

**DOES THE INTERNET TRANSFORM CIVIL SOCIETY?  
THE CASE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS IN INDONESIA**

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# ABSTRACT

The use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), particularly the Internet, has attracted huge attention. Despite the attention paid to research into Internet use in homes, government agencies and business firms, little attention has been paid to other types of organisations such as civil society organisations (CSOs). As a result, many things remain unknown: the patterns of uptake and use of the Internet in CSOs, the process of the transformation both of the organisations and the way they use the technology, and the implication of Internet use for civil society. This thesis is attempting to address these problems. By focusing on the case of Indonesian CSOs, at a theoretical level, this research is concerned with the diffusion of Internet innovation and the effects on the practice of CSOs and social movements. These concerns are explored by examining two related empirical issues: (i) the links between the Internet and the organisational performances and dynamics of civil society, and (ii) the construction of Internet diffusion and impacts in organisations that define those links.

The data was collected using a combination of methods involving online and offline surveys, in-depth interviews, direct observations, workshops, and focus groups. There were 283 CSOs from 27 provinces in Indonesia involved in the study (09/05 to 04/06). The data was analysed using simple latent class analysis, network analysis, and content analysis.

This study shows that while the increasingly pivotal positions of Indonesian CSOs mainly stems from their capacities as institutions in fostering civic engagement, their use of the Internet has contributed considerably to building these capacities including effective networking with local, national, and global counterparts. Characteristics of civil society groups, in terms of issues, concerns, activities, affect the pattern and sequence of technology adoption, and are significant to what makes leaders and laggards in Internet adoption. Internet appropriation, too, is found to be bound to these characteristics. Yet it is not straightforward: effective, strategic and political use of the Internet in CSOs is only possible when the organisations realise the potentials of the technology, adopt it, then integrate its use into their organisation's routines as part of their strategy. Such characteristics also have an effect on the stages of use and implementation as well as the strategic use of the Internet and may be a source of the difference between Internet use in CSOs and in other types of organisation. The implication of this use, observed at intra- and inter-organisation levels, affects not only CSOs' organisational performance but identity and role in the reshaping of socio-political life of the country.

In building the argument, the study makes no attempt to privilege Internet diffusion (and implementation) theories over civil society (and CSO) concepts. Rather, it sets forth cases for redrawing the traditional boundaries of the concept 'technological diffusion in organisations' to incorporate other courses of action in the adoption and implementation of Internet technologies in civil society groups and organisations. By demonstrating that appropriation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs plays an important role in building CSOs' capacities and capabilities as institutions and as social movements, it paves the way for Internet diffusion and implementation to be recognised as contributing to the dynamics of civil society and reshaping politics in the country in its broadest sense.

# DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

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To my wife

***Dominika Oktavira Arumdati***

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# THE AUTHOR

**Yanuar Nugroho** is an activist-scholar, born in Indonesia in 1972. Prior to his doctoral study, he had been quite active in three Indonesian NGOs: Business Watch Indonesia (BWI, [www.watchbusiness.org](http://www.watchbusiness.org), Executive Director), Uni Sosial Demokrat (Social Democracy Union, *Unisosdem*, [www.unisosdem.org](http://www.unisosdem.org), General Secretary), and ELSPPAT (Institute for Rural Development and Sustainable Agriculture, [www.elsppat.or.id](http://www.elsppat.or.id), Head of the Board Member). He still retains these activities and roles, although in a very limited capacity, whilst he is residing in the UK, pursuing his PhD (in the Internet and dynamics of civil society organisations) and working as a Research Assistant (in Innovation Research) at the University of Manchester since 2004.

Besides being active in Indonesian civil society movement, Yanuar was also a visiting lecturer in some private universities (1998-2000, 2001-2004) and a regular contributor to The Jakarta Post, English Language Daily (2002-2004). He has written a number of articles for various media in Indonesia, including the daily news sources Kompas, Media Indonesia and Suara Pembaharuan (2001-2005). His writing, including three books, covers a wide range of themes –from topics like information technology and development, democratisation of market power, and the social responsibility of business sector to those on democracy, globalisation and neo-liberalisation and electoral politics. All of his articles are archived in his *blog* <http://audentis.wordpress.com>.

Before embarking on PhD study, Yanuar was formally trained as an Industrial Engineer from the Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB) in Indonesia (1990-1994). He was awarded British Council's Chevening Award to obtain his Master of Science (with distinction) on Information Systems Engineering at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology (UMIST) (2000-2001). During his PhD research he received various awards: ORS scheme, Porticus grant, Benevolentia grant, John Paul II 100 scholarships, FES grant, and a number of conference grants including the University of Manchester, Association of Internet Researcher (AoIR), Queensland University, L'Orientale University and HIVOS. His PhD research has benefited from his experience in Indonesian civil society movement, fascination about social science, interest in information technology, particularly the Internet, and knowledge in innovation research.

Some of his recent writings are (all downloadable from <http://audentis.wordpress.com/pub>):

- Nugroho, Y., and Tampubolon, G. (2007) *Network dynamics of global CSOs in the transition to democracy in Indonesia*, 5th International Conference of the European Association for Southeast Asian Studies (EuroSEAS), 12-15 September 2007, Napoli: L'Orientale.
- Nugroho, Y. (2007) *Adoption of the Internet in rural NGOs in Indonesia - A study on Internet appropriation for rural sector reform*, Proceeding of the 1st Rural-Information and Communication Technology (r-ICT) Conference, 6-7 August 2007, Bandung: ITB, pp.17-34.
- Nugroho, Y. (2007) *Spreading the word, broadening perspectives: Internet, NGOs and globalisation discourse in Indonesia*, 5th International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS) Conference, 2-5 August 2007, Kuala Lumpur: University Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Kurniawan, S., Mahmud, M., and Nugroho, Y (2006) *A study of the use of mobile phones by older persons* In GM. Olson, R. Jeffries (Eds.) *Extended Abstracts Proceedings of the 2006 Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, CHI 2006*, Montréal, Québec, Canada, April 22-27, 2006. ACM 2006, pp. 989-994.
- Nugroho, Y., and Tampubolon, G. (2006) *Mapping the network society: Network dynamics in the transition to democracy in Indonesia*, 11th Alternative Futures and Popular Protest – International Social Movement Conference, 19-21 April 2006, Manchester: MMU.
- Julian, K., Rigby, J., Ball, DF., and Nugroho, Y. (2006) *The Management of Technology Literature, Island or Mainland: The Way Forward?* The R&D Management Conference, Windermere, Cumbria.
- Nugroho, Y. (2004) *Anonymity in Computer-Mediated Communication: A Case Study of Groupware Communication among Indonesian NGO Activists*, *Antropologi Indonesia* 28 (73):58-75, Jakarta: University of Indonesia.
- Watts, L.A.; Nugroho, Y. & Lea, M. (2003) *Engaging in Email Discussion: Conversational Context and Social Identity in Computer-Mediated Communication* In Rauterberg, M.; Menozzi, M. & Wesson, J. (eds.) *Human-Computer Interaction INTERACT'03*, pp.559-566, Amsterdam: IOS Press.

And a number of reports he produced during his work as RA at the University of Manchester.

## PUBLICATION NOTE

Some parts of this thesis have been presented previously as a working paper, a conference paper, or talks on different occasions.

A major part of Chapter Three (on methodology and approach) was presented as a talk during the Methodology Festival at Oxford University in July 2006.

Some initial findings of the research (later on assembled Chapter Four and Five on the role of the Internet in civil society) were presented as a doctoral colloquium paper at the 7<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Association of the Internet Researcher (AoIR) in Brisbane, Queensland, Australia in October 2006.

A substantial part of Chapter Four (on network analysis and the role of global CSOs in the transition to democracy) was published as CRESO Working Paper No. 15, March 2006 and also presented in the 11<sup>th</sup> International Social Movement Conference at Manchester Metropolitan University in April 2006.

This part was again presented as a conference paper in the Panel 7 “Social Networks and Transition in Southeast Asia: Empirical, Methodological and Theoretical Issues” in the 5<sup>th</sup> EUROSEAS Conference at L’Orientale University at Naples, Italy, in September 2007. The papers of this panel were to be published in a special edition of the Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, or as an edited book.

The diffusion analysis (Chapter Five) with some case studies (three cases from Chapter Six) were presented as a conference paper in the Panel “Internet and Politics in Pacific Asia” during the 5<sup>th</sup> International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS) at Kuala Lumpur. Although there was a joint publication plan for all papers from this panel, the paper was later submitted as a working paper at Manchester Institute of Innovation Research.

Similarly, but from different perspectives, some part of the diffusion analysis (Chapter Five) and a case study (Chapter Six) were used to explain the stages of adoption and implementation (discussed in Chapter Eight) of the Internet in rural NGOs. This was presented in the 1<sup>st</sup> rural-ICT International Conference in Bandung, Indonesia. The paper has been published by the conference organiser as a proceeding paper (p.17-34). The paper is now under review of the Brooks World Poverty Institute at the University of Manchester to be published as a working paper.

The research as a whole has been presented in some CSOs’ workshops in Indonesia in August 2007, during which HIVOS hosted one of them in Jakarta. The research was presented to a limited audience at Ashoka Indonesia in Bandung and Perkumpulan Prakarsa in Jakarta, also in August 2007.

The papers or slides are downloadable from <http://audentis.wordpress.com> and are mentioned in the thesis where they are referred to.

***You see things and you say, 'Why?'  
But I dream things that never were and I say, 'Why not?'***

George Bernard Shaw, "Back to Methuselah" (1921), part 1, act 1.  
Irish dramatist & socialist (1856 - 1950)

***It helps, now and then, to step back and take the long view.  
The Kingdom is not only beyond our efforts, it is even beyond our vision.***

***We accomplish in our lifetime only a tiny fraction of the magnificent  
enterprise that is the Lord's work. Nothing we do is complete, which is  
another way of saying that the Kingdom always lies beyond us. ...***

***We cannot do everything and there is a sense of liberation in realising  
that. This enables us to do something and to do it very well.  
It may be incomplete, but it is a beginning, a step along the way ...***

***We may never see the results ...  
We are only prophets of a future that is not our own.***

Oscar Romero, SJ. (1917-1980), "The Prayer of Romero", undated.  
He was the Archbishop of San Salvador, El Salvador, assassinated by the military junta in 1980



# Introduction

## Adopting technology, reshaping society

### *Diffusion and impacts of the Internet in civil society*

*The Internet offers extraordinary potential for the expression of citizen rights and for the communication of human values. Certainly, it cannot substitute for social change or political reform. However, by relatively levelling the ground of symbolic manipulation, and by broadening the sources of communication, it does contribute to democratisation. The Internet brings people into contact in a public agora, to voice their concerns and share their hopes. This is why people's control of this public agora is perhaps the most fundamental political issue raised by the development of the Internet*

(Manuel Castells, "The Internet Galaxy", 2001:164-165)

Perhaps because of its revolutionary features, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has, since its advent, possibly been among many sectors the one thing that has attracted huge attention in research. There has been a lot of work about how ICTs, particularly the Internet, have been changing personal, social and business life. There have been some studies of Internet use in the home; there has been a lot more research into Internet use in business and government. Studies at home tend to suggest that there is not much change going on, while those in business and government often talk about the need for transformation of processes. However, there has been very little attention of Internet studies on other types of organisations such as civil society organisations (CSOs). As a result, not only do we not know much about their patterns of uptake and use; we do not know whether they exhibit the same sort of process for transformation that has been seen in other sectors. We do not know whether they respond to the process in the same way, and we do not know the implication for their functions in civil society. This thesis attempts to address these problems.

This research looks at the adoption, appropriation, and impacts of Internet use in civil society organisations (CSOs) in Indonesia. At a theoretical level, it is concerned with the ideas of the diffusion of the Internet as a technological innovation and the effects those ideas have on the practice of CSOs and the social movement. These concerns are explored by examining two related empirical issues. The first is the link between the Internet use in CSOs and organisational performance, as well as the use and dynamics of civil society. The second is the construction of Internet diffusion and impacts in organisations that define those links. The argument presented in this thesis is three-fold.

- a. Firstly, while the increasingly pivotal positions that Indonesian CSOs achieve in the social, economic and political landscape of the country today mainly stems from CSOs' capacity

as institutions that foster civic engagement<sup>1</sup>, their use of the Internet has contributed considerably in building these capacities.

- b. Secondly, likewise, it is also the appropriation of Internet technologies which enables more effective networking between Indonesian CSOs and their local, national, and global partners, which in turn is also an important factor in building CSOs' capacities as a social movement.
- c. Thirdly, despite the first two arguments, such an appropriation is not straightforward: effective, strategic and political use of the Internet in CSOs is only possible when an organisation realises the potentials of the technology, adopt it, then integrate its use into their organisation's routines as part of their strategy.

In building these arguments, the study makes no attempt to privilege Internet diffusion (and implementation) theories over civil society (and CSO) concepts. Rather, it sets forth cases for redrawing the traditional boundaries of the concept of 'technological diffusion in organisations' to incorporate other courses of action in the adoption and implementation of the Internet technologies in civil society groups and organisations. By demonstrating that appropriation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs plays an important role in building CSOs' capacities and capabilities as institutions and as a social movement, it paves the way for Internet diffusion and implementation to be recognised as contributing to the dynamics of civil society and reshaping politics in the country in its broadest sense.

## Theoretical standpoint

Diffusion theory may have a convenient way of explaining why organisations adopt technological innovations: the former cannot but yield to the advancement of the latter. Through innovation-decision process, perceptions about an innovation are mediated, which then impact on the diffusion of the innovation in organisations (Rogers, 2003). Since in the technology-society relationship technology developers are often deemed to be superior to technology users, diffusion of innovations is sometimes perceived as technological intrusion upon users (e.g. in Davis, 2003). This is why technological innovation is seen as patron, adopter the client and diffusion/adoption process a patron-client relationship; and this is what mainly has been

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'civic engagement', instead of 'public engagement', is used to emphasis the importance of the opportunity for different actors within civil society to engage. From political perspective, such engagement is fundamental for democratisation process as famously suggested by Putnam when introducing 'social capital' as a component to 'make democracy work' (Putnam, 1993).

characterising diffusion of innovation. However, there is a drawback in this logic: the explanation for successful diffusion/adoption lies mostly in the assumption of technological determinism, or, innovation bias (Rogers, 2003). Not only is such perspective weak in its logic, it also lags behind the empirical process it aims to explain.

At the conceptual level, the notions of technological intrusion and patron-client relationship (e.g. in Einstadter, 1992; Silverstone, 2002) contribute to philosophical monism, resulting in the monolithic idea that technology (and technological innovation) is central and omnipotent in the course of social change. This view rules out the possibility that in all significant respects technology and user can be equal parties, in accord as well as in discord. This has significant impact on innovation diffusion research. As the relations between technological innovation and adopters are always subject to continuous changes, technology-push diffusion (which reflects technological intrusion on users) is only one possible story, the other being user-pull adoption. The fact that the authority of the user is based on its ability to use and adopt technology while the influence of technological innovation is sourced from the ability to create and diffuse technological artefacts does not make the former less significant than the latter. If this clear-cut reasoning sounds strange to us, it may be because we are captive to the monolithic conception of innovation diffusion and to the technology-centred idea of change. The truth is that the arsenal of diffusion of innovation goes beyond the control centre of technology.

At the empirical level, the notions of technological intrusion and patron-client relationship can hardly accommodate the phenomenon of stalemate in the mutual hostage situation that characterises technology-user diffusion/adoption relations. One may argue that such a situation stems from the subservient attitudes of the user to technological innovation as the only way to survive. Still, this view portrays the user as a sheer loser, with no gains whatsoever appropriated from the practices. As noted, this is simply not the case. This whole research is therefore directed to look into the mutual hostage situation that characterises technology-user diffusion/adoption relations, with special attention given to the issue of change and transformation. In particular, this study suggests that any concept of change has to take into account the enduring legacy of the 'gain-gain' relations generated by the practices. From there it is argued that the impetus of change is unlikely to come from within the relations, but from societal forces external to both.

This theoretical standpoint is the basis for the empirical ground toward which this research is orientated: the adoption of the Internet in Indonesian civil society organisations.

## **The general context: Innovation in civil society**

Research concerning organisations within civil society has become more relevant today as such organisations play increasingly important roles in society (Anheier et al., 2004a; Glasius et al., 2005). These roles are not limited to traditional activism –like mobilisation of aid and humanitarian relief, improvement of livelihood or protection of rights and promotion of democracy—which has continuously characterised the dynamics of this sector *vis-à-vis* state in the modern world. Additionally, these organisations have also shaped, or at least influenced, the dynamics of the business sector. Such activity, for instance, drives consumers in ethical and fairer trading, ethical investment, 'green' banking, provision of organic or healthier products, among others, and demand more socially and environmentally responsible business practices such as in the instance of CSR campaign.

Civil society organisations (CSOs) are important for business management, then, but their own management and innovation is very interesting in their own right. CSOs have innovated in many ways because unless they innovate in order to build a sustainable base of supporters (e.g. beneficiaries, donors, partners networks, among others) they will not remain 'cutting edge' and relevant. However, innovation in civil society sectors seems to be under-studied compared to, for example, innovation in private or public sectors. This topic has the potential to become of increasing interest given the current evolution of civil society. Networks of organisations in civil society have promoted partnerships among different actors, both within and between economies. Undoubtedly, a more genuine global voluntary movement has now been provided with an excellent opportunity to advance its agenda. This has put more weight on the relevance and importance of innovation study in CSOs. This is why this research anchors its empirical ground on how CSOs innovate by adopting information technologies, particularly the Internet, to achieve their goals and missions, in the Indonesian context.

## **The particular context: Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs**

Indonesia has a long and rich history of civil society and CSOs. With no intention to discard the importance of this history, the focus of this study is the development in Indonesian civil society in the past fifteen years, i.e. since the late period of Soeharto's militaristic New Order regime (early 1990s) up to recently (early 2000s). This is done to take into account the impact of the Internet use in Indonesian CSOs, which started at about the same time (Purbo, 1996; 2000). Following this, Indonesia is taken as the site of this study for two main reasons. Not only has Indonesia's civil society, including its CSOs, experienced a heightened transformation, and transition to

democracy (Bird, 1999), but various CSOs in the country had also started using the Internet to support their work, including fostering social reform (Uhlen, 2000).

This study argues that the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs today cannot be separated from their adoption of the Internet. First, it is observable that issues including democratisation, good governance, human rights, gender equality and women's rights, amongst others are blended together with the more general, localised concerns of empowerment, education, environment, development, poverty eradication, justice and peace. These are issues similarly embraced and fought for by CSOs all over the world (Anheier et al., 2005). Second, this study also believes that it is also because of the use of the Internet that Indonesian CSOs found their networks with partner organisations growing significantly, both nationally and internationally, despite the fact that there has been no particular research done into it (an attempt has been made, however, by Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006b). Third, Internet use is also believed to have affected the way Indonesian CSOs organise their activities including networking, coalition coordination, public opinion building, and even collective campaigning, and in some cases influencing state policies (as has been shown by Surman and Reilly, 2003, but in very different context). Overall, the use of the Internet has apparently facilitated the achievement of CSOs' mission and goals and thus fostered a further social transformation. It is all these beliefs that constitute this particular context of the study. However, the context is not only about civilised groups of civil society using the Internet for civil purposes above. It is important that this study should also be aware of, although it is not the central attention of this research, the use of the Internet for uncivil purposes carried out by 'uncivil' society groups.

## Research questions and hypotheses

That there is a relationship between the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs and their engagement in networked society –both with local/national and international/global partners—through the adoption and use of information technology like the Internet is certainly obvious. What matters are the questions revolving around the big theme of the Internet diffusion in CSOs:

- a. ***To what extent, in what ways, and for what purposes have Internet technologies been appropriated by Indonesian CSOs?*** How do they perceive the impact of the technology to their work; what do they expect from the use of the technology in the organisation and in the network of social movement?

- b. ***What are the processes by which Internet technologies (and ICTs more generally) are imported into and adopted by Indonesian CSOs?*** What factors affect the adoption; what makes leaders and laggards in the adoption of technology; is there a sequence in the adoption of different technologies and applications; is there any revision in the diffusion stages?
- c. ***How do Indonesian CSOs implement ICTs, and how are Internet technologies deployed strategically in the operations (and in an effort to further the aims) of such organisations?*** Is there any revision in the implementation stages; how do the stages of Internet use look like; how can implementation and learning processes be conceptualised; what strategic areas of implementation can be mapped?
- d. ***What are the implications, potentials and challenges ahead such appropriations?*** What has changed with the CSOs adopting the Internet at the organisational level, at the network level, and at the social movement level?

Without trying to post some speculations far too prematurely, the study anticipates several conjectures in responding to the above research questions.

- a. First, given the dynamic nature of contemporary civil society in Indonesia (as addressed in, e.g. Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003), and how civil society actively uses the Internet (e.g. Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2002; 2003d), it should not be too difficult to suggest that there is a positive link between the use of the Internet in CSOs and the development of their activism.
- b. Second, being ontologically different from other types of organisations (i.e. business entities and government agencies), CSOs are expected to perceive the Internet as a technological innovation differently. Consequently, it is also anticipated that CSOs would adopt and implement the Internet in a different trajectory, with different drivers and motivations for adoption and different stages of implementation (and thus modifying classical theories in adoption and implementation of information systems like Galliers, 2004; 2007; Rogers, 1995; 2003).
- c. Third, with the scale and speed the Internet is being adopted in civil society, the study anticipates to see some affirmative correlations between the impact of Internet use at the organisation level as well as at the network level (as suggested by some applications of structuration theory in examining implementation of information systems, i.e. DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000).

- d. Furthermore, it is expected that, following Castells' notion of identity formation (Castells, 1997) such technological use would link positively with the reinforcement and transformation of identity, again, both at the organisational as well as at the network level.

Following the concept of social shaping of technology as a critic to technological determinism (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1985) particularly concerning information technology (Clausen and Williams, 1997), the study also expects to offer a more detailed picture of how social shaping works in the context of Internet adoption/diffusion in civil society organisations.

## Scope of investigation

No attempt is made in this study to replicate the wide-ranging accounts of the development of Indonesian civil society through the investigations of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) by Hadiwinata (2003) and Ganie-Rochman (2002), or the detailed systematic histories of civil society dynamics by Eldridge (1995), as well as Sinaga (1994), Billah (1995) and Fakhri (1996). Neither does this study endeavour to reproduce the extensive research on the Internet and public sphere (including polarisation of identity, cyber-civic space and democratisation) in Indonesia by Lim (2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2003d; 2004a; 2004b; 2005; 2006), or by Hill and Sen (2002; 2005). Rather, this study builds on the insights provided by these scholars to examine the diffusion of the Internet in CSOs – a 'building block' of organisational practice whose contribution to the social movement and dynamic of civil society has yet to be fully analysed.

Considering some practical and theoretical constraints, this study limits the venture of investigation in several accounts. One, the diffusion analysis is conducted mainly based on the classical diffusion theory laid down by Rogers (1995; 2003); in an attempt to analyse implementation of the Internet, the information systems strategising perspective (Galliers, 2004; 2007) is used to inform the research; and to assess the implication of Internet use, adaptive structuration theory, or AST (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000), is employed. Two, the unit of analysis in this research is the organisation, not individual members of the organisation. Three, the study only investigates CSOs who directly participate in this study and who have been studied before by previous researchers. The empirical findings and explanation on the diffusion of the Internet and its impacts to the organisation are based on the data collected in the fieldwork carried out between October 2005 and April 2006. This result can only be safely generalised to Indonesian CSOs under investigation within this period. However,

limited and careful generalisation to Indonesian CSOs who have adopted and use the Internet, or beyond, might also be possible, although only suggestive.

## **Methodological approach**

By and large, this study applies Giddens' structuration theory (1984), which is used to inform the research in investigating emergent practices in Internet adoption in CSOs, and relating it with the impacts both at organisational level and at network, or social movement, level. For this purpose, adaptive structuration theory (AST) (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000) is used considerably throughout the research, particularly in explaining the nature of the CSOs' dynamics both as a result and medium of Internet use in organisations. It is within the framework of structuration theory, and specifically AST, that theories and perspectives in diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1995; 2003) and information systems strategising (Galliers, 2004; 2007)—as well as other complementary theories and perspectives—are applied. Likewise, a theory of structuration is also used to explain the relation between CSOs as actors and social movements as structure in the social practice of civic engagement, and serves as a framework to put other theories, particularly in civil society (Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998) and global civil society (Anheier et al., 2001a; Anheier et al., 2004b; Glasius et al., 2002; Glasius et al., 2005; Kaldor, 2003; Kaldor et al., 2003), into perspective.

Taking into account that the nature of this study is mainly exploratory, either a quantitative or qualitative method might be inadequate to be deployed on its own. Quantitative study may suffice to understand statistics, figures and trends as well as pointing out benefits, usefulness and problems and difficulties in Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs. But it cannot explain why certain strategies, approaches or policies of technology adoption in the organisation work or fail. Qualitative research, on the other hand, may provide detailed views and perspectives of the works of Indonesian CSOs, but it is very difficult to derive characteristics of today's CSOs' activities in Indonesia. Therefore this study uses triangulation methods or combined quantitative and qualitative approaches (Gilbert, 1992), which involves a complex research design, usually with stages of research that may iterate (Danermark et al., 2002), such as this research. Triangulation may enable better measurement and may also reveal differences of interpretation and meaning (Olsen, 2003). By combining the methods, the study expects to reach a more comprehensive, nuanced understanding of the nature of the adoption and use of Internet in Indonesian CSOs, the experience and the ways the organisations adopt and use technology to meet their strategic needs. Through a combination of methods, this research is in a position to elucidate these processes because triangulation prevents it from missing complementary



pictures provided by either method. The study realises that by deploying such an approach, the generalisation of other CSOs elsewhere in Indonesia and beyond can be no more than suggestive.

## Chapter outline

This thesis is a cross-disciplinary study, which engages with diffusion analysis, Internet research, and civil society study. Its early chapters trace the history of both the Internet as technological innovation and civil society in Indonesia. As suggested previously, this part neither incorporates the history of Indonesian civil society that has been investigated before<sup>2</sup>, nor features the general account of the Internet in civil society that has been researched previously<sup>3</sup>. Instead, it examines a single thread in the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs in order to explore how the use came to be constituted in such a way that it affects the organisation of civil society and the dynamics of the social movement. Having established the discursive context in which the adoption and use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs emerged, the study returns to the landscape of Indonesian CSOs to explain its constantly changing terrain. The remaining chapters contain empirical explorations of the adoption, implementation and impacts of the Internet use in Indonesian CSOs. Data used in these chapters were drawn from a country-scale survey, a large number of semi-structured interviews, a number of case studies based on in-depth interviews and the author's observation, and a vast amount of collective reflections through a series of workshops. These chapters show that the adoption, use and implementation of the Internet in CSOs are not straightforward, but traverse different paths, with different patterns, drivers, motivations and phases, and that the implication is also multifaceted.

Chapter One and Two provide the base on which the thesis' argument is built. **Chapter One** looks at the transformation that the Internet brings by examining its diffusion, use, and impacts in organisations. It reviews some literature and statistics, including Internet diffusion in general with a particular focus in the Indonesian context. It also discusses how Internet adoption in organisations is understood as a structured practice using an adaptive structuration theory (AST) approach, and takes the impacts and implications of the adoption into account. This chapter hypothesises that different types of organisations adopt the Internet in different ways.

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<sup>2</sup> See Hadiwinata (2003), Ganie-Rochman (2002), Eldridge (1995), Sinaga (1994), Billah (1995) and Fakhri (1996).

<sup>3</sup> See Lim (2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2003d; 2004a; 2004b; 2005; 2006), Hill and Sen (2002; 2005).

**Chapter Two** reviews the civil society and CSOs focussing on the conceptual evolution, followed by some practical accounts to understand CSOs' work and approaches. It then explains the link between civil society and the Internet and why the technology is a convivial medium for CSOs activism. The Indonesian context is substantially presented, both in explaining CSOs and their Internet use, to provide a firm ground for this study. This chapter suggests that Indonesian CSOs are in fact currently facing unprecedented challenges in their history.

**Chapter Three** lays out the methodological issues that this thesis encounters. It provides some justifications over each instrument that is mobilised in this study and sketches out lessons learned from particular methods. The chapter also presents some basic data of the participants in this study and outlines some debates regarding the usefulness of particular methods, like latent class analysis, social network analysis, case studies and of particular ways of data collection, like survey, interviews and workshops.

Chapter Four, Five, Six and Seven contain the main findings of this study. **Chapter Four** sets forth the changing landscape of Indonesian CSOs. Using complex data gathered from the survey, interviews, and workshops, it argues that this changing terrain of Indonesian CSOs cannot be taken for granted. It is partly a result of engagement with global CSOs and partly due to the development of CSOs itself. However, both are related to the use of new ICTs, particularly the Internet. Chapter Four thus ends by posing a question: how is the Internet adopted in Indonesian CSOs?

**Chapter Five** is a direct reply to the question of Chapter Four and aspires to explain the diffusion of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. This chapter is a classic diffusion analysis and is based mainly on the survey and some interview data. The main argument of this chapter is that there are observable diffusion/adoption patterns as CSOs are ontologically different from other organisations as adopters. As this finding also includes some revisions on the adoption stages, there is a question left, i.e. if the implementation phase is also different.

**Chapter Six** takes on this question directly. It explores some strategic implementations of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs using some case studies built from in-depth interviews and direct observations. It shows that different category of CSOs (in terms of nature, orientation, issues and concerns) implement the Internet differently in order to achieve their strategic goals –and as result, the theoretical implementation stages are revised. This chapter maps some area where the Internet is strategically and politically used and finds that such strategic appropriation is only possible if CSOs build their configurational capabilities in using the technology.

With all aspects of adoption and implementation explained in preceding chapters, **Chapter Seven** examines the implication at organisational and network level and uses mainly collective reflections from workshops as a basis to answer the main question about what has changed with the adoption and implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. It argues that Internet use has affected the changing role of Indonesian CSOs in civic engagement by influencing their relation to their audiences and clients, and shaping CSOs' coherence and cohesion both as organisations and social movements. Therefore, the Internet adoption and implementation in CSOs has greatly contributed to the reshaping of socio-political life in the country; which is both influencing and being influenced by CSOs' activism.

**Chapter Eight** recalls all the findings and discussions throughout the study and puts them into the bigger picture. This chapter considers in detail the story and findings from an Indonesian perspective. Then, the **conclusion chapter** reflects on the global implications and message that this study brings. The chapter, while concluding the study, is also used to 're-open' some of the issues and questions that were posed and answered by the study, and is also used to engage with some issues of generalisability and the global picture, in terms of what the implications of its findings for CSOs in general are. Some further research agenda, in addition, are also proposed.

This study, despite its limitations, is a call upon Indonesian CSOs in particular, and other CSOs in general, as civic guardian, to use the Internet in strategic, political, and civilised ways to widen civic engagement, promote public participation, and reshape politics, and in turn, create a better world for all. This clearly echoes Castells' view quoted at the beginning of this introduction, i.e. to encourage civil society to harness the potentials of the Internet; because, although the Internet cannot substitute for social change or political reform, it "... brings people into contact in a public agora, to voice their concerns and share their hopes." (Castells, 2001:164-165)

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# Chapter 1

## Does Internet adoption transform organisations?

### *Revisiting the diffusion of the Internet*

*We should not allow ourselves to be over-impressed by the popularity and rapid spread of Internet technology, because the same features attended the invention of television about whose significance plausible doubts have been raised. Rather, the marks of a truly transforming technology lie elsewhere and are, I have argued, twofold: the ability to serve recurrent needs better (qualitatively as well as quantitatively) and having a major impact upon the form of social and political life.*

(Gordon Graham, "The Internet: //a philosophical inquiry", 1999:37)

With a jump in its users from tens of thousands in the early 1990s to nearly a billion a decade later, the Internet perhaps diffuses faster than any other technological innovations in modern times. However, it is difficult to characterise the nature of Internet diffusion beyond common statistics like the number of users, domains, or hosts (Wolcott et al., 2001)<sup>4</sup>, let alone to understand the processes and impacts of the Internet adoption. It is within this context that Graham's concern, as quoted above, sheds light to this study.

The Internet brings about changes in the world we live today. But the extent to which the changes are facilitated by the technology, along with the processes it requires, needs much closer attention because it often escapes from our attention. Let alone to assess the transformative features that the Internet offers. For example, claims that the Internet is shaping tomorrow's organisations draw on an influential body of prophecy concerning information technology. Discussions of the emergence of the 'information society'<sup>5</sup>, of the compression of time and space<sup>6</sup>, of the 'knowledge society'<sup>7</sup> and of the 'information age' which leads to 'network society'<sup>8</sup> seem to centre on the argument that information technology, particularly the Internet, is creating a qualitative shift in social conditions. It is also within this argument that those all happen because the Internet has altered relationship within and between organisations as agent

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<sup>4</sup> It is even difficult to define "user" or "host". In terms of user, how user experiences the Internet depends on so many factors. In terms of host, topology of the Internet is always changing and the Internet has been a delivery means for an evolving array of software applications and information (for more on assessing the global diffusion of the Internet, see Wolcott et al., 2001)

<sup>5</sup> See the debates on the emergence of information society (e.g. Lyon, 1988; Miles, 1996; Webster, 1995)

<sup>6</sup> Consider the notion that the fundamental newness of information technology is that it is able to compress time-and-space (as suggested by Giddens, 1999; 2000; Harvey, 1990)

<sup>7</sup> See the account of knowledge society (for instance Stehr, 1994)

<sup>8</sup> Castells lays out the foundation for the notion of 'network society' when he examines the societal change impact (Castells, 1996; 1997; 2005)

of change (e.g. Coombs and Hull, 1996; Coombs et al., 1992; Dutton, 1999). But, in fact, the underlying methodologies for Internet studies are often difficult to understand, and to a large extent this has caused confusion and false belief that we know what really is going on in the Net (Wellman, 2004; Wolcott et al., 2001; Xu et al., 2004).

This chapter endeavours to look at the transformation that the Internet brings by examining its diffusion, use, and impacts in organisations. In the first part, it reviews some literatures and statistics, and asks if the Internet as technological innovation is a transforming technology (using perspectives offered by Graham, 1999). Then, this chapter examines Internet diffusion in general with a particular focus in the Indonesian case, which possibly has received much less attention in Internet studies and diffusion research. Next, the third part discusses how diffusion theory could provide an explanation re: the diffusion of the Internet (based on the framework of Rogers, 1995; 2003). Subsequently, by looking at organisation as adopting unit, the study discusses how Internet adoption in organisations is understood as a structured practice using *adaptive structuration theory* (AST) (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). The stages of adoption and implementation of the Internet in organisations is then assessed using diffusion framework (Rogers, 1995; 2003) and *information systems strategising* framework (Galliers, 2004; 2007). Finally, this chapter discusses the impacts and implications of the adoption of innovation in organisations (Orlikowski, 2000) before offering concluding remarks.

## **1.1. The Internet as technological innovation: History, promise and threat**

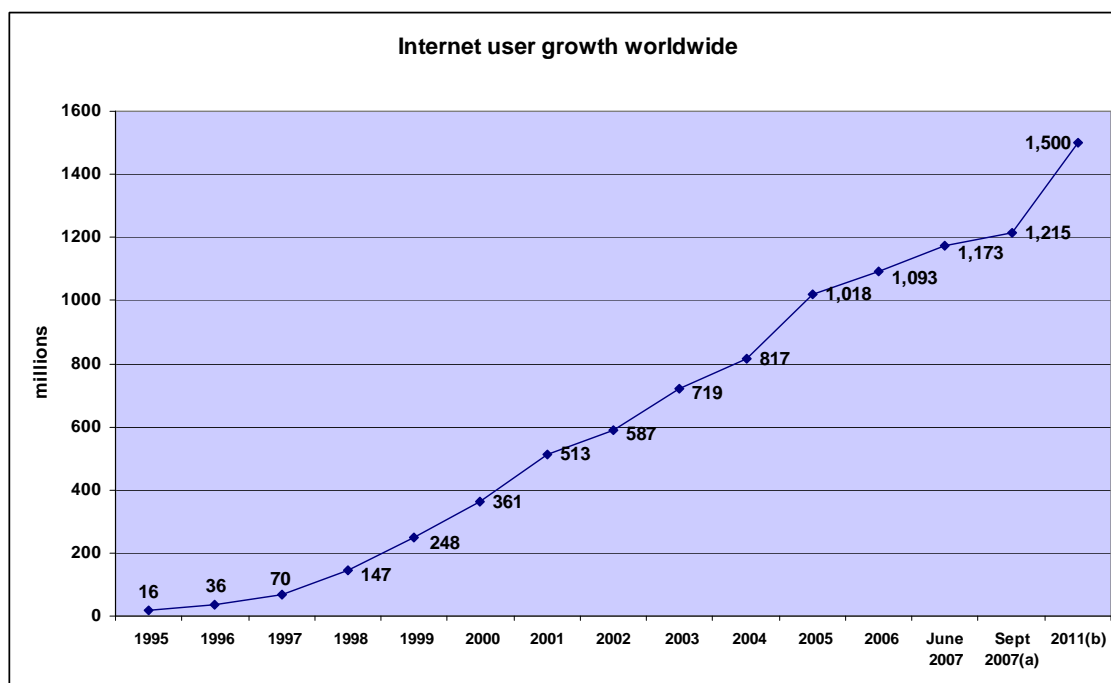
Internet Researchers share the views that the Internet began life, apparently, as one of military technology innovations in the US in October 1969, when the US Defence Department's ARPANet first came online (for excellent history of the Internet see, among others, Abbate, 1999; Naughton, 1999). As a technological innovation, its newness was not about its nature as a long-range computer network, but that it was the first to use packet-switching methods, in contrast to the circuit-switching methods. While the later demanded a fixed, dedicated path between two communicating computers, which was common at that time, the former was innovated to ensured data integrity, optimised bandwidth utilisation, and reliability (Castells, 2001; Hart et al., 1992).

What is interesting about the history of Internet innovation is that it "was born at the unlikely intersection of big science, military research and libertarian culture" with the fact that "all the key technological developments that led to the Internet were built around government institutions,

major universities and research centres” – as indicated by Castells (2001:17-22). In a brief, yet clear historical account of the birth of the Internet, he emphasises,

What emerges from these accounts is that the Internet developed in a secure environment, provided by public resources and mission-oriented research, but an environment that did not stifle freedom of thinking and innovation. Business could not afford to take the long detour that would be needed to spur profitable applications from such an audacious scheme. On the other hand, when the military puts security above any other consideration, as happened in the Soviet Union, and could have happened in the US, creativity cannot survive. And when government, or public service corporations, follow their basic, bureaucratic instincts, as in the case of the British Post Office, adaptation takes precedence over innovation. It was in the twilight zone of the resource-rich, relatively free spaces created by ARPA, the universities, innovative think-tanks, and major research centres that the seeds of the Internet were sown (Castells, 2001:23).

Despite this innovation, the growth of Internet use was limited for the first twenty years. It was not until the beginning of 1990s when the Internet gained popularity and its users reached tens of thousands to the mid of 1990s when the number exceeded 10 millions. But it was all nothing compared to what happened one decade later. Within only ten years, the number of Internet users leaped to over one billion worldwide. There is currently an estimated 1.173 billion Internet users worldwide, representing 17.8% of the world population (2007), and this number is projected to reach 1.5 billion (or about 22% of Earth’s population) by 2011 (eTForecasts, 2007; Internet World Stats, 2007). See Figure 1.1.



**Figure 1.1. Internet user growth worldwide**

Source: Adapted from Internet World Stats (Internet World Stats, 2007);  
(a) estimated by IWS (Internet World Stats, 2007), (b) estimated by eTForecasts (eTForecasts, 2007)

With this stunning scale and speed, Internet technologies like email, world wide web, media streaming, file sharing, and many others, has penetrated into people's life in almost all aspects. But it might only allow very little in the way for retrospective reflection on its nature and impact (Castells, 2001; Graham, 1999). Central to this reflection is what one should think about the Internet as a technological innovation: is it radically new, or merely novel? In Graham's philosophical inquiry, the difference between the two is clear: while the original invention is radically new, any subsequent adaptation and improvement will always be merely novel. However much it may be welcomed, improvement is only about extensions and/or refinements of the original innovative concept and does not represent new idea (1999:25).

Yet, this inquiry is bound to be debated, especially when historical contingency is taken into account. Therefore, one way to answer to this question, when applied to the Internet, is by looking at how the Internet is "expected to be transforming in their impact on the character of personal and social life across a wide range" (Graham, 1999:21). Implicitly, the more the Internet transforms societal life, the more it can be claimed as a transforming technology – and thus, the more it can be considered as radically new. And understandably, this all sources from the Internet's technical features.

The most immediately useful feature of the Internet is the electronic mail system (email) that brings together the features of post, fax and telegram<sup>9</sup>. Its ease and immediacy makes it rapidly attractive to huge numbers of users. But the Internet is not only about email. Bringing together hypertext and hyperlink technology, the World Wide Web (Web) is more superior: it combines the features of shopping malls, libraries, galleries, meeting rooms, and others, mediates interaction and intercommunication between people<sup>10</sup>. As it is evident today, thanks to the well established protocol<sup>11</sup>, Internet technology has created another world that people do not just

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<sup>9</sup> Email was first developed by Ray Tomlinson at Bolt, Beranek and Newman (BBN, which was initially, in fact, working on acoustic) in Boston in July 1970 (Castells, 2001). In 1971, he initiated the use of "@" sign to separate the names of the user and the machine and the first message was sent in late 1971 and was actually between two machines that were literally side-by-side (Tomlinson, unknown).

<sup>10</sup> Web is an information-sharing application developed in 1990 by an English programmer Tim Berners-Lee at CERN Geneva. Using his software the *Enquire*, he brought Ted Nelson's vision of hypertext of interlinked information in his 1965 *Computer Lib* manifesto (*Xanadu Project*) into reality. Berners-Lee defined and implemented the software that made it possible to retrieve and contribute information from and to any computer connected via the Internet: HTTP, HTML and URI (then called URL). With Robert Cailliau, he created a browser-editor program in December 1990 and named this hypertext system the world wide web (www) (Berners-Lee and Frischetti, 1999; Castells, 2001; Wolf, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> The Internet protocol is the set of communications protocols on which the Internet runs. It is also referred to as the *TCP/IP* (Transmission Control Protocol and the Internet Protocol). Currently, IP networking represents a synthesis of LANs (Local Area Networks) and the Internet, both of which have revolutionised the world of computing (Abbate, 1999; Naughton, 1999).

observe, but can also exist and act in it –hence *cyberspace*, a 'spatial' dimension created by cybernetics in which 'life' is possible (Castells, 1997; 2001; Graham, 1999)<sup>12</sup>.

Indeed, Internet technology today changes the way people connect, communicate, and interact (Dutton, 1999; 2004). For many it brings new promises: among the most appealing are global community, democracy, and openness. But many other fears of its threats: alienated individual, anarchy, surveillance, and repression. Interestingly, these two conflicting views may source from what the Internet and cyberspace offer: freedom. In cyberspace anyone can do anything they want, just like what Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) conceived freedom: the uninhibited pursuit of desire (van-Mill, 1995). But, as Hobbes' conception of freedom is challenged by Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) who believes that true freedom originates in reason, not desire (Guyer, 2000), so too comes the disagreement about cyberspace's nature. Flowing from Kant's warning that action which is merely driven by desire is not free for people is enslaved by internally generated desire (no less than by external forces), the promise of freedom that is associated with the Internet should be taken with caution.

This issue has become more important for communication, which is central to human life, has been broadly mediated by the Internet. It is through this Internet-mediated communication that social and cultural transformations take place (Thurlow et al., 2004), and that identities, relationships, and communities are being changed and influenced (Castells, 1997). Opinions about the cultural and social impact of the Internet are initially polarised into extreme positions. On the one hand, there is much hyperbole concerning the wonderful, unique advantages of the technology (*technophilia*); on the other, there is significant fear concerning terrible effects that are foreseen (*technophobia* or *techno-ludism*).<sup>13</sup>

Based on this prolonged tension, Kling (1996) defines what he sees as the basic beliefs of the 'utopian' and 'dystopian' visions people tend to have regarding the effects of 'computerisation' on human interaction and social life. The utopian vision emphasises the life-enhancing, exciting possibilities that computer technology claims to bring about: global connectivity,

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<sup>12</sup> It is obvious that life within cyberspace affects life outside cyberspace, but it is also very true in the other way around. That is why the distinction between the two is not about *virtual* vs. *real* for both are real, but rather, probably more accurately, between *online* vs. *offline* interaction.

<sup>13</sup> *Luddites* (taken from the name Ned Ludd, or Ludlum, whose followers smashed machines in factories across Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire due to fear of losing jobs and livelihoods) protest the advancement of technologies and want to stop them to alter the world. With the advent and rapid growth of information technology, the term *Neo-Luddites* was deployed. It doubts whether people are really better off than they were before the advent of technologies like the Internet (Berry, 1990; Boal and Brook, 1995). *Technophiles* evidently believe in 'the ideology of technology' and that technological innovation is a blessing that will remedy all ills. The important aspect of the ideology of technology is the assumption that the most technologically advanced is the best. The term was coined by Neil Postman, who also envisioned of *Technopoly*, a world ruled by technological innovation. To technophiles, that all went before is redundant and has to be discarded because it becomes inferior (Postman, 1993).



democratisation and the opening of the frontiers of human experience and relationship. The anti-utopian vision concerns itself with people's enslavement to digital technology, their growing dependency as well as the relentless, unstoppable growth of technology which brings with it information overload and the breakdown of social structure<sup>14</sup>.

For instance, in the area of socio-economic development the opinions are sharply divided into two categories: 'silver bullet' vs. 'doom and gloom' (Sein and Ahmad, 2001). The former paints a very positive picture and sees technologies like the Internet as catalysts for national development and vehicle for transformation. The scenario is called leapfrogging: by being late adopters of ICTs, developing countries benefit from declining cost, advances in technology and bypassing the problem associated with new technology. Meanwhile, the latter, using dependency perspective of development, warns about the dystopian trap, i.e. that there are only few links between ICTs and national development. Certainly, the Internet and other ICTs can be seen as a tool for empowerment which brings open information flow to lead to more open and democratic government, broad citizen participation and entrepreneurship. This view, with no doubt, is in line with the western view of development –and is in the core of the optimistic views about the technology. However, while the statistics show increased investment in ICTs in developing countries, at the same time it also shows corresponding decrease in most of all economic growth indicators (Hamelink, 1997). In contrast to the benefits espoused by the optimists, the pessimist argues that ICTs can actually lead to more repression by authoritarian governments who now have more powerful tool to control citizens, in addition to the problem of digital divide<sup>15</sup>.

Indeed, the world where we live is now being changed by this new information technology and will continue to be. But the extent to which the change takes place is unlikely to be of the sort that either optimists or pessimists predict above. The task is instead to explore the ways so that reasonable assessment of the Internet's value and significance can be made. As Graham (1999) suggests, this could possibly be done by steering a middle course between *luddism* and *technophilia*. But in order to do so, one should not be persuaded by technological innovation for

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<sup>14</sup> With reference to the Internet, Berland (2000) in similar way refers to 'cyberutopianism' to explain what she observes as the 'overly optimistic belief' often held in society that technology necessarily means progress and, therefore, what is new is always good and always better than what went before. This also assumes that progress is always a good thing, which may explain why many people rush out to buy the latest version of everything.

<sup>15</sup> The term 'digital divide' refers to the gap between those with access to digital and information technology, and those without such access. What is meant by 'access' encompasses both physical access to hardware and, more broadly, skills and resources which allow for its use. Digital divide is often put in specific context of groups, like socioeconomic (rich/poor), racial (white/minority), or geographical (urban/rural). The term 'global digital divide' refers to differences in technology access between countries. The term was popularised by the US President Bill Clinton in a 1996 speech in Knoxville, Tennessee (see <http://www.clintonpresidentialcenter.org/legacy/101096-remarks-by-president-and-vp-in-knoxville-tn.htm>), although it had appeared in several news articles previously.

no better reason than that it is innovatory, and that at the same time remain open to its actual nature and possible advantages. In other words, both possibilities must be kept open: that the Internet may be a truly new way of doing things with real increases in value for those individuals and societies who adopt it, and that its novelty and its advantages have been exaggerated (pp.14-15).

Castells (1996) tries to bridge this utopian-dystopian tension by raising a 'dialectical interaction' between technology and society. To him, technology does not determine society. Instead, it *embodies* it. But neither does society determine technological innovation since it *uses* it. The present phase of capitalism has become possible because of innovations in microelectronics, telecommunications, digital electronics, and network computing, which represent the rise of a new technological developments in information technologies– the paradigm which becomes the basis of socio-economic relations.

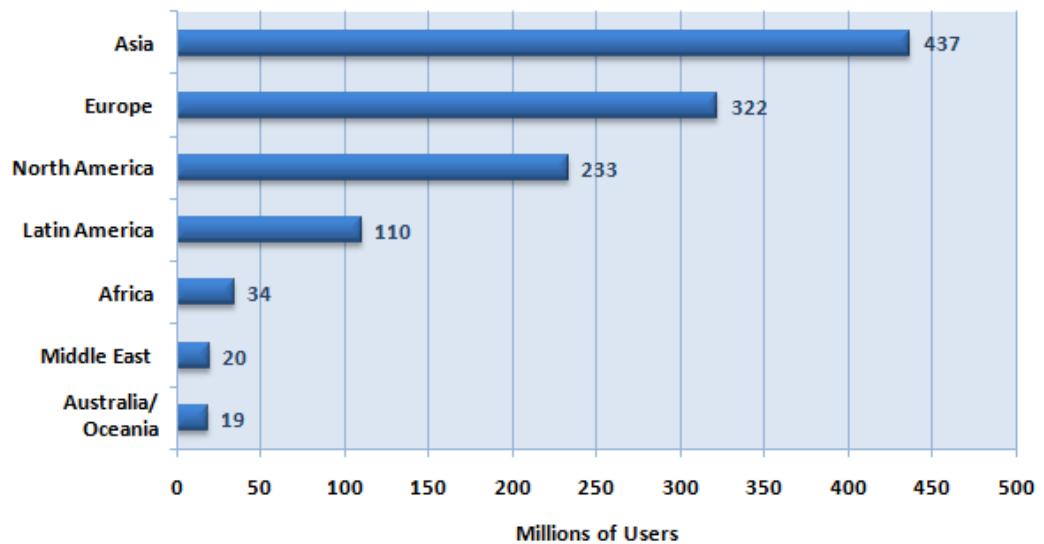
Technological innovation and organisational change, focussing on flexibility and adaptability, were absolutely critical in ensuring the speed and efficiency of restructuring. It can be argued that without new information technology global capitalism would have been a much-limited reality, flexible management would have been reduced to labor trimming, and the new round of spending in both capital goods and new consumer products would not have been sufficient to compensate for the reduction in public spending. Thus, *informationalism* is linked to the expansion and rejuvenation of capitalism, as industrialism was linked to its constitution as a mode of production (Castells, 1996:19, emphasis added)

Thus, it is important to follow Graham's and Postman's quest that a fundamental question about any technology should be: what is the problem to which this technology is a solution (Postman, 1993; cited in Graham, 1999:4-5)? This question however presupposes that the desires which technology is intended to fulfil exist *prior to* such technology and *are independent of* it. The problems to which technology is an answer are subjectively defined and that technology is just a means to an end. This is the case with the Internet that is being dealt primarily in this research. One of the most interesting and important speculations about the Internet is that whether it will help establish a world with much greater freedom of expression, wider public participation in decision making, and hence, deepening democracy. The assumption here, of course, is that the basic principle of democracy is desirable.

However, before looking at how the Internet is being used to advance democracy and democratisation, it is important to understand its diffusion. Let alone, if the Internet is expected to be a vehicle, among others, to achieve democratic society, it is imperative to know how the technology has made a way into the society.

## 1.2. Looking at Internet diffusion: What does the picture tell?

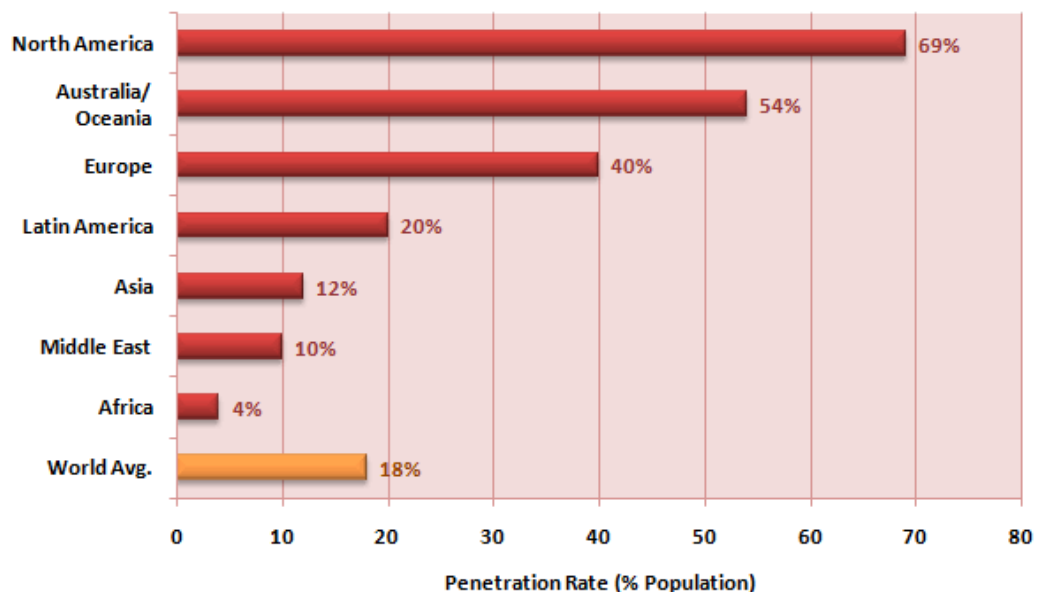
The Internet is diffusing very rapidly across national boundaries. According to the latest data of the Internet World Statistics (Internet World Stats, 2007), in Asia, there are 436.7 million users (or 11.8% of the population in the region). In Europe the number is 321.8 million (39.8%); in North America it is 232.6 million (69.5%), in Latin America/Caribbean 109.9 million (19.8%); and in Africa it is now 33.5 million (3.6%). Whereas for Oceania/Australia, there are 18.8 million users (54.5%) and for the Middle East 19.8 million (10.1%).



**Figure 1.2. Internet usage by world region**

*Source: Internet World Statistics (Internet World Stats, 2007)*

Figure 1.2. depicts the internet usage and Figure 1.3. pictures the penetration rate.



**Figure 1.3. Internet penetration by world region**

*Source: Internet World Statistics (Internet World Stats, 2007)*

By 2006, Internet user penetration is about 65%-75% for the developed countries like EU, Japan, the US and Korea, but the future growth is limited. In contrast, Internet user penetration for developing countries is only about 10%-20% range but this means there is still a lot of room to grow. Much of current and future Internet user growth actually comes from populous countries such as China, India, Brazil, Russia and Indonesia, although the US continues to lead (eTForecasts, 2007).

In Indonesia the development of the Internet just began in the early of 1990s. In terms of users and subscribers, Indonesia is lagging behind other countries with only around 2% of the population (230 million) using the Internet<sup>16</sup>. Over the past few years, the number of Internet subscribers increased very significantly. According to APJII (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers), while the number of subscribers jumped over 400% from 134,000 subscribers in 1998 to 667,000 by the end of 2002, the number of users even leaped to over 770% during the same period, from 512,000 (1998) to 4,500,000 (2002) (APJII, 2003)<sup>17</sup>. With this trend, APJII estimated that by the end of 2005 Internet subscribers in Indonesia would reach 1,500,00 and users 16,000,000 (APJII, 2005)<sup>18</sup>. See Table 1.1. See also Box 1.1.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Subscriber</i>	<i>User</i>
1998	134,000	512,000
1999	256,000	1,000,000
2000	400,000	1,900,000
2001	581,000	4,200,000
2002	667,002	4,500,000
2003	865,706	8,080,534
2004	1,087,428	12,226,143
2005*	1,500,000	16,000,000

**Table 1.1. Number of subscriber & Internet user growth in Indonesia (cumulative)**

*Source: Formulated from APJII (APJII, 2003; 2004; 2005)*

*\* forecast up to end of 2005*

<sup>16</sup> In ASEAN, the highest penetration is in Singapore (29.9%), followed by Malaysia (25.15%), Thailand (3.8%), and Filipina (2.6%). Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos are still lower than Indonesia. Within Indonesia, almost 80% of Internet user is in Java and Bali Islands (APJII, 2005).

<sup>17</sup> Users-subscribers distinction is due to the fact that one subscription is often used by more than one user like in offices and *warnets* (*warung internet* or telecentres/internet kiosks). It is worth noting that the idea of *warnet*, just like telecentre, is to bridge the unequal availability of Internet access (as also theorised by James, 2006), which is obviously important in Indonesian context. *Warnet* provides public Internet access in the area where either Internet access is limited (e.g. in many remote areas) or individual access (in contrast to collective one) is simply uneconomical (e.g. in small cities). To understand Internet in Indonesia, it is argued, is to understand *warnet* as it embodies not only technological artefacts but also a blend of identity, culture and politics (Lim, 2002; 2003b).

<sup>18</sup> Despite that APJII's data seems to be less updated compared to Internet World Stats, APJII is the only official resource for Internet data in Indonesia.



512,000 Internet users in 1998, 410,000 (80%) were individual and the rest was corporate (Basuni, 2001). In 2002 there was a decrease in the number of home-based subscribers, but was compensated by commercial (from 10, 539 in 2001 to 39,598 in 2002), which eventually helped Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to survive since most of ISP's income (70%) came from them. As a result, only 20 ISPs targeted home-based subscribers since the profit gained from the subscription was very low (Widodo, 2002).

Then, a survey in the same year in 10 big cities in Indonesia, covering some 1,500 respondents, found that only 21% of them were home-based subscribers while the rest connected to the Internet from either *warnets* or offices. The survey also found that only 23% of the non-home-subscribers said they would subscribe individually (Pacific Rekanprima, 2002). This confirmed the statement of Indonesian Government that potentially Internet users in Indonesia could reach 61 million when they accessed the technology from public clusters like universities, offices, schools, *warnets*, etc. (Telkom, 2002). But, although APJII (2003) finds that most of the users are educated (in addition to that they are male and young (23-35 years))<sup>19</sup>, the number of Internet users from education institution in Indonesia is still very low. In 2002, of around 1,300 higher-education institutions only 200 were connected; of 24,000 secondary schools (10,000 high schools, 10,000 boarding schools and 4,000 vocational schools), only 1,200 were connected to the Internet (Purbo, 2002b)<sup>20</sup>.

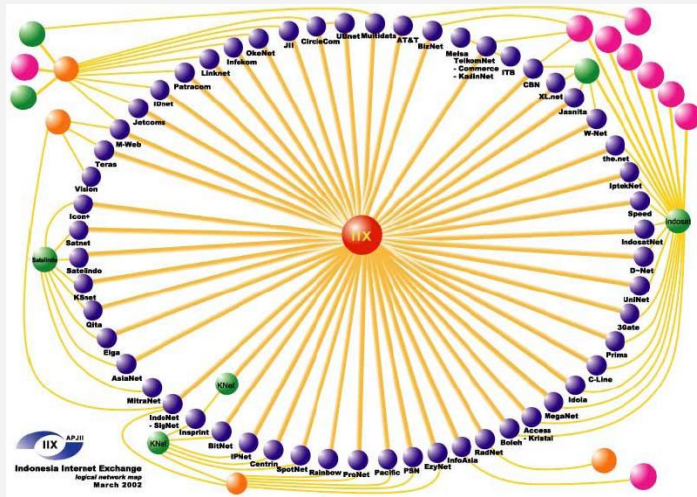
Lastly, the development of the Internet in Indonesia may have changed the way people communicate, interact, and perhaps, live. But this is only true in areas where access is available. As a matter of fact, Internet access is still highly unevenly distributed. Just like many countries in the world are being left in a 'technological apartheid' (Castells, 1999), the same could be said of many regions of Indonesia. For instance, the spread of *warnet*—a most economical access point for people—is still concentrated in big cities like Jakarta, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Semarang (Wahid, 2003). See Box 1.2. and Figure 1.4.

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<sup>19</sup> To promote Internet to more users, APJII introduced a road-show program called *Sekolah2000* (literally School2000) for students at the high-school level. At the same time, the Government also launches the similar program for vocational secondary education (SMK). In 2001, of 4,000 SMKs, 1000 were connected to the Internet.

<sup>20</sup> This is the latest data available as per this chapter is written. It is believed that this number has significantly increased, although it does not change the picture that in terms of Internet adoption, education institution is lagging behind.

### Box 1.2. The development of Internet infrastructure in Indonesia

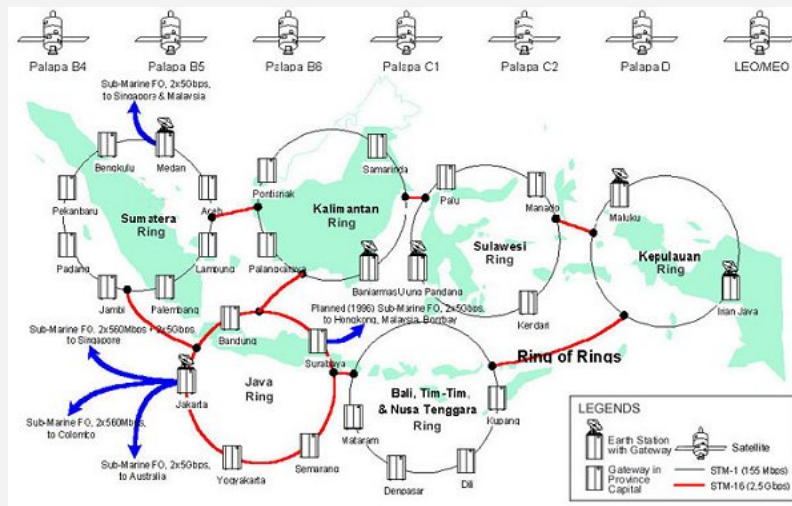


Indonesia Internet Exchange Logical Network Map in 2003 (APJII, 2003)

In 1996, PT. Telekomunikasi Indonesia, Tbk, known as TELKOM, the biggest state-owned telecom company started to build the biggest Internet backbone, i.e. 2 Mbps, using ATM technology and B-ISDN in 48 cities. Another semi-private company, PT. Aplikasi Lintasarta then followed, building an Internet backbone with 2 Mbps using the frame-relay technology in 17 cities. As those two backbones are located in Java and Bali islands other backbones in other islands utilised communication satellite Palapa B-series owned by TELKOM which would build new backbone using MPLS technology with 155 Mbps over 130 points in more than 90 cities across the archipelago, starting July 2002 and is predicted to be completed at 2007.

Following up the development of infrastructure, the number of ISP also dramatically increased, from 10 ISPs (1996) to 50 (1999), 179 (2002). The Indonesia Internet Exchange (IIX) was developed in 1998 and aims at providing efficient routing for Internet exchange technology in Indonesia by peering 3 biggest ISP Internet exchanges, i.e. IndosatNet, TelkomNet and Satelindo.

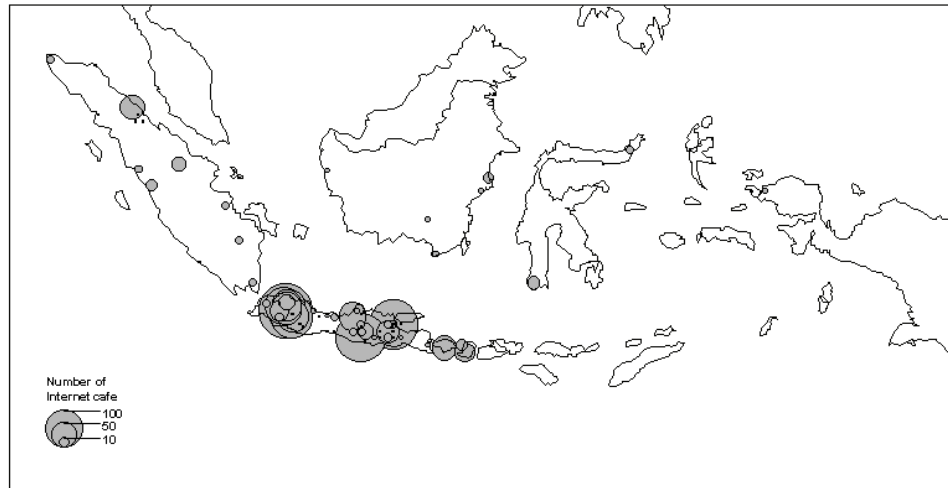
In April 1996, with the support of some private institutions, the Government initiated and launched the National Information Infrastructure concepts, which then gave birth to the first Indonesian IT Project, NUSANTARA-21, or N-21. The project N-21 was designed to be based on the three main infrastructures to be built, i.e. Archipelagic Super Highway, Multimedia Cities, and Nusantara Multimedia Community Access Centre. Archipelagic Super Highway would connect all provinces central cities in Indonesia through various backbone, in addition to its ability to cover information infrastructure in development locals like SIJORI (Singapore-Johor-Riau), BIMP-EATA (Brunei Indonesia Malaysia Philippine East Asia Growth Area), IMT-GTb (Indonesia Malaysia Thailand Growth Triangle) and AIDA (Australia Indonesia Development Area). Multimedia Cities was designed to be the centre of economic activities with a reliable 'highway' of information and to provide complete access and supply lines. The 'citizens' in the Multimedia Cities would be able to carry out their productive activities faster through on-line transaction, such as tele-education, tele-banking, tele-medic, etc. Nusantara Multimedia Community Access Centre was planned to be the umbrella covering the need for broadband payphone, broadband business centres, networked library and multimedia community kiosks. Supported and owned by Telkom and Posindo, whose branch spread in the entire of archipelago, it was expected that in 2000 all municipals would have access to N-21 through satellites Palapa, Telkom-1, Garuda, among others.



Nusantara-21 IT Project

It was an unhappy-ending story, unfortunately, that due to the economic crisis in 1997 which wiped out the investors, the N-21 project was in general terminated. Yet, some concepts still exist and continue to develop, like the development of backbone over 90 cities using ATM which is scheduled to due in 2007. (\*)

Note: for explanation of different Internet technologies see Box 1.3.



**Figure 1.4. The diffusion of *warnet* (Internet kiosks) in Indonesia**

Source: Wahid (2003), <http://www.natnit.net>

This data shows that the diffusion of the Internet in Indonesia is perhaps being hampered by a serious problem of access distribution, despite the penetration of some of the very latest technologies including *Code Division Multiple Access* (CDMA)-based Internet access, 3G-cellular technology, 'triple play' (internet, cable TV and phone line in one physical connection), *Asymmetric Digital Subscriber Line* (ADSL) broadband service –to name a few<sup>21</sup>. That is why Indonesian Government endeavours to attract more people to use the Internet. In 2000 the Government introduced a programme called *Information Technology Kiosk (Warintek)*, which was aimed to provide accessible information through an Internet portal to foster information exchange among areas, provinces, or localities so that economic activities (through SMEs and cooperatives) could be better facilitated. The programme was also meant to support teaching-and-learning process and to promote innovation in local regions, and the implementation of regional autonomy (Menristek RI, 2006).

Apparently, it is assumed that availability and proper use of information technology is a prerequisite for economic and social development in the modern time in Indonesia. But, the crucial role of technologies like the Internet in stimulating development is actually a two-edged sword. As Castells argues,

[O]n the one hand, it allows countries to leapfrog stages of economic growth by being able to modernise their production systems and increase their competitiveness faster than in the past. ... On the other hand, for those economies that are unable to adapt to the new technological system, their retardation becomes cumulative. Furthermore, the ability to move into the Information Age depends on the capacity of the whole society to be educated, and to be able to assimilate and process complex information. ... [I]t relates, as well, to the overall process of cultural

<sup>21</sup> See [www.infokomputer.com/arsip/0898/utama/utama1.shtml](http://www.infokomputer.com/arsip/0898/utama/utama1.shtml) (08.98)



development, including the level of functional literacy, the content of the media, and the diffusion of information within the population as a whole. (Castells, 1999:3)

Taking up Castells' point, it is important, therefore, to understand some basic features of diffusion theory (Rogers, 1995; 2003) in order to look closer at the diffusion of information technology, particularly the Internet, before we continue to scrutinise its role in transforming the society.

### **1.3. Revisiting diffusion of innovations: Have we ignored anything?**

#### **1.3.1. Understanding the context of innovation**

Innovation is usually understood to be distinct from invention. While invention is the first occurrence of an idea for a new product or process, innovation is the first attempt to carry it through into practice (Schumpeter, 1934). Obviously they are closely linked and difficult to distinguish one from the other (Fagerberg, 2005). Literature on innovation is extensive and covers a wide range of topics<sup>22</sup>, and studies on the role of innovation in economic and social change show a trend towards cross-disciplinarity. This reflects the fact that no single discipline is capable of dealing with all aspects of innovation. However, it appears obvious that the study of innovation is rooted very much in the commercial, profit or private sector<sup>23</sup>. Only recent development shows that innovation has now also been adopted in state and governmental bodies, mainly to improve government productivity and the effectiveness of services it provides for public and sometimes deliver democracy (see, for instance Dunleavy, 2006; Halvorsen et al., 2005).

With regard to organisations within the civil society sector, innovation needs to be understood in a different context. To say the least, even if organisations within the civil society sector actually innovate or adopt innovations what they do may not be recognised as innovation within the traditional conception of innovation as explained above. This may be because the view that an innovation is not an innovation until someone successfully implements and markets that idea (a

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<sup>22</sup> It generally focuses on the process of innovation and the economic factors determining the development of innovation (Kay, 1993; Rogers, 1995), patterns of innovation and its diffusion (Frambach, 1993; Rogers, 1995; Wejnert, 2002) and the relationships between organisational structure and technological capacity (Burns and Stalker, 1961; Kanter, 1988).

<sup>23</sup> Based on Schumpeter's idea of creative destruction and the economics of technological change (Schumpeter, 1934), innovation study has been undertaken mainly in commercial, private, industrial sectors with a focus on manufacturing (Freeman and Soete, 1997), and lately also in services (for example see Coombs and Miles, 1999; Metcalfe and Miles, 1999; Miles, 2005).

typical example is Silverstein et al., 2005, based on Schumpeter, 1934), which is very true for the private sector (or public sector when it generates some income or saves financial resources) but not always the case with civil society sector –the primary motivation of which is not profit seeking.

A traditional Schumpeterian interpretation of innovation makes consideration of new products, new methods of production, new sources of supply, the exploitation of new markets and new ways to organise business (Schumpeter, 1934). In civil society, however, this traditional notion of innovation may only contribute parts of the answer to questions about the role it can play in creating a more dynamic society. What matters more for organisations within civil society is not the 'marketing' of new ideas for profit, but rather, how those ideas are diffused and adopted among themselves in order to achieve societal goals<sup>24</sup>. This is why, in the context of this study, it is important to understand diffusion of innovations theories in more detail.

### 1.3.2. Framing diffusion of innovations

Diffusion refers to the spread of innovation, that can be abstract ideas and concepts, technical information, and actual practices, within a social system, over time, from a source to an adopter, via communication and influence (Rogers, 1995:11-30)<sup>25</sup>. These elements influence or alter an adopter's (or an actor's) probability of adopting an innovation. Regarding the Internet, as Rogers observes, it is not only that Internet diffusion is interesting in its own right, it also significantly affects the diffusion process of other innovations.

The rate at which the Internet speeds up the diffusion process in some cases is illustrated by Internet viruses, which can travel world wide in a day or two. Clearly, the world in which we live today is a different one than that of sixty years ago, when the study of the diffusion process began. (Rogers, 2003:216)

Rogers discusses four ways to understand diffusion of innovations, i.e. *innovation decision process*, *adopter innovativeness*, *rate of adoption*, and *perceived attributes*. First, *innovation decision process* underlines that potential adopters progress over time through some stages in the diffusion process, i.e. *knowledge* (that they learn about the innovation), *persuasion* (that they are persuaded of the value of the innovation), *decision* (that they decide to adopt it), *implementation* (that the innovation is implemented) and *confirmation* (that the decision is reaffirmed or

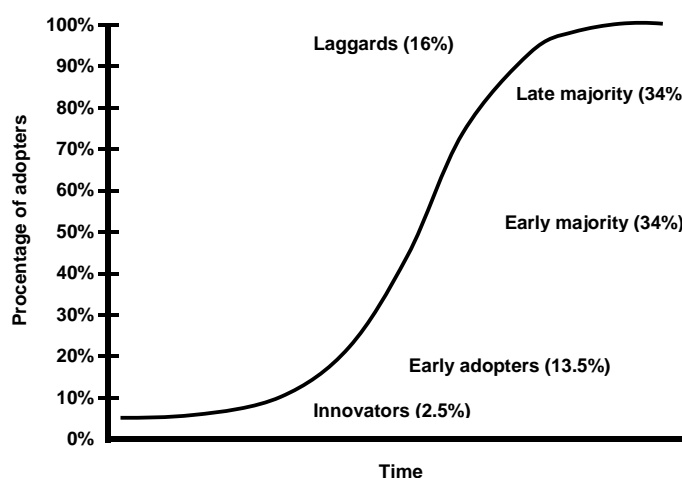
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<sup>24</sup> Discussion on the features of organisations within civil society sector, however, is the topic of Chapter Two.

<sup>25</sup> This has made, in the broadest sense, studies of diffusion able to provide an empirical and quantitative basis for developing more rigorous approaches to theories of social change (e.g., new conceptual and mathematical explanations of social change) (DeFleur, 1966), and principles of diffusion are often used in assessments of world economic and political developments. Thus, diffusion has become a widely investigated research area in sociology, economics, political science, and communication (Wejnert, 2002:298).

rejected). It is clear that the focus is on the adopter or user of innovation (Rogers, 1995:162-184). Second, *rate of adoption* explains that diffusion takes place over time with innovations going through a slow, gradual growth period, followed by dramatic and rapid growth, and then a gradual stabilisation and finally a decline. In short, it refers to the speed at which an innovation is adopted by members of social system (Rogers, 1995:206).

Third, Rogers considers *perceived attributes* and suggests that there are five attributes upon which an innovation is judged, i.e. *trialability* (that it can be tried out), *observability* (that results can be observed), *relative advantage* (that it has an advantage over other innovations or the present circumstance), *complexity* (that it is not overly complex to learn or use) and *compatibility* (that it fits in or is compatible with the circumstances in which it will be adopted) (Rogers, 1995:209-244). Lastly, *adopter innovativeness* indicates that individuals who are risk takers or otherwise innovative will adopt an innovation earlier in the continuum of adoption/diffusion. According to Rogers, the adoption of innovations tends to follow an 'S-shaped' curve with a small number of early adopters and a small portion of laggards adopting an innovation after the majority, i.e. the early adopters select the technology first, followed by the majority, until a technology or innovation is common (Rogers, 1995:252-280)<sup>26</sup>. See Figure 1.5.

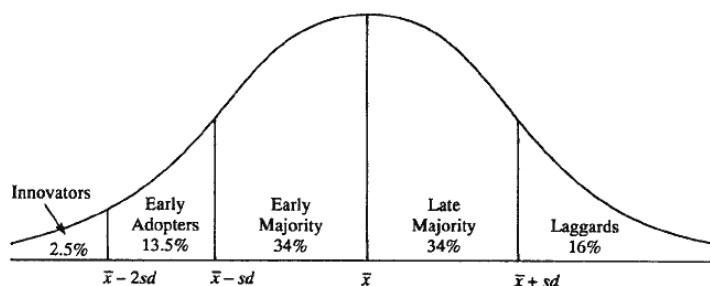


**Figure 1.5: The S-shaped Diffusion Curve and Adopter Categories**

Source: Adapted from Rogers (Rogers, 1995:258)

<sup>26</sup> The speed of technology adoption is determined by two characteristics  $p$ , which is the *speed* at which *adoption takes off*, and  $q$ , the *speed* at which *later growth occurs*. A cheaper technology might have a higher  $p$ , for example, taking off more quickly, while a technology that has network effects (like a fax machine, where the value of the item increases as others get it) may have a higher  $q$ . Early adopters tend to be 'trend setters', people who are influential in encouraging others to adopt new practices (Rogers, 1995:257-261).

In addition Rogers categorises adopters into five types, i.e. *innovators* (2.5%), *early adopters* (13.5%), *early majority* (34%), *late majority* (34%) and *laggards* (16%), based on a bell curve depicted below (Rogers, 1995:261-263)<sup>27</sup>. See Figure 1.6.



**Figure 1.6. Adopter categorisation on the basis of innovativeness**

Source: Rogers (Rogers, 1995:262)

### 1.3.3. Criticising Rogers' diffusion paradigm

Despite its popularity, Roger's theory has been criticised. Criticisms are mainly based on the argument that the model is too simplistic and hence reductionistic. For example, in explaining an actor's adoption decisions, diffusion research had in the past taken mostly adopter-side perspectives (like in marketing and management), ignoring the influence of the supplier of the innovation on the adoption process (like in economics or geography). Frambach's work (1993), for instance, endeavours to correct this situation by integrating the supply-side in the diffusion model<sup>28</sup>. By integrating those variables, he tries to solve several main criticisms of diffusion research as pointed out by Rogers (2003), i.e. that diffusion research has been suffering from a 'pro-innovation bias' (p.106) and from 'individual blame' (pp.118-120). To Frambach, recognising that adopter is liable to be influenced by innovation supplier meets the 'individual blame' objection to diffusion theory. Likewise, incorporating factors related to the innovation management process in the diffusion model helps to identify innovation-related factors that could underpin non-adoption decision to rectify pro-innovation bias (Frambach, 1993:34).

<sup>27</sup> Rogers also says that the willingness and ability of adopters to adopt an innovation depend on their awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption. Some of the characteristics of each category of adopter include: *innovators* : venturesome, educated, multiple info sources, greater propensity to take risk; *early adopters*: social leaders, popular, educated; *early majority*: deliberate, many informal social contacts; *late majority*: sceptical, traditional, lower socio-economic status; *laggards*: neighbours and friends are main info sources, fear of debt.

<sup>28</sup> He suggests

Diffusion research has largely ignored the strategy pursued by the supplier of innovation. Since this can be an important variable in explaining processes of adoption and diffusion, it should be considered in the diffusion model. ... [T]he objective ... is to integrate the research findings of innovation diffusion theory on the one hand and the insights on innovation management and industrial on the other in a conceptual model of innovation diffusion (Frambach, 1993:23)

### Box 1.3. Some basic, but very important, Internet technologies

Diffusion of the Internet presumes heavily on the diffusion of its underlying technologies which often are not known by end-users. Here are some technologies which enable user to connect with other users through the Net.

Asynchronous Transfer Mode (ATM) is a technology designed for the high-speed transfer of voice, video, and data through public and private networks using cell relay technology. ATM is an International Telecommunication Union Telecommunication Standardization Sector (ITU-T) standard. Ongoing work on ATM standards is being done primarily by the ATM Forum, which was jointly founded by Cisco Systems, NET/ADAPTIVE, Northern Telecom, and Sprint in 1991. For more information, see [http://www.cisco.com/univercd/cc/td/doc/product/atm/c8540/12\\_0/13\\_19/atg/basics.htm#1019851](http://www.cisco.com/univercd/cc/td/doc/product/atm/c8540/12_0/13_19/atg/basics.htm#1019851)

B-ISDN (Broadband Integrated Service Digital Network) is understood generally as both a concept and a set of services and developing standards for integrating digital transmission services in a broadband network of fibre-optic and radio media. B-ISDN will encompass frame relay service for high-speed data that can be sent in large bursts, the Fibre Distributed-Data Interface (Fibre Distributed-Data Interface), and the Synchronous Optical Network (Synchronous Optical Network). B-ISDN will support transmission from 2 Mbps up to much higher, but as yet unspecified, rates. See more information at [http://searchnetworking.techtarget.com/sDefinition/0,,sid7\\_gciz13815,00.html](http://searchnetworking.techtarget.com/sDefinition/0,,sid7_gciz13815,00.html)

Frame Relay is a packet-switched technology that uses bridges, routers, or FRADs (Frame-Relay access devices). These devices aggregate and convert data into Frame-Relay packets at - 56kbps, FT1, T1 speeds. For more information, see [http://www.arcelect.com/Frame\\_Relay-56kbps\\_FT1-T1.htm](http://www.arcelect.com/Frame_Relay-56kbps_FT1-T1.htm)

Multi Protocol Labelling Switch (MPLS) is based on the Packet Switching Technology, i.e. technology such as X.25, ATM, and Frame Relay. Multi Protocol means that more than one type of networking protocol can move information over the wire at the same time. MPLS was designed to increase the speed of information over the Internet. For more information, see <http://cgcc.williamson.cx/mpls.3/MPLS.html> (\*)

Nearly a decade later, similar effort was applied by Wejnert after intensively analysing various diffusion research, tracing back from Tarde's *The Laws of Imitation* (Tarde, 1903), to the report about the spread of hybrid-corn use among Iowa farmers by Ryan and Gross (1943), to the diverse diffusion study in agricultural, technologies, fertility-control methods, policy innovations, and political reforms until the end of 1990s (Wejnert, 2002). She finds that analyses of the variables considered in those studies are associated with different concepts and methods involving diverse processes, principles, and determinants of diffusion. Therefore she proposes to integrate these diverse concepts, variables, and processes into the diffusion research to minimise it from being too reductionistic (Wejnert, 2002:298)<sup>29</sup>. She believes that this will help diffusion

<sup>29</sup> Wejnert groups the diffusion variables into three major components, i.e. (1) *characteristics of innovations* (public versus private consequences, benefits versus costs) (2) *characteristics of innovators/adopters* (societal entity, familiarity with the innovation, status characteristics, socioeconomic characteristics, position in social networks, personal characteristics) and (3) *environmental context* (geographical settings, societal culture, political conditions, global uniformity) (Wejnert, 2002:298-299). She demonstrates that a broad array of variables can significantly influence the probability of whether an actor will adopt an innovation. However, she concludes that there is further need in the diffusion research to incorporate more fully (i) the interactive character of diffusion variables, (ii) the gating function of diffusion variables and (iii) effects of an actor's characteristics on the temporal rate of diffusion (Wejnert, 2002:318-320).

research in assessing the rate and the pattern of adoption of innovations, especially when concerning the actor's resistance to "adoption of certain innovations or retrieval from prior adopted innovations ... or on the other hand, overflowing adoption of other innovations across the world, like cell-phones or Internet connections" (Wejnert, 2002:320), which is exactly the context of this study.

A different approach to criticising Rogers' diffusion theory is taken by Carr (2005), who classifies Rogers' theory and other diffusion theories (e.g. Burkman, 1987; Farquhar and Surry, 1994; Stockdill and Morehouse, 1992; Tessmer, 1990)<sup>30</sup> according to (1) the view of the *goal* of technology diffusion (systemic change/macro-level v. product utilisation/micro-level), and (2) the *philosophical view* of technology diffusion (determinist v instrumentalist). The *systemic change/macro-level* view concerns institution and systemic change initiatives, while the *product utilisation/micro-level* view pays attention to the individual adopters and a specific innovation. *Instrumentalists* believe that the adoption process is evolutionary and the change is caused by human aspirations and that the main issue is human control over innovation. For *determinists*, technology is the primary cause of social change (Carr, 2005). It seems that such classification has given birth to a *subjectivist vs. objectivist* approach in diffusion modelling with subjectivist concentrating on the individual human being and their motivation for adoption<sup>31</sup>, and objectivists avoiding reference to an individual predicate (Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a:2)<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> Carr (2005) notes that Burkman (1987) proposed user-oriented development approach to understand adoption and diffusion of instructional technology, particularly the Internet. It consists of 5 adopter-focused steps: *potential adopter identification, measurement of their relevant perceptions, user (adopter)-friendly product design and development, informing the potential user (adopter) of the product, and support after adoption*. An alternative model is developed by Stockdill and Morehouse which recommends a complete analysis of certain needs and user characteristics along with the identification of a new technology's relevant and appropriate features and factors (Stockdill and Morehouse, 1992). Tessmer (1990) argues that there is the need to analyse the environment in which the potential adopter is expected to use the technology. The approach is intended to ensure actual, correct and continual product use. Farquhar and Surry (1994) offer an adoption analysis approach and consider the process from the broader perspective of both user-perception and organisation attributes. This results in a plan for carrying out the adoption of technology that is rooted in an organizational context and addresses issues of concern to the intended user (Carr, 2005).

<sup>31</sup> An example of the subjectivist modelling approach is *The Unified Model of Acceptance and Use of Technology* (Venkatesh et al. 2003). It outlines four core determinants of intention and usage, i.e. performance expectancy, effort expectancy, social influence, facilitating conditions, and four moderators of key relationships, i.e. gender, age, experience, voluntariness of use. (Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a; Venkatesh et al., 2003)

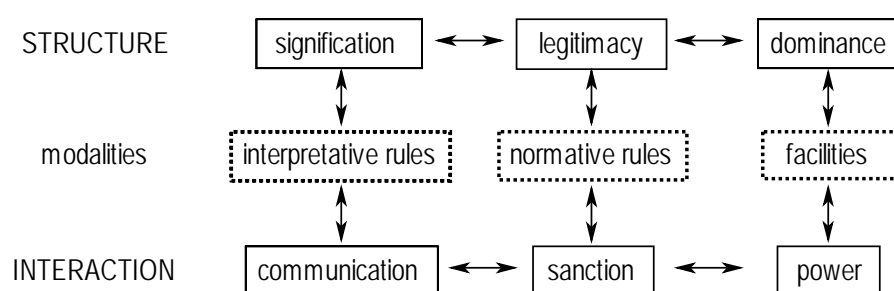
<sup>32</sup> An example of objectivist modelling is Fichman (2000) who emphasises on the environmental factors of organisational and technological nature affecting the diffusion of innovation (Fichman, 2000; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a).

Taking up these critiques, this research endeavours to take a more comprehensive approach to understand the diffusion of innovation, especially Internet diffusion in organisations<sup>33</sup>. One way is by incorporating Giddens' theory of *structuration* (Giddens, 1984) within the adoption paradigm.

#### 1.4. Adopting structuration theory in diffusion research: Understanding adoption as structured practice

Believing that diffusion research is beyond the tension of *subjectivist vis-à-vis objectivist* as well as *determinist vis-à-vis instrumentalist*, scholars have tried to incorporate diffusion research with *Theory of Structuration* (Giddens, 1984). Among the endeavours is *Adaptive Structuration Theory* or AST posited by DeSanctis and Poole (1994), which has been explored in a few cases (such as in Fichman, 2000; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000; 2002; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). How does AST complement diffusion research, particularly with regards to the adoption of information technology like the Internet?

Central to Giddens' structuration theory is the understanding that the relationship between actor's interaction (action) and structure is a duality, instead of dualism, i.e. that they are recursive and produce and reproduce each other in an ongoing, routinised cycle (Giddens, 1984:2)<sup>34</sup>. There are three ontological levels of structures and interactions, i.e. signification-communication; dominance-power; and legitimacy-sanction, within which routines are enhanced by modalities (Giddens, 1984:29).



**Figure 1.7. Three ontological levels of social structures**  
 Source: Giddens (1979:82; 1984:29; 1993:129)

<sup>33</sup> Rogers originally stipulated that the adopter was an individual (Rogers, 1995:163), but in the trajectory of the diffusion research, including in his own quests (largely and explicitly found in Rogers, 2003), the actor may actually be any societal entity, including individuals, groups, organisations, or national polities.

<sup>34</sup> Of course, there are a lot of different concepts in the Theory of Structuration centred around *critiques about dualism* (critique to functionalism, critique to structuralism and post-structuralism, among others), *time-space distanciation*, *institutional reflectivity*, *double-hermeneutic*, *abstract systems*, among others. They are not discussed in this chapter, instead, are incorporated in the relevant part of the analysis.

DeSanctis and Poole (1994) study the interaction of groups and organisations adopting information technology based on Giddens' structuration theory and propose the adaptation of the theory in two important aspects:

- a. *First*, the confirmation of information technologies as social structures that enable and constrain interaction in the workplace or organisation (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994:125-127; also cited in Orlikowski, 1992; 2000; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). It adopts the central concept of structuration that the structure of actor's/adopter's interaction (i.e. that emerges in actor's action as they interact with the innovation) and the structure of technology (i.e. that are provided by technological innovation) exist in a relationship of duality with each other such that they shape and reshape each other continuously.
- b. *Second*, the confirmation about the importance of perceptions which maintains the recurring social practice of adopting technological innovation (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994:128-131; also cited in Orlikowski, 1992; 2000; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). Adopters or users use technology and create perceptions about how it can be applied in their activities, which in turn influences the way in which technology is used and mediates its impacts on themselves. This is what Giddens refers to "structuration process", which produces routine as social practice (Giddens, 1984:75-76), i.e. the adoption or diffusion of innovations.

