. That's what's more useful it seems."*
> **(Intan, Type 1 Graduate, Ministry of Culture and Tourism)**

Yusuf, a Type 1 graduate and now Head of Bilateral Cooperation in the Department of Programme Development at the Ministry of Public Work, had an additional unique experience abroad. He took on employment at an Indonesian restaurant during his studies abroad. Starting off as dishwasher and then promoted to cook, he said that it was an enriching experience. Although at times it did mean he had to give up travelling. Those in the Netherlands saw travelling as an important aspect of their overseas experience. In addition to personal travels, as part of his studies Yusuf went on a trip to Ireland organised by NL-A.

For those with families, being apart from their husbands, wives and children was another challenge they had to face. Indah had to leave her children in Jakarta while she was in the Netherlands for her Master's. She used all her free time to get in touch with her children. This is also part of the reason why she barely mingled with her international

classmates. Furthermore, many elaborated on the experience of living in a dorm. It was an adjustment from living with the family, to living alone. Nonetheless, it was also an enriching experience. Those who had moved out from home for the first time learned to be independent. In addition, everyone enjoyed cooking together with friends and learning about each other's cultures.

A topic which came up in a number of interviews was learning the local language at the foreign institution. Indah said one year was not enough time to learn a language. In addition, there was no need to learn Dutch as everyone spoke English. She said it may be good to become closer friends with Dutch students or if your children are with you and they go to Dutch schools. Even though it was not necessary, Eko regretted not having learned Dutch. Those who went to Japan had Japanese lessons prior to departure and had the possibility of taking Japanese classes as part of their degree. However, they barely needed it while being there.

Overall, it was the way of thinking, learning and living that these graduates internalised most while studying abroad. These were the key words mostly mentioned in regards to their experiences studying at home and abroad.

5.2. Knowledge Transfer

Knowledge transfer can occur two ways: when students go abroad to study and when they return home. All but three respondents have had work experience prior to their graduate education. Explicitly or inexplicitly their experience outside the academic world, shaped their own learning and those of others. Graduates were asked to comment on development and Indonesia's issues in this regard. Furthermore they were asked whether studying at the foreign university influenced their take on development, all strongly agreed. Consequently, 'how' studying abroad has done so, was a vital question to be asked in interviews. All interviewees said that studying abroad had broadened their perspectives on development and Indonesia's development issues. They all agreed that they needed to share their experience in order to help Indonesia grow.

> *"Development studies, the essence is in sharing knowledge"*
> **(Iman, Head of Directorate for Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

Based on his own experiences and the experiences he has had with people on his team who have pursued further studies, Iman encourages his team members to continue their studies, especially abroad. He values the inputs of his team members when drafting a plan on regional autonomy. As Indonesia is a diverse country, one could learn from the experiences of other countries with the way they implement regional autonomy. He sees BAPPENAS equivalent to a higher education institution, where it is about research and finding the best way to formulate policies. Ian also sees international mobility and cooperation as important aspects in research as he can show his work to the world, but also be up to date with current issues.

5.2.1. Tacit Knowledge

> *"What I emphasise is change your mindset. [...] I travelled to all 34 provinces of Indonesia. From Sabang to Merauke[2], I have been to all. [...] The local people, if we talk too theoretic, it's not good. It's better for them if we talk about experience."*
> **(Ihsan, Type 1 Graduate, Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

Since international experience was the main motivation for the interviewees to go abroad, it is not surprising that in their eyes most of the knowledge accumulated and applied upon return is tacit.

> *"Before I felt like I couldn't, now I can."*
> **(Andi, Type 5 Graduate, Directorate General of Taxes)**

All the respondents said they could feel the overseas study experience has affected them personally and their approach to their work, but most could not give a direct example.

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[2] Sabang is the most western point of Indonesia, Merauke the most eastern point. "From Sabang to Merauke" was a slogan used by nationalists during the independence struggle (Webster, 2007).

> *"It affects your way of thinking [...] how to plan something, analyse something"*
> **(Indah, Type 2 Graduate/ and PhD Candidate, Macroeconomic Planning - BAPPENAS)**
>
> *"What is obvious is their perspective, their perspectives are broader; the way they approach a problem is also different, not narrow minded"*
> **(Iman, Head of Directorate for Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

The two quotes above illustrate that the experiences graduates have upon return may coincide with what a superior observes. It seems to be primarily tacit knowledge that is applied and maybe transferred to colleagues at government institutions.