It is clear that there is a two-way relationship in the diffusion/adoption processes between the propagating diffusion institution (or the *explanans*) and the adopting institution (or the *explanandum*) (Orlikowski, 1992; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). The structure of technological innovations (technological structure) diffuses to the adopting institutions (e.g. organisations) and influences use behaviour, which in turn, modifies the adoption of innovations. Just like Giddens' original proposition about social practice, this diffusion/adoption social practice between technological structure and use behaviour is also exercised on the three ontological levels: signification-communication, legitimacy-sanction, and dominance-power (Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a:12).

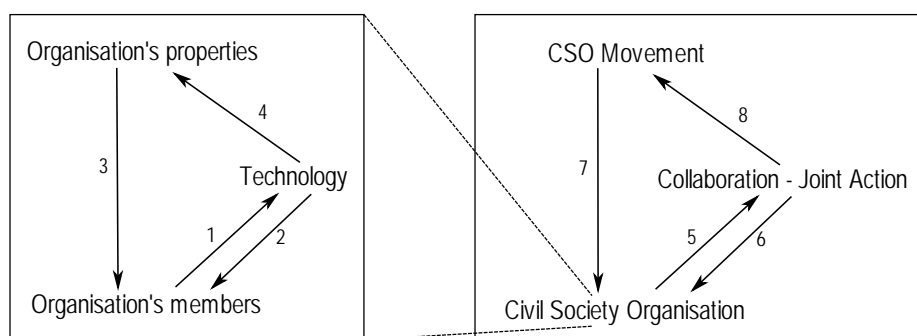
Within diffusion paradigm, this 'routine-guided action' is incited through generalisation of use behaviour and reciprocally routines are laid down in structure, which is reproduced through use behaviour by executing reflexive control (Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). As soon as routines of innovation use stabilise, they become structural, subsequently structuring and guiding use behaviour. Repetitive innovation use builds and transforms social routines, thus guaranteeing



system reproduction (Orlikowski, 1992)<sup>35</sup>. As the use of technology is fundamentally a recursive process of constitution, i.e. an enactment of a 'technology-in-use' structure (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000), it is important to recognise the consequences of such enactment, be they intended or unintended.

Because the enactment of a technology-in-practice is situated within a number of nested and *overlapping social systems*, people's interaction with technology will *always enact other social structures* along with the technology-in-practice ... .. In their recurrent and situated action, actors thus draw on structures that have been previously enacted ... and in such action reconstitutes those structures. Such reconstitution may be either *deliberate*, or, as is more usual, *inadvertent* (Orlikowski, 2000:411, emphases added).

In the instance of organisations using Internet technologies, Orlikowski's note about nested and overlapping structures is true. There are at least two 'layers' of social systems: one is the individual organisation itself as a social system (at *intra-organisational* level) where people's interaction with technology is structured (Orlikowski, 1992; 2000), and two is the organisational context (network, groups) as another social system (at *inter-organisational* level) where interactions among organisations are also structured. Using the example of civil society organisations (CSOs) as adopting units<sup>36</sup>, the nested structure is depicted below.



**Figure 1.8. Nested social systems of enactment of technology in organisation**

Source: Modified from Orlikowski (1992:410), using Civil Society Organisation as an instance. The inter-organisational context in which CSO operates is CSO movement, through collaboration and joint action

At the intra-organisational level, as Orlikowski's (2000) explains, deriving from theory of structuration, technology is both a product of (arrow 1) and also a medium for (arrow 2) human action. At organisational level, institutional properties influence how organisation's members

<sup>35</sup> Routine building is enhanced by system modalities, which, in diffusion of innovation, are operationalised as follow (adapted from Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a): (a) Interpretative rules: technology intervention, promotion/elicitation, formed image and reputation of the innovation, etc; (b) Normative rules: subjective and organisational norms, critical mass pressures, captive network pressures, groupthink etc.; (c) Authoritative facilities: technology standardisation, managerial intervention, IT disciplinary action, etc; (d) Allocative facilities: technology sponsorship, subsidies etc.

<sup>36</sup> More detail with respect to CSO is offered in Chapter Two.

interact with technology (arrow 3), and at the same time, the interaction influences the institutional property of the organisation (arrow 4). In the CSO example above, at the inter-organisational level, joint action and collaboration is also both a product of (arrow 5) and a medium for (arrow 6) CSO's activities. In the network of CSO movement, institutional property of the movement influences how individual CSO collaborates and joins its action (arrow 7) and at the same time the collaboration and the joint work influence the movement itself (arrow 8).

In this light, by taking the instance of organisations using the Internet, the focus of studying the implication of the internet use would be twofold. First, at intra-organisational level, it is important to examine the influence of the use of the Internet on the organisation itself (identified by arrow 4). Second, as the use of the Internet is substantial in inter-organisation works, it is also important to study how such works mediate an individual organisation's work (reflected by arrow 6) and influences the inter-organisation context (reflected by arrow 8) altogether, at the inter-organisational level.

It is therefore important, at this point, to look more closely at the use and impacts of ICT, particularly the Internet, in organisations.

### **1.5. Internet use and adoption in organisations: Deliberate or emergent? Shaping or being shaped?**

ICTs like the Internet and society interpenetrate each other to an extent that they cannot be separated anymore (Castells, 1996; 1997; 2001; Dutton, 1999; 2004). Social shaping and social construction of technology offer a useful perspective: on the one hand, in society, it can be seen how technology plays a role in almost all of its aspects; on the other it is known that social arrangement is embodied in the development of the technology (Bijker et al., 1993; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1985). Therefore, it may be better to understand the role of technology by conceptualising it *as a process in which society is reorganising itself into ever new forms* dialectically. This means that while an arrangement of elements (be it institutional, technical and cultural) stabilises in new technological artefacts, they provide new possibilities of doing things and in the process of putting the artefacts to use, they are actuated. This is more evident when organisation is observed as an adopter unit. But how exactly decision to adopt an innovation in organisation takes place?

In Rogers' framework, there are five stages of adoption. Stage one, *knowledge*, is heavily influenced by the *adopter characteristics* comprising of (i) socioeconomic characteristics, (ii) personality variables, and (iii) communication behaviour<sup>37</sup>. Stage two, *persuasion*, is highly determined by the *perceived attributes of innovation*, i.e. (i) relative advantage, (ii) compatibility, (iii) complexity, (iv) trialability and (v) observability (Rogers, 2003:171-177). Next, stage three, *decision*, is the stage of activities which lead to either adoption, i.e. decision to make full use of an innovation as the best course of action available, or rejection, i.e. decision not to adopt an innovation. When the adoption is decided, the following stage four, *implementation*, takes place. Implementation implies behaviour change as the new idea is put into practice (Rogers, 2003:177-188). Lastly, in stage five, *confirmation*, the decision-making unit seeks support for the innovation-decision already made and may annul this decision if exposed to conflicting messages about the innovation (Rogers, 2003:177-188).

Further, to understand implementation in more detail, Rogers theorises two stages. Implementation stage (which consists of redefining/ restructuring, clarifying and routinising) occurs after initiation stage (which comprises of agenda setting and matching), marked by decision to adopt an innovation which divides the two (Rogers, 2003:420-430)<sup>38</sup>. In the initiation stage there are two key phases, i.e. agenda setting and matching (Rogers, 2003:422-424). *Agenda setting* is a stage when general organisational problem is defined and creates a perceived need for an innovation. In this stage, as problems are identified and needs are prioritised, search for innovations begins. *Matching* is the next stage in the initiation at which a problem is fit with an innovation in a planned and designed match. It is a conceptual feasibility test to see how well the innovation fits the problem. Meanwhile, in the implementation stage there are three important phases. One, *redefining/restructuring* – this is a two way processes where (i) the innovation is re-invented to accommodate the organisation's needs and structure and (ii) organisation's structure is modified to fit the innovation. In this stage, innovation starts losing its 'foreign' character. Two, *clarifying* – this happens when the innovation is put into more widespread use in the organisation to clarify the meaning of the new idea to the organisation's members. It is the stage where innovation champions usually play important role. Last, *routinising* – this takes place when an innovation has become incorporated into the regular activities of the organisation and thus innovation process in an organisation is completed (Rogers, 2003:424-430).

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<sup>37</sup> Actually there is *prior conditions*, which are identified by (i) previous practice, (ii) felt needs/problems, (iii) innovativeness, and (iv) norm of the social system (Rogers, 2003:168-170).

<sup>38</sup> The distinction between 'initiation' and 'implementation', used in Rogers works (1995:392; 2003:421), can be found in the work of Damanpour (1991)

In addition to Rogers', there is actually also a number of similar theoretical models explaining diffusion (e.g. Cooper and Zmud, 1990; Engel et al., 2001; Hamelink, 1984; Prochaska et al., 1992; Swanson and Ramiller, 2004). These frameworks suggest the focus on the different *stages* that potential adopters must traverse before acceptance, adoption, or sustained use<sup>39</sup>. The comparison of these frameworks, based on their comparable similarities of the stages of diffusion, is outlined below.

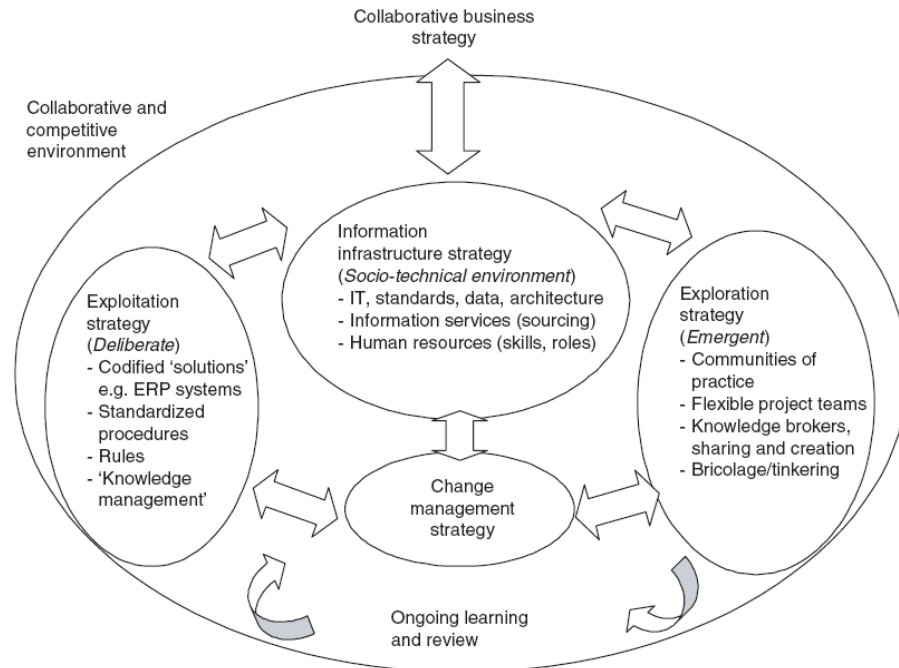
Theory and Perspective	Rogers (1983; 1995; 2003)	Hamelink (1984)	Cooper & Zmud (1990)	Prochaska, et al. (1992)	Engel, et al. (2001)	Swanson & Ramiller (2004)
	Individual or decision-making unit	Technology integration	Management	Change behaviour	Information Processing	Organisation
Stage 1	Knowledge	Awareness	Initiation	Pre-contemplation	Exposure	Comprehension
Stage 2	Persuasion	Acceptance	Adoption	Contemplation	Attention	Adoption
Stage 3	Decision	Participation	Adaptation	Preparation	Compre-hension	Implement-ation
Stage 4	Implement-ation	Ownership	Acceptance	Action	Acceptance	Assimilation
Stage 5	Confirmation		Routinisation	Maintenance	Retention	
Stage 6			Infusion			

**Table 1.2. Summary of diffusion framework: Comparison of Rogers' and others'**

*Source: Author, based on literature review*

Galliers' (2004) offers another framework to portray and explain the use of ICTs like the Internet in organisations in a more detailed way. This framework aspires to explain the way organisations use the technology by focussing not only on the adoption of the technology as given artefacts (or, information technology) and its influence on use, but more than that, to focus on organisations *strategy* in the recurrent use of technology (or, information systems). His framework, *Information Systems Strategising*, is depicted below (Galliers, 2004).

<sup>39</sup> Among these framework, the one most widely used is Rogers' (Rogers, 1995; 2003). Based on the work of Ryan and Gross (1943) in the Iowa seed corn study, Rogers conceptualises the *innovation-decision process* as the process through which a decision-making unit passes from first knowledge of an innovation, to form an attitude toward the innovation, to decision to adopt or reject to implementation of the new idea, and to confirmation of this decision (Rogers, 2003:168-218).



**Figure 1.9. Integrative framework of Information System Strategising**  
*Source: Galliers (2004:256)*

There are five inter-connected elements in the framework, (i) exploitation strategy, (ii) exploration strategy, (iii), change management strategy, (iv) information infrastructure strategy, within (v) an ongoing learning and review towards collaborative business strategy (Galliers, 2004:255-257). The concept of an information infrastructure strategy—termed as information ‘architecture’—refers to an attempt to represent an “enabling socio-technical environment for both the exploitation of knowledge (efficiency) and the exploration of knowledge (innovation)” (Galliers, 2004:256)<sup>40</sup>. Therefore, information systems strategy is meant to be interpreted as being a part of collaborative business strategising because the focus is not just about internal matters but also partner organisations. To Galliers, information systems strategy,

should also be seen as being ongoing and processual, crucially dependent on learning from ‘below’, from tinkering and improvisation, and from the emergent and unintended consequences of strategic decisions, as well as from the more deliberate, designed, and codified ICT ‘solutions’ that have been implemented. [The framework] attempts to incorporate the embedded, socio-technical characteristics of information architectures—architectures that provide the kind of environment in which knowledge sharing and knowledge creation may be fostered, in tandem. Strategic information, therefore, not only supports existing strategic processes, but also questions the kind of taken-for-granted assumptions on which existing information systems strategies may be based (Galliers, 2004:257).

<sup>40</sup> There is long-standing debate in terms of exploration vs. exploitation (Galliers, 2004; 2007; Galliers and Newell, 2003). However, different initiatives in using information technology can be implemented in tandem in an attempt to foster both organisational efficiency and flexibility (Newell et al., 2003).

In this framework, instances of ICT, like the internet, are portrayed *neither* as the 'answer', *nor* 'solution', but as a means for acquiring and interpreting data for a certain organisational purpose in unique circumstances (Galliers, 2004:256-257).

Galliers' framework, in addition to Rogers' implementation stage, is deemed to be adequate to provide more in-depth analysis for this study for some reasons. One, it addresses and focuses on the importance of *strategy* in constructing the framework (Galliers, 2007; Galliers and Newell, 2003), which suits the need to analyse strategic use of the Internet in organisations. Two, it makes a distinction between, but takes into account both, the information *systems* (IS) and information *technology* (IT) strategy (Earl, 1989), by arguing that IS is related to 'what' of the information required, while IT addresses 'how' to provide that information (Galliers, 2004). Last, it adequately accommodates the competing view which sees information systems strategy theory as rational, objective and unitary (Whittington, 1993) and which positions information systems strategising as part of the soft-system methodology (Checkland, 1981; Galliers, 1993; Stowell, 1995).

With these features, both the adoption and use of technology, and the impacts and implications of the adoption in an organisation can be observed with much greater comprehensiveness.

## **1.6. Impacts and implications of adoption: The importance of organisational coherence and cohesion**

When assessing impacts and implications of technology use, it seems that what is seen from any technological developments or innovations is a mixture of hype and excessive optimism on the one hand and hysteria or fierce scepticism on the other. When considering impacts and implications of innovation adoption, one tends to project on to innovation their own individual fears and aspirations. As result, technologies end up being treated like a 'Rorschach inkblot' – talk about technology and its impacts and implications is often more about people's own selves than about technology itself (see Figure 1.10.) – which is very true in technologies like the Internet (Thurlow et al., 2004)<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> In psychology, therapists sometimes ask people to imagine what they see when looking at an image similar to the one above. The idea is that the things people say they see reveal important clues about how the person is feeling and what is really on their mind (Weiner, 1997). Regarding people's view on the Internet CMC, Thurlow (et al., 2004) concludes, "And so, in much the same way, people talk about technology often says more about them than it does about the technology itself" (p.40).



**Fig 1.10. Rorschach inkblot**

Source: [http://photoinf.com/General/Robert Berdan/Composition and the Elements of Visual Design/image014.gif](http://photoinf.com/General/Robert_Berdan/Composition_and_the_Elements_of_Visual_Design/image014.gif)

How should, then, impacts and implications of innovation adoption be understood? In the tradition of diffusion research, *impacts and implications* are often understood as *consequences of innovation*, i.e. the changes that occur as a result of the adoption, or rejection, of an innovation (Rogers, 2003:436). This becomes particularly important as most diffusion studies conclude with analysis of the *decision* to adopt an innovation but ignore how this course of action is implemented and what the consequences might be (Rogers, 2003:440). In the study of information systems too, especially when ICT is adopted and then implemented as part of the organisations' strategies, it is equally important to pay attention on the consequences of the implementation (Galliers, 2004:257).

Recalling Orlikowski's (2000) suggestion above, there is an important distinction between intra- and inter-organisational levels in understanding the implications of Internet use in organisations, at least for analytical purposes. But it is also just as important to distinguish between the intended and unintended nature of the implication itself (Orlikowski, 2000:411). Further, she elaborates,

Whether or not the technology or the work practices are changed is often an intended outcome of people's knowledgeable actions; the structural consequences are much more likely to be unintended consequences of actions (Orlikowski, 2000:421).

This hint is important for two reasons. First, users (in organisations) always have the potential to change their habitual use and in this way change the structures they enact in their recurrent practice of using the technology. The practice can be and, indeed, often is changed as users experience parallel changes in their awareness, knowledge, power, motivation, time and circumstances (Orlikowski, 1992). This helps the analysis of the influence of the use of the Internet in organisations (identified by arrow 4 in Fig 1.8). Second, organisations (in larger social systems, such as social movement in the instance of CSOs) similarly have potential to change their usual participation in collaboration or joint action and in this way change the structures they enact in their recurrent practice of collaboration or networking. This practice can also be, and in fact is, changed as an organisations' involvement also changes in terms of perspectives, concerns, priorities, power, intentions, time and circumstance.

This perspective enriches reflection when studying how collaborations and joint works mediate CSOs' own work (reflected by arrow 6 in Fig 1.8) and at the same time influences the movement (reflected by arrow 8) altogether. Furthermore, the implication of technological use from the structural perspective occurs in one of two forms: *reinforcement* or *transformation* (Orlikowski, 2000). Reinforcement refers to situation "where actors enact essentially the same structures with no noticeable changes" and transformation "where actors enact changed structures where the changes may range from the modest to the substantial" (Orlikowski, 2000:411).

At *intra-organisational level*, one implication concerns the influence of Internet use on organisational identity (e.g. Castells, 1997) which is substantial to internal coherence (e.g. Stiglitz, 2000) as well as organisational cohesion (e.g. Knox et al., 2006). Coherence, in practical terms, refers to organisational agreement about identities and roles, how resources are aligned behind the organisation's strategy, the strategic priorities being tackled, and the organisational issues that critically need attention and what is being done to resolve them (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; McLaughlin et al., 1999; Scott, 2003)<sup>42</sup>. Cohesion is understood as the *esprit de corps* that individuals feel in a group. According to Reynolds, the more cohesive a group or organisation is, the more its members share a collective identity and role, mutual respect and trust among each other (Reynolds, 2003:256-257).

Likewise, analysis of the implication of Internet use in organisations at *inter-organisational level* will concentrate on the changing roles of organisations themselves. This is still, by all means, a wide area to explore. This study therefore focuses only on one aspect: the observation of the relations of organisations (in this instance: Indonesian CSOs) to their 'audiences' or 'beneficiaries'. There are two features to be closely looked at here. First, how the Internet is used by organisations in the shaping and reshaping of inter-organisational contexts, and second, how the organisations are influencing and influenced by this process. In the case of CSOs, Edwards et al. (1999) suggest that one hint to identify these features is by knowing the strategic orientation of the organisations. Why? Since adoption of innovation is affecting both internal and external activities, the need for more strategic orientation has become more crucial for at least two reasons. One, organisations' view and way of working is altered, or influenced, by their use of the

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<sup>42</sup> Organisational coherence is often understood in terms of identity, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility (for instance in CSO universe, see Clayton et al., 2000; Ebrahim, 2003; Edwards, 2004; Edwards and Hulme, 1992). Meanwhile, due to the nature of the organisations, cohesion is even more substantial for some types of organisations, like CSOs (Anheier et al., 2002; Davis et al., 2005; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Edwards and Hulme, 1995a).



technology, as much as the other way around. Two, this has arguably resulted in the activities and orientation of organisations becoming widened<sup>43</sup>.

## 1.7. Conclusion: What matters in Internet adoption?

Technology has become an important strategic organisational asset for many organisations as it can be the source of advantages and may contribute significantly to the success of an organisation. Managing technology use within an organisation has therefore been a crucial thing in today's dynamic environment. An important issue here is the adoption of technological innovation, not only because adoption could be seen as organisational strategy, but because it could also transform the organisation through its technology use.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, the literature on innovation is extensive and covers a wide range of topics: it focuses broadly on the process of innovation, patterns of innovation and the diffusion of innovation (Rogers, 1995; 2003). However, the diffusion paradigm needs a more comprehensive approach as adoption of innovation is understood as a two way processes involving structured practices in organisations (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). In a particular instance of innovation diffusion in organisations, it is important to look at how organisations use and innovate in and around new technology to achieve their missions and goals, improve their organisational management and develop new strategies (Galliers, 2004). The implication of innovation adoption in organisations, be it intended or unintended, should be understood at two different level, i.e. the inter-organisational and intra-organisational level (Orlikowski, 2000) because it affects organisational cohesion and coherence.

The above provides an important context to understand the adoption of the Internet as technological innovation in organisations. One pertinent question related to the transformation it brings about is whether the Internet itself is source or medium of change (Castells, 1999; 2001; Dutton, 1999; 2004; Wellman, 2004). The answer, however, may not be simple. Castells' ideas about organisational transformation (e.g. change of identity) as a result of adoption of new ICTs and media technology (Castells, 1997) has actually been confirmed by Giddens, who repeatedly reminds us that changes are happening not only 'out there' but also 'in here' –in our homes and inside our heads, in how we see the world and our place in it (Giddens, 1999). This consequently

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<sup>43</sup> In organisation theory, strategic orientation is often described in terms of five distinguishing features: (i) it is concerned with mission-critical activities; (ii) its time dimension is long range; (iii) it looks outward, beyond organisational boundaries, often with a special emphasis on beneficiaries and other important stakeholders; (iv) it seeks maximum impact rather than minimum expenses; and (v) it places a high value on technological, human, and information resources (e.g. Andersen et al., 1994:340).

implies that as society, people have a responsibility to think about and debate the experiences of these societal transformations. The fact is, it is impossible to remain neutral to their consequences. This is why it is important to see how all the changes that the Internet brings about are affecting everyday human interaction. It is clear that the Internet is both a source and medium of transformation.

Having arrived at this point, it is useful to conclude this chapter by posing a hypothesis. Based on the literatures reviewed here, this study believes that *different types of organisation will adopt and use the Internet in different ways and thus experience different impacts and implications*. More particularly, in the instance of this study, it is expected that being ontologically different from other types of organisations (i.e. business firms and government agencies), organisations and groups in civil society –the subject of this research—will perceive and adopt the Internet as a technological innovation in an ‘idiosyncratic’ and particular way.

There is another point. The study assumes that organisation’s perception of technology influences the relations between it and the technology (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1985). Therefore, this study expects to see that those who view technology merely as instrument (or *medium*) are those who are likely less aware of the shaping process of the technology. Likewise, the study also anticipates that those who are aware that technology serves as more than a mere instrument (thus *source*) are those who are more aware of such shaping process. It is clear here that the extent to which innovation is undertaken (including innovation adoption) depends much on an organisation’s own understandings with respect to its existence and roles in society. In other words, it is the *raison d’être* of the organisations that characterises its innovativeness.

The next chapter discusses how a particular type of organisations centrally observed in this research –civil society organisations (CSOs)— adopt and use the Internet. This is important to show the Internet as transforming technology, for adoption and use of the Internet in CSOs is deemed “to serve recurrent needs better ... and having a major impact upon the form of social and political life” (Graham, 1999:37).

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## Chapter 2

# Civil society in the Archipelago in transition

### *Landscape of Internet adoption in civil society organisations*

*[Strong] democracy relies on participation in an evolving problem-solving community that creates public ends where there were none before by means of its own activity.... In such communities, public ends are neither extrapolated from absolutes nor "discovered" in a pre-existing "hidden consensus." They are literally forged through the act of public participation, created through common deliberation and common action and the effect that deliberation and action have on interests, which change shape and direction when subjected to these participatory processes.*

(Benjamin Barber, "Strong Democracy", 1984:151)

From innovation perspective, examining how organisations within civil society (commonly known as civil society organisations or CSO) are innovating in the way they work by using and adopting technological innovations like the Internet, is both challenging and intriguing. Firstly, CSO is by nature different from firms which have been receiving large attention in the innovation study. Secondly, while commercialisation and profit making is essential in innovation within private/business sector (Chesbrough, 2003; Davila et al., 2006; Ettl, 2006; Freeman and Soete, 1997; Lundvall, 1992), it is very rarely –and mostly not—the case with CSOs improving the ways they work. Instead of profit making, it is societal objectives like promotion of democracy or widening public participation in politics and development that becomes concern to most CSOs. These are the tensions and the challenges, which this study is willing to take up. Besides, in the context of Indonesia, this study may gain more relevance as Indonesian CSOs are known to be among the first to use the Internet for purposes other than the-often-cited creating a new economy, or at the least, profit-making.

However, the task is not easy. It is claimed elsewhere that there is a strong link between the use of Internet technology and the dynamics of civil society groups and movements promoting civic engagements (for example, Camacho, 2001; Diani, 2003; Hajnal, 2002; Juris, 2004; Sey and Castells, 2004; Surman and Reilly, 2003). But, the study is not aware of previous research portraying and explaining this link adequately in a vibrant context like Indonesia, with particular attention paid to civil society groups and organisations (some attempts, however, have been made by Lim, 2002; 2003d; 2004a looking at public cyber-civic space in general). It is thus important to know how the link evolves in Indonesian context. This is certainly an empirical question that needs addressing. But, before presenting some empirical evidence to answer these questions, in this chapter the study aims to explore the notion of civil society, civil society organisations and movements, and put them in the context of Indonesia.

This chapter starts by briefly reviewing some concepts of civil society and CSOs that have been suggested and discussed by some prominent scholars in this area (e.g. Anheier et al., 2001b; Deakin, 2001; Keane, 1998; Wainwright, 2005). It then discusses different ways and approaches that different organisations and groups within civil society take to achieve their missions and aims (by reviewing, for example, the works of Anheier, 2003; Ebrahim, 2003; Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Edwards et al., 1999; Florini, 2000). Subsequently, the chapter explains the link between civil society and information technologies like the Internet and why the Internet is a convivial medium for CSOs activism (for instance, as suggested by Hajnal, 2002; Lim, 2003d; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). From general views, this chapter then moves to a particular context of Indonesia (using some accounts of Bird, 1999; Bresnan, 2005b; Hefner, 2005) where the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs over different periods is discussed based on previous research of Indonesian civil society (among many others, Billah, 1995; Eldridge, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hadiwinata, 2003; Hikam, 1999; Sinaga, 1994; Uhlin, 1997; 2000). This also includes how the Internet plays role in the dynamics of Indonesian civil society (Hill and Sen, 2005; Lim, 2003a; 2003b; 2003d; 2004a; 2006; Nugroho, 2007a; 2007b). These all particular contexts are presented in order to lay down a firm ground for this study.

## **2.1. Revisiting civil society and civil society organisations: Anchoring some constructed views**

Scholars often perceive civil society, theoretically, as one of the cornerstones of vibrant societal sphere, providing voices for the disenfranchised and creating centres of influence outside the state and the economy (Anheier et al., 2002; Anheier et al., 2001b; Deakin, 2001; Keane, 1998). The loose, yet operational and descriptive, definition of civil society is offered by *Centre of Civil Society* at LSE, i.e. that civil society constitutes a sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals located between the family, the state, and the market (CCS, 2006). When it comes to the notion of global, network civil society, the definition is inevitably expanded, i.e. that it is operating beyond the confines of national societies, polities, and economies. What matters here is not just the fact of civil society that spills over borders and offers transnational opportunity for debates, but how civil society influences framework of global governance (Anheier et al., 2001a:11; Kaldor et al., 2004:2).

Following on this, the concept of CSOs in this study traces itself back to the entity of the sphere of social life which organises itself autonomously, as opposed to the sphere that is established and/or directly controlled by the state (Deakin, 2001:4-8). Such entity within civil society here also alludes to a new semantic of social transformation, including new concepts and

commitments (Esteva and Prakash, 1998:12-13). Thus, CSO in this context is *the autonomous, democratic civil society entity, as expressed in organisations independent of the state and of corporate structure.*

In hindsight, the formulation above traces back to Gramsci's (1971). To him, civil society is not only the sphere where existing social order is grounded but also where new social order can be founded. This notion is important because this helps to understand the strength of the *status quo* so that a strategy for its transformation can be devised. What is substantial here, perhaps, is the 'emancipatory potential' of civil society. But, in Gramsci's view, civil society is an 'elastic' concept that, in different courses, has different connotations. Even, civil society often appears as a function of the state: "State=political society+civil society, in other words hegemony protected by the armour of coercion" (Gramsci, 1971:263). However, from Gramsci's perspective, it is clear that there is a dialectic relationship inherent in civil society. In one direction, the ideological agencies that are sustained by the state's coercive apparatus shape morals and culture. In the other direction, civil society has autonomy, is more fundamental than the state, and hence is the basis upon which a state can be founded. Civil society is thus both shaping and being shaped –an agent of stabilisation, reproduction, and clearly transformation<sup>44</sup>.

Yet, despite being prominent, theory and conceptualisation of civil society (and CSO) has been in constant debate and contestation and probably not been academically mature (Anheier et al., 2001b; Kaldor et al., 2004). It is nevertheless used as starting point to understand the richness and dynamics in activities, concerns and issues of CSOs that become the subject of this research. The study takes this position partially because it shares Kaldor's (et al.) belief that "debating the meaning of the term contributes to an open and self-reflexive civil society in the end" (2004:2). However, because the concept of civil society has a normative meaning and the boundaries of the normative concept are highly contested (Kaldor et al., 2004), there is certainly a need to draw a line, particularly for practical purpose of this study in understanding the work of CSOs in a specific context, like in Indonesia. For this purpose some previous research into civil society is discussed briefly.

Since the 1990's interests in civil society studies have increased rapidly in the directions of both general-theoretical (like Anheier, 2003; Edwards, 2004; Hajnal, 2002; Hall, 1995; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998; Wainwright, 2005) and more specific-empirical (such as, Anheier et al., 2002; Blumer, 1951; Edwards and Hulme, 1992; 1997; Hajnal, 2002). It is notable that research about organisations within civil society sector has been approached from different perspectives and

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<sup>44</sup> Note that Gramsci's view about the relationship between civil society and the state is similar to Giddens' (1984) view about the relationship between agency or actor and structure, or how a social practice is structured.

frameworks related to several scientific disciplines and policy areas. While the importance and visibility of CSOs have grown rapidly, civil society sector itself has become a quite diverse and diffuse field for studies. As result, there is an increasing dispersion with cognitive gaps in the research area: neither are theoretical concepts and categories used in empirical studies, nor empirical dimensions are connected to theoretical concepts (Anheier et al., 2002).

At the same time, as the awareness of the heterogeneity and diversity of the civil society sector has also become widely known, the differentiation emerges, i.e. differentiation of civil society sector and the research into it. This results in difficulties to form an integrative and solid knowledge on the realities of civil society sector. It is reflected, partly, in how the terminology civil society (including CSOs) theoretically emerges and is often debated in LSE's canonical works on *Global Civil Society Yearbook*. This work uses whichever terms preferred to describe civil society "with whatever definition or connotations they bring to it" (Glasius et al., 2002:5) even if they are debatable. However, this does not annul the importance of the sector. On the contrary, it even puts more weigh as evidence that civil society sector –as well as organisations within it—is conceptually *different* to public, private and commercial, and governmental sector.

How, then, do CSOs differ from non-governmental organisation (NGO)? Many literatures seem to have used both terms interchangeably and put little attention on their difference (e.g. Bennett, 2003; Danermark et al., 2002; Eldridge, 1971; Hill and Sen, 2002 among many others) and thus analysed them as a single entity. Yet, to Clayton (2000), doing so is an analytical mistake, since,

Civil society constitutes a vast array of associations, including trade unions, professional associations, religious groups, cultural and sports groups and traditional associations, many of which are informal organizations that are not registered. Nonetheless, despite the huge variety of different types of organizations that are found in the developing world, most of the funding from international sources for service provision is channelled through non-governmental organizations. The NGO sector in most developing countries is formally organized and often subject to certain government regulations, and has developed considerable capacity and experience in the delivery of development projects. For this reason, although it is important to keep the terms CSO and NGO analytically distinct, in practice the majority of CSOs involved in service provision are NGOs (pp.1-2)

For opportunistic reason, this study shares Clayton's view above in order to examine the extent to which CSOs, as the representation of civil society, play their role as agents for social transformation. It is critical, therefore, to stress that what it is meant by 'civil society' here includes local community groups, NGOs and other civic actors independent of the state and business interest. Uhlin (2000) supports this preposition:

Civil society is a public sphere in which different kind of groups –which have some degree of autonomy in relation to the state, economic entities and the family, but constantly interact with institutions of these other spheres– develop identities, articulate interests and try to promote a specific political agenda (p.10)

This distinction is also fundamental since NGO, as widely conceptualised, is a CSO which is built upon identity as a mere *non-state*, or *non-state-apparatus*, actor (Edwards and Hulme, 1995c; Edwards and Sen, 2000; Petras, 1997). Whereas, there are other groups within civil society, formally organised or not, whose identity is not, or not only, built upon such position. The emergence of student movement groups, anti-globalisation movements, urban poor groups, anti-business/anti-TNC (transnational corporation) movement, among others, is an undeniable proof that using the term 'NGO' to label this kind of groups or organisations is inadequate – despite NGO being the most visible and vocal subset of CSO. This is also true in Indonesian context, as addressed by Ibrahim (et al., 2003):

In Indonesia, the term NGO means organisations that focus their activities toward social and economic empowerment through poverty alleviation programs and policy changes through advocacy programs. The term CSO is conceptually wider than NGO; CSO also includes the academic community such as student organizations, universities and research agencies that function as think tanks, the media (independent newspapers, radio and television), community organization, social religious organizations and labour unions. (p.130)

His idea is consistent and echoes with other recent studies that also defend similar positions in understanding CSO as a broad category (e.g. Clayton et al., 2000:1-2; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006:103; WB, 2005:3; among others). This is the position that this study adapts to differentiate NGO from CSO. We shall now discuss how CSOs work and organise themselves.

## **2.2. Civil society organisations in action: From empowerment to mobilisation, from development to advocacy works**

In order to understand the work of CSOs, historical account alone is not enough; rather, it needs a good look at the management of CSO which obviously deals with the scale of the organisation, and the sources they manage (Ebrahim, 2003; Edwards and Hulme, 1995a; 1995c). It is crucial therefore not to neglect the importance of organisation's management into the analysis, as exemplified by previous research into the politics of NGOs – a main subset of CSO.

[M]anagement is too important to be omitted in discussing NGOs since NGOs' survival is often determined by factors such as staff development, budgeting and leadership. Although management may not be the major concern of NGOs –as they tend to be guided by commitment and good intention rather than by rules or

procedures—gradually, however, NGOs are beginning to think about improvement in their performance, administrative capacity and accountability (Hadiwinata, 2003:44).

This study shares Hadiwinata's position and extends for another two reasons. One, as CSO can be arguably seen as an institutionalisation of activities in civil society arena (Keane, 1998), institutional aspects hence become crucial (Edwards et al., 1999). Two, as CSOs make up networks of social movement (Anheier and Katz, 2005; Diani, 2003), management develops into vital part to ensure achievement not only in organisational performance (internal) but also in maintaining the organisation's function in the networks (external) (Edwards et al., 1999) – which is essential for networking with transnational CSOs (Anheier, 2003; Florini, 2000)

However it is deemed necessary at this point to clarify that this is not to say that 'management aspects' (as suggested by *organisational studies*) are more important than 'commitment aspects' (as suggested by *social movement studies*). Instead, both aspects complement each other in understanding the nature of CSOs as an organisation of social movement:

- a. The **organisation study tradition** has a very dynamic perspective. The work of Simon (1945) and March and Simon (1958) in *administrative behaviour* approach by differentiating organisation from other "nonrational" collectives emphasises the relation of the organisation to its environment. This was then followed by *contingency theory* emerging in the mid-1960 concerning adaptation of organisations to their environments (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Thompson, 1967). This theory basically posits that organisations that are better in matching their structural features to the distinctive demands of their environments are likely more successful. Alternative theoretical perspectives then were developed quite rapidly, i.e. *organisational ecology* (Aldrich, 1979; Hannan and Freeman, 1977), *resource dependence* (Pfeffer and Salanick, 1978) and *conflict theory* (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; Collins, 1975) – which all challenged rationality-based conceptions of organisational design and operation and instead argue the central role played by power. About at the same time, *neoinstitutional theory* (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977) emerged and pointed to the role of wider cultural and normative frameworks in giving rise to and in sustaining organisations. *Rational system models*, which embraced open systems assumptions was both founded and challenged by political and cultural models (Scott, 2003). Organisational studies seem to have experienced a period over the past four decades which developed and tested of several somewhat conflicting, somewhat complementary theoretical perspectives.
- b. Sociologists have developed several **theories related to social movements** (Kendall, 2005). Chronologically they include *collective behaviour/collective action theories* in 1950s



(Blumer, 1951) which explained factors influencing collective social action. Then it was followed by *relative deprivation theory* (Runciman, 1966) –that showed that experience of being deprived has important consequences for both behaviour and attitudes and participation in collective action—and *value-added theory/strain theory* based on the assumption that certain conditions are needed for the development of a social movement as side-effects of rapid social change (Smelser, 1962). Then emerged the theory of *resource mobilisation* focused on the ability of the members of the movement to acquire resources and mobilize people in order to advance their goals. Unlike traditional collective behaviour theories which viewed social movements as deviant aberrations, this theory considers social movements as rational social institutions and social actors taking political action. There are two major strains in the theory: John McCarthy and Mayer Zald are the founders and proponents of the classic entrepreneurial (economic) version of this theory (Zald and McCarthy 1987), while Charles Tilly and Douglas McAdam are advocates of the political version of resource mobilisation theory (McAdam, 1982; Tilly, 1978). After this, came *frame analysis theory*, closely related to social constructionist theory followed by employing framing and *social constructionism* paradigms on the large social *interactionism paradigm*. It focuses on the symbolic presentation of a movement to its participant and to general public (Goffman, 1974). Most recently, *new social movement theory* becomes popular. It looks at various collective actions, their identity and on their relations to culture, ideology and politics (Kendall, 2005). According to Buechler (1999) there is in fact no single new social movement theory, but a set of new social movement theories, each a variant on a 'general approach to 'something called new social movement', which is defined as a 'diverse array of collective actions that has presumably displaced the old social movement of proletarian revolution'.

Recalling Davis, et al. (2005), they underlined that both organisational studies and social movement studies actually "arrived on the scene at about the same time, but have tended to go their own ways, rather like twins separated at birth" (p. 11). Thus, for CSOs, while management aspect plays an important role in shaping internal organisational performance, commitment aspect significantly shapes the external organisational performance in its networks of social movement with other CSOs (Davis et al., 2005; Hadiwinata, 2003; Lounela, 1999). Toward which orientation is the movement of CSOs addressed? What activisms do CSOs engage?

Many claim that CSOs have undoubtedly played a very important role in the transition to democracy (among many, Cohen, 1999; Wainwright, 2005) and thus democratisation is the ultimate direction for CSO movement. This claim, understandably, is based on the premise that democratisation is an essential fabric for socio-political interaction –which is of paramount

importance for CSOs. Why? Despite that civil society in itself is neither strong nor pluralistic (Uhlen, 2000), the extent to which CSOs succeed or fail in achieving their missions and goals depends not only on their own capacity to organise but also on the *social and political context* in which they operate (Hadiwinata, 2003:36). What does this mean?

A scholar, Migdal (1994), once argued that the most important agents in state-society relations are in fact 'social forces' instead of social classes. To him, various social forces without regard to their class status try to impose themselves on the political arena, prescribe others their goals and respond to existing problem. This is because the relation between state and society can be understood as a continuous struggle for social control and domination involving different individuals, groups and organisations (Migdal, 1994:21, as cited in Hadiwinata (2003)). This study thus finds Migdal's proposition useful to explain not only the social and political context of CSOs operation, but also the formation of social movement and the dynamics of civil society itself. It is apparent why CSOs activism in promoting civic engagement, particularly at grassroots level, is inevitably political and transforming. This area –democratisation, grassroots politics, and mobilisation– is one main area of civil society activisms with CSOs working in this area commonly labelled as 'political CSO' or 'advocacy CSO' or 'social movement CSO'.

Another area where CSOs are considered to play important role is development, particularly orientated toward poverty reduction. Barlow and Beeh (1995) suggests that the success contribution of CSOs in reducing poverty is due mainly to their 'rootedness' (closeness) to the poor communities and to their effort to cooperate with them. Among many examples, CSOs not only assist the poor in rural area, but also help in empowerment through education and training, resettlement and transmigration and family health and other welfare matters. In contemporary issues and concerns, some progressive CSOs also pursue women's affairs, environment, human rights, and transfer technology to village communities. CSOs working this area are often generally categorised as 'development CSO'.

At the end of the reflection, it seems that the fulfilment of feeling of justice and equal and just distribution of access to development becomes the most important and urgent agenda for civil society; and the roles of CSOs are of paramount importance to promoting a plural, open and egalitarian society. But in doing so, integrity and accountability of CSOs is a must, in addition to the willingness to cooperate and share among themselves. Why is it important? Civil society scholars, like Edwards and Hulme, argue that accountability is the most notable problem concerning the performance of CSO in relation to their donors and beneficiaries (1995c). This problematic emerges as a result of a dilemma between the nature of work the CSOs do and the context in which they do it. Most civil society groups operate in a world where standard criteria

for qualitative achievement and organisational achievement are lacking. Both need to be obtained through negotiation with legitimate stakeholders (Edwards and Hulme, 1995c; 1997).

What Edwards and Hulme have warned here has become a real concern: for instance, accountability of CSOs working for the Tsunami and other disaster relief efforts in Indonesia are currently under scrutiny as alleged corruption and mismanagement have been taking place (PIRAC, 2006). It is not that because Indonesia has a very bad record in combating corruption, but because in such context, be it in Indonesia or elsewhere, the accountability of CSOs could also be easily undermined (AFP, 2005) for nothing under the sun can be separated from its context. Thus the question is: are CSOs prepared to build democratic civility not only among their beneficiaries (i.e. society in large) but also among themselves through holding themselves accountable? Only if this is achieved, CSOs will be the agent of transformation.

Having argued that CSOs indeed play important roles in the social dynamics, it is of no surprise to learn that CSOs too, just like private companies and state institutions, are catching up with technologies which benefit them in delivering their works. Among some emerging technologies, it is Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), particularly the Internet, that apparently interest CSOs. This chapter continues to explore the extent to which CSOs at large use the Internet in their works.

### **2.3. Civil society, network society, and civic agendas: Role of the Internet**

The emergence of information technology, particularly the Internet, has given new impetus for the birth, or more precisely the reinvention, of global civil society (Hajnal, 2002). That is, a globally networked of organisations, groups, and movement within civil society aiming at mainly widening participation in political decision making for 'civic agendas' such as development, protection of environment, defence of human rights, among many others (Anheier et al., 2001b; Bartelson, 2006; Kaldor, 2003). It can be argued, therefore, that there is a virtuous relationship between global civil society, civic agenda, and network society.

### 2.3.1. Clarifying the links: Global civil society, network society and civic agendas<sup>45</sup>

First, clearly global civil societies foster civic agendas. Take democracy, for instance. Many organisations active in global civil society owe their very reason for promoting democracy to the far corners of the world (for example Anheier et al., 2005; Cohen, 1999). Kaldor et al. (2004) provide an example.

The last two decades have witnessed the fall of Communist regimes and the spread of democracy... This phenomenon, it can be argued, is linked to globalisation and, indeed, to global civil society... Pressure for democratisation has been partly a result of pressures from above; international financial institutions, outside governments, and international donors have demanded political reform alongside market reform. More importantly, pressure for democratisation has come from below, from civil society groups that have been able to expand the space for their activities through links with the outside world. (p. 13)

This argument echoes Wainwright's idea that civil society is not simply a 'sphere', but a source of power for democratic change in new, more international forms, which conveys an awareness of civil society as a source of power, including power to bring about political change (2005). She notes more particularly that the relationship between civil society and democracy is being formed at the global level, where the momentum to establish organisations of civil society to achieve democracy has an entirely new context (Wainwright, 2005: 100-101). It seems obvious that in this case the *raison d'être* of global civil society organisations is in fact the extension of the achievement of democracy.

Second, studies also illustrate that global civil society also goes hand in hand with global network society. On the one hand, it is because the very ideas at the core of civil society: a society that is open and participatory, is very much in tune with network society, a society that is less hierarchical, less bureaucratic, open and inclusive (for instance Castells, 1996; 2005; Warkentin, 2001). Based on the study of the social movements network of global justice issue, Juris (2004) for example, argues that networks are increasingly associated with values related to grassroots participatory democracy and thus have become a powerful cultural ideal. Particularly among civil society groups, networks have become a guiding logic that provides both a model of and a model for emerging forms of directly democratic politics on local to global scales (p.342). On the other hand, this idea has become possible because of the facilitation of new information and communication technology (Hajnal, 2002). Warkentin (2001) points out that it is through the

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<sup>45</sup> This part, at large, has appeared in Nugroho and Tampubolon (2006a)

facilitation in communication and participation via Internet technology that a network society is formed and thus strengthens global civil society. He writes,

Because the Internet's inherent characteristics and transnational reach parallel (or correspond to) those of global civil society, the medium serves as both a logical and an effective tool for establishing and maintaining social connections that can contribute to global civil society... By increasing the ease with which people can establish and maintain relationships, share resources and information, and coordinate their activities, the Internet aids the process of building and maintaining the social bases of global civil society. (Warkentin, 2001:33)

Clearly the Internet has strengthened the link between civil society and network society. Yet Warkentein also notes that the network society contributes to the technology's growth and helps shape the direction of its development in particular ways (which is also confirmed, in relatively different context, by Dutton, 1999; 2004; 2005). Information technology provides both opportunities and constraints for actors participating in global civil society – in some ways expanding and in other ways contracting available means for interacting (Warkentin, 2001).

Likewise, third, scholars have long argued that democracy and network society are seen to be reinforcing one another. Democratic participation, for example, can be facilitated through multiple connections which ensure informed and interactive politics (Sey and Castells, 2004: 363). Historically, democracy meant having selected an élite of political representatives in political discussions. Then, having 'direct' democracy by involving the citizen in the decision making process became the ideal. With the help of information technology this ideal has become possible today although still considered problematic (Coleman, 1999). The rise of the network society characterised by the appropriation of information technology has provided a renewed support for this vision, as Richard (1999) suggests:

The vision of leaders and their governments actively working in collaboration with citizens and interest groups towards measurable goals is prominent in Internet related discourse. This ideal may come from the fact that the Internet blends tools for public participation and representation in a unique way (p.71)

It is clear that democratic participation can manifest via manifold relations within network society and thus ensures informed and interactive politics. Sey and Castells (2004) investigate the emerging interaction between people and democracy in the process of political representation in the new form of networked public space constituted by the Internet. They warn that "it is only under the conditions of an autonomous citizenship and an open, participatory, formal political channel that the Internet may innovate the practice of politics" (p.370). In line with this, Wainwright suggests that a new relationship between civil society and democracy is being forged at the international level, where there is a new impetus to build organisations of civil society as a

force for achieving and deepening democracy or rebuilding it in a radically new context (Wainwright, 2005).

These three links clarified above clearly emphasise the importance of the new information technology like the Internet for civil society activism (Hajnal, 2002). But, in a more detail, how do CSOs adopt, use, and appropriate this technology?

### 2.3.2. The Internet: A 'convivial medium' for CSOs?

One problem when discussing the 'use of the Internet by CSOs' is that 'use' has more than one meaning. One meaning would be of having access to infrastructure, another would point to the use of basic applications, and the other would refer to the strategic use of the Internet for CSOs' purpose and objective. Certainly there are ways CSOs travel across different kind of 'use' as they are exposed to the Internet, using the stages involved in the innovation-decision process. Other scholars approach the issue from different perspectives. Camacho (2001) and Surman (Surman, 2001), for example, introduce 'spectrum of use' of the Internet among CSOs (Surman and Reilly, 2003), which looks like more as ladder than flat spectrum. The first, or lowest, step is *basic access*, i.e. to make available information technology infrastructure to perform a networked communication (e.g. Internet connection to an office computer, a mobile phone with SMS, internet café). The second, or middle, step is *adoption*, i.e. the use and development of necessary basic skills to use ICTs in the ways in which it was intended (e.g. writing memos and notes with a word processor, notify colleagues with an email client application). The last, or highest, step is *appropriation*, i.e. the strategic use where an individual or an organisation turns ICTs to their own purposes, utilises it to achieve their own objectives and makes it their own (e.g. uploading local content on the web in local languages, specific application design for specific need) (Surman and Reilly, 2003:10). Thus, all perspectives of 'use' make sense as they fit along this 'spectrum of use'.



Fig 2.1. Access/Adoption/Appropriation Ladder

Source: Surman & Reilly, 2003

As a conceptual note, it is at the level of appropriation that CSOs turns ICTs like the Internet to their own ends, creating political and social impact. Borrowing Illich's conception, on the use of technology, Lim (2003) coined the term 'convivial medium' to explain a level where CSO turns ICT into a 'convivial medium' to achieve their goals. Indeed, this accurately portrays Illich's prophetic vision towards a level of the interaction between human and technology where CSO turns ICT into a 'convivial medium' to achieve their goals. It is a level where people are not any

longer subordinated by technology, but have full control over it and use it for their own purpose (Illich, 1973).

For a hundred years we have tried to make machines work for men and to school men for life in their service. Now it turns out that machines do not “work” and that people cannot be schooled for a life at the service of machines. The hypothesis on which the experiment was built must now be discarded. The hypothesis was that machines can replace slaves. The evidence shows that, used for this purpose, machines enslave men. Neither a dictatorial proletariat nor a leisure mass can escape the domination of constantly expanding industrial tools. The crisis can be solved only if we learn to invert the present deep structure of tools; if we give people tools that guarantee their right to work with high, independent efficiency, thus simultaneously eliminating the need for either slaves or masters and enhancing each person’s range of freedom. People need new tools to work with rather than tools that “work” for them. They need technology to make to most of the energy and imagination each has, rather than more well-programmed energy slaves (Illich, 1973:10).

One can probably think of this assumes that access to technology (in this case ICT) is relatively not any longer a problem. Or in the other words, appropriation can only be undertaken when full access is available. Yet, it may not always be the case. Again, Surman & Reilly (2003) believes that subjugating the question of *appropriation* to the issue of *access* does not take us to anywhere. Instead, they believe, the focus must be to move from information *consumers* to *producers* and *participants* (p.10).

In the particular context of CSOs, although their access to technology like the Internet sometimes is still problem or not fully available time to time, CSOs must learn the principle of appropriation. That is, that the Internet is not only a technology that can quickly pass memos and reports to colleagues, but it also has the potential to be a ‘platform’ for organising strategic activities of CSOs (Surman and Reilly, 2003). Some empirical research, despite its limitations, shows that among possible appropriations are building and strengthening the identity of CSOs in cyber-civic space for social reform (Lim, 2002; 2003a; 2003d) through coalition building (Diani, 2003; Rucht, 1989). This can be done by creating networks of opposition (Sey and Castells, 2004) which to some extent can be of important factor in leading to a creation of ‘insurgent space’ (Lim, 2002). International CSOs seem to have appropriated ICTs for establishing collaboration, publishing (campaign), mobilization and observation (watchdog activities) (Camacho, 2001; Lim, 2004a; Surman and Reilly, 2003). This list is obviously still long. In short, appropriation of ICT for social transformation would be optimum when it is addressed strategically towards movement development and organisational networks.

However, given possibilities of such an appropriation, the actual use of the Internet among CSOs is actually still far behind what they actually can benefit from it (as also found by Surman and Reilly, 2003). What causes this, among many, is the lack of time. To CSOs, lacking of time to learn

how to appropriate the Internet may be a valid problem –given other dimensions of CSOs activities. While it is true, another problem arises: what is the embedded character of the Internet that makes them on the one hand not as convivial as it is expected, but on the other hand has the potential to be a truly convivial medium for transformation? Nicolas Garnham gives a clue that it is the 'communicative power' or 'information politics' in the 'social dimensions of the technical' of ICTs like the Internet that makes it so (Garnham, 1999). To him:

ICTs have raised question of social power ever since their birth with the invention of forms of writing. Once communication expanded beyond face-to-face interaction and the natural endowments of speech and gesture, the question of who commanded the cultural and material resources for communication –and for what purposes—became central to an understanding of the social order. I refer this as 'information politics. The differences between individuals and groups in their ability to mobilise communicative power on pursuit of their goals have always been intertwined with ICTs. Since we also know historically that those patterns of power distribution only change slowly, rarely and with difficulty, it would be safe to assume that the so-called new ICTs are unlikely to be either as new or as dramatic in their impact, for good or ill, as technologically focussed approach assumes. And we should not let this focus distract us from attending to more fundamental questions concerning the unequal distribution of communicative power. (p.78)

It seems, in order to properly understand the landscape of appropriation of ICTs, both the dimension of control and change must be taken into account. And as suggested by Garnham above, we cannot but enter the discourse area of power relations in the modern society in which we live. We take on this by looking at the context of Indonesia.

## **2.4. Civil society in the Archipelago in transition: Social legacies and possible futures**

Efforts to empower and mobilise various actors within civil society trace back to the early days of Indonesia, long before the independence in 1945, knowingly marked by the establishment of the first indigenous youngster (*pemuda bumiputera*) organisation *Boedi Oetomo* in 1908 (Clear, 2005). Since then civil society has been inseparable part of the dynamics of the country. Without any intention to abandon the importance of this history, this section looks at the more recent dynamics of Indonesian civil society and CSOs.

### **2.4.1. Indonesia – Archipelago in transition**

In selecting some ways of seeing Indonesia for the background of this research, this study never aims for comprehensiveness. Instead, it decides to highlight just some aspects. The qualifier 'some' is crucial as Indonesia is a vast and plural subject, while the scope of this subsection is



necessarily limited, i.e. to provide just a relevant context to the research. It is worth emphasising this as errors about Indonesia's most basic characteristics can persist among many outside the country, perhaps including in Europe (Bresnan, 2005b)<sup>46</sup>.

What is Indonesia? There is not much specific literature on Indonesia available to understand the context of this study. Bresnan (2005b) describes that the country is,

difficult to know. Its languages and ethnic groups are famously heterogeneous. Indonesia has experienced "revolution, parliamentary democracy, civil war, presidential autocracy, mass murder and military rule" in its first half century; it is not a history with much coherence. For these and other reasons, including distance and language barriers, Indonesia has not generated a literature to serve the general reader interested in world affairs. In the absence of such a literature, there has been little interest in Indonesia outside specialist circles, and Indonesia is best known for being little known, even to its neighbours. (p.1)

Emmerson (2005), contributing Bresnan's works above, concludes that Indonesia is simply a country that,

has been through a lot. In 1997-1998, its forests were blazing, its currency was sinking, its economy was shrinking, and its president resigned. In 1999-2000, democratic elections were held for the first time since 1955, a referendum in East Timor overwhelmingly rejected Indonesian rule, and the presidency changed hands again. In 2001-2002, the president was impeached, the speaker of the house was found guilty of corruption and Islamist terrorists killed more than 200 people in Bali. In 2003-2004, terrorists struck again in Jakarta, Indonesians went back to the polls three times, including a first-ever presidential election, and on December 26, 2004, the northwestern tip of Sumatra took the brunt of an earthquake plus tsunami deadlier in lives lost than any natural disaster to strike the archipelago since 1815. Capital flight, a laggard economy, widespread corruption. Political demonstrations, communal violence, secessionist movements. Constitutional innovation, radical decentralization, five presidents in seven years. (Emmerson in Bresnan, 2005 p. 7-8)

Therefore he offers four ways to understand Indonesia through pursuing its identity: (i) a *spatial* Indonesia, visualised along physical, social, and political lines, (ii) a *centrifugal* Indonesia that could someday disintegrate, (iii) a *historical* Indonesia variously influenced by its pre-colonial, colonial and nationalist pasts, and (iv) a *personal* Indonesia as imagined or experienced by individual Indonesians (Emmerson, 2005). The notion of *spatial* Indonesia is helpful and is used for the entire of this study. Box 2.1. below gives some geographical accounts of the country.

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<sup>46</sup> Emmerson illustrates how such a significant error exists. He did not find the entry for "Indonesia" in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 2002*, but he found "Indonesian" being defined as a native inhabitant of "*Indonesia, a large island group in SE Asia, and now esp. of the federal republic of Indonesia, comprising Java, Sumatra, southern Borneo, western New Guinea, the Moluccas, Sulawesi, and many other smaller islands.*" This statement was never true. It was just in a slight period that Indonesia was a federal republic (27/12/1949 – 17/8/ 1950) and at that time, authority over western New Guinea remained in Dutch hands. To him, it was hard to imagine such basic factual errors in the OED for entries such as "Britain" or "Spain" (Emmerson, 2005:10)

## Box 2.1. Indonesia



Political map of the Republic of Indonesia

Source: Map No. 4110 Rev. 4, United Nations, January 2004

Geographically, Indonesia is the biggest archipelago in the world with five major islands and about 30 smaller groups of islands. The five main islands are (1) Sumatra, which is about 473,606 sq. km in size; (2) the most fertile and densely populated islands, Java and Madura, 132,107 sq. km; (3) Kalimantan, which comprises two thirds of the islands of Borneo and measures 539,460 sq. km; (4) Sulawesi, 189,216 sq. km; and (5) Irian Jaya, 421,981 sq. km, which is part of the world's second largest island, New Guinea. Indonesia's other islands are smaller in size.

According to the Indonesian Naval Hydro-Oceanographic Office at the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Republic of Indonesia, there are 17,508 islands in total, but with the recent loss of East Timor's two offshore islands, Atauro and Jaco, the official figure is presumably 17,506. The land area is generally covered by thick tropical rain forest, where fertile soils are continuously replenished by volcanic eruptions like those on the island of Java. Located on a crossroad between two oceans (the Pacific and the Indian) and bridges two continents (Asia and Australia), Indonesia has a strategic position which in turn has also always influenced the cultural, social, political, and economic life of the country.

The territory of the Republic of Indonesia stretches from 6°08' North latitude to 11°15' South Latitude, and from 94°45' to 141°05' East Longitude. The Indonesian sea area is four times greater than its land area, which is about 1.9 million sq. km. The sea area is about 7.9 million sq. km (including an Exclusive Economic Zone) and constitutes about 81% of the total area of the country. Indonesia is populated by 231,328,092 inhabitants with a 1.54% population growth rate per year (July 2002 estimated). This means that the population grows by about 3 million each year and makes Indonesia the fourth most populated country in the world after China, India, and the United States of America.

The people of Indonesia are a mix between the native people and the newcomers that came during the Neolithic Period (3000-2000 BC) from the Asian mainland to the South through a large-scale migration. There are about 500 tribes and ethnical groups with their own languages and dialects spoken in the archipelago. (\*)

Source: Foreign Affairs Ministry of Republic of Indonesia, available at <http://www.deplu.go.id/2003/detail.php?doc=c142cod92c39c179fed8dfe8368b2do>

Understanding Indonesia's economy is almost impossible without understanding its socio-politics –and the other way around—for they are affecting each other. Indonesia was severely hit by the economic crises in 1997 which then brought up massive change in the socio-political landscape of the country. It was when Thailand announced the devaluation of its currency (the Baht) in July 1997, a move that caused the value of Indonesia's currency, the rupiah, to drop as much as 80 percent at one point. Badly affected by the currency devaluation, foreign investors fled away and companies went bankrupt causing massive layoffs. And as also evident in other Asian countries, Indonesia's banks were hit hard. By January 1998, 16 banks suspended their operations. This resulted in driving the unemployment up to 80 million people and more than 150 million people were living on less than USD2 per day –the economy of the country came to a standstill<sup>47</sup>. But it did not stop there. The Washington Post recorded that,

As the country negotiated with the International Monetary Fund over the terms of its \$43 billion bailout package in early 1998, riots began to erupt over rising food prices, gradually intensifying despite violent police efforts to put them down. In March, Suharto was reelected to a seventh term by the People's Consultative Assembly, a legislative body largely appointed by the president himself. Student protests broke out, and calls mounted for him to step down. In May, riots and looting turned violent as tens of thousands of students demonstrated in Jakarta and other parts of the country. Hundreds perished in clashes with security forces in Jakarta. In a show of resistance, students occupied the country's parliament grounds, demanding the president's resignation. On May 21, Suharto bowed to the pressure and resigned, naming the Vice President B.J. Habibie as his successor. (Ito, 1999)

While there had been no significant economic progress under Habbibie after 32 years of New Order Government under Soeharto, at least there were two recognised political actions. One, the release of East Timor (Timor–Leste) through a referendum (on 8 August 1999) into an independent country since it was annexed and occupied by Indonesia (with help from the US) in the mid 1970s (Jardine, 1999; Taylor, 1991)<sup>48</sup>. Two, Habbibie pledged to lift restrictions on political parties and hold open elections as part of a package of reform measures intended to liberalise life in Indonesia and revive political activity that had been stifled for more than four decades.

Yet, stability seemed never to be in place. In June 1999 Habibie called for parliamentary election after massive social unrest. In November 1998, massive protests for greater democracy in Jakarta turned violent after a cruel attack on demonstrators killed at least five students and two others. Rioting followed as demonstrators burned shops and set cars ablaze across the city, resulting in

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<sup>47</sup> From various sources, mainly major Indonesian mass media like Kompas ([www.kompas.com](http://www.kompas.com)), Tempo ([www.tempo.co.id](http://www.tempo.co.id)), The Jakarta Post ([www.thejakartapost.com](http://www.thejakartapost.com)) which have massive coverage on that period.

<sup>48</sup> The United States cut off some military assistance to Indonesia in response to a November 1991 shooting incident in East Timor, involving security forces and peaceful demonstrators (Jardine, 1999).

at least 16 killed over a period of several days. Soaring inflation, unemployment and poverty led to continued turmoil until 1999. In January, Muslim and Christian inter-faith fighting killed dozens in eastern Indonesia during riots. In June 1999, millions of Indonesians headed to the polls across the country for the first democratic national elections and Dr. Abdurrahman Wahid was elected by the People's Assembly to become the 4<sup>th</sup> president of Indonesia. During his two-year presidency, there were many new 'liberating' policies launched, although some were considered as 'controversial'. These policies overturned old discriminative policies under Soeharto's and Habibie's regime.

After political havoc in the mid 2001 which led to Wahid's impeachment, the vice president Megawati Soekarnoputri became president until 2004. Her presidency was mainly marked by attempts to restore the country's economy, which started to grow again after negative growth during the financial crisis. Economic growth remained modest, between 3% and 4%, but was far too low to absorb new labour force and to tackle unemployment. Apparently, political crises also had made it difficult for Megawati to recover the economy. When Gen. Dr. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono elected (in the first direct election) by the people to lead the country, unemployment was still rising and poverty was hardly being reduced as 110 million people still lived on less than USD 2 a day (WB, 2003).

Yudhoyono's presidency perhaps marks the new era of Indonesia as it strives to put stability back and continue the development of the country that has been halted. However, he also faces huge challenges and problems including the increasing trend of poverty, unemployment, criminality, corruption, religious fundamentalism, among others. UNICEF reported that conflict and violence across the archipelago has apparently harmed, traumatised and displaced children and women on a massive scale. The vast majority of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women and children and was estimated to be already some 1.4 million<sup>49</sup>. When the Tsunami massively hit the northern tip of Sumatra, in Aceh province, on 26 December 2004, it claimed more than 150,000 lives in the country, destroying schools, roads and water and sanitation systems and displaced half a million people. A series of subsequent disasters affecting Indonesia, including earthquakes, another much smaller but still deadly tsunami and outbreaks of polio and avian influenza introduced more pressure for Yudhoyono. Under him, Indonesia seems to still continue to suffer from a prolonged economic and monetary crisis and serious concerns remain. Among these are the impact of decentralisation on the poor, inadequate allocation of resources from central level and the absence of minimum standards or regulations for basic services.

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<sup>49</sup> UNICEF's website (<http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/indonesia.html>) – viewed December 2004

These interrelated challenges are confronting Indonesia as it looks to the future. Indonesia is arguably an archipelago in transition if it is fortunate for years to come. New and reformed institutions, whether social, political or economic, will require time to become established. And it is not only dependent upon individual leaders, but the participation of wider society. True, it is partly a matter of luck whether and how these might be achieved as Indonesia's future may remain hostage to fortune. But it is also opportunity for everyone living in the country to decide and to take part in creating the future of the country, which does not only lie on the hands of the leaders and goddess of luck. Many hopes for Indonesia are striving to ensure that the future is on the hands of the society itself.

#### **2.4.2. Historical trajectories and social transformation**

Having examined what Indonesia has been through over the past ten years, particularly in the heightened period between 1996-2001, one may inevitably think that the country might break into separate pieces. So the question is: what has been holding the country together? With its vast diversity, reaching national unity has been the major goal of Indonesia's presidents since Soekarno until Yudhoyono. But on top of this, the country is also suffering from multidimensional crises. This certainly has complicated the task of establishing a framework of nationhood today, but it is imperative if Indonesia is to survive. It may be useful here to look at the historical trajectories to learn what clues the past may offer into the country's future, from the perspective of civil society. Contrary to laments in Western studies about Indonesia that mourn over the country's potential to disintegrate, this study argues that Indonesia still has strong resources that can go beyond problems like localities, ethnicities and religions, which provide a potential foundation for national integration and development in the future (of course, while some of these instances reach far back into history, others are of recent provenance).

In its study between 2003-2005, DEMOS, a research CSO in Indonesia, tries to map both social (and political) legacies of Indonesia as a nation in the transition to democracy. There are four major, important conclusions which are helpful in giving context to understand Indonesia's socio-political dynamics from the perspective of Indonesian civil society, i.e. (Demos, 2005b):

- *Democratic deficit of rights and institutions.* Indonesia's democracy is neither well under way nor irreversible. There are basic freedoms but there is a severe deficit of the other instruments of democracy that are supposed to favour democracy. It is not to blame democracy, but it is because essential instruments of democracy are not functioning properly.

- *Elections but not representation.* Among defunct instruments of democracy today, the most serious one is the free and fair elections which fail to provide proper representation for elections are limited to unrepresentative and irresponsible political parties (and politicians). It is difficult to improve Indonesia's fledgling democracy in a democratic way unless there is proper representation of people's ideas and interests.
- *Oligarchic democracy.* As new democracies around the world suffer from persistent dominance of the elite, the problem in Indonesia is that the elite monopolises democracy, bending and abusing the rules of the game for their own interest. However, it is not appropriate to remedy the situation by implementing either liberal or state-centrist politics as both are part of the monopoly-breeding nexus between state and business, with deep roots since colonialism.
- *Floating and marginalised agents of change.* As the agents of change who brought democracy to Indonesia, civil society activists and pressure groups remain 'floating' in the margins of the fledgling democratic system, instead of directly involved in it, and are thus unable to make a real impact.

What DEMOS has concluded may at a glance seem gloomy, but it actually also gives hints to see the future –or more precisely, the possibility of the future—from the perspective of democratisation, which, if pursued, can transcend current problems like ethno-religious conflicts and nurture healthy economic development. It is important, as underlined, that the agenda to de-monopolise and resurrect democracy should be in place if Indonesia wants to see democracy work. This can be done by, among others, widening the social base for local civic capacities, transforming concrete issues and interests among emerging movements into governance agendas, facilitating political formations and fostering combined forms of direct democracy in civil society and representative democracy via political institutions (Demos, 2005a; 2005b).

In this light, politically, it is important to realise that Indonesia's future is no longer unified by a nation state project, but by promoting democracy that is not balkanised as a potential basis for unity. A better future for democracy in Indonesia could be achieved if priority is given to solving the problem of political representation. This is properly addressed by, for example, promoting democratic, accountable and responsive political parties and interest organisations and fostering more democratic forms of direct participation (Demos, 2005b). This is very true, as other scholars also noted that no one factor can be given all the credit for the recent political reforms.

Many organisations and individuals have come together to contribute to the *reformasi* movement, thereby creating the opportunity for and implementing the

package of institutional changes that have moved Indonesian politics away from authoritarianism and toward democracy.(Clear, 2005:137, original emphasis).

Regarding recovering the country's economy, as DEMOS suggests there should be effort to explore the options of democratically regulating economy to bring together the profit interest of business, the state's target in economic development and community's concern to protect their livelihood in order to achieve better standard of living. One way is to expand the basis of the movement to the landscape that relate together business, public administration and community groups in activated, self-managed units in society (Demos, 2005a; 2005b).

This echoes with Bresnan (2005a) who believes that the way out of the economic troubles, far reaching back to the root of the crises in 1997, is not to be sought solely in terms of the economy itself but also in terms of "the dynamics of its relation with Indonesia's society and polity" (p.189). The alternative, to give larger place to foreign investors, is not a politically attractive pathway to a prosperous economic future given Indonesia's well-known history of nationalism, argues Bresnan (p.190). Instead, the return of economic performance to the pre-crisis levels should be attempted by changing economic institutions "to improve efficiency and the equitable distribution of benefits" (p.189)

Having acknowledged these political, economic and cultural potentials, this study goes on to argue that their consolidation into a viable national framework will ultimately depend on more than past legacies and include the present-day civil society. In the 1990s, in the aftermath of the collapse of authoritarian regimes in East Asia and Eastern Europe, it is proven that formal elections and legislatures are alone not enough to make democracy work. It is stressed that citizen groupings and civil society are vital for strengthening democratic and pluralist habits of citizens. This is what is termed 'social capital' by Putnam (1993) after he concluded that the performance of government and other social institution is powerfully influenced by citizen engagement in community affairs. After outbreaks of ethno-religious violence in countries like Indonesia and Eastern Europe, it is clear that the formation of social capital will fail without enactment of civil society for without them there will be no traditions of public association and cooperation –that go beyond ethnicities, localities and religions—which can provide fuel for nation making and democracy.

This part has put civil society into paramount importance. That civil society has been widely seen to be relevant and essential to the development of Indonesia's future is one thing. Whether or not the notation and understanding of civil society here is adequate, is another matter. Therefore having arrived at this point, it is the time to understand more about the roles and functions of Indonesian civil society and particularly, civil society organisations (CSOs).

### 2.4.3. Indonesian CSOs – Agent for social change and reform?

Indonesian CSOs have received very substantial attention and concern in the recent period, i.e. since the fall of the authoritarian New Order and the rise of *reformasi* period. As a new phenomenon in Indonesia, the emergence of Indonesian CSOs becomes both fascinating and difficult to understand for many people for Indonesian politics were dominated merely by state during the New Order era (1966-1998). In order to study Indonesian CSOs, efforts have been by Indonesian scholars (for example, among others, Billah, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Hadiz, 1998; Hikam, 1999; Kalibonso, 1999; Prasetyantoko, 2000; Sinaga, 1994) as well as Western academics (e.g. Aspinall, 1995; Bird, 1999; Bresnan, 2005b; Eldridge, 1995; Hill, 2003; Uhlin, 1997) to portray Indonesian civil society, particularly by examining the role of NGOs as the most visible subset of it.

It is worth-noting, however, that in Indonesia the terms CSO and NGO have a rather complicated interpretation and understanding compared to what we may have seen in the literature. Traced back to 1970s, the term *Organisasi non-pemerintah* (ORNOP) was used as a direct translation of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) but then replaced by *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat* (LSM) which literally means 'self-reliant organisation' (SRO), most of which was because of fear among activists that the term ORNOP might provoke government repression. Some also proposed another term, LPSM (*Lembaga Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat* or self-help community support institution) which was deemed to have more resemblance with what was known as NGO, while others started using *Organisasi nir-laba* (non-profit organisation). It seems that Indonesian NGO activists never reach consensus (Hadiwinata, 2003: 6-7). Only after the political reform in 1998 as described in a previous subsection, activists started using and popularising the term *Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil* (civil society organisation/CSO) to distinctively distinguish civil- and community-initiated organisations from the ones run or initiated by military, government and business. This study uses the term CSOs to include all kind of organisations within the scope of the definitions quoted earlier.

Many studies, despite variations in methodologies, issues, themes and coverage, as a whole have been able to show the very nature of Indonesian CSOs as ideologically divided in two: those who support development, and those who support advocacy. Two most recent studies by Hadiwinata (2003) and Ganie-Rochman (2002) reflect and affirm these different ideological orientations – Hadiwinata looks at developmentalists group while Ganie-Rochman examines advocacy organisations. Hadiwinata also helps the readers to understand more about the movement aspect and institutional aspect of Indonesian CSOs through his case studies. Both studies can be said to be complementing each other. However, interestingly, a previous study by Fakhri (1996)



argues that this division is too simplified and thus prefers to categorise them as *conformists*, *reformists* and *transformists*<sup>50</sup>.

The study identifies four significant, distinct periods relevant to the transition to democracy in Indonesia where, it is argued, Indonesian CSOs play their role as agents of transformation.

**Pre 1995: Authoritarian period** – From 1965 until May 1998, General Soeharto led Indonesia in a highly authoritarian way and called his leadership period the 'New Order', to distinguish from the 'Old Order' led by the former President Soekarno. The New Order regime was dominated by the military and was able to resist pressure for democratisation. There were conflicts in the political élites and the military, but these were factional and easily controlled and manipulated by Soeharto. The regime was extremely powerful and became relatively autonomous in relation to society (Uhlin, 2000). Due to its position in the global capitalist system and anti-Communist ideology, the regime received substantial economic, military and political support from the West. Until the mid 1990s, the world saw Indonesia as a politically stable state with an impressive record of economic growth, which qualified it as one of the 'tiger economies' in Asia. As a result, this is the first period where civil society was weak, depoliticised and fragmented (Hill, 2000). For CSOs, despite differences in ideologies, the government is regarded as the 'common enemy' (Setiawan, 2004).

**1995 – 1998: Bloody transformation** – From the middle of the 1990s civil society started expressing its discontent more openly. A new generation of advocacy groups, mainly pro-democracy and human rights groups, were formed and became increasingly active in anti-government protests. These groups were characterised by their attempts to unite all forms of pro-democracy movements and increase pressure against the government, including establishing alliances with peasants and workers (Uhlin, 1997: 110-114). Women's movements became more prominent in organising themselves and expressing their concern on the economic crisis that hit countries in South East Asia in 1997. Some women's groups promoted domestic issues (like milk and food scarcity) in national, political, economic debates and raised women's awareness more widely. By doing so, they contributed to the process of democratisation (Kalibonso, 1999). Other developmentalist and professional civil society groups also started organising themselves and spread political awareness among their beneficiaries including farmers and urban workers. As a result a wide spectrum of

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<sup>50</sup> *Conformists* are CSOs working without clear vision and mission (and possibly theory), but adapting themselves to the dominant structure. *Reformists* support a participatory approach and mainly strengthen the role of civil society in development without questioning the ideology of development but just concentrate on methods and techniques. *Transformative* CSOs question the mainstream ideology and try to find an alternative vision and mission through critical education and participatory studies (Fakih, 1996).

civilians academics, civil servants and street vendors, joined hand-in-hand expressing concern and protesting to the government. Ordinary workers, who were often pictured by the media as 'ignorant' and 'opportunistic', also actively organised themselves and were directly involved in the street protests (Prasetyantoko, 2000). The beginning of the end of Soeharto's 36 years of authoritarian government in Indonesia was actually initiated by the Asian economic crisis that began in Thailand in 1997. When the crisis hit Indonesia and the regime could hardly retain its power, students pioneered and led mass demonstrations and demanded the President's resignation. Student activism has always played an important role in Indonesian politics (Aspinall, 1995). In 1997 scores of CSOs also joined in with the students giving support to the movement. After a short and bloody period which cost the lives of students who protested in the streets, accounts of missing activists who were protesting the government's policies, thousands of people dead in mass riots, many reports of women raped and vast material destruction<sup>51</sup>, on 21 May 1998 General Soeharto, who was eventually abandoned by the military, was forced to step down. His 36 years of administration had come to an end and 1998 saw a historical moment when Indonesia entered a period of transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. This was the end of the second period.

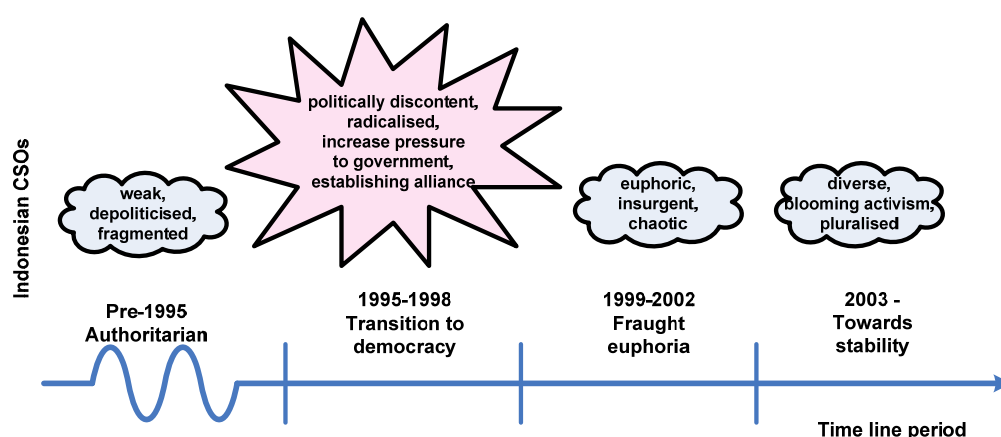
**1999 – 2002: Fraught euphoria** – Soeharto's successor B.J. Habibie, under both international and national pressure, introduced some political reforms and revived political activities that had been stifled for more than three decades: some political prisoners were released, free elections were promised and a referendum took place in East Timor, which led to East Timor's independence. Almost at a stroke political space in Indonesia was considerably widened. Yet, because it was sudden and massive, its effect was euphoric for most of the people in the country. Farmer organisations and trade unions became radicalised, underground organisations came to the surface and joined hands with the newly formed civil society groups and organisations (Hadiz, 1998; Silvey, 2003). Hundreds of new political organisations and political parties were formed and the media became much more independent and critical of the government. But the transition was not entirely painless. There was massive social unrest and political turmoil accompanying dramatic political change with three more presidents elected (and one impeached) within four years: Abdurrahman Wahid (2000), Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001) and SB Yudhoyono (2004). This third period (1999-2002) was obviously marked with relatively chaotic political change due to the euphoric reaction after the displacement of the authoritarian leader.

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<sup>51</sup> (as have been reported by many authors, like Bird, 1999; Uhlin, 2000)

**2003 – after: Towards stability** – The political situation seems to have ‘settled down’ from 2003 onwards. During 2003 preparations for the election 2004 were made, which took the reform process further through extending the range of publicly elected positions. For the first time voters directly elected the President and Vice-president. They also elected representatives to the newly established House of Regional Representatives. These elections were the first in the history of Indonesia in which there was no government appointed Member of Parliament. In addition, the election system itself had been reformed: voters were able to identify their preferred candidate from the party lists, the electoral districts had been reduced in the hope of fostering more direct linkages between members of the Parliament and their respective constituents (UNDP, 2004). Despite worries from pro-democracy civil groups about Gen. SB Yudhoyono whose background was in the military, as a nation, Indonesia has begun to show an evolving political maturity. This period, which significantly differs from the previous period of euphoria, seems to have marked a new era in the democratisation process in Indonesia. Civil society groups, who have been important actors throughout the previous two periods, now have a wider sphere to act as a ‘check-and-balance’ for both government and business. They actively address various concerns and issues in order to advocate people’s rights, to protect their environment and to develop their livelihoods and thus bring about social change in many aspects. Some groups try to do so by influencing governmental policies, promoting ethics and accountability, building public opinion and providing alternative medias. In terms of concerns and issues, civil society is characterised as more diverse compared to its identity during the authoritarian regime.

The changing characteristic of Indonesian CSOs over time is pictured below.

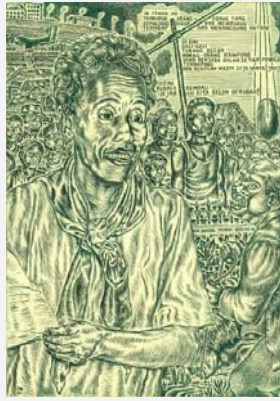


**Figure 2.2. Socio-political periodisation in Indonesian CSO timeline**

*Source: Various literatures reviewed by author*

It can be argued that during the four periods actors, groups, and organisations within civil society have undoubtedly played a very important role as agent for social transformation in the transition to democracy in Indonesia. See also Box 2.2.

## Box 2.2. Indonesian CSOs – Blooming activism



Wiji Thukul, by Surya Wirawan

<http://www.indonesia-house.org/Arts/Wijithukul.htm>

... apabila usul ditolak tanpa ditimbang suara dibungkam, kritik dilarang tanpa alasan dituduh subversif dan mengganggu keamanan maka hanya ada satu kata: lawan!

*... at the time ideas are rejected undeliberately voices are silenced, criticisms are suppressed without reasons, accused as subversive and as a threat to the security, then there is only one word: resist!*

“Peringatan” (*Warning*), Wiji Thukul, 1986, translated by Idaman Andarmosoko, 2006

<http://idaman.multiply.com/>

Through his poems Wiji Thukul put moral fibre into the civil society movements in Indonesia in the heightened period of transition to democracy in 1996-1998. But he was among the casualties of the movement. He disappeared and was allegedly murdered in a military attack against a labour protest in late 1997. But his spirit never dies. His famous line ‘hanya ada satu kata, lawan!’ (there is only one word, resist!) became his memorial and legacy to the reformasi generation, i.e. those who were part of the social movement aiming at political reform and democratisation in Indonesia (Curtis, 2000). The line is still often seen in pamphlets and posters of various demonstrations today. Thukul is certainly a hero, not only to the particular labour movement that he came from, but also to a broad spectrum of civil society movements in the country. Many other activists ended up like Thukul, missing and presumed murdered. But they represented what civil society in Indonesia wanted: democracy, political reform, freedom from oppression, and participation political and developmental decision making.

What do the dynamics of CSOs in Indonesia today look like?

In Banda Aceh, Yayasan Air Putih has been working quietly, far from publicity, to reconstruct the communication backbone destroyed by the tsunami. Air Putih impressively managed to put Aceh back on-line less than four days after the tsunami hit on Boxing Day 2004 and provided free internet access for humanitarian relief organisations working in the area. Without Air Putih, the reconstruction of information infrastructure in the Tsunami aftermath in Aceh would have been impossible. In Salatiga, a small region in Central Java province, Yayasan Trukajaya has been focussing its activities on development efforts, developing rural areas through participatory programme within various social and economic aspects, including promoting the use of alternative energy. In Jayapura, the capital of West Papua province, a NGO Forum known as Foker Papua is weighing advocacy strategies among their members to make sure that Special Autonomy Law is being enforced and that local people’s rights are being protected. ELSPAT, a development NGO based in Bogor, West Java province, working in rural development and sustainable agriculture, have been very active in the working group for organic farming for the last five years and is now tirelessly advocating the implementation of organic and sustainable agriculture policy across the country. Despite limitations, Global Justice Update, a monthly publication of IGJ (The Institute for Global Justice), a research based and WTO-watchdog organisation in Jakarta, has been widely spread from corner to corner of the country, making it possible for informal groups of young people in some surviving dayahs (Islamic board schools) in Aceh, as well as young activist in Manado, to understand globalisation issues better, to know what has happened to Indonesia in WTO negotiations and what implications might be faced in particular localities.

This is a picture –a tiny one—about Indonesian civil society today for the whole realm is impossible to portray. Since the political reform in 1998, there has been obvious bloom in civil society activities in Indonesia. This subsequently marks the birth of new socio-political era in Indonesia, named the era of reformasi, which, bearing Thukul’s spirit, should resist any repressive and oppressive forces aiming at silencing people’s voice and self-determination. Reform, whether social, political or economic, requires time to establish and it is not dependent upon leaders, but the participation of wider society. To people like Wiji Thukul, the future is on the hands of the society itself – maybe represented in the dynamics of CSOs.

Source: Interview from fieldwork

## 2.5. Looking for landscape of Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs for social change

Without doubt, CSOs have been playing crucial roles in the social, economic and political landscape across the country, despite them being heavily marginalised during Suharto's era in 1969-1998 as shown above. Since the reform 1998, there has been obvious bloom in civil society activities in Indonesia focussing on widening civic engagement in its broadest sense. Although most studies of civil society cannot be separated from discourse of democracy and democratisation (e.g. Abbott, 2001; Coleman, 1999; Glasius et al., 2005; Wainwright, 2005), to understand CSOs in Indonesia, the perspective may need to be opened wider for certainly CSOs activities are not limited to democratisation.

The roles of CSOs in Indonesia span from providing humanitarian aid, to development of urban and rural communities, to carrying out training and capacity building and to acting as watchdog organisations (Billah, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Hadiwinata, 2003). Often CSOs in Indonesia are misunderstood as anti-business for they consistently advocate consumers' rights, support labour and trade union activities and protect environment from business' wrongdoings through research, lobbying and advocacy endeavours. They also face risks of being labelled anti-establishment because of their critical stance towards status quo policies, their endeavour promoting civil supremacy and their efforts in fostering wider democracy. On occasions, CSOs are accused for trading the country's interest for their watchdog activities, carrying out campaigns abroad and organising testimonial sessions before international bodies like Amnesty International or Human Rights Commission at the UN (Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiz, 1998; Harney and Olivia, 2003; Lounela, 1999).

However, it is also as a result of the work of organisations of this sort that in Indonesia small-medium businesses benefit from various skills training and have better access to marketplaces; that farmers learn more about organic and sustainable farming processes; that women in rural areas now have access to micro-credit schemes and become empowered domestically; and that consumers' interest in getting more healthy products and produce through fairer trade have been promoted more widely (Hadiwinata, 2003). It is also the efforts of various civil society groups that in Indonesia the importance and urgency of the fulfilment of workers' rights are brought to the wider public; that the rights of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are protected and aids is provided as a higher priority; and that in addition to continuous awareness of civil and political rights and human rights, the discourse of economic, social and cultural (ecosoc) rights has also become more public (Demos, 2005a). Lastly but not less importantly, thanks to various training, dissemination workshops and capacity building sessions that have now become embedded activities in nearly all CSOs, despite vast spreading consumerism and instant culture brought by

globalisation to young generations, many students and young people across the archipelago are still critical and keep their interest in learning the socio-political affairs of the country and thus put hope that they too will be 'agents of change' in the future.

It is argued that the richness of the current Indonesian CSOs' activism, dynamics and challenges have been much influenced by the use of Information Technology particularly the Internet, which has enabled them to engage with the global civil society, for better or worse (Hill, 2003; Hill and Sen, 2005). If during Suharto's authority CSOs were using Internet to exchange information and hasten consolidation among different groups of civil society to challenge –and finally bring down—his undemocratic administration (Lim, 2002; 2003d; 2004a; 2004b), in the aftermath of the regime Internet has been visibly used by CSOs, among others, to consolidate the democratic processes in the republic (Hill and Sen, 2005). Other purposes include improving livelihood (as undertaken by many development CSOs) and reclaiming rights (as fostered by many advocacy CSOs)

Apparently, with the development of the technology and the vast growing number of users, not only has the Internet become an effective business tool for corporate interests through various dotcoms, it also has entered a widened public space in Indonesia. More civic engagement and socio-political activities within civil society become attached to the Internet, from participation for election (Hill, 2003; Hill and Sen, 2005), to understanding globalisation discourse (Nugroho, 2007b), widening of cyber-civic space for activism (Lim, 2002; 2006), to assisting CSOs working in rural development (Nugroho, 2007a). Indeed, the Internet has been a 'convivial medium' for civil society to foster democratisation (as previously concluded by Lim, 2003d). However, there are also dark sides of the technological uptake. One haunting instance would be the bitter fact that the Internet did deepen the segregation of the Ambon community in the bloody conflict between Christians and Muslims (Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005).

Thus, for civil society activists in Indonesia, engaging with Information Technology like the Internet, with both its upsides and downsides, is part of reality, not rhetoric. Therefore it may be useful if some accounts of 'uncivil society' are touched upon here, although perhaps there will be more questions than answers.

## **2.6. Uncivil society?**

Most research into the Internet and civil society, maybe inadvertently, focuses on how the Internet can be used to foster democratisation, promote development, facilitate community

empowerment, widen political participation and protect human rights and environmental sustainability (e.g. Camacho, 2001; Surman, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). In other words, it is about how the Internet has given society a greater bargaining power vis-à-vis state and market interests. This is inevitably an optimistic perspective, not only about the Internet where it is associated with 'freedom' and 'democracy', but also about civil society where it is associated with 'social guardian' and 'civility'. Therefore, unless this study is aware that opposite and pessimistic view of the Internet and civil society exist, not only will the analysis suffer from utopian bias, but the study will also fail to recognise the explanation beyond the utopian-dystopian debate on the Internet and civil society.

The issue of civility is substantial to the idea of civil society. From the beginning, civil society is always about the creation of civility (Deakin, 2001). Which clearly means respect for others, moderation, self-restraint, courtesy, public politeness, good manners, well-spokenness and gentlemanliness (Herry-Priyono, 2006). In practical terms, civility is about treating others as members of society of equal dignity in their rights and obligations despite differences in religion, political affiliation or ethnicity. In the complex context like Indonesia, certainly rule of law is central and supreme, but it is in the service of civility that the end lies, not sectarian purposes imposed by barbarous manners –as often observed to be done by violence groups claiming to represent largest majority in the country.

In facing the problems related to pluralism, one should not forget that there are actually impressive resources for nationhood and pluralism in society, including most notably in well known civic-religious associations like the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama. This was observed by Hefner (2005) who then accurately portrays the country: the elections in May 1999 and June 2004 demonstrated that the great majority of Indonesian voters are interested in parties committed to moderation and tolerance. The tragedy of sectarian violence, however, is that it creates an environment in which paramilitary forces are able to exercise an influence in society greatly out of proportion with their numbers (Hefner, 2005). The containment of this uncivil fringe will seemingly remain a challenge for Indonesian politics for some time to come. The good news is that, to judge by developments from 1999-2004, Indonesia is beginning to make progress in meeting this challenge, as underlined by Hefner.

In the face of the ethno-religious violence of the early post-Soeharto period, all this for a while seemed a Sisyphean task. But its prospects have recently improved, buoyed by the continuing belief of most of the citizenry in the sweet dream of a pluralist and free Indonesia. No less significant, the task has also been eased by the conviction among most of the Muslim public in the compatibility of Islam and democracy. Indonesia may not turn itself into a peaceful and fully democratic place any time soon. But many of its people appear to have learned from their rich social

history. Their knowledge and aspirations will continue to breathe life into the hope for a plural and democratic Indonesia for some years to come. (Hefner, 2005: 122)

This view is certainly important to assess the latest development of Indonesian civil society which becomes characterised by the emergence of extremism and violence threatening the social fabric of Indonesian society (Herry-Priyono, 2006). But, central to the theme of this study, Hefner's view is also important to examine how these uncivil groups, just like civilised CSOs, use the Internet in Indonesia. It seems, more violence has risen from within and threatened the very existence of Indonesian civil society as more of these uncivil groups also appropriate cyber-technology and its informational flows to organise their aggressive activities.

As previous scholars note, just as it facilitates CSOs in achieving their noble goals like democratisation or promotion of human rights, the Internet can assist uncivil society groups in Indonesia which oppose not only the state, but also other civic communities that do not share the same beliefs (Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2002; 2005). A profound example is how the *Laskar Jihad* (Jihad Troopers), using "project identity constructed on the continuation of communal resistance to a secular society and state", use the Internet to maintain their aggressive and violent approach (Lim, 2002:395-398). Another instance is how the Internet was being used by two conflicting communities in Ambon, Moluccas. *Ambon Berdarah On-line* (Bloody Ambon online) was run by a Christian group in frontal confrontation against *Suara Ambon On-Line* (Voice of Ambon online) run by Laskar Jihad of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah, thus maintaining conflict between them (Hill and Sen, 2005:117-140). While in the former example the Internet has become a means to elevate communal resistance against multicultural civil society (as has been forecasted by Castells, 1997:11), the latter shows how the Internet, instead of becoming a peaceful bridge among two conflicting groups, on the contrary was transformed into a deadly weapon.

The case with Ambon conflict and Laskar Jihad proves that the Internet is not always used as catalyst to shape a better world, but, in the hand of uncivil society, it can be used to initiate and perpetuate conflicts. However, once the issue of civility is taken on board, it is easy to see that what these extremist groups do –with or without help of the Internet—has never been, is not and will never be part of the civil society movement. It is therefore important to take this fact into account: the Internet is not just an instrument in its very nature. As new technology, it has been involved entirely in the whole of society and all levels of social (re)production in many sectors.

In this light, it might be important to recall the classic debate between Habermas and Gadamer, which principally concerns the status of *epistemic* and *normative* claims to *discovering and interpreting meaning* in the social and human disciplines (Simpson, 1995). Gadamer, a master of



hermeneutic (i.e. the art of interpretation to discover meaning) emphasises that there is an “authority” from which any understanding must proceed and “tradition” which is not itself a product of reflection, but the working of historical context, which become sources of discovering and interpreting meaningful meanings. To Gadamer, modern technology and its underlying rationality conspire to deny to human practical life and to human self-understanding – it is precisely the destroying forces of technology that partly eliminate this possibility. However, we need to understand Gadamer as one of the pillars of the Old Frankfurt School, the first generation, who (like Herbert Marcuse, Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer) had strong suspicion of technology.

Suspicious of such appeals to authority and to context, Habermas, of the second generation of the Frankfurt School, is primarily concerned with ensuring the possibility of maintaining and justifying critical perspectives on tradition and authority. If Gadamer criticises technology because it *undermines* the authority and traditional context of meaning, Habermas criticises it because it *becomes* authority. Habermas argues that science and technology become self-legitimising in such a way that practical questions are being subordinated to (and even replaced by) technical questions, i.e. questions concerning the most efficient means for the realisation of ends, where those ends appear to be beyond our *reflective* control. Habermas proposes a *Theory of Communicative Action* (1985) to remedy the gloomy diagnoses espoused by the first generation of Frankfurt School thinkers like Gadamer. Habermas aims at rescuing the collapse of the ‘*lebenswelt*’ (lifeworld), i.e. to find ways to preserve and protect from the encroachment of instrumental imperatives, a space for an autonomous, rational and communicatively achieved consensus about issues of practical life. And technology, whose inherent working is of instrumental rationality, is detrimental to the re-birth of the lifeworld – because it is a means that has become an authority itself.

## **2.7. Conclusion: The Internet in civil society dynamics – *instrumentum* or *locus* of social transformation?**

Having arrived at this point, this chapter has walked a full circle from mapping the relation between civil society, CSOs, and Internet technology, to understanding social transformation, to drawing landscape of appropriation of technology for social transformation and finally back to understanding societal changes affected by technology. There are some points to offer here as concluding remark.

First, despite flux in its conception and operation, civil society and CSOs have become one of the most discussed topics in social sciences (Deakin, 2001; Keane, 1998). This may provide explanations about transformations in social, political and economical life taking place across the globe today, including in Indonesia (Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hadiwinata, 2003). Being rich and diverse in its ways and approaches, the CSO also becomes a prominent social entity to appropriate Information Technologies, particularly the Internet, as part of its organisational strategy (as suggested by Hajnal, 2002; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). Many instances have shown that the Internet is a convivial medium for dynamic CSO activism, including those in Indonesia which is still in political transition (Hill and Sen, 2005; Lim, 2003a; 2003b; 2003d; 2004a; 2006; Nugroho, 2007a; 2007b).

Second, although access to the Internet may remain a problem in most societies, the quest for appropriation is of paramount importance, since the stage of the one-way 'technology transfer' has been traversed and we have arrived at the age of global collaboration (Castells, 1996; 2001). This is not to say that worldwide economic inequality has disappeared overnight due to the arrival of Information Technologies like the Internet, but the image of the 'digital divide' is certainly too passive a description for the massive turmoil caused by proliferation of the technologies across the world (Surman and Reilly, 2003). The drive to communicate and exchange information, under very difficult circumstances (wars, ethnic conflicts, economic crisis, poverty) is powerful. It also creates 'cultures of access', either in urban or in the deprived remote areas. For CSOs, appropriation of the technology can lead to a meaningful transformation, yet, it must be remembered that we will never 'arrive' at the nirvana of appropriation since as social practice, appropriation is not just an outcome but also a process.

Third, from literatures discussing the potentials of ICTs like the Internet, its ability to shrink space and time (as clearly noted by Giddens, 2000) is often viewed as highly instrumental for works within the civil society sphere (Hill and Sen, 2002; McConnell, 2000; Riker, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Uhlin, 2000). This account has profound implications for how members of CSOs as actors/agents experience their subjectivity, for their *understanding* of who they are as subjects. It is this understanding that is extremely important to construct a landscape for Internet appropriation within the civil society realm, in which transformation could take place. Such appropriation is clearly a result of how CSOs adopt and use communication technology innovation—because such understanding eventually enables the actor to perform a change<sup>52</sup>.

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<sup>52</sup> One such understanding is how local CSOs then identify themselves as part of global social movement. The empirical evidence for this will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Taking this all into account, this chapter closes by addressing a proposition: *Indonesian CSOs are currently facing unprecedented challenges, not only in terms of their activism in the sphere of dynamic civil society in the country, but also in the way they utilise technologies like the Internet.* This proposition is central to this study because fuelled by the use of technological artefacts like the Internet, CSO's activism is no longer just an instrument for civil society to mobilise resources and action: it has in itself become a locus of power in society, a powerful fabric of social change. The Internet itself, working as driver of these activisms, as a direct consequence, should be viewed as more than just an 'instrumentum' but the 'locus' wherein/whereby transformation is facilitated. Today the use of technology like the Internet both influences, and is influenced by, the way people participate in social transformation. And, to Barber's vision –as quoted at the beginning of this chapter—such participation is substantial to the creation of public ends which are "literally forged through the act of public participation, created through common deliberation and common action and the effect that deliberation and action have on interests, which change shape and direction when subjected to these participatory processes" (Barber, 1984:151).

Having all the contexts necessary for this study presented in this chapter and its predecessor, the next chapter discusses the methodology and approach deployed in the research to gather empirical evidence that will facilitate a close examination of the adoption, use, and impact of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs.

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# Chapter 3

## Constructing methods, developing tools

### *Approach in research into the Internet in civil society*

*If a man is offered a fact which goes against his instincts, he will scrutinise it closely, and unless the evidence is overwhelming, he will refuse to believe it. If, on the other hand, he is offered something which affords a reason for acting in accordance to his instincts, he will accept it even on the slightest evidence*  
(Bertrand Russell, "Roads to Freedom", 1918:119)

Research into the adoption of the Internet in civil society organisations (CSOs) is by nature a multidisciplinary study. From a diffusion perspective, it aims to identify and explore factors and processes affecting adoption and implementation. It also aspires to comprehend impacts and implications of the adoption for adopting organisations. From a civil society perspective, on the other hand, such study looks more closely at the context of organisations and networks that shape the use of technology. Further, it examines the impact of use to the dynamics of the movement. Both diffusion and civil society frameworks endeavour to explain the change and transformation brought about by the interaction of the technology and the organisations. By nature, a single-thread approach will never satisfy such a complex and multifaceted study, more so, when it is done in a setting that has received only little, or even no, attention from either or both perspectives before.

That is why, in its very context, this study commences from reposition that combination of approaches is more suitable to answer the questions being addressed when exploring at the adoption of the Internet by Indonesian CSOs. As a matter of fact, researching Indonesian CSOs is not new (like Billah, 1995; Eldridge, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Uhlin, 1997 among others), and neither is research into the role of the Internet in the course of social change and political reform in Indonesia (e.g. Hill, 2003; Lim, 2003c; 2003d; 2006; Uhlin, 2000; UNDP, 2004). What is new here, however, is the combination of the two, and other novelties in the approach may just derive from the multi-methods this study deploys in gathering empirical evidence.

Research into Indonesian CSOs has nearly all been approached qualitatively (including the most recent ones like Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006; Warren, 2005). This does not mean that a qualitative approach is inappropriate, but an attempt to systematically portray the dynamics and the vibrant characteristics of Indonesian CSOs as a whole unit of analysis, e.g. through a wide scale survey has not been attempted. Of course, the nature of the CSOs activism is simply too rich to be

captured by either methods separately. Therefore, as much as in-depth dynamics of the organisations or the networks of CSOs are important to study through qualitative investigation, the need to know of trends and tendencies in dynamics is also crucial.

Likewise, study on Internet use in Indonesia relies mostly on quantitative approach (APJII, 2003; 2005; Pacific Rekanprima, 2002; Purbo, 2002b; Telkom, 2002; Wahid, 2003; Widodo, 2002) with very little attempt to provide adequate in-depth perspectives. This should not be the case with this study. The statistics of Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs that this study gathers, despite it is perhaps the first attempt in the field, can only tell the half of the story. The other half is only explainable appropriately through a thorough observation. To understand the factors affecting adoption and implementation of the Internet in CSOs, or to comprehend the implications such adoption has, quantitative data on trends and patterns will never be enough. Just like the dynamics of CSOs, adoption of technology like the Internet is actually a rich domain to explore.

This chapter presents the choice of methods being employed in the study. It also lays out the methodological issues that this study encounters. Firstly it recalls the research questions and the hypothesis along with the main framework of investigation. Then, the chapter proposes combination of methods it deems suitable to answer them. Thirdly, it discusses the development of some particular instruments to collect evidence and explains how these instruments relate to one another (this section discusses justification for selection and development of research instruments). The chapter then presents some basic data of the participants in this study and, based on the data, delineates some discussions regarding the usefulness of particular methods, like latent class analysis, social network analysis, case studies and of particular ways of data collection, like survey, interviews and workshops, before drawing some lessons learned and offering conclusions.

### **3.1. Questions, hypothesis, and framework of investigation – Challenge in researching Indonesian CSOs**

As argued in *Chapter Two*, there is a relationship between the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs, their engagement with national and global networks, and the use of ICTs particularly the Internet in CSOs that facilitates the engagement. It is these relationships that lie at the heart of this study: the investigation into the ways CSOs in Indonesia use the technology and to what extent the use impacts the organisations and the context in which they operate. To address these questions, *Chapter One* gives a clue: different types of organisations would adopt and use technology in

different ways. This section discusses the specific approach this study takes to operationalising the research focus in the course of investigation.

### 3.1.1. Rearticulating research questions

The adoption and use of the Internet appears to have played an important role in explaining the dynamic development of CSOs in Indonesia, specifically with respect to their engagement with national and international counterparts (as also found, although on different cases, by McConnell, 2000; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). To explore the issues further, this study focuses on addressing in detail four key questions connected with a central theme of the diffusion and deployment of Internet technologies in CSOs:

- First, ***to what extent, in what ways, and for what purposes have Internet technologies been appropriated by Indonesian CSOs?*** This question seeks to examine trends and patterns in CSO appropriation behaviour, and to map use of the Internet among Indonesian CSOs (using the model of, among others, Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). Further, the question is designed to address (a) perceptions with respect to desired and actual impacts of ICTs on the work of Indonesian CSOs, and (b) expectations connected with the use of such technologies in both individual organisations and the broader social movement network.
- Second, ***what are the processes by which Internet technologies (and ICTs more generally) are imported into and adopted by Indonesian CSOs?*** This question is designed to examine diffusion and adoption processes and commences from the diffusion framework/model developed by Rogers (2003). The aim here is to undertake a classic (but critical, nuanced and situated) diffusion analysis. The analysis will focus on (a) internal and external drivers for and barriers to the adoption of ICTs in CSOs, (b) the structuring of organisational decision processes, (c) characteristics and orientations of 'leader' and 'laggard' users, (d) sequences and patterns in the adoption of different technologies and applications, and (e) stages of the diffusion process as traversed by adopting CSOs.
- Third, ***how do Indonesian CSOs implement ICTs, and how are Internet technologies deployed strategically in the operations (and in an effort to further the aims) of such organisations?*** This question seeks to address strategic implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs (by using and exploring frameworks suggested by, among others, McConnell, 2000; Riker, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). Again the starting point is Rogers 'implementation stages' model, but here attention is directed to

analysis of *actual* phases in implementation process as experienced/pursued by CSOs in the Indonesian context.

- Four, ***what are the implications, potentials and challenges ahead such appropriations?*** The last –but certainly not the least—is geared to an examination of the reciprocal impact of Internet adoption in organisations, shifting the focus from merely the contribution of such an adoption to the achievement of organisation missions and goals, to also include the impact of the adoption to the organisations and the context in which they operate (using the AST framework suggested by DeSanctis and Poole, 1994). More specifically, the study examines the impacts and implications both at the intra- and inter-organisational levels (following Orlikowski, 1992; 2000) to see what has changed with the CSOs adopting the Internet in a more comprehensive context.

### 3.1.2. Posing hypotheses

Informed by the literatures reviewed in the previous two chapters, the study poses some hypotheses. The aim of posing them here is not to speculate prematurely, but –taking into account that this study is exploratory in nature—to anticipate the course of the exploration.

- Firstly, the facts that civil society in contemporary Indonesia is highly dynamic (Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003) and that civil society is a fertile sphere for Internet activism (Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2002; 2003d) suggest that there may be a highly positive link between the two. In fact, *Chapter Two* has explored this relationship. The study anticipates seeing more instances where ***the use of the Internet in CSOs shapes, and is possibly also shaped by, such a civic activism.***
- Secondly, as noted in *Chapter One*, although the general stages of the adoption of innovation in organisations is arguably similar (as stipulated by Rogers, 2003), the nature of organisations most likely characterises the processes as innovation adoption is a two way process (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). *Chapter Two* argues that organisations and groups within civil society belong to an ontologically different type of organisations, i.e. compared to business entities and government agencies (as strongly suggested by Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998). Therefore the study expects to see that ***CSOs would perceive the Internet as technological innovation in a different ways compared other types of organisation.*** Further, ***adoption and implementation of the Internet in CSOs is also expected to follow different trajectories*** as CSOs have different drivers and motivations for adoption ***and thus traverse different stages of implementation.*** This implicates that there may be modifications of theories in

explaining adoption of information systems in organisations (e.g. Galliers, 2004; Galliers, 2007; based on Rogers, 2003).

- Thirdly, as civil society has been among the most active sector which adopt the Internet in an impressive scale and speed (Castells, 1996; 2001; Dutton, 1999; 2004; Warkentin, 2001), the study anticipates to see that ***such a use and adoption will bring impacts both to the organisation (i.e. at CSO level) and to the environment in which the organisation operates (i.e. at social movement level)*** –just as much as that ***the use itself being characterised by the dynamics of the organisation and the environment*** (as perceived by structuration approach, e.g. DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000).
- Lastly, the Internet affects the way users form their new identities in the networked society, be it consciously or not (Castells, 1997); the study therefore expects to see ***the impact of Internet adoption to the way organisations perceive their identities and roles.*** To be more precise, the focus of expectation is on ***how such an adoption affects, and reciprocally is affected by, reinforcement and transformation of organisation’s identity and role, both at organisation as well as at network level*** (as indicated by Orlikowski, 1992; 2000).

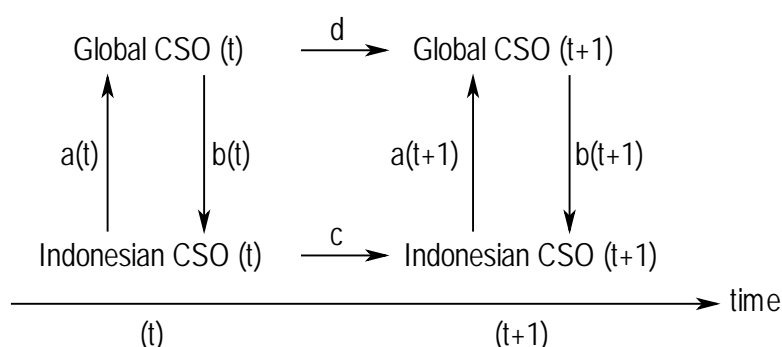
### 3.1.3. Constructing a framework for the investigation

The underlying conceptual approach that is applied in this research is Giddens’ notion of structuration (Giddens, 1984), i.e. to look at how Internet adoption as practices in organisations is structured and to understand the impacts of the adoption both at organisational level and at network, or social movement, level.

There are two particular accounts, therefore. First, as outlined in *Chapter One*, adaptive structuration theory, or AST, (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000) is used as the skeleton to explain the dynamics of CSOs both as result and medium of Internet use in organisations. Other perspectives, such as diffusion research (Rogers, 2003) and information systems strategising (Galliers, 2004; 2007), are situated within this structuration perspective. Likewise, as suggested in *Chapter Two*, theory of structuration is also used to provide explanation of the relation between CSOs as actors and social movement as structure in the social practice of civic engagement (through joint action and collaboration). This serves as a framework to put other theories, particularly in civil society (Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998) and global civil society (Anheier et al., 2001a; Anheier et al., 2004b; Glasius et al., 2002; Glasius et al., 2005; Kaldor, 2003; Kaldor et al., 2003), into perspective. (Please recall **Figure 1.8** in Chapter One).



Second, as *Chapter Two* suggests, the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs relates reciprocally with their engagement with global and networked CSOs, facilitated by the use of the Internet. This dynamic, using a structuration approach, is depicted in Figure 3.1. below, and serves as the underlying framework of investigation in this research.



**Figure 3.1. Changing landscape: A framework of investigation**

*Source: Author, based on Theory of Structuration (Giddens, 1984)*

Engagement with global CSO is a two-way process. The engagement of Indonesian CSO in the global CSO affects (arrow *a*) and is affected by (arrow *b*) a network of global CSOs, which evolves from time (*t*) to time (*t+1*). This engagement (*a* and *b*) is facilitated heavily through the use of ICTs particularly the Internet. While global CSO itself evolves (arrow *d*), with regard to the changing landscape of Indonesian CSO, the internal dynamics within Indonesian CSOs (arrow *c*) also contribute to the change. The landscape of Indonesian CSOs at (*t+1*) is thus a result of the engagement with global CSO, and at the same time, dynamics of the Indonesian CSO. Here, as Giddens suggests (1984), time-space is not only an arena where the change takes place, instead, time-space is a constitutive element as the change is 'ordered across space and time' (p. 2)<sup>53</sup>.

Having presented the framework of investigation, this study looks for an appropriate approach in which this framework is to be operationalised.

<sup>53</sup> Another scholar, Sewell (1992), provides a useful summary of Giddens' Theory of Structuration. He argues changes arises from (1) *the multiplicity of structures* because societies are based on practices that derived from many distinct structures, at different levels, modalities, and resources; (2) *the transposability of rules* as they can be applied to a wide and not fully predictable range of cases outside the context they were initially learned; (3) *the unpredictability of resource accumulation* like investment, military tactics, or a comedian's repertoire; (4) *the polysemy of resources* e.g. to what should success in resource accumulation be attributed; and (5) *the intersection of structures* because they interact (e.g. in the structure of capitalist society there are both the modes of production based on private property and profit, as well as the mode of labour organisation based on worker solidarity). (p. 16-19, my emphasis)

## **3.2. Combining methods – Choice and development of research instruments**

Social research can be performed using two main approaches: quantitative and qualitative. According to Creswell (1994), qualitative study is not meant to generalise findings, but aims to form a unique interpretation of events based on a holistic picture which documents detailed views of informants. Meanwhile, quantitative research is a process of inquiry into social and human problems based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with statistical procedures in order to determine whether the predictive generalisations of the theory hold true. In quantitative study, researchers should remain distant and independent of those being researched in order to maintain objectivity but on the contrary, in qualitative research, researchers interact closely with those they study and minimise the distance between themselves in order to gather detailed and subjective information (Creswell, 1994:159).

### **3.2.1. Rationale**

It is clear that this study is exploratory in nature. Therefore, as argued before, either a quantitative or qualitative method is very likely to be inadequate to be used on its own. Quantitative approaches may be suitable to understand trends, to map benefits, to identify usefulness and to recognise problems and difficulties in the adoption of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. However, such an approach is unable to provide an explanation about why certain adoption strategies or programmes turn out well or break down. Qualitative methods, conversely, may be able to provide detailed accounts of the works of CSOs in Indonesia, but is very unlikely to be appropriate to derive characteristics of contemporary activism of Indonesian CSOs who actively adopt and use technology like the Internet. This is why this study deploys a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches –to some extent, ‘triangulation’ (Gilbert, 1992). Such an approach is suitable for study which involves a relatively complex research design, and usually has stages of research that may iterate (Danermark et al., 2002) –characteristics that suit this research. Further, using triangulation or a combination of methods may give better measurement and reveal differences of interpretation and meaning (Olsen, 2003).

By means of combining quantitative and qualitative methods, the study aspires to obtain more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the nature of Internet adoption and use in Indonesian CSOs. It also seeks detailed accounts on the experience and the ways CSOs adopt and use the Internet to meet their strategic needs. It is through this combination of methods, that this study tries to explicate these processes. This approach prevents it from missing complementary pictures provided by either method. However, the study fully realises that by

deploying such an approach, the generalisation of the result can be no more than suggestive. This section introduces the instruments that are used throughout the research to collect empirical evidence, using the combination of methods. They are systematised and depicted below.

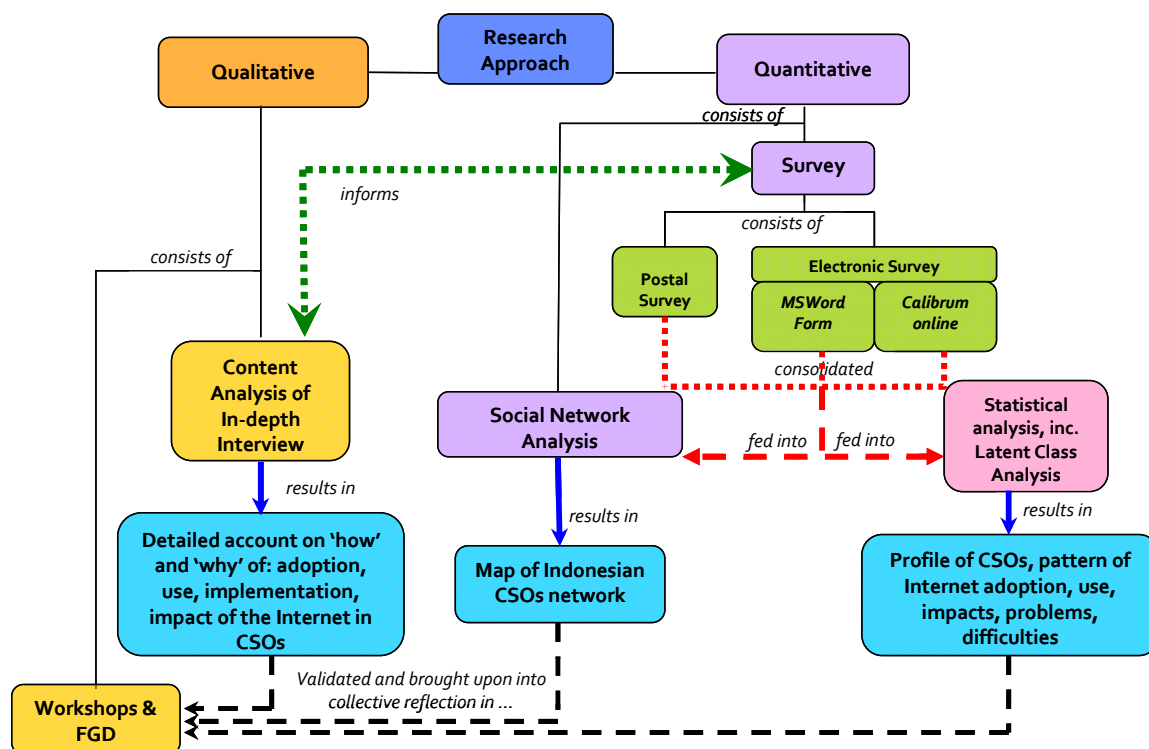


Figure 3.2. The combination of methods

Source: Author

The study uses some instruments to collect empirical evidence, i.e. (1) survey, (2) network mapping, (3) in-depth interviews, (4) workshops and (5) focus groups. Overall, including extensive *pilots*<sup>54</sup>, the empirical work was done during the period of September 2005 to April 2006, remotely from the UK and on-site in Indonesia. As the questions and topics being addressed during the fieldwork are designed to cover temporal aspects, the study takes Converse and Presser's suggestion to use as many manageable tasks as possible which should help to recall the past (Converse and Presser, 1986). It is found that the last feature was particularly useful when the study asked the respondents to recall their experience in adopting and using ICTs, particularly the internet, and the dynamics of their organisations internally and within the networks of social movement they operate during the fieldwork.

<sup>54</sup> Through extensive pilots, it is learned that the instruments have to be designed and delivered in a way that helped the respondents to provide as much data as possible for the study, be it from survey, interview or workshops. It was also for this purpose, that most of the questions for survey were designed to be closed or semi closed; interviews were designed to be semi-structured; and workshops and FG were set-up to be more informal and participatory.

### 3.2.2. Survey<sup>55</sup>

#### *Design and deployment*

The survey was designed mainly for three purposes. One, to capture the nature of Indonesian CSOs with regards to their *typology*, i.e. size, nature of organisation, main issues and concerns and activities. Two, to identify the *organisations' networks* –both national and international—to give a better handle to understand the contexts in which Indonesian CSOs work. Three, to portray the *pattern of Internet adoption and use* (i.e. period of use, expenditure, reason for using the Internet, significance of use, fields of use, among others), *evaluation of the use* (e.g. benefit and detriments of ICT use, individual and organisational learning process, innovation in using the Internet, difficulties and barriers to use, among others) and the *future prospect of Internet adoption* (e.g. future spending, future of Internet impacts on organisational performances, future strategic areas of use, among others). As it can be implied, most sections of the survey were devoted to gathering data about the *usage profile* of the Internet. These are all addressed in the survey, in five parts (See Appendix 1: Survey).

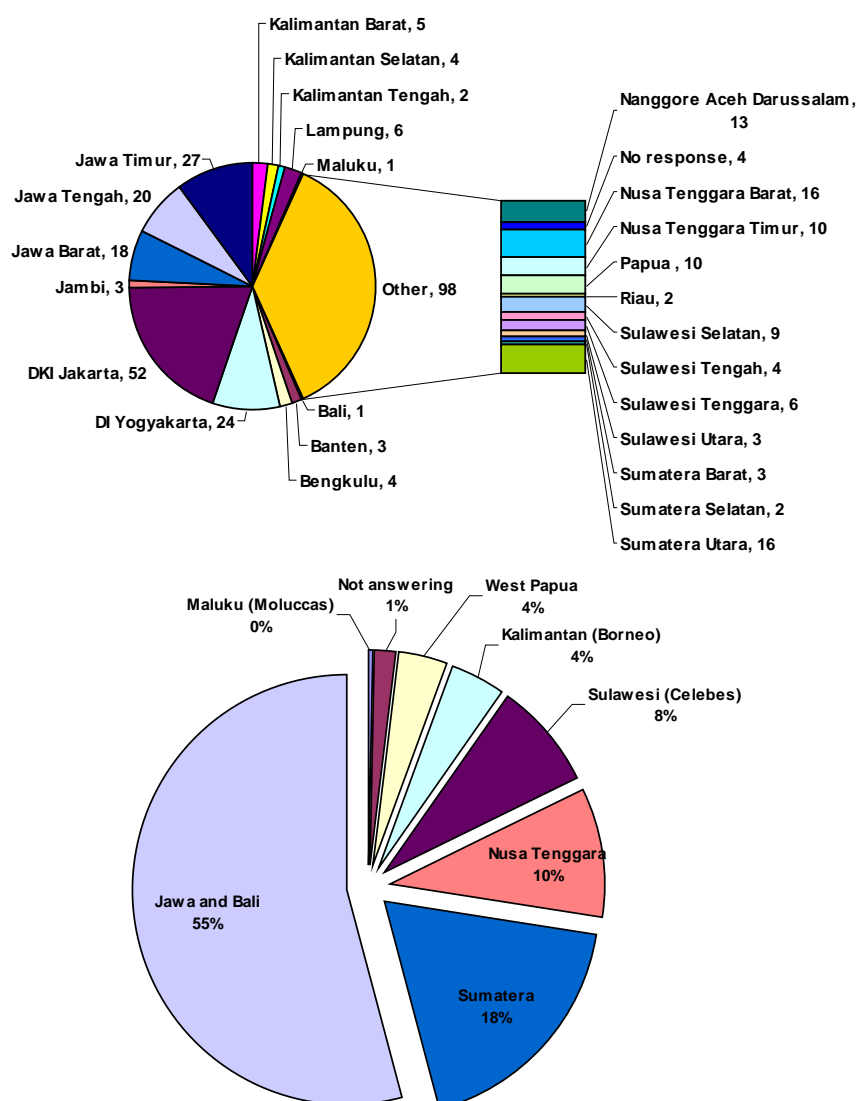
- Part one asks about the profile of organisation, including their network with other CSOs and donors. The questions in this part are aimed at gathering basic information about the organisation
- Part two investigates Internet use in CSOs. This part asks how the organisation is currently using ICT, particularly the Internet.
- Part three is aimed at learning the evaluation of Internet use in the organisation. It enquires about how the organisation evaluates the use of the Internet and perceives itself as being influenced by such use.
- Part four addresses the future use. Taking into account the current use of the Internet in the organisation, this part asks what CSO thinks about the future: both about the organisation performance and achievement and its use of ICTs, particularly the Internet.
- The last part asks if the organisation would like to put additional comments if there are important things about their experience with the Internet that might have been neglected in the previous parts. It also encourages the organisations to suggest a

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<sup>55</sup> See **Appendix 1: Survey** for the full and detailed account of survey, including survey design, administration (letter of invitation and notice of reminder), survey templates (printed, online and automated form), list of respondents and codification, raw data and score-data.

particularly good practice of Internet use in CSOs (including useful sources of knowledge, helpful web resources, or international knowledge, etc.).

The survey was targeted at the whole country and undertaken in two different modes, i.e. electronic and postal. The electronic survey included an automated Microsoft-Word™ form sent as an email attachment and an online survey application using Calibrium™ that enabled respondents with reasonably high-speed internet access to participate in real time. The postal survey was administered from Jakarta, using a printed version of the same questionnaires and sent to respondents via special express ('signed for') mail delivery. The target population was the CSOs listed in the four publicly available CSO directories (i.e. SMERU, TIFA, LP3ES and CRS). In total, the survey was sent to 957 CSOs (552 electronically and 405 by postal) and was responded to by 268 organisations (28% response rate) based in 27 provinces (out of total 32 provinces) in Indonesia. See Figure 3.3.



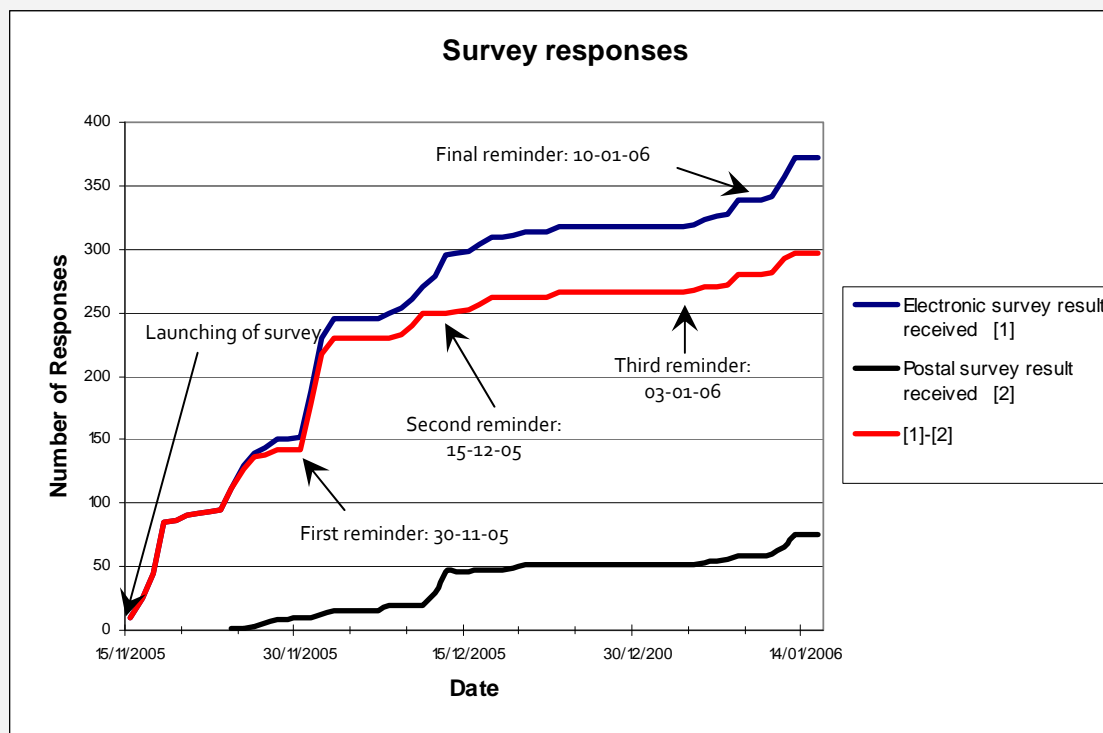
**Figure 3.3. Coverage of survey**

*Top: Coverage of survey by provinces; Bottom: Coverage of survey by island(s); N=268 (valid responses)*

*Source: Author, from fieldwork*

The survey used *Bahasa Indonesia* and was extensively piloted. The respondents were allowed to give a 'no response' if the questions were too sensitive for them or made them feel insecure to response. Survey results are to be analysed using Stata 9/SE™ (Cox, 2001) for basic statistics and trends, Multiple Indicator Multiple Causes Latent Class Analysis (MIMIC-LCA) using LatentGOLD™ (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002) to characterise latent variables, and Social Network Analysis (SNA) to map the temporal networks of Indonesian CSOs.

### Box 3.1. Survey: The Power of Reminder



Number of survey responses received during fieldwork, 15-11-2005 to 15-01-2006

Source: Author, from fieldwork.

During the course of survey, four reminders were sent in interval of two weeks (except the final notice). It is observed that the reminders helped to boost the survey response rate. The reminders were sent only by email, but it had impact to both the electronic and postal survey, albeit that the effect was more observable in electronic survey (email and online survey). As clearly noticed above, two weeks after the survey was launched on 15/11/05, the response rate started to flatten. But after the first reminder was sent on 30/11/05, the response started to increase again. Exactly similar pattern happened consecutively: the second reminder (sent on 15/12/05), third reminder (sent on 03/01/06) and the final one (sent 10/01/06). Taking into account the yearend's festive coinciding with the survey, the third reminder became particularly crucial as it helped ending up a long, flattened response rate. The final reminder also had impacted quite significantly because the response rate increased quite considerably (as was with the first reminder and the launching of the survey).

This experience convinces the study that a reminder has a positive effect on response rate for survey, perhaps, particularly on the electronic survey more than paper-based survey. Other research has found such a reminder has more positive effect to survey with a certain application (e.g. attached electronic form) compared to a treatment in which respondents only received an e-mail containing a link to the Web survey (Kaplowitz et al., 2004). (\*)

Source: Fieldwork, Author's reflection

### ***Multiple Indicator Multiple Causes Latent Class Analysis (MIMIC LCA)***

The MIMIC-LCA model is a classification method when researchers cannot find a “gold standard” to classify participants. The MIMIC-LCA model includes features of a typical LCA model and introduces a new relation between the latent class and covariates (MacCutcheon, 1987; Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002). Why is this model preferred over other approaches, for example factor analysis (FA), in this research?

FA should actually be used for continuous variables (Bartholomew and M. Knott, 1999; Kim and Mueller, 1978a; 1978b), not discrete and categorical, as collected by the survey in this study. Using FA ‘forcedly’ for analysing discrete and categorical data would not give appropriate result unless FA is used with *tetrachoric* or *polychoric* correlation, instead of the commonly used Spearman/Pearson correlation (as suggested by Kolenikov and Angeles, 2004). However, for the purpose of this study, in which the quantitative data only serves for presenting figures, describing tendency, and providing some estimation of trends, such an approach will be overwhelmingly unnecessary. Latent class analysis (LCA), on the other hand, is believed to be more suitable as it deals with categorical and discrete data quite straightforwardly (Bartholomew and M. Knott, 1999; MacCutcheon, 1987). Actually, FA (both exploratory and confirmatory) and LCA fall within the same category, i.e. *latent class model*. But with recent developments in statistics (over the past 5-10 years), studies are more likely prefer LCA over FA when dealing with categorical data (MacCutcheon, 1987; MacCutcheon and Hagenaars, 2002; Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002), as in this research.

In almost any study, one of the most important aims is to explore what causes the current status of the respondents. Unfortunately, often the status is not straightforwardly observable and thus has to be estimated by categorising results from a set of diagnostic items. Moreover, causes of the categorical latent status can also be another unobservable status and/or observable covariates. The LCA model is a fundamental categorical latent variable (CLV) model which involves *single* categorical latent variable (SCLV) in its measurement component (Bartholomew and M. Knott, 1999). Consequently, flexibility of the measurement component in LCA models was limited (MacCutcheon, 1987; MacCutcheon and Hagenaars, 2002). This becomes problematic when manifest variables are constructed by a multiple-factors or multi-facets design, such as hypothesised in this study. MIMIC LCA is therefore the best suited method to provide foundations to explain more flexibly structured relations among categorical latent variables (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002). For practical reasons, LatentGold® software is used to perform LCA not only because it is quite straightforward for analysing categorical/discrete data, but it also gives better visual representation of the results (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002), and thus serves the main purpose

of this study which is to show the relationship between variables affecting Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs. However, it should be noted that interpretation of any statistical results, including those of LCA, is not merely mechanical.

### ***Temporal Social Network Analysis – Sequence Analysis of Network Positions***

Using survey data, social network analysis (SNA) using Pajek (Batagelj and Mrvar, 2003) was performed to provide a broad picture of the Indonesian CSOs and their networks. The choice of methods in analysing temporality and networks makes use of a sequence of network visuals to understand or highlight changes in terms of increasing numbers of organisations and increasing intensity of involvement over time.

From a completely different origin, inter-organisational networks observed at a particular time register for each node, a particular position in network. For instance, at the beginning of the observation an individual organisation is not connected to any other organisation, i.e. its position is an *isolate* (this is in contrast with other organisations which connect with many others, i.e. its position is a *core*). Over time this organisation may make a connection with other organisations and by virtue of its recent connection it may find itself positioned near the centre of the network. Later, the network position of the same organisation may change due to different reasons. So, what we have here is a sequence of network positions for an organisation. It is not difficult to extend this exercise to all organisations in the original network and collect sequences of positions. At this point, what is presented is a collection of views of how the network unfolds in the eyes of the organisation over time. Equivalently there are network careers of each organisation over time. To this collection of sequences, one can apply sequence analysis (Abbott, 1990) to conduct a kind of historiography to uncover typical or dominant careers. The prevalence of dominant careers or their absence could then be related to wider events affecting the networks.

The methods in analysing temporality and networks makes use of a sequence of network visuals to understand or highlight changes in terms of increasing numbers of organisations and increasing intensity of involvement over time. Additionally, evidence to examine the synthesis of two features may be of some use: network density and network correlation. The latter, if in doubt, can be tested using quadratic assignment procedure (QAP), a variant of a permutation test for networks (Krackhardt, 1987) to deal with dependency inherent in network data.



### 3.2.3. Interview and observation

#### *In-depth interview*<sup>56</sup>

In-depth Interviews were conducted to validate and provide additional support and also acquire in-depth insights not only about Indonesian CSOs dynamics, but also about Internet adoption, use, and impacts. Interviews were arranged with 42 civil society leaders or senior activists from 35 CSOs, which were purposively sampled from the combination between their nature of activities (advocacy vs. developmentalists) and organisational structure (formal/centralised vs. informal/networked). Interviews were mostly carried out over the telephone from the UK (some face-to-face in Indonesia) for about 90 minutes on average (ranging from 45 minutes to 120 minutes), recorded and transcribed for analysis.

The interviews were carried out in *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) and just like the survey, the interview was designed to use simple language, common concepts and manageable tasks as cues in order to help informants to provide as detailed information as possible for the study (Converse and Presser, 1986). In addition to this design, permission was asked for the interviews to be recorded. Having understood the complex nature of CSOs the interviewees were allowed to exclude certain parts of the interview from the recording, especially when it concerned parts that they regarded as 'sensitive'.

The interviews were qualitatively analysed with help of CAQDAS (Computer Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software), in this case Atlas.ti™, particularly to organise the large amount of data gathered from the fieldwork. The study is aware of the uncritical adoption of a particular set of strategies as a consequence of adopting CAQDAS which offers a variety of useful ways of organising data in order to search it. But coding data using software is not analysis (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996)<sup>57</sup>.

#### *Direct observation for case studies*

Case studies aim at engaging with and reporting the complexity of social activity in order to represent the meanings that particular actors bring to those settings (Eisenhardt, 1989; Stake, 1995; Stark and Torrance, 2005). It assumes that social reality is created through social

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<sup>56</sup> See **Appendix 2: Interview** for the detailed account of interviews, comprised of interview design, administration (letter of invitation and survey questionnaire), templates (for researcher's purpose), list of interviewees, and full transcripts.

<sup>57</sup> The emerging use of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) has been evident as a subfield of expertise (Lee and Fielding, 1991). The research notes that software packages aimed at analysing qualitative data are now widespread and it is a fast-growing field. A full review of literatures and existing software has already been done elsewhere (Burgess, 1995; Tesch, 1990; Weaver and Atkinson, 1994; Weitzman and Miles, 1994).

interaction, even if situated in particular contexts and histories (Stark and Torrance, 2005). When employed in a research, case study tries to identify and describe before analysing and theorising (Eisenhardt, 1989). As such, case study is very much aligned with ethnography. In fact it derives much of its rationale and methods from the ethnography's constituent theoretical discourses, such as symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology (Atkinson et al., 2001). It is clear that case study embraces the 'social constructivist' perspective of social science.

This research relies on the strength of case study, which can take an example activity and use multiple data sources to explore it, to achieve a rich description of phenomenon (as argued by Stake, 1995) in order to represent it from the participants' perspective. In this case, the study expects to be able to generate a rich and nuanced explanation of the adoption and use of the Internet in CSOs from the perspective of CSOs, because case study can aspire to 'tell-it-like-it-is' from the participants' point of view (Stark and Torrance, 2005). It is apparent, therefore, that case study is particular, descriptive, inductive and heuristic as it seeks to illuminate the readers' understanding of an issue (Stake, 1995; Stark and Torrance, 2005).

Performing case study requires the researcher to explore a single entity of phenomenon (the case) bounded by time and activity (e.g. a programme, event, process, institution or social groups) and to collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time. This is essential to illustrate particular propositions or arguments and to provide the details and complexities of how things work or fail to work (Creswell, 1994:12). In total there are six case studies reported in this study, looking particularly at how those CSOs adopt, use, and implement the Internet in their organisations. The case study also explores what impacts the adoption has on organisational performance and the context of social movement which those organisations are part of. The data for the case studies is gathered from in-depth interview, direct observations, and organisation's reports.

### **3.2.4. Workshops and Focus Groups<sup>58</sup>**

#### ***Design and implementation***

At the end of empirical data collection, three workshops were organised in Jakarta, Surabaya and Yogyakarta (attended by 35, 33, and 26 participants respectively representing 79 CSOs in total), and two FGs were set up in Aceh (attended by 18 participants in total, representing 9 organisations). These workshops and FGs were organised as means for verification of the

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<sup>58</sup> See **Appendix 3: Workshop** for the detailed account of the workshops and focus groups (FG). The appendix also presents the workshop and FG design, administration (letter of invitation and Terms of Reference/ToR), programmes, list of participants, and some descriptive settings.

preliminary findings and were aimed at providing opportunities for respondents to share views and to enable collective reflection upon the issues. CAQDAS is again used to help analyse the transcripts and audio visual recording of the workshops and FGs.

Both workshop and FG were chosen not only because they are familiar means for CSOs to discuss their activism (as also reported by Billah, 1995; Fakhri, 1996 in Indonesian context), but also because they help the study to explore practices and collect reflections. These methods were found to be effective in drawing upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs, experiences and reactions in a way that would not have been feasible using other methods (Morgan and Kreuger, 1993). These methods were also able to gather large amounts of information in a short period of time during the fieldwork, so it was particularly useful when this research wanted to explore some degree of consensus on given topics. As can be inferred, interaction is the key feature of workshops and FGs as it highlights their view of the world, the language they use about an issue and their values and beliefs about a situation (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Moreover, as workshops and FGs enable the study to find out why an issue is salient as well as what is salient about it (Morgan and Kreuger, 1993), the study can better understand the gap between what CSOs say and what they do with regard to the adoption of the Internet. Furthermore, both workshops and FGs are designed so that participants can reflect collectively.

#### ***Understanding dynamics and collective reflection in workshops and FGs***

The study believes that knowledge relevant to civil society activisms and issues is broadly distributed among CSOs. It also assumes, similarly, that knowledge about the use of the Internet in CSOs is equally dispersed among actors within civil society in Indonesia. The dynamics of the workshops and FG rely on this: that CSOs as participants bring this knowledge together to provide accounts of opportunities, problems and challenges in the use of the Internet.

In order to bring these different types of knowledge together, two main endeavours are set up. One, the workshops and FGs are divided into several sections in order to focus on certain aspects for discussions in groups and in plenary sessions. Two, an independent facilitator is provided to facilitate the discussion and exchange of views, and to structure the collective reflection. These endeavours are necessary so that participants are encouraged to give their own insights in the context of discussions, to share understandings, offer perspectives and ask for explanations.

### Box 3.2. Workshop: The Power of Setting



Setting in Jakarta Workshop  
Top: Group discussion/reflection;  
Bottom: Plenary session/reflection

The workshop in Jakarta (2 March 2006) was attended by 35 participants, including executive representatives of 25 CSOs from Jakarta, Banten and West Java provinces, as well as four observers and one facilitator. All CSOs attending the Jakarta workshop had already been using the Internet for quite some times. All of them participated in the survey and some of them were also interviewed. Observers were a senior academic researcher, a senior politician who ran a CSO, a senior civil society activist and a guest activist from a London-based environmental lobby group for Indonesia. The meeting was held in an informal setting and most of the time was dedicated for reflections in group and plenary sessions.

The workshop in Yogyakarta (18 March 2006) was the third in the series, participated by 23 CSO leaders, two observers and one facilitator. The CSOs were from Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces and all had experiences in using the Internet. Most of them participated in the survey and some were also interviewed. Only two workshop attendees did not take part in the survey and interview. The observers were a scholar and a senior activist. The workshop was arranged in an informal setting with four main sessions comprised of plenary and group reflections. It benefited from the venue being used, as it provided open space where participant could interact freely and easily.



Setting in Yogyakarta Workshop  
Top: Group discussion/reflection;  
Bottom: Plenary session/reflection



Setting in Surabaya Workshop  
Top: Group discussion/reflection;  
Bottom: Plenary session/reflection

The workshop in Surabaya (9 March 2006) was the second in the series, attended by 33 participants. They were representatives of 24 CSOs (some CSOs were represented by two), two observers and one facilitator. The CSOs were from East Java provinces (including Madura island) and had some experiences in using the Internet. Most of the participants took part in the survey and some were interviewed. Only two participants did not take part in the survey and interview. Despite that the workshop was held in the University of Surabaya's conference hall, it was arranged in an informal setting with four main sessions comprised of plenary and group reflections.

The informal setting that was applied throughout the workshop sessions, both in plenary and in group reflection, was found to be very useful not only in enabling the participants to interact easily but that it also provided a 'sphere' where collective reflections could be facilitated without too much difficulty. The role of an independent moderator became significant in such a setting in order to rephrase/rearticulate and reformulate the group(s) and plenary reflection (\*)

Source: Fieldwork, Author's reflection

Anticipating the workshop and FG outcomes, if multiple understandings and meanings are revealed by CSOs as participants, multiple explanations of their approaches and attitudes in adopting and using the Internet in organisations will be more readily articulated. It is worth noting that there are benefits to participants of workshops and FG that need to be acknowledged, e.g. their involvement in decision making processes, to be valued as experts, and to be given the chance to work collaboratively with researchers, which can be empowering for many participants. With this, the study expects that workshops and FGs will succeed in gaining insights into CSOs' shared understandings of the adoption and use of the Internet in organisations, in which organisations are influenced by others.

### **3.2.5. Bringing it all together – Summary of approach**

Combining methods, as this study is attempting, is not always easy. But it is certainly useful to portray a complex entity like civil society, as in this study. Quantitative methods (such as survey and MIMIC LCA) are found to be advantageous in effectively presenting the 'big picture' like trend and pattern, identifying the contributing factors, and to some extent, mapping the trajectories in the Internet adoption in CSOs. Even understanding Indonesian CSOs as a whole has also benefited from such an approach to see if there are common features found across the characteristics of the organisations (as a methodological note—since most study of CSOs has been done using case studies, applying a quantitative approach in this area could be a novel attempt).

However a 'big picture' may miss the detail, which, unfortunately, is very important to explain certain processes, practices, and course of actions of the subject. For example, the innovation-decision process, factors affecting Internet adoption and use, as well as stages of adoption and implementation of the Internet in CSOs, are all impossible to explain using quantitative methods alone or only by looking at the 'big picture'. Here is where a qualitative approach offers remedy. Only by capturing the richness of qualitative data through interviews and observations, a detailed account on the innovation-decision process in CSOs can be reached, and the way different factors affect the Internet adoption and use can be identified and understood. Likewise, it is the qualitative data that has been substantial to portray, understand, and comprehend the transformation of the organisations as they traverse the stages of adoption and implementation of the Internet.

Finally, although some impacts and implications of Internet use –as well as the problems and difficulties encountered throughout the use— can be mapped by survey (quantitative), the way such impacts and implications affect the CSOs can only be explained using rich data obtained

from in-depth interview, observations, and collective reflection from workshops and focus groups.

To summarise, this study benefits from the combination of methods not only because it has a comprehensive approach to the research but also because it makes possible for a richer interpretation and understanding from the field, however simple and incomplete the picture might be. Having understood the rationale behind the choice of methodology and the instruments for collecting empirical evidence, we now examine the profile of organisations taking part in this study. This is important to build the firm ground for further exploration.

### 3.3. Profile of organisations under study

In total 283 Indonesian CSOs participated in this study, among which 107 took part in two or more methods. Table 3.1. summarises the proportion of the participant organisations according to the methods they took part in the study.

Methods	Number of Informants/ Participants	Number of CSOs represented		Cummulative Number of CSOs participating in the study		Number of CSOs participating in two or more methods
<b>Survey &amp; SNA</b>	268	268		268		
<b>In-depth Interview</b>	42	35	avg. 1-2 informants for one CSO	6	not surveyed -- CSO-id: 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274	29
<b>Case Study</b>	15	6	avg. 2-3 informants for one CSO	0	all -- both surveyed and interviewed	6
<b>Workshops:</b>						
- Jakarta	35	25	some CSOs represented by 2; 4 observers; 1 facilitator	0	all -- both/either surveyed and/or interviewed	25
- Surabaya	33	24	some CSOs represented by 2 reps.; 2 observers; 1 facilitator	2	not surveyed -- CSO-id: 275, 276	22
- Yogyakarta	26	23	2 observers; 1 facilitator	2	not surveyed/interviewed -- CSO-id: 277, 278	21
<b>Focus Group Discussion</b>						
- Aceh, session 1	10	5	avg. 2 rep for one CSO	2	not surveyed/interviewed -- CSO-id: 279, 280	3
- Aceh, session 2	8	4	avg. 2 rep for one CSO	3	not surveyed/interviewed -- CSO-id: 281, 282, 283	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>390</b>		<b>283</b>		<b>107</b>

**Table 3.1. Methods and participants of the study**

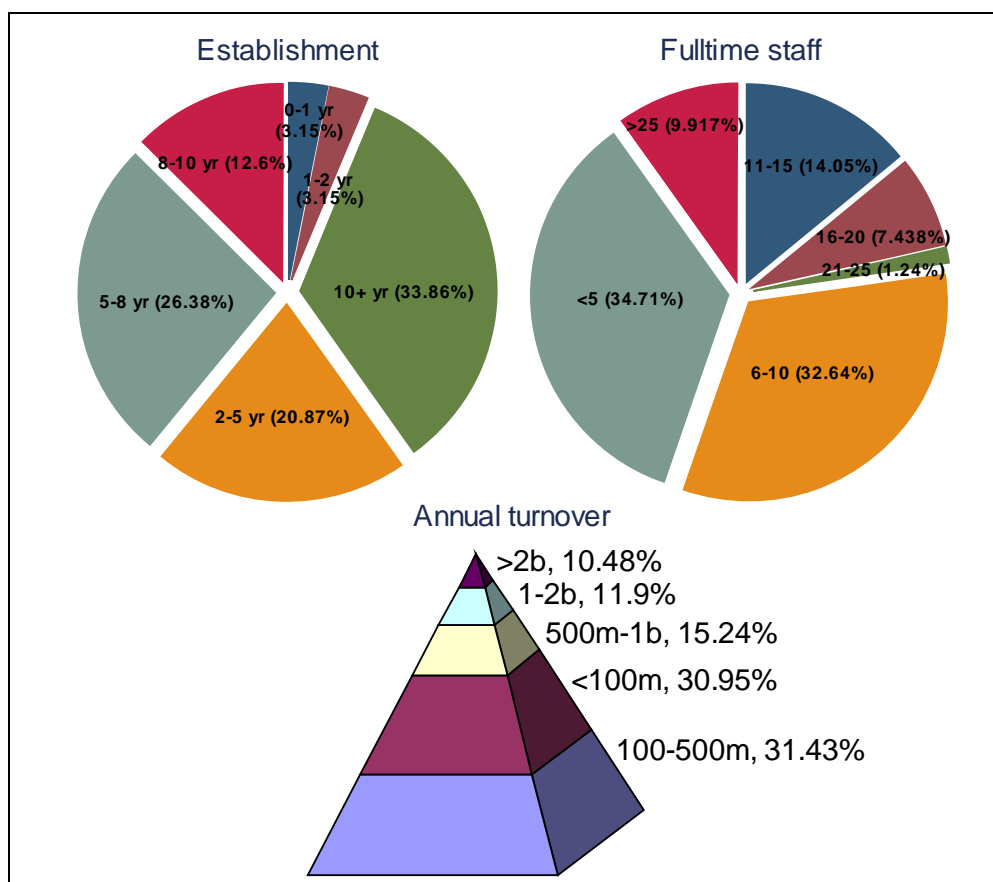
*Source: Author, compiled from fieldwork*

It can be seen that the participants are divided relatively equally between those who were involved in qualitative and those included in quantitative approaches, with a relatively large proportion involved in both. This section presents a basic profile of the CSOs taking part in this

study so that the context of this study can be understood better. The correlation among variables, if relevant to the discussion, is discussed in relevant, corresponding chapters.

### Demography

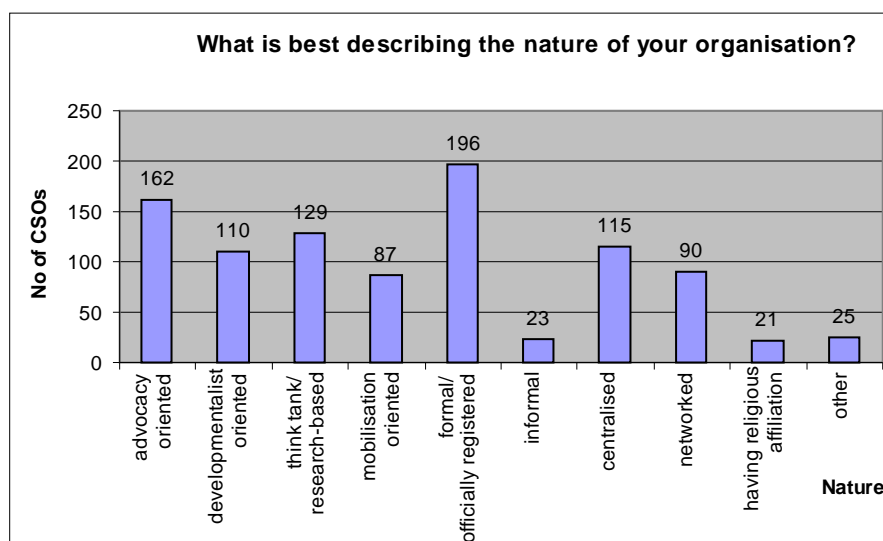
From the survey data, in terms of age, most of the CSOs were two years or older. The biggest proportion was CSOs who have been founded for more than 10 years (33.86%), followed by those established in the past 5-8 years (26.38%), 2-5 years (20.87%) and 8-10 years (12.6%). Then, with regards to employment, small-to-middle sized CSOs seemed to be dominating. Organisations employing ten or less fulltime staff make up the biggest part with 32.64% (6-10 staff) and 34.71% (5 or less staff) share respectively. Lastly, concerning annual turnover, the biggest proportion is CSOs managing less than 2 billion IDR per year (89.52%), with various proportions. Similar portions are shared by CSOs with turnover of 100 million IDR or less per year (30.95%) and of between 100-500 million IDR per year (31.43%). A smaller section of CSOs seem to manage bigger money: 15.24% of CSOs managing 500 million to 1 billion IDR per year; 11.9% controlling between 1 and 2 billion IDR per year; and only 10.48% having access to more than 2 billion IDR per year. It seems that while long-established, middle-to-big sized CSOs characterise Indonesian CSOs under study, a relatively smaller portion of CSOs manage higher financial resource.



**Figure 3.4. Profile of Indonesian CSOs participating in the survey**  
*Establishment is indicated by year (yr); Size is indicated by the number of fulltime staff; Annual turnover is indicated by amount of money (m=million, b=billion – in Indonesian Rupiah (IDR)); N=268*  
 Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey

### Nature of organisations

Of the total organisations that participated in the survey, more than 60% see themselves as advocacy CSOs, and around 40% development. They are mixed between single, centralised bodies (42.91%) and networks of many groups (33.58%). Some of the CSOs consider themselves as think-tank organisation (48.13%), but a similar proportion also sees that they are mobilising action and people (32.46%). Another important feature is that the majority of CSOs are formal, officially registered (73.13%). A minor proportion of the respondent CSOs have certain religious affiliation (7.84%) and are informal (8.58%). A small proportion (9.33%) are a mixture of organisations concerning education, environment, regional autonomy and grassroots aspiration channel<sup>59</sup>. See Figure 3.5.



**Figure 3.5. Nature of Indonesian CSOs**

*N=268; multiple responses possible*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

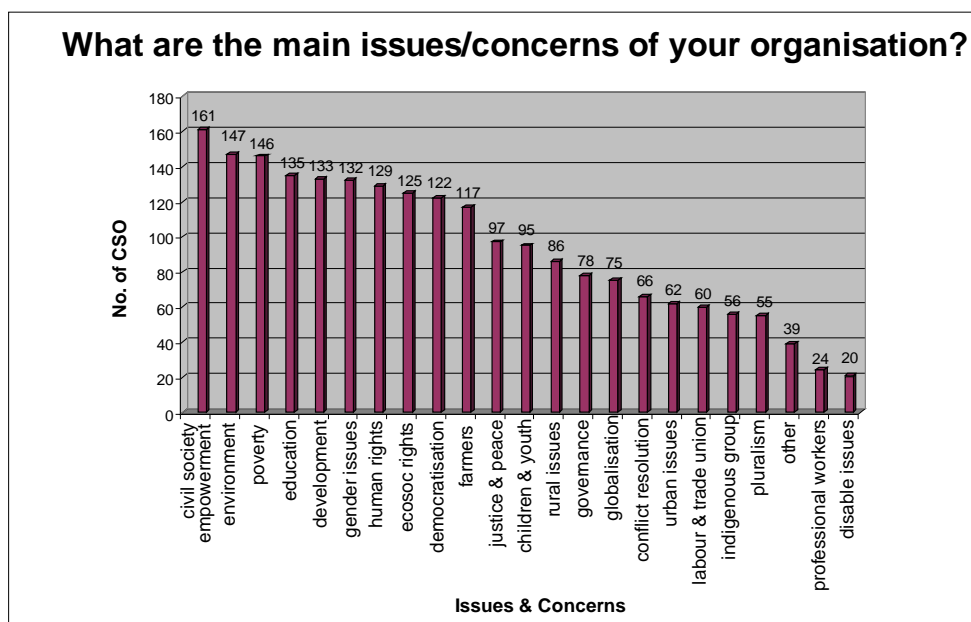
### Issues and concerns

The survey shows that there is no particular issue or concern that is really salient. Instead, most respondent CSOs seem to have shared equal concern towards various issues today. Based on proportion, there are some outstanding issues embraced by more than half respondent CSOs like civil society empowerment (161, 60.07%), environment (147, 54.85%), poverty (146, 54.48%) and education (135, 50.37%). About half CSOs were interested and concerned about development

<sup>59</sup> The list is derived from survey response under "other" field.



(133, 49.63%), gender equality (132, 49.25%), human rights (129, 48.13%), ecosoc rights<sup>60</sup> (125, 46.64%) and democratisation (122, 45.52%). See Figure 3.6.



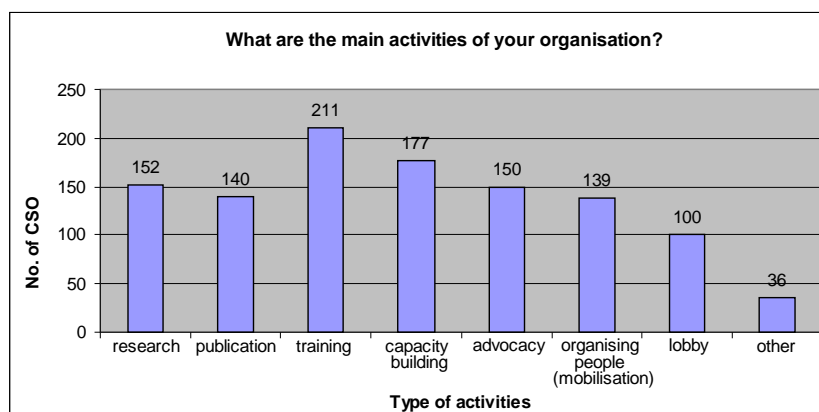
**Figure 3.6. Issues and concerns of Indonesian CSOs**

*N=268; multiple responses possible*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey.*

### Activities

The activities of Indonesian CSOs under study revolve around training (78.73%), capacity building (66.04%), research (56.72%), advocacy (55.97%), publication (52.24%), mass-organising (51.87%) and lobbying (37.31%). Although there were also other activities, they were not as apparent as other abovementioned (13.43%). See Figure 3.5.



**Figure 3.7. Main Activities of Indonesian CSOs**

*N=268; multiple responses possible*

*Source: Author, based on the fieldwork survey*

<sup>60</sup> The economic, social and cultural (ecosoc) rights issue refers to the fulfilment of the economic, social and cultural rights. It is often put as complement to the issues of human rights and civil-political rights.

The main activities of Indonesian CSOs seem to be quite diverse. Training and capacity building, the highest, are carried out by more than two-third CSOs while lobbying, the lowest, is performed by more than one-third CSOs under study. It is not difficult to see that training and capacity building were the most prevalent activities of Indonesian CSOs, taking into account that civil society empowerment was claimed to be the highest concern of these organisations (as confirmed by, e.g. Hadiwinata, 2003). Moreover, research, publication, advocacy and organising activities look to have characterised more than half Indonesian CSOs under study.

### 3.4. Some methodological issues – Usefulness and limitations of methods

#### 3.4.1. Insider perspective

The main issue here might be 'insider perspective', i.e. that the researcher has an extensive direct experience with the subjects of research (Olson, 1985). It is a matter of fact that in interpreting the meaning of all findings, the study uses its experience –including of the author's extensive and first-hand involvement with Indonesian CSOs<sup>61</sup>—particularly in examining the dynamics of civil society in Indonesia and the impact of Internet use with regard to this dynamics.

This issue can certainly be seen as problematic as it can create researcher's subjective biases, which unconsciously but directly affect the analyses and the judgement of the results (Somekh and Lewin, 2005). On the other hand, the 'insider' issue can also be seen as strength as this enables the study to have deeper and much more nuanced reflection benefiting from the first-hand experience of the researcher. Here, in a way, the researcher can be regarded as an ethnographer because the excellent opportunity to be part of the research subjects encourages the subjects to be more open, honest and sincere in giving the information (Atkinson et al., 2001; Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Therefore, it is the later argument that this research takes as a main position. Moreover, partly because the researcher has an extensive and wide contact with Indonesian CSOs, it helped the research to carry out the fieldwork much more smoothly (e.g. in the arrangement of interviews, invitation for workshops/FGs, among others).

However, to avoid author's subjective bias as much as possible, some endeavours have been deliberately taken to ensure that author's influence on the *empirical data* being collected was as

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<sup>61</sup> As a research note: The author/researcher have been involved in Indonesian civil society movement since 1993 until today. The author took part in student movement (1993-1994), grassroots mobilisation (1994-1996), and NGO activism (1996-now). See "The Author" section of this thesis.

minimal as possible. This includes not only the research design (e.g. the use of independent facilitator in workshops, the author's explicit explanation in the invitation for survey and workshop, among others), but also the whole context of the research (e.g. that the author refrains from formal position as a leader of a couple of NGOs during the whole period of research starting in July 2004). Other preventions were also carefully taken, i.e. (a) by describing explicitly and in detail the methods and procedures of the research so that the complete picture can be drawn; (b) by making sure that the research is reproducible by following the actual sequence of how data was collected, processed, and analysed for specific conclusion; and (c) by recording and documenting the study methods and procedures in enough detail and retaining them so that they will be available for re-analysis by other people. In terms of rigorous research, the study makes all endeavours to ensure that competing hypotheses or rival conclusions are considered in the study. In addition, the author is also aware of personal assumptions, values and biases which may have come into play during the study.

### **3.4.2. Response rate and non response issue**

The response rate of 28% (268 CSOs valid response) seems disheartening at first but the study is encouraged by three facts. First, given that the concept of civil society is still very much debated, it is understandable that CSOs are still elusive. Therefore a census of CSOs or a register of CSOs in both developed and developing countries is practically non-existent (for an attempt, see "Global Civil Society" series (Anheier et al., 2005)). A census or register is of course a major factor in a successful, high response survey. This research used the best available registers to hand and is satisfied with the nominal response of 268. Second, very few existing figures are available on response rate and nominal response for on-line surveys in developing countries. This low response rate could be the result of inadequate infrastructure (compared to developed countries) combined with the relative novelty of the online survey among CSOs (even in developed countries). This study is not aware of many high response on-line surveys due to, for instance, the use of broadcast surveys. Therefore, it believes the nominal response here is respectable in this regard. Third, this research applies mixed-methods including interviews with activists from the respondent CSOs. In effect, what is lacked in breadth is more than made up for in depth. For instance, the extensive interviews help the study to capture the depth of meaning this Internet adoption holds for them.

With regards to the 'non-response' issue, during the fieldwork, the study managed to directly get in touch with some CSOs who declined to participate in the study. There were 15 CSOs in total (of all non-response respondents), which remained reluctant to take part in the study but willingly shared some information and reasons of their disinclination to participate in the study by means

of face-to-face interviews and telephone conversations. Among other reasons, the most prevalent one was that these non-responding CSOs were all non Internet users due to the problem of access and infrastructure. Despite their awareness of possible benefits of Internet use in their organisation if they used it, and thus its understanding of the impact of Internet adoption in civil society sphere, they considered themselves excluded from the study. There were few CSOs which had started using the Internet but did not participate in the study because they considered themselves 'newcomers' and their experience was 'inappropriate' to be shared in the study. However, further investigation with these non-response CSOs revealed that they actually shared similar characteristics of features with other CSOs participating in the study in terms of demography, activities, issues and concerns and their views about future social movement in Indonesia.

Therefore, apart from the aspect of Internet use, the CSOs who did not take part in the study could actually still be seen as an integral part of the CSO's universe in Indonesia. This suggests that the non-response has very little, or perhaps no, impact to the result of the study, particularly on the dynamics of Indonesian civil society and CSOs. However, such a result is no more than suggestive when extrapolated to other CSOs. Likewise, with regard to the use of the Internet in CSOs, the research should be aware that the basis for the analysis might be biased toward those who already engaged with the technology. Therefore, even if the result is to be extrapolated, not only should it be no more than suggestive, but its extrapolation should only be for CSOs who have used the Internet.

### **3.4.3. Selection bias and validity**

From the non-response issue discussed above, it seems here that the topic of this study itself may have innately, although unintentionally, created delineation among CSOs who were invited to participate. Those who have used the technology, or have used it extensively enough, were more likely to take part in the study. But, those who have not used the Internet, or have used it but thought that it was used less extensively, were less likely to participate in the study. This problem is noted as selection bias (Somekh and Lewin, 2005) that the study may have suffered from and therefore needs remedy in the analysis.

With regard to the internal validity of the research design, the principle argues about *truth value*, i.e. if the findings make sense. There are types of understanding which may emerge from study, i.e. *descriptive* understanding (regarding what happened in specific situation), *interpretive* understanding (concerning what it meant to the people involved), *theoretical* understanding (about concept used to explain actions and meanings and their relationships), and *evaluative* understanding (on judgements of the worth or value of actions and their meanings) (Robson,

2002). Being exploratory, validation becomes more the issue of 'choosing among competing and falsifiable explanations' about the adoption of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. In this regard, to ensure that this criterion is fulfilled, (a) combination of methods should be able to produce converging conclusion and if not to find coherent explanation; (b) to ensure that the data is well linked to the categories of related theory; (c) to make sure that rules used for confirmation of propositions and hypotheses are made explicit; (d) to identify the areas of uncertainty. By combining methods, the study is in the position to check if conclusions are considered to be accurate by original informants (i.e. CSO activists) through workshops and discussion and to verify if rival explanations have been considered properly when drawing the conclusion.

Concerning external validity for generalisation, the norm asks if the conclusions of a study can be generalised or transferred, e.g. from sample to population, from one setting another which shares theoretical properties, or from one case to another. Taking into account that this research is exploratory in nature, it is useful to adapt Schofield's (1990) generalisation to distinguish 'what is' from 'what may be' and 'what could be'. The study in particular is looking at *what is* the level of Internet adoption and use in Indonesian CSOs; and at the same time should be aware of *what may* affect the process of adoption and use and why; as well as aware of *what* such adoption and use *could be* and how. This particular account is true, especially when the method(s) involve a relatively limited number of participants, like in case studies.

The weakness of case study is that it is not possible to generalise statistically from one or a small number of cases to the population as a whole, even though many case study reports imply that their findings are able to be generalised. It is necessary to give them credence precisely because they are not idiosyncratic accounts, but because they illuminate more general issues (Stark and Torrance, 2005). Clearly this is a matter for judgement and the quality of the evidence presented. Some have argued that good case study appeal to the capacity of the reader for 'naturalistic generalisation' (Stake, 1995). It is argued that readers recognise aspects of their own experience in the case and intuitively generalise from the case, rather than the sample (of one) being statistically representative of the population as a whole (Stark and Torrance, 2005). This study finds this argument convincing, but others may not.

#### **3.4.4. Group influence in opinion shift**

The study is aware that the methods like workshop and FG may pose some threats to the internal validity of the research, in terms of 'instrumentation', i.e. if different groups are not measured in the same way this may cause a difference (Cook and Campbell, 1979). For methods like interview, the study handles this threat, for instance, by interviewing people in the similar way (using semi structured interviews with same questionnaires sent prior to interviews). For other methods like

workshops and FGs, similar approach is applied. All three workshops had similar formats and tasks to avoid instrumentation threat. However, when these two methods are combined (e.g. a workshop participant was also interviewed previously) this may result in an observed difference. For example, one participant who is individually interviewed may respond differently when s/he is in the workshop or FG, being asked with the same question because other colleagues are present and may address something that s/he did not realise before.

The study calls this 'opinion shift'. Such circumstance can possibly be viewed as negatively affecting the research (as in Cook and Campbell, 1979). Yet, the use of workshop method in many fields of social science research today (e.g. Morgan and Kreuger, 1993; Schofield, 1990; Somekh and Lewin, 2005) believes that it should not be considered to affect negatively the outcome of the study, instead, to enrich it. This is the position that this research takes: opinion shift in workshops or FGs is not always negative. Moreover, since the workshops and FGs served as validation for the preliminary findings and facilitated collective reflections, they were participatory in nature and thus changing opinion was enriching the whole process. In addition, the study even moves beyond this point by involving not only participating CSOs but also observers whose main role is to give input to the facilitator and the researcher with regard to the dynamics of the workshops or FGs.

### **3.4.5. The use of CAQDAS**

Qualitative data generated from interviews, workshops, FGs needs to be adequately analysed. One favourable way is using the help of Atlas.ti™ software to organise transcriptions, recordings, documentation and generate codes before performing analysis. Common techniques in qualitative data analysis including interview analysis and workshop analysis were explored during the course of fieldwork. However, the study is also aware of the debates surrounding problems related to the use of CAQDAS in helping analysing qualitative data.

The emerging use of CAQDAS has been evident as a subfield of expertise (Lee and Fielding, 1991). The research notes that software packages aimed at analysing qualitative data are now widespread and it is a fast-growing field. A full review of literatures and existing software has already been done elsewhere (e.g. Burgess, 1995; Tesch, 1990; Weaver and Atkinson, 1994; Weitzman and Miles, 1994). It is important however to note that such computer-based approaches depend on procedures for coding the text (interview transcripts, field notes, transcribed recordings, documents) which means marking the text in order to tag particular segments of the text. Codes are thus attached to discrete sections of data. By doing this, the purpose is twofold: to facilitate the attachment of these codes to the data and to allow researchers to retrieve all instances in the data that share a code. CAQDAS also allows user to

attach analytical memos to specific points in the text. The aim of this is to incorporate many of the key tasks of 'grounded theory' within the software applications. There is, therefore, a close relationship between the *processes of coding* and the *use of CAQDAS* (Lonkila, 1995), which needs warning. For example, having summarised key features of two CAQDAS programs, i.e. ATLAS/ti and NUD\*IST, Lonkila suggests:

It seems clear that the development of the two programs mentioned has been strongly influenced by grounded theory. But it does not follow from this that they can only be (or actually are) used in an analysis in line with grounded methodology. However, nearly all of the programs developed specifically for qualitative data analysis tell us: if you want to do qualitative research with the computer, you have to code your data. How you do it, is basically up to you (even if some of the programs and many of the articles written on computer-assisted qualitative data analysis suggest that the researcher get acquainted with grounded theory). It may be that at least some kind of coding is needed in most qualitative research, but it is also possible that coding is overemphasised, given the fact that a large part of the qualitative researcher's work consists of interpretation and a fine-grained hermeneutic analysis. (Lonkila, 1995:48-49)

Lonkila clearly argues that aspects of grounded theory have been over-emphasised in the development and use of qualitative data analysis software, while other approaches have been neglected in comparison. Therefore, there is a danger that researchers may be led implicitly towards the uncritical adoption of a particular set of strategies as a consequence of adopting computer-aided analysis. CAQDAS does offer a variety of useful ways of organising data in order to search them, but coding data using software is, once again, not analysis (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996).

This is the caution that this research takes into account seriously. Atlas.ti™ is used in this research but only limitedly to help organising and systematising qualitative data (texts, transcripts, audio and audio visual recording). The analysis itself is done independently in the light of theoretical concepts and accounts on Internet adoption in organisations and dynamics of CSOs as reviewed in the previous two chapters.

### **3.5. Conclusion – Mapping the thesis**

This research is exploratory in nature not only because it addresses complex research questions, but also because this complexity itself is a result of a paucity of research into implementation of the Internet in CSOs. The combination of methods is applied here and is essential in systematically probing and understanding the multifaceted links between Internet adoption and use, the dynamics of CSOs and social transformation.

Table 3.2. below recalls the research questions along with their area of investigation (developed in the previous Chapter One and Two), main methods being used, main instruments being deployed, and their position in the thesis.

Research Question	Area of investigation	Main Methods	Main Instruments	Presentation of findings
To what extent, in what ways, and for what purposes have Internet technologies been appropriated by Indonesian CSOs?	CSOs' landscape of activism Engagement with global CSOs	Qualitative & Quantitative	Survey, Interview, Workshop, FGD Social Network Analysis	Chapter Four
What are the processes by which Internet technologies (and ICTs more generally) are imported into and adopted by Indonesian CSOs?	Diffusion analysis Hierarchy and adoption sequence Perceived attributes Technological substitution Stage of diffusion of innovations	Quantitative	Mostly survey, with some interview and workshop data to explain survey results	Chapter Five
How do Indonesian CSOs implement ICTs, and how are Internet technologies deployed strategically in the operations (and in an effort to further the aims) of such organisations?	Implementation framework Adoption and Familiarisation Adaptation and Configurational Capability Appropriation and Strategic use	Qualitative	Case studies; data derived from in-depth interview, direct observations and organisations' reports	Chapter Six
What are the implications, potentials and challenges ahead such appropriations?	Mapping Strategic Orientation Organisation's identity, coherence and cohesion Changing roles of Indonesian CSOs Internet & Indonesian CSOs movement	Qualitative	Workshop and FGD	Chapter Seven

**Table 3.2. Methodological map of the thesis**

*Source: Author*

The arguments presented in this whole thesis about the role of Internet adoption in CSOs in the transformation of civil society (presented in the coming chapters) would not have been as clear yet complex if it were not for the rich meaning provided by the combination of methods. Such a meaning can only be achieved using complementary methods, instead of just using single methods. It is in the combination and conversation across methods, or to some extent, triangulation, that has allowed this research to probe the issues more deeply and widely. Similarly, the materials gathered through the use of mixed methods here have also provided the research with sufficient, rich and nuanced data to draw the insights presented in the coming chapters<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> As a research note, upon completion of this study, the result was presented before a group of Indonesian CSOs for feedbacks, reactions, and comments. This is not only to validate and to ensure that the whole study could reflect the actual realm of CSOs activism and their adoption of the Internet, but also as a 'report' to Indonesian CSOs –to whom this research is dedicated. This account is presented in the *Post Scriptum* of the thesis.



This chapter has endeavoured to present the methodological issues of this study. Only when employing a clear methodology, this research will be able to be as objective and fair as possible in analysing and judging the arguments and data. This is imperative to avoid inherent 'unfairness' danger that Bertrand Russell (1996) has warned of a long time ago, in his "*Roads to Freedom*", as quoted in the opening of this chapter.

The following four chapters present the findings of the study. Then a discussion chapter follows, synthesising arguments built in the finding chapters, before offering conclusions.

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## Chapter 4

# Constant flux in civil society landscape

### *Understanding CSOs in contemporary Indonesia*

*If CSOs do not reposition themselves, our ship of democracy will be pirated. The pirates are those who used to be anti-democracy and now are misusing their money and power to get back in the driver's seat... It is extremely urgent now for CSOs to regroup, to see what have changed and to evaluate if CSO is still an effective vehicle to strive for democracy.*  
(Wahyu Susilo, INFID's National Program Officer for MDG, interview, 01/12/05)

The dynamics of local and global civil society have become more cohesively related today. The rapid integration of local civil society groups to global civil society has created an impetus for civil society to play more important role in social transformation (Anheier et al., 2001b; Bartelson, 2006; Kaldor, 2003). This is also true for civil society in Indonesia. The dynamics of Indonesian civil society organisations (CSOs) apparently have a quite strong relationship with the dynamics of global CSOs. Not only that numerous Indonesian CSOs share similar concerns and views with their international counterparts, but that local-contextual issues promoted by local CSOs can also quickly receive attention from global communities. While such a relationship is obvious, there are several empirical questions which need to be addressed: How do Indonesian CSOs view and understand their own roles in social transformation of the country? To what extent does the engagement with a networked, global civil society characterise the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs? How would the relationship between global and Indonesian CSOs be explained? What conjunctive circumstances led to the change in the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs? How does the use of network technologies like the Internet affect this relationship and dynamics? As Sey and Castells (2004) declare, the answer to these kind of questions "have to be established by observation, not proclaimed as fate" (p.364).

This chapter seeks to provide some answers to those questions by exploring the current dynamics of CSOs in Indonesia, which have established themselves in pivotal positions in the social, economic and political landscape across the country (Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Harney and Olivia, 2003; McCarthy, 2002). This is done by taking a closer look at and exploring the realm of a number of CSOs in Indonesia and the implications of their engagement with global civil society. There is a proposition that this study takes as a point of departure for the exploration. The study indicates that in their rich and vibrant civic activisms Indonesian CSOs today are facing unprecedented challenges. These are not only concerning the dynamics of CSOs within civil society sphere in the country, but also about the way they engage with global civil society and

activism through the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) like the Internet. This proposition is crucial because, as argued elsewhere, CSOs activism is not just a means, but has become a powerful fabric of social change (e.g. Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998). Profoundly, this argument resonates with Indonesian CSOs circumstance: CSOs have become important actors for social transformation in the archipelago (as argued by Fakihi, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Harney and Olivia, 2003; McCarthy, 2002, among many others). The implication of this to the way technologies like the Internet are understood within this setting is quite significant. As it is the use of the technology which drives this civil activism, such technology should not only be viewed as an instrument, but more as a locus wherein/whereby transformation of civil society is facilitated (which resonates to previous scholars' view, e.g. Castells, 2001; Graham, 1999)<sup>63</sup>.

In this chapter the study presents some findings of the exploration about the dynamics of CSOs in Indonesia today. Using data collected through a combination of methods (i.e. survey, interview and workshop), it argues that there is a constant flux in the civil society landscape in Indonesia, signified by the fact that discourse, activism, and network of CSOs are continuously changing, shifting, widening, and expanding. Furthermore, it suggests that this changing terrain of Indonesian CSOs cannot be taken for granted for two reasons. First, it is a *resultante* of two factors: the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society and the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs itself. Second, this change is very much catalysed by the adoption and use of ICTs, particularly the Internet, in CSOs.

This chapter starts by suggesting an approach to understand Indonesian CSOs before presenting the findings. It then portrays some changes and shifts of the discourse in Indonesian civil society followed by an observation about the development of the areas of civil society activism. Finally, it looks at some accounts of the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs' networks. All these findings are to be synthesised together before conclusions are offered.

#### **4.1. Understanding dynamics of Indonesian CSOs: Activisms and networking of movements**

Understanding the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs is, while interesting and fascinating, certainly challenging. This is because it needs a convenient, but valid, approach to investigate the complex reality of Indonesian CSOs. Previous studies in Indonesian context suggest that such complexity

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<sup>63</sup> For more detailed account on how this proposition is built, see **Chapter Two**.

can be approximated by understanding the sphere of activism, approach and organisation of works and dynamics of the network of CSOs (Fakih, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003).

#### 4.1.1. Sphere of activism and approach

Despite the prevailing common understanding of civil society as a sphere outside the state and the economy which becomes home of democratic values, major theories about civil society seem to have revolved around two areas of activism. In one part, civil society is entrusted with the agenda of reclaiming civil and political rights and fostering democratisation, which represents *advocacy*-type of work. On the other hand, civil society is concerned with the burden of improving livelihoods, to provide for welfare, social justice and protection of those exploited by development, which is known as *development*-type work (see, e.g. Clayton et al., 2000; Edwards, 2004; Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Edwards and Sen, 2000; Eldridge, 1995; Keane, 1998). It is also the attachment to these two areas of activism (*advocacy* and *development*) that has characterised the work of Indonesian CSOs (Eldridge, 1995:36-39; Fakih, 1996:125-132; Hadiwinata, 2003:101-104).

It has been amply documented that this characterisation traces back to the dichotomy of their political ideology, despite a number of variations in the categorisation. The first group, called transformative group or 'transformist', belongs to CSOs who oppose the state ideology and take a marginal position in society. In-line with this ideology, the 'transformists' agenda revolves around 'reclaiming people rights' and 'changing government policies' and their activities and concerns focus on advocacy-based actions (Ganie-Rochman, 2002:5; Lounela, 1999:6)<sup>64</sup>.

The second group consists of those who are following the state lines, known as 'conformist groups' and are often manifested as development organisations whose main purpose is often about to alleviate poverty and undertake their activities mostly in the area and field of development (Hadiwinata, 2003:242; Lounela, 1999:6). In this group there are also CSOs who tend to cooperate with the state and accept its ideological foundations but with critical comments, who could be called 'reformist' (Fakih, 1996:122; Lounela, 1999:6). In different terms, coined a bit earlier, Eldridge would call this distinction as 'political orientation', referring to development orientation as 'non-political', and advocacy as 'political' groups (Eldridge, 1995:1-

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<sup>64</sup> Also in this group are social movements whose agenda is to challenge social and political structures that have created poverty and injustice (Hadiwinata, 2003: 242).