All of the respondents mentioned they had learned to work independently. They are now able to approach a problem from multiple angles and think critically about the issue at hand. The experience abroad has also made them see Indonesia in a different light, both in negative and positive aspects.

> *"It turned out humans everywhere are just the same. [...] Having faults and strengths"*
> **(Rizki, Type 3 Graduate, Ministry for Public Work)**

When asked whether his view on Indonesia has changed after having lived abroad, he said that the Dutch, Indonesian, they are all the same. No one is superior. Furthermore, through discussions about development with colleagues Arif, a Type 1 graduate and civil servant at the State Ministry for Acceleration Development of Disadvantaged Regions, said that Indonesia can be more confident. Issues such as corruption were faced by other developing countries and can be overcome. Novi had asked herself, how the Netherlands, such a small nation, could rule over an area as vast as Indonesia. If it is because of the hard work of the people, she believes that Indonesia has the capacity. If the people are well directed, Indonesia can develop to be a great nation, as did China which she saw to have become superior to many Western countries. These are perceptions which could only have been gained through first-hand experience.

A further example of tacit knowledge that a number of respondents gave was the improvement of their English language skills. The language of instruction at all of the universities was English. In addition, English was the main language of interaction outside of class overseas. Students came from various different countries and spoke English respectively. Yusuf pointed out that Indonesians would understand another Indonesian's English in any circumstance. However, it took some adjustment to those with different accents. This ability to communicate in English with others than one's own people can also be categorised as interpersonal competence. The increased ability to interact in a multicultural setting was an asset named by numerous respondents as a result of their overseas experience. Many deal with foreign or international governmental and non-governmental organisations in their line of work. Studying and living abroad, and the interaction with international students and staff have given them insight into diverse cultures, especially that of the host country. Ihlas said that he now feels more comfortable especially working with JICA, after having lived in Japan and learning how to interact with the Japanese. In addition to lecturing, Uta works in the international office of her department. She said that her own experience abroad can help her in advising Indonesian students who want to go abroad, as she can put herself in their shoes.

> *"People say that at the Master's level is essentially not about the knowledge; it's about the way of thinking."*
> **(Andi, Type 5 Graduate, Directorate General of Taxes)**

In the end, it seems to have not mattered to most what they studied, but that they had the experience of studying abroad as well as at home.

5.2.2. Codified Knowledge

> *"When we are asked to [talk about] environment, global warming issues and so on; but we still have the stomach problem in Indonesia"*
> **(Ihsan, Type 1 Graduate, Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

A number of graduates implied that much knowledge on development, whether gained locally or abroad, is not or not yet applicable to Indonesia. There seems to be anomalies in regards to theories and models when it comes to the development of Indonesia. Ayu said the efforts in planning in Indonesia were good, but implementation was very weak. In class, they had learned that poverty is multi-dimensional and could not be tackled by one sector on their own. Attempts have been made to harmonise various poverty reduction programmes at regional and national levels. However, it seems to still not be working in Indonesia. Too many stakeholders and bureaucracy are two of the main reasons claimed as to why this is the case. Adi claimed that in this case the knowledge he gained in Indonesia is indeed more applicable as it deals directly with their own people. This is also in line with a comment made by Iman, who has been a civil servant in development planning and a scholar of development studies for over two decades. He is of the opinion that development studies in Europe has now come to a halt as theories can no longer be derived from its experiences. In contrast, theories can still be developed in Asia.

> *"Development Studies has no frontiers. We set the limits ourselves"*
> **(Iman, Head of Directorate for Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

All of the graduates did their Master's research on issues relevant to Indonesia's development. In doing so they contributed writings to the field of development studies. Topics were diverse, ranging from environmental impact of human activities, to inclusive growth and tourism to name a few. These writings are archived both at the local and overseas university. Furthermore, they have to be shown at the government institution in many cases, or submitted as a paper in the internal bulletin.

During her studies at NL-A Amalia learned in her development studies course that there were differences in basic perceptions between so called developed and developing countries.