2)<sup>65</sup>. These distinctions, which will be further referred to in the attempt to explain and interpret some findings of this study, are mapped in Table 4.1.

Model	Consensus		Conflict
Political orientation	Non-political		Political
Position towards state ideology / Line of thoughts	Conformist	Reformist	Transformist
View of social structure	Result of consensus, subject to preserve, thus not to be questioned		Result of power domination, thus needs to be scrutinised
View of the root of problem of democracy	Lack of education, poverty, uncivilised society, etc.	Malfunction of democratic institutions	Unjust and undemocratic political, economical, social and cultural order
View of the cause of social problem (e.g. poverty)	Situation beyond human control, or, people's own mistakes/wrongdoings	Malfunction of structures which causes people's lack of participation and access	Unjust social structure
Main agenda	Improvement of people's livelihood		Reclaiming people's rights
Examples of activities	Appeal, aids, relief,	Training, consultation, supporting services	Protest, rally, lobby, alternative education, alternative economy
Type of changes promoted	Functional		Structural
Approach in CSO activism	DEVELOPMENT		ADVOCACY

**Table 4.1. 'Categorisation of Paradigm' of Indonesian CSO**

*Source: Adopted and modified from Fakh (1996), Eldridge (1995) and Hope and Timmel (1988)*

It is perhaps worth noting that despite the distinction of 'advocacy' and 'development' to categorise Indonesian CSOs, Fakh (1996) insists that this division is too simplified and he prefers to keep using the position toward state ideology as the basis for CSO categorisation, i.e. as conformists, reformists and transformists<sup>66</sup>. Nevertheless, Indonesian scholars refer back to the broad two-categorisation of CSOs (advocacy vs. development) as it provides much clearer analytical framework to highlight recent studies (for example, Demos, 2005b; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Ibrahim et al., 2003; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006). It is also the position which this study takes as an initial standpoint and aspires to further develop later.

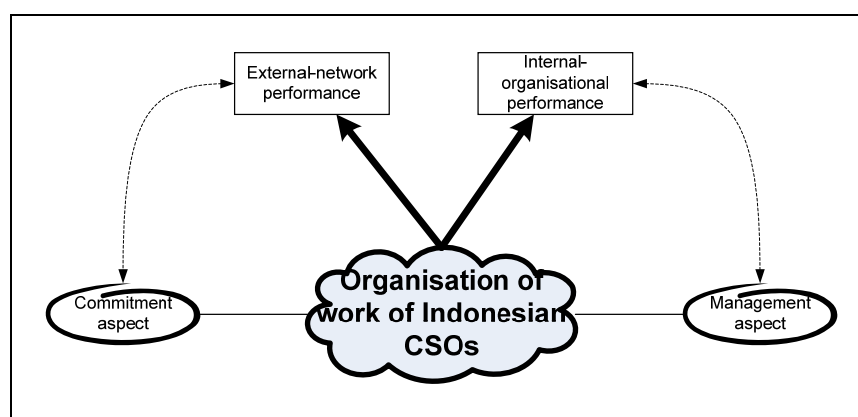
This categorisation has a significant impact at the organisational level with regard to the way CSOs work. In his research into the politics of NGO in Indonesia with case studies of five NGOs in Yogyakarta in 1997-2001, Hadiwinata (2003) argues that development CSOs tend to put more emphasis on the managerial aspects of their work. Management aspects receive more attention, and have become key success factors of the organisations<sup>67</sup>. On the other hand, when revealing

<sup>65</sup> Eldridge further reveals different strategies that Indonesian CSOs have been weighing, based on their types of relationship with the government: (1) high level cooperation – grassroots development, (2) high level politics – grassroots mobilisation, and (3) empowerment from below (Eldridge, 1995:36-38). This categorisation fits the model in the Table 4.1.

<sup>66</sup> Conformists are those who work without theory and clear vision and mission, but they adapt themselves to the dominant structure. Reformists make up 80% of NGOs in Indonesia. They support a participatory approach, and claim that strengthening the role. Fakh believes that this categorization also shows us the ideological understandings and positions of NGOs in Indonesia. (Fakh, 1996:125-136)

<sup>67</sup> 'Management aspect' here is broadly defined as managerial aspects of organisation which deals with human resource, financial resource, organisation of works, among others. To a certain degree, management aspect focuses on *how* organisation is run. This aspect, reflecting internal organisational performance, is evaluated by means of management audit, particularly financial.

the works of advocacy NGOs under Soeharto's dictatorship, Meuthia Ganie-Rochman (2002) clearly shows that instead of management, it is the commitment aspect that fuels the work of this kind of organisations<sup>68</sup>. This is not to say that the commitment aspect is trivial for development CSOs, or that the management aspect is insignificant for advocacy CSOs, but rather, that these aspects play a different role in the work of CSOs. Because achievement of advocacy CSOs relies much on networking, and because networking of advocacy actors is driven more by organisation's commitment (Ganie-Rochman, 2000; 2002) it is of no surprise that commitment is salient for advocacy CSOs. Likewise, as accomplishment of development CSOs depends much on internal organisation's performance, and that organisational performance is a function of management, it is clear that management is prominent for development CSOs. However, as networks increasingly also become important for development CSOs, as is management for advocacy CSOs, both aspects cannot be neglected when examining CSOs. These relationships are depicted below.



**Figure 4.1. Organisation of work of Indonesian CSOs**

*Source: Author, adopted from various sources*

#### 4.1.2. Social transformation: Roles of networked CSOs

As *Chapter Two* has argued, the dynamics of civil society activism cannot be but understood within a time-and-space context. CSOs in contemporary Indonesia<sup>69</sup>, despite a claim that Indonesian civil society in itself is neither strong nor pluralistic (Uhlen, 2000), have undoubtedly played a very important role in the country's social transformation, i.e. transition to democracy. Indeed, there is debate among scholars: what actors significantly drove the political change in

<sup>68</sup> 'Commitment aspect' refers largely to the loyalty or devotion to the organisational missions and concerns more about dedication, allegiance and commitment to the social movement of the organisation. To some extent, commitment aspect emphasises on *why* organisation exists (*raison d'être*). This aspect is reflected in the way the organisation interacts with other organisations and can be broadly examined from its network.

<sup>69</sup> Although civil society activism has a long history in Indonesia, this study however only focuses on the dynamics of CSOs in the past fifteen years covering the late period of Soeharto's New Order regime (early 1990s) up to recently (early 2000s). See **Introduction** chapter.

Indonesia? According to Mietzner (1999), it was the political élite and the military, but Bouchier (1999) believes that it was the civil society. Both agree, nevertheless, that the political circumstances during the transition period between autocratic rule to democracy were abrupt and intense. This study argues that it is the interaction between civil society (in the forms of public protests organised by many CSOs) and the political élite and military (who then split, which led to the resignation of president Soeharto), which resulted in political change. To be more precise, this research agrees with Uhlin (2000:11) that the split between the élite and the military would have never happened if there had not been such strong pressure from civil society.

Such pressure would not have been effective had the civil society, involved in promoting democracy, not been well embedded and networked. Naturally there were many other important factors, however, this study argues that one of the most important was the existence of a network of CSOs, which enabled them to put pressure towards the power holders, and thus promoted, changes in society (Della-Porta and Diani, 2006; Diani, 2003). Some scholars have employed network perspective to determine how it can be used to portray projects undertaken by civil society, amongst which the promotion of democracy seems to be the major agenda item (e.g. Della-Porta and Diani, 2006; Diani, 2003; Juris, 2004; Sey and Castells, 2004). Networking through ICTs for example, has strengthened the identity of CSOs working for social reform through coalition building (Diani, 1990; Lim, 2002; 2003d; Rucht, 1989). Networking has also been important for CSOs in building opposition, e.g. through establishing collaboration, publishing and campaigning, mobilization and observation like watchdog activities (Camacho, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001)<sup>70</sup>.

This study also notes the importance of the network perspective to foster social movement as networks link a multiplicity of actors, which is necessary for facilitating change (Anheier, 2003; Uhlin, 2000). Unfortunately such an analysis seems to be largely absent in the discourse of Indonesian CSOs recently. Uhlin (2000) writes,

In analyses of civil society in Indonesia the transnational dimension has to a large extent been neglected. Nevertheless, transnational support for the democratic opposition in Indonesia is nothing new. Transnational human rights groups played an important role in pressuring Western governments to tie human rights to foreign aid already in the 1970s. The release of political prisoners in the late 1970s was to a large extent due to such foreign pressure on the Indonesian government (Fealy 1995). Links between civil society groups in Indonesia and other parts of the world had a considerable impact on the ideas and actions of the Indonesian pro-democracy movement that developed in the 1990s (Uhlin 1997). (Uhlin, 2000:12-13)

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<sup>70</sup> The term 'networking' here is not strictly implied to the use of ICT, but also includes the more general meaning of communication and collaboration between CSOs by other means, e.g. meetings, joint activities, etc.

Agreeing with Uhlin, there seems a lot of opportunities for Indonesian CSOs to foster the agenda of civil society for networks and collaborations of CSOs within and between countries become more possible today. CSOs all over the world now seem to have started building shared global concern and networks thus engaged in a global network of civil society. Previous studies reviewed in *Chapter Two* suggest that it is such an engagement which gives birth to network society. Firstly, it is because the core idea of civil society is compatible with network society (Juris, 2004:342). Secondly, it is possible because of the facilitation of new information and communication technology (Warkentin, 2001). However, what the engagement with global civil society may implicate the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs is yet to be sought for.

## 4.2. Civil society in contemporary Indonesia: Vibrant sphere of activism

The data collected through various methods during the fieldwork says one thing very clearly: civil society in Indonesia is obviously a vibrant sphere. This vivacious realm, apparently, is not only a result of the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society (which becomes more evident), but is also shaped by the internal dynamics of the civil society in Indonesia from time to time, and obviously always has two pictures: encouraging and discouraging, positive and negative. How is this claim supported by the data?

### 4.2.1. Organisational dynamics

#### *Size, age and money: Which matters the most? And why?*

From the survey of 268 CSOs, the profile shows that long-established, middle-to-big sized CSOs seem to have characterised Indonesian CSOs participating in this study. More than 60% of the respondent CSOs are 5 years or older and only 30% employ 5 full-timers or less<sup>71</sup>. Another look at the profile reveals that smaller part of CSOs manage higher financial resource: only 10% manage IDR 2bn (USD 250k) annually but more than 60% run with less than IDR 500 million (USD 62.5K) per annum<sup>72</sup>.

A simple correlation test is performed to see how these variables correlate each other<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> Recall **Section 3.3. Profile of organisations under study** in Chapter Three.

<sup>72</sup> Recall **Figure 3.4**.

<sup>73</sup> It is not the purpose of this thesis to present statistical computation too extensively. Instead, statistics serves as a methodological tool, which, together with other tools, will be used in proportion to explain the empirical data. This is inevitable as the research applies multi-method and triangulation approach.



	AGE	SIZE	TURNOVER
AGE	1		
SIZE	.327(**)	1	
TURNOVER	.317(**)	.688(**)	1

**Table 4.2. Correlation of responses to the age, size and annual turnover (Pearson R)**

*\*\* Statistically significant at  $P < .01$  (2-tailed).*

*Source: Fieldwork: Survey data*

It seems that the amount of money the CSOs are managing is more strongly related to size than their ages. While age is only moderately related to turnover ( $r = .317$ ,  $p < .01$ ), turnover is strongly related to size ( $r = .688$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Age itself only related slightly higher to size ( $r = .327$ ,  $p < .01$ ) than to turnover. This, in part, accounts for notable weaker relationship between age and size (as well as age and turnover) than size and turnover of Indonesian CSOs participating in the study. While it seems to make a common sense (i.e. the bigger the organisation, the more money it manages), CSOs themselves apparently give different meaning to this finding. In an interview, the director of *Rumah Sinema*, an audiovisual research and production-based CSO in Yogyakarta, said,

I [often] meet many people who have been active in the traditional art movement. Their first generation told me, "Go home, we are already exhausted now." [That means] we have to keep sharing our financial resource among our circles. The donor will always be there. [But] because the [first generation of] activists have been exhausted, it means there will be a more equal sharing of financial resource [among activists]. (Fauzannafi, interview, 02/12/2005)

This account gives a clue not only to understand why size matters, but also to admit that affinity or 'clique' among activists seems to be important in maintaining the money to stay in the same circle or organisation. But there appears to be another less favourable factor contributing to this situation. A senior Communication Officer of *ICRAF/CIFOR*, an agro-forestry CSO in Bogor, revealed that in an instance of post-Tsunami relief in Aceh,

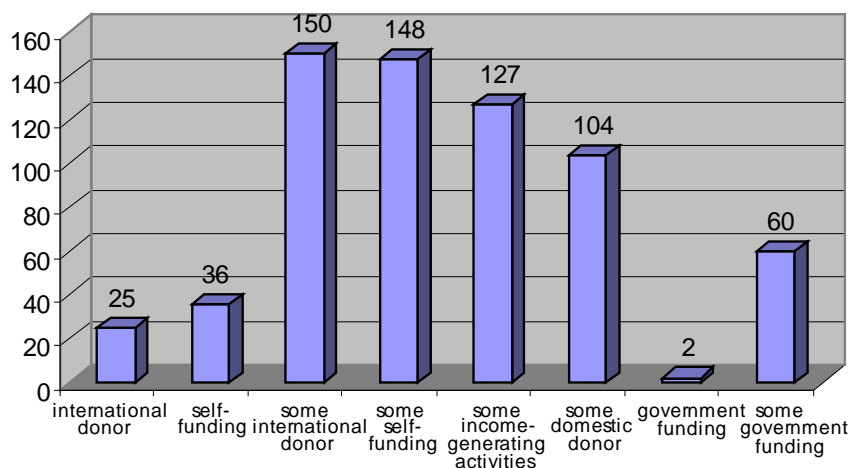
... of the total money channelled there, over sixty to seventy percent was [allocated] for the activists and the facilitators, not the projects. Yes, that's to say blatantly. In Kompas [daily] there was [an article about] NGO mafia in the opinion [column]. Thus [the issue of international] funding and its hullabaloo are just a game played by people [like them] so that they could earn more and more and I can confirm that this is true. (Santoso, interview, 07/04/06)

Santoso's explanation at first seems to be discouraging, yet it clearly shows that for some CSOs in Indonesia the need for financial source has sometime come to the point of beyond programmes and even beyond survival. All CSOs interviewed during this study, in different extent, addressed the problem of funding with relation to both the management of organisation and the activities, despite the fact that they all received money from foreign donors in various proportions.

Previous studies confirm that financial matters do affect CSOs' accountability (Edwards and Hulme, 1997), agendas (Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006), independence and self-reliance (Eldridge, 1995), overall management (Hadiwinata, 2003) and even organisational changes (Ebrahim, 2003). But this problem is not exclusive to CSOs from the southern, poorer, or less developed countries. CSOs from developed economies also encounter similar predicament –as clearly shown in the LSE's canonical works on global civil society in the last five years (Anheier et al., 2001a; Glasius et al., 2002; Glasius et al., 2006; Kaldor et al., 2003). That is why it is important to address the question about the financial sources of the respondent CSOs.

***Financial sources: Where does the money come from? Does it matter?***

Most of Indonesian CSOs being surveyed in average have two or more donors (see Figure 4.2). About 10% of CSOs are fully funded by international donors; very few organisations have government as their sole financial source and around 15% rely entirely on self-funding. The rest have combinations of two or more financial sources, like some international donors, some self-funding, some domestic donors and some government sponsor<sup>74</sup>. It is interesting that quite significant proportion of respondent CSOs benefit from their income-generating activities as complements to their main financial source. This circumstance impacts the organisational management. It can be expected that management burden is higher when dealing with financial sources other than self-funding or organisation's own income generating. But unfortunately, it is the case with the majority of Indonesian CSOs. This is a fact that cannot be neglected.



**Figure 4.2. Source of funding**  
*N=268, multiple responses possible*  
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

<sup>74</sup> In CSOs universe, the term 'donor' mostly refers to funding organisation or 'funder', rather than 'people giving money for good reason' (the classical charity donation). Funding organisations provide financial resources with clear expectations in sometimes very narrow terms and the difference can be highly significant. See also the problematic relationship between civil society organisations, donors and states (Edwards and Hulme, 1996; 1997)

The survey shows that donor organisations (both international and domestic) apparently play an important part in providing financial resources to Indonesian CSOs. This is also confirmed by research findings from other methods. For example, all CSOs who participated in the workshops during the course of the research stated during interviews that they rely on funding from donors, particularly from international ones, as their main financial sources<sup>75</sup>. In all three workshop sessions in Jakarta, Surabaya and Yogyakarta, there was a typical issue with regard to the donor involvement, as stated by one participant below.

On the one hand we often have programmes that need socialisation. If these programmes are well socialised, they will bring [positive] impact to the empowerment of a better society. But on the other hand, the problem is classical, namely financial one ... the lacking of [financial] resource ... So sometimes when we are given choice of whether we will opt for a programme that will not give us much money but brings great impact for our beneficiary group, or whether we opt for a programme that the donor thinks it sexy [and thus brings much money] but less or not sexy for our beneficiary, that is a serious problem that we have. (Muklis, workshop discussion, Surabaya, 09/03/2006)

Muklis' reflection shared in a group discussion in Surabaya workshop was not at all unique. In fact, almost all group discussions in the entire series of workshop identified similar problems. It seems that either (1) the difference between CSO's and donor's interest has grown wider, or (2) Indonesian CSOs as recipients have now developed their own agenda that do not any longer always match donor's interest and perspective, or (3) the combination of the two.

Eldridge's observation that different sources of funding can have different implications for CSOs in undertaking their activities (1995:51-55) seem to have been confirmed by empirical work in this study. Having financial support from a local donor, for example, has different consequences compared to having one from abroad, although both impede organisation's independence and self-reliance (p.52). Income-generation activities, in its function to generate alternative funding, also have consequences in the main focus and management of the organisations (p.53-54). The specific characteristics of donors, be they foreign or domestic, also bring vital consequences for CSOs as it might raise different perception from their beneficiary groups (p.54-55). Eldridge concludes however,

... while it is important to both its legitimacy and ultimate viability for the NGOs community to maximise alternative sources of finance from within Indonesia, foreign assistance is likely to provide the most reliable financial base for LSM/LPSMs for some years to come (Eldridge, 1995:56).

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<sup>75</sup> The question was explicitly addressed in the semi-structured interviews and in the workshops in three cities in Java, but not in the focus groups in Aceh due to the time limitation.

Interested in the finding and in what Eldridge has suggested, one aim of this study is to find out to what extent the funding relationship also has influenced Indonesian CSOs' engagement with global civil society, where donor organisations are inevitably part of it. While the answer will be elaborated later in this chapter, it may be helpful to begin with a look at the specific activities of Indonesian CSOs.

#### **4.2.2. Spectrum of activities**

From the 268 CSOs surveyed, their activities revolve around training (78.73%), capacity building (66.04%), research (56.72%), advocacy (55.97%), publication (52.24%), mass-organising/mobilisation (51.87%) and lobbying (37.31%). Other less apparent activities make up (13.43%)<sup>76</sup>.

##### ***From training to beneficiary empowerment ...***

The fact that training and capacity building are most prevalent confirms that empowerment is among the highest concerns of Indonesian CSOs (e.g. Hadiwinata, 2003). Based on the fieldwork data, the study argues that there are possibly three aspects explaining this spectrum of activities: (1) increasing needs for recruiting people to work in the civil society sector, (2) urgency to equip activists with relevant skills, and (3) needs to build the capacities of CSOs' beneficiary groups. These explanations are detailed below.

- a. Apparently, there is a growing concern among Indonesian CSOs that fine, committed people are increasingly walking away from the civil society sector. On the one hand, this may sound pessimistic, particularly when reflecting back on civil society's role over the past years, since long before the 1998 reform. People have been attracted to work with and within the civil society sector and this sector has been growing in terms of employment. On the other hand, it is not just the growth that matters. Because the civil society sector plays a no less important role than other sectors like state and private/business in society, the sector greatly needs not only an adequate quantity of activists, but also good quality and highly committed individuals. What is worrying is the fact that these visionary, dedicated people may have already become attracted to work outside the civil society sector.

The Director of *KAIL*, a group specialising in trainings for social activists, expressed her view regarding this situation.

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<sup>76</sup> See the depiction of this finding in **Chapter Three Figure 3.7. Main activities of Indonesian CSOs.**

There are capital and people, but the most important of these is people. That's why with all its power, the business [sector] takes all the best people [in the job market] ... even before they finish their education. [...] This [civil society] sector, thus, only gets the left-overs. Whereas, the problem in the civil society sector is much more complicated compared to the business sector as this includes politics, environment, etc. On paper, [the civil society sector] thus, needs better quality people to work with, than what the business sector does. (Sulistyawati, interview, 17/11/2005)

The low-attractiveness of the civil society sector seems to be rooted in the non-profit nature of this sector. Social workers or civil society activists obviously do not make as much money as professional workers or those working in the private sector which has extensively attracted the best employees. About this, Sulistyawati continued and confirmed,

... because [CSOs] cannot pay these [good, committed, visionary] people, they go there [to the private sector]. So, if we try to intervene in this [process] from by offering financial compensation and the like, we will certainly be lost. So, the intervention must be that before these [prospective] people know money, they have to have vision first. The vision [to work with civil society sector] must be built early, since before they are aware of money and since before they have particular needs which will become urgent after they have graduated. If we intervene in later stage, i.e. approaching those who have already graduated, we will not get the people who are willing to work maximally in the social sector, unless they already have enough money to fund their needs (Sulistyawati, interview, 17/11/2005).

It seems certain strategies have to be applied by CSOs in order not to lose good people from their staff. Or put more positively, CSOs have to put more effort in to ensuring that good quality people are still interested in working with and building their career in the civil society sector and to making sure that they can recruit them.

- b. Capacity building and training is about an effort to equip (new) activists with (new) skills and the abilities necessary to undertake their work. There seems to be a shift in the way the skills and knowledge of becoming civil society workers are perceived. In the past, the competence of social activists was regarded as more 'built-in' and resulted from long-term involvement and long-standing concern in social activities (Billah, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Sinaga, 1994) and hence became 'tacit knowledge'. It is now relatively widely believed that the knowledge and skills required to become a civil society activist can be achieved through systematic capacity building. Sari, the Executive Director of *AKATIGA*, a centre for social analysis in West Java, gave a clear example.

We see that having skills, for them, is important. [In our organisation] it is the skill of an activist seeing a problem in a particular way. For example a couple of days ago, [I was with fellow activists] meeting with small-medium entrepreneurs. It was interesting to see that the activists relied on discussion to identify the [latent] problems [of the beneficiaries]. For instance, [they asked] "Madam, is there any problem that we can help with?" Then the beneficiary replied obviously, "No". But then they used the answer as the data [without further probing]. Whereas, during

that 24 hours I saw clearly what the problems were there ... This skill [of interview] should be mastered by our colleagues so that they can be more sensitive toward the problems of their own beneficiary groups (Sari, interview, 19/12/2005)

Sari's example is shared by others, too. Furthermore, for more strategic purposes, training for civil society workers is not only about education or knowledge sharing, but also "to establish networks" as revealed by Nurani, the Training and Communication Worker of LEAD, the Foundation for Sustainable Development (interview, 16/12/2005).

- c. Lastly, the importance of training and capacity building is clearly connected to the relationships between CSOs and their beneficiary groups. It is concerned with not only increasing the capacity of CSO staff or workers, who work together with the beneficiaries, but also to build and to strengthen the capacity of the beneficiary groups in order to raise awareness about relevant and timely issues. The Deputy Director of LP3ES (*Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial* or Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information), a very well-known, long-established, research-based CSO, recalled the past.

At the beginning of the 90s, when the [Soeharto's] regime was still in power, we had already seen that the civil society needed to be empowered. So, we started organising some training sessions on human rights and they were quite successful and we did it several times ... to several groups ... [Why?] In the past [besides research into rural development] we actually also trained peasants about matters like irrigation. But since the beginning of 90s there was an entirely new kind of training that we had never done before like democratisation and human rights. And also there was something really new, [that] we delivered training to our counterparts in their local areas, including local press. That had obviously spread the skills and knowledge (Hussein, interview, 06/12/2005)

In a context of CSO working in coalition with trade union, FPBN (*Forum Pendamping Buruh Nasional* or National Forum for Labour Partners), the National Coordinator stressed how important capacity building in this very context. She gave an insight into how the benefit of capacity building could reach beyond what people might have thought

Capacity building for labour has become extremely important [because] it facilitates cooperation among them. The other [function] would be to initiate another movement like shareholder activism. This means that other labour movements outside Indonesia [can also be linked to help] access the shareholders of the [target] company, disseminate the information and publicise the crucial labour dispute in the [target] company directly to the shareholders (Pranowo, 28/11/2005).

The evidence shows, apparently, that training and capacity building for CSOs are not just an area of activity; but have been playing important parts in the strategy of the organisations in the long term. In hindsight, training and capacity building have been

long known, realised and utilised by CSO activists as tools for dissemination of awareness, or conscientisation<sup>77</sup>.

### ... *from research to mobilisation*

Research, publication, advocacy and mobilisation activities look to have characterised more than half the Indonesian CSOs participating in the study. It is interesting to learn that while advocacy and organising activities are still major areas of work, research has gained much attention from CSOs in Indonesia today. In hindsight, this could be an indication of a subtle shift or enlargement in the strategic areas of activity. Many studies show that CSOs in developing countries, including in Indonesia, have been long known to have conducted continuous works on advocacy and development (to mention some, Billah, 1995; Eldridge, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003). Most advocacy-based and developmentalist CSOs, before the 1990s, did not do their own research. If need be, they would rely on and use research done by research institutes like research centres at universities (*Lembaga Penelitian/LPM*), independent research centres or even research done by prominent individuals. At that time, hardly any CSOs in Indonesia specialised their work in the research area. LP3ES which was set up in the early 1970s was among the few. Yet, the situation drastically changed in the mid 1990s when not only existing advocacy and developmentalist CSOs started conducting their own research, but there were many newly-established CSOs specialising themselves in research activities (Hussein, interview, 06/12/2005; Setiawan, interview, 22/02/2006; personal reflection).

The study argues that this may be a result of the combination of two or more of the following factors. Firstly, the introduction of the-so-called *riset partisipatif* (or participatory research) to many Indonesian CSOs regardless of their political orientation since the end of 1980s (Fakhri, 1996:13-14)<sup>78</sup>. Secondly, the need for CSOs to get data, information and analysis from independent, or 'non co-opted' institutions<sup>79</sup>. Thirdly, CSOs are forced to do their own research

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<sup>77</sup> The English term 'conscientisation' was first coined by Paulo Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in 1970. It is a translation of the Portuguese term *conscientização*, meaning 'conscienceness raising'. Freire was a Brazilian educator, activist, and theorist and has been inspiring activists all around the world, including in Indonesia. According to him, conscientisation proceeds through the identification of 'generative themes', which identifies as "iconic representations that have a powerful emotional impact in the daily lives of learners." In this way, individual consciousness helps end the 'culture of silence' in which the socially dispossessed internalise the negative images of themselves created and propagated by the oppressor in situations of extreme poverty. The major goal of conscientisation is liberating learners from the mimicry of the powerful and the inherited violence that is a result of it. Conscientisation is a fundamental aspect of Freire's concept of popular education (Freire, 1970). See also Wikipedia's notion on "conscientisation" <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conscientization>.

<sup>78</sup> Participatory research became popular for both types of CSOs as the methodology not only invited a larger participation from beneficiaries (which is important in development programmes) but also incorporated organising principles (which is crucial for advocacy programmes).

<sup>79</sup> Particularly when the movement was built in 1990s, CSOs turned down research from many universities as universities at that time were considered as not neutral and highly co-opted by the state. State universities, and many private ones, in Indonesia, had long been known to not be independent during the *New Order*

due to their issues and concerns becoming increasingly diverse. The combination of these factors has contributed to a situation where Indonesian CSOs today increasingly consider research to be an integral part of their strategic activities.

In relation to other activities like publication, while one can see its immediate –and inherent– relationship with research work, CSOs have actually carried out publication as part of their strategy slightly longer than research. Publication, mainly printed, has long been known as a strategic tool not only for organising public, mass action, or mobilisation; but, just like training and capacity building, also for conscientisation. Still bearing the same function today, however, there are various forms of publication works carried out by Indonesian CSOs, from traditional printed media, email-based periodicals to the much-adapted web-logs (blogs)<sup>80</sup>.

It is believed that it is research and publication that also enables CSOs to communicate their ideas to society in on a wider and deeper scale today, unprecedented in the history of Indonesian CSOs. Moreover, unlike in the earlier period, more CSOs today welcome and integrate lobbying into their activities and strategies, thanks to their ability to carry out arguably more independent research.

### 4.2.3. Network dynamics

Similarly vibrant dynamics are also apparent in the networking between Indonesian CSOs and their counterparts, both in Indonesia and internationally. This is possibly a direct consequence of engaging in a network society (Castells, 1996; 2005). Using fieldwork data, the study argues that the networks of Indonesian CSOs have evidently expanded quite significantly both with their national and international partner organisations. One of the factors that contributes most to this is the use of the Internet, which effectively facilitates CSOs' collaborations between and within countries. The expansion of these networks can be seen in the temporal network maps depicted in Table 4.3. which identifies their growth during the periods of the transition to democracy<sup>81</sup>.

It can be seen that both international and national networks of Indonesian CSOs are becoming more cohesive from time-to time (indicated by the increasing *k-core*)<sup>82</sup>. It is evident that the

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regime. A blatant example is where the government intervened in academic life was the case of rector election in a private university, Satyawacana Christian University in 1994 (Hadiwinata, 2003).

<sup>80</sup> Far from mature, however, the emergence of this virtual space in Indonesian socio-politics has become of interest for a couple of scholars. Among them is Lim, who examines the relationship between the virtual politics and real politics in Indonesia and argues that the public space has been highly conditioned by the dynamics of the relationship, particularly in heightened period of transition to democracy (Lim, 2003a).

<sup>81</sup> For more detailed account on this periodisation, see **Chapter Two, Section 2.4.3.**

<sup>82</sup> The network of Indonesian CSOs is characterised in terms of number of organisations, density (or average connection/link within the network) and *k-core*. The latter gives an idea of cohesiveness, or more accurately



density of networks increases over the identified periods with a significant rise in these dynamics after the transformation: the first two periods are similarly less active and the last two periods are similarly more active. In other words, there was a marked increase in civil society activity between the periods of 'transformation' (1995-1998) to 'euphoria' (1999-2001)<sup>83</sup>. But what does this finding mean?

The link between nodes represents a unique notion, commonly understood by CSO activists in Indonesia: 'kerja bersama', i.e. direct engagement<sup>84</sup>. It can be inferred that *kerja bersama* includes all activities implying *real action* including campaigning, coordination, collaboration, fund raising, other exchange activities, capacity building, etc. Consequently it is also clear that these links exclude activities *without real action* such as attending the same event, knowing each other, being in the same mailing list but without any real output. This study adopts this analysis to ensure that it understands what this involvement looks like in more detail. More importantly because the study needs to find out what happens in the relationship between global civil society and Indonesian CSOs and what the implications it has during these periods.

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clique-ishness, of the network. For a network of size  $n$ , the maximum  $k$ -core is  $n-1$ , which means everyone is connected to everyone else or a clique. The higher maximum  $k$ -core means the more "cliqueish" the network is (or more cohesive).

<sup>83</sup> With regards to the network method, the *visual representation* displays how the networks grow and the *density measure* provides empirical evidence of the dynamics (Batagelj and Mrvar, 2003). See **Chapter Three Section 3.2.2. Survey – Social Network Analysis** for more detailed accounts

<sup>84</sup> Traditional network study usually creates a single meaning for a link in a network, whether it is an arch or an edge, such as an email sent from one node to another node, a visit, a telephone call, collaboration, etc. However, imposing such notions would be impossible in this study due to the complexity of CSO activities. For example, knowing another CSO does not necessarily mean having a link. Also when a link is there, it does not have only a single meaning. Rather, it may mean more than that. It includes working together in a campaign, joining in the same mailing list, undertaking a project together, engaging in collaboration, receiving money, exchanging activities, amongst other things.

This study follows Mohr's suggestion on allowing the subjects to speak as closely as possible to their own practice or everyday use (Mohr, 1998) and then it only captures this as a node or a link. This study consequently avoids early imposition of network ideas and concepts. In the networks here, links are understood as '*kerja bersama*' which may not correspond accurately to its dictionary meaning although the literal meaning of it is more-or-less close to collaborative-action.

<i>Pre-1995</i> <i>Authoritarian</i>	<i>1995-1998</i> <i>Bloody transformation</i>	<i>1999-2002</i> <i>Fraught euphoria</i>	<i>After 2003</i> <i>Towards stability</i>
<b>National Network</b>			
<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 5</i> <i>Density = 0.0029</i>	<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 6</i> <i>Density = 0.0052</i>	<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 8</i> <i>Density = 0.0104</i>	<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 9</i> <i>Density = 0.0141</i>
<b>Global Network</b>			
<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 3</i> <i>Density = 0.0021</i>	<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 3</i> <i>Density = 0.0027</i>	<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 5</i> <i>Density = 0.0064</i>	<i>N = 350</i> <i>k-core = 6</i> <i>Density = 0.0092</i>

**Table 4.3. Expansion of Indonesian CSOs Networks**

*N-network=350, all nodes depicted across period, links represent "join action", data collected 2005-6*

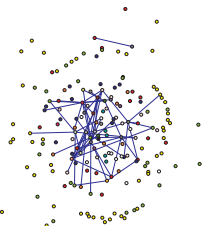
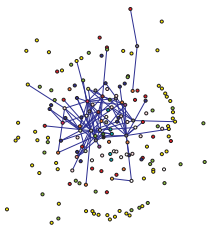
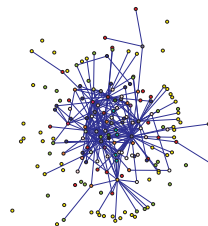
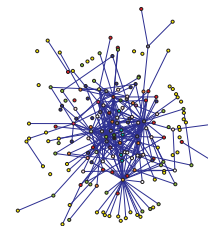
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey and network mapping*

Looking carefully at the networks as depicted in Table 4.3 above, during the 'authoritarian' period (pre-1995), some local, active CSOs have started building their international network. During the 'transformation' period (1995-1998), surprisingly, the network does not seem to grow significantly. After the transformation period (1999-2001), the network grows very significantly. The end of the authoritarian regime may have given new impetus for more involvement of the global CSO with national politics. Various global CSOs from mostly developed countries paid close attention to the Indonesian situation and were willing to establish networks with Indonesian CSOs. From 2003 up to the present time, the international networks appear to be more stable. Visually, it can be seen that the first two periods are distinct from the last two as also confirmed by the density measure. There is clearly a significant change in the network dynamics from the transformation period (1995-1998) to euphoria (1999-2002). This finding brings us to the question of the role of global CSOs during the transition to democracy.

### 4.3. Global CSOs and transition to democracy<sup>85</sup>

The dynamics of Indonesian CSO networks over time shows significant expansion. But what does this expansion mean? The study argues that engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society (reflected by international networks of Indonesian CSOs) during the transition to democracy might be problematic. More precisely, the finding points to a degree of involvement of international CSOs that is more consistent with 'cheque-book activism', instead of 'direct involvement' which has been claimed to have characterised global CSOs (Anheier et al., 2001a; Anheier et al., 2004b). How is this claim supported by the data?

In terms of networks, what is available here is an indication what was happening before and after the regime change (See Table 4.3.). To understand how real this effect is, the network dynamics is decomposed in terms of the involvement of donor vs. active participants international CSOs. It is done to find out what drove this significant increase in global civil society involvement after the collapse of the authoritarian regime. For this reason, the network is broken down into (1) networks with international *donors* (in which Indonesian CSOs mainly or mostly receive financial support only), and (2) networks with international active civil society groups (in which Indonesian CSOs mainly work together on certain issues or concerns, in addition to some financial support in some cases). Firstly, the dynamics of the networks of Indonesian CSOs and international donors is depicted in Table 4.4. below.

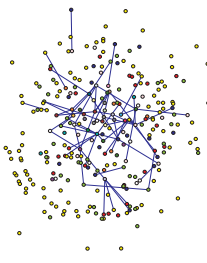
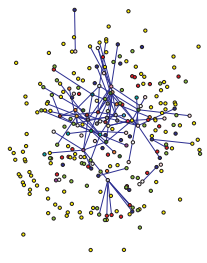
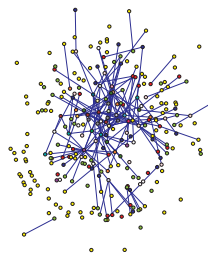
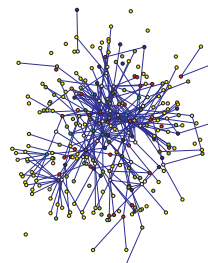
<i>Before 1995: under authoritarian</i>	<i>1995-1998: bloody transformation</i>	<i>1999-2002: fraught euphoria</i>	<i>2003-after: towards stability</i>
			
<i>N = 181</i> <i>k-core = 3</i> <i>Density = 0.0039</i>	<i>N = 181</i> <i>k-core = 3</i> <i>Density = 0.0053</i>	<i>N = 181</i> <i>k-core = 4</i> <i>Density = 0.0136</i>	<i>N = 181</i> <i>k-core = 5</i> <i>Density = 0.0160</i>

**Table 4.4. Networks of Indonesian CSOs with international donor**  
*N-network=181, all nodes depicted across period, data collected 2005-6*  
*Source: Author, based on survey and network mapping*

Looking at the donor links during the first two periods, it is clear that they are similar and again similar in the last two periods (Table 4.4). Yet there is a notable increase that takes place between the second (transformation) and the third (euphoria) period. The density measures

<sup>85</sup> This part has extensively been exploited and presented as a co-authored working paper for CRESC (Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change) at the University of Manchester (Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006b).

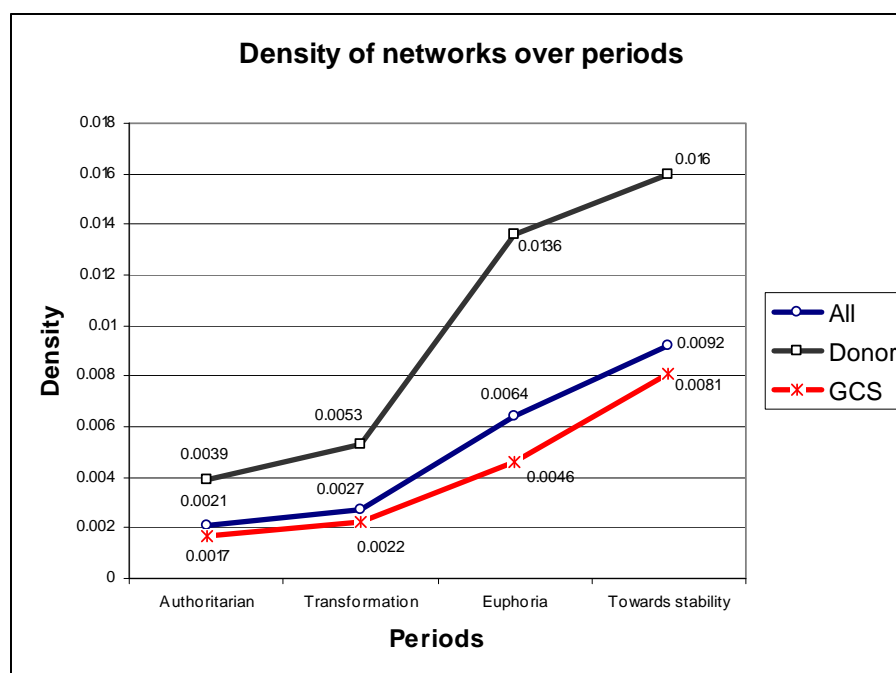
suggest that the change is quite significant, i.e. 0.0053 to 0.0136. What about the networks of Indonesian CSOs and their international active counterparts? The dynamics of these networks is mapped below in Table 4.5.

<i>Before 1995: under authoritarian</i>	<i>1995-1998: bloody transformation</i>	<i>1999-2002: fraught euphoria</i>	<i>2003-after: towards stability</i>
			
<i>N = 275</i> <i>k-core = 2</i> <i>Density = 0.0017</i>	<i>N = 275</i> <i>k-core = 2</i> <i>Density = 0.0022</i>	<i>N = 275</i> <i>k-core = 3</i> <i>Density = 0.0046</i>	<i>N = 275</i> <i>k-core = 4</i> <i>Density = 0.0081</i>

**Table 4.5. Networks of Indonesian CSOs with international CSOs (counterpart)**  
*N-network=275, all nodes depicted across period, links represent "join action", data collected 2005-6*  
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey and network mapping*

It shows a marked increase in networks with active counterparts: there is a real involvement but with a distinctly different intensity in the different periods. In the first two periods, the networks are sparse and after the bloody transformation period, they grow significantly. Yet, the density measures indicate a less sharp increase.

To give an overall picture, the density of all sets of networks over all four periods is depicted below.



**Figure 4.3. Density of networks over periods**  
*Source: Author, based on network analysis*

This graph shows that the increase in the density of networks after the period 1995-1998 is mostly affected by the increase in links with donors rather than links with active global civil society. In other words, the increasing activity of Indonesian CSOs after regime change is much more a result of an increase in their relationships with international donors rather than real participation with global CSOs.

This evidence strongly suggests that some forms of 'chequebook activism' explain the observed involvement of global CSOs during the various periods. What is learned here is that, once again, an incident that global civil society has missed is an opportunity to actively play a role in fostering democratisation in Indonesia during the important transition, particularly in the turbulent years<sup>86</sup>. These findings force this study to rethink the contribution of global CSOs to building resistance and fighting for democracy in Indonesia. Where were the international counterparts when the authoritarian regime was still in power and was repressing the social movement with violence? What are their roles during the heightened transition to democracy? Did they 'miss an opportunity' for involvement in democratisation in Indonesia?

Having proposed an interpretation of the network dynamics as above, there are some alternative explanations, based on the two alternative roles of the global civil society during the period of democratisation: as *initiator* and as *responsive counterpart* (Huntington, 1991; Uhlin, 1997; 2000; Wainwright, 2005).

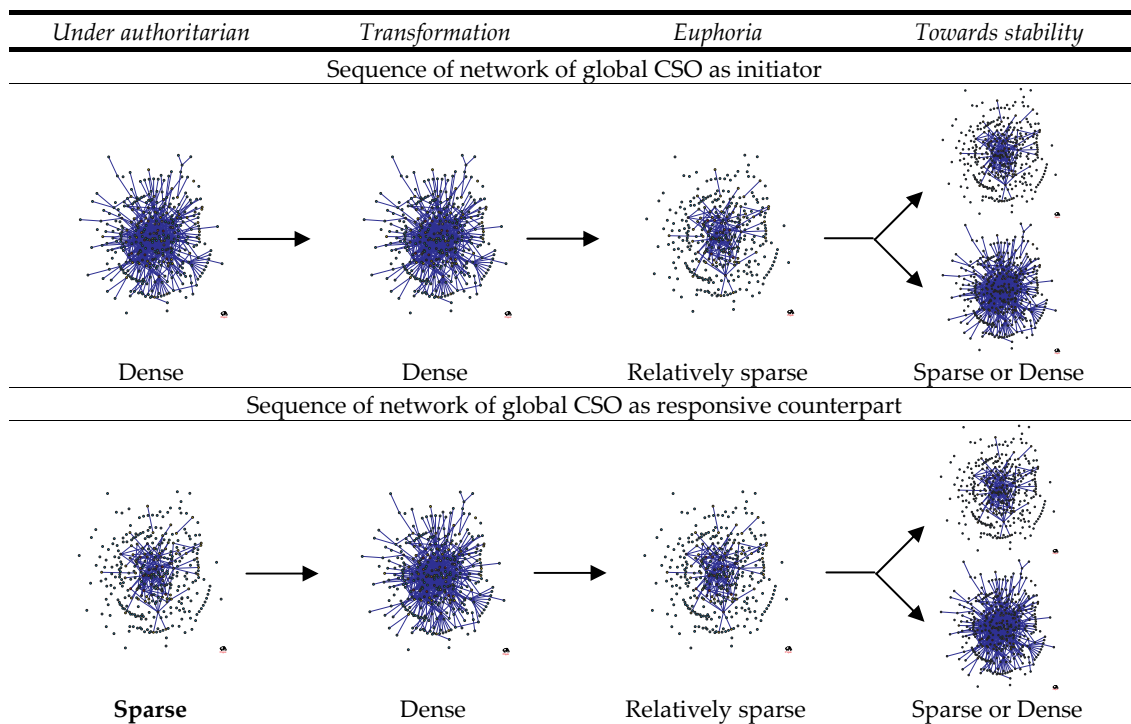
- First, as *initiator*, the study argues that the sequence of networks would have been relatively dense during the period of authoritarian and bloody transformation, if global CSO had taken the initiative to empower network society (i.e. Indonesian CSOs with whom they work) to promote and foster democracy. If during those two periods the involvement of global civil society had been extensive, it would be easier to imagine that the local organisations would have become more inspired, established and able to address their concerns about democratic change.
- Second, had the global civil society played its role as concerned *responsive counterpart*, the sequence of networks would have been somewhat sparse during the authoritarian period, then dense in the transformation period and back again to relatively sparse. Although the involvement of global civil society CSOs was low under the authoritarian period, they would have been aware of what would be going on and about the prospect of democratisation and the challenges of such a prospect. As the conditions became

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<sup>86</sup> The study also analysed graph correlations between adjacent periods using QAP (Krackhardt, 1987). The results reinforce the conclusion.

conducive to forging democracy in the transformation period, they would have 'jumped in' and been linked hand-in-hand to work with local groups to push for regime change and fight for reform. But, it would be easy to understand that the global CSO would also 'retreat' when the process of democratisation had taken place.

The illustration of how the network might have looked had the global CSOs played their part as initiators or responsive counterparts of Indonesian CSOs is tabulated in the Table 4.6. below.



**Table 4.6. Sequence of network of global CSOs as initiator and responsive counterpart**

*Source: Author*

One limitation of this explanation, however, arises from its reliance on the perceptions and activities of CSOs in Indonesia. One can argue that the picture and the argument may be very different had the international CSOs also been consulted, as their role and mode of activism may be interpreted significantly differently. Particularly in the discussion of network dynamics between Indonesian CSOs and global CSOs, the study disagrees with this position. Fundamentally, if it were to be the case that international CSOs were active throughout the period of this study, their activism was obviously not recognised as such by those activists on the streets during those turbulent years. Even on reflection many years later, the participants still fail to recognise this alternative position. Therefore, if this study accepts this alternative position of more activism on the part of international CSOs, the evidence points to their failure to translate more activism into real actions that is understood by their Indonesian counterparts.

Does all this vibrant activism of Indonesian CSOs and their engagement with the global CSOs affect their discourse? What are the implications of this activism for the way CSOs are understood? These questions are the subjects of the next sections.

## 4.4. Reflecting discourse of civil society in Indonesia

Given the vibrant dynamics of civil society as explained above, there is an immediate concern raised with regard to the way the realm of civil society can now be understood. Example from previous research indicate one way is by looking at the development of civil society discourse (Eldridge, 1995; Fasih, 1996; Hope and Timmel, 1988).

### 4.4.1. Discourse in flux: Changing, shifting and expanding

Discourse in civil society is often reflected by more practical indicators: issues and concerns that civil society groups and organisations embrace (Edwards, 2004; Harney and Olivia, 2003; Keane, 1998). The survey shows that most respondent CSOs share a variety of issues today<sup>87</sup>. Among the most salient issues are civil society empowerment, environment, poverty and education. Other issues are also embraced: development, gender equality, human rights, economic, cultural and social (ecosoc) rights and democratisation. Observing how these issues and concerns correlate with each other, there are some important observations<sup>88</sup>.

#### *Indication of shift in CSOs' issues and concerns*

Firstly, it is likely that CSOs interested in civil society empowerment (which is the most prevalent) are also concerned about fulfilment of ecosoc rights, gender equality, poverty reduction, farmers' welfare and promotion of pluralism<sup>89</sup>. This correlation is interesting not only from a theoretical point of view (for example that ecosoc is conceptually understood to be about rights to a more equal distribution of economic, social and cultural capital and thus related to poverty reduction<sup>90</sup>, etc.), but also from an empirical perspective concerning CSOs' involvement in the issue. This means that empowering civil society as an activity was no longer only about raising social awareness against state oppression and promoting democracy (as happened during the New

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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter Three, Section 3.3. Profile of organisations under study.

<sup>88</sup> See Correlation Table in Appendix 4, Table A.4.3. This correlation table applies to this section.

<sup>89</sup> Each with correlation factor of 0.411, 0.376, 0.372, 0.364 and 0.301(p<.01, two tailed), respectively.

<sup>90</sup> The author's view on how CSOs can be involved in the promotion of ecosoc rights was taken as a headline article in *The Jakarta Post*, an English Language daily newspaper in Indonesia, titled *Social Economic Rights Need More Understanding* (Nugroho, 2003)

Order period as noted in some earlier works (e.g. Bird, 1999; Eldridge, 1995; Fakh, 1996; Sinaga, 1994; Uhlin, 1997)) but also enlightening people on issues like gender equality, promotion of pluralism, fulfilment of ecosoc rights and poverty reduction.

This clearly reflects a change or shift in CSO issues and concerns from an earlier period (pre-reform) to more recently (post-reform). Indonesian CSOs today need to take care of 'new' issues, maybe in addition to, rather than as a replacement for, the issues that have long been associated with civil society movement like democratisation, civil and political rights and the like.

### ***Indication of CSOs working on multi-issues***

Secondly, it is understandable that taking into account the social condition of the country, issues like environment, poverty and education have spread right across a significant portion of Indonesian CSOs and strongly relate to other issues. This in fact reflects not only what happens in the country but also CSOs' own understanding about the issues. CSOs who are concerned about poverty, for example, to some extent are also concerned about ecosoc rights, gender equality, farming, labour, development and children and youth<sup>91</sup>. Organisations interested in education are also likely, to differing degrees, to be interested in the issue of children and youth and pluralism<sup>92</sup>. This similarly also applies to organisations interested in environmental issues; they are too predictably concerned about farmers' welfare, rural development and indigenous rights<sup>93</sup>.

This proves that instead of working on the basis of single, limited and particular or certain groups of issues –which characterised CSOs' old-style of working (see again Eldridge, 1995:36-39; Fakh, 1996:125-132; Hadiwinata, 2003:101-104)—most Indonesian CSOs are now working on a multi-issue basis. Interviews also reveal the same picture. No single instance of the interviewed organisations had only one or two issues and concerns that they embraced. On the contrary, all the informants shared of view of the need for CSOs today to understand and to embark upon inter-related issues. What the Executive Director of the *Institute for Ecosoc Rights* said during the interview is typical of all the informants of the study:

Because [we call our organisation] "ECOSOC", we are focusing on the issue of the fulfilment of economic, social and cultural rights, particularly on the right to employment as it is the crucial point for the fulfilment of other rights. Although, it cannot be detached from other issues. Just like [the fact that] now we are entering the issue of *busung lapar* [(acute malnutrition)]. In the past, before we worked on the

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<sup>91</sup> Correlation test shows these correlations of 0.419, 0.421, 0.442, 0.329, 0.338 and 0.301(p<.01, two tailed) respectively.

<sup>92</sup> They correlate at r=.424 and r=.32 (p<.01, two tailed) respectively.

<sup>93</sup> Environmental issues correlate with the issues of farming (r=.436), rural (r=.367), development (r=.376) and indigenous rights (r=.337) (p<.01, two tailed).



issue of migrant workers, we could not but deal with the urban issue, urban planning, and eviction. [Because] they are all actually part of the issue of rights to employment. In the city [Jakarta], rights to employment are identical to rights to space. And space in its broad meaning includes public space philosophically. (Palupi, interview, 29/10/2006)

Palupi's view concludes this second observation that one notable characteristic in the shift of the issues and concerns is about the undertaking itself: it becomes impossible for CSOs to work on only one issue.

### ***Indication of widening area of CSOs' issues and concerns***

Thirdly, what happens with long-standing issues in Indonesian civil society like democratisation, and promotion of human rights? Apparently they are still embraced closely by Indonesian CSOs, but perhaps with a different, much-wider incorporation with other issues. For example, organisations concerned with human rights—this still attracts about half of respondent CSOs—are quite likely to also have interests in issues of justice and peace, democratisation, gender, ecosoc and conflict resolution<sup>94</sup>. This is interesting as the issue of human rights is seemingly not any longer associated only with state's violation or state's violence as was noticeable in the past (Eldridge, 1995:99-117) but also with other contextual issues and problems like systematic corporate malpractice or business misconducts as conceived by many CSOs working on the issue (Palupi, interview, 29/10/2006). There is also similarity in other issues like the always-up-to-date issue of democratisation. Organisations having a particular interest in democratisation, for example, are apparently also interested in issues like globalisation, human rights, justice and peace, ecosoc rights, pluralism and governance, conflict resolution and gender<sup>95</sup>.

This interestingly reflects, perhaps, not only the widening spectrum of the democratisation issue itself<sup>96</sup>, but also how Indonesian CSOs' understanding about the issue has as well widened. The evidence from the interviews seem to have supported this suggestion. None of the CSOs interviewed during the study were involved in only one, single issue. Instead, they were working on different interrelated issues. The Director of SPEK-HAM, an NGO based in Central Java, focusing on gender issue claimed that "if we are talking about the context of democratisation [in Indonesia], there will be no democracy without respecting women's rights" (Ismunandar,

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<sup>94</sup> Human rights issue correlate with other issues, i.e. justice and peace ( $r=.502$ ), democratisation ( $r=.484$ ), gender ( $r=.470$ ), ecosoc ( $r=.432$ ) and conflict resolution ( $r=.333$ )

<sup>95</sup> With correlation measure at globalisation  $r=.482$ ,  $r=.484$ ,  $r=.481$ ,  $r=.432$ ,  $r=.370$ ,  $r=.355$ ,  $r=.347$  and  $r=.328$  ( $p<.01$  two tailed) respectively.

<sup>96</sup> In the past 'democratisation' referred mainly to making the exercise of state power more accountable. In Indonesia, the issue was popular to challenge the situation where the state's power was accumulated in one regime, i.e. New Order (*orde baru*) and exercised unaccountably. Now, democracy is not only about making the state accountable, but making accountable all socially-consequential exercise of power, be it exercised by state/government, private/business or community.

interview, 17/11/2005). The Program Manager of the Jesuit Refugee Services, an NGO working with refugees and internally-displaced-persons (IDPs), in the same spirit, explained that:

[the issue of] violence emerges as the issue of democratisation becomes widened. This is because democratisation actually touches upon areas which used to be seen as unrelated, like the case of [violence in] Moluccas. It is very clear [that the Moluccas case is] a consequence of a democratisation process which urges demilitarisation and powersharing... democratisation in the Indonesian context is obviously about pluralism, religious difference, etc. And I think this is the determinant factor [to understanding democratisation] (Kristanto, interview, 15/11/2005).

This indicates, to some extent, the ability of Indonesian CSOs today to see other concerns beyond issues that had been traditionally embraced by civil society groups. In a way, it can also be said that CSOs today are trying to give broader meaning and wider understanding through expanding the relationships between the issues in the civil society sector.

### ***Indication of inclusion of contemporary issues***

Lastly, how do Indonesian CSOs respond to contemporary issues such as gender equality and globalisation? About half of the respondent CSOs evidently incorporate gender equality into their main issues and concerns; but only around one third of the CSOs are explicitly interested and concerned about globalisation. The inclusion of gender issues, for example, may have indicated that Indonesian CSOs are aware of the magnitude of the issue. This is also supported by evidence that gender issues relate quite closely to other important issues like poverty, ecosoc rights, human rights and democratisation<sup>97</sup>. Similarly, this also applies to the globalisation issue. Although less than a third of CSOs explicitly embrace globalisation as one of their main issues and concerns, the issue correlates quite closely with urban issues, justice and peace, and democratisation issues<sup>98</sup>. It relates as well to the issues of human rights, labourers, conflict resolution, pluralism, and ecosoc rights<sup>99</sup>.

However, the nature of the inclusion of these two issues may be quite different. If the awareness of gender issues has been widely and long disseminated among Indonesian CSOs since before reform (Kalibonso, 1999), the case with globalisation is rather different. Globalisation only started becoming widely discussed among civil society activists in the late 1990s. Indeed there are currently a number of Indonesian CSOs who have particular issues and concerns in globalisation. However, this was not the case before 2001, when the first Indonesian CSO

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<sup>97</sup> Gender issue relates to the issues of poverty at  $r=.421$ , ecosoc rights at  $r=.425$ , human rights at  $r=.470$  and democratisation at  $r=.328$  ( $p<.01$  two tailed).

<sup>98</sup> At  $r=.446$ ,  $r=.482$  and  $r=.482$  ( $p<.01$  two tailed) respectively.

<sup>99</sup> Globalisation relates with issues of human rights at  $r=.364$ , labour at  $r=.343$ , conflict resolution at  $r=.319$ , pluralism at  $r=.362$  and ecosoc rights at  $r=.317$  ( $p<.01$  two tailed).

focusing particularly in globalisation issue, the Institute for Global Justice (IGJ), was established. As IGJ's Program Coordinator revealed, the organisation was set up because "at that time there was not even one [CSO] which, for instance, said that they are working on the globalisation issue" (Hanim, interview, 27/10/2005). It is also understandable that the issue of globalisation is relatively difficult to comprehend by CSOs at large. As it is discussed in a group of CSOs from East Java during the workshop in Surabaya, a labour-NGO activist shared that although his organisation felt itself to be able to understand the issue of globalisation,

... the understanding itself is actually far from satisfactory because people's understanding towards the process and mechanism of globalisation is not entirely clear. Not all of us understand [the issue] comprehensively. [If] I don't understand the issue very well, then [I argue that] it means many other people do not understand it either. If they do, what they know is just they become poor [because of globalisation]. But then many could question this and somehow convert the issue [of globalisation] into [workers'] struggles at the local and factory levels. Thus we now find ourselves fighting at a policy level which is actually very much global in nuance. (Suparno, workshop discussion, Surabaya, 09/03/2006)

This soberly shows that although with different levels of understanding, Indonesian CSOs have started incorporating contemporary issues and putting them into a wider, more contextual—and hopefully more relevant—perspective with regard to the country's situation. However, this is not an easy endeavour.

#### **4.4.2. Engagement with global issues: Loosing ground?**

The study further argues that all indicators showing the changes in the landscape of Indonesian CSOs are very much related with the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society. While the advancement in the communication technology has made it possible for organisations within and between countries to co-operate and collaborate, this also contributes to the spread of issues, concerns and attentions. A report of human-rights violations published by a CSO in a far corner of Indonesia, for instance, can be seen by almost all CSOs in the Human Rights Working Group (HRWG). Or, the other way around, there are almost no CSOs in Indonesia that are unaware of the Enron scandal, or the water-war in Bolivia, both often-cited examples of the dark side of globalisation.

However, if it is true that engagement with global civil society has facilitated CSOs across the world to share similar issues and concerns, it may also be true that this has contributed to a feeling of 'lacking ground' for many CSOs when arduously grasping new ideas and embracing many global issues. Experience with various CSOs during the course of the research shows that the discourse of civil society among Indonesian CSOs is very much in divergence, despite their

engagement with globalised, networked civil society organisations<sup>100</sup>. Globalisation has been claimed elsewhere to have been bringing groups and communities across the globe together into a 'global village' where ideas and knowledge from farthest corners of the world can converge into a global idea (Castells, 1997)<sup>101</sup>. However, what happens at less-global levels may be different.

Even before the 1998 reform, Indonesian CSOs had never worked on a sole issue. An observation is also made by a recent study on civil society in Indonesia, and suggests that

In addition to democratisation in Indonesia, civil society is also entrusted with the burden of ameliorating capitalist relations. In this vision, civil society will provide for the welfare and protection of those exploited by the class relations of rural and urban development in Indonesia. It will, in some versions, provide the socio-economic security the contemporary developing state is proscribed from providing (Harney and Olivia, 2003:1-2).

This research confirms what Harney and Olivia have signalled: the realm of civil society in Indonesia cannot just be negatively defined as a non-state and non-market sphere for it is simply inadequate. The activism of civil society in Indonesia spans not only from the reaction to state and market misbehaviour, but also to empowering the state through wider people's participation in democracy; to making sure that businesses are held accountable for their practice in societal settings; and even to facilitate development in remote areas neglected by the state. The question here is therefore whether or not the discourse of civil society is sufficient to deal with such activism.

Examining the discourse of civil society in Indonesia through mapping the activism of Indonesian CSOs yields some surprising insights. With the blooming activities and change in the issues, concerns and activities (as presented in earlier sub sections), the discourse of civil society in Indonesia may need a redefinition. What the study has experienced with CSO activists across the country<sup>102</sup> suggests that common understanding of civil society (as a separate sphere from the state and the economy and thus becomes home of democratic values (e.g. Anheier et al., 2001a; CCS, 2006; Glasius et al., 2002; Glasius et al., 2006; Kaldor et al., 2003)), may no longer be

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<sup>100</sup> This has been investigated separately and presented as a conference paper (Nugroho, 2007b).

<sup>101</sup> The term 'Global Village' can be traced back to 1948 when Wyndham Lewis wrote *America and Cosmic Man*. However, the term was also used by Herbert Marshall McLuhan in his *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962). His book describes how electronic mass media collapse space and time barriers in human communication, enabling people to interact and live on a global scale. In this sense, the globe has been turned into a village by the electronic mass media.

<sup>102</sup> As has been outlined in the methodology part, the study spent the period between October 2005 and April 2006 with activists in some thirty provinces in Indonesia, and the study has sent the findings from empirical data collection in the first instance to them. In most cases this study has also tried to let them speak for themselves about their strategies and goals.

adequate to explain what has happened and is taking place in the world of CSOs in contemporary Indonesia. This perhaps is also happening everywhere else in the world.

The study suggests that the rapid growth of CSOs and the mounting discourse on globalisation may have caused anxiety in the CSO community in Indonesia. Despite the fact that the situation has had positive impacts on the democratisation process, the explosive growth of new groups and organisations within the civil society in Indonesia after *reformasi* has also created problems. There is also the question of whether the growth has been too far and too fast (McCarthy, 2002). Others find that some newly-established CSOs have questionable objectives and have even been involved in malpractices and thus have affected CSOs in general (Ganie-Rochman, 2000)<sup>103</sup>.

Susilo, the National Programme Officer for MDG of INFID, satirically addresses an internal critique when being asked the question of how Indonesian CSOs would perceive themselves in this changing landscape.

I think CSOs in Indonesia are *banci*<sup>104</sup>. They thought they were the pressure groups in the period of New Order up to the reform era, which was true, I believe. However, they have failed to anticipate and to take advantage of the small changes gained from unprecedented political openness. The effect is severe as the recent political changes are dominated by the old political actors. And, despite the understanding of this situation, Indonesian CSOs never dare to discuss this 'unfinished business'. ...I believe ... if CSOs do not reposition themselves, our ship of democracy will be pirated. The pirates are those who used to be anti-democracy and now are misusing their money and power to get back in the driver's seat... It is extremely urgent now for CSOs to regroup, to see what has changed and to evaluate whether or not CSOs are still effective as a vehicle to struggle for democracy. (Susilo, interview, 01/12/05, see footnote for emphasis)

To Susilo, taking democratisation as his example, it seems that in this changing landscape, CSOs in Indonesia have been losing the meaning of their very existence. In response to this he proposes a radical re-examination of what it means to be a CSO, to see whether or not they are still a significant vehicle for meaningful change. Susilo is right about the need for repositioning; this study confirms that there is real flux in the discourse of civil society in Indonesia.

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<sup>103</sup> Ibrahim (et al., 2003) clearly reveals that the reputation of Indonesian CSOs has suffered because of a number of CSOs who misappropriated funds entrusted to them by donor agencies and the government. These include CSOs that sold subsidised rice for the poor; CSOs established by government officials, corporations and individuals for the purpose of gaining access to development projects; CSOs established by political activists to mobilise funds and support to gain political power; as well as CSOs acting as debt collectors or specialising in mobilizing mobs for hire. This malpractice has caused some CSOs to reconsider the basic principles of NGO existence (Ibrahim et al., 2003:142-143)

<sup>104</sup> The literal English translation for *banci* is effeminate. However, its actual meaning in Indonesia is closer to be translated into 'chicken' or 'cowardly'. But translating it as such will be problematic as if it is translated back to Indonesia the actual meaning will be different.

How does this affect the way we categorise Indonesian CSOs? With all these changes and shifts, is the existing means for categorising CSOs still adequate?

## 4.5. Proposing a new categorisation

From existing literature and studies, it is seen that there are two distinct and important features of modern Indonesian CSOs. Firstly, we have development institutions whose main purpose is to alleviate poverty (or 'development' CSOs) (Hadiwinata, 2003:242) and secondly, organised groups with embedded political features aimed at changing government policy (or 'advocacy' CSOs) (Ganie-Rochman, 2002:5) – each with its own characteristics. Recall Table 4.1. Using this characterisation and based on the fieldwork data, how could Indonesian CSOs be categorised?

Analysis of the nature of CSOs provides some insight<sup>105</sup>. Firstly, advocacy organisations (that are quite unlikely to be development), appear also to have mobilisation-based work and networking as their core goal/area. Secondly, development groups can be expected to be formal and officially registered. These are also mobilisation-oriented although not as closely related or networked as advocacy organisations. Thirdly, formal and officially registered CSOs are very likely to be centralised, while CSOs with religious affiliations are more likely to be informal<sup>106</sup>.

Evidence however seems to suggest this study revisits the conceptual framework which categorises CSOs broadly into advocacy and development organisations. While the framework remains useful for comprehending the nature of CSOs in Indonesia, the boundary itself has evidently become blurred today. As argued above, the survey shows that CSOs undertake advocacy as well as development activities at the same time. Interviews also confirm that CSOs claiming to be advocacy-focused carry out development work, and vice versa. This is exactly the same with the observation on issues and concerns. While the survey shows that Indonesian CSOs today share similar issues and concerns, interviews again confirm that CSOs claiming to be development orientated have concerns typical to advocacy organisations, and vice versa.

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<sup>105</sup> See **Correlation Table in Appendix 4, Table A.4.2**. This correlation table applies to this section.

<sup>106</sup> Correlation measures show that advocacy organisations relate negatively to developmentalist ( $r = -.132, p < .05$ ), but positively to mobilisation-type ( $r = .235, p < .01$ ) and network ( $r = .171, p < .01$ ). Developmentalist groups correlate with formal and officially registered group ( $r = .129, p < .05$ ) and have less correlation to mobilisation-oriented groups ( $r = .167, p < .01$ ). Formal and officially registered CSOs correlate highly with centralised-type organisations ( $r = .304, p < .01$ ); CSOs with religious affiliation relate positively with informal groups ( $r = .258, p < .01$ ).

#### Box 4.1. Indonesian CSOs: Formal status as strategy

The survey shows that 73.13% of respondent CSOs are formally registered organisations. While this may sound strange recognising that many social movement organisations are informal (Crossley, 2002; Davis et al., 2005; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006), interviews may be able to provide some explanation. The program manager of Yayasan SET explained explicitly that, "in legal terms, all [CSOs] are foundations. What we have [termed as] NGOs, LSMs, CSOs – they are all [legally registered as] foundations" (Kristiawan, interview, 28/10/05). Kristiawan's explanation confirms findings from previous work. In their attempt to escape from government control, there was a period when many Indonesian CSOs felt it necessary to formally register with the notary as a foundation (*yayasan*) as this would provide a necessary legal basis for the organisations' existence and at the same time 'exempted' them from current laws aimed at controlling CSOs' activities (Bunnell, 1996:198; Eldridge, 1995:7-8; Hadiwinata, 2003:95-96).

Indeed, in the late 1980s Indonesian CSOs registered themselves with a notary as a *yayasan* (foundation) to avoid the imposition of the sole ideology (*Azas Tunggal Pancasila*) from the government under Law No. 8/1985 concerning mass organisation (*JU Ormas*). Now they alter their legal status into *perkumpulan* (association) in order to both continue avoiding the government's new control strategy using Law No. 16/2001 concerning foundation (*JU Yayasan*) and more importantly to maintain their own organisational integrity, for *yayasan* appears to be more flexible, less democratic and less autonomous in nature – in the sense that organisational power accumulates in the board of foundation.

Association-type CSOs interviewed during the study confirm this suggestion. Urban-Poor Linkage (UPLINK) deliberately opted to be legally registered as an association because its feature of informality 'does matter and makes work a lot easier' as revealed by its National Coordinator, Ujianto in interview. Besides this, he added,

There is something more fundamental, though, [that by becoming an association] we have to have an annual meeting. This is our highest reference for rules, agreements, etc. as the highest decision [made during] the annual meeting. [...] The founders are no more important than others. It is those who really work that we have to pay attention to, not just those who are listed in the committee. (Ujianto, interview, 24/11/2005)

Pradjasto of DEMOS, an institute for research centred on democracy, furthermore, sharpened the reason why being an association is more contextual. To him,

The current context is centred around the issue of freedom of expression. Thus old-style organisations like *yayasan* must be changed, for example, into *perkumpulan* whose basis is the people themselves so that it can be independent. (Pradjasto, interview, 17/01/2006)

What Ujianto and Pradjasto stated accurately pictures the problematic status of *yayasan*. Therefore it comes as no surprise that CSOs with a current legal status of foundations are changing their mind, like a prominent group in the environmental movement in Indonesia, YPBB or Yayasan Pengembangan Biosains dan Bioteknologi (The Foundation of Bioscience and Biotechnology) which explicitly stated its intention to change their legal status into an association because "the nature of a foundation does not actually fit because it is not democratic" (Sutasurya, interview, 16/11/2005). And fluid groups which are considering legalising their activities are also opting to *perkumpulan* although they want some privilege to manage the membership like the case of Rumah Sinema that,

Up to now we haven't had any legal status. We are not yet officially registered, but our organisational management has been more like an association so far. An association with some limits, to be precise. [What we mean by that is] the association is not open for everyone, but only for certain individuals. Anyone can actually join any association, but [for us] there are certain eligibility criteria [for those wanting to join our association]. (Fauzannafi, interview, 02/12/2005)

Clearly, for Indonesian CSOs, formal status is just a matter of choice. But the choice itself makes up an important part of their strategy as social movement actors(\*)

Source: Fieldwork interview, and author's reflection

Looking at the findings, the study thus suggests that the current grand typology of CSOs based on their paradigm derived from the political orientation from 'development' to 'advocacy'

(Eldridge, 1995; Fasih, 1996; Hadiwinata, 2003) may be better when it also takes into account some of the implications of the *structure* of CSOs' coordination and management of their work. To be more precise, adding a 'degree of centrality' (from centralised to networked) to 'political orientation' could offer a much more accurate description when explaining the nature of CSOs than using political orientation alone.

It is worth noting, however, that although the study believes that 'degree of formality' (if an organisation is formally/officially registered) would also serve the same purpose<sup>107</sup>, it is not empirically practical and applicable both in Indonesian context and wider. It is extremely rare and simply uncommon in practice to differentiate CSOs in Indonesia based on whether they are formally registered organisations or just a group of concerned people. Systematic analysis of the interview transcripts shows exactly that there was no single instance that an informant ever endeavoured to distinguish, explain or categorise CSOs based on the formality of the organisation (See Box 4.1.).

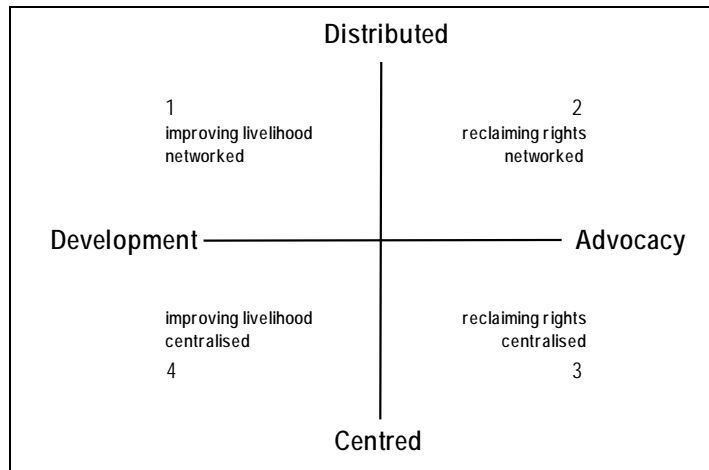
Borrowing Giddens' notion (1984), the study suggests that this blurring, being embedded, is very likely an 'unintended consequence', rather than an 'intended result', of Indonesian CSOs' engagement with global civil society as a network society. Moreover, this blurring of the division between advocacy and development CSOs –as well as the bloom in CSO activism in Indonesia today—seems also to be a consequence of Internet use, constituting such an engagement as social practice (see also Orlikowski, 1992). This indicates that while CSOs do benefit from Internet use as their visibility significantly increases, the consequence of their use may have escaped their awareness. Analysis of this account is the subject of another chapter.

The fact that the structure of the coordination and management of a CSO's work is fundamentally altered by network technology (McLaughlin et al., 1999; Orlikowski, 1992) gives more reason for the study to incorporate a 'degree of centrality' to the existing CSOs classification and offers it as another way to understand the contemporary nature of CSOs. The study proposes this simple spectrum, as a means to classify Indonesian CSOs based on their political orientation and the 'degree of centrality', as another way to conceptualise the categorisation. See Figure 4.4. below.

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<sup>107</sup> However, as the 'degree of formality' correlates quite strongly to the 'degree of centrality' (e.g. formal correlates with centralised ( $r=.304$ ,  $p<.01$ ) as the statistics show), one can argue that using either, in addition to the political orientation, could suffice. The study is also very much aware, however, that in a different context, like a global perspective, the 'degree of formality' is highly relevant to map different CSOs, particularly Transnational CSO as seen in the works of Surman and Reilly (2003), among others.





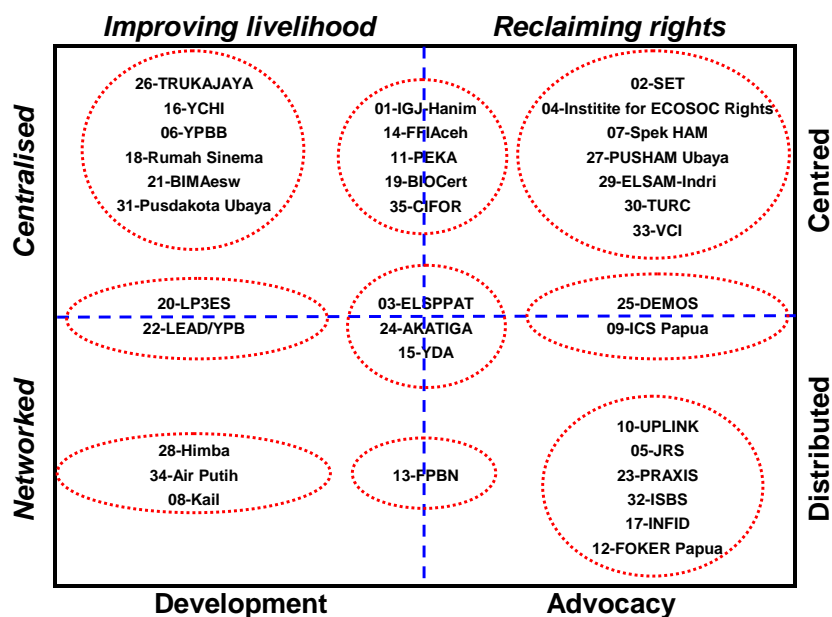
**Figure 4.4. New conceptual categorisation of Indonesian CSOs**

*New categorisation of Indonesian CSOs: combining degree of centrality and political orientation.*

*Source: Author, based on Fieldwork survey and interview.*

This new categorisation offers another way to analyse CSOs. The activities and concerns of CSOs in the first category (Development-Distributed) centre on improving livelihood and their organisational structure is networked. The second category (Advocacy-Distributed) consists of CSOs who have concerns in reclaiming people’s rights and work in network-type organisations. The third category (Advocacy-Centred) belongs to the CSOs whose main activities are similar to those of category two, but their organisational structure is centralised. Lastly, category four (Development-Centred) is populated by CSOs who focus on improving livelihood and work centrally.

As illustration, CSOs interviewed in this study are mapped in Figure 4.5. below using the new categorisation.



**Figure 4.5. Illustration of new CSO categorisation**

*Source: Author, based on new categorisation and interview data.*

It must be noted, however, that the position of CSOs in the map is based on the interview data (i.e. how respondents see and define themselves in terms of activities and organisational structure), rather than being quantitatively calculated or measured. This mapping does not serve as a quantitative index to measure CSOs position's within the spectrum, but rather, a means for qualitative categorisation and typology.

The study is convinced that the incorporation of the degree of centrality is helpful for more accurate categorisation. Furthermore it believes that this is more or less a direct consequence and result of Indonesian CSOs engaging with the global civil society, which includes, among other factors, intensive use of information technology, particularly the internet.

While the elaboration of this claim is subject of another chapter of the thesis, it is no less important to look in closer detail at how the use of technologies like the Internet has facilitated – both in positive and negative ways—the networking of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society. This account is explored in the next section.

#### **4.6. Conclusion: Explosion of the space of reference**

Without doubt, the bloom of activism in civil society in Indonesia, particularly in the last decade, has brought about both optimism and pessimism. The optimists would argue that the apparent growth of the civil society sector would contribute positively to the betterment of Indonesian society through various undertakings, from improvement of people's livelihood to protection of people's rights. The pessimists believe the opposite. For the pessimists, the growth of the civil society does not always necessarily contribute to the development of society. To them, the vast expansion in civil society is either only momentary as result of drastic political reform, or will become unmanageable. Between the two, the realists, however, see truth in both poles. It is imperative for CSOs in a context like Indonesia to reposition themselves in the current wave of changes or otherwise they will lose the very meaning of their existence. Some concluding remarks are offered here.

One, elsewhere in this chapter, the study has presented the arguments and the evidence that the landscape of civil society in Indonesia is rapidly and extensively changing. However, the changing landscape of Indonesian CSOs does not contribute positively to the convergence of the discourse of civil society. On the contrary, based on the observation of the issues and concerns of CSOs, it is found that the discourse of civil society is very much in flux, at least for and amongst CSOs

under study. This finding confirms recent claims that theory and conceptualisation of civil society has been constantly debated and contested (Anheier et al., 2001b; Kaldor et al., 2004).

Two, confronting some previous studies about Indonesian CSOs (Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003), it seems that the two separate natures of CSOs, i.e. advocacy and development, is no longer distinct. This reflects a substantial change in how the nature of CSOs is understood. The study proposes another way to grasp the realm of contemporary CSOs in Indonesia by incorporating a degree of centrality in the categorisation. As a result, the nature of CSOs is no longer mapped along a line of paradigm based on political orientation alone, but scattered on some dimensions based on issues, concerns and activities, and organisational structure.

Three, the notion that engagement with global CSOs brings about and strengthens global solidarity among CSOs, especially during difficult times, is strongly challenged. Although CSOs have been able to exchange experiences more easily and to engage in collaboration more intensively (e.g. Hajnal, 2002; Hick and McNutt, 2002; Surman and Reilly, 2003) this condition does not necessarily provide occasions for global CSOs to share their solidarity through direct involvement as claimed in some studies (Chong, 1991; Diani, 2003). Although progress in the collaboration is markedly shown by a significant growth of networks, some forms of 'chequebook activism' –as opposed to 'genuine involvement'—may have characterised the role of global civil society during a difficult period in Indonesia, i.e. during transition to democracy in the heightened period of 1998. This picture may be less encouraging with regard to the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society, but it gives an example of conditions under which the potentials of such engagement could be either beneficial or otherwise.

Upon further reflection, this study argues that the changing landscape of Indonesian CSOs and their relationship with global civil society today bears, or is embedded in, the historical contingency: the society in which CSOs exist evolves and progresses over time, affecting both the scale of the challenge and the capacity of CSOs to answer it. One outstanding characteristic of the contingency relates highly to the use of technology by CSOs to facilitate their work. Among many, the use of ICTs, particularly the Internet, has allowed CSOs to not only build their capacity as knowledge organisations but also to establish themselves in the civil society network at various levels. The challenge here is how CSOs could use the technology for strategic, political and creative use, which is marked everywhere across the world (Surman and Reilly, 2003). Answering, or attempting to answer such challenges, however, is the subject of other following chapters.

To conclude, the landscape of civil society activism in Indonesia is changing at a pace that hasn't been seen before. The way it changes and the effects it has are both unprecedented. Observing the case of Indonesian CSOs under study, both the internal dynamics of organisations and their engagement with global civil society affect and are affected by the change. The most visible instance of this relates not only to the vast growth of CSOs as a sector in society, but also to how CSOs look at themselves and play their roles in the societal context in Indonesia. If in the past civil society defined its role by referring to its relationship with the state, today it is more likely that its role is also shaped by its relationship with global civil society. This is not merely a shift in concerns, issues, strategies or focus of the organisation; rather, it is an enlargement.

Here, Wahyu Susilo's concern as quoted in the beginning of this chapter meets its ground. With such a change, Indonesian CSOs in general need to reposition themselves, particularly in order "to see what has changed and to evaluate if CSOs are still an effective vehicle to strive for democracy" (Susilo, interview, 01/12/05). It seems there has been an explosion in the universe of CSOs as a space of reference, highly apparent in contemporary Indonesia. And this may also indicate a similar phenomenon taking place elsewhere.

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# Chapter 5

## What matters in Internet adoption in CSOs?

### *Diffusion of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs*

*The orientation of our CSO is to expose injustices.  
Exposing injustices needs a lot of systematic works.  
Technology offers such quality to help. Why don't we use it?*  
(Palupi, ECOSOC, interview, 29/10/2005)

In the diffusion of innovations theory, there are certain ways to understand the nature of diffusion, i.e. through understanding *innovation decision process*, *adopter innovativeness*, *rate of adoption*, and *perceived attributes*. First, innovation decision process underlines that potential adopters progress over time through some *stages* in the diffusion process. Then, adopter innovativeness informs that adopters' individual *characteristics* play important roles in the diffusion process. Next, rate of adoption explains the *speed* at which an innovation is adopted by members of a social system. Lastly, perceived attributes suggests that there are *attributes of perceptions* upon which an innovation is judged during the diffusion process (Rogers, 2003:168-285).

This chapter examines whether being ontologically different from the business entities and government agencies, civil society organisations (CSOs) adopt innovations in a different way and, vice versa, whether diffusion theory is capable of explaining the nature of diffusion/adoption of innovations in CSOs. Rogers' *Diffusion of Innovations* (Rogers, 2003) is used as a main framework to understand the nature of the diffusion of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), particularly the Internet, in Indonesian CSOs. The concerns here are to assess the S-curve and explain what makes leaders and laggards in the CSO universe when they adopt the technology; to find out if there is a scalogram-type hierarchy or sequence in adoption of different technologies and applications; and if there is any revision in the Rogers' diffusion stages.

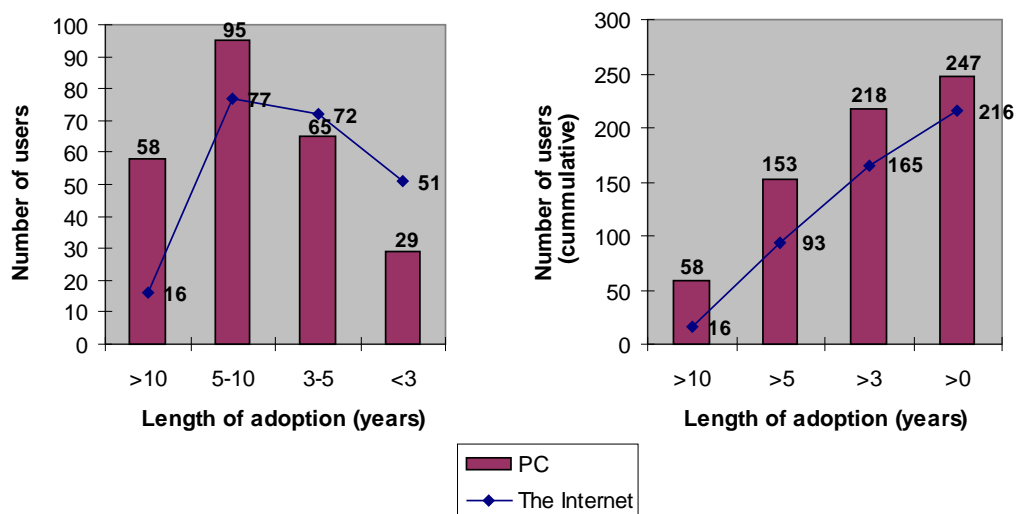
This chapter is a classic diffusion analysis in the sense that it uses a long-established theory to assess a contemporary situation where Indonesian CSOs adopt the Internet. It starts by discussing why some organisations become leaders and others laggards in the adoption of the Internet. Then, it examines the hierarchy and the adoption sequence. A discussion concerning perceived attributes which characterise the diffusion of innovations will proceed before looking at the technological substitution issue. The last part revisits the stage of the diffusion of innovations before drawing some conclusions.

## 5.1. Leaders and laggards in CSOs universe

Since the Internet was introduced in Indonesia, not only business firms and state agencies have been interested in using it, CSOs have apparently been interested too. However, not much is known about how and to what extent these CSOs use the technology. From the survey involving 268 Indonesian CSOs where 94.03% use PCs in the organisation and 86.94% have access to the Internet<sup>108</sup>, only a very small group has used the Internet for more than 10 years (5.97%). Most of them have used it between 5-10 years (28.73%) and 3-5 years (26.87%). Quite a proportion (19.03%) have just started using it within the last 3 years. This seems to confirm that the pattern of Internet adoption follows the bell-curve and S-curve (Rogers, 2003:272-282), although with different percentage<sup>109</sup>.

Information Technology adoption	Length of adoption (years)			
	>10 (leaders)	5-10 (early majority)	3-5 (late majority)	<3 (laggard)
PC	21.64%	35.45%	24.25%	10.82%
The Internet	5.97%	28.73%	26.87%	19.03%

**Table 5.1. ICT adopters percentage**  
Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey



**Figure 5.1. Indonesian CSOs adopting ICT: bell-curve and S-curve**  
Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey

The first group of CSOs, 'leaders' –those who have adopted information technology (signified by the adoption of personal computers and the Internet) for more than 10 years – matches with what Rogers refers to as 'innovators' and 'early adopters'. The 'early majority' is the biggest

<sup>108</sup> See Chapter Three in the part 'General result'.

<sup>109</sup> It is more difficult to come into more detailed group in the survey to match Rogers' five categories (instead of four). Firstly, internet was just introduced to the public not more than 10 years prior to the study; secondly, to divide 10 years into five classes in the survey (with 2 years scale in each class) does not reflect the development both in the availability of internet access and in the changing landscape of Indonesian CSOs.

proportion in the observation, followed by the 'late majority' and finally 'laggards'. There are two aspects to explore further: one, what makes leaders and laggards in the CSOs universe when they adopt Internet innovation; and two, what insight the adoption pattern brings about that can extend the understanding about diffusion of the Internet in CSOs.

### 5.1.1. Demographic characteristics and innovativeness

Diffusion theory suggests that there are some distinct, typical characteristics of each adopter category<sup>110</sup>. Using *Multiple Indicator Multiple Causes Latent Class Analysis* (MIMIC-LCA) (MacCutcheon, 1987; Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002)<sup>111</sup>, the study explores some 'demographic characteristics' that may contribute in making CSOs leaders or laggards in the adoption of the Internet.

- First, *leaders in the Internet adoption among CSOs are likely to be long-established organisations*. This estimation contradicts the diffusion theory suggestion that 'earlier adopters are not different from later adopters in age' (Rogers, 2003:288)<sup>112</sup>.
- Second, *size of the organisations highly corresponds to the adoption of technology*. In other words, bigger CSOs tend to adopt the Internet earlier, which supports the theory that 'earlier adopters have larger units' (Rogers, 2003:288).
- However, lastly, because the similar trend also applies to annual turnover, *early Internet adopters among Indonesian CSOs are likely to be those with higher annual turnover (i.e. are richer)*. This again may not agree with Rogers' position that 'although wealth and innovativeness are highly related, economic factors do not offer a complete explanation of innovative behaviour' (Rogers, 2003:289)<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>110</sup> To recall, 'innovators' are typically those who are venturesome, educated, have multiple info sources and greater propensity to take risk while 'early adopters' have respect, social leadership and are popular and educated. 'Early majority' are usually deliberate and have many informal social contacts whereas 'late majority' are typically sceptical, traditional and has lower socio-economic status. 'Laggards' only have neighbours and friends as their main information sources and are usually fear of debt (Rogers, 1995:263-266).

<sup>111</sup> In most instances in this thesis, latent class analysis (LCA) serves more as tool for exploration rather than as analytical instrument. Hence some deliberate deviances in its usage. For more, see Chapter Three on methodology.

<sup>112</sup> The research is aware that this finding is somewhat a tautology, i.e. older organisations will use the technology longer. However, there are evidence in the survey data that not all old CSOs are early adopter.

<sup>113</sup> Rogers initially believed that socioeconomic status and innovativeness go hand in hand. But after reviewing Cancian's work, known as 'Cancian Dip' which questioned Rogers' claim, he did not think it safe to hold the assumption (Rogers, 1995:270-272). In the 4<sup>th</sup> edition of his book, he wrote that 'it is no longer safe to assume that socioeconomic status and innovativeness are related in linear fashion' (Rogers, 1995:272). This part was omitted in the 5<sup>th</sup> edition of his book which may indicate that he believes again that socioeconomic status affects innovativeness.

Overall, it is estimated that age, size, and wealth go hand in hand with innovativeness. In other words, older Indonesian CSOs with more staff and money are more likely to adopt the Internet earlier. See estimated variables in Table 5.2.

Estimated Variables	Late majority and laggards (75.56%)	Leaders and early majority (24.44%)
<i>Period of Internet use (years)</i>	<3; 3-5	5-10; >10
<i>Age of the organisation (years)</i>	0-1; 1-2; 2-5; 5-8; 8-10	>10
<i>Number of staff (persons)</i>	<5; 6-10; 11-15	16-20; 21-25; >25
<i>Annual turn over (IDR)</i>	<100 million; 100-500 million	500 million - 1billion; 1-2 billion; >2 billion

**Table 5.2. Parameter estimation: characteristics of Indonesian CSOs as adopter**

*N=268. Latent Class Analysis. BIC(LL)=1816.7598; NPar=42;*

*L<sup>2</sup>=1096.296; df=179; p<0.0001; Class.Err=3.9%*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey. See Appendix 5- A.5.2.1.*

The explanation of this finding seems to lie in CSO's organisational nature. Unlike in the business world where new firms can quickly gain establishment in a relatively short time period (Chesbrough, 2003; Silverstein et al., 2005), new groups or organisations in civil society need relatively longer time to be acknowledged by their partners or peer organisations through their works (Ebrahim, 2003; Edwards and Hulme, 1992; 1995c). Only after gaining reputation and adequate recognition, a CSO can start expanding its organisational capacity, including securing more funding from donors (or other sources) which enables them to recruit more staff and adopt more advanced technology such as the Internet<sup>114</sup>.

The basis for Rogers' suggestion that 'economic factors do not offer a complete explanation of innovative behaviour' (Rogers, 2003:289) is probably also tied to the nature of organisations he observed, i.e. business firms. Less prosperous firms may have to adopt sophisticated technological innovations, by forcing themselves to mobilise all available resources in that direction, just to be able to compete and stay in the business. More affluent companies, however, which find themselves more established, may not feel the urgency to innovate until they think they have to (Christensen, 1997; Luecke and Katz, 2003; Silverstein et al., 2005). In other words,

<sup>114</sup> Maybe it is more common that new business firms can be relatively big (in terms of size and capital) in their initial stage, but this is just simply not the case for CSOs. In their start-up stage, it is very likely firms can already mobilise financial capital, from sources like bank loan, that enable them quickly to expand the business (by recruiting staff, for example) and adopt cutting-edge technologies. CSOs, on the other hand, while also have capabilities to require initial fund from donors in their establishment period, are mostly not in the position to use the money for organisation expansion or adoption of advanced technology. Donor's initial funds are, instead, directed to be used for settling down the organisation and carrying out projects to build the organisations' reputation and gain acknowledgement from other partners or other donors. Of all bigger CSOs under study, they started as small groups and evolved over time, which is believed to be typical in CSOs universe.



the fact that competitiveness is important for firms may provide the basis for the observation that economic factors are not always related to innovativeness in linear fashion.

The world of CSOs differs somewhat. Although competition does exist, it works in a much different way. Interactions among organisations somehow provide some sort of 'safety net' so that less wealthy (and usually younger) organisations receive support or resources from richer (and usually older) ones, mainly to prevent the former from 'leaving the business' (Edwards and Hulme, 1997; Hadiwinata, 2003). But as explained above, understandably, it is very unlikely that the resources are allocated to compete (not only through the adoption of technology like the Internet) with other similar organisations. The resource is likely to be used for the survival of the organisation until it gains its own strength and capacity. Once an organisation is established in the CSOs world, it will grow, become recognisable and gain capability to acquire and mobilise resources, including funds which can be used to adopt technological innovation such as information technology to foster its works. This is why in CSOs universe, where competition works in a different way, wealth and innovativeness are likely to be linearly related.

### **5.1.2. What issues and concerns characterise Internet adoption?**

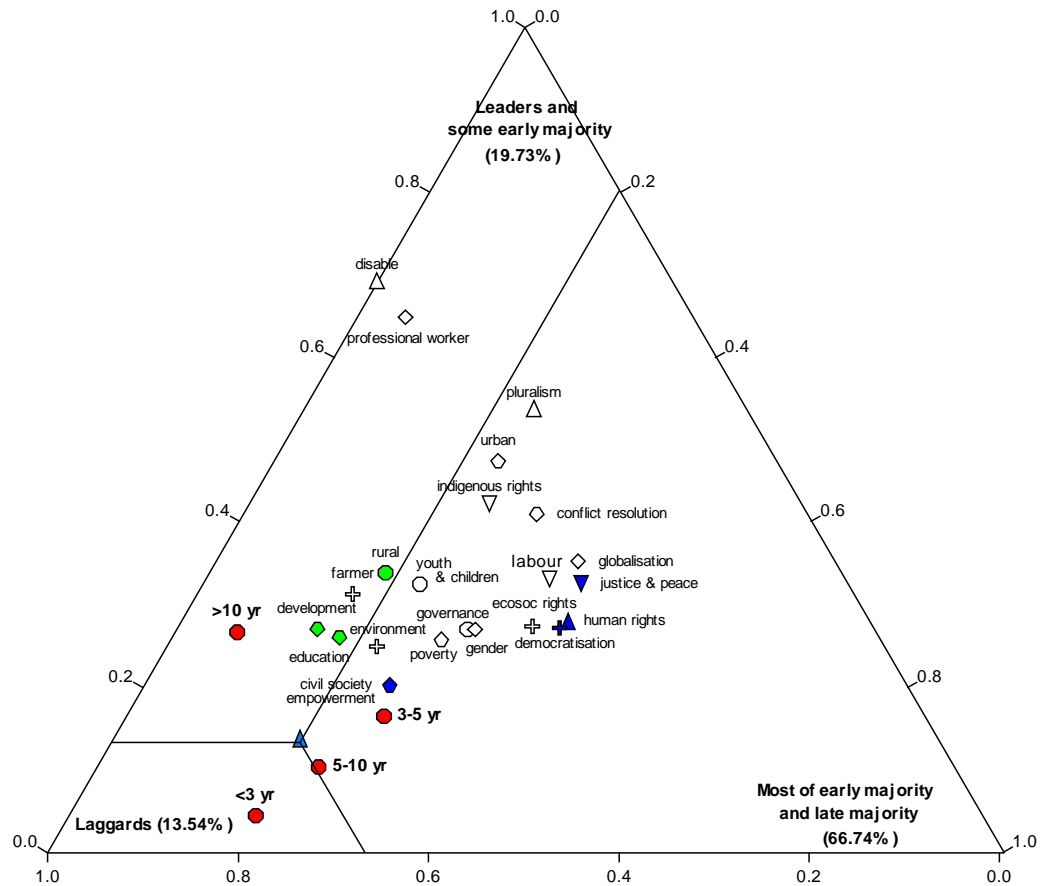
The above explanations raise further question: Is the adoption pattern also marked by non-demographic characteristics? Similar exploration by positioning adopter category as latent variables to look at the issue and concerns of the organisations reveals an interesting finding.

*Indonesian CSOs who are early and late majority in Internet adoption mostly work on advocacy-type issues and concerns (like human rights, justice and peace, democratisation and suchlike) whereas organisations who are leaders in adopting the Internet mostly work on development-based issues and concerns (such as development, education and suchlike). However, since the distinction between advocacy and development is blurred<sup>115</sup>, it is understandable that some organisations working in development-related issues and concerns can also be found in the majority group, where most organisations working on advocacy-type issues and concerns reside. Laggards, in addition, are more likely to be 'non-affirmative' to issues and concerns which other CSOs are working on. See Figure 5.2.*

Why does working on development-related issues make CSOs leaders in the Internet adoption? On the other hand, why do advocacy-related issues in CSOs' work mean slower Internet adoption?

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<sup>115</sup> See previous chapter for explanation.



**Figure 5.2. Parameter estimation: Issues and concerns of each category**  
*N=268; Latent Class Analysis. BIC(LL)=5407.792; NPar=94; L2=4214.830;*  
*df=127; p<0.0001; and Class.Err=2.6%. See Appendix 5-A.5.2.2.*  
*Salient advocacy issues are coded blue; salient development issues are coded green.*  
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey.*

A successful development agenda often implies a CSO has high access to know-how information (Hadiwinata, 2003; Sinaga, 1994). This makes a solid ground for development CSOs to adopt ICTs like the Internet as they provide greater help to retrieve expertise shared in the network of similar organisations. It is not exaggerating to say that due to this nature, the Internet does not only constitute an instrument, but it is, to some extent, the manifestation of the work of a development CSO itself. This is obviously not to say that advocacy works are less complicated or need less information. Often advocacy programme necessitates an extensive access and use of information (Hick and McNutt, 2002). But unlike successful development works which depend more on the access to know-how, accomplishment in advocacy works depends more on collaboration to mobilise pressure than ability to mobilise technical support (Chong, 1991; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; 2002; Juris, 2004). While a network of collaboration in advocacy can benefit from the use of the Internet (e.g. Juris, 2004), using the technology itself is *not always* the necessary condition for a successful advocacy (e.g. Camacho, 2001; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hick and McNutt, 2002).

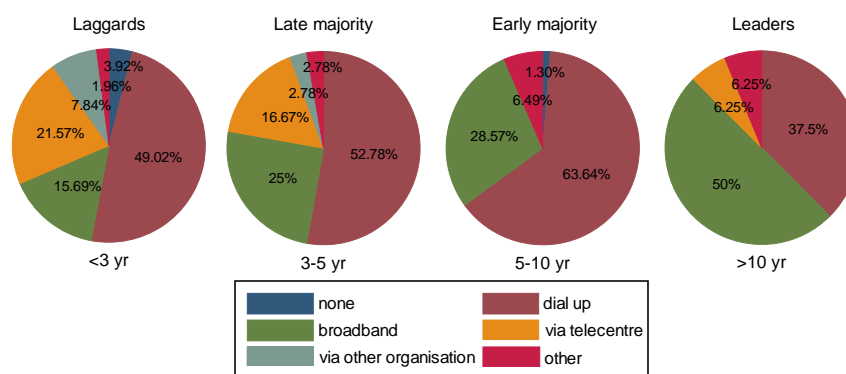
Another aspect to consider is that since the Internet provides greater help for organisations like development CSOs who often work on their own (or in smaller and less cohesive networks) in certain localities or in particular issues (Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Heeks, 2002; Korac-Kakabadse et al., 2000; Sinaga, 1994), it understandably contributes to the higher rate and earlier adoption of the technology. Advocacy CSOs, on the other hand, are more likely to work together in solid coalition (or in more cohesive networks), mostly field-based (Ganie-Rochman, 2000; 2002; Juris, 2004) so that the need to use the Internet to mobilise support is significantly less (although the need to get information might be similar or even higher).

## 5.2. Hierarchy and adoption sequence

Adoption of innovations in organisations is multifaceted. There are some ways to address the hierarchy and adoption sequence of innovation. One approach is by looking at the access to the innovation, the spectrum of technological innovation being used, and sequence of adoption.

### 5.2.1. Availability of access: Typical problem for adoption?

One of the main issues about Internet technology in Indonesia is *availability of access* (see discussion in Chapter One). It may be therefore helpful to know how different types of adopter in the Indonesian CSO universe gain access to the technology.



**Figure 5.3. Internet access means in each adopter category**

*N=268; single response only*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

It is evident that leaders use the most up to date and fastest access (i.e. broadband), in comparison to later adopters who use older, slower access (e.g. dial-up). However, because of unequal availability of the technology, some leading CSOs also still have to use access method

like dial-up connection and telecentres or *warnet*<sup>116</sup>, especially if they are located in less developed regions. Only one of 35 organisations interviewed access the Internet from *warnet*, i.e. *Rumah Sinema* in Yogyakarta, due to its inability to meet the cost for other types of Internet connection<sup>117</sup>. But, despite only using local *warnet* for years, *Rumah Sinema* managed not only to initiate the 'film network' (i.e. the network of CSOs working in media and film production) but also to establish contacts with similar international CSOs and news offices, including Al-Jazeera (Fauzanafi, interview, 2/12/05). For CSOs who mainly work in a network, like *FPBN*, *YPBB*, *IGJ*, *BIOCert*, *ECOSOC*, *PRAXIS*, *LP3ES* and many others, *warnet* has become the main channel for communication both among their own staff and with other organisations which have no dedicated internet access. This is because Internet access is still relatively expensive in many parts of the country, combined with unequal availability of telecommunication infrastructures<sup>118</sup>. This is clearly identified from the interviews below.

Why is using <i>warnet</i> important for your organisation?	
<i>Emphasis on cost</i>	<i>Emphasis on availability of access</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many of our volunteers do not have money to have permanent access to the Internet. Therefore we use <i>warnet</i> a lot, especially for email purpose (Sutasurya/<i>YPBB</i>, interview, 16/11/2005).</li> <li>• Yes, [<i>warnet</i> is] affordable for us. We urge our network to use it although we realise they won't be able to access email every day (Pranowo/<i>FPBN</i>, interview, 28/11/2005)</li> <li>• When we distribute 'Wacana Organik' [periodical], in addition to the printed version we also sent the electronic version for our partners and beneficiaries who can access internet in a cheap way from <i>warnet</i> (Prawoto/<i>BIO-Cert</i>, interview, 3/12/2005)</li> <li>• [those] who can access [Internet] technology are just few NGOs who, you can say, are bonafide, big and financially strong. While many others who just grow, well, can only use <i>warnet</i> (Yuwono/<i>PRAXIS</i>, interview, 16/12/2005)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organisations [who are located] outside Java island often do not have good [telecommunication] infrastructure. With only few PCs, they have to go to <i>warnet</i> to write and read emails (Hanim/<i>IGJ</i>, interview, 27/10/2005).</li> <li>• ... Just like in remote areas, if they want to read an email they have to use cars to go to <i>warnet</i> in sub-municipal centres. But the <i>warnet</i> is not always in operation. Either the <i>warnet</i> is closed or the phone connection is down, or both. That's the problem. Reading email is constrained by access. Not because of CSOs do not want to use it, but because they have no access to it (Palupi/<i>ECOSOC</i>, interview, 29/10/2005).</li> <li>• Maybe in Java there is at least one <i>warnet</i> in each sub-municipal. But it is most likely not the case outside the island. We just sent volunteers to Natuna island. We thought we could at least use fax machine. But even there was no single fax machine on the island, let alone <i>warnet</i> (Hussein/<i>LP3ES</i>, interview, 6/12/2005)</li> </ul>

**Table 5.3. Why *warnet* is important for CSOs to access the Internet**

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork interview*

<sup>116</sup> *Warnet* is aimed to bridge the problem of unequal availability of access (James, 2006). See *Chapter One*.

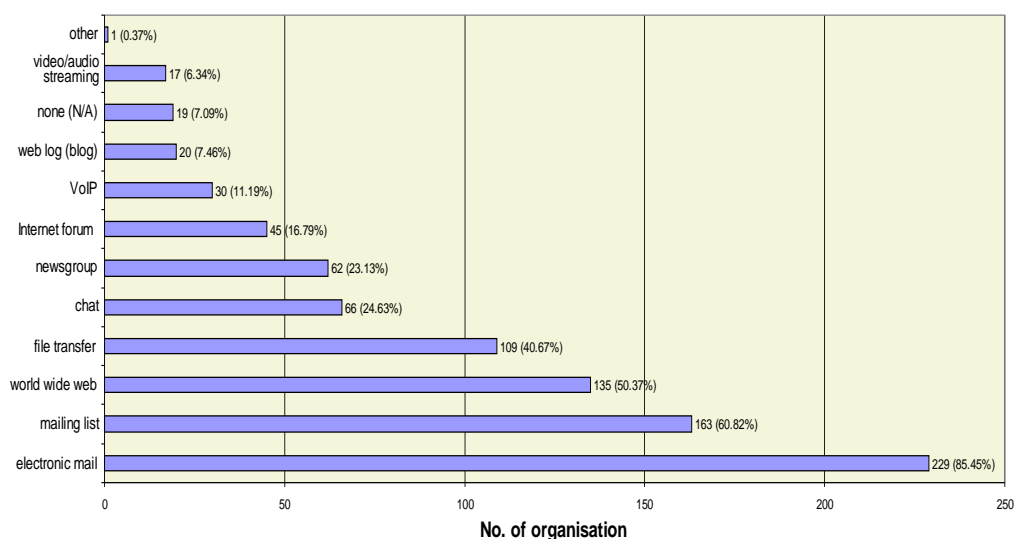
<sup>117</sup> However, by the time this thesis is written, *Rumah Sinema* may have started using more established access, like dial-up connection, as stated in the interview (Fauzannafi/*Rumah Sinema*, interview, 2/12/05)

<sup>118</sup> For more, see Chapter Two on the distribution of telecentre.

This exposition provides interesting explanations about the fact that although later adopters (late majority and laggards) use a PC less, they use the Internet more (see Table 5.1. and Figure 5.1.). For later adopters, it seems that the ownership of PCs is *not* always necessary for Internet adoption. This is all possible because of the advent of *warnet*. It appears that in some contexts in developing countries like Indonesia, telecentres not only help later adopters to catch up but also help leaders to lead in the adoption of the Internet.

### 5.2.2. Spectrum of Internet technologies in use

After understanding the context of how Indonesian CSOs acquire access to the Internet, an important question is whether or not the adoption follows a certain *sequence*? Unfortunately, the survey design does not lend itself well to answering this question. Therefore the answer will be obtained by using data obtained from different methods. The first and most basic information to gather is which Internet applications (which reflect different technologies) are being used by Indonesian CSOs.



**Figure 5.4. Internet application used by Indonesian CSOs**

*N=268; multiple responses possible*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

Figure 5.4. shows different Internet applications used by Indonesian CSOs. Email is the most popular application, not only because it is simple to use, but also because it works over low-speed internet connection as a stand-alone, asynchronous Internet CMC (computer-mediated communication) application which saves internet connection cost. Other popular applications are mailing list, world-wide web and file transfer<sup>119</sup>.

<sup>119</sup> As it has been extensively discussed in background chapter (see Chapter One), inherent in the access availability problem is the access speed and access cost. Observation reveals that Internet client email

Interviews also confirm this observation. All CSOs under study are mainly using email, mailing list and website with the emphasis on the first two applications although other applications are also used, to a more limited extent. Email and mailing-list are claimed to be most widely used because they are practical and serve organisations' purpose, as evident in all instances in the interviews. KSK HIMBA, a natural conservation study group in Lubuklinggau, South Sumatera, gives the typical purpose, that email is "used mainly for correspondence and participate in the discussion via mailing list" (Candra, interview, 30/12/2005).

When there are needs related to information that cannot be met by email and/or mailing lists, be it for acquisition or for dissemination, the web provides an alternative. This is also the case for all CSOs interviewed during the study. BIMAESw, a CSO working for teacher empowerment in East Java, for example, clearly suggests that for information acquisition the web is used "a bit more than email because we often need to access information out there" (Purboningrum, interview, 14/12/2005). YPBB, which works with a lot of volunteers in its network, also emphasises,

We only use email at the moment for the organisational purpose. Web is only used very limitedly for publication. We do not have yet a website which enables each staff to access the calendar or project schedule. It is simply too expensive although very appealing. In the future, when the access to the Internet is cheaper for sure we will use such applications (Sutasurya, interview, 16/11/2005)

As argued, the use of email, mailing list and website is not limited to small, less wealthy and younger organisation. LEAD/YPB (*Yayasan Pembangunan Berkelanjutan* or Foundation for Sustainable Development), which was founded in 1992 and considered as a well established and affluent CSO that has a wide international network, also shares a similar experience.

The applications that we use the most often are indeed email and website. In the past, we very occasionally used teleconference for the need of our international network, including training. However, in the last development, [teleconference] is only used for the executive directors [instead of for the whole organisation] (Nurani/LEAD, interview, 16/12/2005)

Another well-established network of humanity workers, JRS (*Jesuit Refugee Service*), confirms that although JRS uses chat and VoIP, "the use of email and web is the most intensive" (Kristanto, interview, 15/11/2005).

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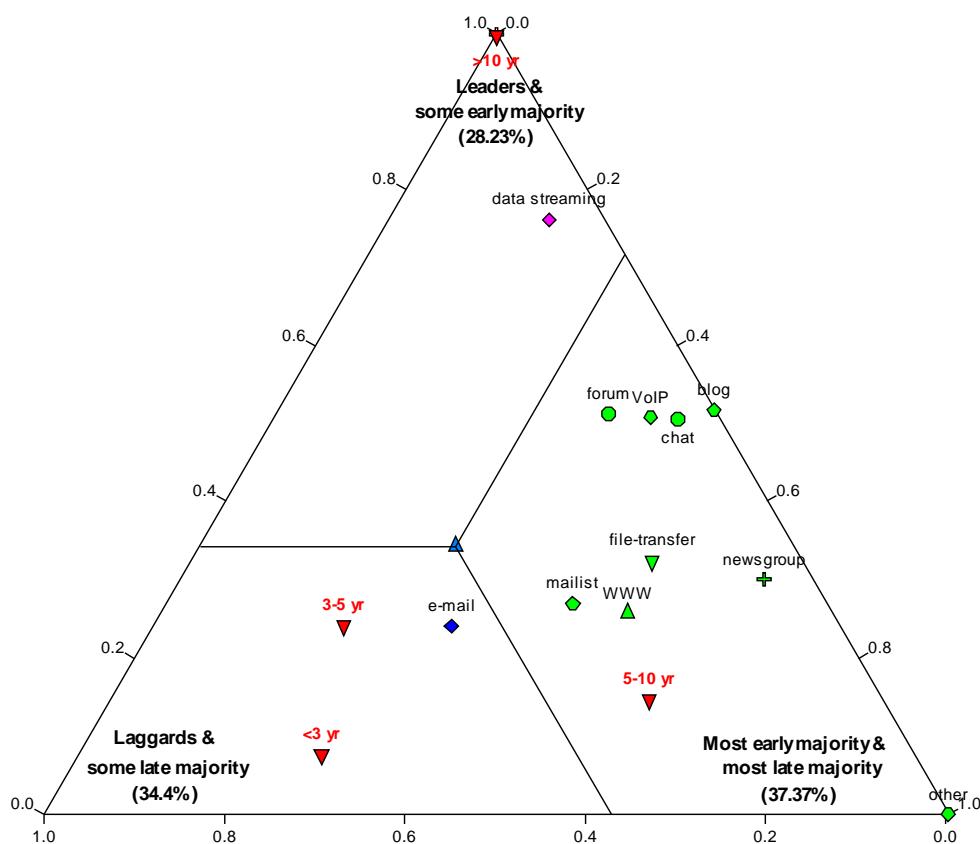
applications like The Bat™ and Outlook Express™ are more popular and longer used than browser. Once connected to the internet, generally via dial-up connection, e-mail client applications will download all messages. After all messages have been downloaded, the user can then disconnect the link and start reading and replying the messages or writing new ones off-line, which will not be sent until the next connection time. In one day, usually an organisation will connect three or four times: in the morning when the work starts, before lunch (and sometime after lunch) and before the office closes. This is the common practice in Indonesian CSOs to reduce their Internet connection cost. This particularity—that connection cost is expensive—is important.

This study argues that the pattern of Internet application being used by Indonesian CSOs reflects the reasons why they use it, and a fuller elaboration of this will be undertaken in the next part. In other words, it is evident that CSOs do not adopt technology because it is popular or fashionable, but because it serves their purpose.

### 5.2.3. Adopter category and sequence of adoption

The next step is to see the estimation of the correlation between Internet applications and the adopter category: what are particular technologies that may characterise certain adopter categories? An exploratory MIMIC LCA is again performed to map this estimation.

It reveals that (1) The use of Internet *applications which are simple, typically asynchronous, and can run independently over narrow-band, low-speed connection* like standalone e-mail client applications are likely to be identified with *laggards and some late majority*; (2) In contrast, *applications that are more complicated, usually synchronous, and necessitate a certain platform (e.g. browser) to run over broad-band, high-speed connection* like audio/video streaming are estimated to be associated with *leaders and some early majority*; and (3) any other applications seem to ascribe the majority. See Figure 5.5.



**Figure 5.5. Parameter estimation: Internet application used by each category**  
*N=268; Latent class analysis. BIC(LL)=2024.3602; NPar=90; L<sup>2</sup>=983.6697; df=131; p<0.0001 and Class.Err=4.35%. See Appendix 5-A.5.2.3.*  
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey.*

This estimation makes sense and fits nicely with all previous observations. Using evidence both from survey and interview, the study argues that there is sequence in the adoption of the Internet among Indonesian CSOs.

- a. Firstly, stand-alone, asynchronous Internet applications, which can run over low-speed internet link, are likely to be the ones which are adopted earlier. E-mail is an example of this. Mailing-list is next as it is in the same level of complexity as e-mail. Abundant examples have been demonstrated above.
- b. Once higher familiarity and literacy are achieved, applications running over the web platform are adopted to satisfy the increasing need of the organisation. This could be simply web-based applications like file transfer, newsgroup, web-log or forum, or more synchronous CMS like chat and VoIP (voice-over internet protocol). The example of ELSPPAT might describe the situation.

Certainly, [our organisation use] mainly uses email. We often use it to send reports and the likes. Until recently. That's it. No more. We just started using web [more] intensively only since 2000. It was our choice because we wanted to expose our organisational profile as well as to get more information from other sources. (Waspotrianto, interview, 28/10/2005)

- c. The study however is unable to identify the sequence in the adoption of web-based application and more synchronous applications as this study is not designed to do so.
- d. Lastly, when high-speed access is available and the Internet literacy is adequate, complex, highly synchronous applications like audio/video data stream are used. But often this is hindered by the capacity of the organisations to afford using such applications. Unfortunately, apart from LEAD/YPB, no CSOs in the study have adopted such applications. However, the ideas of ELSPPAT regarding the ideal Internet adoption are interesting to note.

[Suppose] we have all adopted [the Internet] technology properly and work in a network. [It will help us to] organise the issue. Issue of organic agriculture which is related to land-reform can be tackled by ELSPPAT. The similar issue of organic agriculture and certification can be carried out by BIOCert and KRKP can work on the issue of food and sustainable farming. I can imagine we exchange information via email, mail list and store all the data in an online database centre which is searchable through web. [As we also have people connected in the network] we can also access resource persons for certain issues or certain actions. We can just 'click' for a teleconference for discussion or preparing joint action. Interesting, isn't it? Maybe we need to learn more [about using the technology]. But [even if we do] simply we can't afford it. (Waspotrianto, interview, 28/10/2005)

Or, as ELSAM points out,



[Most of our staff are] familiar with using email and web. What is seriously lacking is actually how to use the information technology to strategically access the information sources. We have attempted to use some search engines but it is simply still inadequate. We wish we had [organisational] capability to use other [application] acquire information (Saptaningrum, interview, 19/12/2007)

This observation resonates with other previous observations. There is quite strong evidence that sequence of adoption does exist. This sequence might be very difficult to pinpoint especially in a context where access to technology is not a problem. In such a case, it is not because there is no sequence of adoption, but because better access to technology levels the hierarchy and order, and makes the sequence smoother. The study argues, therefore, that in a circumstance where access to the technology is still a problem (e.g. unequal, unaffordable access, such as observed in this research), hierarchy and sequence of adoption are more salient.

Having presented some accounts of what makes leaders and laggards in Internet adoption, as well as hierarchy and sequence in the adoption, we now look into what drives such an adoption and how it works.

### **5.3. What drives Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs?**

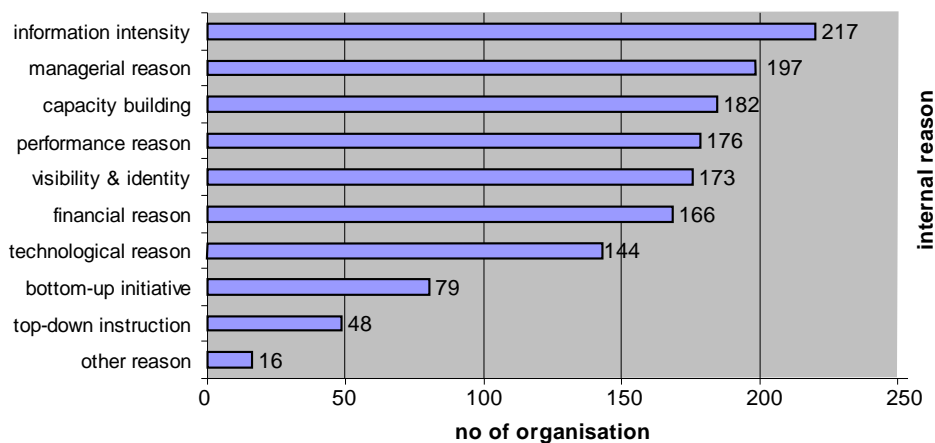
Diffusion theory states that it is the individual's perception of the attributes of an innovation that affects adoption, not those attributes defined by experts or change agents. In his work, Rogers categorises the five perceived attributes that are believed to determine the rate of adoption, i.e. (1) *relative advantage*, (2) *compatibility*, (3) *complexity*, (4) *trialability* and (5) *observability*. These attributes have been most extensively investigated to explain variance in the rates of adoption (Rogers, 2003:222-266). This study follows that path as it tries to explore and explain why Indonesian CSOs adopt the Internet and what perceptions have characterised the reason for adoption, be it from internal or external perspectives.

#### **5.3.1. Reasons for Internet adoption**

##### ***Information does matter: Internal reasons***

When confronted with the question about the organisational internal reason for using the Internet, most organisations under study state that they use the Internet for, or because of (1) *information intensity* (to get more information available from other sources, etc.), (2) *managerial* reason (to run the office and do activities more efficiently, etc.), (3) *capacity-building* (to build own expertise in ICT, etc.), (4) *performance* reason (achieve missions, targeted goals, etc.), (5) *visibility and identity* (e.g. so that the organisation becomes more well-known), (6) *financial*

reason (saving cost for communication, administration, back-office, etc.) and (7) *technological reason* (want to adapt with new technology). Only a much smaller proportion (a third and less) feel that they use the Internet because of a *bottom up initiative* (i.e. because staff want/propose to use the Internet), or quite oppositely, *top-down instruction* (i.e. because of board decision, etc.), or because of other reasons<sup>120</sup>. See Figure 5.6.



**Figure 5.6. Indonesian CSOs' internal reason for adopting the Internet**  
*N=268; multiple responses possible*  
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey.*

This finding may suggest some interesting features. While the need to be kept up to date with current information is the strongest internal driver for the Internet adoption, reasons related to increasing effectiveness and efficiency of works have internally driven the adoption more strongly than the 'craving' for new technology. The need to run the office and carry out activities more efficiently to achieve missions and goals, or to save costs of communication and administration, for example, far outweighs the desire to adapt new technology. The only technology-related reason which is found in about half respondent CSOs is about capacity building, i.e. to build organisational expertise in using ICT.

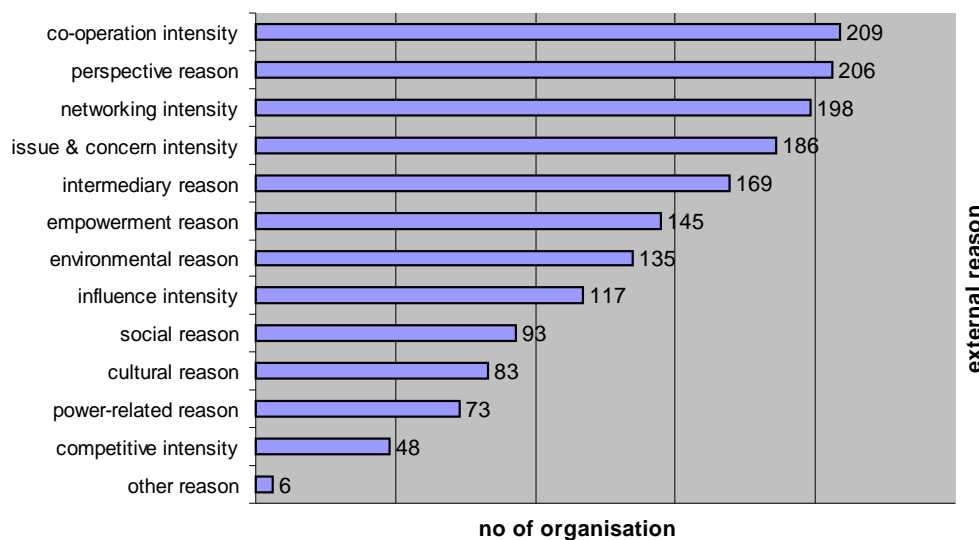
Furthermore, taking the less-bureaucratic nature of CSOs into account, this finding suggests that eventually Internet adoption in most CSOs does not come through a personal information channel. This can be seen from the fact that a significantly low number of organisations adopt the technology due to personal persuasion, either from below (bottom up initiative) or from above (top-down instruction). What can be learned here is that internal drivers for Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs work at organisational level, rather than at individual level. They aim at supporting organisational performances instead of merely catching up advancement in

<sup>120</sup> CSOs define 'other reasons' as *efficiency* (2 CSOs), *making the jobs done easier* (1 CSO), *organisational development* (8 CSOs), *progress in information development* (2 CSOs), *impossibility to work without Internet* (2 CSOs) and *to increase awareness about information* (1 CSOs). Source: survey.

technological innovation. In fact some interviews quoted above, which explain the hierarchy and adoption sequence, also confirm this argument.

### ***Collaboration, not competition: External reasons***

Externally, what are the reasons for Internet adoption in CSOs? Figure 5.7. depicts the response.



**Figure 5.7. Indonesian CSOs' external reason for adopting the Internet**

*N=268; multiple responses possible*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

As argued earlier, competition issue (to compete with other organisations) is not an important reason for adoption of the Internet in CSOs. Instead, the main driver for Internet adoption is *co-operation intensity* (to co-operate, collaborate with other organisations, etc.), *perspective* (to get wider perspective, knowledge sharing, etc.) and *networking intensity* (to create, enable, empower network, etc.). Other major and important drivers are *issue & concern intensity* (to gather relevant information & knowledge, etc.), *intermediary reason* (to disseminate information to other parties, groups, etc.), *empowerment reason* (to pioneer, to provide knowledge to beneficiaries, etc.), *environmental reason* (that using PC reduces paper; online meeting reduces travel, etc.) and *influence intensity* (to widen influence in the society, etc.). More trivial drivers for Internet adoption are *social reason* (because other organisations also use it, etc), *cultural reason* (because using Internet is lifestyle of the society CSOs are working with, etc.) and *power-related reasons* (to accumulate bargaining power for advocacy, etc.)<sup>121</sup>.

This result also highlights some points of interest. One, the main reason for adoption seems to have risen from the need for *mutual relationship* with other CSOs, including cooperation, widening perspective, knowledge sharing and running networks. In contrast, organisational

<sup>121</sup> Other external reasons revealed during the survey were *effectiveness and efficiency* [for collaborative work] (addressed by 1 CSO), *education reason* (4 CSOs), *watchdog purpose* (1 CSO)

*egocentric motives* like accumulating power, gaining influence or competing against each other are significantly low drivers for the adoption. Two, *social esteem or status* motives (e.g. adopting Internet because it is popular and used by other organisations) does not drive the adoption as much as the need to *facilitate changes* does (e.g. gathering and disseminating information to support beneficiaries and widening influence in society or taking into account environmental consideration for own activities).

What we have observed here is more evidence that drivers for innovation adoption in the CSOs' universe might either be significantly different, or work in a different way, to those of other types of organisation like business firms or state agencies.

### 5.3.2. Perceived attributes

How can the knowledge about internal and external drivers of Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs be used to assess perceived attributes that are theorised to determine adoption rate?

#### ***Relative advantage: Achievement, not organisation's status***

The notion of 'relative advantage' as conceptualised in the theory as "the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being better than the idea it supersedes ... expressed as economic profitability, as conveying social prestige" (Rogers, 2003:229) looks to have characterised most of the internal reasons for adoption to various degrees.

The perception that the Internet enables organisation to get more information and to help organisations work effectively are among the highest reason for adoption. The Internet is also perceived as technology which is able to boost organisation's performance, visibility and identity. This relative advantage, however, works in quite an opposite direction when it comes to external reasons for adoption. The perception that using the Internet contributes to a positive environmental condition is not a strong driver for adoption. Even the perception that using Internet increases organisation's status because other organisations also use it and because Internet has become a high-status lifestyle is among the lowest external reason for adoption.

ECOSOC shares its experience, which is typical in the interviews across informants, to explain how relative advantage works with regard to Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs.

[We use the Internet] for coordination [of work]. This experience of using mailing list has taught me that it is not automatic[ally supported by the assumption]. [That is] often not true [that using mailing list is] more efficient, quicker, more effective. [Because] there is an assumption that is not fulfilled, for example that people should access their email more frequently, at least once a day. Only if it happens, [communication using] email can be faster and cheaper. And often this is not the case. Confirmations have to be made by telephone. This is really annoying. What

does 'using email' mean if I still need to call [after sending them email]? For status? No. [Instead this has caused me] double of works! (Palupi, interview, 29/10/2005)

### ***Compatibility: Commitment for facilitating change***

As the Internet is perceived as being attuned with an organisation's values, aims and needs, 'compatibility' (Rogers, 2003:240-257) plays an important role, mainly as an external driver, and to limited extent as an internal driver, for adoption. It is evident that external reasons for adoption are heavily characterised by the notion of compatibility. As the Internet is perceived to be compatible and can fulfil the needs for building better cooperation among CSOs, providing a wider perspective, and building and running networks, this drives adoption for most of the CSOs. The Internet is also perceived to be able to offer relevant knowledge and information according to the issues and concerns of the organisations; it is also seen as effective means to disseminate information and thus to empower and to influence society.

If the compatibility attribute has contributed significantly to the adoption of the Internet from the external perspective, it works rather differently from the internal one. Although adopting the Internet is perceived as being compatible with building organisational capacity, especially to achieve missions and goals, the perception of newness of technology alone does not make much of a contribution as an internal driver for adoption.

Apart from relative advantage and compatibility, other perceived attributes of the Internet as technological innovation (like complexity, trialability and observability) cannot unfortunately be assessed from the survey data. Instead, some insights from the interview and workshop are offered here, although they are not aimed at measuring the attributes.

### ***Complexity: Despite being 'gaptek' ...***

It has been commonly perceived, especially in somewhere like Indonesia, where less than two percent of the population goes to higher education (above high school/college level), that the Internet represents a *hi-tech* product that is relatively difficult to understand and use. Moreover it requires the user to learn properly about it as it poses some certain degree of complexity. ECOSOC admits that being *gaptek* ('*gagap teknologi*' literally translated as 'technologically impediment') hampers CSOs from adopting the Internet further.

Exactly that is the problem. On the one hand CSOs want to work more effectively, more efficient, more powerful and more systematic [by using the Internet]. But on the other hand CSOs are *gaptek*, we are technologically impediment. For example, at the moment ECOSOC is running a mailing list on ecosoc rights issue. Then [because of this mailing list] we were asked [by other CSOs] to be the centre for information and database of migrant worker issues, particularly female migrant workers working as house-helpers [domestic workers/home aiders]. Next, we were asked by the

network to manage and become the secretariat of the working group working on that issue. So, quite suddenly we had two roles, as the secretariat and as the centre for database and information. It did not stop there. We were also asked to be part of the network for monitoring the protection of migrant workers' rights. Many NGOs and migrant worker's organisations asked us to be the moderator for building the database. This technically means, [because no one else is capable in the network] ECOSOC currently manages everything over the Internet: mailing list, website and database. (Palupi, interview, 29/10/2005)

What ECOSOC explains is typical to other interviewed organisations. The detailed explanation shows how the Internet is perceived as a complex technology and contributes negatively to the rate of adoption. Although members of the two networks obviously have adopted and used the Internet (as they use mailing lists), in the instance where managing a mailing list is perceived as a complex task, they prefer an organisation who has more experience to take the lead, i.e. to adopt the complex innovation.

However, in the complexity of the Internet lies a quality that might be useful for CSOs. Having experienced an oppressive era under Suharto when state apparatus forced surveillance on civil society activities<sup>122</sup>, the Internet is perceived to be beneficial for it provides some security and empowerment attributes for CSOs communication. ELSPAT, who has some experience of being active under Soeharto's dictatorial, repressive era explains,

[Clearly we use the Internet for] efficiency in cost and time. For example we can just send compressed files for disseminating information. Also for sending proposals, it would be much faster by sending the files [compared to postal service]. It is also efficient when communicating with colleagues in distance. As for effectiveness, the reaching power of Internet is unlimited. That is why Internet is powerful. Then, another quality is that it cannot be censored. Although we may still be doubt here ... we believe that no one can censor emails, or at least we will still receive emails [unlike postal mails which often disappeared]. I don't know if [the state's secret service is] still screening or censoring postal mails right now (Waspotrianto, interview, 28/10/2005).

What ELSPAT perceives about the Internet has actually been confirmed in another study. From the political perspective, Merlyna Lim, an Indonesian, scholar has extensively studied the instance where the security aspect of the Internet became an arena of contestation between the state and the civic community (Lim, 2002). Although her study discusses a post-Soeharto era, Lim suggests that

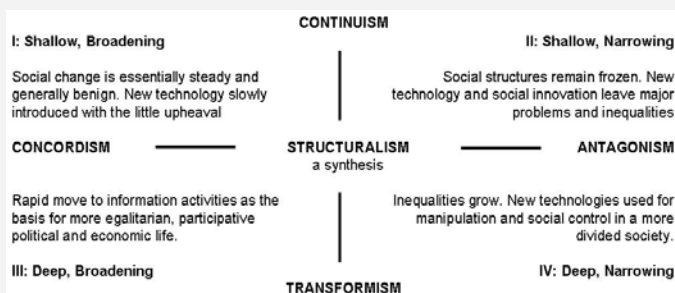
[I]ndonesian experience clearly shows that the internet can be a cyber-civic space where people can mingle without state intervention. Under Suharto, the state's system of control and surveillance constricted such activity in all other potential civic

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<sup>122</sup> See explanation about the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs within authoritarian period.

spaces, so political activation through the internet became vital to political reform (Lim, 2002:398-399).

### Box 5.1. Framing attributes of Internet adoption: Miles' approach



Typology of Views of ICT and information society

Source: Miles (1996:41)

How can perceived attributes be explained within diffusion theory and CSO study at the same time? Ian Miles (1996) provides an insight to understand competing perspective in ICTs. In his work, he departs from the concern about the classic debate on 'consensus v. conflict' which has long been pathological in social science –that in fact also perfectly matches with the spectrum of 'activism paradigm' in CSOs\*.

Miles' work is grounded around the prominent theme of 'expanding information opportunities v. growing information inequalities', which might be helpful to understand the latent problem of access availability or digital divide issue underlying the adoption process in developing economies like Indonesia (Miles, 1996:39-40). To him, there are two important dimensions underlying the debate on the social implications of ICTs, i.e. dimension of depth and width. In the dimension of depth, it is the speed and extent of 'change' which is very much influential, with continuist and transformist at the extremes. In the dimension of width, it is the extent of control that matters, with concordist competing against antagonist (Miles, 1996:38-40). For both dimensions, Miles offers structuralism to remedy the ills by looking for synthesis as it recognises that a diversity of actors confront a multiplicity of choices which lead to many possible outcomes.

In this light it can be seen that most of the attributes of the Internet as innovation, in this study, are perceived as such by organisations which are closer to concordist and transformist model. This is of no surprise when the nature of CSOs is taken into account. For CSOs believe that they deliver social transformation to the society, the Internet is consistently and consequently perceived, and used, as a technology which enables them to challenge the bases of political power and change the interaction of social classes. This is similar to what transformists' think of ICTs (Miles, 1996). Coordination of various urban poor rallies by UPLINK, advocacy endeavours for migrant workers carried out by ECOSOC, challenging labour market flexibility policy by TURC or criticising state's policy towards debt for development often addressed by INFID (interview with UPLINK, 24/11/2005, ECOSOC, 29/10/2005, TURC, 3/03/2006 and INFID, 1/12/2005), are clear examples.

Similar instances can also be found in how ELSPPAT facilitates the network for CSOs working in organic farming and sustainable agriculture to the extent that the government finally adopted these ideas into policy at various levels (Waspotrianto, interview, 28/10/2005); or how Yayasan SET animated the NGO coalition for 'freedom of information act' (FOIA) and managed to push the government to ratify the relevant bills (Kristiawan, interview 28/10/2005). For such organisations, Internet might strongly be perceived as revolutionary as it offers benefits to carry out organisations' missions and goals in a way that was unprecedented in the past.

Perhaps because of their context (i.e. in a transition economy, or in a "transition to democracy" as in the case of Indonesia) Indonesian CSOs also see the Internet as a technology which brings liberation and promotes democracy, which is close to concordists' belief (Miles, 1996). DEMOS, for example believes that the Internet can bring together fragmented elements in social movement in rebuilding democracy in Indonesia (Prajesto, interview, 17/01/2006). This is a belief also shared by Yayasan Duta Awam and AKATIGA; that the Internet helps the networking of CSOs for fostering democracy, promoting decentralisation (which became important in Indonesia after the fall of the authoritarian regime) and empowering grassroots through alternative education and other practical networking like in the case of SMEs or rural groups (Sari, interview, 19/12/2005; Riza, interview, 30/11/2005). Clearly, the Internet is seen as technology that facilitates a new form of cooperation and networking in communities, assists education and training needs and bridging different groups to come together as social force. (\*)

Source: Miles (1996), interview from fieldwork, and author's reflection

\* See Chapter Four Section 4.1.1. Sphere of activism for more detailed accounts.

It is what Lim calls 'activation through the internet' and 'cyber-civic space' which has seen the Internet be perceived as a tool with some security and empowerment qualities and means (Lim, 2002) that although it is perceived as complex technology, CSOs have chosen to adopt it. So, although complexity in general hampers CSOs from adopting the Internet, adoption is sustained by the perception that its complexity actually offers benefits which outweigh the difficulties; like counter-surveillance in repressive, authoritarian context

### ***Trialability and observability***

Trialability and observability attributes seem to go together in characterising the Internet as innovation when adopted in Indonesian CSOs. While CSOs need to be able to observe the results of adopting the technology, they also want it experiments on a limited basis. Only after they have been convinced that the technology serves their purpose (and they are able to afford it), would they fully adopt it.

[We adopt the Internet] because of our need. Need matters. To us [using] web is only for [fulfilling] informative needs, for socialisation, you can say. Because we use Internet more for [communication through] email and mailing list, we use them a lot more [than web]. And yes they are actually very dynamic. For us, using web is actually for opening ourselves to the world. So that people know us, who we are, what we do, this and that, isn't it? But we use the Internet mainly for coordination, communication first. Hence mailing list and email becomes dominant in our use [before the web]. We always manage a working group via mailing list. Every time we start a group, we set up a dedicated mailing list (Kristiawan, interview, 28/10/2005)

The example of *Yayasan SET* above reveals the relationship between attributes: trialability can only be observed when the technology is in use (e.g. using mailing list for each group) and observability can only be assessed from the trial in use (i.e. web for opening self to the world).

This is not specific to *Yayasan SET*. All other CSOs interviewed in the study confirm this suggestion. Idea dissemination carried out by *ELSPAT* through 'Wacana' e-journal, or *IGJ* through 'Global Justice Update' e-magazine, for example, did not happen in one go. Before the current versions of the e-publication, they had tried many other Internet based publications but they did not work. What work now are what they perceive to have met their organisations' purposes (interview with *ELSPAT*, 28/10/2005 and *IGJ*, 27/10/2005). Other examples such as a community forum run by *PRAXIS* over the web; advocacy coordination administered by *Foker Papua* by emails and a provision of cheap internet connection for the local community by *Yayasan Trukajaya*, to mention a few, are not a result of overnight adoption of the Internet. Again, the common-ground is clear: certain applications are only adopted when they fulfil the needs (interview with *PRAXIS*, 16/12/2005, *Foker Papua*, 26/11/2005 and *Yayasan Trukajaya*,



24/01/2006). They all evolve through a long trial-and-error process, thanks to the perception that the Internet could be tried and the results observed.

A careful look at the overall perceived attributes would result in the finding that it is the 'newness' embedded in Internet technology that brings so many qualities and drives CSOs to adopt it. If 'newness' can be found across all the attributes, to what extent does 'adoption of the new' consequently mean 'substitution of the old' technology in the organisation?

## **5.4. Technological substitution analysis: Complement, not substitution**

From adoption perspective, 'technological substitution' relates more closely to the 'relative advantage' attribute of innovations (Johnson and Bhatia, 1997)<sup>123</sup>. Among the characteristics of the Internet that are perceived to be most prominent by CSOs it is obviously its networking and communication features which fit well not only with the *way* CSOs work, but also with the *values* they have. (Survey data and interviews exposed in previous sections have strongly supported this claim.)

### **5.4.1. Mapping area of Internet use in Indonesian CSOs**

Indeed, the networking characteristic embedded in the Internet enables users to collaborate electronically by exchanging information and by allowing unparalleled levels of information openness (Mascitelli, 2000). For CSOs, this is a new dimension in the way they work within the network. Collaboration over the internet is thus considered more than just a technological substitution for traditional face-to-face collaboration (Lin et al., 2002; Rutkowski et al., 2002). Because, in addition to information exchanges, the Internet can also facilitate coordination of various decisions and activities (Johnson and Bhatia, 1997), despite fact that it is not yet fully geared up to optimise the management of knowledge among members in the collaboration (Warkentin et al., 1997).

In a simple way, the notion of technological substitution can be defined as the displacement of an older established technology by a newer technology whether from a related technology family or a new use of a different technology (Fisher and Pry, 1971; Kwasnicki and Kwasnicki, 1996; Mahajan and Muller, 1996). With this view in mind, the study managed to map several areas

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<sup>123</sup> In fact, when trying to model the diffusion of mobile communication, Johnson and Bhatia (1997) associate 'relative advantage' with 'technological substitution through technical superiority'.

where the Internet could, and has been, seen as technological substitution to serve different purposes of the organisations within civil society (the following points are derived both from survey and interview analysis):

1. The Internet is mainly seen as *advancement of technology in communication* which has the potential to dramatically lower communications costs and activities associated with it. As CSOs are often financially limited, using the Internet can help the organisations to communicate more economically with their partners and beneficiaries. Also, because CSOs work with diverse types of organisations, the need to communicate ideas and information with various audiences has evolved too. It is not only the content which matters, but the delivery as well. Delivering an idea to the general public, mass media, or groups of beneficiaries would require different customisation in the way it is communicated compared to, for example, coordination of certain actions with partner organisations. Here, the internet can also be seen as tool for *public relations*.
2. In line with above point, the Internet is understood as an *organisational management tool*. Included in this is the ability of the Internet to effectively help run and manage CSOs in ways that have never been done before. This includes instances like online staff meetings, online scheduling and calendar and online documentation. Some CSOs are now considering integrating other services to help them run the organisation more efficiently, such as online banking, online public-relations and even online volunteer or staff recruitment – at least when the necessary technology has been adopted more properly.
3. The Internet is perceived as the latest generation of *publication media*. A large number of Indonesian CSOs now use the Internet for publication purposes instead of using printed media. This means printing and distribution costs are sharply reduced and the coverage enabled by using such e-media is beyond what traditional media could reach. Indeed, in some cases, the function of the Internet as new publication media sometimes overlaps with its role as public relation tool.
4. Accordingly, the Internet is also seen as *means of campaigning and opinion building*. More CSOs in Indonesia are using the Internet to campaign and build public opinion on many issues, which can be from government policy, democratisation issues, public awareness about political participation, to consumers' interest on ethical, fair-traded and sustainably produced goods and services. Although the proportion of Internet users in Indonesia is still relatively small within the population (despite its quick growth) campaigning and opinion building via the Internet is considered effective as it highly

attracts support not only from other CSOs overseas, but also because such campaigns can be picked up by the media.

5. The Internet is seen as the most sophisticated apparatus for *building networks*, particularly because it increases visibility of organisations and makes contact among parties much easier. It is evident that networks of CSOs have increased dramatically since the use of the Internet.
6. Consequently, the Internet is also seen as advanced *collaborative instrument*. Today CSOs are faced with many multidimensional tasks and activities, which very rarely could be carried out on their own. Collaboration has thus become inseparable from the core works of CSOs. The Internet has made collaboration easy, as not only information and other resources can be shared over the net, but so can the responsibility and work division.
7. Last but not the least, the Internet is perceived to provide a new way for *fund-raising*. For many CSOs, the Internet actually has significant potential to mobilise public support, not only in terms of action support but also financial support. Although in Indonesia only few CSOs explore this potential (one example is *WALHI*, Indonesian Environmental NGO Network, which encourages public to support its activities by becoming “*Sahabat Walhi*” or “Friends of Walhi” and donating small amount of money via SMS or website, in addition to being involved in various activities<sup>124</sup>), but the Internet can also boost the organisational profile (e.g. by putting the organisations’ portfolio online) to attract new sponsors or donors.

The study tried to assess CSOs’ view about the Internet as technological substitution by asking them to rank the ways they have benefited from using the Internet in the survey. See Table 5.4.

The findings suggest that the Internet is seen as basically a step up from telephones and previous communication technologies, whose impact reduces to an ‘economy of presence’ which Mitchell recalls in his *E-topia* (Mitchell, 2000), defined by technological substitution or complementary effects on personal interaction.

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<sup>124</sup> See <http://www.walhi.or.id/sahabat> (viewed February 2007)

In what way has your organisation benefited from its use of the Internet?	Score	How the Internet is perceived as technological substitution. As ...
Building wider network with other organisation	1067	Apparatus for building network
More effective management of organisation (back-office & internal communication)	970	Organisational management tool
Cost saving in general	852	Advanced communication technology
Better publication/communication of idea with public/other organisation	850	Publication media, Public relation tool
Collaborative project with other organisation(s)	765	Advanced collaborative instrument
Fund-raising, including networking with donor	685	New way for fundraising
Campaign/Opinion building	574	Means for campaigning and opinion building
Other	41	

**Table 5.4. Technological substitution of the Internet adoption**

Score is calculated by multiplying the number of response for each item with relative weigh of the item.

Source: Fieldwork data. See Appendix A.1.6.1.

However, if the logic of this technological substitution view is rigidly followed, in a most exaggerated and simplistic version, presumably advances in Internet technology (including computers and electronic communications) would substitute for all form of personal interaction and obviate the need for travel (Audirac, 2005), which is very unlikely<sup>125</sup>. This is because electronic communication (as facilitated by the advancement of the Internet technology) and face-to-face, real interaction is very likely to be a *complement*, instead of a *substitute*. This has not only some conceptual grounds (as, in different context, theorised by Audirac, 2005; Glaeser, 1998; Mitchell, 2000) but also an empirical basis, as explored in this study<sup>126</sup>: *none* of the interviewed CSOs, while admitting the capability of the Internet to facilitate network of movement in a way that never happened before, *believe that the technology will fully ever replace direct, face-to-face communication and coordination*.

#### 5.4.2. Furthering communication and interaction among CSOs and with their partners

One factor affecting this situation is the nature of communication itself, which is often believed to have been rooted in the cultural context where the interaction takes place (Atkin et al., 1998; DeFleur, 1966; Thurlow et al., 2004). Such a thing can become crucial, especially when CSOs

<sup>125</sup> A classic example can probably be learned from urban study. Following the same logic of the Internet (and ICT in general) as technological substitution, not surprisingly then emerged the vision of "death of cities" which stimulated popular and academic debate (Audirac, 2005:122). Vast scholarly work tried to debunk the vision, one of which (Gaspar and Glaeser, 1996) discredited the "death of cities" by empirically showing that the rise in telephone use, a proxy for ICT, was not negatively correlated with urbanisation and that electronic and face-to-face contacts may be complements, not substitutes (Glaeser, 1998).

<sup>126</sup> Interview reveals this suggestion as apart from the survey item above, there was no other measure to assess technological substitution.

engage in complex activities like lobbying, in which communication cannot just simply done over the internet, such as experienced by IGJ.

Lobbying is [mostly done through] face-to-face meeting. For such purpose telephone is used only to follow up. But to maintain the lobby or to maintain the relationship with the bureaucrats we are lobbying, like the government, there is no other way except attending their programmes, engaging in face-to-face, direct communication. Only by doing so they will know us and trust can be built. Then, [when the contact is established,] we can use email if they want. Or, telephone ... (Hanim, interview, 27/10/2005)

The similar is also true when communication technology should be used to maintain the relationship between CSOs and their beneficiaries, like the instance of the *Jesuit Refugee Service*. The Internet is no use when it comes to maintaining bonds with refugees or displaced persons.

Of course one of our central activities is to make sure how the accompanying parties communicate well with the accompanied parties. Most of the accompanied are refugees, who are the poor among the poorest. Usually they do not have anything, so as you can imagine, we never communicate with the refugees over the Internet. Some refugees do communicate by hand-written letters. But of course the communication among us and our volunteer are mostly done by email (Kristanto, interview, 15/11/2005)

Another example will be when the activity implies multi-dimensional interaction, like building awareness for recruiting new staff or training beneficiary groups as often done by KAIL. "[F]or programmes aimed at awareness building, face-to-face meeting and personal discussion is far more important and intensive than using the Internet" (Sulistyowati, interview, 17/10/2005). ECOSOC finds that the Internet will never completely replace traditional communication devices as the problem of telecommunication infrastructure access still remains. "In addition to email, we still use postal mail or telephone for coordination and communication with colleagues in remote areas" (Palupi, interview, 29/10/2005). This is similar to the experience of YCHI. Although the Internet is recently available for the organisation, it is simply not internalised yet, even by the staff, who are more familiar with using the telephone. "For internal coordination we are still using telephone because it is still the most optimal [way of communication] for us. Yes, each of us has email address but we don't use it [for internal coordination]" (Koko, interview, 1/12/2005).

While YCHI's example confirms the above observation, given the context of the organisation's location in Banjar Baru, South Kalimantan, there is another example which shows why the Internet does (or will) not completely replace other means of communication. INFID, a long-established CSO in Indonesia which has used Internet and other ICT extensively still finds it difficult when it has to communicate with its media fellows. "We have been using Internet a lot in our organisation, but when we have to contact mass media, mostly we have to do it manually

over the phone or facsimile because they are still not used [to using the Internet]" (Susilo, interview, 1/12/2005).

Local context, or the context where the technology is used, seems to be critical here. This is what LP3ES, the oldest Indonesian research CSO, experiences with the Internet, which is typical for other research CSOs or think-tank organisations in the country. Internet is often promoted as research tool for its capability to deliver library-type information (e.g. Vadillo et al., 2006), or championed as means for group-learning or training for its capacity to mediate collaborative-learning (e.g. Thomas and Carswell, 2000). However Indonesian CSOs working in research and training area, like LP3ES, still find it difficult if Internet is to substitute older, less-modern types of technology for such works.

In our research work I think [the Internet] can help but there are still lots of limitations, because it depends very much about the nature of the information available in the Internet. If we are to find information about 'inflation rate', that is easy because [such information is] publicly available. But when we have to learn a condition of an area [particular to our research], most likely [such information about the area is] not available. So, we still have to search it manually and make use traditional libraries, and so on and so forth. And lastly, although Internet can be used in training, it actually provides so little help. An effective training must be delivered face-to-face [as it involves] presentation, sharing real experience, using modules and direct discussion. That's common for us (Hussein, interview, 6/12/2005).

This indicates that there are certain conditions upon which technological substitution can take place. One of which would be the distinction between the technicality aspect of the technology focussing on the artefacts (or 'what it can do', e.g. that Internet can be used as a library for data and an information repository) and the substantial aspect focussing on the contents (or 'what it actually does', e.g. that Internet actually stores only limited information about certain area of interests). Clearly in the instance of CSOs adopting the Internet, the promise that the Internet brings is not the main factor affecting the organisation to substitute or to complement other means of communication and networking, but it is the realised potential which really matters.

#### **5.4.3. Internet adoption in CSOs: Evolutionary or revolutionary?**

The question of whether the Internet is viewed as 'technological substitution' or, in contrast, as 'centre of socioeconomic progress' has been long rooted in the distinction between 'evolutionary' and 'revolutionary' views of technology (Freeman and Perez, 1998). The *evolutionary perspective* sees a series of technological improvements in a specific trajectory, like the famous example of mobile phones being the latest generation since Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone. Internet, in this view, is a continuation of communication technology. Meanwhile, the *revolutionary approach*, which believes that technological progress is at the core of

socioeconomic paradigm conceives that the effects of the Internet (and other ICT) are not specific to a sector of the economy, but presumably to all sectors because of the technological superiority of their communication, data processing, storage, retrieval and manipulation and organisation of digital information (Audirac, 2005; Freeman and Perez, 1998).

Almost all examples presented above, on how Indonesian CSOs adopt the Internet as technological substitution, actually are instances of the evolutionary perspective. To recall, the Internet has enabled impressive technological advances in communication, which have the potential to significantly reduce communications cost and all endeavours related to it. However, as shown above, at the empirical level, the substitution effect of the Internet might not be fully realised, in part because access to technology is still problematic and to some extent because of context-specific aspects that impede the technology from full exploitation.

Meanwhile, in a revolutionary perspective, technological artefacts like the Internet, together with its corresponding knowledge (e.g. applications and contents) and physical infrastructure (e.g., connection line, network access) are seen as an integral part of "both a technological and organisational revolution transforming all types of organisations, be they corporate, public, or civic"(Audirac, 2005:122). It is also within this argument that those all happen because the Internet has altered relationships within and between organisations as an agent of change (e.g. Coombs and Hull, 1996; Coombs et al., 1992; Dutton, 1999). This revolutionary view seems to have stemmed from discourses concerning IT in society (Miles, 1996). This shift is thought to be as historical as the Industrial Revolution in terms of its far and wide effects on society (Audirac, 2005).

This revolutionary perspective is actually also embraced by respondent CSOs. This can clearly be seen from the reasons for adoption given earlier in this section. Most of the reasons given, particularly the external ones, reflect CSOs' understanding that the Internet has revolutionary characteristics which can transform not only the organisations role in the society, but also to bring transformation to the society itself. In addition to the awareness that using the Internet can greatly transform organisational visibility and identity, CSOs realise that such usage has the potential to radically transform their role in social change within the country by becoming a knowledgeable and networked agent of change. The issue of how using the Internet transforms the organisations, however will be explored in the next chapter.

A general observation of this study so far is that, in the CSOs universe, *while* it can be clearly seen that *most CSOs understand the revolutionary characteristic of Internet technology* (as explained in the perceived attributes), *its adoption seems to have followed the evolutionary path.*

## 5.5. Revisiting diffusion stages

Diffusion theory suggests five stages of innovation adoption through *innovation-decision process*: knowledge, persuasion, decision, implementation, and confirmation (Rogers, 2003)<sup>127</sup>. Having presented all empirical findings about the diffusion of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs, we now revisit these stages and see if the theory helps in explaining the empirical evidence.

### 5.5.1. Stage One: Awareness building

The discussion about the adopter's characteristics above agrees with Rogers' suggestion that the process begins with the stage when decision-making unit "is exposed to an innovation's existence and gains an understanding of how it functions" (Rogers, 2003:171). Observations on the characteristics of Indonesian CSOs as potential adopters have shown strong evidence that this stage reflects the active process of the organisations to search for comprehension of the technology.

The use of the technology is not driven by a compulsive reaction toward advancement of technology, but by their growing needs and the context in which they operate. In other words, what characterises this first stage is something closer to 'building awareness', rather than 'acquisition of knowledge', of an innovation. Building awareness implies more active actions, whereas knowledge acquisition is more closely related to passive reactions, of the actor when they are confronted with an innovation.

This is similar to the stage of innovation-decision conveyed as 'awareness' by Hamelink (1984) or Prochaska's (et al., 1992) 'pre-contemplation' and 'contemplation' altogether. Most of the discussion about the characteristics of Indonesian CSOs in the initial stage of the adoption of the Internet shows how the organisations build their awareness: putting the use, and the needs of using the technology, within the context of organisations' principles and values; issues and concerns; and missions and goals. It is also this endeavour that further pushes the organisations to be aware of the non-technological aspects of the innovation that may hinder the adoption, such as availability of access and cost of use. To achieve all of these, it is very likely that Indonesian CSOs benefit from a network in which they collaborate or co-operate, which serves as a communication channel facilitating the exchange of information and experiences.

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<sup>127</sup> See Chapter One for more detailed account.



### **5.5.2. Stage Two: Attitude formation**

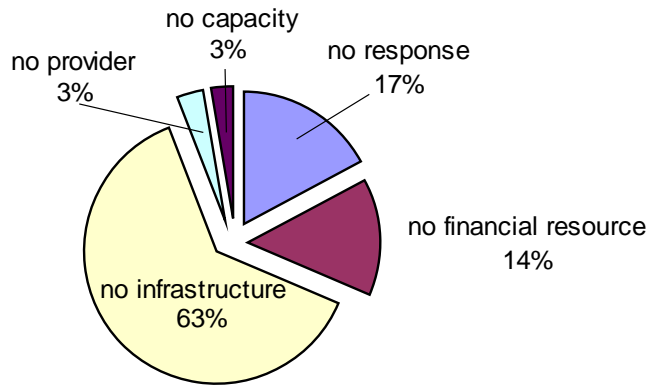
Another discussion on the perceived characteristics of the Internet as an innovation is also in accord with Rogers' theory that the potential adopter "forms a favourable or unfavourable attitude toward the innovation" (Rogers, 2003:174), which characterise the second stage of the adoption. At this stage, as observed, Indonesian CSOs becomes more involved with the Internet in a more selective perception as the general perception about the Internet itself is developed. In addition to its capacity for information acquisition, the Internet is perceived to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the organisations' work. However CSOs do not adopt the Internet because of social status or self esteem.

In other words, although Internet is perceived to bring relative advantage, CSOs need to make sure that it is compatible with the organisations' existing values, experiences and needs before deciding to use it. Also at this stage, although CSOs find that the technological complexities of the Internet do hamper its adoption, if they are convinced that the benefit outweighs the difficulty, they force themselves to adopt. What is seen here is the stage where CSOs form their own attitude towards the technology. It is not just that the CSOs merely fine-tune themselves with the technological characteristics of the Internet, but that they also exploit the technological features of the Internet and use it to meet their needs.

This process is referred to in this study as *attitude formation*, which is similar to the stages suggested by Engel (et al., 2001) as 'exposure' and 'attention'. Rogers stresses that the stage of persuasion is equivalent to attitude formation and change, but not necessarily in the direction intended by some particular source, such as a change agent (Rogers, 2003:175). From the evidence, however, this study suggests otherwise: the second stage is more one of attitude formation, rather than of persuasion, because the way the innovation's attributes are perceived follows a certain direction intended by CSOs themselves. In other words, they form their own organisational attitudes for using the Internet.

### **5.5.3. Stage Three: Adoption**

The study does not find that decision stage occurs in the instance of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet. The survey indeed finds that 13.06% of observed CSOs do not use the Internet. However, it is not because they reject the Internet. Rather, it is mainly because of the unavailability of infrastructure and the absence of financial resource. In a case where the infrastructure is in place and financial capacity is not a problem, it is either the absence of the Internet provider or lack of capacity (knowledge and skill) that hamper its uptake.



**Figure 5.8. Reasons for not using the Internet**

*N=268; multiple responses possible*

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

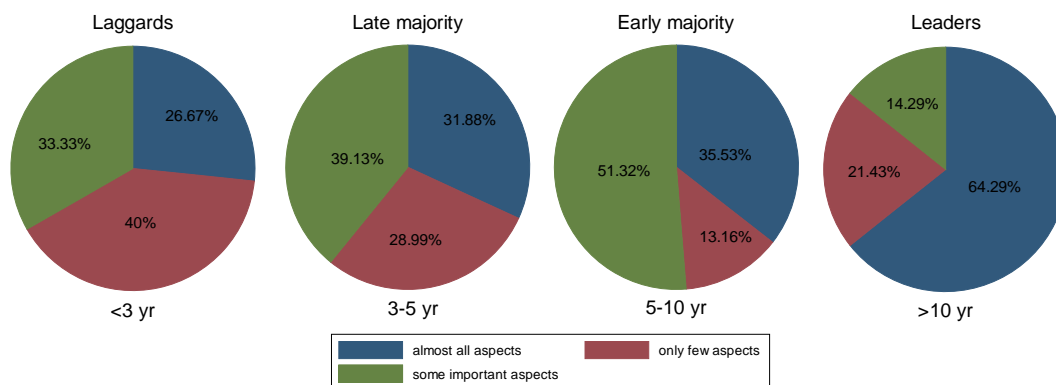
The whole investigation so far argues that instead of having a *decision* stage as suggested by Rogers, the third stage is the *adoption* itself. Although the theory posits that at this stage there will be probationary period where an innovation is tested to determine its usefulness, Indonesian CSOs instead have embraced more-or-less the same *idea* that Internet is in essence useful. As exposed in many evidences above, most CSOs have already been convinced that the Internet has at least a certain degree of relative advantage (as reflected mainly in the internal reason for adoption) and compatibility (as reflected mainly in the external reason) and thus have already decided to adopt it.

The *trial* is important in this stage as it does not serve as a 'test' of the innovation as suggested by the theory, but rather as '*practice*', i.e. familiarisation of the technology, with some customisation to meet the needs of the organisation. Another explanation, this study suggests, lies in the nature of the Internet technology itself. Some other innovations cannot be divided for trial and so they must be adopted or rejected *in toto* ('in its entirety'), which is not the case with the Internet. As explored earlier different CSOs in different categories use different technology according to their needs, some at a smaller and some at a larger scale. This scalable trial is often an important part in the adoption (Rogers, 2003:177) and is proven to be significant during this stage. This stage is very similar to what Cooper and Zmud conceptualise as 'adoption' and 'adaptation' altogether (Cooper and Zmud, 1990) or Engel's (et al., 2001) 'comprehension'.

#### **5.5.4. Stage Four: Adaptation**

The study finds that at stage four, instead of implementation, what characterises this stage in the case of Indonesian CSOs is *adaptation*. Rogers' notion of implementation, in a way, can be understood as a 'fit-in' mechanism, i.e. using the technology –in the way it is intentionally designed for (or 'according to standard')—to satisfy the needs of the organisation. This can be seen as though the 'solution' lies in the artefacts of technological innovation which then answers

the 'problem' that organisations have (Graham, 1999:39-41; Rogers, 2003:179). This notion is, however, different to what this study has observed. Instead of fitting-in, CSOs *adapt* the Internet according to the organisations' needs. CSOs *reconfigure* the Internet in the sense that they arrange and rearrange the setting of the technology that allow for furtherance and elaboration of the organisation's goals, strategies and activities.



**Figure 5.9. In what aspect of the CSOs' work has the Internet been used?**

*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey*

It can be seen that the integration of the technology into the organisations' works takes time. The study finds that having less control in hardware acquisition (in addition to the financial constraints, this is sometimes also because of donors' intervention —certain donors would 'strongly suggest' their CSO recipients use certain products) and slightly more control in software selection (like installing certain applications or platforms) have, to some extent, caused CSOs work hard in the configuration. For instance, although facing the risk of breaching warranty conditions and property rights, CSOs often configure single-machine applications to be available for many systems. Another example is that it has long been common to see archetypal IT resource sharing like internet, printer or storage within one organisation. But, it is now becoming more common that a single internet connection is shared between more than two CSOs; or one web-mail account is used by many people (even many organisations) as 'easy-to-access' online data storage instead of normal email.

This all suggests that it is within this stage, which is similar to what Cooper and Zmud (1990) suggest about 'acceptance' plus 'routinisation' altogether, that the CSOs build their capability to (re)configure the technology to meet their need. Fuller exploration on what is conceptualised as 'configurational capability' must wait until the next chapter.

### 5.5.5. Stage Five: Appropriation

Instead of confirmation, the study suggests that the last stage in the innovation-decision process in the case of Indonesian CSOs Internet adoption is *appropriation*. After adaptation stage,

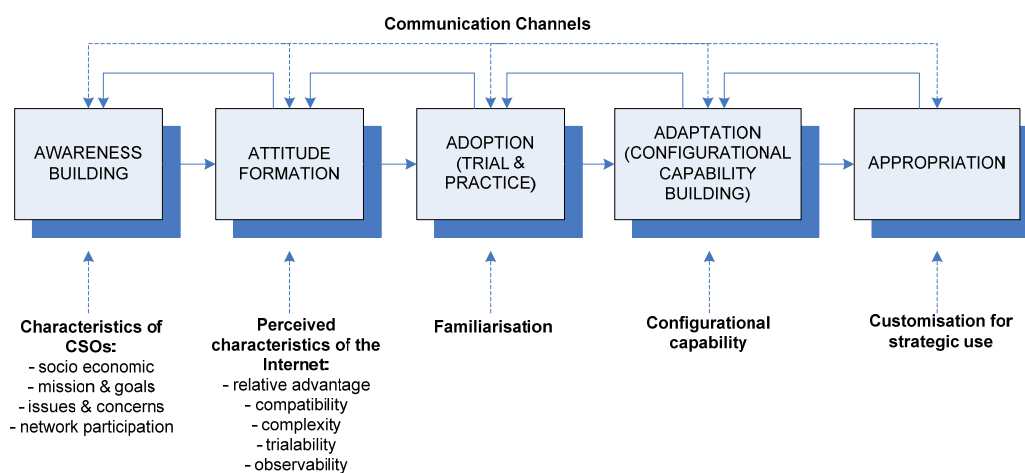
additional effort is required to further customise the technology so that it addresses the specific, more long-run needs of the organisation. This is what CSOs term as 'strategic use', i.e. where the CSOs use the Internet (and other ICT) for their own purposes, utilising it to achieve their own objectives and make it their own. The typical examples in the study are uploading local content on the web in local languages (e.g. for communication with a local network, beneficiaries or local media), and/or specific application which is designed for a specific need (e.g. publication, campaign, opinion building, among others).

At this stage, CSOs use the Internet for creating political and social impact. The Internet is not only a technology that can be used to quickly pass memos and reports to colleagues, but it also has the potential to be a 'platform' for organising strategic activities of CSOs. Among possible appropriations, the fieldwork suggests these include building and strengthening the identity of CSOs in social reform through building coalition and creating networks of movement. This is highly evident across the data gathered in the fieldwork: the stage of appropriation reflects the ideal condition where the Internet is addressed strategically towards CSOs' need for movement, development and networks. The parallel of this stage might be termed an 'infusion' stage (Cooper and Zmud, 1990) or 'assimilation' stage (Swanson and Ramiller, 2004).

What has been presented here is basically a revisit, or modification, of Rogers' (2003) diffusion stages based on the empirical observation of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet. This study will use this finding to explain further evidences.

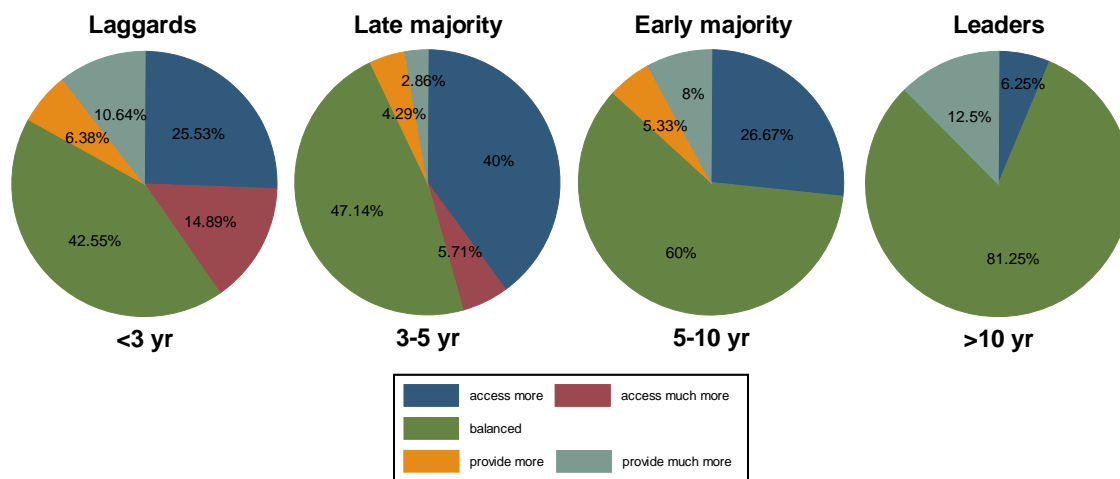
### 5.5.6. Innovation-decision process for Internet adoption in CSOs

The empirical innovation-decision stages suggested above, however, are not linear in practice. In fact, at any stage, CSOs may reverse the decision and/or return to previous stages according to the particular circumstances in which they work.



**Figure 5.10. Empirical stages of innovation-decision process in Internet adoption in CSOs**  
*Modification of Rogers' (2003) stages of innovation-decision process, based on empirical observation.*

As the survey data shows, when CSOs traverse those stages, their participation in exchanging information will increase. This is marked by the increasing balance of 'access vs. provide' the information over the Internet which characterise their pattern of use. As clearly shown in the Figure 5.13. below, the longer they use (in other words: the farther CSOs have traversed across the stages of innovation-decision), the more balanced their participation in the information exchange.



**Figure 5.11. Pattern of use in each adopter category**  
*N=268; only single response allowed*  
*Source: Author, based on fieldwork survey data*

The empirical perspective may help to explain how as the need for CSOs to transform the society increases, they are also urged to change from their roles as passive users of the Internet (recipient) into active participants, because the Internet has increasingly become an integrated part of that society. As Surman and Reilly say,

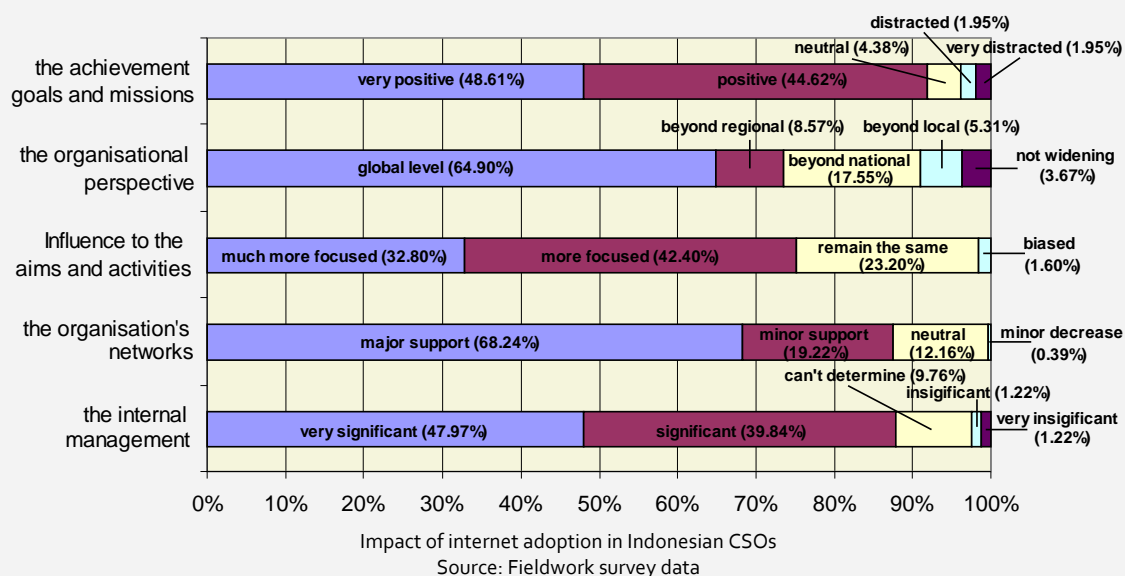
Unless we move beyond the role of information consumers to also act also producers and participants, those technologies that have powerful potential today may quickly become the consumer mush of tomorrow (Surman and Reilly, 2003:10).

This echoes Gordon Graham (1999) posit on the philosophical nature of the Internet;

While it is true that the Internet can be used as a source of information ... it is far more than this. In short, it is not merely possible to *observe* the world of the Internet; it is possible to *exist* and to *act* in it. It is this that has brought into currency the term 'cyberspace' –an entirely new 'spatial' dimension created by cybernetics, a dimension in which we can have a life (Graham, 1999:24, original emphasis).

### Box 5.2. Weighing impacts of Internet appropriation

Surman and Reilly (2003) offer a simple framework to understand different extents of Internet use in CSOs by posing three steps in a 'ladder', i.e. access, adoption and appropriation. While Camacho's and Surman's model offers simplicity to understand different levels that CSOs should use to maximise the benefit of using the ICT, the model proposed by this study provides more details in comprehending the course of actions involved during the innovation-decision process when CSOs (in this instance, Indonesian) adopt the Internet technology until they fully appropriate it. What matters here, empirically, is the impact of such adoption and use on the performance of the organisation. Survey data shows that the overall effect of the Internet use supports the argument that the Internet has been a 'convivial medium' for CSOs, as concluded by Lim (2003) following Illich's prophetic vision on human-technology relation (Illich, 1973).



More than 92% of Indonesian CSOs who have used the Internet find that such use positively or very positively affected the achievement of the organisations' goals and missions. Using the Internet has widened nearly two-third of CSOs' perspective to global level or at least beyond the regional, national or local boundary. As a consequence, the use of the Internet has become the major support for CSO networks expansion and significantly or very significantly increases the performance of the internal management as it helps the organisation to become more focused or much more focused in their aims and activities.

This discussion resonates with other previous studies concerning international CSOs who appropriate ICTs for establishing collaboration, publishing (campaign), mobilisation and observation (watchdog activities) (Camacho, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003). Other possible appropriation of the Internet is to use as alternative media (Bennett, 2003) to foster social movements. Such appropriation is possible as by nature CSOs work in networks that link a multiplicity of actors (Anheier et al., 2002; Curtis and Zurcher, 1973; Gerlach and Hine, 1970) which is necessary for facilitating their work to achieve their mission, for example furthering democratisation (Uhlen, 1997; 2000) or taking initiatives for conflict resolution in volatile areas with continuous fighting among tribes as well as civil groups (Hill and Sen, 2002).

Yet, given the abundant possibilities of such appropriation, the actual use of the Internet among Indonesian CSOs seems to be seriously lacking behind what they actually can benefit from it. This is, by all accounts, not only a problem for CSOs in developing countries like Indonesia who have limited access to ICT infrastructure, but for CSOs worldwide in general (Surman and Reilly, 2003).

[I]n many cases, they are simply using them without any thought about where and how these technologies fit into the political work for which they feel so much passion. It is not that these organisations use networked technologies completely without question or critique, but rather that they don't take the time to consider how they can be using these technologies most strategically. (Surman and Reilly, 2003:1)

Therefore it is important to explore empirically how CSOs in different contexts and settings appropriate Internet strategically and politically so that it matches their own missions and goals.

Source: Fieldwork data, author's reflection

Clearly, the Internet is naturally comparable with other major 'epoch-making' inventions like the automobile or the telephone, which has power to transform "not only the context in which the user lives but also the user itself" (Graham, 1999). This has laid foundation for CSOs not only to adopt, but to appropriate the Internet to achieve their missions and goals and further their agenda.

## 5.6. Conclusions

Understanding the diffusion of the Internet in the CSOs brings some interesting insights. Firstly and most importantly, as hypothesised, the adoption of the Internet by Indonesian CSOs diverges in some respects from what the diffusion of innovations theory suggests. The divergence may arguably be rooted in the different nature of CSOs compared to that of business organisations which may be the foundation for most of the diffusion research. Among the marked differences is (i) how CSO characteristics influence the rate of adoption; (ii) how perceived attributes about the Internet influence reason for adoption and (iii) how different stages occur in the innovation-decision process.

Secondly, one aspect contributing to the meaningful adoption or diffusion of the Internet in the Indonesian CSO universe lies in the nature of the technology and its provision. While the Internet has a transformative character as it has a major impact upon the form of social and political life (Graham, 1999:37), the realisation of its potential is often hampered by unequal access and unavailability of the technological artefacts and infrastructure, which is still problematic across the archipelago.

Thirdly, concerning CSOs as users, the study argues that it is their configurational capability in using the Internet that contributes to the diversion in the diffusion process, especially in the stages during the innovation-decision process. Indonesian CSOs are not in the position to question whether or not the Internet will be adopted, rather, *how* to adopt it. As the non-linear progress of the Internet technology has in fact left organisations with much less choice in the selection of the technological artefacts (hardware and software), CSOs are forced to be able to configure and reconfigure the technology to meet their needs. This is the strongest evidence from this study.

Lastly, focusing on the interplay between the technology (Internet) and the user (Indonesian CSOs), the study suggests that appropriation not only refers to the last stage in the innovation-decision process, but also reflects a constitutive ground where CSOs find the Internet a convivial

medium for their endeavours. It is only within such appropriation that CSOs can fully realise the potential of the Internet to achieve their missions and goals, and also at the same time are aware of the transformative capacity of the technology to the organisation.

Only when technology has been integrated in the organisation's work and understanding, its potential can be realised without the organisation being subjugated by the deterministic view of the technology, or the technology being vanquished by the voluntaristic stance of the organisations –as reflected in Palupi's, the Executive Director of *Institute ECOSOC*, addressed in the beginning of this chapter.

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# Chapter 6

## Using and implementing the Internet in CSOs

### *Tales from the field*

*We have used the Internet for one advocacy work recently. It involved many other CSOs from different places across the country. Although we just used email and mailing list, the advocacy was successful (Ismunandar, SPeK-HAM, interview, 17/11/2005).*

As use of information and communication technologies (ICTs), particularly the Internet, increases and becomes an integral part of daily life for many, the concern of Internet research appears to have shifted from 'who uses the technology' to 'what is it that users do with the technology' and 'how do they use it' (see Castells, 1996; 1997; 1999; Dutton, 1999; Thurlow et al., 2004, among many others). Following on from the diffusion analysis of the Internet in civil society organisations (CSOs) in Indonesia, this chapter focuses on what these CSO organisations use the Internet for –and how they use it—via an assessment of stages in the implementation process (Rogers, 2003). The aim is to examine if there is revision in the stages compared to what Rogers suggests.

To sharpen the examination, the 'strategising framework of Information Systems' (Galliers, 2004) is used to analyse the stages of the Internet use in Indonesian CSOs to see if they are similar or markedly different, given the ontologically different nature of the organisations. Then, by mapping strategic areas of implementation, this chapter aspires to address how the evolution of implementation and learning processes can be properly understood for further conceptualisation. For this purpose, previous studies in Internet and CSOs are referred to (e.g. Camacho, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003).

This chapter starts by recalling implementation frameworks of innovation adoption in organisations offered by diffusion theory (Rogers, 2003) and Information Systems strategising (Galliers, 2004), and putting them side-by-side with the empirical stages that this study has found<sup>128</sup>. This will shed light in the following part where each empirical implementation stage is examined more closely, by exploring some case studies to map some strategic uses of the Internet in the organisations. The subsequent part then discusses some common features across case study observations, with some help from structural perspective (Orlikowski, 2000)

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<sup>128</sup> See Chapter Five, Section 5.5.5. and 5.5.6. Empirical stages of innovation-decision process, modifying Rogers' (2003) diffusion stages.

before offering conceptualisation<sup>129</sup>. Finally the chapter the chapter closes with some tentative conclusions relating to the shifts in stages of implementation.

## 6.1. Framing implementation stages

In order to explain the implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs, it is necessary to bring together both theoretical and empirical frameworks, and to build an approach to learn the real experience of some Indonesian CSOs.

### 6.1.1. Implementation frameworks: Theoretical vs. empirical

Diffusion theory informs us that implementation generally begins when a decision-making unit puts an innovation to use, i.e. that implementation follows the decision stage rather directly (Rogers, 2003:179). In the organisational context, however, the process is slightly different and implies an important distinction between *initiation stage* and *implementation stage* (Damanpour, 1991; Rogers, 2003). In order to frame the implementation stage for further exploration and analysis in this study, both theoretical perspectives (particularly Galliers (2004) and Rogers (2003)) and empirical observation (as depicted in *Chapter Five*) are recalled and brought to attention<sup>130</sup>.