> *"I realised that we do not have to label a country as a "developed country", or "developing country", or even "less developed country". Every nation and country grow via their own path and in their own way, with a different starting point. Every nation and country should be called a developed nation or country, because whatever has been reached up to this moment is a development from the past."*
> **(Amalia, Type 1 Graduate, Head of Sub-division Research Follow-ups and Cooperation - Ministry of Forestry)**

However, despite this realisation through studying abroad, Amalia did gain knowledge useful to her work. The R&D activities in her department focus on local and national economic development through community empowerment programmes. What she had learned in lectures and through discussion at NL-A equipped her with a good basis to find a suitable method for this purpose in Indonesia. Another respondent also said without hesitation that he had been able to make use of codified knowledge at his workplace. Rizki, Type 3 Graduate, a civil servant at the Ministry of Public Works, has written an article in the internal bulletin of the Ministry. In this article he made recommendations to measure the output of public projects not only in the number of people they have reached, but also in economic parameters to measure their impact on economic development. Furthermore, Ihlas gave a detailed description on how the classes he took on cycle management of foreign loans are useful for his day-to-day activities at BAPPENAS. A cycle begins with the planning to take up the loan until replication, and he also learned how to set indicators to measure the impact of the loan on certain projects. His daily activities at work now include drafting development plans such as to contribute to the RPJMNs, field visits, monitoring and evaluation of projects.

> *"For now I cannot make use of development economics [...] in case one day I am placed at a unit that is related to it, it may be useful"*
> **(Andi, Type 1 Graduate, Audit Board of RI)**

However, most say that it is not or not yet applicable to their work. Just like Andi many work in departments that do not make use of the theories they had studied. Eko said his research could be applied directly, if he had been stationed at the relevant department. His research was about the impact of human activity on emissions. He had hoped at the time that he could use it to analyse activities of the Ministry of Forestry, such as replanting activities on Java on carbon uptake. However, since he is working in a technical department of the ministry, it is rather the way of thinking that he can apply at work.

In contrast to those working at government institutions, those working at the university are very much able to make use of the codified knowledge gained at home and abroad. As lecturers they are able to pass on their knowledge to their students and as researchers they are able to produce new knowledge. Uta said that she was the first in the department of regional development at Local-B to specialise on disaster risk management. Furthermore, Ian said he loved being a lecturer as he could realise his dream step by step. Students are a vital part in realising this process, by involving them in his research projects. He in turn uses his research to teach and collaborates with students in writing articles.

5.3. Networking

> *"For development studies a strong network is important"*
> **(Iman, Head of Directorate for Regional Autonomy - BAPPENAS)**

The term "networking" was only specifically mentioned by three respondents in all interviews with graduates. Yulia was the only one who mentioned it as a motivation to study abroad. At the moment she cannot yet use the contacts she has made for professional purposes. However, she is keeping touch with friends through social media and messaging applications, as she believes they will be useful in the future. It was also mentioned by Aulia. She developed a professional network in the Netherlands amongst various universities. However, it only started growing during her stay at in Netherlands during her PhD studies and now with her work at the international office of her department. Although not explicitly labelled as networking, Ayu has got in touch with a

friend in the Philippines to share professional experiences. She recently received an assignment on financial inclusion, which is a topic her friend has been working on.

> *"People usually group together with others who are similar. [...] people would want to befriend people of the same culture."*
> **(Eko, Type 2 Graduate, Ministry of Forestry)**

In general however, the experience abroad did not seem to diversify either the personal or professional network of graduates. In set double degree programmes, as a large group of Indonesians are sent abroad at once, many held on to what they were familiar with. A number of the JPN-A graduates mentioned that Indonesians made up a large proportion of the student population, which Kaia sees as a downside to the programme. They did make acquaintances in class with locals and other internationals, but it did not move or has not moved beyond university settings. A handful of friends remained, mostly Indonesians, but barely any professional linkages were made, unless they were from the same institution and are working with each other daily. The main method of contact with others named was 'facebook'. Some international friends have come to Indonesia, however mostly for personal reasons.

Iman has been a civil servant for over 20 years and was a foreign graduate himself, up to a post-doc in development related fields. He is often involved in government or academic projects with his former study colleagues and former universities. The contacts he made during his studies have proven useful to his career. The friends he made during his graduate and postgraduate studies have become civil servants, lecturers and professors. Many of whom he has collaborated with in research. Currently, they are working on a publication on globalisation, poverty and inequality. Furthermore, networking is also part of the day-to-day activities of BAPPENAS, which interacts with international organisations such as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Now as a lecturer, Ian sees the importance of international cooperation in academia. On the one hand, he can showcase the results of his research. On the other hand, he can update himself on what is happening in his field. He is currently involved in a joint research project between Brazil, Mexico and Indonesia.

Not only is networking or social relations important for the elite, but also for the people. Social capital was a term mentioned by Ihsan when he spoke about the development issues of Indonesia. In fact he mentioned the loss of social capital. People no longer have a sense of belonging or duty to the community. The term in Indonesian for working together to reach a common goal is 'gotong royong'. He feels that it is needed for the development of the regions and the country. National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM) is widely implemented in regional areas. However, Ihsan is of the opinion that it may lead to the loss of 'gotong royong'. Today people work together because there is money from the government, not because they want to contribute to the community.