The **initiation phase** is characterised by *awareness building* and *attitude formation* stages. The empirical observation shows that **awareness building** begins when the CSOs actively search for comprehension of the technology and put the use and the needs of using it within the context of organisations' principles and values. This stage is similar to Rogers' *agenda-setting* (2003:422-423), characterised by problem definition, prioritisation of needs and active search for innovation to contribute to problem solving. Although the characteristics are also similar to those of Galliers' *exploration strategy* (2004:255-256; Newell et al., 2003) they are not directly parallel, for in Galliers' framework exploration here would only occur after adoption. Similarly, the observed **attitude formation** stage is highly akin to Rogers' *matching* (2003:423-424) in the sense that both are concerned with putting innovation into a problem, fine-tuning and exploiting the innovation within the context of the organisation. This stage happens when the CSOs fine-tune themselves

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<sup>129</sup> For detailed accounts on Orlikowski's and Gallier's frameworks, see **Chapter One**.

<sup>130</sup> The observation based on the empirical work of this study suggests that Indonesian CSOs adopt and use the Internet in slightly different stages to what Rogers (2003) suggests. Although the particular findings are meant to provide explanation about the innovation-decision process in CSOs universe, it is arguably comparable with what Rogers theorises as 'innovation-process in organisations' (Rogers, 2003:421) as it concerns the organisation as decision-making unit. For more detailed summary see Chapter Five, Part 5.5.6., Figure 5.11

with the technological characteristics and exploit the technological feature of innovation and put it within the context of their needs. Yet, although similar, it is not comparable to Galliers' *exploitation strategy* (2004:255-256; Newell et al., 2003), for exploration in Galliers' term presupposes the adoption.

The **implementation phase**, comprises three stages. It starts when **adoption** takes place, i.e. when the CSOs decide to adopt and start using the technology through trial and practice, or familiarisation. However, this stage is not immediate compared with *redefining/restructuring* which theoretically begins as soon as the decision to adopt has occurred (Rogers, 2003:424-427). Because of the CSOs nature, familiarisation often takes place at organisational level and thus becomes more akin to 'widespread use across organisation' which characterises the *clarifying* stage as suggested by Rogers (2003:427-428) instead. But familiarisation in this sense also closely implies reconfiguration of the technology and of its use or/and restructuring of organisation which are both characteristics of Rogers' *redefining/restructuring*.

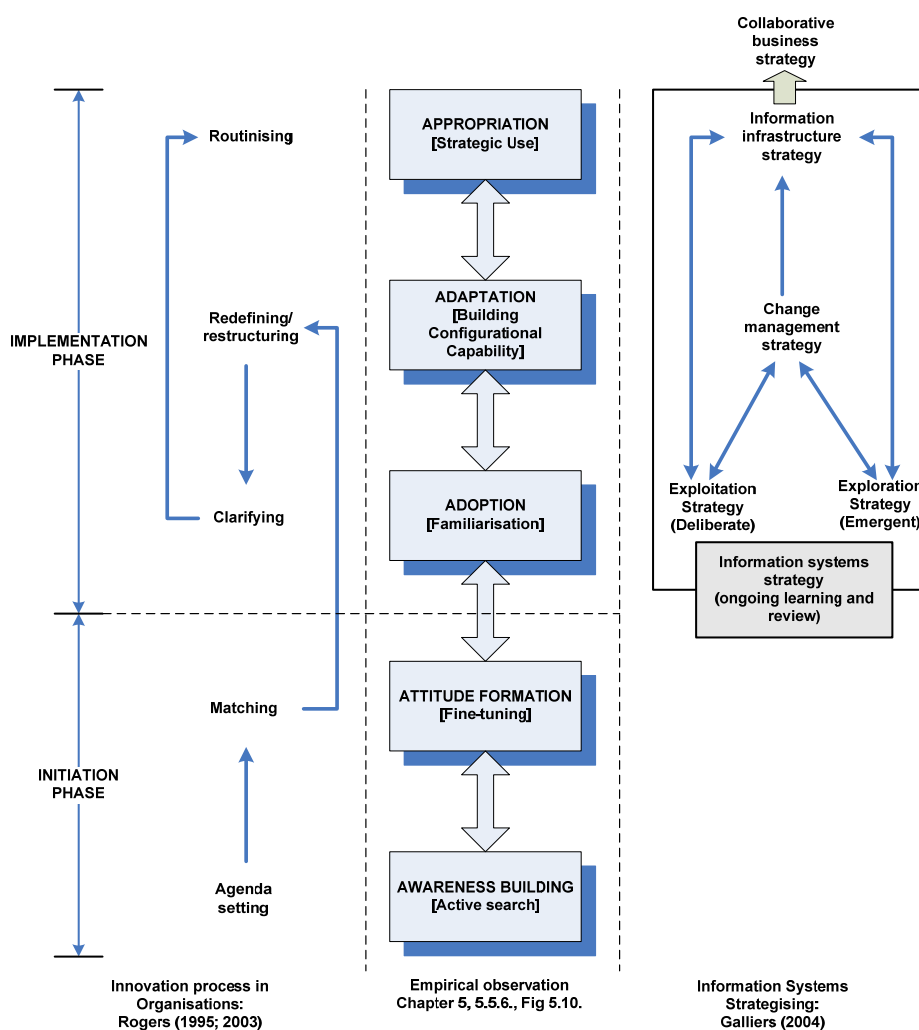
Likewise, observed **adaptation** stage occurs when the CSOs build its own capability to configure and reconfigure the Internet to meet their organisations' need. This is marked by building organisation's *configurational capability*, i.e. capacity and ability to arrange and rearrange setting of the technology to support the achievement of organisations' missions and goals. This is more parallel to Rogers' *redefining/restructuring* rather than *clarifying* (Rogers, 2003) as the stage addresses reinvention of innovation to accommodate the organisation's needs as well as restructuring of the organisation to fit the innovation. Yet, it implies a great deal of familiarisation through trial and practice in organisation level, which refers back to *clarifying*. What can be said here, at least, is that there is no clear boundary in the first two theoretical stages of implementation (*redefining/restructuring* and *clarifying*) which can explain the corresponding observed stages (*adoption* and *adaptation*).

Galliers' framework (2004) may be able to provide some insights to explain this difference. First, in order to be able to arrive at an information infrastructure strategy (i.e. adoption of information *technology* and implementation of information *system*), both *exploration* of knowledge (pursuing innovation) and its *exploitation* (pursuing efficiency) (as noted by Newell et al., 2003) must be incorporated. It is possible that different approaches, both in exploration and exploitation, are implemented in tandem (Galliers, 2004; Newell et al., 2003). Second, it is the role of *change management strategy* that is crucial in the adaptation-like stage. Not only that it is through which the incorporation of both exploitation and exploration transpires, but a successful change management strategy requires an expansion of view, from a relatively narrow, isolated, technologically-oriented activity, to also include the people, culture and values of the organisation (Galliers, 2004:248; quoting Sauer et al., 1997; and Scott-Morton, 1991). In the other

words, the focus of an information infrastructure strategy is not only about the technology *artefacts* but rather information technology as *systems* in the organisation.

It is with this understanding that the last stage, **appropriation**, can be properly understood. *Appropriation* is observed to happen when the technology is used *strategically*, i.e. to advance the achievement of organisations' objectives. This is comparable with Rogers' notion, *routinising* (Rogers, 2003:428-430) and understandably shares parallel characteristic of actions like 'search for strategic use' and 'incorporation of innovation into organisation's regular activities'. To Galliers, appropriation can only occur when an information system strategy has been continuously integrated within the organisations' strategy, and aims not only to enhance organisational performances (internal) but aspires for a collaborative strategy with other organisations (external) to respond to both collaborative and competitive environment (Galliers, 2004:257).

To recap, overall parallelisation between empirical observation and theoretical frameworks as explained above is depicted in Figure 6.1. below.



**Figure 6.1. Implementation stages: Empirical observation vs. theoretical frameworks**  
 Source: *Observation and theoretical frameworks (Galliers, 2004; Rogers, 2003): modified and simplified*

The conceptualisation as explained and depicted in the simple diagram above is used to help the study to explore and explain the **stages within the implementation phase** in a greater detail. To achieve this, a number of exploratory case studies are presented in the following parts to portray and to understand the stages during implementation phase when Indonesian CSOs adopt and use the Internet technology<sup>131</sup>.

### 6.1.2. Building case studies: Telling stories from the field

Of the 35 organisations involved in this research by means of interviews and direct observations, six CSOs are selected to be presented as brief case studies to understand the implementation stage of Internet use in Indonesian CSOs. There are substantial and practical reasons in selecting these organisations. All interviewed CSOs represent the diverse nature of Indonesian CSOs in terms of paradigm (political orientation), approach (organisational structure) and activism (issues, concerns, and area of activities)<sup>132</sup>. They have also adopted and used the Internet quite intensively and extensively for a period of time. However, not all of them have recollection and reflection of their experience at the detailed level needed by this study. This is partly because they have not reflected their Internet use before being confronted by this study<sup>133</sup>. Therefore, while this study tries to reconstruct their experience in order to build the cases, in practical terms, it needs the data which has to be verifiable within limited resource available for this study. This is why, for example, despite the diverse nature of these organisations they all are based in the island of Java.

From six organisations, two are used to explain the dynamics of each implementation stage in a much clearer and detailed accounts as case studies. It does not mean that organisations being selected to represent Stage 1 (adoption), for example, have not traversed to Stage 2 (adaptation) or Stage 3 (appropriation). Likewise, CSOs telling story about Stage 3 did not actually leap stage 1 or 2. In fact, these selected CSOs are early adopters and they have all traversed through all stages within the implementation phase. The emphasis is mainly based on their detailed recollection of the corresponding stages. However, the study is aware of some implications of their stories being clearer at certain points. One implication is probably more substantial: the story being told may indicate the CSOs' subjective judgement over particular issues (either positive or negative) taking place during the particular stages. But even if this is the case, at least

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<sup>131</sup> Stages within initiation phase have been discussed in Chapter Five. *Awareness building* is explained through the discussion of *adopters' characteristics* and summarised in the *diffusion stage* discussion. Likewise, *attitude formation* issues are touched upon when discussing the *perceived attributes of the innovation* and also put into context in the discussion about *diffusion stages*. This follows Rogers *innovation-decision process* (2003:170).

<sup>132</sup> Recall **Chapter Four Section 4.4., Figure 4.4.** on the mapping of respondent CSOs in the interview.

<sup>133</sup> This issue will be explored further in **Chapter Seven**.

it reflects some important issues that this study should take into account. Another implication is perhaps methodological. The lessons learned from the case, if they are to be generalised in other context, cannot be more than suggestive. The profile of the six organisations included in the brief case studies are summarised below.

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6
CSO	YPBB	YDA	JRS	INFID	AKATIGA	IGJ
Established	1993	1996	1998	1985	1991	2001
Full-timer	4	16	176	25	20	6
Annual turnover	IDR50M (USD6.25K)	Not disclosed	IDR100B (USD12.5M)	"Several billion"IDR	IDR1-2B (USD125-250k)	IDR1-2B (USD125-250k)
Orientation	Development	Mixed	Advocacy	Advocacy	Mixed	Mixed
Organisation Structure	Centralised	Mixed	Networked	Networked	Mixed	Centralised
Main issue	Environment; sustainable development; organic living	Farmer's rights; rural development	Internally displaced persons (IDPs); refugees' rights	Bilateral and multilateral loans; development policies; structural poverty	Labour; small & micro entrepreneurship; rights of the poor	Globalisation; WTO-related issues; international/ regional trade agreement
Main activity	Campaign; education; research; bio diversity park	Education; advocacy; public discourse; database; capacity building	Campaign; advocacy of IDPs' rights; organising IDPs	Campaign; research; publication; lobby; training; mobilisation	Research; publication; documentation; training	Research; publication; documentation; lobby; training
Adopter category	Early adopter	Early adopter	Early adopter	Leader	Early adopter	Early adopter
ICT expenditure	IDR10M (USD1.25k)	Not disclosed	IDR80M (USD10k)	Not disclosed, but "high"	Not disclosed, but "significant"	Not disclosed, but "quite big"
Internet access	Dial-up; telecentres	Dial-up; broadband	Dial-up; broadband; telecentres	Broadband	Dial-up; broadband	Broadband
Internet technology mostly used	Email; mailing list; Web	Email; mailing list; web; blog	Email; mailing list; web; VoIP	Email; mailing list; web;	Email; mailing list; web;	Email; mailing list; web; VoIP
Implementation stage being reflected	1	1	2	2	3	3
	Adoption	Adoption	Adaptation	Adaptation	Appropriation	Appropriation

**Table 6.1. Brief case study: Profile of respondent CSOs**

Source: Author; data collected during the fieldwork and valid as per April 2006

It can be seen that while these organisations represent the diversity of Indonesian CSOs in terms of nature and structure, they share apparent similarities in terms of adopter category, access, and Internet use. These similarities, as *ceteris paribus* variables, will help the study to explore and identify important features in different stages of implementation phase. However, the study needs to take into account whether these dynamics are also affected by the different nature and structure of the organisations.

## 6.2. Stage I – Adoption and familiarisation: When CSOs start using the Internet

The first stage of the Internet implementation in the CSOs starts when the organisation decides to adopt the technology by means of *trials* and *practices*, or familiarisation. Two brief case studies below explore the details of this stage.

### 6.2.1. Case: Yayasan Pengembangan Biosains dan Bioteknologi (YPBB)

(Source: Survey and interview with David Sutasurya, Founder and Coordinator, 16/11/2005)

*Yayasan Pengembangan Biosains & Bioteknologi* (Foundation for Development of Bioscience and Biotechnology) or YPBB, was set up in 1993 in Bandung. YPBB is an Indonesian CSO working on the issue of promotion of sustainable livelihood. In terms of size and finance, YPBB is a small organisation. Currently managing income around IDR50M (USD6.25k) annually, sourced from combination of international donors, self-funding and government's fund, YPBB works with only four full-timers and similar number (although fluctuating) of part-timers.

However, realising the growing importance of information and communication for its successful activities, YPBB has taken a great risk by allocating some 25% of its relatively small annual turnover for ICT spending: a smaller proportion for hardware purchase and a much bigger proportion for covering the cost of Internet access. YPBB has been using the Internet since 1995 mainly for efficiency reason (in communication and coordination with staff and volunteers) and environment concern (reduce the use of paper, travel, etc.). As its coordinator said,

[We use the Internet because of] efficiency reason. Surely. In the future, [the use of the Internet] is to promote home-office concept. Or virtual office. It is actually about distributing more works to homes. Another reason [for using the Internet] in fact since long time ago, is our own vision of efficiency and environment sustainability. Using [the Internet for] home or virtual office for us [means] saving energy, preventing unnecessary pollution from transportation, saving space for office, and many others. We do have office but apply a minimum system: rotation for PC use, most staff work from home. We go the office only for meeting (Sutasurya, interview, 16/11/2005)

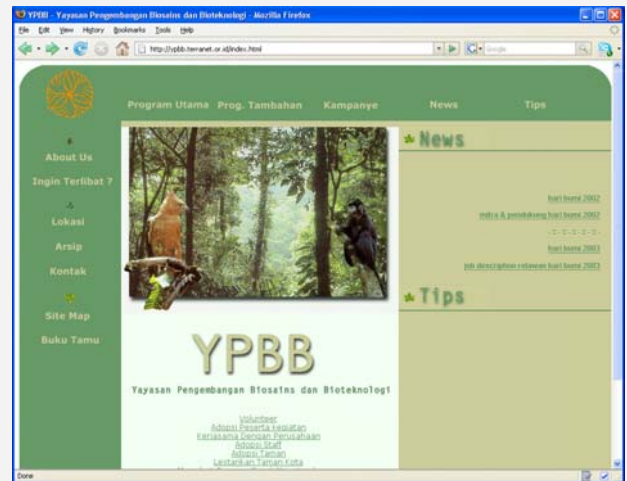
Once YPBB managed to rent an office in 1998 (as it needed more space for equipments, books and temporary lodging for guest staff or volunteers)<sup>134</sup>, access to the Internet was provided through a dial-up connection with a local provider. YPBB primarily uses email and mailing lists for works and the WWW for information search. With help of *Terranet* ([www.terranet.or.id](http://www.terranet.or.id), *environment and sustainable development internet portal* –who also helps other small, mostly environmental CSOs), YPBB runs its static, HTML-based website mainly for public-relation purposes and publication of their research and compilation of information.

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<sup>134</sup> When this study is being written up in early 2007, YPBB has actually moved forward. It does not any longer rent space for its office. Instead, it has been fully using the Internet and slowly-but-surely realising its own vision of "home office" where all staffs and volunteers work from their homes. This has been one year, since 2006.

### Box 6.1. YPBB and the vision of an environmentally friendly, virtual office

Yayasan Pengembangan Biosains & Bioteknologi (Foundation for Development of Bioscience and Biotechnology) or YPBB, established in 1993 in Bandung, is an environment-cum-development CSO working on the issue of promotion of sustainable livelihood through promotion of organic living and protection of biodiversity, by means of popular education. YPBB aspires to help and support society to adopt an organic lifestyle and to achieve a high quality of life through environmentally friendly (organic) lifestyles. Its strategic programmes comprise of (i) education, (ii) community building and (iii) promotion of a living habitat conducive to learning and implementation of an organic, environmentally friendly, lifestyle.



Website of YPBB: Static, HTML based  
<http://ypbb.terranet.or.id/> (consulted 28/02/07)

To implement the programmes, YPBB focuses on four main activities: promoting human-environment relationship through various activities like natural tourism and biodiversity park; campaigning organic living and thinking through environment education and campaigns; researching, documenting, developing and promoting organic lifestyle based on local resources; and campaigning the use of local biodiversity. In terms of size and finance, YPBB is a small organisation. However, during its projects and activities YPBB always mobilises and, so far is able to, manages a great number of volunteers, mostly young people and students. It is not just because its strategy of working with the volunteers, but also how it effectively uses the Internet so that it helps the organisation to keep overhead costs low.

YPBB has been using the Internet since 1995, before it had a permanent office, mainly for the reason of efficiency. Although YPBB only uses basic Internet applications like email, mailing lists and the WWW over dial-up connection via Melsa-Net, they are utilised to the maximum level. The Internet in YPBB is used mainly to communicate ideas among staff and supporters; to mobilise local, national and international volunteers; to advertise public programmes; and to facilitate all organisation's works. Inspired by WWF's (Worldwide Wildlife Fund) website, YPBB is now planning to upgrade its own website from static HTML to dynamic content not only as a stepping point towards its vision of 'environmentally friendly, virtual office', but strategically for inviting a larger audience and other CSOs to become involved with its activities through interactive interfaces. The new design is depicted below.



New design of YPBB's website  
 (Currently under construction)

The new design, to be implemented soon, reflects how YPBB adopts and integrates the Internet into its work. Not only is the new design more dynamic, but it brings together the functionalities that YPBB would expect from a virtual office. The website is expected to keep the audience informed through Berita dan Wawasan (News and Perspective), Berita Terbaru (Latest News) and Kegiatan Terbaru (Latest Activities). It also further promotes organic lifestyle and values through Info Organik (Organic Information) and invites people to be involved with YPBB via Ayo Bergabung (Let's Join Us) as Anggota (member) or relawan (volunteer) or into the discussion forum or programme. The particular section Forum serves as an 'office space' where staff and volunteer can log-in to engage in online, real-time discussion, as if they are in the office (Sutasurya, email communication, 15/03/2007).

Source: Observation and in-depth interview with Sutasurya (16/11/2005)



The Internet is used extensively for communication among members of staff and volunteers, and to mobilise supports. Yet the extent of such an Internet use is not achieved within one day. The introduction of email took some time before it was widely used by staff and volunteers. But because they shared the same values and ideas –and were also forced by the fact that they could not afford to rent a proper office at that time—the initiative to use internet and work from home (or from *warnets* or telecentres) was then adopted. Soon, YPBB’s staff and volunteers started using emails and, with ‘trial and error’, used it for several purposes: from communication to campaign, to publication of works to activity coordination<sup>135</sup>.

The staff and volunteers of YPBB also explored the WWW and started familiarising themselves with online information search, which gradually became indispensable for their research (and later, advocacy) work. The intensive use of the Internet has made them quick to adopt and become familiar with the technology through daily practices at their homes, telecentres or office. In YPBB, using email, mailing lists and the WWW has now been integrated into day-to-day organisational work and management. Still, one problem stands in the way: the expensive cost of connection. With a 128Kbps dial-up connection that cost of at least IDR150,000-300,000 monthly, it is impossible for YPBB to realise their vision of a web-based ‘virtual office’. The connection cost makes it very difficult for staff and volunteers, who only earn about IDR400,000 (USD50) monthly, to afford it. Furthermore, accessing the Internet in *warnet*/telecentre, at IDR3,000 (USD0.36) per hour, is also expensive if it is to be paid from the staff’s personal expenses. This is why YPBB has prioritised and allocated a significant amount of money to support the use of the Internet across the organisation, including encouraging staff and volunteers to use telecentres/*warnet*.

The YPBB case shows that integrating the use of the Internet in the organisation management and positioning it in-line with organisation’s core value and has helped YPBB in its effort to adopt and familiarise itself with the Internet, despite –or in spite of—the problems and difficulties with access and affordability. Apparently, both the organisation’s difficult situation and the values its members share had ‘forced’ YPBB’s staff and volunteer to familiarise themselves with the Internet. As its coordinator underlines, if there is any innovation which is driven by the use of the Internet, it is the innovation in the organisation’s management system itself, which underpins further implementation. This has resulted in, “[i]n Indonesia, possibly YPBB is the only CSO which uses email and mailing list most intensively for local grassroots organisation and mobilisation” (Sutasurya, interview, 16/11/2005).

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<sup>135</sup> A later consultation revealed that since the staff and volunteers have been ‘forced’ to work from home or *warnet*, they become really exploratory in using Internet technologies like *Yahoo! Messenger* and social network application like *Friendster* and *Flickr* to promote YPBB’s activities (Sutasurya, email interview, 14/03/2007).

### 6.2.2. Case: Yayasan Duta Awam (YDA)

(Source: Survey and interview with Muhammad Riza, Director, 30/11/2005)

Yayasan Duta Awam (YDA) was established in Central Java in 1996. Envisaging itself as a "Farmers' Institute for Advocacy", YDA's main concerns are about farmers advocacy and civil society empowerment. It aspires to empower farmers so that they can advocate themselves independently in the future (see Box 6.2.). YDA receives financial assistance mostly from international donors (like the *Catholic Relief Service* and *Ford Foundation*, among others) and works with 16 full-time staff. YDA has been using the internet since 1998 to help run the organisation, when it was first introduced to the public in the city of Solo and was probably the first CSO in the area which adopted the Internet. Even though it cost a lot of time, money and inconveniences for YDA to start using the technology, it was worthwhile as the Internet is now widely used across the organisation. For YDA, the main reason for using the Internet was clear: the increasing need for up-to-date information, both for the organisation and the beneficiaries: farmers and rural communities.

Although the initiative for using the Internet partly came from the foundation's board, since then, using the Internet has been part of the organisation's strategy. The Internet was introduced not only to staff and its CSO networks, but also to their beneficiaries, i.e. local farmers who are encouraged by YDA to use the technology. To support this initiative YDA made its farmer's bulletin "Advokasi" available online and pioneered online communities for farmers and its CSO networks. Two blogs were set-up at *Multiply™* and a mailing list "agrodev" is created at *Yahogroups*. Although these communities are formally set up to help YDA to promote important agricultural-related issues, YDA actually intends to experiment by inviting farmers to be active users of the Internet and engage with other international farmers' networks as the Internet becomes more available in some villages through *warnet*. Very possibly, these online communities may be the first farmers' online communities in Indonesia.

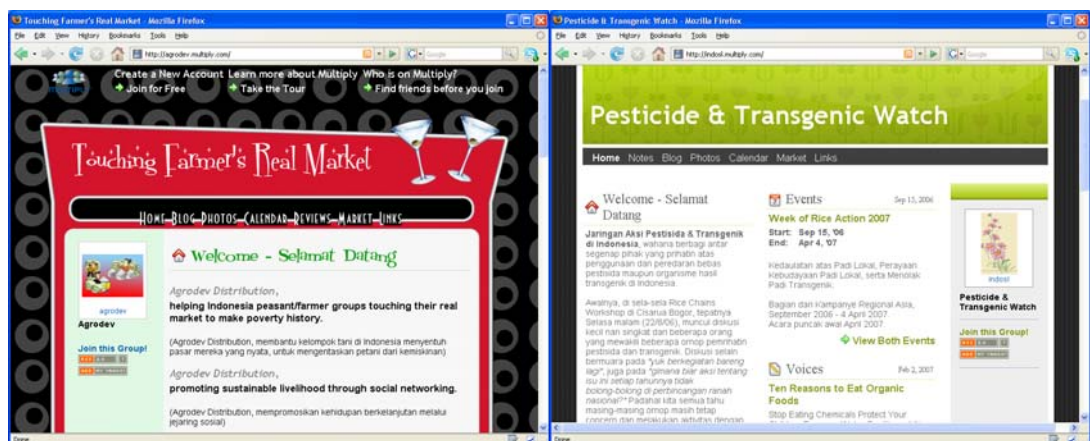


Figure 6.2. Farmers' online community "Agrodev" and "Pesticide & Transgenic Watch"

Source: <http://agrodev.multiply.com>, <http://indosl.multiply.com>, visited 15/03/2007

## Box 6.2. YDA, Advokasi and the endeavour to spread global awareness



Website of Yayasan Duta Awam  
<http://dutaawam.org> (visited 17/03/2007)

Yayasan Duta Awam (YDA), set up in Solo, Central Java in 1996, is a CSO working on the issue of farmers advocacy and civil society empowerment. Working with 16 full-timers, YDA aims particularly to empower the farmers so that they can advocate themselves independently in the future, when agricultural and rural development issues are projected to escalate politically in Indonesia. This goal is to be achieved through three main strategic activities: participatory research and monitoring, stakeholder dialogue forums and grassroots media. As a "Farmers' Institute for Advocacy" YDA has clearly formulated its strategy to empower and increase farmers' capacity through educations, trainings and mobilisation; advocacy; development of public discourse; database; and capacity building for institutions and organisations.

YDA's activities span to other regions: Riau, West Kalimantan, Bengkulu and South Kalimantan provinces involving tens of CSOs working in similar issues. YDA is also an active member of SatuDunia, an Indonesian extension of UK-based Oneworld.Net network. Together with its networks, YDA is now leading the monitoring of the implementation of CERD (Community Empowerment for Rural Development), a national project funded by ADB's loan. As part of its strategy, the Internet is introduced to YDA's staff, networks, and their beneficiaries: local farmers. Not only is the farmer's bulletin "Advokasi" made available online, but YDA has also pioneered online communities for farmers and its NGO networks. The result of YDA's engagement with the Internet sometimes goes beyond what can be imagined. It is certainly misleading to claim that the farmers' broadened understanding about global issues in agricultural development is the result of YDA's (and its network's) use of the Internet. But clearly it is very difficult, if not impossible, for YDA and its networks to keep updated with the latest development in global agricultural development issues, if they do not use the Internet.

To give an example, Tukimin, an ordinary farmer from Kiram Village, Banjar, and a regular reader of Advokasi, confidently argued with an Asian Development Bank (ADB)'s project executor when he saw the mismatch between the planning and the actual project undertaking during CERD project. He insisted that there should be a participatory approach in the project instead of top-down implementation, because "This project is being financed by the government's debt to ADB, and it is us, the people, who will have to pay it back", confronting a statement of an ADB's engineer that the project was possible merely because of ADB's fund (Advokasi, 2007:12). Using the Internet for dissemination of awareness and broadening perspectives, YDA helps farmers like Tukimin to understand the impact of globalisation in local context.



"After queuing for oil, now, queuing for national poverty";  
 "Public participatory advocacy in Riau: Advocacy was successful and not anarchic";  
 "Tips for planting coffee and rice"; "Participatory development in Talang Bunut"; "Is state still there for the poor?"  
 Source: Farmer's bulletin Advokasi, Edition 21, developed from <http://www.dutaawam.org> (15 May 2007)

Source: Observation and in-depth interview with Riza (30/11/2005)

YDA's staff have been familiar with using email not only for regular communication with their colleagues and networks, but also for reporting activities. Information search through the WWW has also been very common in the organisation to help with participatory research and advocacy work. YDA has also changed its website from a show-window-type of web into blog-styled website that reflects the organisation's vision of a shared community.

But all of these practices are not the result of an instant process. Executive and foundation board initiatives have played an important role in the early days of the use of the technology. Using email for internal communication, for example, was initially a top-down policy, as well as requiring staff participation in the organisation's internal Internet training. But, soon, after being familiar with the Internet and realising the benefits, it gave an impetus to the wider use of the technology, even to spread the use to other organisations within its network and beneficiaries. To help the staff become updated with the use of the Internet, in addition to the internal training provided, YDA implements coaching/mentoring-like system, called *pendampingan* (literally means 'companionship'), i.e. staff who use the Internet less intensively will be accompanied by other staff who use it more intensively. This approach, apparently, does not stop at the organisation level.

*Pendampingan* [(companionship)] is the best way [to work with our beneficiaries]. Unfortunately our CSOs colleagues, to our observation, are still minimal in sharing the farmers' issues. Only few do it properly. We know that there are abundant issues related to farmer and rural development out there, in national and international scale, like genetics engineering or [chemical] pesticide. ... [That is why] we also promote [the use of the Internet] to our networks. Mostly, [those who use the Internet] are our close partners from outside the Java island and unfortunately only few from Java. [Some exceptions are those from] Nusatenggara and Moluccas [who] are very slow and irresponsive to email communication ... due to infrastructure problem. [Our partner CSOs in] Java and Bali benefits from good infrastructure and their donors are willing to cover the Internet connection cost. But I think we should help them to use the Internet more strategically in a longer-term, not only for [organisations'] visibility and social status. In many cases, although they can access email and Internet [WWW] they still come to us, YDA, to ask questions to which the answers can easily be found in the Internet. I wonder why this still happens, though (Riza, interview, 30/11/2005)

In this way, by creating space for social learning through *pendampingan* both in the organisation and at network level, not only does familiarisation with the technology become much easier for the organisations or the networks, but the benefit of such implementation could also be enjoyed relatively more quickly. At the organisation level, the coaching/mentoring model as developed and used in YDA seems to ease problems that may hamper the familiarisation of the Internet in the organisation, especially the technical ones. At the network level, exchanging the experience in implementing the Internet becomes part of the learning process shared among community members in the network. However, this obviously also poses some other challenges, like

independency to other organisations, which YDA may have sensed, reflected in Riza's view above.

### **6.2.3. Reflection: The role of values, norms, and leadership in the earlier stage of implementation**

While YPBB's case shows the importance of organisational values and norms, YDA's case illustrates the role that organisational (and network) leadership plays in the first phase of implementation. Diffusion theory indeed suggests that innovation that is compatible with existing values and norms is likely to be adopted quickly (Rogers, 2003:241,318). In the cases above, more explicit in YPBB, such values have been observed to be impacting what Orlikowski terms as 'institutionalised use of technology', i.e. when organisations familiarise itself with the technology by putting it into organisational routines (Orlikowski, 1992:23-27). It is because the innovation is well-suited to the shared values and norms (in YPBB: Internet and ICT have potentials to be more environmentally friendly; in YDA: Internet and ICT offers capability for empowerment) that the organisation is motivated to adopt and explore the use, albeit it has to overcome difficulties and problems.

Just like other Indonesian CSOs, YPBB and YDA encounter typical problems since the very early stage of their Internet adoption: lack of access or infrastructure availability, and/or lack of technical capability. In fact, most Indonesian CSOs come across these problems (Hill and Sen, 2005; Purbo, 2002a; 2002b). Here, leadership matters. More specific in YDA's case, it was the direction, and discretion, from the decision-maker to adopt the Internet. Perhaps because the social movement in Indonesia at that time (1996-1997, when YDA was established) highly favoured socio-political change, YDA's board members at the time became innovative and decided, in top-down fashion, to adopt the Internet that they believed would contribute to the organisation's role to speed up such a change. This resonates to Rogers' suggestion that, "When social systems' norms favour change, opinion leaders are more innovative" (2003:318). In a different dimension, it was also what happened in YPBB when the coordinator took the initiative to push all staff and volunteer to use the Internet due to the current dynamic in environmental movement at that time. In other words, it is the opinion leadership (Rogers, 2003:317-325) that is likely to influence the very early stage in the implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. In YDA's case, it is clear that opinion leadership has gone well beyond the organisation: it also works in the network.

However, both cases show that although leadership matters, it is not enough. It is imperative to sustain the adoption by trying out the innovation more widely across the organisation or network, which include matching the innovation with the organisational structure. But, the lack

of technical skill can –and in Indonesian CSOs does— hamper this process. While most of Indonesian CSOs have no luxury to afford an IT specialist to guard this implementation, they develop a strategy to establish '*social learning*' (Bandura, 1977; 1986; cited in Rogers, 2003) which suits the way CSOs work well. As Rogers emphasises when citing Bandura's works,

The central idea of social learning theory is that one individual learns from another by means of observational modelling. That is, one observes another person's behaviour and then does something similar ... in social modelling the observer extracts the essential elements from an observed behaviour pattern in order to perform a similar behaviour. Modelling allows the learner to adapt the observed behaviour (much like the re-invention of an innovation) (Rogers, 2003:341-342).

Both cases clearly show how social learning further eases the process when the organisation or network familiarises itself with the innovation.

This first stage of implementation is important because it is the phase when the adopted information technology is simultaneously exploited and explored by the organisation (Galliers, 2004). The cases above suggest that CSOs' executive (e.g. YPBB) and/or board (e.g. YDA) clearly not only saw opportunities for the Internet, but they became aware that the organisations could exploit and explore the technology more effectively to improve operational management and provide strategic management information to achieve their missions and goals. This resonates with Galliers' accounts when he demystifies the development of information technology strategy in organisations. There are two mythical elements: that the technological systems should align with the organisation strategy and that it should be rationally planned (2004; 2007). He argues,

The notion of alignment suggests that information systems strategy is a rational and deliberate activity. Intuitively appealing, alignment has been a taken-for-granted concept that remained largely unchallenged for many years. ... However, it can too easily hide a key issue with respect to alignment, concerning the fact that the information needs for the great majority of organisations are in constant flux. Of course, there is a subset of information requirements that remains reasonably constant over time, but with fast-changing competitive environments, that subset is by no means representative of the totality. ... The second ICT strategic development myth ... is that most of the approaches to information systems strategy suggest a rational analysis of ICT needs. ... Indeed ... the very notion of alignment suggests that information systems strategy is a rational and deliberate activity. However, ... there is an increasingly strong school of thought that talks of the 'emergent' nature of information systems strategy and of strategic information systems ... Neither should we forget the essentially political nature of most technological appropriations ... Moreover, as mentioned previously, many of the successful ICT systems that have been developed, and lauded as being 'strategic' ... have emerged through a process of gradual enhancement ... and improvisation (Galliers, 2004:249-250).

Indeed, when CSOs decide to adopt the Internet, they are investing in the technology that they hope will remain with them for quite some time. Understandingly, they also expect that it will

serve the test of time. Thus, the first stage of the implementation lays an important foundation for CSOs to develop their information *systems* strategy, which, understandably, is ongoing and processual. As clearly shown in the cases above there is dynamic involved: the introduction of Internet in CSOs has assisted considerably in providing the requisite flexibility to achieve their missions and goals<sup>136</sup>. The cases also suggest that in the early implementation stage, it is not rational planning that matters in the creation of a scheme of Internet use that aligns with an organisation's strategy, instead, it is a dynamic familiarisation and "trial-and-error" practice. The development of the Internet and other ICT systems in CSOs in the beginning of implementation stage, "is thus best considered as an interactive process, constantly ongoing and emergent as new information needs arise and new opportunities are identified" (Galliers, 2004:251).

### **6.3. Stage II – Adaptation and configurational capability: When CSOs learn to use the Internet strategically**

Once the CSO has familiarised itself with the technology (the Internet), it will start adapting and integrating it into the organisation's practice. This adaptation phase is strongly characterised by what is termed '*configurational capability*' by Bender (2005; 2006; Bender and Laestadius, 2005). Two brief cases are presented to give a more detailed and nuanced account of this stage.

#### **6.3.1. Case: Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) Indonesia**

*(Source: Survey and interview with Deddy Kristanto, Programme Manager, 15/11/2005)*

Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) Indonesia, part of JRS International, started its work in 1998 and focused on assisting and providing service for internally displaced persons (IDPs) –or refugees. Besides working with IDPs in conflict or problematic areas, JRS was also actively involved in the 'Ban Landmine' campaign (see Box 6.3.).

As a big organisation (in terms of staff, money, and area of service), JRS works in a network and relies heavily on the use of the Internet. However, this is not at all an easy, instant process. As JRS Indonesia realised the implication of the Internet use in the organisation, it felt the urgency to incorporate it into the organisation's internal regulation to ensure a proper conduct in using it. Therefore, from just a paragraph addressing the use of the Internet, the section dealing with the use of the technology has now become a full-three-pages part in the organisation's written code of conduct.

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<sup>136</sup> This resonates, again, to Galliers, "The question of alignment is therefore a vexed one, as it is about changing requirements and (relatively) unchanging technology." (Galliers, 2004:249)

### Box 6.3. JRS and its works with the vulnerable

Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) Indonesia is part of the Rome-based JRS International founded by Fr. Pedro Aruppe SJ in 1980 which has networks in 50 countries. JRS Indonesia started its activity assisting refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia in Galang Island in the late 1980s but concluded the mission after the government of Indonesia closed the island. In 1998, JRS Indonesia was reinitiated in West Timor following conflict in the neighbouring East Timor province (now independent Timor Leste) and soon worked in Ambon to deliver medical aids and service for refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). In 2004 the West Timor project was concluded and now JRS works in two regions: Moluccas (post Muslim-Christian conflicts) and Sumatra including Aceh (post tsunami), to work with the refugees and take care of their lives.



Website of Jesuit Refugee Service Indonesia  
<http://www.jrs.or.id> (viewed 20/03/2007)

In addition to the refugee-related issues and concerns, JRS Indonesia is also actively involved in the “Ban Landmine” campaign to pressure the government of Indonesia to ratify the Mine Ban Treaty. As result of this campaign, Indonesia, which signed the treaty in 1997, finally ratified it on 7 December 2006 marked by the Indonesian parliament signing the draft law (bill) on the Ratification of the Mine Ban Treaty which was then signed by the President.

Started with only 40 staff and volunteer altogether in West Timor and Moluccas projects, the number has now more than quadrupled to some 176 permanent staff and around 140 volunteers working in different localities across the country and a headquarter in Yogyakarta. The annual turnover soared too: from IDR100-300M (USD12.5-37.5K) to IDR100B (USD12.5M). Running an organisation of such scale and working on such issues covering the areas from the east to the west part of the archipelago, using Internet has been a strategic, deliberate course of action for JRS Indonesia.

The main reason for JRS Indonesia to adopt the Internet was actually very simple: to save the communication cost because it was (and is) very expensive to maintain communication to manage projects of such big scale over the conventional phone line (be it landline, mobile or let alone satellite phone). That is why email was the first to be adopted and it was proven to dramatically save the communication cost. As the use of email intensified and spread across the organisation and projects, JRS Indonesia gradually realised that it could also be used for other purposes, not only as a means of communication.

Working in different locations thousands kilometres away apart from one each other and from the headquarters, with some customisation and in the way it is used, email has somehow shifted from a mere communication instrument into a management tool, including a medium for various important, and sometimes classified, decision making in the organisation. Preparing proposals, or planning and monitoring the execution of projects are often done collaboratively by means of email, as well as most of the communication including discussion and even project reports.

However, in JRS Indonesia, email is also used as a medium to strengthen commitment of staff and volunteers and to increase the organisation’s cohesiveness. Not only are regular ‘happy birthday’ emails sent by the headquarter to all staff and volunteers, but stories, real experiences of the staff and volunteers when they serve the refugees in the field, and even reflections are also exchanged using emails. With this kind of use, staff and volunteers are helped to “realise that they do not only work for the sake of work itself, but that they live a value when serving and accompanying the refugees and that they feel ‘humanised’ in their relation with other staff and volunteers” (Kristanto, interview, 15/11/2005).

*Source: Observation and in-depth interview with Kristanto (15/11/2005)*

To support the practice of this conduct, JRS Indonesia assigns a high-level position staff particularly responsible for IT use to oversee the use and the implementation of the technology across the organisation and projects. The main task of the IT staff is to establish a system in the



organisation that makes sure all staff and volunteers benefit from the use of the Internet-mediated communication. The role includes giving proper Internet training for staff and volunteers and establishing a policy use to ensure that misconduct does not occur when accessing the Internet from the organisation's infrastructure (e.g. accessing pornographic sites and the likes). The IT staff is also responsible for 'technological update', i.e. providing information to the board and executive about the latest information technology that can be beneficial for JRS Indonesia's work. Deddy Kristanto, the Programme Manager of JRS Indonesia admits that,

Of course this is, I would say, a very progressive evolution of our awareness [toward the use of technology]. In the past, we were mere users of the technology, then we have considerably extended our understanding about the [use of] technology in organisation. Now, we always want to try and to access the latest, most sophisticated technology, which help us achieve our mission; which helps the way we communicate ... We are using nearly all sorts of information technology: e-mail, facsimile, telephone, satellite phone, and of course mobile phone. [With regard to the Internet, we also use] chat and VoIP occasionally but not yet become organisation culture like email and web, which are used by all staff and volunteers. (Kristanto, interview, 15/11/2005)

JRS Indonesia currently tries to integrate the use of the Internet into the internal organisation management to help build its network systems, support management works and provide online database accessible for all staff and volunteers working remotely. Using the publicly available technologies, JRS Indonesia endeavours to customise them to meet the organisation's needs and values. Using email, for example, is a must; and although Mozilla™ is the most widely used across the organisation (previously the Bat™, phased out in 2005) and was only suggested to all staff and volunteers due to its perceived benefits: JRS Indonesia never imposes its use, as well as the use of other certain applications. JRS Indonesia leaves the staff and volunteers with their own choice of email application, as far as it fulfils the condition that they use dedicated non-web client email applications as they are perceived to offer better security and more customisable than the web-based ones.

Another instance is the use of the website. JRS Indonesia decided to use the website for two common objectives: as a campaign and advocacy tool (building social awareness) and as media to increase visibility of the organisation (providing public the information about JRS Indonesia's work). But its website is also configured as a means of communication with donors (and other supporting organisations), i.e. it functions to report the activities, the work, and how the money is used, etc. Hence, the use of the web promotes accountability and transparency in the relationship with its supporters and strengthens its position in the CSOs network at the same time.

JRS Indonesia undoubtedly uses the Internet in a very intensive fashion and integrates the use within the organisation's strategy very deeply. But it is also apparent that JRS Indonesia does not just use the Internet: it builds its own capability (including knowledge and skill) in using the technology in different settings and configurations for different purposes, as exemplified above. For JRS Indonesia, the more frequently and the longer it uses the Internet, the more it builds its capacity and ability to arrange their use of the technology by modifying settings, configuration of the technology as well as modifying the organisation's routines like working arrangements, internal policies, etc.

This has both practical and substantial consequence. For practical example, considering the achievements of the organisation which have been facilitated by the use of the Internet (e.g. the success of the Anti Landmines joint campaign with UNESCO, intensive communication and coordination with all staff and volunteers serving the refugees across the archipelago, good relationship with donor, and significant extension of its national and international networks) spending IDR5-6M (USD625-750) per month for Internet access –which will be far too expensive for other CSOs— is deemed reasonable and inexpensive by JRS Indonesia. Then, more substantially, there is a growing awareness, or vision, in JRS Indonesia, that the use of the Internet has brought something significantly different for running the organisation: the office can be anywhere at anytime as long as there is laptop at hand –that organisations can be run by 'remote managers'.

Using the Internet, JRS Indonesia has experienced that managerial works are no longer constrained by time and space. But JRS also realises that as the use of Internet has become more integrated in the organisation's day-to-day work, the more staff and volunteers become dependent on the technology. "We have been addicted to it, if I reflect deeply. We even define the work by the use of the Internet. We feel we have not worked if we have not accessed our email ... [laughing]" (Kristanto, interview, 15/11/2005). For JRS Indonesia, the experience of using the Internet has certainly been transformative. Not only are the organisation and the people transformed by the way they use the technology, but the technology has also been transformed by the way it is being used.

### **6.3.2. Case: International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID)**

*(Source: Survey and interview with Wahyu Susilo, MDG National Programme Officer, 1/12/2005)*

International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID, previously named INGI) was set up in June 1985 by a group of Indonesian NGOs. As a formal watchdog organisation INFID applies the-so-called *Critical in Judgement* mechanism in delivering its views and critiques in the CGI's

(Consultative Group for Indonesia) summits as official observer. Being perceived by the CGI as a representative of civil Indonesian society has made INFID careful as it does not wish to be used as a means of legitimacy for CGI's decisions and policies. Using this role, INFID aspires to voice the concerns and channel the perspectives of the development problems faced by society, acting and representing social groups before the Government of Indonesia, Multilateral Development Agencies (MDAs) and private sector when discussing the use of state loans.

In Indonesian social movement, the INFID secretariat<sup>137</sup> is respected as an influential advocacy NGO network. Realising that using ICT would give great benefit to its work, INFID pioneered the use of the Internet in Indonesian NGOs by introducing NusaNet in 1994 to facilitate secure communications among social activists during the authoritarian regime. Almost unknown to the public, NusaNet was actually among the first ISPs in Indonesia –possibly only comparable to *IndoNet*, the oldest commercial ISP in Indonesia. Although many CSOs used NusaNet for security and safety reason, by 1997 activists and organisations, especially in big cities, started using commercial ISPs like *IndoNet*, and *RadNet*, even though they were believed to be more 'risky'.

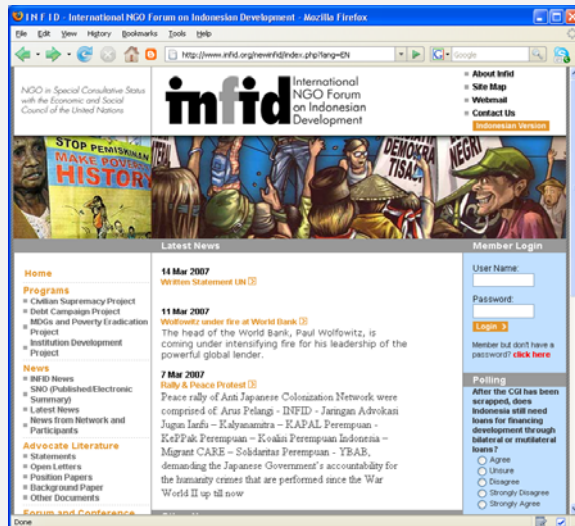
Among Indonesian CSOs, INFID is probably regarded as the most advanced CSO in using the Internet because it has been able to build its own capacity in integrating the technology into the organisation's core missions and goals. After deciding to adopt and use the Internet as part of the organisation strategy, INFID quickly familiarised itself with the technology and at the same time both explored and exploited it. For this purpose, INFID mobilised resources and established a dedicated IT (Information Technology) division, consisting of professional practitioners and knowledgeable activists, whose initial task was to launch the NusaNet project. After the project ceased to exist, the IT division became responsible for integrating the use of Internet technology into the organisational strategies. The IT division provides a code of conduct and manuals for using ICT equipment and formally requests all INFID staff to attend a proper internal training on using the intranet and the Internet in the office<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>137</sup> INFID's international secretariat, based in Brussels, employs 30 staff. Brussels was chosen as it is the capital of European Union and that INFID considers lobbying to EU important. Let alone, historically, INFID was (and is) supported by European organisations (INFID website: <http://www.infid.org>). The discussion in this part, however, refers only to the Indonesian secretariat.

<sup>138</sup> The INFID's IT training covers a wide range of topics: understanding the work of a PC; internal communication procedures; the Internet; updating websites from workstations. The training scheme is enforced despite that familiarity in using the Internet has already been required in the recruitment since 2003. INFID also sends its IT division to introduce the Internet to its network in Papua and East Nusatenggara as it deems those NGOs need the technology but do not have sufficient capability and knowledge (Susilo, interview, 1/12/2005).

## Box 6.4. INFID, NusaNet, and its advocacy network



Website of Website of INFID (English version)  
The banner reads "Stop poverty-sation"(left) and  
"Democratisation"(right)  
<http://www.infid.org> (visited 14/03/2007)

International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) was initially formed in June 1985, under the name of INGI (Inter-NGO Conference on IGGI Matters), by several Indonesian NGOs (YLBHI, WALHI and Sekretariat Bina Desa) in co-operation with a number of Dutch NGOs (NOVIB, CEBEMO, HIVOS and ICCO). INGI was (and INFID is) an open and pluralistic network of 60 NGOs based in Indonesia and 40 NGOs based in other countries mostly belong to IGGI (Inter Governmental Group for Indonesia, previously – now CGI, Consultative Group for Indonesia—a consortium of donor countries). INGI transformed into INFID in 1992, following the dismissal of IGGI by the Indonesian government and the formation of the CGI (Hadiwinata, 2003:98-100). Since its establishment INFID has been providing input and recommendations on development issues to the donor countries of Indonesia by monitoring the use of bilateral and multilateral loans as well as the pledging sessions for new loans.

INFID aims to facilitate the communication between Indonesian NGOs and their international partners to promote the policy of eradicating structural poverty and to build the capacity to improve the livelihood of the poor and the oppressed in Indonesia. In the Indonesian social movement, INFID is seen as one of the most respected advocacy network NGOs. With its Indonesian secretariat employing 25 full-time staff and 5 part-time staff, and managing several billions IDR (or hundred thousands USD) annually to maintain the network of 100 organisations both national and international, INFID is no doubt seen by others as a big advocacy NGO in Indonesia.

INFID might be the first NGO that adopted the Internet in Indonesia in the early 1990s. When most of Indonesian NGOs –and arguably even business firms and state agencies—had possibly never heard about the technology, INFID had already considered the idea to be an Internet Service Provider (ISP) for NGOs and other civic communities. INFID introduced NusaNet in early 1994 –an idea which was largely driven by the government's repressive conduct and surveillance towards civil society and the need for safer communication and more effective networking among NGOs. Backed by its international donors, INFID decided to invest quite a large amount of money to build the infrastructure in order to provide an Internet connection to Indonesian CSOs. Although the service that NusaNet provided was very simple –dial-up access at 9.6Kbps and encrypted email exchange through generic addresses "@nusa.or.id"—it helped many organisations, groups and activists to learn about the technology. By the end of 1996 and in early 1997, a considerable number of Indonesian advocacy NGOs and many pro-democracy activists had been connected to the Internet via INFID's NusaNet, which was also considered safer than commercial ISPs which could be easily interfered by the government's military intelligence. NusaNet has certainly played an important part in the episode of preparing and conditioning NGOs for the Indonesian reform movement in 1998; some scholars even claimed the reform would be impossible had the Internet been absent in the movement (Hill and Sen, 2000; Lim, 2002; 2003d; 2004a).

For INFID, the main motive for adopting the Internet was certainly not only to use it as a safer and quicker communication tool but also as a means for advocacy and for bringing about wider democracy, by "linking pro-democracy actors in the [Inter]net to discuss potential actions, to prepare and to make it happen in the field" (Susilo, interview, 1/12/2005). The motives remain unchanged until now. Although in the post-reform period the NusaNet project ceased to exist due to the shift of financial priority (which simply made the provider unable to keep up with the technological development) and the fact that commercial ISPs were widely available, INFID keeps using the Internet in a strategic way for its strategic purposes.

Source: Observation and in-depth interview with Susilo (1/12/2005)

Such an approach is important as the capability of this sort will be crucial for staff because in INFID communication is mainly mediated by networked computers. While the intranet serves the organisation's daily internal management (like staff coordination, regular communication, financial consolidation and reporting, and occasionally online meeting), the Internet is integrated and used mainly for external purposes (like networking, campaign coordination, advocacy strategies and online publication). With such management, INFID does not only build its capacity as an advocacy network NGO, but also its capability in managing the technology to help its work and integrating it into the organisation's strategy.

Using the Internet has been helpful for INFID to keep updated with relevant information. The latest data, like reports of the World Bank or other development agencies, for example, can always be downloaded to strengthen and to increase the quality of INFID's advocacy work. The technology has also been used to help focus its campaign much better. As Indonesian CSOs usually need more comprehensive information about what happens at the international level to help their advocacy work, INFID uses email and mailing lists to distribute such information to its relevant national advocacy groups. Meanwhile, for its network abroad who typically needs information about what is going in the country, INFID puts such information in the website, or in its partners' websites.

This combination of work results in an effective campaign tackled from both side: inside and outside Indonesia. "We often update the information related to poverty eradication campaign and join action to the network. The successful July [2005] meeting for poverty campaign, for example, was coordinated a lot over the Internet" (Susilo, interview, 1/12/2005). With such experience and intensity in using the Internet (and other ICTs), it comes as no surprise that INFID concludes and strongly suggests that advocacy will become a strategic area only if CSOs working in this area use the Internet effectively. Yet, INFID also reflects,

[In the context of social change] the Internet use [in Indonesian CSOs] certainly has an important historical aspect. During the [authoritarian] New Order it provided the social movement with alternative information, which was very important to build the pro-democracy coalition. But after the regime had fallen, I saw a decrease on how CSOs use it. First, now, everyone has not any longer been able to reply the call for *urgent action* [(original wordings)] in all issues. *Urgent actions* used to be deemed important during the New Order regime or during the reform period and we always responded to them. Now, CSOs have become specialised. Positively it has made them knowledgeable to various issues like international debt, etc., but negatively it contributes to the decrease in the solidarity among CSOs. ... today information alone, although updated and accurate, is not enough to moved people to respond to calls for action (Susilo, interview, 1/12/2005, emphases indicate original wordings)

Certainly, INFID's reflection brings up a clear challenge: while adaptation helps CSOs in building the ability to use the Internet more efficiently and effectively to keep them updated with relevant

information for action, it does not stop there. CSOs need to further integrate the use of the technology into the organisations' strategy to achieve its missions and goals. Otherwise, CSOs will risk being 'carried away' by their technological use and privilege technicalities, like the ability to provide speedy and timely information, more importance than the substance to which the adoption of the Internet serves. Because, as Wahyu Susilo, the MDG National Programme Officer of INFID, clearly addressed when concluding the interview, "Today, information alone, although updated and accurate, is not enough to moved people to respond to calls for action" (Susilo, interview, 1/12/2005)

### **6.3.3. Reflection: What matters in building configurational capability?**

From a diffusion theory perspective, this second stage of implementation is somewhat similar to what Cooper and Zmud (1990) suggest about *acceptance* and *routinisation* altogether, or *redefining/restructuring* as theorised by Rogers (2003). At this stage, innovation begins to lose its 'foreign' character as it is re-invented (to accommodate an organisation's needs and structure) and at the same time an organisation's structure is also modified to fit with the innovation (Rogers, 2003:424). Thus, as also observed in the cases, both the organisation and the innovation are changed or transformed. This stage is crucial because it may be *the only* "window of opportunity" for organisations during which an innovation could be modified for adaptation (Tyre and Orlikowski, 1994). After this stage the innovation would be rapidly routinised and is unlikely to change further (Rogers, 2003). How can this stage be understood empirically?

The JRS Indonesia's and INFID's case both suggests that it is in the second stage of the implementation that CSOs further learn how to use the technology more strategically and politically. It is the stage when CSOs realise that they have to build their capacity and ability to arrange their use of the technology by modifying settings and configurations of the technology, including hardware and software, and at the same time, also modifying the organisation's routines like working arrangements, internal policies, etc. Unless they do this, CSOs will not be able to integrate the technology for furtherance and elaboration of their goals, strategies and activities in a sustainable fashion.

This finding is similar to the one found in PILOT (Policy and Innovation in Low-Tech) project, which also came across the definition of configurational capabilities which was tightly connected to transformative capabilities (Bender, 2005; 2006; Bender and Laestadius, 2005; Hirsch-Kreinsen et al., 2005). It is noted by Bender (and Laestadius) that *innovation-enabling capabilities* (IEC) actually consist of the two dimensions of *transformative* and *configurational* capabilities. While transformative capabilities focus on the enduring ability of an organisation to transform globally available general knowledge into locally specific knowledge and competences,

*configurational capabilities focus on enduring ability to synthesise novelty by creating new configurations of established knowledge, artefacts and actors* (Bender, 2006:9). There are three aspects of configurational capabilities: *cognitive* (configuring distributed knowledge of different kinds), *organisational* (configuring distributed actors and other repositories of knowledge and know-how) and *design* (configuring functional features and solutions). Hirsch-Kreinsen (et al., 2005) notes, however, that “the distinction between transformative and configurational capabilities is analytical; but empirically the two dimensions are tightly interwoven” (p.15).

While the PILOT project points out three different aspects contributing to the building of the configurational capabilities as noted above, it may have left out what this study would term as *affective* aspect from the capabilities, i.e. *ability for configuring motivation, shared value, issues and concerns*. There are at least two explanations to justify why the affective aspect needs to complement the cognitive, organisational and design aspects in building up the configurational capabilities. First, Bender and his colleagues in the PILOT project may have probably missed the issue of motivation because although they focused on the use of low- and low-medium-tech, the entities they observed were *all firms*, whose similar objectives to create profit and central motives and values to accumulate and sustain profit (Friedman, 1962). On the contrary, the universe of this study is CSOs, which by nature are different to firms. There are various motivations, issues and concerns that are embedded in civil society organisations, which become so diverse that it is safe to say that there may be no single entity which cover the spectrum of CSO’s issues and concerns, except, perhaps, humanity (Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998). Thus, the configurational capability of each CSO would be determined and influenced by their motivation. Second, firms, despite their main motivation for profit, actually also diverge in shared values, issues and concerns - however slight they are. This is why this study would insist to include an affective aspect in the configurational capabilities, which in CSOs’ universe may be better termed as *motivation* aspect.

How and at what level can the development of transformative and configurational capabilities be supported? The above cases (and previous two cases) show that the development of these capabilities, in the CSOs’ universe, is mainly backed by the practice of community or social learning. Again, it is interesting that the PILOT project also came to a similar conclusion: as both transformative and configurational capabilities entail learning, policies that facilitate learning in all its dimensions are important (Bender, 2006:75). It is argued that the more CSOs realise that technology is not a mere tool, the more they are likely to exercise their configurational capability.

From the perspective of information system strategising (Galliers, 2004; 2007; Galliers and Newell, 2003), the adaptation stage is particularly visible in relation to the consideration of implementation and change management issues (Galliers, 2004; citing Wilson, 1992), which is

highly evident in the cases above. However there are other issues that also require attention, including: the emergent quality of strategies and strategising, and the unanticipated consequences of any ICT implementation (Galliers, 2004). As a result the stage should

...incorporate features that demonstrate the need to monitor and learn from the emergent features of strategic decisions. It also takes account of the unintended consequences of these decisions, and the various interpretations of, and reactions to, events and innovations expressed by different stakeholders. 'Change management' and 'ongoing review and feed back' were therefore incorporated into the model. The framework can be used in analysing information systems strategies in organisations by considering the extent to which each of the components is in place (Galliers, 2004:242).

What Galliers notes provides an insight to understand the orientation of Indonesian CSOs towards their Internet strategy, as shown in cases above. For example, in INFID's case, the organisation seems to emphasise its Internet strategy in order to identify strategic areas of action, although perhaps to the detriment of identifying strategic information requirements. Or in JRS Indonesia's example, the organisation seems to consider implementation and change management issues as part of their strategising.

## **6.4. Stage III – Appropriation and strategic use: When CSOs use the Internet strategically and politically**

The last stage in the implementation phase is appropriation. This is the stage when CSOs, having adapted the Internet into the organisations' routines, utilise the technology in political and strategic ways to achieve their goals and missions. Two brief cases are also presented here.

### **6.4.1. Case: Pusat Analisis Sosial (Centre for Social Analysis) Yayasan AKATIGA**

*(Source: Survey and interview with Yulia Indrawati Sari, Executive Director, 19/12/2005)*

Yayasan AKATIGA (AKATIGA Foundation) is a research-based CSOs focusing on the research into rural and urban issues including land, labour, SME and social movement. AKATIGA has been using the Internet since 1995 to support its activities. Despite the low-speed dial-up connection<sup>139</sup>, AKATIGA seems to have been able to benefit from the Internet optimally, not only for its communication with its national and international partners but also to support its research and dissemination work. Realising the complexity of its work as research institute (See Box 6.5.), the use of the Internet is substantial in the organisation's system such as research databases,

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<sup>139</sup> The last update confirms that AKATIGA has been using broadband since February 2006.



repository for research documents and archives, including tacit knowledge in social movement. Although available for nearly all researchers in the organisation, the Internet has yet to be integrated into AKATIGA's internal management for safety and security reasons.

To manage the use of research software (like SPSS), the Internet and other computer network applications, AKATIGA appoints an information system staff, whose main task is to integrate all networked PCs and the Internet access to support research work by enabling remote data access, creating a shared workspace for researchers and making sure the system is safe from virus attack. AKATIGA expects that this will boost researchers' capacity not only in Internet-based data collecting but also research collaborations. Yet, AKATIGA is also aware of the difficulties and potential problems implicating the use of the Internet in the organisation. One is what AKATIGA refers to as 'dependence on the technology'. Not only do staff now become easily upset if the Internet is down or when there is power cut, but since communication relies primarily on email, it puts some unexpected pressure on the organisation.

As its Director gives an example,

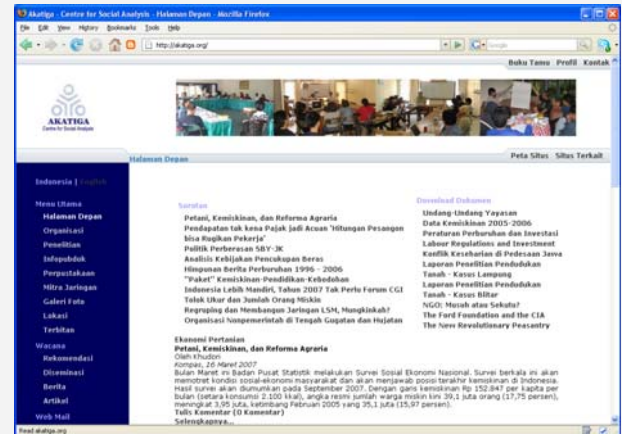
Engaging [with the Internet] makes people feel everything has to be quick ... this has sometime made us annoyed. Using the Internet has made us pay special attention because people expect us to think right now, to reply right now, to make decision right now, whereas, we have other much higher priorities everyday. This is what typically bothers us. Occasionally misunderstanding happens as people only rely on email and do not think of picking up the phone (Sari, interview, 19/12/2005).

Indeed, by means of the Internet, *communication for action* can quickly be channelled with a hope for quick response in return. But this entails important assumptions: that everything else related to the *action* can also be speeded up – which is not always the case, as shown by AKATIGA.

Additionally, AKATIGA senses risks inherent with using electronic data storage which could also be as unsafe as printed materials. Lastly, AKATIGA is concerned about people's conduct when they are online. Although this seems to relate to individual privacy of staff, because the consequence affects the whole organisation –like time lost for Internet chatting, downloaded files use up server's storage, downloading makes slow connection even slower and risking the system from virus attacks—AKATIGA has been forced to tackle this issue. For example, in the past, a 'voluntary search' was introduced, i.e. after a meeting explaining the situation staff would be asked voluntarily to delete their unnecessary electronic files or to stop accessing sites irrelevant to their works – which was considered successful.

## Box 6.5. AKATIGA and research for CSOs

AKATIGA Foundation or Yayasan AKATIGA is an independent CSO focusing on social research on problems in rural and urban areas, covering issues on land, labour, small and micro entrepreneurship, including initiatives in social movements. In addition to research, AKATIGA's activities revolve around dissemination of information like publication, documentation and training. The information and analysis are aimed at supporting the development of social discourses as well as to endorse empowerment and advocacy conducted by grass root communities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).



Website of Yayasan AKATIGA  
<http://www.akatiga.org> (consulted 16/03/2007)

AKATIGA conducts this advocacy through cooperation with several strategic and relevant networks in order to effectively reach to the bottom layer of certain marginalised communities. AKATIGA also provides services in research methodology training, primarily targeted to CSOs but also for government institutions. The main aim of this service is to increase their capacity in analysis in order to be able to plan more effective strategies and contextual advocacy. AKATIGA has been publishing its research as books (there are some 44 titles on SME, land, labour and governance studies), journal of social analysis (four monthly periodicals, since 1995), working papers and research reports, newspaper clippings (electronic and printed, since 1998), annotated bibliography series (since 2005) and pocket books, posters and module targeted to the wider public and specific NGOs.

Although working with a lot of advocacy CSOs, AKATIGA does not consider itself as an advocacy CSO for it also works in the SME issues, and thus prefer to see itself as a 'research-based' CSO. AKATIGA was established in September 1991, by researchers from Bogor and Bandung, West Java, who were motivated to set up an independent research institute. The history of AKATIGA traces back to the collaboration of two Indonesian universities –Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB, Bogor Agriculture Institute) and Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB, Bandung Institute of Technology)—with a Dutch research centre ISS (Institute of Social Studies, based in The Hague) in a research project "West Java Rural Non-farm Sector Research Project" in 1987-1991. When the project was completed, not only were some assets left like the library, office equipment, but also some dedicated researchers who then decided to establish an independent research institute in 1991. The name AKATIGA was taken from the address of this new institute, namely the street Adipati Kertabumi (number) Tiga (Three), in Bandung.

Besides research, AKATIGA has also been acting as a training service provider to share the skills in social analysis, research methodology and documentation trainings for CSOs especially grass root organisations and NGOs since 2005. This change was mainly motivated by AKATIGA's commitment and interest to increase grassroots CSOs' analytical capacity, which has been proven important to formulate more effective and contextual strategies for their beneficiaries, who are mainly the poor.

With 20 full-time staff and an annual turnover between IDR1-2B (USD125-250K), as a research institute, AKATIGA has understandably been using the Internet intensively since 1995. For AKATIGA, the Internet has been a valuable tool for research, both for information seeking and for information dissemination. Not only are various 'treasure' journals and articles available online or in the mailing-lists for the researchers to refer to, but the Internet also helps AKATIGA to disseminate the research outputs like books, reports, and the likes. Although such outputs are also published and promoted in the website, AKATIGA finds that publicising such materials via mailing lists has generated quicker responses (comments, purchase orders, etc.) from its colleagues and extended networks. Today, more CSO partners and general public order AKATIGA's books or library sources via emails. Clearly, Internet use has facilitated AKATIGA to achieve its mission to provide meaningful research for civil society and wider public in Indonesia.

Source: Observation and in-depth interview with Sari (19/12/2005)

With such an intensity and management in using the Internet, AKATIGA finds itself going about several things in new, or at least significantly different, ways.

*One*, we extend our networking with [local CSOs]. Using the mailing-list, we can easily reach new contacts in, say, Papua, West Nusatenggara, East Nusatenggara. ... [Using the Internet has made us possible] to distribute our books to the eastern part of Indonesia. ... They also often in return send us news from their local newspaper which enriches our database .... *Two*, our international networking reaches out. We once received an invitation for a joint research with an Australian institution, which happened to know AKATIGA from the Internet. [There are] also some [of] our international intern[ship] know AKATIGA from the Internet. *Three*, library promotion. We are currently building our *digital library* and *library networking*. ... Our references will be accessible via our website [interface] in the library section for anyone. ... *Four*, we are now developing our *online bookstore* that [is] planned to be finished completely by the end of 2008 (Sari, interview, 19/12/2005; emphases indicate original wordings).

Certainly for AKATIGA, despite limitations in access, the Internet has been integrated into the organisation's strategy and thus used strategically to achieve its goals and missions. AKATIGA believes that, first, if the technology is strategically appropriated by CSOs, it could even help reducing conflicts among Indonesian CSOs that happen more frequently recently. Such a conflict might very possibly root on paradigmatic differences that can be bridged by better networking and experience/information exchange that can be facilitated by a strategic use of the Internet. Second, such appropriation could actually also help in increasing the cohesiveness of existing CSO networks. A directory of network members can be built to facilitate members to engage in joint activities, including generating some financial gain to reduce dependence on donors. Third, AKATIGA also considers the potency of such networking to avoid overlap in the field when it comes to real CSOs' actions. Fourth, with a strategic appropriation of the Internet, CSOs will be able to build more accurate perspectives of social groups of their beneficiaries. This is important not only to keep the ongoing social reform and social development, but also because there is a strong tendency that various social groups currently only serve, or are manipulated to serve, the legitimacy of certain elite, political groups. Fifth, to AKATIGA, appropriation has political perspective as it strengthens the CSO network as a political entity. By knowing exactly who does what where and when in the network, a stronger coalition can be built. Lastly, as the Internet contains valuable references and resources, it actually offers and provides materials for CSOs not only to learn about different strategies of their 'enemies' but also to be open towards various opinions and thoughts. To AKATIGA, this is the most important thing: that by using the Internet CSOs can continuously build their knowledge and reflection as input for their ongoing strategies which can actually prevent them from becoming stagnant both in their thoughts and in their actions.

Such vision reflects how Internet use can be (and to some extent has been) incorporated innately into the organisation's strategy. One key to such an appropriation is an ongoing learning. Realising itself as a learning organisation, AKATIGA invites other CSOs in its network to do the

same, in using the Internet. As its director illustrates, "It has been my long concern to help our local partners to document their experiences, their diaries when accompanying their beneficiaries, the local groups. These are sources to learn for future movement. And information technology can certainly ease this process..." (Sari, interview, 19/12/2005).

#### **6.4.2. Case: The Institute for Global Justice (IGJ)**

(Source: Survey and interview with Lutfiyah Hanim, Programme Coordinator, 27-28/10/2005 and 23/05/2006; Bonnie Setiawan, Executive Director, 22/02/2006)

The Institute for Global Justice (IGJ) was set up in 2001 following INFID's and KOP-WTO's (*Koalisi Ornop Pemantau WTO*, Indonesian NGOs Monitoring Coalition on World Trade Organisation) initiative. IGJ is a research-cum-advocacy CSO working on globalisation and WTO related issues. With main activities of research, advocacy, education, and lobbying, IGJ aspires to identify impacts and mitigate the negative impacts of globalisation in Indonesia. IGJ seeks to inform policy makers and the general public on globalisation issues, the role of global institutions particularly the WTO and their connection with national and regional policies, by various means including hearing with parliament and line ministries. Through lobbying, IGJ wants to influence the Indonesian Government's position and stance in WTO negotiations and Ministerial Meetings so that it works in favour of Indonesian people, e.g. through fairer trade negotiations.

In the IGJ, the use of the Internet has been integrated into the organisation's daily work. It is not only the research, publication, and advocacy programmes that benefit from Internet use, but also public education programme, like training on globalisation, that enjoys a lot of help from Internet technology. For the purpose of research, the Internet has been a valuable resource for data and information and has also extended the networks of IGJ's researchers resulting in more research collaboration. As IGJ closely monitors the issues related to institutions like the WTO, the Internet helps IGJ to keep updated with the latest news and information<sup>140</sup>. Then, when the research has been concluded, the Internet is again used to channel the publication of the results to various groups including policy makers, CSOs and general public –all this is useful both for public education and lobbying.

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<sup>140</sup> If resources are available, IGJ sends staff as an observer to the WTO Ministerial Meeting (or the likes) or as a participant in its parallel sessions usually organised by International CSOs. The staff will then email the 'live report' from the venue directly to relevant mailing-lists, or to IGJ's office which will then convert it into a more digestible version (e.g. translate it from English to Indonesian) and distribute it to its network. In the last WTO Ministerial Meeting (2005), IGJ managed to update on a daily basis, and even for important issues, on 6-hourly basis. However, when resources are not available, IGJ closely follows the "press room section" in the organisation's or meeting's website, which are usually available, and forward all important news to its network. With this, IGJ's network are kept updated with the latest progress of important global meetings.

## Box 6.6. IGJ and GJU: Shaping civil society views on globalisation issues



Website of the Institute for Global Justice (IGJ)  
<http://www.globaljust.org> (visited 16/03/2007)

The Institute for Global Justice (IGJ) is a research-based advocacy NGO established in 2001, facilitated by INFID and some individual members of the Indonesian NGOs Monitoring Coalition on World Trade Organisation (Koalisi Ornop Pemantau WTO, or KOP-WTO). Rooted in Indonesian social movement and aimed as a part of global civil society network, IGJ envisions a 'global justice order through social movements' and aims to 'deconstruct globalisation and facilitate social transformation in order to be critical towards globalisation through research, advocacy, education and networking activities'. There are three objectives that IGJ aspires to achieve, i.e. the development of critical awareness of the public about globalisation; the existence of local, national and global policy to protect and to appreciate life values and livelihood and a new world order based on pluralism, diversity, sustainability and justice (IGJ, 2001).

IGJ works with some 6 full-timers and a similar number of part-timers and manages IDR1-2 billion annually (approx USD111-222K). Established in the era when the Internet has been widely available in the centre of the metropolitan city of Jakarta, IGJ has adopted the technology since it was established. Using the 24/7 broadband connection, although with funnily fluctuating access speed as can always be expected in Indonesia, IGJ seems to be able to reap the benefit of the Internet to help achieve its objectives. And as IGJ works closely with its network, the benefits are also enjoyed by its partners.

Global Justice Update (GJU), the IGJ's periodical, for example, is distributed not only to CSO partners in Java, but also to numerous CSOs across the archipelago. Currently distributed to around 500 organisations biweekly, mostly through direct emails and few mailing-lists, GJU is the most successful IGJ's public communication channel so far. Unlike other NGOs' publication, which only targets other NGOs or similar organisations, GJU also reaches out to various readers: students, policy-makers and the press. Since the topics brought out in this periodical are found to be informative and interesting (or simply provocative) by the general reader, it is not surprising to find the electronic version of GJU being re-distributed to a wider audience or in various mailing lists which IGJ did not initially target. Originally GJU was dedicated to provide the latest update about what is going on in the WTO negotiation for IGJ's network, which mostly works on globalisation-related issues. But it has now evolved into a public education tool to build knowledge on globalisation. To IGJ, the Internet has been playing an important role to support the continuity of GJU because it dramatically reduces the printing and distribution cost which hampers most of other Indonesian NGOs' publication programme. With the approximate printing and distribution cost at no less than IDR1.5 million (approx USD167) per edition, the amount will be astronomical to keep GJU in regular printed publication for a quite long period. Thus, distributing GJU electronically as a compressed PDF-file email attachment or as a downloadable link from IGJs' website has enabled IGJ to save a significant amount of money.

This approach is deemed strategic, because IGJ would need a critical mass when it comes to organising movements: to run advocacy campaigns, to preparing advocacy works, or to mobilise wider public to take certain actions. Having public and various groups knowledgeable about the issues that IGJ and its networks are advocating have been proven important for the success of such campaigns. It is also for the sake of maintaining the network and to keep the continuity of the publication, that IGJ recently changed the electronic format of GJU from portable document (PDF) into rich text (RTF) format following suggestion from many other NGOs, who can only access the Internet via slow, low bandwidth connection. Clearly, for IGJ, the use of the Internet has facilitated the evolution of GJU from a mere publication into an effective organisational tool for public education, networking, campaign and advocacy. All this is central in contributing to the work of IGJ as a NGO taking a critical position about globalisation issue in Indonesian context.

Source: Observation and interview with Hanim (27-28/10/2005; 23/05/2006) and Setiawan (22/02/2006)

So, not only is the Internet used to promote books, documentary films or other types of IGJ's publication, it has also been used as the medium for publication itself, which impacts the success of other programmes. *Global Justice Update* (GJU), IGJ's bulletin, is one example of how IGJ turns the Internet into a convivial medium for its work (See Box 6.6.)<sup>141</sup>. While such an Internet use has built IGJ's image before the general public, most importantly it helps the organisation to strategically achieve its missions: to share the knowledge about globalisation issues to a wider audience. This is strategic, because IGJ would need a critical mass when it comes to the organisation to run the advocacy campaign, mobilisation, or preparing the advocacy work. Using the Internet has also influenced the issues that IGJ works on. IGJ might be the first Indonesian CSO of its type that formally –and seriously—takes the issue of “open source application” on board after being more familiar with the Internet. Since IGJ follows WTO issues closely, including the issue of property rights, it is important to take a clear position towards this issue as a representative of civil society. As IGJ's Programme Coordinator reveals,

We were initially unaware of this issue. We did not even know what *open source* meant. But then we learned about it. Thanks to our sources like Idaman who forced us to learn about the issue, we then become aware that using Microsoft products has actually many serious implications for us, civil society group, when we scrutinise the IPR issue. It is not just a use. There is deeper ideological issue there. The idea of *open source* matches our organisation's values not only because it is cheaper. *Open source* is more democratic, more open, and overall, we are convinced that it will be much better for civil society movement in the future. And, to our surprise, it is actually in the heart of the IPR debate that we have been engaged so far (Hanim, interview, 28/10/2005, emphases indicate original wordings)

With such understanding, taking the risk, IGJ started migrating to open source platform, which was not easy as most staff were already familiar with proprietary software. To ease the process, a Windows®-based Open Office™ was introduced across the organisation so that staff could start familiarising themselves with the new software<sup>142</sup>. Although IGJ understands that the process is not easy due to the fact that most staff are mere users, it believes that this is the right course of action because as a CSO who is critical to globalisation “... we have to be consistent. We have to walk what we talk” (Setiawan, interview, 22/02/2006).

Such determination is indeed important for IGJ, especially when realising its position in the Indonesian CSOs network working on globalisation issue. Being known as probably the most

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<sup>141</sup> Experience with GJU brings insight for IGJ to build an electronic library over the Internet platform to share its thousands of articles –printed, audio, video, and electronic— on globalisation issues. To start with, IGJ has now built the database for its library make it available over the Internet so that other CSOs will be able to access the catalogue and see what information is available in IGJ.

<sup>142</sup> When the interview was conducted in the end of 2005 and early 2006, IGJ targeted to have completely migrated to open source platform by the end of 2007 or beginning of 2008.

advanced Indonesian CSO in globalisation issue, IGJ has often been referred to by its networks, both national and international, not only as a source of information but also as an active animator in the Indonesian social movement<sup>143</sup>. IGJ is also known as a resource for Indonesian decision-makers, especially ministries and state bodies, that work in the area of international trade and economics. Through *Forum WTO* whose members are mainly from government and private sector, IGJ actively represents Indonesian civil society in discussing some important issues. The *Forum WTO*, being run over a mailing-list, is a medium for IGJ's lobby work. Although the 'real lobbying' often happens outside the cyberworld, IGJ has benefited from the use of the Internet in the *Forum WTO* as it is able to convey crucial messages and information, which then became useful for the 'real lobbying'.

However, with such intensive use of the Internet, IGJ has never thought of having an evaluation scheme to measure the actual effectiveness and efficiency of its Internet (and other information technology) use, apart from using its 'common sense'<sup>144</sup>. For example, often IGJ finds that invitations passed to its Indonesian partner CSOs via email, despite its popularity as communication or even networking tool, are less effective than a 'traditional' telephone call. IGJ has also not been able to find a chance to evaluate how the Internet actually helps the organisation in its internal management apart from that it has been proven to save communication cost and ease the coordination process. However, from its own experience of using the technology so far, IGJ believes that the Internet can be strategically used by CSOs in the areas of research and information acquisition, publication and networking. These are all aimed at a smart advocacy, i.e. an informed advocacy work based on factual, accurate data and information rather than mere propaganda. IGJ is also convinced that the network of CSOs could be significantly extended not only to strengthen the collaboration, but also to increase pressure, if CSOs could use Internet strategically for this purpose.

For IGJ, integrating the Internet use into the organisation's work has obviously been beneficial. Working on a relatively new issue for most Indonesian CSOs –globalisation—IGJ has been able, by using the Internet, to strategically bring the issue to the attention of more CSOs and putting it into its partners' perspectives and contexts. As result, not only are more Indonesian CSOs within IGJ's network and general public becoming familiar with various globalisation issues, but those organisations are also encouraged and stimulated to strengthen the network to respond to the issue. In other words, by using the Internet strategically, IGJ has been able to help change the

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<sup>143</sup> As a part of OWINS (Our World Is Not for Sale) network, IGJ has taken initiative and been involved in facilitating the birth of the FSI (*Forum Sosial Indonesia*, Indonesian Social Forum) network and keeps itself active in KOP-WTO network as well as in other networks. Mailing list is vital to maintain the networks.

<sup>144</sup> Original wordings from interviewee (Hanim, interview, 28/10/2005)

role of CSOs from merely consumers of an issue, into more active participants that shape the issue. This is possible because IGJ has integrated the Internet in a way that it does not only transform the organisation's work, but it also transforms the organisation itself – and in turn, it changes the way the technology is understood and being used.

### **6.4.3. Reflection: Constructing Internet appropriation in CSOs**

The AKATIGA and IGJ cases show in more detail the last stage of Internet implementation in Indonesian CSOs. In this appropriation stage, the Internet is no longer seen as a 'foreign' element or to have foreign characteristics, but instead, is integrated into the organisation's properties and routines: the technology has been identified as an inseparable part of the organisation and its use has become common practice. While both cases clearly show how organisations, or people within the organisations, enact structures which shape their use of technology as they interact with the technology in ongoing practices, different theories come with different explanation although they are centred around the same core. Diffusion theory views this stage as *routinising* (Rogers, 2003:428-430) and information systems strategising arguably parallels this stage with *information infrastructure strategy* (Galliers, 2004:255-257). It may also be worthwhile to look at how structuration theory views technology implementation (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a) and most likely comprehends implementation stage as *continuous constitution* (Orlikowski, 2000:423-425).

Routinising in diffusion theory occurs when an innovation becomes incorporated into the common activities of the organisation and loses its separate identity. Routinising implies two important factors: *sustainability*, i.e. the degree to which an innovation continues to be used after initial efforts to secure adoption is completed (the decision to sustainability is called *institutionalisation*) and *participation*, i.e. the degree to which members of the organisation are involved in the innovation process (Rogers, 2003). The two cases above seem to confirm this theory as they clearly show how Indonesian CSOs, having adopted the Internet, endeavour to continue the use of the technology by institutionalising it (through conducts, specialised staff, etc.) and by widening the participation of the staff through social learning. Nevertheless, this view may lack adequate explanation about how routinisation can also be seen as appropriation as it suffers from the *pro-innovation bias*, emphasising more on the innovation and less on the dynamics of the adoption (Rogers, 2003:106-107).

Although in all cases there is no rejection of the innovation (i.e. CSOs rejecting the Internet), diffusion theory seems inadequate to provide deeper reflection on why and how CSOs (and network of CSOs) adopt, adapt and use the technology in different fashions, except from the notion of 'integration', 'routinisation' and 'institutionalisation' (Rogers, 2003:183,428). To remedy



this, information systems strategising (Galliers, 2004) may be able to offer some more elucidation. While it seems to be impossible to have an all-encompassing framework to understand strategy underlying appropriation of the Internet in organisations, Galliers proposes *information infrastructure strategy* to comprehend the practices.

[T]he concept of an information infrastructure strategy—or what might be termed an information ‘architecture’—is adopted and incorporated in an attempt to connote an enabling socio-technical environment for both the exploitation of knowledge (efficiency) and the exploration of knowledge (innovation). ... The concept of an information infrastructure (or architecture) has developed in response to the need for greater flexibility, given changing information requirements ... Increasingly, however, ... the concept has come to relate not just to data and ICT systems, but also to the human infrastructure (roles, skills, capabilities, viewpoints, etc.)—and this is where knowledge creation, and sharing and innovation, play a crucial role ... by talking of infrastructures in terms of, for example, their embeddedness, transparency, reach, links with conventions of practice, and installed base. Infrastructures are thus seen as being heterogeneous and socio-technical in nature (Galliers, 2004:255-256).

Thus it is clear that the information systems strategy, incorporating information infrastructure strategy, is a part of collaborative strategy because the focus is not only on internal matters but also partner organisations, as amply shown in the cases above. It is here that the focus is moving from ‘*adoption and use of the technology*’ into ‘*people and organisations appropriating the technology*’. It is also here that the focus also widens from ‘intention to adopt the technology’ into also covering ‘consequences of implementation’. As Galliers notes, the implication here is that “the very boundary of an organisation will become increasingly porous, debatable, and changing ...” and therefore, appropriation “...has both a location and temporal dimension” (Galliers, 2004:257).

Both cases above clearly show that appropriation is ongoing and processual, dependent on the learning from ‘below’, i.e. from (i) ‘tinkering’/‘bricolage’ and improvisation (Ciborra, 1994; Galliers, 2004), (ii) the emergent and unintended consequences of strategic decisions (Galliers, 2004; Mintzberg and Waters, 1985), as well as (iii) more deliberate, innovation that have been adopted and implemented (Galliers, 2004; Rogers, 2003). Consequently, strategic implementation of the Internet in CSOs is not only about strategic processes of information acquisition, but also questions the ‘taken-for-granted’ assumptions on which the existing information systems strategies are based. This is more evident in IGJ moving to *open source*: the organisation then realised that the base of its information system (Windows®/proprietary) was actually incompatible with the value the organisation was pursuing when it used the Internet more intensively and to find the information. It was the unintended consequence of using the Internet that somehow forced an organisation like IGJ to realise the magnitude of this problem. It is clear here that the strategic use of the internet has a consequence of viewing the technology

differently, or more broadly: Internet is neither the answer nor the 'solution' for a strategic action, but it is a means of acquiring data and information which then can be interpreted in a purposeful manner to build on the strategic action<sup>145</sup>.

This view is well-supported by structural perspective which sees appropriation as a recursive interaction between people, technology and social action (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000; 2002; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006a). This perspective better explains the notion of 'emergence' (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985) and 'change' (Galliers, 2004) in the Internet technology and its use in CSOs.

When humans interact regularly with a technology, they engage with (some or all of) the material and symbol properties of the technology. Through such repeated interaction, certain of the technology's properties become implicated in an ongoing process of structuration. The resulting recurrent social practice produces and reproduces a particular structure of technology use. Thus, structures of technology use are constituted recursively as humans regularly interact with certain properties of technology and thus shape the set of rules and resources that serve to shape their interaction. Seen through a practical lens, technology structures are emergent, not embodied (Orlikowski, 2000:406-407).

This perspective focuses on the structures that emerge as people within organisations interact recurrently with any properties of the technology whether they are built in, added on, modified or invented during the use (Orlikowski, 2000), as when organisations exercise its configurational capabilities in the adaptation stage. Appropriation is thus understood to happen when "people actively select how technology structures are used", which lead to the distinction between "faithful" and "unfaithful" appropriation underlining the degree to which the use of technology corresponds to the structures embedded in the technology and relating such correspondence to expected outcomes. In other words, appropriation is about "how technology structures are being invoked for use in a specific context" (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994:129-130,133; cited in Orlikowski, 2000:407).

Yet this understanding is still considered inadequate to stress the importance of human actions in shaping the situated use of technology as it starts with structures presumed to be embedded within technology. The complement to this is to understand what users do with the technology not only as an appropriation but as an *enactment* (Orlikowski, 2000),

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<sup>145</sup> In the context of firms there are few definitions of strategic use of information technology. First, strategic use of information technology is defined as the application (of IT) in critical areas of the business functions of the organisation in order to enhance job effectiveness, improve job performance and/or increase productivity beyond competition (e.g. Ndubisi et al., 2001). Another definition sees strategic use of IT as the usage of information technologies to support planning and management control (e.g. Zain, 1998).

Thus, rather than starting with the technology and examining how actors appropriate its embodied structures, this view starts with human action and examines how it enacts emergent structures through recurrent interaction with the technology at hand. Focusing attention on how structures are constituted and reconstituted in recurrent social practices acknowledges that while users can and do use technologies as they were designed, they also can and do circumvent inscribed ways of using the technologies – either ignoring certain properties of the technology, working around them, or inventing new ones that may go beyond or even contradict designers' expectations and inscriptions (p.407).

Both notions, appropriation and enactment, in the structurational perspective, is central to the last stage of implementation of the technology in organisations. The strength is that it recognises the importance of both human actions and technological structure in the daily, recurrent use of technology in organisations. Through regular use with a particular technology, in particular ways, in particular conditions, and for particular purpose, users enact a set of rules and resources which structures their ongoing interactions with the technology. The interaction between users and technology in the last implementation stage is thus recursive: users shape the technology structure that shapes their use. As the Internet is appropriated and enacted to bring certain issues into wider public, the benefit of technological use is not only enjoyed by organisations, but also by their beneficiaries. This has further organisational consequence: CSOs are transformed from information and issues consumers into information and issues producers. As a result, the identity of CSOs (in the context of social reform and social development in the country) is strengthened as coalitions are built and networks of activities and movement are created by the appropriation and enactment of the Internet.