5.4. Brain Circulation

> *"The hope is that they can do their jobs better, do things they couldn't do before"*
> **(Yuli, Training Unit - BAPPENAS)**

Graduates who were civil servants prior to their studies received a combination of local and foreign scholarships. These scholarships were awarded with conditions, one of which is to return to their previous employment for $(2N + 1)$ years, i.e. two times the number of years scholarship recipients have studied plus an additional year. Most of the respondents received a combined scholarship through the BAPPENAS scholarship programme. As stated on their website and information booklets, BAPPENAS scholarship programmes aim to support institutional capacity building (GOI 2014a, 2014b). It aims to "increase the competency, productivity and professionalism of planners" (GOI, 2014b: i) as "planning is the motor of development" as explained by Yuli. Her colleague Yuda stresses the need to standardise planning in terms of the main framework, with considerations of the needs of individual regions. Indah says it is a commitment to BAPPENAS, in return for facilitating further education. She is of the opinion, if you have to give back, it is best through the government. She hopes that she can contribute to making policies that can benefit the people. Adi's quote in regards to knowledge application "Before I couldn't, now I can" suggests that this aim of increased competency, productivity and professionalism is attainable.

5.4.1. Physical Return

> *"I would like [...] to be able to contribute to this country through this institution. But right now I don't yet know how, because I can only do as I am told"*
> **(Yulia, Type 4 Graduate, Ministry of Culture and Tourism)**

However, upon return the extent of the applicability of knowledge and skills learned abroad or even locally differs in each case as stated in the previous section on knowledge transfer. The working environment in many institutions is not conducive for internationally educated civil servants to share their knowledge and experiences, which may lead to graduates wanting to leave.

> *"If I cannot grow here, I would like to develop myself, elsewhere."*
> **(Yulia, Type 4 Graduate, Ministry of Culture and Tourism)**

Yulia is aspiring to gain work experience abroad. She said that friends from work have taken leave to do so. She would like to experience working in a developed country, where she can improve herself and continuously learn, which she feels will be more of a challenge. Although Ayu receives support from her workplace she acknowledged that this may not be the case for many. A workplace may not support the development of the capacity gained from studying abroad and there may be bureaucracy that plays a role in inhibiting such a process. A single degree graduate of international development from JPN-A goes one step further to say what is the use of educating civil servants if they are given the work which requires less skills. For some brain waste occurs because of their superior, for others it is the mismatch of qualification and position.

In light of these findings, I asked the Training Unit at BAPPENAS whether they had a monitoring and evaluation system to ensure the applicability of knowledge and skills gained by their graduates to their workplace. Yuli said that the placement of graduates upon return is determined by the head of the institution and they could not "make them" do otherwise. The focus of this institutional capacity building are regional institutions, in order to standardise planning practices. However, it is especially in the regions where it is

difficult to keep in touch. In order to counteract misplacements and ensure greater returns, co-sharing of scholarships have been put in place, as this may lead to sense of ownership at regional institutions. As they themselves have made an investment, the hope is that they will place the graduates effectively. The issue of regional governments was also mentioned by Ihsan from the Directorate of Regional Autonomy at BAPPENAS. He says that the capacity in many regions is very low. Thus, giving them money is like giving money to a child. Like a child who would buy candy, less developed regions would spend or waste the money rather than invest in building the human and capital capacity of the region. Many heads of local governments only spend a small fraction of their time in the region and stay mostly in Jakarta, consuming much of what is meant for the regions' development.

> *"For developing countries, direction is more important than democracy"*
> **(Yuda, Training Unit - BAPPENAS)**

This quote may seem drastic when left on its own. However, direction indeed seems to be necessary at this stage of development in Indonesia. There is a need of change in the mind-set of those in powerful positions. A number of the graduates mentioned the problem of coordination, whether it is within an institution or inter-institutions. The lack of coordination hinders the implementation of development plans, no matter how well they have been drafted. The lack of coordination is supplemented by egoistic interests of stakeholders. When civil servants return, they have a different approach to their work and a change in their way of thinking. It is investing in the future. This may contribute to solving these issues.

The three respondents, who were not civil servants prior to their Master's studies, became one after graduation and took on teaching positions at Local-B. They are now teaching classes taken by current students of the double degree programme in geo-information. Ian said as a lecturer in Indonesia, you had three obligations: teaching, research and public service. The three cannot be done separately, but need to be integrated. Working with students enables him to do so. He can use his research and research results to teach and the research conducted is often related to public needs. In

contrasts to those at government institutions, there is no mismatch of qualification and position. Physical return in this case is beneficial to the institution and in sustaining the knowledge network. Furthermore, these three graduates continued to do their PhDs abroad and are still often overseas for work or collaborate with foreign institutions. There is a multiple circulation of brains as they have gone abroad and returned several times.

5.4.2. Live Link

It is also not to be neglected, that even in the case of outward mobility, skilled individuals cannot move without leaving a trace. All of the respondents did or are doing their Master and PhD theses on issues relevant to Indonesia's development, which establishes links between the foreign country and Indonesia. Yuli says those working at BAPPENAS are required to do research in line with the needs of the agency. In this way, civil servants as students act not only a live links between countries, but also academic practices with practical matters. Moreover, for SPIRIT scholars, those funded by the World Bank, the topic of their research is set prior to departure. Indah, now a SPIRIT scholar, is currently preparing her PhD research on inclusive growth, which is a prominent agenda in the government's national development plan. In the process of her research she will be in touch with Indonesian people and institutions, creating a bridge between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Furthermore, the establishment of the DDPs themselves creates a link between the two countries. When asked about the rationales in establishing these double degree programmes, Yuda said there are two main reasons: cost effectiveness for the training unit as DDPs are less costly than an entire study abroad, and to reach similar standards between local and foreign universities.

However, it seems that as soon as civil servants return, there is no longer a link to their host country. Not many at government institutions have returned to the country of their foreign institution. One graduate indicated in the initial questionnaire that he returned for a 3-week short course. Another has returned for personal reasons and only one is currently back at the foreign institution to do her PhD. Many are thinking about further education abroad, but are yet to complete the conditions of their scholarships.

6. Discussion

6.1. Link to Literature

In order to see which lessons can be learned from this study a link needs to be established between the findings presented in the previous chapter and the literature reviewed in chapter two.

6.1.1. Individual Experiences

In terms of the road leading up to the mobility of students, findings in general coincide with the existing literature. As stated by Hau et al. (2013), motivations are influential in whether knowledge transfer takes place. Although there is ample literature on the push and pull factors of international student mobility, it is not to be neglected even if the main focus is on the network of knowledge production. The majority of respondents only named pull factors. They wanted to experience studying and living abroad. They wanted to improve their English language skills and learn about other cultures. Push factors, however, were given only implicitly at most. What can be interpreted as one is that the knowledge available overseas is different, to the one available in Indonesia. None of the graduates claimed the inability of the Indonesian education system to provide for their needs or that the living standards in Indonesia were unbearable. Moreover, the social networks of graduates played a deciding role as have been suggested by previous studies (Beech, 2014). The first aspect for civil servants is the encouragement of superiors to continue with their education, especially at BAPPENAS, and the career prospects. In addition, family desires influenced the decision for many, as indicated specifically by Ayu. No doubt, institutionalised funding schemes was a determining factor in enabling the process of mobility for the respondents (Joens, 2015), as outlined by Nabi's quote on the advantages of a civil servant. An aspect which could have been explored further was whether they would have gone without these institutionalised schemes. However, knowledge accumulation seems to be less of a driving factor. The only one who explicitly decided for the double degree programme based on specific knowledge was Aulia. She stated the leading position of the Netherlands in spatial planning. In this case knowledge was the driving factor of mobility as suggested by Raghuram (2013).

Experiences of mobility will depend on the type of student in regards to the level and subject of study, as well as the destination country (Raghuram and King, 2013). All respondents pursued studies at a Master's level, but indeed there were a number of differences between the experiences of those in the Netherlands and those in Japan. Those in the Netherlands stressed the issue of independence, while those in Japan spoke of the work ethics. Moreover, there were differences in experience between the different programmes. Those who pursued a pure economics degree seemed to have experienced a greater workload abroad. Furthermore, the experience of mobility will differ according to the motivations and intentions of students. Also, as stated by Ian, it is important that students have a willingness to learn. It seems that these civil servants did have the willingness to learn. However, they may have had a difference experience, if knowledge accumulation was their first priority. They may have remembered more details about the classes taken and their own research, which many had difficulties to recall. Nevertheless, it seems that students were learning from each other during group work and discussions in class. There is no doubt from the narratives of the graduates, that their study colleagues shaped learning and living experience. The network of knowledge production is indeed not only shaped by education providers and academics, but also by the students (Raghuram, 2013). Ian stated that students are a vital part of research practices. However, it seems in most cases at the Indonesian university, graduates felt that the way of teaching was frontal and classes were guided by text books which originated from abroad. Teaching resources were in the English language and the language of instruction was English. This leads to the issue of 'language imperialism' (Knight, 2011b). It remains to be seen whether the development of these collaborations may lead to a growth of development studies in Indonesia and its literature in Bahasa Indonesia. A further aspect that could not be explored in this study is how students from countries that need to be developed, shape development studies from the perspective of 'Western' academics. For an over-all picture of the network these missing nodes would have needed to also be questioned.