## **6.5. Lessons learned**

Through some stories from the field, this study has attempted to observe the implementation phase when Indonesian CSOs use the Internet. Integrating some frameworks to understand the nature of technology implementation in organisations –i.e. diffusion theory (Rogers, 2003), information system strategising (Galliers, 2004) and structurational perspective (Orlikowski, 2000)—this study finds that empirical accounts of Internet implementation in CSOs are by no means straightforward and clear-cut. Instead, implementation is both a process and outcome of a complex interaction between users and the technology and it is never one way. Some lessons learned are presented here.

1. CSOs' values play an important role in the adoption-familiarisation stage when implementing the Internet in organisations. If perceived Internet characteristic matches with the organisation's value, it will significantly help the CSO to familiarise itself with

the innovation much quicker. It also turns the difficulties into opportunity for better, further implementation. Likewise, leadership in a CSO (and network of CSOs) also plays an important part in endorsing the adoption of the Internet. Further familiarisation of the Internet depends, however, on the social learning process facilitated in, and by, the CSO (and network of CSOs). Social learning will likely sustain the adoption as familiarisation becomes easier and bearable.

2. When CSOs start implementing the Internet, familiarisation with the technology is a result of an interactive process of trial and practice, instead of rational planning. This stage lays foundation for a constant ongoing and emergent process of integrating the technology into the organisation. As the Internet becomes more widely used across the organisation there may be a real need for CSOs to establish a code of conduct to ensure a proper use and implementation of the technology. Such conduct will complement the role of staff dedicated to administer the use of the technology in the organisation.
3. When CSOs adapt the Internet and it becomes integrated in the day-to-day activities, both the technology and the organisations are more likely to be transformed. Not only do the organisations become more responsive and dynamic, but the technology may also be used in different ways because it is no longer perceived as an outside entity. Here, CSOs build their configurational capability, i.e. capability to use the technology not only by applying different settings and configurations for different purposes, but also to combine knowledge that will determine the direction of the implementation. As a result, the technology being used may have different characteristics compared to its own intended function.
4. Configurational capability serves as foundation for further integration of the Internet into CSOs' strategy. This capability makes the pattern of adoption and implementation of the technology in the CSOs distinct from other types of organisations. There are four aspects of configurational capabilities observed when CSOs implement the Internet: cognitive (configuring distributed knowledge of different kinds), organisational (configuring distributed actors and other repositories of knowledge and know-how), design (configuring functional features and solutions) and affective (configuring motivation, shared value, issues and concerns).
5. During the last stage of the Internet implementation in CSOs, technology is integrated into organisations' systems, both for internal and external purposes through enactment of internal conduct. However, there is a risk that once the technology is adapted organisations may become dependent on it. In this stage, CSOs use the Internet to

strategically bring issues into wider public attention. It is the stage when the benefit of technological use is not only enjoyed by organisations, but also by their beneficiaries. Strategic use of the Internet by CSOs will help change the role of CSOs from consumers of information, into active participants that shape the information. This is possible because the Internet is integrated in such a way that it not only transforms the organisation but also how technology is understood and being used.

6. Among the strategic areas of Internet use by Indonesian CSOs are collaboration, mobilisation, empowerment and development, research and publication, and advocacy and monitoring. However, the boundaries between these areas are fluid and often interesting strategic areas are the result of the interplay between the areas. While appropriation and enactment characterise the last stage of the implementation phase of Indonesian CSOs using the Internet, the implementation itself is in fact a continuous practice of use. It consists of recurrent stages of awareness building, attitude formation, adoption, adaptation and appropriation.

What has been observed here, at this point, strongly suggests, and in fact reinforces the claim, that different organisations operating in different environments will influence the management of their information technology (Bretschneider, 1990). As abundantly observed in this study, it is more likely that these differences are the result of an adaptive process, i.e. that procedures related to the use of technology used in an organisation is a result of the adaptation process because they are perceived to work better than the 'standard prescription' of using the artefacts (Bretschneider, 1990:543; Thatcher et al., 2006:438).

As briefly discussed in some previous parts in this chapter above, adaptive structuration theory, or AST (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994), offers a similar view to help understanding Internet implementation in the CSOs universe. AST suggests that an organisation's institutional features and perceptions (toward technology) substantially mediates the use of technology on work process and performance. With the contextual organisation's culture, technologies are modified and adapted to bring them into alignment with the organisation's routines, including their belief system (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; quoted in Thatcher et al., 2006:438). Thus, when technology is in use, they are not in their 'fixed' formation, but rather 'constituted and reconstituted' through the everyday practices of particular organisations using particular technology in particular circumstances (Orlikowski, 2000:425). This is how the implementation stage, and also arguably the initiation stage, in the instance of Indonesian CSOs use of the Internet, can be properly explained. The use of technology is a continuous practice, i.e. consisting of recurrent stages of 'awareness building', 'attitude formation', 'adoption', 'adaptation' and 'appropriation'.

## 6.6. Rethinking strategic use of the Internet

CSOs must realise that the Internet has the potential to be a platform for strategic activities rather than just a mere fast communication tool. The question is whether or not this potential is really an advantage for a strategic use, despite the fact that perceived relative advantage of the Internet has contributed positively in Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs –as revealed in the previous chapter.

### Box 6.7. What are the strategic uses of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs?

The word 'strategic' is among the most frequent used terms found in the entire fieldwork of this study. When investigating the strategic areas in which the Internet could be used, interviews, workshops and focus groups were overwhelmed with the term so much so that it is now urgent to understand what it really means in the context of this study. Interviews with Indonesian CSO leaders gives us a hint: Internet use is considered strategic when it addresses certain characteristic related to (i) properties of the tools or means being used; (ii) orientation of action for which the tools are used (iii) issues to which the action is tackling, and (iii) actors who perform and are affected by the action.

This study therefore defines "strategic use of the Internet" as an enactment and/or appropriation of particular characteristics of the Internet to perform specific actions within certain issues to achieve specific goals which are perceived to be meaningful not only by the actors doing the actions but also by others affected by the actions.

Based on the fieldwork investigation, particularly interviews and workshops, the study endeavours to look at the following areas which are abundantly referred to by the CSOs involved in the study. There are five areas in which the Internet could be used strategically to achieve the mission and goals of the organisations, i.e. (1) collaboration, (2) mobilisation, (3) empowerment and development, (4) research and publication, and (5) advocacy and monitoring.

**Collaboration:** The Internet has provided a platform for wider collaboration not only within organisations but also between organisations. Among strategic collaboration work is networking and coalition building which are found salient among Indonesian CSOs.

**Mobilisation:** While unable to replace work like mobilisation, the Internet provides tools to help with such work. Included in the mobilisation are campaigns and urgent calls for action which can be facilitated by simple-but-powerful tools like emails and mailing lists.

**Empowerment and development:** The Internet can provide alternative opinion and information, which constitutes an important dimension for empowerment. It can also help spreading awareness and invite real participation in various development programmes and agendas of improvement of livelihood.

**Research and publication:** The Internet has brought a new dimension for civil society both in terms of data and information acquisition as research input (information in), and for dissemination of publication as research output (information out).

**Advocacy and monitoring:** The Internet has become an effective tool in helping to shape public opinion which is crucial for successful advocacy work like rallies, protests, or lobbying. As more information is available and transparent on the Net, the technology also becomes a convenient means for monitoring development in a certain field.

Certainly, the boundaries between above the areas are fluid. For example, an online campaign is often a combination of advocacy, mobilisation and collaboration. For CSOs, this fluid boundary is both a challenge and an opportunity, as evidently presented in this chapter. While there is a need for a frame to discuss CSOs' use of the Internet, there is also need for flexibility because often it is the interplay between the areas of use that is most fascinating and intriguing –as already shown in this study.

*Source: Interviews, workshops, and author's reflection.*

Here, a lesson from the business sector may offer help to address strategic characteristic of the Internet. Porter, a prominent figure in the Strategic Management science, argues that the Internet is *not* an important source of competitive advantage in an industry although it often makes them more valuable. This is because as all companies use the Internet, the technology will be neutralised as a source of advantage. Competitive advantage, instead, arises from traditional strengths such as unique products, proprietary content, and distinctive physical activities (Porter, 2001). He concludes that,

In our quest to see how the Internet is different, we have failed to see how the Internet is the same. While a new means of conducting business has become available, the fundamentals of competition remain unchanged. ... Only by integrating the Internet into overall strategy will this powerful new technology become an equally powerful force for competitive advantage (Porter, 2001:78).

Indeed, the strategic realm of CSOs today, despite their use of Internet technology, actually arises from 'traditional strengths' of the civil society sector like relevant issues and concerns, social and political orientation, and other distinctive activities. As Porter suggests, Internet use makes those strengths stronger and potencies more realisable, but does not replace them (Porter, 2001). However, upon reflection, there is an issue at stake here: the difficulty that CSOs have encountered in the strategic use of the technology is often rooted at the importance of non-technological aspects like trust and differences among CSOs themselves. It is thus important to acknowledge that a strategic use of the Internet, like collaboration, is not an instant and natural output of using email or mailing lists. Instead, it is the result of CSOs' hard work in overcoming the difficulties. With technology and its use continuously shifting and being shaped, implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs is understandably more about process than outcome.

## **6.7. Conclusion**

For civil society activists in a context like Indonesia, working online may often raise a feeling of solitude, with them sitting on their own at their desks staring at the monitor. But the Internet is never about networks of computer networks although it is described as such. It has always been about people connecting with each other every time a link is made and it is the connection that leads to the action of changing the real world. However, there is difficulty for all of the potential from such connections to be made real. Connections between more traditional CSOs and more Internet-savvy organisations have often been difficult to make, especially when a 'real world'

action is coordinated through 'cyber-space' by means of the Internet. One reason is the diversity in the Internet implementation.

Through these case studies presented here, this chapter shows that since Internet technologies particularly email, mailing lists, the WWW and web sites are so deeply integrated into the CSO's common practice, they have become a natural 'raw material' from which much more important things are built: collaboration, mobilisation, empowerment and development, research and publication and advocacy and monitoring. As a result, new forms of organisations, networks and ways of working together are changing the landscape of Indonesian civil society<sup>146</sup>.

This chapter has also tried to reflect on the implementation stage of the Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs. In so doing, and in an attempt to arrive at a reasonably deep reflection, this chapter has also been able to discuss some of the taken-for-granted concepts in the mainstream accounts of diffusion theory (Rogers, 2003) and information system strategising (Galliers, 2004) by pondering the appropriate role of the Internet and its implementation strategy in Indonesian CSOs today. In particular, from structural perspectives (Barley, 1986; DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000), this chapter has attempted to focus on how users' recurrent interaction with the Internet enacts distinctive structures of technology use: structures of technology use are constituted and reconstituted through routinised practices. By understanding such ongoing (re)constitution, the so-called *implementation* as understood by diffusion analysis clearly entails the "examination of emergence, improvisation and change over time as people reconfigure their technologies or alter their habits of use, and thereby enact different technologies-in-practice" (Orlikowski, 2000:425).

It is hoped that such reflection may be useful for further social study of the Internet, particularly in the civil society sector. There are at least two related issues at stakes here. Firstly, in a real world where CSOs must perform actions and undertake activities to tackle various issues that includes everything from urban poor to democratisation to globalisation, dealing with technology may seem like a stretch. But amidst everything else, for most CSOs in the world, technology is not seen as a compelling issue (Surman and Reilly, 2003). Secondly, the study finds that there is a real need for further thinking and reflection focusing on *what* can actually be done with the strategic implementation of the Internet within CSOs. Presenting case studies in this chapter is a start, but there is a lot more to do, especially to encourage more CSOs to share their experiences, tell the stories and provide useful inputs for further research, at local, national and maybe international level. This issue will be dealt in the next chapter.

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<sup>146</sup> See more in Chapter Four.



This chapter expects to present something different to what is often available in CSOs' reports for their donors, beneficiaries, or even network partners: an honest sharing of experience not only about what is successful in the implementation of the Internet in their organisations, but also about what fails. Such sharing is essential not only to provide models of strategic use but also to motivate other CSOs about the potential and possibilities of the Internet implementation in organisations. This is of paramount importance as it brings about a deeper focus on the role of human agency in the interaction between technology and organisations and thus recognises "the essentially transformational character of all human action, even in its most utterly routinised forms" (Giddens, 1984:117; cited in Orlikowski, 2000:425).

However simple and plain it may look, the Indonesian CSOs' experience in adopting and using the Internet can only be given a deeper meaning with this perspective, as reflected in Ismunandar's point quoted in the beginning of this chapter.

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# Chapter 7

## Transformation of identity, role, and activism

### *Reflecting Internet use and the dynamics of civil society*

*Here is how we should use the Internet strategically. It can help us communicate about anything. Thus it can also help us to avoid fragmentation in the social movement.*  
(Group reflection, Jakarta Workshop, 2/03/2006).

Innovation in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have been able to successfully connect people around the world and offer a means for addressing important societal problems (e.g. Castells, 1996). Subsequent to that claim, much has been said about how the potential that ICTs hold for organisations could be realised (e.g. Castells, 1999; Dutton, 1999; Galliers, 1993; McLaughlin et al., 1999). Similarly this also applies to the use of the Internet in civil society, and groups and organisations within civil society (e.g. Hajnal, 2002; Hick and McNutt, 2002; Lim, 2004a; McConnell, 2000; Surman and Reilly, 2003).

While one of the main questions is what has actually changed with civil society organisations (CSOs) adopting the Internet (Surman, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003), it is equally important to assess whether the *impact* and *implications* of Internet implementation in CSOs, both to the internal and external aspect of the organisations, is dependent on the *strategic orientation* of the organisations. This is, in fact, the quest of this chapter. In the Indonesian context, where civil society and social movement can never be seen as a single, unified and unitary entity (Demos, 2005a; Hadiwinata, 2003; Uhlin, 1997), there is a great challenge for CSOs to use the Internet strategically not only to achieve their goals, but also to strengthen social movement –just as is reflected in the Jakarta workshop quoted above.

Moving forward from explanations on how Indonesian CSOs adopt (*Chapter Five*) and implement (*Chapter Six*) the Internet, this chapter tries to offer insights and lessons about the impact and the implications of the use in informing and transforming the organisations' strategies and practices in promoting social development and social reform, which to a great extent have contributed to the changing landscape of CSOs in contemporary Indonesia (*Chapter Four*). Drawing directly on the experience of Indonesian CSOs in using the Internet, this chapter examines some significant changes in the internal coherence and cohesion of the organisations as they become specialised and transform society. It also looks at the way Internet use has contributed to the changing roles of Indonesian CSOs with regards to their relations with the wider public and citizens as

beneficiaries. Consequently, it also looks at how the Internet is used by CSOs in the reshaping of socio-political life in the country and how CSOs are influencing and influenced by this.

This chapter starts with a brief overview of a framework to look at the implications of Internet implementation in CSOs and on their strategic orientation. This overview may offer help in understanding and interpreting the data gathered from workshops. Then the chapter reports the workshops' view and reflects on some accounts of how Internet use impacts on CSOs, particularly to their identity, roles, and activism. To help grasping the nuance and depth of the reflections from each workshop, they are presented as narrative accounts. After discussing the whole of the reflections in the light of the conceptual framework, this chapter ends by offering some remarks.

## **7.1. What transformation does the Internet bring to CSOs?**

Talking about transformation that the Internet, or Internet use, brings may have no limit as it alters the very way people live today (Castells, 1997; 2001). The same can also be said about Internet use in CSOs.

### **7.1.1. Understanding the impacts and implications of Internet use**

The Internet has been an efficient tool for CSOs. It helps them to organise their movements, to mobilise their actions, and to expand their networks. The Internet also helps CSOs in widening participation by opening up opportunities for the public to become involved in socio-political activism and dynamics. While there are obvious benefits resulting from Internet use as an *intended* action, CSOs may not be aware that such use also has impacts and implications, most probably *unintended*<sup>147</sup>, that affect the organisations, both at the intra- and inter-organisational levels.

The impact and implications of Internet use at the intra-organisational level may affect an organisation's identity (e.g. Castells, 1997) and thus have some bearing on the organisation's internal coherence (e.g. Stiglitz, 2000) and cohesion (e.g. Knox et al., 2006). Coherence can be viewed as organisational agreement about its identities and roles. Coherence can also be seen as the way resources are aligned according to the organisation's strategy. Most importantly, it is very much concerned with how an organisation tackles its strategic priorities and issues that

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<sup>147</sup> For the basic notion of 'intended action' and 'unintended consequence', see Giddens' *Theory of Structuration* (1984). For more contextual notions, especially in information technology and organisations, see *Adaptive Structuration Theory* (AST) and related ideas (mainly DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). See Chapter One for a more elaborate discussion.

critically need attention, and what has been done to resolve them (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; McLaughlin et al., 1999; Scott, 2003)<sup>148</sup>. Organisational coherence is often understood in terms of identity, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility (for instance in CSO universe, see Clayton et al., 2000; Ebrahim, 2003; Edwards, 2004; Edwards and Hulme, 1992). Meanwhile, cohesion is about the *esprit de corps* that individuals feel in a group. The more cohesive a group or organisation is, the more its members share a collective identity and role, mutual respect and trust among each other (Reynolds, 2003:256-257). Due to the nature of CSOs, cohesion is considered to be essential for their survival (Anheier et al., 2002; Davis et al., 2005; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Edwards and Hulme, 1995a). The analysis will focus on the way and the extent to which Internet use in CSOs affect the internal coherence and organisational cohesion of Indonesian CSOs.

On the other side, the impacts and implications of Internet use at *inter-organisational level* may contribute to the changing roles of the organisation (Orlikowski, 2000). As this is a wide area of investigation, this research only focuses on one aspect: the relationships of CSOs to their 'audiences' or 'beneficiaries'. Two features are to be investigated. First, how the Internet is being used to shape and reshape the contexts in which CSOs operate (i.e. the social movement and civic engagement). Second, how CSOs are influencing and influenced by this process. One hint to identify these features is by knowing the strategic orientation of organisations (Andersen et al., 1994:340) –or in this case, strategic orientation of CSOs (e.g. Edwards et al., 1999). Since adoption of innovation is affecting both internal and external activities, strategic orientation has become crucial because organisations' perspective and way of working is altered by their use of the technology (and vice versa) and this has resulted in a widening of organisations' activities and orientation.

### **7.1.2. Learning from collective reflections**

To understand the impact and implications of Internet use in CSOs, this chapter draws on the collective reflections of Indonesian CSOs taking part in the study. The reflections were made in three workshops organised in three cities between March and April 2006, attended by a total of 94 participants representing 72 CSOs –all based on the island of Java<sup>149</sup>. The selection of the region (i.e. Java), apart from the limited resources available for this research, was because Java is the region in Indonesian where CSOs' dynamics have been the most prevalent over the last four

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<sup>148</sup> Meanwhile, due to the nature of the organisations, cohesion is even more substantial for some types of organisations, like CSOs (Anheier et al., 2002; Davis et al., 2005; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Edwards and Hulme, 1995a).

<sup>149</sup> For more technical elaboration about the workshop as data gathering method, please consult Chapter Three on methodology and Appendix 3 on workshop.

decades (as also shown by Billah, 1995; Bird, 1999; Bresnan, 2005b; Eldridge, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Hikam, 1999; Ibrahim et al., 2003, among others). It is also evident that CSOs in Java, in general, have longer experience in using (and relatively better access to) the Internet compared with those based outside the island. These two factors, the study believes, are important in the endeavour to ruminate on how use of the Internet has brought impacts and implications to the way CSOs work and exist. However, this justification is by no means intended to discount the importance of CSOs in other regions and most of the workshop participants also network with their partners across the country.

As explained in the methodology chapter (see Chapter Three), to maintain consistency, each workshop was designed to follow the same programmes and to address the same questions. Qualitative data sources are taken from both group sessions and plenary sessions during the workshop and this is a sign of collective accounts instead of participant's individual responses.

In order to understand and to give meaning to these empirical reflections, this chapter utilises structural perspectives of the use of information technology in organisations as suggested in the Adaptive Structuration Theory (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). On occasions when it needs to reflect back on the adoption and implementation processes, diffusion theory (Rogers, 2003) and information systems perspectives (Galliers, 2004) are recalled.

## **7.2. Does the Internet transform CSOs? Do CSOs transform the Internet?**

In the Indonesian context, what are the implications of Internet use in CSOs as actors in the social movement? The study looks at some instances of reflections where these impacts and implications are observable at an intra-organisational level, followed by a brief self-reflection

### **7.2.1. Impact of Internet use at the intra-organisation level**

#### ***Impacts on identity and role ...***

The use of the Internet has, to a great extent, affected CSOs' perceptions about their *identity*. Being part and taking part in Internet-mediated interactions among organisations has *shifted*, or more precisely, *widened* the way CSOs look at themselves as organised groups within the civil society sector, as argued in the workshops. The Internet helps CSOs to receive wider recognition and it boosts their profile. It affects the way they understand their role and the way they build 'new' identity in the social movement (See collective reflections in Appendix A.3.9).

Furthermore, in addition to identity, workshop reflections also touch upon the issue of CSOs' roles. On the one hand, one implication of Internet use is the reinforcement of roles that Indonesian CSOs play as promoters of social development and a social reform agenda. In many instances Internet use is suggested to have strengthened CSOs role as actors of the social movement (See collective reflections in Appendix A.3.10). But on the other hand, to some extent, the use of the Internet has arguably contributed to the transformation of the role of Indonesian CSOs themselves. Widened perspectives and extended networks as a result of the use of the Internet in the organisations seems to be a factor in the changed issues and concerns of Indonesian CSOs. This gives birth to a shift in organisations' paradigm(s), and in turn, affects their activities, which are substantial to the roles CSOs are playing (See collective reflections in Appendix A.3.11).

***... as well as to political orientation, issues and concerns***

Arguably, this is also what contributes to the blurring division between advocacy- and development-type of CSOs in Indonesia<sup>150</sup>. As the use of the Internet provides more 'complete information' to either type of CSOs, perspectives and paradigms of the organisations may be changed or shifted. In this circumstance, objectives and targets of the organisations are likely to be affected, too. As a result, consideration of strategy regarding activities that are (going to be) undertaken is also changed and this may impact on the nature of the activities that are carried out: they will probably have become significantly different from what they are now. And as activity, together with paradigm and concern, plays an important role in characterising the nature of CSOs, most likely the nature is also altered, and very possibly without the organisations conscious recognition.

While obviously the process is not as straightforward as this suggests, a particular experience of Indro Surono, a member of advisory board of BIOCert may argue how this takes place. He addressed this in the plenary reflection in the Jakarta workshop.

Because when there is [Internet] technology to use, one thing that cannot be denied is that information becomes easier [to acquire], our perspective [becomes] widened, including that we see, we know know about, oh ... there are our friends over there, oh ... there is information about this and that. So, while in the past it was difficult for us even to seek for information, now it becomes much easier. Then we want more; then maybe it affects our preference for activities. Secondly, in fact the information technology enables us to know and engage with other [organisations]. For example, in my organisation we may not be able to do advocacy for a certain issue since we do not have the capacity or resources. Via the Internet we learn that there are other networks which deal with the issue and that we can pass the message on to them for a wider advocacy call. Although work effectiveness within a network is another

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<sup>150</sup> See Chapter Four on the blurring division between advocacy and development CSOs.

matter, at least we learn that there are these [networks] ... there are those [groups] ... And this also works at an international level. This, for me, is no doubt a breakthrough although, again, the effectiveness remains questionable. But I can understand for example if there is an issue about labour, I would just pass my data on to Mbak Liest because I know she is the one to talk to about this. So then I don't have to do everything. And since there is such a network and such technology we are able to be more focussed in our own works.

He continued,

And another thing; it is a fact that there was dichotomy between advocacy and *developmentalist* groups. But it is not like that anymore. We, who used to do only advocacy works, now also do economic development work like provision of micro credit. To me, this [change] is certainly pushed by [the fact that it is] easy [to get] information via the Internet. Not only that, then in turn, the organisation's strategy and *fundraising* are also affected. Of course this is debatable, but in my opinion this is mainly because the Internet facilitates us in having wider networks and more information ... and this affects our choices and preferences in our organisations ... and in turn gives opportunities for further changes. This is why the demarcation between advocacy and *developmentalist* organisations becomes blurred (Surono, plenary reflection, Jakarta workshop, 2/03/2006, emphases indicate original wordings).

Surono's account above, besides clearly describing what has been going on with technology use in organisations, also visibly shows how an unintended consequence is gradually being realised and taken into account. As argued above, neither advocacy nor development CSOs ever thought about the possibility of organisational transformation prior to and during their use of the Internet. But as they use the technology they realise that something has been changing, and that this has affected not only the way the organisation works but also the nature of the organisation itself.

### ***Impacts on organisational coherence and cohesion***

Internet use considerably affects organisational cohesion in the way it provides CSOs' members with different ways of engaging with each other, including in the ways they carry out their work within the organisation, which is crucial for the organisations' success. A couple of collective reflections are recalled below.

As far as I have experienced, indeed, the use of the [Internet] technology has influenced organisational work and performance. But in addition, organisational culture and work mechanism also drastically changes. For example, working hours. With the Internet working hours become relative and flexible. We can work from anywhere because we can access the Internet. Thus the physical office becomes relative. We can work from home, we can work from other cities and at the same time we still belong to the same organisation and can still be involved in all strategic decision making .... That is the clearest implication of Internet use (Group reflection, Jakarta workshop, 2/03/2006)

Coordination was not regular. Let alone when speaking about social movement in a labour context. Very complicated. Now with the Internet, it helps to coordinate work more effectively and efficiently. Really helpful and relatively cheap\_ if compared to the benefit of such coordination work. It bridges the gaps almost instantly. It brings a sense of togetherness (Plenary reflection, Surabaya workshop, 9/03/2006)

Then, there seems to be an implication of the Internet use to the *fit* between CSOs' individual values and the wider social movement's (including network's) beliefs and the *adaptability* to rapidly changing socio-political environments. This is suggested in one of the workshops' remarks below.

What is really meaningful from the use of the Internet is that it provides our organisation with good access to good information and to good networks. Using the Internet has helped us to keep updated with the latest developments in our network. It also helps us to understand what is really going on outside. We can then always adjust ourselves, including previously held beliefs changing to new beliefs, new ideas, new information, [and] new possibilities. We become more knowledgeable about many new things. We learn a lot. Thus we will always be prepared for anything (Plenary reflection, Yogyakarta workshop, 18/03/2006).

### **7.2.2. Intra-organisational impacts and implications: Processual and technological consequences**

The collective reflections from the workshops clearly indicate that using the Internet technology in some ways ensures CSOs' organisational coherence. The basic tenets of 'self-reliance' are central to most of Indonesian CSOs. They are based on the principles of interdependence, benefits sharing, and seizing opportunities for activities that enhance humanitarian objectives, integrity of the organisation and use of various strategies<sup>151</sup>. As the workshops' participants report, the collective reflection and visualisation that encompasses all these aspects needs a clear identification of factors that facilitate a construction of appropriate strategic orientation in Indonesian CSOs. This can only emerge from critical analysis of the social movement context, including the strategic orientation of each organisation itself.

Such a process, as indicated in the workshops shown above, can be facilitated by the use of the Internet to significantly (i) create and articulate clear objectives and (ii) design and pursue a strategic orientation that wins support from CSOs' beneficiaries and networks. As a result, this will ensure credibility, which is core to attempts to build sustainable capacity in CSOs.

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<sup>151</sup> The majority of Indonesian CSOs is groups of what are called, in Indonesian language, as LSM, *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat*, which literally means Self-Reliance Institutions. Although most of Western scholars studying Indonesia often use the commonly used term NGOs (non-governmental organisations) to refer to LSMs, this is simply a misnomer as it changes the substantial meaning: NGO is characterised by its relative position towards government, LSM is characterised by its self-reliance attribute. See more detailed account in Chapter Two.



This discussion touches upon what Orlikowski suggests about the different nature of the consequences of technological use in organisations. She writes,

Three kinds of consequences (intended or unintended), are relevant here: processual, technological and structural. Processual consequences refer to changes (if any) in the execution and outcome of users' work practices. Technological consequences refer to changes (if any) in the technological properties available to the users. Structural consequences refer to changes (if any) in structures that users enact as part of the larger social system in which they are participating (Orlikowski, 2000:421).

What the workshops have reported above confirms Orlikowski's account and provides some empirical bases to it. However, while *processual* and *technological consequences* are considered to have been more apparent at an intra-organisational level as shown in this section, structural consequences are expected to be more salient at the inter-organisational level than they are in the intra-organisation level. The deeper and more elaborative discussion about the implication of Internet use at an inter-organisational level in Indonesian CSOs, however, is the subject of the next part.

At a more practical level, this reflection also suggests that evaluating or measuring technological investment in CSOs to project performance impacts (e.g. Surman and Reilly, 2003) may yield more meaningful results if they look for returns on the *use* of technology rather than only at returns on the *technology* (as suggested by Orlikowski, 2000; 2002 although in different contexts). As amply argued here, it is not the technology in its own right, but the use of it, that can have an effect on the organisation's performance.

This resonates and reinforces the suggestion from previous chapters that by carefully identifying the consequences of technological use, intended or unintended, the structures of technology use are in reality not fixed or given. *The structures are constituted and reconstituted through the situated practices of particular users using particular technologies in particular circumstances for particular purposes.* In other words, such change depends not on the technologies alone, but also on whether, how and what technologies are routinised (Orlikowski, 2000:425). And in the end, it is also realised that the structures of technology use, in a similar way, also affects and is affected by the structural characteristics and nature of the organisations themselves (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000; 2002).

This account provides grounds to understand the way CSOs transform the use of the Internet in social movement. Through Internet use as a social practice, CSOs constitute and reconstitute the structure of Internet use in civil society. In turn, such a structure will affect and transform not only the understanding, but also the nature of, the technology itself.

### **7.3. Changing roles of Indonesian CSOs: The Internet and reshaping of socio-political life**

The next aspect looks at the changing roles of Indonesian CSOs as they use the Internet because it is not only the way these organisations relate to different groups in society that has changed, but the nature of the relationship itself is also altered. Previous studies have indeed noted that there is significant correlation between the recent (and in fact the current) reshaping of the socio-political life of the country and the use of the Internet by the civil society sector in Indonesia (e.g. Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2003d; 2004a). However, despite the perspectives they bring, those studies do not specifically look at Indonesian CSOs and instead focus on civil society more broadly.

Some collective reflections here provide some empirical grounds to previous studies by presenting evidence on the way CSOs—as the most active part of civil society—use the Internet and explain in more “complementary account”, how change in the socio-political life of the country actually takes place. These reflections provide an opportunity for the study to go slightly further, i.e. to understand how such \_ socio-political change in Indonesia is not only shaped by, but also shapes, the CSOs as they use the Internet. The reflections are grouped according to the workshops *locations* not only to see the impact of different levels of technological access availability but mainly because CSOs activities are also very much influenced by their local contexts. The lessons learned, however, should be able to be drawn across CSOs. For readers’ convenience, the accounts suggested in the workshops are presented as reflective notes or descriptively (as opposed to mere direct quotes) because the topics discussed here were given consideration throughout the whole sessions of the workshops, rather than by individuals.

#### **7.3.1. The Internet in cosmopolitan, globally connected CSOs**

*Source: Group and plenary reflection sessions, Jakarta, 2/03/2006*

The participants in the Jakarta workshop agree that use of the Internet in CSOs is inevitable in the globalised world today. They indicate, however, that a larger number of CSOs in the country still actually have no access to the technology due to infrastructure and resource problems, yet they believe more would soon gain access to it. To these CSOs, ICTs, particularly the Internet, have opened an entirely new world in the way they work because of two features that significantly affect their decision to adopt it: (1) the Internet is in itself a vast source of information and (2) it enables fast-and-vast communication.

### ***Reflection: The Internet and the consolidation of social movement***

The participants of the Jakarta workshop agree that Indonesian CSOs have benefited from the use of the Internet not only for internal consolidation within social movement in the country, but also for international and national pressure as particularly evident in the case of the Jabotabek (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi) labour movement. One driving force behind this is the need for quick and meaningful information from partners, be they national or international, so they can be responsive in a favourable fashion to mobilise support.

Another factor that was once highly considered by CSOs in favour of using the Internet over other communication technologies is security and safety in communication, despite the need for a 'new' communication culture among CSOs and CSO activists in Indonesia which mostly still rely on conventional means of communication like face-to-face meetings, telephone conversations or even messages transmitted through facsimile. Yet, such 'conventional communication' is still considered necessary because although the Internet provides abundant information, CSOs often need to take a political –or social, economical—stance and the process of 'taking a stance' cannot just be simplified into communication over the Internet.

### ***Reflection: The Internet and watchdog activities***

The participants also ponder the effectiveness of the Internet to help public in monitoring the performance of government as well as the social responsibility of business. Reflecting on the Indonesian context, the participants believe that CSOs have played, and should continue to play, significant roles in increasing awareness of the public towards the misconduct of any power-bearing actors –be they government, businesses, military or even primordial groups. In a context like Indonesia, where civic communities are regarded as still weak compared to the other actors (and often become victimised), it is the duty of CSOs to stand with them.

One way that the Internet can facilitate, and has indeed facilitated, is for CSOs to spread important, crucial information about the misdeeds of other actors done to civic communities in a wide and rapid way to the other groups of society in various levels to mobilise support in order to act against them. It is thus also the responsibility of CSOs to translate 'dual-meaning, difficult, technical, legal languages' that are often used by government and business to hide problematic matters in their public reports available on the Internet. The participants underline that no matter the roles that CSOs take –as watchdog organisations, advocacy groups, research institutes or development institutions—they will always have the potential to build a better society and that the Internet can be used to realise the potential.

### **Reflection: The Internet and the changing awareness of CSOs**

In reflection, CSOs in the Jakarta workshop agree that they can use, and actually have been using, the Internet for strategic purposes, i.e. spreading information about issues from a local level to a national and international level to build opinion and mobilise support, lobbying, effective communication with partners, building networks for exchanging ideas and resources, and campaigning for advocacy and wider democracy. The underpinning condition of those strategic uses is that the Internet has been contributing to changing the nature of relationships between CSOs and their beneficiaries, i.e. the people they work for or work with. If in the past CSOs more or less 'stood *before*' or 'walked *in front of*' society, now they realise that they should 'stand *beside*' or even 'support *from behind*' society<sup>152</sup>. The internet has certainly been part of this changing awareness.

Furthermore, the participants also believe that the advent of the Internet should be used strategically by CSOs to speed up what they term as 'social innovation', which for most CSOs means that CSOs could and should facilitate innovation in the civil society sector in favour of more progressive social reform and better social development. Some other CSOs understand 'social innovation' differently: putting the beneficiaries at the centre of CSOs' mission –not donors, governments or other partner institutions as has long been common practise in CSO works.<sup>153</sup>

However, there are also some dissenting views. To some CSOs who promote democracy issues, after some time using 'new media' including the Internet, they speculate that there is a declining in the 'quality of democracy' and the democratisation process itself, in addition to the similar decline in solidarity among pro-democracy actors<sup>154</sup>. Why does this happen? While admitting that they do not have all the knowledge to offer a complete explanation, Indonesian CSOs have experienced that a lot of 'new media', are not neutral: that there is power and interests behind them which control the information and its flow. The Internet, in fact has been among the few

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<sup>152</sup> Closest literal translation of original wordings indicated by quoted parts.

<sup>153</sup> The wording 'social innovation' is originally uttered in the plenary reflection (in Indonesian language: *inovasi sosial*). The meaning of the term as articulated in the workshop resonates closely to what is defined as 'social innovation' in NGO by *Civicus* (Bonbright, 2006). Social innovation for CSOs here means clearly that the central of CSOs missions is their beneficiaries.

Arguably, the main social innovation of civil society is to put the beneficiary at the centre of mission – not donors, not "partners", not governments. Accountability to beneficiaries lies at the heart of the unwritten civil society constitution. There is an important opportunity for civil society organisations to take the offensive and respond to the generalised call for a clearer demonstration of results with proactive demonstrations of effective downward accountability in practice. This is, in my opinion, the critical justice frontier for civil society infrastructure organisations today. (Bonbright, 2006:15)

<sup>154</sup> This view is similar to what Barber suggested long time ago about participatory politics in the New Age, using New Media (Barber, 1984)

that are left open: there is potential to control some of its content but by its nature it is impossible to be fully controlled and thus has potential as a medium for democratisation. Unfortunately, these CSOs critically examine and believe that while the Internet has indeed facilitated a new way of fostering democracy to the wider public, CSOs are possibly 'entrapped' in the technicality of using the technology and may forget the essence of democratisation movement: real engagement, not just information exchange<sup>155</sup>. Some CSOs also seriously take into account the fact that since the Internet is still very much the property of middle-upper 'bourgeois' society instead of the 'grassroots' in the Indonesian context<sup>156</sup>, CSOs have to be more careful, if not sceptical, about falling back on this technology to create a genuine movement from below.

### ***Concluding reflection from Jakarta workshop***

In Jakarta, some participant CSOs also share their reflection on another problematic situation. International donor organisations seemingly play a role, directly or indirectly, in the adoption of information technology, particularly the Internet, through their technical advices, capacity building schemes or even grant conditionalities in Indonesian CSOs. While such involvement may not be too heavily criticised by CSOs –and it must be remembered the CSOs also share the benefit of adopting the technology—this has raised an uneasy feeling particularly among CSOs activists (but also their beneficiaries and the wider society with whom they work) because this is possibly an (other) indication of the long standing 'donor-driven' issue daunting Indonesian CSOs. A lot of criticisms have indeed been addressed to CSOs in Southern countries, including Indonesia, that they become donor-driven, in the sense that they serve their donors' interest rather than their own beneficiaries' actual interest<sup>157</sup>.

That said, CSOs in the Jakarta workshop believe that the success of the social movement does not lie in the mere use of technology no matter how strategic it is, but on the strategic orientation of the organisations and groups who use the Internet. Yet they believe that the more CSOs have access to the internet and the more strategically they can use or appropriate it, the more they can hope for the realisation of social transformation that they idealise. That is why they strongly recommend this study to be disseminated to other CSOs for lessons to be learned.

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<sup>155</sup> These CSOs parallel the situation with the stagnant condition of the country that democracy is only understood and practiced as procedural, instead of substantial (Group reflection, 2/03/2006).

<sup>156</sup> Words between quoting marks are original wording from the reflection.

<sup>157</sup> For more elaboration on this issue, see the discussion about 'donor-driven' issue in CSOs and social movement in Chapter Two, and some implications of it in Chapter Four. Scholars have also addressed this concern (Edwards and Hulme, 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; PIRAC, 2006), including how CSOs then become seen, in some context, to be serving capitalist's and 'new imperialist's' idea (Chua, 2002; Petras, 1997).

### Box 7.1. The Internet and mobilisation of direct action



Rally against Anti-Pornography Bill  
Picture taken from Wikipedia Indonesia

Among the strategic uses for the internet that Indonesian CSOs carry out is *mobilising direct action*. A salient example of this is the campaign against violation of human rights, forced disappearances, repression towards labourers and trade unions and campaigns for promoting gender equality, women's rights, environment sustainability amongst others. The targets are typically government, companies and military bodies. In general, the campaign is performed by submitting an online protest on the web or circulating the issues through various mailing lists asking for support to pressurise government, parliament, military and/or companies to reconsider their actions.

A clear example of this is when CSOs and women's groups in Jakarta, using the Internet, recently mobilised a campaign against the Indonesian Parliament's ratification of the 'Anti Pornography and Porno-action' Bill (RUU Anti Pornografi dan Pornoaksi), which would heavily restrict pornography in Indonesia. This bill was feared to be the first step towards the implementation of Islamic Sharia law in the country. For most Indonesian CSOs, whose ideology is secular and which make up the biggest part of Indonesian pro-democracy and pro-pluralism social movement, the bill was considered to be fundamentally flawed and undermining women's and indigenous rights.

One reflection made in the Jakarta workshop recalled,

We believe the Internet has the capacity to support actions materially. Look at the example when we dealt with the RUU-APP [(*Pornography Bill*)]. We enacted the network of *Komnas Perempuan* [(National Commission for Women's Rights)] and used mailing list as our main communication media, even to map who were actually our allies in this issue and who were the enemies, before we finally organised the action. And we succeeded! Terrific! We used the Internet maximally! (Group reflection, Jakarta workshop, 2/03/2006).

Indeed the action was perceived to be successful –although maybe only temporarily. The massive, well organised, closely linked and effectively networked action across the country has indeed put the ratification process of the bill on hold (the case remains on hold).

The introduction of the pornography bill has polarised society in Indonesia, with conservative Islamic groups pressing for its passage into law and many women and pro-democracy groups fearing that anything regarded as pornography by the bill's sponsors could be restrict (McGibbon, 2006). To many pro-democracy and pro-pluralism groups, the potential of the bill was for it to open the door to a broadly Islamist form of regulation of everyday life. There is widespread agreement across many sections of Indonesian society however, that highly explicit material should be restricted to adults (various media, Feb – Apr 2006).

The lesson learned from the above example is that a key to successful campaigning and networking activities is valuable information exchange, not only simply information acquisition. Therefore while many CSOs unsurprisingly rely more on the Internet today to acquire information, they consciously then use it to 'elevate issues' either to get public attention or to prepare the ground for further field actions. It is also clear that ICTs, particularly the Internet, have played a major role in mobilising for protests, dissemination of critical information ideas and points of view, networking with other organisations, and the hosting of virtual discussion forums. As suggested ed by a CSO who has a large international network: "Global civil society is here now. And we are part of this. We can now talk to each other via the Internet and achieve concrete, real results in our co-operation" (Group reflection, 2/03/2006).

As result, it is believed that today more Indonesian CSOs, particularly who have sufficient access to the Internet, have become more cosmopolitan and globalised: they use the Internet to mobilise for action and pressures, to connect people and to exchange views across national boundaries on cross-cutting contemporary and global political, social and economic issues.

Source: Fieldwork, based on the collective reflection of Jakarta workshop (2/3/2006)

### 7.3.2. The Internet in cultural-based social movement

Source: Group and plenary reflection sessions, Yogyakarta, 18/03/2006

Being in the centre of Javanese culture, CSOs attending Yogyakarta workshop confirm that their activities and approaches are very much affected by, and in fact built upon, the local culture which is largely rooted in the rural tradition of this area, including the acknowledged influence of monarchies in the regions of Solo and Yogyakarta<sup>158</sup>. Some even describe that the way they use the technology, including the Internet, is also partly a reflection of this cultural context. Some accounts below explore this notion in more detail

#### ***Reflection: The Internet and the culture of communication***

While most of the CSOs working in Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces have been integrating technology into the organisation's daily practices and there are apparent benefits, they also still rely very much on conventional types of communication like meetings or telephone conversations for organisational purposes, mainly for cultural reasons. As is argued below,

We use the Internet, but we also use the telephone. It is good to communicate with other colleagues using emails, but we just do not think it is enough. And certainly not polite. It is much politer to meet, or at least [to] talk, to agree on something especially when it is about something important. [Yet,] now we use emails more and we can start making decisions using email. We just think we respect people less when we don't spend time to meet and talk. But, yes, the world is changing now. We may also have to change (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006).

When reflecting on communication and interaction among CSOs in the region, the distinction between 'online-offline' clearly emerges<sup>159</sup>. The *offline* refers to the 'real world' communication and interaction among organisations, while *online* points to the Internet-mediated communication. However, they realise that the extent to which interaction among CSOs through the Internet is not easily determined. For example, much of the communication and coordination between CSOs in Yogyakarta and Central Java regions happens through email and/or mailing lists. Although many CSOs' websites provide hyperlinks to other CSOs in their network as indication of with whom they network virtually, it should be taken into account that such hyperlinks never give the whole picture of how the link is enacted in the real, day-to-day organisational networking.

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<sup>158</sup> This resonates to Hadiwinata's observation when he studied NGOs in Yogyakarta district as a case study to learn about the politics of NGO in the country (Hadiwinata, 2003). Much earlier study also confirms that since very early of their movement, people organisations—which eventually evolve into CSOs—have always been inseparable part of the locality in the central Java and Yogyakarta area (Tjondronegoro, 1984).

<sup>159</sup> Original wordings from group reflection.

However, despite the seemingly less intensive use of the Internet for organisational communication by CSOs in Yogyakarta and Central Java (compared to, for example, CSOs in Jakarta or Surabaya), the use itself is deemed to be effective. CSOs have used the Internet not only for organisational works but also to help their beneficiary groups to build their own capacity through dissemination of information and provision of alternative media. Although only limitedly, CSOs have been able to help groups of beneficiaries, like farmers and SME groups, to make use of email, to seek information available on the Internet and to run their own simple but useful websites (YDA, a farmers advocacy CSO in Solo being a salient example).

***Reflection: The Internet and relationships with beneficiaries***

Apparently, use of the Internet has also contributed to the changing roles of CSOs, as suggested by Yogyakarta workshop participants. Despite being deeply rooted in the local culture and tradition, the relationships between CSOs in the region, particularly the NGOs, and the local groups of beneficiaries were more-or-less *patron-client* relationships. Maybe because of the influence of monarchical or paternalistic culture, or even driven by the once severe poverty of the region, local people's groups used to think that CSOs and CSO activists had higher social status than themselves. Some CSOs recalled that although they were also feeling uneasy about how their beneficiaries perceived their social status, they could do almost nothing about that. However, as economic and socio-political conditions have now changed, CSOs realise that their relationships with their beneficiaries should also change.

As far back as they could recall, it was since around 1995-1996 that there had been fast growing awareness among CSOs in the region that they should pursue more of an empowerment-based relationship rather than just organisation- or mobilisation-based link between CSOs and local groups of farmers, trade unions, urban poor and fishermen. CSOs should become partners (*mitra*), instead of leaders, of their beneficiaries. They believe that only with this relationship change, together with the local groups, can they be more effective in networking and creating synergy aiming at sustaining social reform and fostering a social development agenda. This is where they think the use of the Internet could be, and indeed has been, a positive contribution<sup>160</sup>.

Yogyakarta workshop participants agree that as they use the technology, they experience that their perspectives become widened and they start thinking 'out of the box'. Not surprisingly CSOs start considering approaches to their activities in a way that they previously had not. This is how they explain that the border between different paradigms in CSOs movement –advocacy

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<sup>160</sup> Political reform in 1998 was a confirmation of this. In Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces, the reform was literally led by the people: students, farmers, trade unionists, not CSOs (or even political parties), who were behind the movement, supporting it with data, information and coordination of movement they learned from the Internet through emails (Group reflection, 18/03/06).



and developmentalist—may begin to wane. They admit that despite their claim to be holding their own 'old' paradigm, fewer CSOs stick to their habitual approach. It is not uncommon to see typical development activities carried out by CSOs claiming to be advocacy-based, and the other way around. However not all CSOs find this negative or counter-productive. In terms of their role as partners of their beneficiaries, in fact, this has been found to be somewhat advantageous. Nevertheless, when this topic is discussed, many CSOs admitted that they never thought about this before.

***Reflection: The Internet and networking of activities***

It is argued by the participants of the Yogyakarta workshop that the most important feature of the Internet, in this regard, is its ability to interconnect CSOs and networks of CSOs to advance joint actions. In a confident claim, they believe that none of the CSOs in Yogyakarta and Central Java feel they are isolated from the social movement at the national level. In fact, a significant proportion of them feels they are indeed an integral part of the global civil society movements and networks.

The Internet has assisted CSOs with capability for much wider networking, not only with their international partners to seek political support, but also to find prospective donors for financial assistance. Simple Internet technology like emails and mailing lists are also critical for their daily activities. They find that while mailing lists are virtually endless sources of ideas and information for many CSOs, email enables them to communicate and coordinate actions. Winning advocacy pressures as well as successful development initiatives are often the results of the dissemination of information and effective coordination, as suggested, "We found our advocacy and development agenda to be more advanced and effective. Mailing lists can give us excellent information and ideas, and actions can be discussed over email" (Plenary reflection, 18/03/06).

Another impact of Internet use that is extensively suggested by the participants in Yogyakarta workshop is how it affects the CSOs' network. On the one hand, the CSOs acknowledge that use of the Internet has helped them to establish wider networks in relatively shorter time. Communication and coordination are better facilitated, which is important for CSOs within the network to respond to 'call-for-solidarity' messages. An additional benefit for advancing the social movement is that the network is an effective and reliable resource for data and information sharing which is crucial in a context like Yogyakarta and Central Java. On the other hand, as a network grows, CSOs admit that some of them become more dependent on it. Instead of actively sharing or providing information to the network, some CSOs start to rely on the network in getting or passively receiving information and even lose their tendency to be critical of the information or data they receive from the network. Although arguing that culture may

have affected this attitude<sup>161</sup>, CSOs realise that dependency on the network as such is not conducive for the CSOs dynamics in the long future so that they have to do something to remedy it.

### ***Concluding reflection from Yogyakarta workshop***

Concluding their reflection on the implication of Internet use in the changing roles of CSOs in society, while affirming that the use of the technology has been substantial for CSOs to reshape the socio-political dynamics in Yogyakarta and Central Java, the participants realise that it is not without its downside. On one hand, the Internet has been increasingly used by CSOs not only as source of information but also as forms (passive and active) of inter-active civic engagement. Using mailing lists for an example, they are directed towards the outside world and open for anybody to follow, as well as join in, the discussions that are at hand. Surely, this can be viewed as part of the capacity building mechanisms, not only for CSOs but for beneficiaries if they have access to the Internet. On the other hand, unequal distribution of access to ICTs (including the Internet) and in capabilities to use these technologies in the region is indeed a constraining factor when looking at the participatory uses of ICT for civic engagement and/or for democratisation. This is because the problem of 'digital divide' sometimes questions the assumedly inclusive and democratic nature of social movement organisations like CSOs<sup>162</sup>. In this regard, few of CSOs are pessimistic that the Internet can be used to foster genuine social change in the context of Central Java and Yogyakarta as the access to the technology is still concentrated in elite groups, be they part of wider society or CSO movement. These organisations, instead, believe that the most important element for such change is the grassroots and the most crucial process is continuous empowerment and partnership between CSOs and grassroots beneficiaries. Bearing this in mind, the use of Internet, while merely instrumental, should not be without criticism.

This pessimism, or criticism, may resonate with a concern addressed in the reflection about what they term as 'technological dependency' that has been observed in some CSOs. Not only that some CSOs' staff and activists become dependent on the availability of the Internet for completion of their work, but more critically, that the real engagement with grassroots beneficiaries (like in-the-field empowerment or accompaniment), has probably been confused with cyber-activism (engagement in internet-based activism with partners and networks) when

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<sup>161</sup> What is meant here is the 'attitude of waiting' (*menunggu*) and 'attitude of believing' (*percaya*) of someone (or a group) when s/he realises to be in the same setting with another person (or group), who are perceived to be more senior or more expert. This is very typical in old Javanese culture.

<sup>162</sup> Author/researcher note: on national level this problematic is even more relevant as larger parts of the country's population, especially outside the five major islands (Kalimantan, Sumatera, Sulawesi, Java and Papua), have less access to the Internet, including their CSOs. The focus therefore is on which strategies are being developed to overcome this problem. See Chapter One for more elaboration about 'digital divide' in Indonesia.

evaluating the overall CSOs performances. Further to this collective reflection, another criticism relates directly to how CSOs have been '(re)shaped' by the technology they are using. While it is not a surprise to see how ICTs' analogies or terminologies have been increasingly used in their daily conversation, Yogyakarta workshop participants gradually become aware that they may start losing critical view on the technologies that they are using. It is not only about *what* technologies are being used (i.e. proprietary or open-source) or about *how* they are being used (i.e. deliberative or impulsive use), but more importantly about *in whose interest* the technology is being used (i.e. CSOs' or their beneficiaries').

As a final note, while the participants in Yogyakarta find that the workshop is useful to help them contemplate on the way they use the Internet and the impact it has had on their organisations and their roles in society, they also think it may be important if their reflections could be useful for other CSOs members. Particularly, because they believe that using the Internet alone is insufficient as the binding tool in their roles as partner and companions for their beneficiaries.

### 7.3.3. The Internet in the dynamic emerging urban-rural movement

*Source: Group and plenary reflection sessions, Surabaya, 9/03/2006*

Seeing themselves as part of the social movement in the region, the Surabaya workshop participants admit that the social movement in East Java province may be characterised by a combination of urban movement (including labourers and the urban poor), rural movement (including farmers and fishermen) and *Santri*<sup>163</sup>. The richness of this movement is not only evidently observed in the discussion, but also represented by CSOs attending the workshop.

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<sup>163</sup> The Javanese community has long been known to be divided into three groups, i.e. *Santri*, *Abangan* and *Priyayi*. The *Santri* are Javanese Muslims who practice a more orthodox form of Islam in contrast to the *Abangan* classes. The *Santri* are more likely to be urban dwellers and often referred to as *Putihan* (the white ones) to differentiate them from 'red' *Abangan* who are only nominally followers of Islam (also known as *Kejawen*) – whereas the *Priyayi* are the nobility (Geertz, 1960; Magnis-Suseno, 1981). Today this distinction serves more of an analytical purpose than a practical one because in reality social groups are mixed with faith groups. It is often the case where *Santri*, *Abangan* and *Priyayi* can be found in a same locality. It is also difficult to apply such categorisation in categorising non-indigenous Indonesians like people of Arab, Chinese or Indian descent (Friend, 2003; Magnis-Suseno, 1981).

This study finds *Santri's* movement –as part of civil society movement—is more observable in East Java than in Central Java in the forms of *Pesantren* (Islamic boarding school)-based CSOs. The study also finds that in the Central Javanese context, where *Abangan* have influenced both rural and urban traditions (Magnis-Suseno, 1981; Tjondronegoro, 1984), *Abangan* do not make up their own CSOs. While at least six of the 24 CSOs (25%) attending the workshop in Surabaya are *Pesantren*-based CSOs, none of CSOs attending either the Yogyakarta or Jakarta workshop are *Pesantren*-based. Furthermore, the *Pesantren*-based CSOs taking part in the survey also mostly originate from East Java. This is not to say that there is no *Santri* movement in Central Java or no *Abangan* movement in East Java. Instead, this note acknowledges that there may be bias or incompleteness in the data that this study has collected. This was also confirmed by the participants in the Yogyakarta and Surabaya workshops.

### **Reflection: The Internet and the binding of social movement**

Participant CSOs in Surabaya workshop believe despite problems with Internet access, Indonesian CSOs have used the Internet to mobilise for action, to connect people and to discuss and debate issues. Many CSOs' websites now provide information about activities, publications and links to local affiliations, whereas for debates, mailing lists are used. In short, the Internet serves as a platform for the development of alternative discourses and strategies by individuals, as well as like-minded civil society organisations. These observations are found to be true not only for CSOs in Indonesia generally, but also for CSOs in East Java in particular, despite some problems with access to the Internet. Although high-speed connection may only be available in the centres of big cities like Surabaya, through various means (including dial-up, via *warnet*/telecentres<sup>164</sup>, or through other organisations) CSOs in East Java have been able to use the Internet to help them achieve their goals. More importantly, as argued, the use of the Internet has contributed, although to a limited extent, to the reshaping of socio-political life in the region.

However, despite the superior functionalities it offers, the participants deem that the Internet may not be enough as a binding tool for CSOs work in fostering the social movement. The core of social movement is the actual civic engagement at various levels of society which should be facilitated by CSOs. In a particular context such as the rural or urban setting, deep and intensive interaction with the-so-called 'grassroots base' (*akar rumput basis*) is what is fundamentally essential. Therefore, although Internet technologies like email, mailing lists, and the WWW can be instrumental in a lot of CSOs work, without the right perspective of grassroots empowerment, its use will be meaningless. For example, one of the advantages that the Internet clearly offers is its ability to facilitate cheap-but-speedy communication and to rapidly extend networks among CSOs and CSO activists, but the actual use for empowering beneficiaries is still infrequent and uncertain, or 'on-and-off' (*senin-kamis*)<sup>165</sup>.

CSOs working with labour and trade unions recognise this situation. Drawing on their own experience, they suggest that while the Internet is a vast source of information that can provide insights for the labour movement, it is the role of CSOs to transform such information into meaningful materials to build militancy among labourers or trade union activists through training or face-to-face engagement. Recalling recent labour demonstrations in Surabaya criticising the Indonesian Parliament's plan to revise the current Employment Law (*Undang-Undang*

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<sup>164</sup> See more explanation about *warnet* or telecentres in Chapter One.

<sup>165</sup> The original wording, *senin-kamis*, literally means *Monday-Thursday* and is the local expression to describe events that happen infrequently or without certainty – it can happen on Monday then maybe on Thursday instead of Tuesday.

*Ketenagakerjaan*) No. 13/2003 into a perceived less favourable law for Indonesian workers, they argue,

Despite the abundant and important information that the Internet provides, the Internet itself cannot replace [the existing] roles and work in organising actions. [We have to] admit that. That's true that the Internet [has] helped us in getting [relevant] information and coordinating [joint] actions in our recent rallies [against Employment Law 13/2003]. But certainly there are roles that [the Internet] cannot simply take over [like facilitating] emotional communication. This is so important for a successful action. When we do everything with technology we lose our emotion. That's bad. And we cannot empower labourers or trade unions without emotion. We cannot organise labour to take part in rallies and demonstrations only by [using] the Internet. Nonsense. [It is] people [who] move people, not technology (Plenary reflection, 9/03/2006)

Indeed, this reflection is also true amongst CSO activists. The participants in the Surabaya workshop thought further that despite being a considerable help in communicating information about actions and networking, the Internet simply cannot replace inter-personal communication among activists. Not only when it comes to specific purposes such as maintaining ideological conscientisation (*penyadaran ideologis*), but also for more humane concerns like communicating support, expressing solidarity or just sharing emotional experiences. Only when this personal, humane aspect complements the technical superiority of the Internet, the use of this technology by CSOs can be fully effective in shaping and reshaping socio-political life.

***Reflection: The Internet, the problem of access, and CSOs' commitment to social movement***

The participants also acknowledge the problems related to a lack of Internet access availability. Not only that the development of telecommunication infrastructure in the province still hinders proper access to ICTs, the cost of access is also considered to be still high. Some donors fortunately recognise this situation and specifically allocate some funds for CSOs in order to help them access the technology by provision of hardware, software and access. But this is not generally the case. The Internet, as a result, is available more to CSOs and elites in society who have resources to afford it, than to grassroots communities like farmers or labours. One of the consequences is the information asymmetry between CSOs and their beneficiaries. Clearly CSOs are better informed and this puts them in a somewhat higher position in the social movement.

Therefore if CSOs are to be consistent with their positioning as partners of civic communities, and if the Internet is to be instrumental in fostering the social movement, it is clearly the task of CSOs to overcome this asymmetry. Not only do CSOs have to deliver the information and rearticulate it for their beneficiaries so that it can be useful and meaningful for them (information in), but CSOs also have to communicate the achievements, problems and dynamics that their beneficiaries have encountered in order to nurture solidarity among different actors in the social

movement (information out). To realise this, it needs, as indicated, more than just CSOs' technical ability in using the Internet: it needs CSOs' commitment.

This matter becomes more crucial because in some cases where beneficiary groups happen to be able to access the Internet via local telecentres (*warnet*), for example in villages near small sub-municipal cities (*kota kecamatan*) or in urban area where labour settlements are concentrated, it is observed that as new users they understandably access the technology mostly for leisure or curiosity purposes. Admitting this common problem (which also used to happen when CSOs activists first used the technology) it is imperative however, that CSOs should soon help their beneficiaries by offering ideas about potential productive (or proper) uses of the Internet. They should subsequently work together with the beneficiaries to use the Internet more effectively to support grassroots initiatives.

### ***Reflection: The Internet and civic activism***

Some CSOs in East Java have tried this approach and they find that using the Internet to empower civic communities is simultaneously both challenging and rewarding. Both the CSO\_ and trade union activists, for example, feel encouraged when they learn through the Internet about similar movement in many other parts of the world. Apparently, not only the CSOs who can extend their network with other similar international organisations, labourers and trade union activists are also able to share experiences with their fellow activists using Internet technologies like emails.

Some *pesantren*-based CSOs also experience how the use of the Internet which later proves to be helping them gaining new, global information and insights that are useful for their empowerment endeavours, actually stemmed from their concern about moral degradation threats that were perceived to be posed by Internet pornography. Realising the potential of the technology, a handful of CSOs run by *santri* take a step further in using the Internet from information seeking to establishing their own networks across the country, interconnecting organisations with similar concerns and values to engage more closely. This has arguably resulted in their beneficiaries (such as farmers or urban poor communities) becoming more aware of what has been going on in a national or even international context – a much more favourable condition for effective empowerment.

In another instance, in the post-reform (post 1998) era, CSOs in East Java have realised that public policy, particularly at a provincial and local level, is a new arena which they can influence strategically. For CSOs, this new approach is aimed at upholding a social reform agenda as well as at making the situation conducive for social development initiatives, in addition to their long-standing approach of being development- or advocacy-oriented organisations. CSOs find that

use of the Internet is helpful in assist them in exploring this new arena, particularly to equip them with information and perspectives which are substantial when they have to engage with policy makers. It is not surprising therefore to see that a number of CSOs in East Java have directly influenced local public policy making by being involved as knowledgeable consultants or counterparts for state agencies like local parliament or local government.

It is equally predictable to see more CSOs in the region have more varied activities than they did before as a result of their perspectives being widened, networks expanded, and issues and concerns changed. In their reflection, however, the participants did not realise that such change has resulted in the boundary between development institutions and advocacy organisations beginning to dissolve.

### ***Concluding reflection from Surabaya workshop***

The concluding reflection of the Surabaya workshop participants is twofold. Firstly and mainly it concerns the role of CSOs in the region as a whole. Although CSOs are increasingly becoming more influential in society, they still need to work on their own cohesiveness as a movement, especially as they are now deciding to start influencing public policy making in addition to making pressures. Here, strategic thinking among CSOs is much needed; and because amongst the internet's features is a capability to facilitate collective and collaborative work, CSOs can use it to help them in this endeavour.

Secondly, it is about the Internet itself. Like everywhere else in the country, access to the Internet is still highly unequal. Particularly, in the domain of civic engagement, this has brought about information asymmetry among actors in the social movement: CSOs and other society elites eventually have much better access to it than most civic communities and the wider public with whom they work. CSOs should thus not rely on the technology alone in organising, mobilising and partnering civic communities at large in order to promote social reform and a social development agenda. *The* key factor for successful endeavours is, instead, perpetual commitment to the civic movement and continuous partnership not only among CSO activists but also between CSO activists and the grassroots. Therefore, not only introducing the use of Internet technologies like emails and WWW to grassroots communities which is important to remedy the asymmetry, but using the technology to facilitate beneficiaries in exchanging their own experiences and building solidarity among others which is more urgent.

The participants admit however, that while use of the Internet has in part contributed to CSOs attempts to promote the agenda of social reform and social development, the use itself is still far from effective and efficient. CSOs still need to build capacity in using the Internet, if they are to change the way they use the technology; from single-minded, naïve use, to a more critical

appropriation of the technology. This becomes important not only for the sake of CSOs' capacity building in using the Internet but also to be critical of donors' intervention, which is now often overlooked, in promoting the use of the technology.

#### **7.3.4. General reflection: The Internet and the shift in civic engagement in Indonesian CSOs and civil society movement**

Some Internet studies have enormously emphasised how the Internet connects to the issue of development (e.g. Castells, 1999; Heeks, 2002; James, 2006; Korac-Kakabadse et al., 2000) as well as promotion of wider democracy (e.g. Abbott, 2001; Ferdinand, 2000; Hill and Sen, 2005; Uhlin, 2000). In the Indonesian context, some research has suggested that the current reshaping of socio-political life in the country has significant correlation with the use of the Internet by the civil society sector in Indonesia (e.g. Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2003d; 2004a). The attempt to provide collective reflections throughout the workshops here is an endeavour to bring some deeper insights to these studies by focusing on how the Internet is used by Indonesian CSOs.

Firstly, it is rather problematic to see the Internet and its use in Indonesian CSOs as homogenous as large parts of the population are excluded due to access to the Internet being unequal and nor are the capabilities of CSOs to use the technology evenly distributed. The workshops in the three regions have highlighted that there are at least three serious constraints for CSOs using the Internet for promoting social reform and a social development agenda: *unequal distribution of access, unadapted content, and specific capabilities* to use the technology. The reflections confirm all three at different points throughout the workshops. Unequal distribution of Internet access, for example, is highly evident. And while CSOs still have to "translate" and "interpret" unadapted content of the Internet so that it becomes meaningful and useful for the beneficiaries, they often still also lack specific capabilities to use the technology. These problems are however not new. Much earlier studies, in different contexts, have also identified them in research into the constraints on using ICTs in promoting a formal democratic process (Feather, 1994; Schiller, 1996).

Secondly, however, as amply considered, when the focus changes from the homogenous viewpoint towards acknowledging differences both in access and the use of the Internet, the same constraints still exist, but the contributions of the technology, in terms of fostering networking, strengthening the public sphere, mobilising for political action, among others, are becoming more significant. For some Indonesian CSOs, the use of technology has a significant impact on their relationship, not only with their national but also international partners, especially when they start to organise themselves on a global level. This has contributed to the shift of power that Indonesian CSOs exercise from the national political level towards regional



and global levels, as has also been observed elsewhere (Anheier et al., 2001a; Florini, 2000; Guidry et al., 2000; Kaldor, 2003). In a further reflection, this is how the Internet appears to play an important role in the globalisation processes of social movement in the absence of other important civil society actors on the national level, like political parties and media (Bennett, 2003; Sey and Castells, 2004; Thurlow et al., 2004). When formal democracy at the international level is absent, the functioning of transnational social movements is a second best option for democracy at a regional or global level. Trans-national social movements are perceived to be “globalisation from below”, counterbalancing the globalising economic, political and cultural spheres, which increasingly escape the sovereignty of the nation state (Anheier et al., 2001a; Castells, 1999; Falk, 1999; Giddens, 1999; Guidry et al., 2000)<sup>166</sup>.

Thirdly, the nature and extent of civic engagement in Indonesia has changed considerably since the reform of 1998. Not only is an organisation’s formal membership no longer an adequate indicator of participation<sup>167</sup>, but engagement and involvement are also much less defined in terms of formal processes, such as through open and inclusive public participation, which was abundantly reported as background in the workshops<sup>168</sup>. There is also an observation across workshops while structural and emancipatory issues are still important triggers for engagement (as in the case of poverty issues or the involvement of the urban poor, labourers/trade unions and farmers), there are also emerging issues which are more domestic (local) and specific (like issues of environmental protection, the rights of children and youths, migrant workers’ rights, fair trade, etc). These are the issues that relate to what is theorised as *identity-politics* or *life-politics* (Bennett, 1998:741-750; Giddens, 1991:214). This observation also resonates with Beck’s argument about sub-politics (1994:23), i.e. that political participation and its perception is being reshaped into a more issue-related and short-term engagement in social movements and CSOs (Cammaerts and Van-Audenhove, 2004:14).

Sub-politics means shaping society from below. Viewed from above, this results in the loss of implementation power, the shrinkage and minimisation of politics. In the wake of sub-politicisation, there are growing opportunities to have a voice and a share in the arrangement of society for groups hitherto uninvolved in the substantive

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<sup>166</sup> Transnational civil society is often used as an analytical concept to describe a certain social and political reality at the international level (Anheier et al., 2001a; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998). As clearly suggested,

[W]hat we can observe in the 1990s is the emergence of a supranational sphere of social and political participation in which citizens groups, social movements, and individuals engage in dialogue, debate, confrontation, and negotiation with each other and with various governmental actors - international, national and local – as well as the business world (Anheier et al., 2001a:4).

<sup>167</sup> Hadiwinata’s (2003), and previously Eldridge’s (1995), works on Indonesian NGOs show how political participation of civil society was often indicated, and made possible, mostly by formal membership, particularly during the Soeharto’s New Order regime when civil society’s activism was under state’s close scrutiny.

<sup>168</sup> The case of **Sahabat Walhi** is a good example of this. See Chapter Five Section 5.4.1.

technification and industrialisation process (Beck, 1994:23; cited in Cammaerts and Van-Audenhove, 2004:14).

From these perspectives, clearly the use of the Internet has helped many civil society activists to experience that their involvement in direct actions with CSOs and within social movement organisations is politically more effective than, perhaps, involvement in more hierarchical organisations like political parties. In other words, the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs has contributed to the civic engagement being partly shifted from the formal participation level (be it for widening democracy or advancing a development agenda) towards a meso-level, between the formal political participation and the unorganised citizens<sup>169</sup>.

Lastly, reflection across workshops indicates that Internet politics have probably taken many new forms in the context of Indonesian CSOs, introducing what is understood as 'cyberactivism' (McCaughey and Ayers, 2003) where various forms of direct online activities, representation and advocacy of people's interests can occur. By giving more specific examples, this finding reinforces what has been observed earlier in Indonesia (e.g. Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2003d; 2004a). More particularly, the workshops also recollect experiences that albeit limitedly, the Internet has been used in strategic ways by Indonesian CSOs. Among abundant examples is that the Internet has been used for international lobbying efforts, extending networks of CSOs and civic groups, helping with research and advocacy, and elevating issues ranging from human rights, to opposition to globalisation; from promotion of micro-credit for the poor to capacity building for SMEs and rural development; from terrorism, to freedom of association and to combating corruption. Although still in the preliminary stage, clearly cyberspace communities are emerging, linking people and CSOs engaged in advocacy as well as development issues. It is also here, in addition to all the above, where the Internet has potential as a tool to help Indonesian CSOs coping with the inevitable fragmentation in civil society movement in the country.

However, at the same time, CSOs' cyberactivism (McCaughey and Ayers, 2003) has also raised concerns for themselves, particularly with regard to the relationships between local/national CSOs and international CSOs as also argued throughout the workshops. From their experience, it is the larger, well-funded international CSOs based in the more developed countries that assume the role of defining the goals of international collaboration. In the context of this study, this has caused, somehow, a difference in the perception of what roles international or global CSOs play and what global collaboration should look like, particularly in the context of transition countries

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<sup>169</sup> Similar observations have also been made in a context of Internet use among transnational social movement organisations (Cammaerts and Van-Audenhove, 2004).

like Indonesia where socio-political turmoil is highly evident and impacts on CSOs activity in areas of development as well as advocacy (Demos, 2005a; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hikam, 1999; Hill and Sen, 2005; Lim, 2003e; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006a; Uhlin, 2000). This reflection may give answers to the suspicions of previous scholars on this concern (Lim, 2003e; Riker, 2001; Warkentin, 2001). Furthermore, among any other factors, these perspectives, as reflected here, have particularly shaped the debate about the role of ICTs, particularly the Internet, in enhancing CSOs' involvement in fostering democracy (Abbott, 2001; Ferdinand, 2000; Hill and Sen, 2005; Riker, 2001), as well as to advance their agenda for social development and social reform (Hadiwinata, 2003; McConnell, 2000; Warkentin, 2001).

It seems, despite various limitations, CSOs in Indonesia today have been able to try to use Internet technologies to undertake various activities: research, education and mobilisation of civic groups, shaping public opinion around certain themes, and improving their advocacy for protection of environment, human rights, political liberalisation as well as to promote development and democracy –as the workshops have amply reflected. This reflection reverberates with some previous works (e.g. Calame, 2000; Everard, 1999; Falk, 2000; Ferdinand, 2000) and gives a different insight into what has been discussed previously in this study (see previous chapters, especially Chapter Six). Again, as thoroughly shown in this study, the adoption and use of the Internet in CSOs in Indonesia is pivotal in mobilising groups of people and enables effective civil society involvement in development and advocacy through a national and global network of CSOs and citizen's groups.

#### **7.4. Lessons learned from workshop reflections**

Many of the observations, from across the workshops can enrich our understanding of the impacts and implications of Internet use on CSOs. There are some lessons learned from the reflections across the workshops that could enrich the way impacts and implications of Internet use in CSOs can be understood.

- a. At the intra-organisational level, the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs has affected not only the way the public perceives CSOs' identity but also the way CSOs see themselves. The implication of this for CSOs' roles is twofold: they are both reinforced and transformed. Furthermore, as the use of the Internet becomes more extensive, information acquired becomes more complete, and perspective becomes more widened. Understandably, borders between organisations, as a result, become more blurred and the sector in which CSOs work converges.

- b. By providing different ways to communicate and to carry out works, Internet use has affected CSOs' organisational cohesion. It has also had an effect on the fit between organisation's individual values and the collective networks' values. In the social movement, information exchange is more important than simply information acquisition because it moves people. In such a situation, the use of the Internet can help CSOs to elevate issues either to get public attention or to prepare the ground for further field actions.
- c. As the Internet has been used to mobilise for actions and campaigns, to connect people, and to exchange views across national boundaries on cross-cutting contemporary and global political, social and economic issues, it may have had an effect on Indonesian CSOs becoming more cosmopolitan and globalised. However, while the Internet has indeed facilitated a new way of fostering a reform and development agenda amongst the wider public, Indonesian CSOs have to remember that the essence of social movement is real engagement, not just information exchange. This has implications: since the Internet is still very much perceived to be the property of Indonesian middle-upper class instead of the lower 'grassroots' people, CSOs have to be more careful about using this technology to create a genuine movement from below.
- d. Although the Internet has been integrated into CSOs' daily practices and there are apparent benefits, for organisations working closely with cultural groups or in a strong cultural context, conventional modes of communication, like meetings or telephone calls are still very much in use. In this context, Internet use may have delivered more complete information and somewhat widened their perspectives, affecting the way they think, and changing their approaches. This could however be a factor in the disappearing border between development and advocacy groups. Furthermore, for Indonesian CSOs working in relatively remote areas or on different issues with varied approaches, the most important feature of the Internet might be its ability to interconnect organisations and networks of organisations to advance joint actions. It serves as a platform for the development of alternative discourses and strategies. However, it may not be enough as a binding tool for CSOs work in fostering the social movement, particularly in specific contexts such as rural or urban settings which need deep and intensive interaction with grassroots groups.
- e. While the Internet is a vast source of insightful information for civic movement in Indonesia, it is the role of CSOs to transform such information into meaningful materials to empower their beneficiaries to take part in the real actions in social reform or social development campaigns/arenas. In the Indonesian-specific context, the problem with

Internet access has created information asymmetry between CSOs and their beneficiaries, often with CSOs in a more influential position. Thus CSOs need not only to deliver the information to their beneficiaries (information in), but also to communicate their beneficiaries' achievements and dynamics to the wider social movement (information out), to build solidarity among the actors. In a particular context where the Internet is perceived to be newly available technology, it is imperative for local CSOs to help their beneficiaries with ideas about proper uses of the Internet, especially for effective support to grassroots initiatives. And, as the Internet has the capability to facilitate collective and collaborative work, especially when CSOs endeavour to influence public policy making, CSOs themselves need to build their own capacity in order to be able to strategically use the technology.

Indonesian CSOs today seem to have shown much resemblance to the characteristics of organisations in the so-called network society (Castells, 1996; 2005) in the sense that they work in networks and collaborate beyond their region, at national or international levels. This would not have been possible without using the Internet, which gives them the ability to link the local to the global and vice-versa. As reflected throughout the workshops, however, the critical point here is not the role of technology, but the commitment of CSOs in the way they use the technology. Thus it is important to build CSOs' capability to strategically use the Internet, with their skills giving them the ability to shape the technology as well as the socio-political issues in which they work. It is equally important to create an environment where CSO staff and activists are encouraged to use the available technology and in this way to develop their skills, share their experiences with their partners and beneficiary groups. And this process should always remain "under construction".

## **7.5. The Internet and Indonesian CSO movement: Beyond impact and implication**

The empirical reflection from the workshops, clearly and undoubtedly, gives important insight into the information systems perspective when discussing the use and the implications of the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. In information systems study, implementation of ICTs, including the Internet, is part of the organisations' strategies (Bretschneider, 1990; Galliers, 2004; 2007; Shumarova and Swatman, 2006b), including of CSOs' (Ciborra, 1994; McConnell, 2000).

While the workshop reflections have confidently confirmed this claim, they have also been able to identify some implications or consequences that might have escaped from previous studies.

As abundantly suggested across workshops, this is possible mainly because Indonesian CSOs do not believe, neither do they experience, that the Internet is *the* answer or *the* solution to their most important quest: to be genuine partners of civic communities. Instead, the Internet is perceived only to be an instrument or tool for such a purpose<sup>170</sup>.

### **7.5.1. Constituting Internet use: Recursive processes and practices**

In all the workshops, there was discussion of how the use of the Internet by any CSOs is essentially a recursive process. Be it in CSOs working for urban or rural issues, be it undertaking research or direct action, or be it in CSOs whose approach is developmentalist or advocacy focussed, the use of the Internet has become constituted in the organisations: it is an enactment of a 'technology-in-use' structure (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000). The examples from the workshops are abundant. The uses of email, mailing lists, WWW, simple blogs, chat rooms are all instances of enactments of a "technology-in-practice", which is situated within a number of nested and overlapping social systems (Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). The way CSOs interact with the Internet enacts other social structures along with the technology-in-practice. The use of email has become standard for coordinating rallies; posting information or sharing experience. The use of mailing lists has become common practice for advocacy work. These are among examples often referred by the participants in the workshops (see also Box 6.7.).

It is clear that in their recurrent and situated action, in using the Internet CSOs thus draw on previously enacted structures and reconstitute those structures. Such reconstitution may be either *deliberate* (like using emails or mailing lists for communication or WWW for searching information), or, as is more usual, *inadvertent* (such as when email communication becomes routinised), as Orlikowski suggests (2000).

### **7.5.2. Reshaping the socio-political landscape: Two layers of the social system**

When reflecting on how the use of the Internet has had an impact on the reshaping of socio-political life in Indonesia, the discussion about the *nested* and overlapping *structure* of Internet use (Orlikowski, 2000:411) is found across the workshops. All CSOs participating in this study agree that they experience at least two 'layers' of social systems when they use the technology. Firstly in their own individual CSO (intra-organisational level) where CSO staff or activists' interaction with the Internet is structured (Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). Secondly, the CSOs

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<sup>170</sup> This resonates with Galliers' suggestion that it is important for organisations to pay attention to the consequences of the implementation of ICTs as they are not the answer and neither the solution to the organisational problems (Galliers, 2004:257).

movement in Indonesia as another social system (inter-organisational level) where interactions among CSOs are also structured and constituted (Anheier, 2003; Kaldor, 2003; Wainwright, 2005; Warkentin, 2001).

At the intra-organisational level, where technology is both a product of and a medium for human action (as theorised by DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000), through the workshop reflections presented here, Indonesian CSOs acknowledge that the institutional properties of CSOs, like values, issues, concerns and perspectives both influence and are influenced by how staff and activists use the Internet. However, because the use of the technology has become routinised, often they are not aware of this two-way process (which, in some instances, even only becomes revealed during the workshop discussions). One implication that is reflected across the workshops is the influence of the Internet use on CSOs' identity (e.g. Castells, 1997). The workshop confirms that organisational identity is essential to their internal coherence (e.g. Stiglitz, 2000) and cohesion (e.g. Knox et al., 2006). In terms of coherence the use of the Internet has helped CSOs to build a more visible identity and undertake their roles in society, to align the resources behind the organisation's strategy, to tackle strategic priorities and critical issues. This experience is in accordance with previous studies (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; McLaughlin et al., 1999; Scott, 2003). In terms of cohesion, Indonesian CSOs experience that the use of the Internet has an effect on their roles, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility which, in the context of Indonesian social movement, are essential for their existence within the movement (which corroborates Anheier et al., 2002; Davis et al., 2005; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Edwards and Hulme, 1995a).

Meanwhile, at the inter-organisational level, Indonesian CSOs admit that joint actions and collaborations among CSOs are also both a product of and a medium for a CSO's activities (as suggested by Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006). For example, in the Indonesian CSO movement, institutional properties of the movement such as orientation, strategic targets, or lines of thought, have influenced how an individual CSO joins the action, but at the same time, as amply argued in the workshop, the way CSOs collaborate with each other also influences the movement (as also identified by Davis et al., 2005; Diani, 2003). The workshops reflect that the use of the Internet has contributed, in part, to the changing roles of Indonesian CSOs, which, as a result, reshapes the socio-political life of the country (as previously also observed, in different context, by Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2003d; 2004a). The use of the Internet has clearly contributed to the changing relationship, not only between Indonesian CSOs and their 'audiences' or 'beneficiaries', but also among CSOs. In this way, CSOs as social movement actors are strengthened and civic communities are empowered. As shown by the collective reflections

here, this is an important factor in the shaping and reshaping of socio-political life in Indonesia today.

### **7.5.3. Internet implementation: Between intended and unintended consequences**

As a result of the reflections they engaged in across the workshops, the Indonesian CSOs have become more aware of the influence of the use of the Internet on their organisation, and, as they also use the Internet for collaboration, they can also know how such collaboration mediates their individual CSO's work, as well as how it influences the movement more generally (See Box 6.7).

As has been suggested previously, it is important to distinguish between intra- and inter-organisational levels, at least on an analytical level, to understand the implication of Internet use in CSOs. But it is also just as important to make a distinction between the intended and unintended nature of the implication (as suggested by Orlikowski, 2000:411). There are at least two empirical reasons suggested during the workshops. First, CSOs staff or activists are always potentially able to change their habitual use as their experience also changes in using the Internet. In this way, both their experience and the way they use the technology are changed by each other. Second, in CSO movement, similarly any organisation has potential to change the way they participate in the movement over time. This way, both the movement and the individual organisations are changed by each other. Evidence for these two reasons are abundantly shown during the workshops and certainly enrich theories about how collaboration and joint working mediate and are mediated by individual CSOs work, especially when they become connected globally (Anheier et al., 2001a; Kaldor, 2003; Wainwright, 2005; Warkentin, 2001).

## **7.6. Conclusion**

The collective reflections from Indonesian CSOs gathered in this chapter show empirical evidence of how the Internet has played an important role in CSO movement in the country: mobilising support, organising actions like protests and demonstrations, campaigning for advocacy programmes, informing the general public about a development agenda, serving as research and publication tools, expanding networks, building public opinion, and much more. In short, using the Internet has increasingly become an inseparable part of Indonesian CSO strategy. By presenting these collective reflections, this study argues that there is in fact an



expansion of “space” in how the use of the Internet in CSOs has had an impact both on the organisations and on the socio-political life of the country.

This chapter is actually a furtherance of the previous diffusion analysis (*Chapter Five*) and the observation on the implementation (*Chapter Six*) of Internet use in Indonesian CSOs. It shows here that the adoption and use of the Internet in CSOs is essentially a recursive process. Once it has become constituted in the organisations, it enacts a ‘technology-in-use’ structure (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000). While some enactments are deliberate, often they are also inadvertent (Orlikowski, 2000). In the intra-organisational level, the institutional properties of CSOs are influenced by, and at the same time also influence, the way the organisations use the Internet. One implication of this, reflected across workshops, is how Internet use affects CSOs’ identity, which is substantial for their internal coherence and cohesion. In the inter-organisational level, the realm of social movement is both a product of and a medium for CSO’s activities (see e.g. Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006). In this regard, the use of the Internet has contributed to the changing relationship between Indonesian CSOs and their ‘audiences’ or ‘beneficiaries’ which then becomes a factor in the shaping and reshaping of socio-political life in Indonesia. One thing is clear here, that is, when implication is to be understood in a comprehensive, diffusion and implementation should also be viewed as a whole rather than a series of discrete stages. Otherwise, the picture is can not be said to be complete.

The Internet is indeed a medium with great potential, but it cannot be seen as separate from the rest of the material and social worlds, or as an encompassing solution to all societal problems, especially those concerned with widening participation. This chapter has shown two important things. Firstly, unless Indonesian CSOs use the Internet strategically, it will have no strategic impact on the advancement of the social reform and social development agendas that CSOs are promoting. Second, however, it should be noted that “the land of strategic technology nirvana” in the context of Internet use in CSOs never really exists (Surman and Reilly, 2003). The use of the Internet in CSOs is both a process and an outcome.

In conclusion, the Internet has offered both promise and peril for CSOs in Indonesia. It offers the promise of CSOs strategies influencing public participation in social reform and social development at multiple levels. Throughout the archipelago, many Indonesian CSOs are shaping democratic discourse, advancing advocacy and delivering development programmes on a daily basis through ongoing debates and struggles to ensure wider civic engagement and public participation. Also, as the reflection quoted in the beginning of this chapter suggests, it has potential to be a means to make the social movement in Indonesia stronger by helping CSOs become more coherent and cohesive. However, special efforts are necessary to provide more CSOs with access and help with capacity building to use the technology strategically.

Indeed, the Internet offers important potential to become a means to advance reforms and a development agenda, but it needs the strategic orientation of Indonesian CSOs to bring this potential to realisation. Offering a bigger picture of the overall impacts of Internet use in the dynamics of civil society in Indonesia is the aim of the next chapter –the synthesis and self-reflection of this thesis.

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# Chapter 8

## The Internet and the dynamics of civil society

### *A synthesis of research into Indonesian CSOs*

*To us, the most important [aspect of the] Internet use is that it provides us with vast information and capabilities to network. It affects organisational choices; it opens up unprecedented opportunities; it brings about changes. That is what has really affected our engagement with the society.*  
(Group reflection, Surabaya workshop, 9/03/2005)

The Internet has always been about networking. It is not just about networks of computers, wires and hubs, but networks of people (Castells, 1999; Dutton, 1999; Graham, 1999; Thurlow et al., 2004). Civil society, too, is about networks. It is a network of civic groups and communities across regions and localities who have common interests and concerns and are willing to come together, organised or unorganised (Edwards, 2004; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998). It is not surprising therefore to see that there is a close link between the Internet and civil society: the Internet has been a convivial tool for many civil society groups, organisations and communities for social activism of many forms (Castells, 1996; McConnell, 2000; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001).

It will be equally of no surprise to learn that the diffusion of the Internet noticeably affects the dynamics of civil society, as is observed in this research. Taking the case of Indonesian civil society organisations (CSOs) using the Internet, this study has shown how the landscape of Indonesian civil society has changed considerably in terms of activism and various forms of civic engagement. This has been further facilitated by the way these organisations adopt and use the technology (*Chapter Four*). There are factors, among which are the different characters of civil society groups, affecting the adoption and the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs. These factors affect the pattern and the sequence of technology adoption, and are significant in creating leaders and laggards in the CSO universe in Indonesia (*Chapter Five*). The implementation of the Internet is also found to be bound to the organisational nature of a CSO. The stages of implementation as well as the strategic use of the Internet are very much characterised by this nature and they may be the source of difference between the Internet use in CSOs and in other types of organisation (*Chapter Six*). The implication of Internet use, observed at intra- and inter-organisation levels, affects not only the organisational performance of CSOs but also their role in the reshaping of socio-political life in the country (*Chapter Seven*).

This study is an investigation into how Indonesian CSOs adapt the Internet for their particular work needs. It finds that there are variances in the patterns of Internet adoption and use and the

impacts on organisational performance and dynamics of the network of social movement to which these CSOs belong. This chapter aspires to address the issues and themes raised in the introductory chapter by bringing together focal points that have been discussed in the finding chapters. It seeks not only to further discuss the findings of the previous four chapters by analysing them within a 'bigger picture', but also to provide a critical assessment based upon the arguments so far, i.e. to explore what the issues really are and what conceptual ramifications they may have. This is in order to give a comprehensive explanation about the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs and its implications.

There are two big issues to be discussed here. First, a revisit and rethink of the findings that this study has gathered on the dynamics of civil society through investigation into CSOs in Indonesia today. This discussion aims to identify factors contributing to these dynamics, including the role of the Internet in civil society. Second, an extensive discussion on the use and impacts of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), particularly the Internet, in Indonesian CSOs. The discussion revolves around the idea of how the dynamics of contemporary civil society groups and movements in Indonesia both influence- and are influenced by- the adoption of the Internet. In addition it also looks at the current problem in Indonesian civil society where uncivil elements emerge, and also use the same technology.

## **8.1. Landscape in constant flux: Civil society in contemporary Indonesia<sup>171</sup>**

If concepts exist which are always 'in the making' in the history of human civilisation, *civil society* is certainly one of them. Not only conceptually, but also empirically, civil society and its movement is in constant flux (Anheier et al., 2001a; Crossley, 2002; Edwards, 2004; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998) and Indonesian civil society is no exception. The landscape of Indonesian civil society has considerably changed in the past two decades, with noticeable development since the fall of Suharto's authoritarian regime in 1998, which marked the beginning of the transition to democracy in the country (Demos, 2005a; Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003). Yet, although noticeable, it is well recognised that the changing landscape of civil society is rather difficult to measure in empirical accounts. Taking examples of previous research in the area, the study explores three features in civil society organisations (CSOs) to approximate the changing terrain of Indonesian civil society: *discourse* (as in Anheier et al., 2001b; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998), *activism* (as suggested by Edwards, 2004; Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2002;

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<sup>171</sup> This section draws on the discussion in the *Chapter Four*.

Hadiwinata, 2003) and *network* (as pointed out in Anheier and Katz, 2005; Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006; Diani, 2003).