6.1.2. Knowledge Transfer

Social relations between students, led to explicit knowledge such as the political situation between China and Tibet as mentioned by Intan. Moreover, it led to tacit

knowledge, which was only possible to gain through experience such as inter-cultural skills and broadened perspectives. From the perspective of one lecturer, students are invaluable to the network of knowledge production. It would have been interesting to see multiple perspectives of university staff at the local and foreign universities, in which ways they feel that students shape the learning and teaching environment. The contribution of student migrants to the knowledge network and thus, institutional capacity lies foremost in tacit knowledge. As tacit knowledge is more difficult to gain as it requires direct contact, it is valued more than explicit (Hau et al., 2013). An example is the exposure to Japanese work ethics or the independence in the Netherlands. This knowledge or experience possessed by his internationally educated team members is also valued highly by Iman. As stated by Adi, it seems that many were of the opinion that a Master's level education is foremost about the way of thinking rather than the content itself.

As highlighted in the contemporary literature on development, North-South collaborations are imperative (Sumner 2006; Raghuram and Madge 2006). Although most graduates did not pursue a development studies programme, their fields of studies contribute to the cross-disciplinary field of DS (Potter, 2014). It seems the perception of development studies outlined by the respondents of this study coincide with critique on DS that the issues discussed are often irrelevant or not suited to the needs of the researched. Moreover, following the post-colonial method's line of thought (Raghuram and Madge, 2006) it seems that development studies in the eyes of many respondents does need to see the South or the developing world without constant comparison to the North or the developed world, as stated by Amalia. However, double degree programmes as such, with the endorsement and support of a government institution is a step in the right direction. Topics were determined by these graduates with guidelines from their institutions and scholarship donors. As suggested by post-colonial methods of research, academics should not dominate what constitutes as knowledge (Raghuram and Madge, 2006). Moreover, knowledge is constructed and not an inherent quality of an individual or an organisation (Fenwick and Edwards, 2014). This implies both post-colonial method and actor-knowledge approach are in line with each other and can be applied in DS and development practice. Furthermore, as stated by Iman, "development studies has no

frontiers. We set our own limits". There is still plenty of room for the construction of knowledge in development studies and practices with the collaboration of all those involved in the network.

6.1.3. Networking

A study on Indian return migrants found that knowledge and skills were at 72% the most influential element in development (CODEV-EPFL, 2013). Networks established overseas only made up 7%. Thus, it is not surprising that 'networking' was barely mentioned in interviews. Personal or professional networks seem to have less of an impact on the respondents' experience, much less on institutional capacity development. However, it may also depend on the amount of time overseas and the position one holds at the office. Iman, who has been a civil servant and scholar of development studies for over 20 years, has made good use of the network he has built over the years.

6.1.4. Brain Circulation

Finally, it is the question of how international student mobility can contribute to brain circulation. This study is based on outward mobility of Indonesian students. In the first instance the prospect of being able to study abroad on a scholarship, may induce a brain gain. As civil servants have to pass several tests, they may want to increase their English language and personal capabilities to stand out from competitors. For those who chose to return and teach, it is evident where the benefit lies for sustaining the knowledge network. As lecturers, Ian, Uta and Aulia were able to apply the knowledge gained and pass on their knowledge to their students. Furthermore, the constant flow of students within the double degree programmes between the local and foreign universities is beneficial for the capacity development educational institutions. They act as a live link between spatialities (Raghuram, 2013). However, the perspectives of university staff in this matter, foreign ones especially, are insufficiently presented in this study. Furthermore, the establishment of the double degree programme itself is beneficial to education providers and scholarship donors. In terms of the benefits for education providers, this study was unable to explore this aspect; whether it was financially lucrative or enhanced the quality of education as suggested in previous studies (Leung and Waters, 2013; Sutrisno and Pillay 2013a/b). It is to be noted, however, that none of the respondents claimed that there were

differences in the quality of the education between the local and foreign university. Most said that the curricula in both were in line with each other. It seems that the first rationale given by BAPPENAS to reach similar standards in education may have been realised. Furthermore, the second rationale has been realised. The training unit at BAPPENAS was able to cut costs, as an entire education abroad is more costly than funding DDPs.

In contrast to the respondents of the study on Nepalese student returnees (Ghimire and Maharjan, 2014), the return of the civil servants at government institutions was not entirely based on personal choice, nor were their intentions to contribute to the development of Indonesia. Their education and mobility is part of a national development plan. It was expected of these graduates to return to their work place with increased competency and contribute to their institution. Most respondents mentioned explicitly that they would like to contribute to the development of Indonesia. A handful stated they would like to do so through their institution. A question which could have been explored is to what extent these scholarship schemes shape the intentions of the respondents. For those who returned to a government institution, their contribution to institutional capacity development or sustainment of the knowledge network is less clear. Upon return many struggled to apply the knowledge gained abroad in their workplace. For some it was due to a mismatch of education and knowledge required for their work. For others it was due to a lack of opportunity to apply and develop that knowledge. These findings are in line with what has already been found but a number of researchers, that not only personal, but also structural factors are decisive for the knowledge transfer process to make a positive contribution (Ghimire and Maharjan, 2014).

This leads to the notion of brain waste, which occurs when an individual assumes a profession where less skill, or in several cases in this study a different skill, is required than what they have acquired (Garcia Pires, 2015). In the study on Indian returnees physical return and knowledge transfer were discussed as two separate impacts (CODEV-EPFL, 2013), which was also the initial outlook of this study. However, it is evident that the two are linked. Knowledge transfer can occur without physical return, however likely only explicit. For tacit knowledge to be transferred, people need to interact with each other. As it was mentioned by most respondents that a change of mind-set is needed in Indonesia, physical return is needed for the transfer of knowledge.

It would have been enlightening to speak to a superior to find out where the issue lies. Is it because they did not receive an overseas education or they are simply stuck in their old habits? The inability of civil servants to apply their knowledge may also be due to the organisational issues in Indonesia. As stated by many, planning, i.e. developing ideas and concepts is already functioning in Indonesia and closer to the needs of the region. What needs to be adapted from abroad seems to be the capability of proper implementation.

The benefits of international student mobility for education institutions seem apparent. However, the capacity building of government institutions has yet to overcome major obstacles. The focus on capacity development of civil servants is not enough and strides have to be made simultaneously with superiors. The capacity development of government institutions hinges on the relationships between these nodes.

6.2. Policy Implications

In light of the analysis above, policy recommendations will be formulated for Indonesia's 'institutional capacity building' agenda to achieve greater impact on the development of Indonesia.

First, there is a need for better placements of civil servants in study programmes and in particular, when they return to the institution. It may not be possible to suit the needs of civil servants and their institutions perfectly given the limitations of available programmes. However, research focus could be directed to relevant topics for the institution. Another solution is to set up new programmes in other fields listed as development goals in the RPJPN. This may in turn require better relations with donors as availability is often subject to funding. When civil servants return, they need to be placed in positions equal to their education level and field, requiring the new gained knowledge and skills.

Moreover, there is a need for a monitoring and evaluation system to ensure that there are returns to this investment in education. It needs to be monitored that internationally educated civil servants are placed in positions where they can show their potential and contribute to the institution. Furthermore, it is to be evaluated how beneficial these contributions are, and consequently, how effective these scholarship schemes. An indicator of the effectiveness of this scheme may be measured by the retention rates of

civil servants after their mandatory employment for reimbursing their study is over. Another related means is qualitative measures of job satisfaction of both employees and employers.

Finally, there is a need for better communication between government institutions to ensure smooth implementation of not only this agenda, but all those that may arise as a result of the knowledge and skills brought by these civil servants. They should, furthermore, be encouraged to foster relationships with their former universities and study colleagues. The planning and implementation of projects may benefit from co-operations between education and government institutions. The latter can also benefit from the constant flow of students, graduates and civil servants. DS and development practices are or should be intertwined.

7.   Conclusion

> *"Development is a long journey. Development is not just one person."*
> **(Nabi, Type 1 Graduate, Ministry of Maritime and Fisheries Affairs)**

This quote sums up the conclusion that can be drawn from this research. Its departure was Indonesian civil servants who have pursued international double degrees and the focus was their individual perspectives. The mobility of these civil servants as students or students becoming civil servants have great potential in contributing to the knowledge networks of development studies and practices. However, it has yet to be fully realised.

In terms of the experiences associated with double degree programmes themselves, the respondents agreed they were positive overall. It can be said that there are differences in teaching style and learning environment between the Indonesian and the foreign university. These differences, along with the cultural experience, widened the respondents' perspectives on development and critical thinking. The mobility of these civil servants have contributed tacit and explicit knowledge to the world of academia, shaping knowledge networks in development studies. It is also evident that a number of these civil servants have come to realise that development is not a single unilinear process. Challenging perspectives to the classical view of development as such may be a starting point for a growth of DS in Indonesia or the South in general. However, links with their work and thus, development practices, are in many cases very weak.

Indonesia's government is sending its civil servants abroad, in the name of "institutional capacity building", but does not make sufficient room for these civil servants to realise and implement their potential upon return. It is not enough to develop an individual's capacity, since it is only one part of the network. For international student mobility to be able to contribute to national development, the working environment in Indonesia needs to be conducive to its internationally educated civil servants to share their knowledge and experiences. It will take more than further educating those at the bottom of the pyramid and it will require a restructuring of everyday practices. For this agenda to be more than an idea or a thought-out plan, those in higher positions also need to embrace the change.

Development studies and development practices are inherently connected and are parts of a mutual network. This study has shown that the mobility of students can contribute to fostering this connection and shaping the knowledge network in development studies and practices through knowledge accumulation, production and transfer, and through the physical return of student migrants. Nevertheless, it can only do so in collaboration with other actors in the network.

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a) Interview Guide - Graduates

1. Which double degree programme (DDP) did you complete?

    What were your motivations for pursuing this degree?

    How did you finance your studies?

    When did you complete your studies?

2. What were the differences between studying at the Indonesian and the foreign institution?

    Academic aspects.

    Social aspects.

    How could you as a student shape the learning environment?

3. Did you make friends from other nationalities through your studies?

    Where were they from?

    How are you still in touch?

    What kind of experiences do you share?

4. How has the way you look at Indonesia and its development issues changed after completing the DDP?

    What did/ does development mean to you?

5. How can you apply the knowledge and skills learned through your studies to your current work?

    What is your current occupation?

    How long have you been in this position?

**   Is there anything else you would like to say about your experiences, Indonesia or development in general?

b) E-mail Questionnaire - Graduates

1. Which double degree programme did you complete? (Please state degrees awarded and the awarding universities)

2. In what year did you complete the programme?

3. How did you finance your studies? If you received a scholarship, were there any conditions attached?

4. What were your motivations for pursuing this degree?

5. How were your experiences studying in Indonesia and abroad? Please elaborate on academic and social aspects.

6. How has your view on Indonesia changed since completing your studies abroad?

7. What is your current occupation?

8. How long have you been working there?

9. How are the knowledge and experiences gained through your studies applicable to your work?

10. How are you still in touch with the friends you made through your studies?

** Is there anything else you would like to say about your experiences, Indonesia or development in general?

c) Interview Guide - University Staff

1. What are the rationales for establishing this linkage programme?
   What role do students play in reaching these rationales?

This question was not answered by the university staff interviewed as they were not present at the time of the development of the programme.

2. How do students contribute to knowledge transfer and production?
   What role do they play in shaping the curriculum?
   To what extent are their research/ thesis valuable to the university, to development studies?

3. How do students contribute to extending networks of the university?

4. What kind of a relationship do you or does the university maintain with alumni?

   How has your personal experience been as a teaching staff in development studies?

5. How long have you been teaching/ researching?

   What is your field of expertise?

   How has working with students from an array of countries or Indonesia specifically affected your view on development?

d) Interview Guide - Scholarship Donor

1. When was this organisation established?

   How is the organisation funded?

2. How many scholarships are offered each year?
   What is the application process?
   What are the conditions?

3. What are the expected returns or outcomes of these scholarship programmes?

4. Is there a monitoring system in place to ensure conditions are met and outcomes produced upon return?

5. How long have you worked for this organisation?

   How has your experience been with scholarship recipients?

e) Interview Guide - Employer/ Superior

1. How long have you worked and/or have been in charge of this department?

2. Which postgraduate degree did you pursue?
   Where did you study?
   How was your experience?

3. What do you expect of your team members?

   Technical knowledge.

   Social skills.

4. How can the department benefit from further education of its members?

   Especially, overseas education?

   Do you feel the difference after a team member has retuned from study leave?

5. How can Indonesia benefit from the work that you and your team do?

   Can you give an example of how it is related to the country's development?