### 8.1.1. Discourse of civil society in Indonesia: Shifting, or widening?

Both as *koinonia politik* (literally 'political community') as referred to by Aristotle, and as *societas civilis* ('civil community') as termed by Cicero (Bartelson, 2006:377), along with theories by contemporary scholars today (to name a few, Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998) civil society is always understood by its *discourse*. It is a particular, institutionalised way of thinking, a social boundary defining what can be said by civil society about a specific topic (Deakin, 2001:4-8; Keane, 1998:114).

What has been presented in this study so far has reflected the transformation in the discourse of civil society amongst Indonesian CSOs today. There is evidence to support this claim, which can be seen as an update to previous studies into the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs (particularly Bird, 1999; Eldridge, 1995; Fakh, 1996; Hadiwinata, 2003; Harney and Olivia, 2003; Kalibonso, 1999; McCarthy, 2002; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006; Sinaga, 1994; Uhlin, 1997). This will be discussed below<sup>172</sup>.

- a. **Change of interest:** from fairly focused concern about *state-centrist* issues, to much broader interest moving *beyond* state-centrist, giving more attention to the role of non-state actors. It is intriguing to see that the focus of concerns of Indonesian CSOs today are not only about building social awareness about state's repressive power and promoting democracy and human rights (as observed by Bird, 1999; Eldridge, 1995; Fakh, 1996; Sinaga, 1994; Uhlin, 1997) but also about enlightening society with new articulation of issues such as gender equality, promotion of pluralism, fulfilment of economic, social and cultural and rights, and poverty reduction. This 're-articulation' of issues is a reflection of a significant change in the issues and concerns from pre-reform period to post-reform period.
- b. **Multi-issues, multi undertakings:** As the concern changes, so does the focus of CSOs' activities. With ample examples, this study finds that today Indonesian CSOs are working on the basis of multi- and inter-related issues. This is in contrast to the way CSOs in Indonesia worked in the past, which was mainly on the basis of limited and focussed (not necessarily single) issues oriented towards either 'advocacy' or 'development' discourse (Eldridge, 1995; Fakh, 1996; Hadiwinata, 2003). Prevalent issues like environment,

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<sup>172</sup> For more examples see elaboration in *Chapter Four*.

poverty and education are no longer seen as isolated concerns but in strong relation to other societal issues like economic cultural and social (ecosoc) rights, gender equality, farmer, labour, development and children and youth, among others. As result, the realm of Indonesian CSOs is characterised by activities which are multi-issue and multi undertakings.

- c. **Contextualisation – ‘old’ issues, ‘new’ meanings:** Indonesian CSOs try to give new meaning to long-established issues, or to give them a relatively new context. Issues ‘traditional’ to CSOs (like development, democratisation and human rights) are apparently still very much taken up by Indonesian CSOs, but incorporated with other issues, and very possibly, with new understandings. Examples show that issues on which Indonesian CSOs work on are no longer associated only with the state’s repressive violence as observed in the past (Eldridge, 1995:99-117; Uhlin, 1997) but also with contextual issues and societal problems stemming from globalisation, corporate governance, pluralism and fundamentalism, good governance as well as environment- and gender- related concerns. While this reflects the widening spectrum of certain ‘traditional’ issues themselves, it may also indicate how Indonesian CSOs give a new, broader meaning and wider understanding to such issues. More importantly, this also helps the organisations to reposition themselves among other groups in the contemporary Indonesian civil society.
- d. **Inclusion of global and cosmopolitan issues:** Some Indonesian CSOs notably start to integrate global issues into their own concerns. A clear example is the inclusion of globalisation (which started in the late 1990s) and the emergence of new CSOs working particularly in globalisation and related issues (since 2000). This is unlike gender awareness discourse which, although reflects a global issue, has long been widely disseminated among Indonesian CSOs since before reform (Kalibonso, 1999). This is possibly because the issue of globalisation is “relatively difficult to be comprehended by Indonesian CSOs at large” as found by this study. For the majority of CSOs in Indonesia, globalisation itself is not an easy issue to comprehend (Harney and Olivia, 2003; Hikam, 1999; McCarthy, 2002), let alone to integrate into an organisation’s concerns. However, with the enormous changes in the realm of civil society activities in Pacific Asia (Bresnan, 2005b; Lounela, 1999; McGibbon, 2006), Indonesian CSOs seem to be left with no choice but to familiarise themselves and, as far as possible embrace, these contemporary issues, often with huge problems in so doing (which is also confirmed by Harney and Olivia, 2003; McCarthy, 2002; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006). This finding clearly implies that despite the difficulties and problems, CSOs in Indonesia have endeavoured to

incorporate such contemporary issues and put them into a wider and more relevant perspective in Indonesian civil society today.

This study argues that all indicators above, while obviously to some extent results of the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with their international counterparts, are also very much consequences (intended or unintended) of the use of ICTs, particularly the Internet, in the organisations. The Internet not only facilitates communication and collaboration of organisations within and between countries (Castells, 1996; Dutton, 1999; 2004; Warkentin, 2001), it also contributes to the spread of issues and concerns (Dutton, 2004; McConnell, 2000; Surman and Reilly, 2003) and thus plays a role in the change of the discourse. What has been discussed above is no doubt a reflection on the change in issues and concerns of Indonesian CSOs.

However, dealing with such change is not always an easy process for most Indonesian CSOs, as this study reveals. The involvement with global civil society is fuelled by the use of Internet technology, which is widely believed to enable organisations across the globe to share similar issues and concerns in a 'global village' (e.g. Castells, 1996; 2005; Coombs and Hull, 1996; Coombs et al., 1992) and is indeed growing. But, as observed, this may also have contributed to the feeling of 'lacking ground' for many Indonesian organisations because integration of many global issues into local ones, as well as the global collaboration itself, is not as straightforward as they might expect. Often this is not only about understanding the issues or finding international organisation partners, but more about the articulation of the issues in local or national contexts and having mutual cooperation with international counterparts. This has resulted in Indonesian CSOs having problems in grabbing global, cosmopolitan ideas and incorporating them into their own concerns, and is not the only impediment that shapes the socio-political landscape of Indonesian social movement.

Besides the mounting discourse on globalisation, the rapid growth of CSOs has also caused anxiety amongst organisations in Indonesian civil society. There are two big questions: has growth has been too far and too fast? (McCarthy, 2002) And do many newly-established civil society groups and organisations have compatible objectives? (Ganie-Rochman, 2000). Both questions obviously relate to each other. In a recent study, Ibrahim (et al., 2003) points out that financial accountability of mainly newcomer organisations has risked the reputation of Indonesian CSOs which proves Edwards' and Hulme's notable concern on the subject (Edwards and Hulme, 1995c; 1996; 1997). Another problem is the emergence of radical movements based on religious extremism within the civil society realm (Bresnan, 2005b; Emmerson, 2005; Hefner, 2005), who created anarchy not only in physical, off-line domain but also in cyber-world over the Internet (Hill and Sen, 2002; Lim, 2002; 2004a; 2005). As result, the *raison d'être* of CSOs is put into question (Ibrahim et al., 2003:142-143). And although it is easier to exclude organisations

working on religious extremism from the 'civil' Indonesian CSOs (Herry-Priyono, 2006), the implication may not be that simple.

The change in the issues, concerns and terrain of Indonesian CSOs indicates that the discourse of civil society in Indonesia is perhaps in need of a revisit. Put simply, it is a different civil society in Indonesia today that this study finds compared to what it would have found, say, a decade ago. However, the difference may reflect more about the shift in *historical contingency* (i.e. the engagement with global civil society and use of network technology), rather than in *logical necessity* (i.e. the nature and fundamental societal role), of civil society. Indonesian civil society was viewed in terms of its opposition to the state, not because it was logically so, but because prior to 1998, the authoritarian state under Soeharto was seen as the ultimate power holder which posed the greatest threat to the civility of social life in Indonesia (Bresnan, 2005b; Clear, 2005; Hefner, 2005; Herry-Priyono, 2006).

Here, the concept of civility is important to shed light on this discussion and to provide an explanation of the changing landscape of Indonesian civil society. Since the beginning, civil society's core concern is about the creation of civility rather than with the power-balance game in democracy (Bartelson, 2006; Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998). Civility itself is about treating other people equally based on their rights and obligations regardless of any primordial attributes. To conceive civil society as a societal network of democratic energies *vis-a-vis* any form of power abuse and incivility (Herry-Priyono, 2006) is helpful to understand the nature of change that has been observed in this study. Civil society's role is not only to make the exercise of power accountable, but also to nurture a shared life that is civil, civic, non-sectarian, tolerant and compassionate<sup>173</sup>. More Indonesian CSOs are now in agreement to play such a role. This makes for a strong case that the discourse in Indonesian civil society is not just shifting; it is widening.

### **8.1.2. Approach in social activism amongst Indonesian CSOs: Blurring divisions or forming new strategy?**

It has been long noted that in an Indonesian context, the activities of various civil society groups seem to have shared two distinct features: development-oriented activities with the main purpose of alleviating poverty (or "*developmentalist groups*") (Hadiwinata, 2003:242) and politically-oriented activities aiming at influencing and changing government policies (or

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<sup>173</sup> Although some classic accounts of civil society emphasise just about informal extra-economic extra-state organisation and processes. The enlargement role of civil society is also discussed by some prominent scholars in the area (Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998, among others)



"advocacy oriented groups") (Ganie-Rochman, 2002:5)<sup>174</sup>. For the sake of analytical purpose, scholars then use this distinction as the grand typology of 'development'- and 'advocacy'-type of CSOs (Eldridge, 1995:36-39; Fakhri, 1996:125-132; Hadiwinata, 2003:101-104), which has been widely used with some variations (e.g. by Holland and Henriot, 2002; Korten, 1995). Some studies observed that in the past development groups tended to be formal in their approach while advocacy was informal (for example Billah, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Sinaga, 1994). This was understandable given the context of the authoritarian government in power. Later studies (like Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hadiwinata, 2003; Harney and Olivia, 2003), however, still found similar division between development *vis-à-vis* advocacy orientation in civic activism despite some changes in a converging approach following the fall of the authoritarian state. Apparently, there is rapid development in progress. Some up-to-date studies seem to be unable to take into account the 'development-advocacy' distinction quite clearly and instead focus on the issues and concerns in their analyses (e.g. Demos, 2005a; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006; Warren, 2005). What does this trend mean?

### ***Blurring divisions between two distinct types of CSOs ...***

While confirming that, generally, Indonesian CSOs still view themselves as being either development- or advocacy-oriented groups, this study has gathered sufficient evidence to say that organisations who claim to be advocacy-oriented are in fact not too different from those claiming to be 'developmentalist' when issues, concerns and activities are the indicators used to verify the claim. They both have similar growing interest in global and cosmopolitan ideas; they both have similar concern about the rapidly changing world fuelled by globalisation and changing role of government; they both carry out similar activities from lobby to training and capacity building; and they both also engage with their international counterparts using similar networking methods. It is difficult, thus, to say if an organisation or group is either advocacy- or development-oriented other than from its own view or claim about itself. The investigation into the indicators to verify the claim cannot conclude that these two types of organisation are different from one another. At the least, the division between them has now become somewhat blurred, if not disappeared entirely. Why did it happen? Or more interestingly, *how* did it happen? This question is already addressed in *Chapter Four* and some paragraphs have been dedicated to finding the answer. However the whole picture can only be revealed at this point.

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<sup>174</sup> This distinction is perhaps rooted at corresponding political paradigm of whether viewing the relationship with other societal actors in 'consensus' (which gave birth to developmentalist) or in 'conflict' (which bred advocacy groups) way, and affects CSOs approach in social activism (Billah, 1995; Eldridge, 1995; Fakhri, 1996; Hadiwinata, 2003; Sinaga, 1994).

Contemporary studies on Indonesian (and in general Pacific Asia's) politics argue that it was the fall of Soeharto's authoritarian regime in 1998 that opened up an unprecedented opportunity for civil society groups to emerge (e.g. Bird, 1999; Hill, 2000; Ito, 1999). But it was also the civil society which played important part in removing the regime from power leading for the reform (Aspinall, 1995; Harney and Olivia, 2003; McCarthy, 2002). The political reform (called *reformasi*) then resulted in the blooming of activism in civil society, up to the point where scholars agreed to see it as 'civic hysteria' or 'political euphoria' (for example Bresnan, 2005b; Emmerson, 2005; Hefner, 2005; Ibrahim et al., 2003). This all marked the beginning of the 'transition to democracy' period and was signified by the substantial rise of collaboration with global civil society, which contributed to the inclusion of global and cosmopolitan idea as well as the convergence of issues in Indonesian CSOs (Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006b).

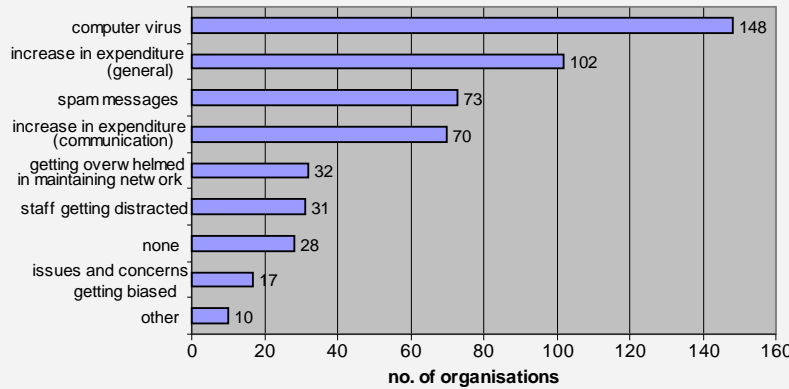
Internet researchers, however, have a slightly different opinion. They suggest that it was the use of ICTs, particularly the Internet, in civil society that gave an impetus to the awakening of the social movement in Indonesia that brought down Soeharto's military government (for instance Hill and Sen, 2000; Lim, 2002; 2003d; 2004a; Marcus, 1998). Subsequently, it was (and is) the use of the Internet that enabled organisations to 'connect on-line' with their national partners and global counterparts not only to maintain a social reform agenda (Hill, 2003; Tedjabayu, 1999), but also to 'hook up' to global ideas, which in turn played a role in the transformation of their issues and concerns (Abbott, 2001; Friend, 2003; Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Uhlin, 2000).

Obviously, both perspectives (of political Indonesianists and of Internet researchers), although not incorrect, only tell half of the story. The adoption and use of the Internet by civil society is not an automatic process (i.e. that if the Internet is there, the technology will just be used by civil society groups) and neither is the case with civil society influencing socio-political landscape in a direct fashion (i.e. that civil society dynamics is an all-encompassing process explaining the political reform and explosion in civic activities). As a matter of fact, the development of the heightened period of socio-political change in Indonesia coincided with the period when the Internet started to penetrate widely in the society in the late 1990s (Hill and Sen, 2005; Purbo, 2000; Telkom, 2002). It was actually in this context when the Internet came to play an important role in enabling the building up of the 'insurgent space' for civil society in Indonesia –as observed by Lim (2002:393-395). Lim consistently emphasises how such creation of civic space has played a substantial role in facilitating the maturing social movements necessary for socio-political change in the country (Lim, 2003a; 2003d; 2004a; 2006). This study adds that similar dynamics have been taking place in more organised civic communities, in particular CSOs.

### Box 8.1. Barriers to Internet adoption in Indonesian CSOs

Among many other aspects, this research aims to investigate the barriers to the adoption of the Internet in civil society organisations (CSOs). However, it is not easy to address such a question straightforwardly. To approach this inquiry the survey posed two questions. One question addressed the 'negative aspects' caused by the use of ICTs, particularly the Internet, in Indonesian CSOs. The other one addressed the extent to which some factors hampered their Internet use.

#### Are there any negative aspects caused by Internet use in your organisation?



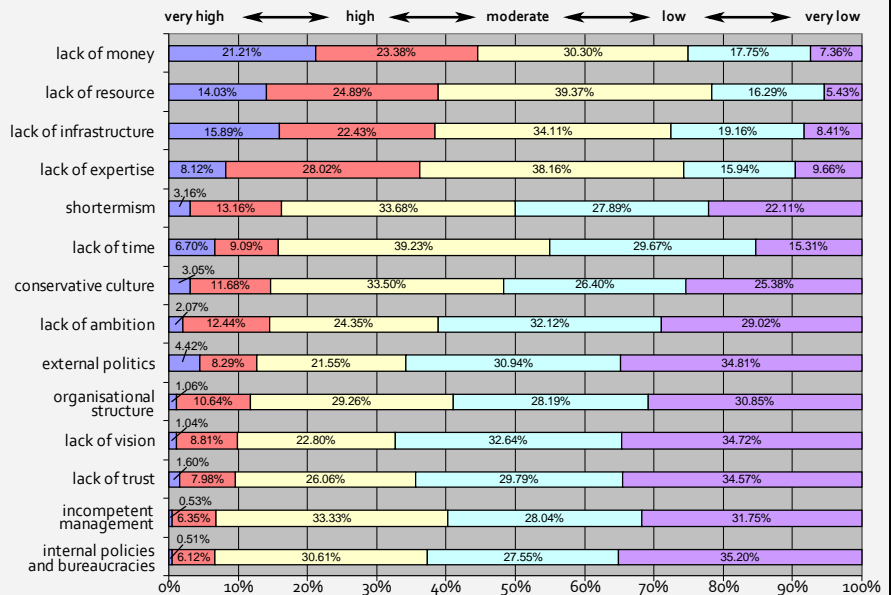
Source: Fieldwork survey data; N=268, multiple responses possible

The salient negative aspects of Internet use in CSOs seem to be related more to the technical issues (computer virus and SPAM messages), and management issues (increase in expenditures, both in general and for specific communication purpose) rather than to the movement-specific issues (being overwhelmed in networking, and issues and concerns becoming biased). It is interesting to see that in only a few instances was the Internet said to be distracting to CSOs' staff.

Indonesian CSOs also identified some difficulties in using ICTs, especially the Internet, in their organisation. The survey shows that lack of money, resource, infrastructure and expertise seemed to be the difficulties (very high and high) that were experienced by some 40%-45% of respondent CSOs. As expected, due to the nature of CSOs, problems like internal policies, external politics, conservative cultures, and many others, did not contribute significantly (low and very low) to the difficulties in using the Internet in the majority (above 60%) of Indonesian CSOs. However, a quite proportion of CSOs (21%-34%) considered all factors as having moderate impact to the difficulty they experienced in using the Internet.

From these findings, there are some interesting points to learn. Firstly, the barriers for Internet adoption are more technical (in all respects) than substantial across Indonesian CSOs under study. Secondly, however these barriers reflect some common problems experienced by late adopters. This may confirm that in general, in technical aspects, Indonesian CSOs are lagging behind in adopting the ICTs.

#### What difficulties have you experienced in using ICT in your organisation?



Source: Fieldwork survey data; N=268, only single response allowed

However, this all may strongly be related to the Indonesian context, where the availability of Internet access and the development of telecommunication infrastructure is still problematic.

Source: Fieldwork survey and author's reflection.

This study finds that many groups and organisations in Indonesian civil society used the Internet more strategically to build collaboration and networking, rather than to mediate communication or for information seeking. Despite difficulties and complexities involved in the process –that sometimes become barrier to the overall innovation adoption (See Box 8.1.)— the adoption and implementation of the technology in the organisations was an important factor in the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society. Another important factor was obviously the reform, which became a catalyst for more intense collaboration of organisations, nationally or globally. While these two factors provided space for interaction and exchange of issues, concerns, and strategies among CSOs, the Internet itself is also endowed with immeasurable accessible information which has potential to inform, and very possibly also to transform, their perspectives. This all has contributed to the incorporation of global and cosmopolitan ideas as well as the convergence in issues, concerns and activities within Indonesian CSOs today (Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006b).

***... or creating new strategies for social movements?***

How, then, should Indonesian CSOs be categorised? This study proposes to look at another feature in an attempt to see if there is an alternative way to analyse organisations and groups within Indonesian civil society. By examining how civil groups coordinate their activities and manage their resources and capacities (following the example of Anheier and Katz, 2005; Castells, 2005; Juris, 2004), the study finds that somehow there is a distinction among them, i.e. whether they participate in social movement through *networked* coordination or through *centralised* management within their organisations. It is the span between these two extremes (fully networked and entirely centralised) that this study refers to as the '*degree of centrality*'. Organisations claiming to be developmentalist, which at large work on the general issues of the 'improvement of livelihood', are found to be spread among this degree, as are the advocacy organisations generally aiming at reclaiming people's rights.

The picture is now completely different. Instead of having two categories based on political paradigm alone, four categories emerge as a result of the incorporation of the 'degree of centrality' into the analysis. Certainly, the use of the Internet as network technology (Castells, 1996; 2005) is central to the development of an organisation's strategy in managing their resources as it fundamentally alters the coordination and management of most organisational works (McLaughlin et al., 1999; Orlikowski, 1992). Upon investigation in a number of Indonesian CSOs, for organisations whose resource management strategy is more centralised, the Internet serves as tool to 'reach-out' (such as networking or building coalition) more than to consolidate organisational resources (such as office management or communication). Organisations that work in a more distributed way, however, use the Internet as a means to ensure that their

organisational resources are properly mobilised to achieve their missions and goals. These different strategies in using the Internet –for reaching-out and for consolidating, both for developmentalist or advocacy groups—not only characterise the way the organisations interact with the information technology as part of their internal management strategy, but also typifies the dynamics of the interaction among different actors within civil society inside and outside Indonesia as part of their external movement strategy.

While the use of ICTs in organisations for reaching-out and consolidation is not at entirely new (Bretschneider, 1990; Coombs and Hull, 1996; Coombs et al., 1992; Thatcher et al., 2006), within the context of Indonesian civil society movement, as this study has revealed, such use has created a significant impact. Not only at analytical level, it helps –in a relatively new approach—to categorise CSOs based on their ‘degree of centrality’, but also at a practical level, it plays a significant role in forming new strategies to undertake activities. These strategies have been substantial for Indonesian CSOs who today have pivotal positions in the social, economic and political landscape across the country at an unprecedented scale (Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Uhlin, 1997; 2000). Either for improving people’s livelihoods, fighting for social justice, promoting human rights, widening public participation in policy making, or fostering democratisation, Indonesian CSOs have developed new strategies stemming from their ICT use. Evidence gathered in this study shows that the use of the Internet has enriched the way Indonesian CSOs interact with many actors in society: state bodies (e.g. to influence policy making process with regard to development programmes or democracy), multi-national institutions like the UN or development institutions (e.g. to communicate or report cases), business firms (e.g. to push social responsibility issues), beneficiary groups (e.g. to empower, build capacity, mobilise). As a result, today, civil society is relatively stronger, compared to what it was in the past when weak, depoliticised and fragmented (Hill, 2000).

The major division among developmentalist and advocacy organisations in Indonesian civil society may have become blurred. Many civil society groups engage with, and work on such diverse issues and concerns that they may appear separate, but at the same time it difficult to differentiate between them, as their interests revolve around global and cosmopolitan ideas. This study has shown however, that CSOs are building and forming new strategies which match the nature of the social movement where they belong, partly relying on the use of new network technology like the Internet.

## **8.2. Network of Indonesian social movement and the Internet: *Instrumentum* or *locus* of social change?**

Social movement is all about networks: of ideas, of awareness, of organisations, and of activists (Diani, 2003; McAdam, 2003). In a global civil society perspective, networks are about widening direct involvement of global organisations and their local counterparts (Anheier et al., 2001a; Anheier et al., 2004b). This study has shown that in both senses, networks of Indonesian CSOs have expanded significantly, particularly after the regime change. It is obviously important to look at what this network expansion implies for the Indonesian CSO movement and it is also equally essential to examine how the growth of this network actually takes place.

It is evident that Indonesian CSOs have expanded their network significantly over the past decade. It is not only that more links have been established among Indonesian CSOs and between them and their global partners, but the network has also become more cohesive over different periods of democratic transformation in the country. Networks of CSOs have been facilitating a lot of activities, from direct financial support (networks with donors) to involvement in direct activism such as meeting coordination, mass mobilisation, action planning, and others (Anheier, 2003; Diani, 2003; Edwards and Hulme, 1997). Especially with the emerging global civil society (as conceptualised by Anheier et al., 2001b; Bartelson, 2006; Kaldor, 2003; Warkentin, 2001, among others), it is important to see whether, and to what extent, networks of social movement effects the dynamics of CSOs, both at national and international level. Figure 8.1. puts the expansion of Indonesian CSOs networks into some perspective.

### **8.2.1. Networks as the fabric of social movement?**

Many major socio-political events took place in the country during the heightened period from pre-1995 to the aftermath of 1998 *reformasi* and significantly affected CSOs activism (as also reported by Harney and Olivia, 2003; McCarthy, 2002). But at the same time, this study argues, such events could only happen when CSOs were involved, as this is a two-way process. Indonesian CSOs were affected by many socio-political events, but certainly they also played important part in preparing the condition conducive for the event and actively taking part in them.

From the massive rally of “democratic opposition” responding to the occupation of the Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI) office following the military-backed attack on 27 July 1996 (Hosen, 2003:488), to the massive riots in mid May 1998 (Johnson, 1998:8-9), to “*Semanggi II*” massive protest in November 1999 (Cameron, 1999:5), Indonesian CSOs have been actively involved. This was also the case when Indonesian CSOs welcomed the first democratic election

since 1966 which took place in 1999 (Hill, 2003), gathered support during the political crisis leading to the impeachment of President Abdurrahman Wahid (MacDonald and Lemco, 2001:178-180), and played an important role in widening public participation during the first direct Indonesian Presidential Election in 2004 (Wanandi, 2004). This study thus argues that these socio-political events are both outcomes and fabrics of Indonesian CSOs' socio-political engagement. As outcomes, the events reflect how Indonesian CSOs have advanced their movement and partaking in social change. As fabrics of civic engagement, such socio-political events provide context and opportunity for Indonesian CSOs to link to each other's work. Here lies the central explanation of how a national network grows. The network is not only instrumental to the social change in the country: it is the arena for change in its own right.

What about, then, the dynamics of the international network and how Indonesian CSOs are implicated in this? There is similar trajectory, but the story is of course different. Networks between Indonesian CSOs and their international partners trace back to the end of President Soekarno era (i.e. the beginning of President Soeharto's militaristic "New Order" regime) in the mid of 1960s (Billah, 1995; Fakhri, 1996). Starting with a small network, it became wider and more cohesive over time, challenging the government's repressive policy, with a marked momentum in the establishment of INGI (later INFID) in 1985 (Hadiwinata, 2003:98-100). It is this growth of the international network of Indonesian CSOs that worried the Indonesian government as it was through such a network the government's policies kept being challenged especially in international interactions. By means of such a network, local CSOs could voice their concern or pass relevant information about socio-political problems (usually related to state's violence, human rights violation or development) onto their international partners who would use the information to pressure Indonesian government in international gatherings through their own governments or by way of protests. "Brussels incident" is a typical example when perceived powerless Indonesian CSOs used international network to question Indonesian government's development policies during a multi-lateral meeting (Hadiwinata, 2003) – something that would have never happened in Indonesia. The network with international partners has been able to give Indonesian CSOs some bargaining power to challenge the authoritarian regime and, arguably, bring it to an end.

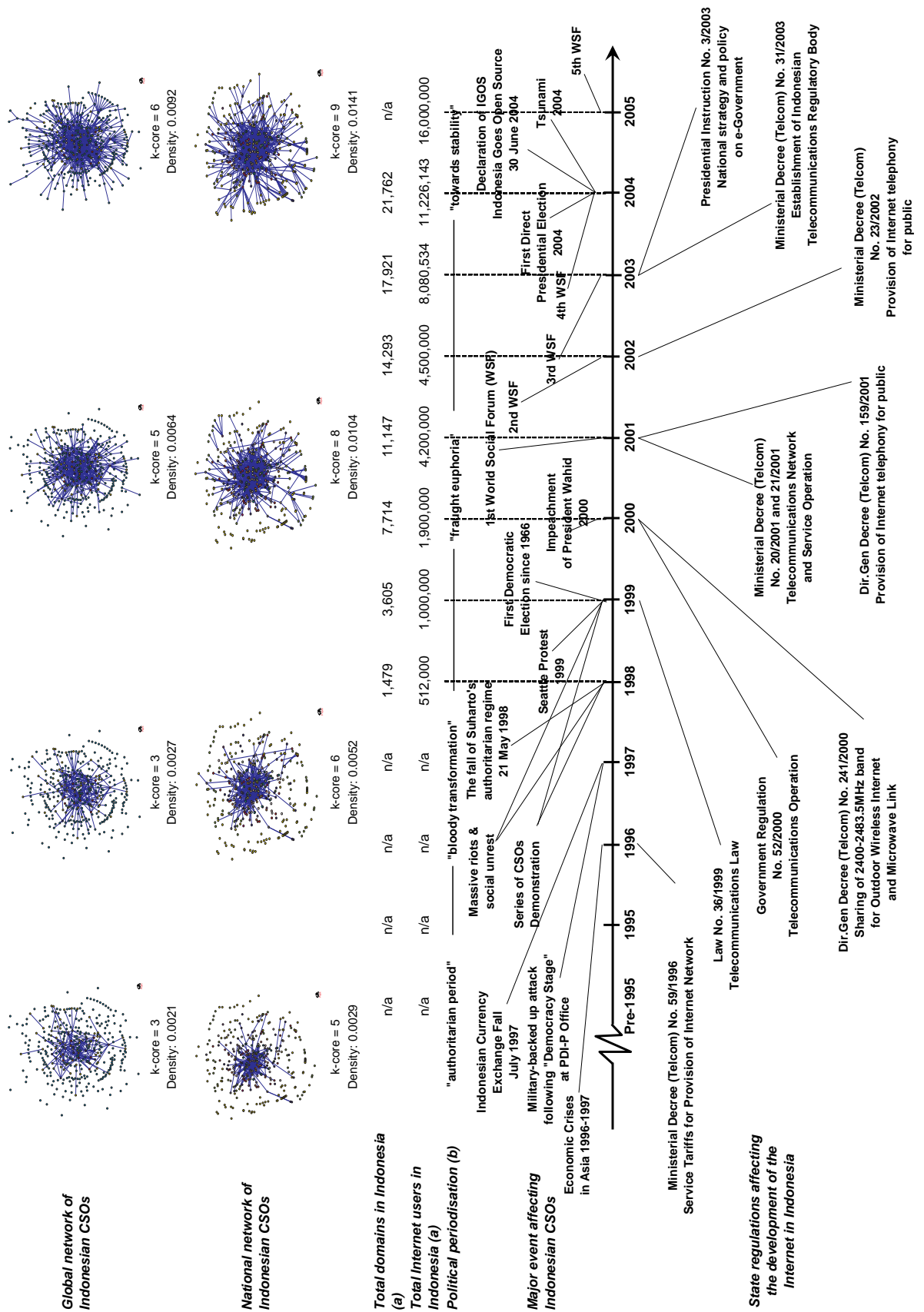


Figure 8.1. Internet, CSOs Network, and socio-political dynamics: A timeline

(a) Indonesian Internet Service Provider Association (APJII, 2005);

(b) Political periodisation in Indonesia (Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006b)

N-network=350, all nodes depicted across period, links represent "join action", data collected 2005-6

Source: Author, based on desk study and survey data



### **8.2.2. Questioning the roles of global civil society: Creating another dependency and subordination?**

Despite questions about the role of international networks during the heightened period of change in Indonesia prior to 1999 (e.g. as addressed in Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2006b) the cease of authoritarian regime has given new impetus for more involvement of the global CSO within national politics. More global CSOs paid more attention to the Indonesian situation and established networks with Indonesian CSOs. Not only political events like elections in 1999 and 2004 became opportunity for networking with global CSOs (be it in terms of financial support, coalition, joint activities or other types of collaboration), humanity relief actions too have been always important junctures for networking. The aftermath of Tsunami 2004 saw a massive scale of global CSOs networking with Indonesian organisations, possibly unprecedented in the country's civil society history. However, such situations in the country are not the only factor of the trend in the global networking of Indonesian CSOs. Participation of Indonesian organisations in many global civil society events such as Parallel Meetings in multilateral gatherings or world summits such as in Seattle in 1999 and its continuation, as well as in the series of World Social Forums (since 2001) also contribute to the growing global CSOs network with Indonesian groups. In this sense, civic engagement at the global level seems to be both an outcome and a means of global civil society networking.

However, global networking as such is not without problems, especially for Indonesian CSOs. In addition to 'donor-recipient' type of relationships which has been alleged to be the core of accountability problem in the CSOs' universe (as indicated several times by Edwards and Hulme, 1995c; 1996; 1997), networks also bear some problematic issues, including control and influence over issues and concerns and activities of local CSOs. It is revealed in this study that networking with CSOs from richer countries, who usually also provide financial assistance, is at times not free from interest: there are instances when financial support received by Indonesian CSOs has been conditionality related to the issues and concerns they have to work on. Indeed, there are two alternative roles of the global civil society, i.e. as 'initiator' and as 'responsive partner' (McAdam, 2003). As initiator, global CSOs usually take the initiative to empower local groups by promoting and fostering issues. If the issues resonate with the local context, local organisations will become inspired and address their own concerns about the change. As responsive counterparts, the involvement of global CSOs is generally limited. But once they are aware of prospects of favourable changes they will start building networks with local groups to push for it. It is through these roles that Indonesian CSOs become more integrated to the global civil society movement as not only issues and concerns, but also interest and activities become converging. Global CSOs

and a global civil society movement has become a phenomenon that indeed colours the world's social change in the past decade (Anheier et al., 2001a; Anheier et al., 2004b; Glasius et al., 2002; Glasius et al., 2005; Kaldor, 2003; Kaldor et al., 2003).

Not all Indonesian CSOs find this development always beneficial, though. Apparently there is a feeling of 'being steered' or 'under subordination' towards their international partners. What was expected to be equal position in the network has become patron-client relationship. Despite the benefits they receive from this global network, more Indonesian CSOs think they are only 'subcontractors' of organisations based in rich countries. This opinion may have some backup. Some scholars see processes of this sort as part of a meta-narrative of ideology and hegemony (Chua, 2002; Huntington, 1991; Petras, 1997). Networking with global CSOs is seen as instrumental to the 'retailing' of liberal democracy *a la* USA with local CSOs as the 'retailers' (Chua, 2002). In this regard, CSOs will lose their critical views towards capitalism ideology and, worse, take part in establishing global capitalist infrastructures in Southern countries (Huntington, 1991; Petras, 1997). Obviously, this gloomy view of global CSO networking is heavily challenged by civil society scholars today, who optimistically argue that it is the global civil society which can make 'another world possible' through consolidating actions, interests and visions (Anheier and Katz, 2005; Bonbright, 2006; Wainwright, 2005; Warkentin, 2001).

### **8.2.3. Social movement: The roles of Internet use in CSOs**

Beyond this debate, one thing is clear. The fabric of the network is exchange (of data, information, experience, etc.), and crucial to the exchange process is communication, which in this regard is heavily facilitated by technology like the Internet. From a different analytical angle, the use of the Internet has also been playing part in the dynamics of the national network of Indonesian CSOs. In technical terms, the trend of the growth expansion of Indonesian CSO networks can be explained by the increasing number of Internet users and registered domains in the country (see Figure 8.1.). Since the introduction of the technology in Indonesia in the early 1990s, the Internet has attracted the interest of more and more people (Purbo, 1996; 2000) for it not only becomes a source of information but, more importantly, also a mediation for communication (Purbo, 2002a; 2002b). Indonesian CSOs, too, see this potential. Under Soeharto's authoritarian surveillance, the Internet became a communication media and source of information for activists that could escape state censorship (Lim, 2002; 2004a) and hence could help CSOs to network in more secure way. In many instances, CSO activists used the technology to fetch information, often classified or controversial, that was then used to 'fuel' social movement so that it spread across the country and contributed significantly to the political process of bringing the authoritarian regime to a halt (as profoundly shown in Lim, 2002; 2004b).

Moreover, the same technology was (and is) also used to communicate the movement and seek help and support from other colleagues and organisations. The Internet became the new vocabulary for activists as it became widely available via *Warnet* (telecentre) in mid 1990s. The birth of *Nusanet* initiated by INFID as the first secure communication exchange platform for civil society activists (as illustrated in Chapter Six) is another instance. *Nusanet* played an undeniably important role for Indonesian CSOs in establishing links with their partners across the archipelago in order to fight for democratisation and across the globe for mobilising global solidarity. No wonder, some scholars who look at this dynamics define the 1998 overthrow of Suharto as a “Net Revolution” (e.g. Bresnan, 2005b; Hill and Sen, 2000; 2005), although it might be too strong a term (Lim, 2002; 2003d; 2004a).

This study argues that explaining the impact of Internet use in civil society networking cannot be done by focusing only within the elusive realm of cyberspace and thus secluding the Internet as an isolated space separated from real world activities. The examples throughout this study show that in facilitating socio-political activism, including networking, the Internet is not detached from the non-cyberspace realm, rather, it corresponds with it. In the CSO universe, as shown throughout this study, the Internet *affects* the dynamics of global vs. local political activism. It has the potential to globalise local socio-political dynamics (like the resistance to authoritarian and movement for democratisation in Indonesia) and to localise global issues (such as fair trade, intellectual property, etc). However, it is also at the same time *affected* by the political dynamics; mainly government regulation. It started in 1996, with arguably the first regulation on the Internet, the Ministerial Decree No. 59/1996 which aimed to control the tariff for the Internet service provision. Since then, tens of regulations (on various levels) on the Internet and telecommunication have been put into effect, with the important ones being presented in Figure 8.1. above. Indeed, there is a worry among cyber activists that, in addition to the digital divide issue, this massive regulation will probably squeeze the cyberactivism in Indonesia. Nevertheless, this worry is still yet to find its ground although the access to the Internet in the country has become more widely available.

Fuelled by the use of technological artefacts like the Internet, networks of social movements in a country like Indonesia are no longer just an instrument for civil society to mobilise resources and action: it has become a locus of power in society, a powerful fabric of social change. The Internet itself, working as driver of these networks, as a direct consequence, should be viewed as more than just a communication tool.

### 8.3. The Internet and civic engagement in Indonesian social movement: Looking for appropriation

The Internet represents a “compression of time-and-space”, and thus marks the new age people live in today (Giddens, 2000). The Internet is different from previous communications media that have influenced the nature and shape of political organisation: it is more immediate than newspaper, more interactive than TV; it is instant, transspatial, and multilateral (McCaughey and Ayers, 2003). Because of these features, despite debates, scholars agree that in an Indonesian context, the Internet was highly instrumental in ending the government’s control over media and information/communication spaces, which then leads to an end of the authoritarian regime (Hill and Sen, 2000; Lim, 2002; Marcus, 1998). But there has been little, if any, previous research focusing on how civil society actors in Indonesia, particularly CSOs, adopt and use the technology in social movements. This is the area where this study aspires to contribute. Firstly it looks at the *factors and patterns* of the Internet adoption within Indonesian CSOs (using framework suggested by Cooper and Zmud, 1990; Rogers, 2003). Then, it investigates how the organisations *adapt* and build their *capability* in implementing the technology (by learning from DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000; Surman and Reilly, 2003). Lastly it examines the *implication* of the appropriation of the technology in CSOs activism (using framework introduced by Orlikowski, 1992; 2000), particularly in facilitating civic engagement (as in Anheier, 2003; Dutton, 2004; Kaldor, 2003; Wainwright, 2005; Warkentin, 2001).

#### 8.3.1. Internet adoption: How different are the Indonesian CSOs?<sup>175</sup>

The adoption and use of the Internet in civil society has its own story. Explaining the adoption and use of the Internet in civil society is far from explaining a ‘black box’. Consequently, it is also not anywhere near to the assumption of an ‘automated’ process, i.e. when the technology ‘is there’, they ‘will just use it’ no matter what. Elsewhere in this study, evidence suggests that adoption and implementation of the Internet in organisations within the civil society sphere in Indonesia, to some extent, follows a different trajectory than in other types of organisation. This is central to the analysis because research into adoption and use of the Internet in organisations has been mostly informed by evidence from organisations other than CSOs (e.g. Earl, 1989; Fichman, 2000; Lin et al., 2002; Swanson and Ramiller, 2004; Zain, 1998) and thus has created a different analytical lens when analysing the interaction between the Internet and organisations. In what sense do Indonesian CSOs adopt the technology differently? Using Rogers’ framework (1995; 2003) this study find some direct answers to this question.

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<sup>175</sup> This part draws on the discussion in Chapter Five

- a. **What makes leaders and laggards in Internet adoption?** This study finds that leaders in the Internet adoption among Indonesian CSOs are usually those who are longer established, have more staff and manage more money. While this contradicts Rogers' suggestion that 'earlier adopters are not different from later adopters in age' (Rogers, 2003:288) and may disagree with his view that economic factors do not explain comprehensively innovation behaviour (Rogers, 2003:289), it supports his observation that early adopters are usually larger in units (Rogers, 2003:288). It is also found that, in general, CSOs working on development-related issues and concerns are more likely to be early adopters of the Internet than those working on advocacy-related issues. However, in fact, in the early days of the Internet use in Indonesian CSOs, it was advocacy organisations that pioneered the use of the Internet for pushing the social movement.
- b. **Effect of technological literacy and access availability on the hierarchy and sequence of adoption.** Indonesian CSOs adopt a wide variety of Internet applications. But it is apparent that simple, asynchronous and stand alone applications are first adopted before the more complicated ones. This not only relates to literacy of the technology, but more importantly, also to the access problem. In the areas where the Internet can only be accessed through low-bandwidth channels, Indonesian CSOs are forced to limit their use to stand alone and asynchronous applications like email clients. But when hi-speed connection is available, and CSOs have some literacy in the technology, synchronous and complex application running over Internet protocols are also widely used. This supports previous studies on the use of different Internet technologies in Indonesia (Purbo, 1996; 2002a; 2002b). When the Internet is not widely available, public providers like *warnet* (telecentre) play a significant role in providing access to public and more organisations (as theorised by James, 2006). While telecentres are substantial for creating cyber-civic space in Indonesian social movements (as observed in detail by Lim, 2002; 2003a), their existence also help laggards in Internet adoption to catch up and facilitate organisations to familiarise themselves with different kinds of Internet technology as found in this study.
- c. **Collaboration not competition, performance not self esteem.** What internally drives the adoption of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs is mainly the need to obtain information and to improve organisational effectiveness and efficiency. Externally, the strong driver is the need to bring about mutual relationships and collaboration among organisations, instead of competition. This is understandable since for CSOs in Indonesia, adopting the technology, which serves such purposes, empowers them in organising their movement, expands their network, and, to some extent, therefore increases their bargaining position

when dealing with other actors in Indonesian politics. This might explain why despite problems in access and availability of the Internet, civil society seems to be a sector that uses the technology dynamically, aiming to facilitate social changes in the country (Hill and Sen, 2000; Marcus, 1998). Although Indonesian civil society is by no means absent from conflicts and frictions of interest, organisational need for social esteem or status and egocentric and competitive motives are not strong drivers for Internet adoption in CSOs, unlike in other types of organisations (as found in, e.g. Coombs and Hull, 1996; Newell et al., 2003; Rogers, 2003).

- d. **It is worth it! Perceived attributes of adopted technology.** There are some attributes that can explain variance in the rates of adoption of technology in organisation (Rogers, 2003). While *relative advantage* of the Internet (as perceived by Indonesian CSOs) drives the adoption internally, *compatibility* of the technology (in terms of value and capability to fulfil the needs for building better cooperation among CSOs, providing wider perspective, and building and running networks, among others) is the strong external driver. Although *complexity* of the technology has been found to hinder CSOs in their adoption, it is sustained by the perception that the benefits gained from using the technology outweigh the complexity it has. Among notable examples is the benefit of being able to counter surveillance in repressive, authoritarian regimes (as also observed by Lim, 2002 when looking at the Internet and civic space). *Trialability* and *observability* attributes work in a consistent way: CSOs would need not only to experiment with the technology but also to observe the results and only after being convinced that the technology serves their needs (and within the capacity to afford it), would they fully adopt it.
- e. **Complement, not substitution of technology.** With the distinction between 'evolutionary' and 'revolutionary' views of technology (as discussed in Freeman and Perez, 1998) taken into account, in the universe of Indonesian CSOs, although the advent of Internet technology is considered to be revolutionary in that it fundamentally empowers the role of civil society in social movements as observed by some scholars (e.g. Harney and Olivia, 2003; Hill, 2003; Hill and Sen, 2005; Lim, 2003d), the adoption of it in CSOs seems to follow an evolutionary path. As shown in the study, the substitution effect of the Internet is not fully realised mainly because of the problems in availability of access. Using the Internet as communication tool does not mean replacing 'older' technologies like telephone or fax; neither does it swap printed bulletin for online newsletter for dissemination of information and managing organisational networks. Maybe it is the general context of Indonesia where unequal access contributes to this

situation, but certainly it is the particular situation within civil society movements: using technology is only secondary to physical interaction and engagement. In social movements, cyberactivism is instrumental (as theorised by McCaughey and Ayers, 2003), but the real social change takes place in the 'off-line' realm.

- f. **Stages of adoption revisited.** Rogers' 'innovation process in organisation' (1995; 2003) is revisited in the context of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet. While maintaining the number of stages, they contain different substance. **Stage-One:** "awareness building" – reflects the active process of CSOs to search for comprehension of the innovation because the adoption of technology is driven mainly by the needs and context in which CSOs operate, i.e. fostering reform and social movement. **Stage-Two:** "attitude formation" – is the phase where CSOs form their attitude towards the Internet as technological innovation: they 'fine-tune' with its characteristics, exploit its features and put it within the context of their needs. **Stage-Three:** "adoption" – suggests the stage where CSOs adopt the Internet in full as they believe in the *idea* that Internet is beneficial. Instead of having 'probationary period', CSOs just familiarise themselves with the technology (through *trial-and-practice*) and customise it to meet the needs of the organisations. **Stage-Four:** "adaptation" – reveals the point where CSOs not only fit-in, but also adapt the Internet according to their needs. Here CSOs build their capability to configure and reconfigure the technology to allow for furtherance and elaboration of the organisation's goals, strategies and activities. **Stage-Five:** "appropriation" – indicates the stage when, after adaptation, CSOs take additional effort to further customise the technology strategically to addresses specific, long-term needs of the organisation. Appropriation here means 'strategic use', where the CSOs turn the Internet to their purposes, utilise it to achieve their own objectives and make it their own.

These innovation-decision stages as empirically suggested by this study, however, are not in linear fashion. At any phase CSOs may reverse the decision and/or return to previous stages according to the particular circumstances in which they work. However it is markedly noted that as CSOs traverse these stages, their participation in cyberactivism increases: they become more balanced in accessing and providing information on the net.

This finding suggests strongly that in their search to actively participate in social transformation, the Internet has become a 'convivial' tool for Indonesian CSOs to achieve their goals. Borrowing the conception of Ivan Illich's conviviality (1973), this is the level of technological use where humans are no longer subordinated by technology, but instead have control over it and use it for their own purpose (Lim, 2003d). Evidence suggests that adopting and using the Internet helps

Indonesian CSOs to achieve their goals and missions, widens their perspective to global level, supports network expansion, and increases organisational managerial performance. Moreover, with the escalating need of CSOs to actively take part in the social transformation in the country they have to change their role in the cyber-world from passive users (recipients) into active participants. This is all possible because of the very nature of the Internet: it is not only source of information; it is a sphere in which to exist and act and thus is 'cyberspace' – a 'spatial' dimension in which life exists (Graham, 1999).

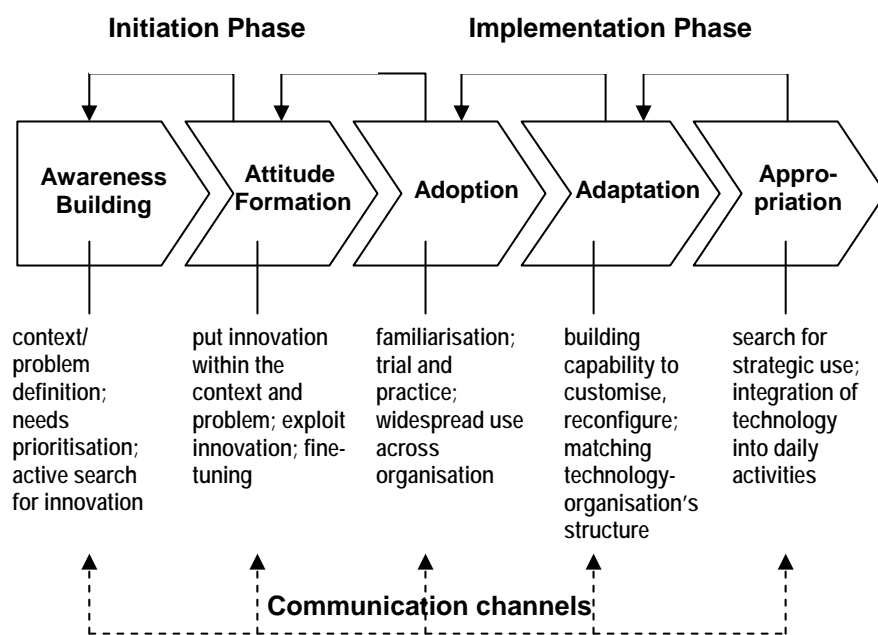
This lays foundation for CSOs, including those in Indonesia, to go beyond adoption to appropriation, to strategically use the Internet to achieve their missions and goals and further their agenda. Experience of Indonesian CSOs using technology resonates with other studies of CSOs appropriating the Internet for collaboration, publishing and campaigns, mobilisation and observation in watchdog activities (as also found by Camacho, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003 in different context), as well as alternative media for social movements (as also identified by Bennett, 2003, again, in another instance of study) and for establishing networks linking multiplicities of civic organisations (as observed by Anheier et al., 2002 in global level). Such appropriation is increasingly felt to be necessary for Indonesian CSOs in order to facilitate their works at the core of civil society movements in Indonesia like democratisation (as also previously observed by Uhlin, 1997; 2000) or conflict resolution (as noted by Hill and Sen, 2002).

At empirical level, what seems to account for the Internet adoption among Indonesian CSOs is not only the fact that they adopt the Internet as a technological innovation in different pathways compared to other types of organisations, but also the purpose to which this adoption is directed. The adoption is very much driven by the ideals of civil society: to empower them to be the guardian of civic life (Deakin, 2001; Herry-Priyono, 2006); and this all characterises the whole trajectory of the adoption course. The adoption of technological innovation like the Internet, while seen as bringing some new superiority, merely serves the very central purpose of CSO's existence. For CSOs, particularly in Indonesia, the Internet may start out as a new means to an old end, but its vast development probably turns out to have serious implications for CSO's own conception of the end itself. This can be examined from looking at how they implement the technology and integrate it into their organisational strategies.



### 8.3.2. Implementation of the Internet in CSOs: Technology adoption, capability building, and strategic appropriation<sup>176</sup>

Just like the different trail of adoption, implementation of the Internet in CSO universe follows a different route, too. It is never a straightforward process or direct application of any implementation formulae. Rather, because it is viewed as a strategic use that serves a dynamic strategic purpose of civil society groups and communities (Camacho, 2001; Herry-Priyono, 2006; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001), implementation of the Internet in CSOs is also dynamic in nature. Therefore, in the very context of civil society and CSOs, the idea of Internet implementation revolves around the idea of integration of the technology into organisational strategy. How is this achieved?



**Figure 8.2. Stages of adoption and implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs**  
*Source: Empirical observation, informed by Rogers' innovation-decision framework (1995; 2003)*

Figure 8.2. summarises the empirical stages of innovation-decision process in the instance of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet as found in this study, informed by diffusion analysis framework (Rogers, 1995; 2003). *Initiation phase*, which takes place before implementation, is made up of stages of 'awareness building' (characterised by context/ problem definition, needs prioritisation, and active search for innovation) and 'attitude formation' (where CSOs put the Internet within the context and problem, exploit innovation, and fine-tune it with their need). Once the initiation phase is traversed, CSOs start implementing the technology through three important stages: adoption, adaptation and appropriation. In the adoption stage CSOs familiarise themselves with the Internet through trial and practice and use it across the

<sup>176</sup> This part is mainly based on the discussion in Chapter Six

organisation. Then, they adapt it, which means that CSOs build their capability to customise and reconfigure the technology so that its use matches the organisation's structure. The last stage in the implementation phase is appropriation, when CSOs strategically use the Internet and integrate it into their routines.

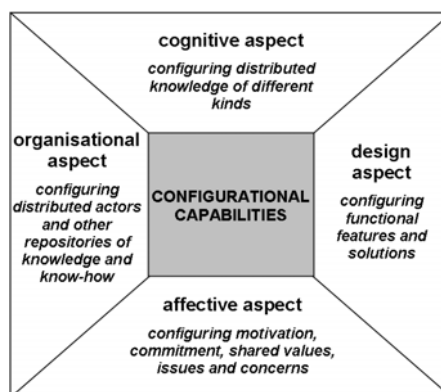
What can be learned from these two phases in the instance of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet is that despite the 'slow pace' of the initiation phase (i.e. that CSOs need not only to build their awareness but also to shape their attitude towards the new technology before they decide to adopt), the implementation phase are passed through quite rapidly (i.e. that once decision to adopt the technology is made, it is immediately adapted and appropriated). There are three dynamics being observed here which may explain the overall implementation in greater detail.

First, **adoption of technology and familiarisation with its features**. Empirical observation shows that there are two factors driving the very first step of implementation phase: organisational values and leadership. Organisation's internal values are important in the adoption stage. If its perceived characteristics match with the organisation's value, familiarisation proceeds much quicker and helps the organisation to find opportunities for better and further implementation and to explore its use, albeit with difficulties and problems. This observation resonates with what diffusion theory suggests: innovations compatible with existing values and norms are likely to be adopted quickly (Rogers, 2003:241,318). Such values also impact on the 'institutionalisation' of technological use in organisation, i.e. where organisation familiarises itself with the technology by putting it into organisational routines (as defined by Orlikowski, 1992:23-27). Likewise, organisational leadership is found to be equally playing a substantial part in the adoption stage. In many Indonesian CSOs, the direction and discretion to adopt the Internet is embodied in leadership decision as part of responses to the socio-political change in the country. Therefore, it is not only during the adoption process such opinion leadership counts (as theorised by Rogers, 2003), it is also substantial in facilitating social learning in using the technology (Bandura, 1977; 1986; cited in Rogers, 2003) as a substantial part of familiarisation.

From information system strategy perspective (Galliers, 2004; 2007; Levy et al., 1999), the initial stage of implementation is important because it is when organisations simultaneously exploit and explore the adopted technology. It is an essential foundation for organisations to develop their information *systems* strategy, which is ongoing and processual (Galliers, 2004). However, as shown in this study, instead of rational planning, what matters here is the dynamic familiarisation through trial-and-error practice. Hence, this lays foundation for an ongoing and emergent process of integrating the technology into the organisation.

Second, **adaptation and building configurational capability**. Observation of Indonesian CSOs suggests that what characterises the subsequent phase of implementation, namely adaptation, is the organisation's effort to build its capability to configure and reconfigure the technology. It is the stage where, in order to learn to use the Internet strategically, Indonesian CSOs have to build their own capacity and capability to customise the technology, to match it with the organisational structure through applying different settings and configurations for different purposes. This also means combining knowledge of CSOs that will determine the direction of the implementation and integration of the Internet in organisations and results in both the organisation and the technology being transformed. This observation reverberates with what Cooper and Zmud (1990) suggest about acceptance and routinisation at once, or redefining/restructuring as theorised by diffusion research, after which innovation would be rapidly routinised and was unlikely to change further (Rogers, 2003).

At empirical level, strategic use of the Internet in civil society means that the technology is recognised to have the potential to be a platform for strategic activities (like campaigning, civic engagement, fundraising, coalition building, etc). What matters in the implementation phase, then, is whether or not these potentials can be realised and thus become advantages for strategic uses. In order to do so, CSOs have to build their capacity and ability to arrange their use of the Internet by modifying its settings and configurations, including hardware and software, and at the same time, also modifying organisation's routines like working arrangements, internal policies, etc. This is what this study defines as 'building configurational capability'. There are four aspects of configurational capabilities observed when CSOs implement the Internet: (i) cognitive (configuring distributed knowledge of different kinds), (ii) organisational (configuring distributed actors and other repositories of knowledge and know-how), (iii) design (configuring functional features and solutions), and (iv) affective (configuring motivation, shared value, issues and concerns).



**Figure 8.3. Configurational capabilities – The building blocks**

Source: Author's observation and expansion of PILOT (Bender, 2006; Hirsch-Kreinsen et al., 2005)

The first three aspects were observed by scholars who found similar capabilities when researching low-tech companies in PILOT project (Bender, 2005; 2006; Bender and Laestadius, 2005; Hirsch-Kreinsen et al., 2005). The affective aspect, which may have escaped their attention because of the nature of the organisations being studied, appears very strongly in this study. The aspects, together building the organisation's configurational capabilities, are depicted in Figure 8.3. above.

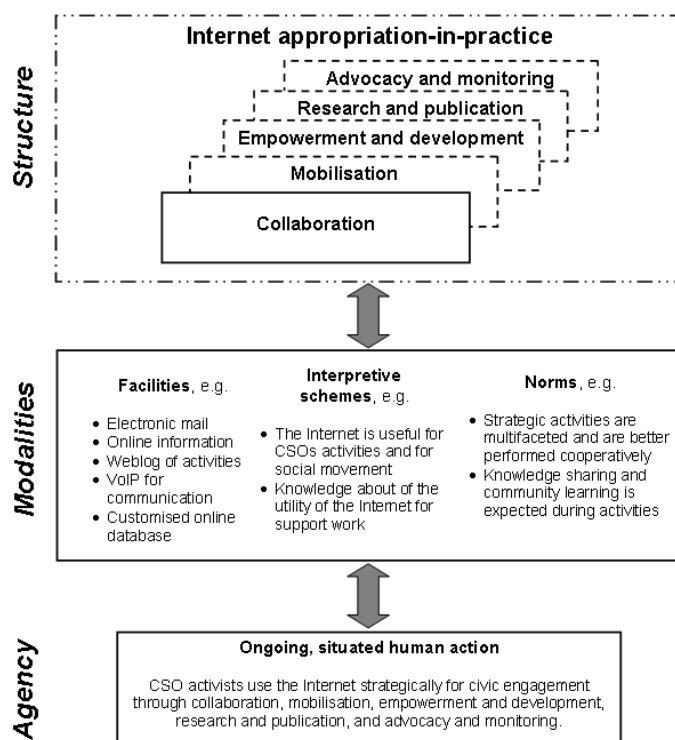
As observed here, central to the adaptation stage is how Indonesian CSOs build their capabilities in strategically using the Internet by configuring and reconfiguring both technological and organisational properties. As also noted during the study, the development of these capabilities (and their aspects) in CSOs depends on the provision of continuous learning in the organisations. This stage is substantial for change management issues in an information system strategy (Galliers, 2004; 2007), for it addresses not only strategies (and strategising) but also unanticipated consequences of the strategic implementation or appropriation.

Third, **appropriation and mapping out strategic uses**. For Indonesian CSOs, and within the socio-political context of the country, the essence of implementing the Internet in an organisation is 'strategic use'. It is more than just about applying technology for a particular purpose, but more importantly it is about using technology in a strategic and political way to support the strategic and political work of civil society (as also suggested by Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001). However, it should be noted, that the strategic realm of CSO movements actually stems from 'traditional strengths' of civil society sectors, like pertinent issues and concerns, tactical social and political orientation, and distinctive activities (Deakin, 2001; Keane, 1998). Using the Internet does strengthen these and make potencies more realisable, but never really replaces them. Therefore, what matters most in the last stage of implementation phase –appropriation—is actually mapping out the strategic uses.

The evidence shows five strategic areas where the Internet could be used by Indonesian CSOs strategically and politically, i.e. collaboration, mobilisation, empowerment and development, research and publication, and advocacy and monitoring. **Collaboration** – Indonesian CSOs have been using the Internet to facilitate collaboration within and between organisations. Examples of strategic collaboration are networking and coalition building. **Mobilisation** – The Internet has been used by CSOs to mobilise grassroots for rallies, protests and for voluntary works, donation and petition. This is effective when CSOs target middle-class audiences like professionals, students or academics. In other words: campaigns and some urgent 'calls for action'. **Empowerment and development** – The Internet has been an important information source for Indonesian CSOs to offer alternative opinions and perspectives towards development agenda and improvement of livelihood in sectoral terms (e.g. rural, urban, etc.) and in terms of issues

(e.g. education, pluralism, etc.). Many CSOs also utilise the Internet to spread awareness and build capacity of the civic communities they work with. **Research and publication** – The Internet has been tremendously instrumental for CSOs research and publication activities. It facilitates information acquisition substantial for research (information in) and dissemination of publication (information out) which has brought new dimension in civil society movement in the country today. **Advocacy and monitoring** – Major CSOs working in advocacy has used the Internet to help shaping public opinion which is central in successful advocacy works. They also use the technology as a convenient means for monitoring activities as more information is available and transparent on the Net. However, the boundaries between these five areas are naturally fluid and often become a source for flexibility in CSO activities (as also noted by Surman and Reilly, 2003).

One might reflected that problems and difficulties encountered by Indonesian CSOs when traversing the implementation phase are often rooted in the non-technological aspects like trust and differences among CSOs themselves. A strategic use of the Internet, like networking, therefore cannot be seen as just a direct output of using the technology. With technology and its use continuously shifting and being shaped, implementation of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs is more about process than outcome. This is consistent with the view of adaptive structuration theory (AST) that technologies are continuously modified and adapted to bring them into alignment with the organisations’ routines, including belief system (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; quoted in Thatcher et al., 2006:438). This is what is called that the appropriation of technology is “always-in-practice” (emergent), rather than fixed (Orlikowski, 2000).



**Figure 8.4. Appropriating the Internet for civic engagement: A structuration perspective**  
*Source: Empirical observation and modification of adaptive structuration theory (Orlikowski, 2000)*

Figure 8.4. depicts the structuration of the Internet appropriation in Indonesian CSOs as empirically observed in this study. When the Internet is in use in CSOs, they are not in their 'fixed' format, but rather 'constituted and reconstituted' through the everyday practices of the organisations involving agencies in ongoing action and by means of some modalities (confirming Orlikowski, 2000:425). The empirical examples are abundant: the use of email, mailing lists, WWW, weblog, chat rooms are all instances of enactments of an "appropriation-in-practice". This, in turn, enacts other social structures: the use of email has become standard for collaboration; posting information or sharing experience in mailing lists has become common practices for advocacy purpose, etc.

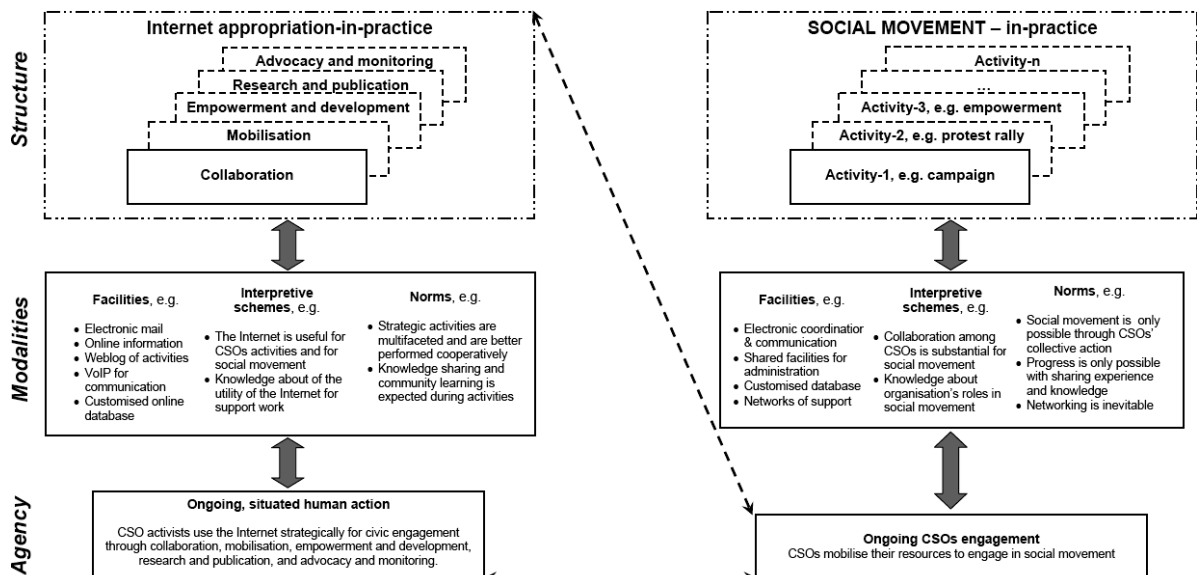
#### **8.4. Understanding the implications: Rethinking the role of technology in civic engagement<sup>477</sup>**

Most diffusion studies stop with the analysis of the *decision* to adopt an innovation but largely ignore how it is implemented and what the consequences are (Rogers, 2003:440). The story with Indonesian CSOs appropriating the Internet for social movement, however, does not stop at the implementation, let alone adoption decision. On the contrary, it is only by looking at the impacts and implications that the use of the Internet in CSOs can be evaluated to see whether or not it is contingent to the organisation's strategic orientation. Because ICT is neither the answer nor the solution in the organisation (Galliers, 2004:257), and because the use of it is fundamentally a recursive process of constitution –an enactment of a 'technology-in-practice' structure— (as depicted in Figure 8.4. based on Orlikowski, 2000), the implication, or consequence of implementation, can be both intended and unintended.

When CSOs use the Internet for social movement, there are at least two overlapped, nested structures, as they are understood from structuration perspective (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992). One, CSO as a social system (*intra-organisational* level) where human interaction with technology is structured (Orlikowski, 1992; 2000), two, social movement as social system (in *inter-organisational* level) where interactions among CSOs are structured (Anheier, 2003; Kaldor, 2003; Wainwright, 2005; Warkentin, 2001). See Figure 8.5.

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<sup>477</sup> This part is largely based on the discussion in Chapter Seven



**Figure 8.5. CSOs and social movement: A structuration perspective**

Source: *Empirical fieldwork and modification of adaptive structuration theory* (Orlikowski, 2000)

Figure 8.5 summarises the observation that (1) the use of the Internet in CSOs is essentially a recursive process, and (2) so is CSOs engagement in social movement. The use of the Internet has become constituted in organisations: it is an enactment of a ‘technology-in-use’ structure (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000). The way CSOs interact with the Internet enacts not only structures along with the technology-in-practice (e.g. standardised use of email for communication; common use of mailing lists for information exchange, etc.), but also structures along with the social movement-in-practice (e.g. preferred networking via electronic channels, inter-locals collaboration, etc.). Clearly, in social movement, CSOs not only shape joint actions and collaborations, but are also shaped by them (Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006). In more detail: through the working of modalities, the institutional property of social movement influences -and is influenced by- how individual CSOs collaborate and join action (as also suggested by Davis et al., 2005; Diani, 2003). This is why implication or consequence of implementation must be looked at two levels: intra- and inter-organisation level.

At *intra-organisational level*, the study finds that the implication concerns the influence of the Internet use in the organisational internal coherence and cohesion. While coherence refers to an organisation’s identity and roles, alignment of resources in the organisation’s strategy and strategic priorities (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; McLaughlin et al., 1999; Scott, 2003), cohesion is the *esprit de corps* that individuals feel in a group (Reynolds, 2003). In the context of CSOs, organisational coherence is important to maintain an organisation’s identity role, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility; but cohesion is even more substantial for CSOs’ survival. Here are some observations:

- a. First, the use of the Internet has affected CSOs' perceptions about their *identity*. Being part of the Internet-mediated interactions among organisations has shifted and widened the way they look at themselves.
- b. Second, on the one side, the Internet use *reinforces* the role of Indonesian CSOs as promoter of social development and social reform, and *strengthens* themselves as actors of social movement. On the other hand, the use of the Internet has also *transformed* the role of Indonesian CSOs, from 'supporter' to 'partner' of their beneficiaries.
- c. Third, the use of the Internet widens CSOs' perspectives and extends their networks and is a factor in the changed issues, concerns, and paradigms of Indonesian CSOs, which in turn, contributes to the *blurred division* between advocacy- and development-type of CSOs in Indonesia.
- d. Fourth, the Internet use affects organisational *cohesion* by altering the way activists engage with each other, including in carrying out their works within the organisation.
- e. Lastly, there is an implication of the Internet use to the *fit* between CSOs' individual values and the beliefs of wider social movements (including networks) and the *adaptability* of rapidly changing socio-political environments.

This discussion resembles what Orlikowski suggests about the different nature of the consequences (intended or unintended) of technological use in organisations: *processual*, *technological* and *structural*. Processual consequences refer to changes in the execution and outcome of users' work practices; technological consequences are about changes in the technological properties available to the users; and structural consequences involves changes in structures that users enact as part of the larger social system in which they are participating (Orlikowski, 2000:421). In the case of Indonesian CSOs using the Internet, processual and technological consequences are more apparent at intra-organisational level while structural consequences are more salient at inter-organisational level.

*At inter-organisational level*, how do these consequences affect CSOs engagement with the wider public, given that in an Indonesian context, the reshape of socio-political life correlates with the use of the Internet by the civil society sector? (e.g. Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2003d; 2004a)

- a. The Internet and its use in Indonesian CSOs cannot be seen as homogenous. There are at least three serious constraints for CSOs in using the Internet: *unequal distribution of access*, *unadapted content*, and *specific capabilities* to use the technology. While large parts of the population neither have equal access nor similar capabilities to use the



Internet, CSOs in addition still need to “translate” and “interpret” unadapted content of the Net.

- b. The use of the Internet has significant impact on Indonesian CSOs’ relationship with their national and international partners and to the integration of Indonesian CSOs into global civil society. This is how the Internet plays an important role in the globalisation processes of social movement (Bennett, 2003; Sey and Castells, 2004; Thurlow et al., 2004).
- c. Using the Internet has possibly altered the nature and extent of civic engagement in Indonesia, particularly since the reform 1998. From *identity-politics* or *life-politics* perspective (Bennett, 1998:741-750; Giddens, 1991:214), the use of the Internet has contributed to the civic engagement being partly shifted from *formal* participation level towards a *meso-level*, between formal political participation and unorganised citizens.
- d. The Internet politics have probably given birth to the ‘*cyberactivism*’ in Indonesia (Lim, 2003a; 2003d; 2006) where various forms of direct online activities, representation and advocacy occur. Although still in the preliminary stage, clearly cyberspace communities are growing and it can help Indonesian CSOs coping with the inevitable fragmentation in civil society movement today.

In short, at the intra-organisational level, perspectives both influence- and are influenced by- how the Internet is being used. In terms of cohesion, it has an effect on CSOs’ roles, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility which, in the context of Indonesian social movement, are significant for their existence in the movement (which corroborates Anheier et al., 2002; Davis et al., 2005; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Edwards and Hulme, 1995a). At this level, joint actions and collaborations in social movement are also both a product of and a medium for CSO’s activities (as suggested by Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006).

For CSOs in a context like Indonesia, where social movement is fragmented (Demos, 2005a; 2005b), the challenge is to appropriate technology not only to achieve strategic goals, but also to strengthen the civic engagement in the social movement. The use of the Internet has clearly contributed to the changing relationship between Indonesian CSOs and their ‘audiences’ (or ‘beneficiaries’) and among themselves. This way, social movements are strengthened and civic communities are empowered. This is an important role that Internet use plays in the shaping and reshaping of socio-political life in Indonesia today.

## 8.5. Rethinking civility and Internet use: Civil *vis-à-vis* uncivil society

So far, this investigation heavily assumes one thing: that the Internet is being used by civil groups of society for civil purposes. How would this study be aware of the contradictory notions?

### 8.5.1. It is not only about uncivil society ...

Looking at Indonesia's socio-political situation in the post-Suharto era, one can possibly mistake 'uncivil' society for civil society (see also some notes on this issue suggested by, among others, Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Hall, 1995). Civic groups whose work is based on extremism and violence, for example, may not easily be distinguished from CSOs working on 'civility issues' like democratisation or social empowerment if they are only observed at the surface. They even claim that they *are* civil society. *Forum Betawi Rempug* (Betawi Brotherhood Forum, or FBR), for instance, claims to represent working-class members of the indigenous Betawi ethnic group of Jakarta, despite their strategy to combine appeals to ethnicity and class with extortion and coercion. Another example is FPI (*Front Pembela Islam*, or the Defenders of Islam Front), which is an instance of vigilante-style groups that employ the symbols of militant Islam for their quest of guarding the society from immorality (Wilson, 2006:267). But, are they really part of Indonesian civil society? Despite the claim, what they do is against the very basic idea of civil society: using violence to meet their goals. So the answer is clear –such groups are *not* part of civil society in Indonesia (Herry-Priyono, 2006). But there is a central issue needs addressing: civility of civil society. And as can be predicted in the historical and local context of Indonesia, the issue of civility relates tightly with the issue of violence/non-violence.

There has been long-standing historical ambiguity between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' uses of violence in Indonesian civil society that can even be traced back to colonial period in the country (Cribb, 1991; Wilson, 2006). As the authoritarian regime employed violence as a central strategy for maintaining political control, violence and criminality were once normalised as state practice including mobilisation of quasi-CSOs like *Pemuda Pancasila* and *Pemuda Pancamarga* who use violence as a basic approach (Ryter, 1998). However, after the fall of the regime, non-state groups employing violence and intimidation as a political, social, and economic strategy have also apparently emerged (O'Rourke, 2002). It can be seen that while operating in a *modus operandi* similar to organised crime gangs, these groups articulate ideologies that legitimises the use of force, violence and coercion through appeals to ethnicity (like FBR), class (like *Pemuda Pancasila*), and religious affiliation (like FPI). Violence is also justified as an act of rectification (maybe rather than direct opposition) in a situation where the state is absent or considered to have failed in providing fundamentals such as security, justice, and employment (Wilson, 2006).

### 8.5.2. But, how the Internet is used for uncivil purposes

As previous scholars note, just as it facilitates CSOs in achieving their noble goals like democratisation or promotion of human rights, the Internet can assist uncivil society groups in Indonesia which oppose not only the state, but also other civic communities that do not share the same beliefs (Hill and Sen, 2002; 2005; Lim, 2002; 2005). A profound example is how the *Laskar Jihad* (Jihad Troopers), using "project identity constructed on the continuation of communal resistance to a secular society and state", use the Internet to maintain their aggressive and violence approach (Lim, 2002:395-398). Another instance is how the Internet was being used by two conflicting communities in Ambon, Moluccas, with *Ambon Berdarah On-line* (Bloody Ambon online) run by Christian group was not only in frontal confrontation against *Suara Ambon On-Line* (Voice of Ambon online) run by Laskar Jihad of Ahlus Sunnah wal Jama'ah, but also maintained conflict between them (Hill and Sen, 2005:117-140). While in the former example the Internet has become a means to elevate communal resistance against multicultural civil society (as have been warned by Castells, 1997:11), the latter shows how the Internet, instead of becoming a peaceful bridge among two conflicting groups, on the contrary turned into a deadly weapon.

This example can undoubtedly be extended further to emphasis that the same technology can help uncivil groups to loom like 'leviathan' destroying the building of civilised life. While it certainly raises questions on the notion of technology's 'neutrality', it also touches upon the problem with the notion of 'civil society', particularly in a context like Indonesia where the idea is relatively newly embraced (Harney and Olivia, 2003). Many would suggest that it is disturbing to see that these violent groups insist on calling themselves "civil society" to justify their violent actions as part of their tactics to dignify their exploits (Herry-Priyono, 2006). But, as the notion of civil society in Indonesia becomes so easily hijacked by these violent groups, so does the use of ICTs like the Internet.

As explained much earlier, the term civil society was once used as a 'conceptual weapon' against the caprices of Soeharto's authoritarian regime (Harney and Olivia, 2003; Herry-Priyono, 2006; McCarthy, 2002), similar to the way it was used against the politburo regimes in Eastern Europe (Edwards, 2004; Keane, 1998). Therefore, in short, it was the 'anti-state' or 'non-state' character that since then have dominated the meaning and notion of civil society (as in 'non-governmental organisations'). The notion of civil society as such is now so inadequate in dealing not only with the vicious exploits of violent groups acting on behalf of religious fundamentalism, but also with various civic groups funded by corporate to secure their interests which often is against public civility.

Likewise, the Internet was once glorified as technology which can break down the walls of the undemocratic regimes and promote democracy (Hick and McNutt, 2002; Hill and Sen, 2005; Surman and Reilly, 2003), as much as it is praised to bring about societal progress and economic development (Heeks, 2002; James, 2006; Korac-Kakabadse et al., 2000). Thus it is not surprising to see how 'development' and 'advancement' properties are often attached to the Internet and the use of it. As if, the use of the technology will always be good and brings about good things to the users and the environment. Obviously this claim is inaccurate. Not only that the use of good technology by bad users create misery (just as shown by the use of the Internet by violent groups) but the use of perceived good technology by good users is not always beneficial. Problems like dependencies on technology, losing human-touch or feeling of being negatively shaped by technological interaction are evident in this study when the Internet is being used by good civil society (see *Chapter Seven*).

Therefore, the use of technology such as the Internet in civil society to create a public sphere needs to be accompanied by propinquity to politically organise, discuss and collectively resolve issues of the day. Just as conceiving civil society as a network of democratic movement *vis-à-vis* any abusive and unaccountable exercise of power and incivility is more fruitful than the notion currently in widespread use in Indonesia, the Internet can also be understood in similar way. The Internet is not just an instrument; it is a collective network of actions. That is why, as this study reveals, CSOs who realise this are more aware of the social shaping of it. On the contrary, the organisations who blindly use the technology as instruments are becoming less aware of the social shaping and more likely being shaped by it.

## **8.6. Conclusion**

By reflecting on all stages of this study, this chapter has shown the impacts of the Internet in civil society dynamics in Indonesia. Learning from Indonesian experience, the question of whether the Internet and its use is beneficial or detrimental to civil society has no unequivocal resolution in the abstract. Rather, as abundantly shown, the answers emerge from the historical and specific local contexts where the technology is being appropriated. When the Internet comes to CSOs in a country like Indonesia, it is not just adoption of the technology that matters. In fact, it is the 'localisation' processes that transform the technological properties of the Internet into compelling socio-political meanings as perceived by CSOs which then appropriate it to interact and (re)shape the political landscape.

However, the landscape of civil society itself is certainly in a constant flux. The discourse of civil society in Indonesia is undoubtedly widening and this has created some restlessness among civil society, because not only boundaries between them are disappearing, but creating new strategies out of it is not always an easy thing to do. In this sense, the use of the Internet in CSOs has been substantial to help the organisations to pursue such a quest, not only to improve CSOs' internal organisational performance but mainly to look at opportunities for wider collaboration and networking with other CSOs within and between countries. As result, network of civil society movement has expanded and the Internet has been significantly instrumental in CSOs' integration with this network. It is clear during this pursuit that networks of social movement are not just an instrument for social change; they are also *loci* where the change takes place. The Indonesian experience shows that the Internet can facilitate the creation of such *locus* so that political activation through the Internet can be realised for political reform. Yet, this needs some literacy of CSOs, as the agent of social change, in using the technology.

This chapter shows that it is not just the adoption stage which signifies the different ways CSOs adopt and use the Internet (compared to other types of organisations), in fact, it is mainly the characteristic of the implementation that makes organisations within civil society distinct from organisations with other origins in the way they use the technology. In implementing and integrating the Internet within the organisations' strategy, CSOs spend considerable effort in the adaptation of the technology. Instead of just using the technology as it is meant to be, or to adjust the organisational structure so that it matches the technological requirement, CSOs build their capabilities in configuring and reconfiguring the technology so that it meets their needs, including reconfiguring some organisational properties. As result, the appropriation of technology in civil society is more of emergent and "always-in-practice", rather than fixed. Here, continuous awareness towards the shaping process of technology is important for CSOs. Not only is it important to identify and rectify unintended consequences of technological use that can affect organisations and their performance, it is equally substantial to recognise the social shaping of technology in organisation (and network of organisations) in its own right.

In this sense, strategic orientation in using the Internet must also be constantly redefined. Because, with the current development in Indonesian civil society, it can be unclear whether, with help of technologies like the Internet, civil society will flourish, or will instead surrender to uncivil movements and disintegration of civil society. The issue of the strategic use of the Internet in Indonesian civil society should therefore focus on the empowerment of civil society as an active force in the formation of civic and political communities that can work collectively to create a genuine civic engagement as reflected in the quotation opening this chapter.

# Conclusions

*[T]his finding is not representative of all CSOs in Indonesia, but only those [who have] access [to] the Internet. But it confirms how the use of the Internet has enormous implications. This can be [used as] recommendation for CSOs, [especially those] who still have no access to the Internet, to endeavour to adopt and use it so that ...their work can be more effective. This finding can convince people to look at the positive sides of the Internet in facilitating CSOs work and networking. This [technology] really helps our work.  
(Group reflection, Jakarta workshop, 2/03/2006)*

The above quotation, from a group's reflection at the Jakarta workshop, more or less captures the essence of these concluding comments. Many of the results of this research should be more or less generalisable to other cases. But they are liable to particularly relevant to Indonesian civil society organisations (CSOs) when they decide to adopt and use the Internet. The exploration carried out throughout this research shows that Internet adoption and use in organisations within civil society is never simple and straightforward. Rather it is multifaceted and often raises uncertainties given that CSOs by and large adopt and use the technology in many different ways compared to other types of organisation. But it is also this challenge that brings enormous opportunity for CSOs once the technology is appropriated in strategic and political ways. This study has demonstrated that, despite problems and difficulties, the use of the Internet in CSOs has brought significant implications not only to the organisation's internal managerial performance but more importantly to the external aspects of CSOs' work, particularly the expansion of networks of social movement and dynamism in civic activism and thus socio-political engagement in the country.

Here, the conclusions of this research are elaborated further by recalling both research processes and outcomes and posting some notes for possible further study. Following on from the overall discussion (*Chapter Eight*) which has considered in detail the findings –and lessons learned– from the Indonesian perspective, this final chapter aims to reflect on the implications and messages. By doing so, it aspires to 're-open' some of the issues and questions that were posed and answered by the study, and engages with issues of generalisability and the global picture. In addition, it also addresses some wider implications of this research. The study is concluded after outlining an agenda for further research.

## Recalling the research

Since it emerged out the more general topic of computer-communications in the early 1990s, the field of Internet studies has grown steadily and is even undergoing institutionalisation now<sup>178</sup>. Within this emerging field of study, some effort has been spent addressing questions surrounding the intersection between the Internet and, among others, society and politics. Since the prophetic writing of Benjamin Barber in his *Strong Democracy* in which he projected the possibility of using new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) like the Internet to energise citizen information and political participation (Barber, 1984), a large amount of literature has discussed the topics of 'online democracy', 'cyber-politics', and 'cyber-activism'<sup>179</sup>. At the same time, with the discourse of civil society, and in particular taking global civil society into consideration<sup>180</sup> including social movement<sup>181</sup>, the 'marriage' between Internet research and civil society studies has become a new key topic of Internet studies. These two developments, inevitably, have shed light on many recent studies and reflections on the role of the Internet in the dynamics of civil society and on the network of social movement<sup>182</sup>.

This study aspires to further this course of reflection: by bringing together Internet studies and civil society research. More importantly, it has taken a different route and used a different perspective. Firstly, realising that non-Western contexts are mostly ignored from such studies (Hill and Sen, 2005; Lim, 2002; 2003d; 2004a being notable exceptions), this study examines the instance of Indonesia hoping to provide deeper insights into these contexts. Secondly, it uses civil society organisations (CSOs) as the subject of study rather than general civil society. Despite a few studies focusing on the subject (e.g. Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Harney and Olivia, 2003; McCarthy, 2002), there has been very limited systematic study of CSOs in the network society, despite their prominence here. Thirdly, while most other studies focus more on *what* civil society is doing *with the Internet* (like Hick and McNutt, 2002; McConnell, 2000; Warkentin, 2001, among others) and *on the Internet* (such as the noted works of McCaughey and Ayers, 2003; Surman and Reilly, 2003), this study focuses on *how* civil society adopts and uses, as well as anticipates, the impact of the Internet in organisations.

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<sup>178</sup> See McCaughey and Ayers (2003:279).

<sup>179</sup> Recall the works of some scholars in the field (for example, Coleman, 1999; Ferdinand, 2000; Hague and Loader, 1999; McCaughey and Ayers, 2003).

<sup>180</sup> Marked by the seminal works of LSE's Global Civil Society series (Anheier et al., 2001a; Anheier et al., 2004b; Glasius et al., 2002; Glasius et al., 2005; Kaldor et al., 2003)

<sup>181</sup> See the scholarly works on social movements (e.g. Crossley, 2002; Davis et al., 2005; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006; Diani, 2003)

<sup>182</sup> See some relevant works (e.g. Cammaerts and Van-Audenhove, 2004; Florini, 2000; Hajnal, 2002; Lim, 2003e; McConnell, 2000; Riker, 2001; Surman and Reilly, 2003; Warkentin, 2001)

## Re-opening the case

The study started with four main questions, i.e. (i) to what extent, in what ways, and for what purposes have Internet technologies been appropriated by Indonesian CSOs? (ii) what are the processes by which Internet technologies (and ICTs more generally) are imported into and adopted by Indonesian CSOs? (iii) how do Indonesian CSOs implement ICTs, and how are Internet technologies deployed strategically in the operations (and in an effort to further the aims) of such organisations? (iv) what are the implications, potentials and challenges ahead such appropriations?

In order to answer these questions adequately, this study employed different approaches, used different perspectives, and collected different data using different methods. The structure and methodology of the study were informed by Giddens' notion of 'structuration' (1984) on which analyses of (i) the role of the Internet in CSOs and (ii) the role of CSOs in social movement were based. At a glance, the effort is summarised below.

- a. First, to properly comprehend the nature of Indonesian civil society, this study built on the insights provided by previous research on the socio-politics of civil society in the country (particularly, but not limited to Demos, 2005a; Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hadiwinata, 2003; Harney and Olivia, 2003). Utilising data gathered from the combination of interviews, survey and workshops, the study revealed some recent development of the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs and what they do with the Internet they have access to. ***Chapter Four discussed these developments and tried to answer the first research question.***
- b. Then, to investigate the adoption of the Internet in CSOs, including to identify the adoption pattern, factors affecting adoption and adoption sequence, this study incorporated mainly the classic diffusion theory (Rogers, 1995; 2003) with some insights from similar research (e.g. Cooper and Zmud, 1990; Engel et al., 2001; Hamelink, 1984; Prochaska et al., 1992; Swanson and Ramiller, 2004). Using mainly survey data, the study analysed the diffusion process and its patterns, as well as factors affecting it. ***The diffusion analysis was carried out in Chapter Five, answering the second research question.***
- c. To explore and give notion to the nature of the Internet implementation in the organisations, this study made use of the information systems perspective (mainly Galliers, 2004; Galliers, 2007; Levy et al., 1999; Newell et al., 2003) and adaptive structuration viewpoint (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000). This



investigation relied heavily on case studies built from in-depth interviews to understand how Indonesian CSOs progressed in the stages of implementation of technological adoption. *This investigation tried to answer the third research question and this is outlined in detail in Chapter Six.*

- d. Lastly, the implication of such technological adoption and implementation is understood not only internally from an organisational perspective (by means of adaptive structuration theories that also explains the implementation), but also from an external perspective where network of civil society movement is implicated (owing insights from Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006; Diani, 2003; McAdam, 2003). As the implications are examined both at intra- and inter-organisational level, the study counted on the workshops' collective reflections as qualitative data. *Chapter Seven outlined these reflections and attempted to answer the fourth research questions.*

Having brought together the findings and synthesised the discussions in the previous discussion chapter (Chapter Eight) where they are understood and put into the Indonesian perspectives, this section draws together the implications and generalisability of the results, intellectual contributions, and limitations.

## **Implications of findings, generalisability, and some theoretical notes: Looking at the global picture**

Some implications of the findings are presented here to see how far these particular findings can inform the more general context. However, it should be noted that reaching conclusions which could be generalised across the whole sector of the Internet and civil society study has never been the intention of this research.

### ***On the dynamics of civil society and the role of CSOs***

In brief, Chapter Four has outlined this finding: CSOs have clearly become a key source of activist politics in Indonesia, with some that are engaged in work that run parallel to government programmes to improve people's livelihood (i.e. 'developmentalists'), while some others serve to keep alternatives to government policy before the public and to defend citizen's rights (i.e. 'advocacy'), especially in the post-Soeharto era situation. As their political position becomes more important than ever before, the challenge for Indonesian CSOs is to consistently and continuously take part in major social transformation through promoting wider civic engagement in society. In a context like Indonesia, obviously, the terrain of such engagement is highly dynamic with constant changes. This study finds that discourse, activism and the network of civil society groups and organisations in Indonesia are in constant flux – as they are continuously

changing, shifting and widening, and expanding. Apart from national politics, this change sources from the engagement of Indonesian CSOs with global civil society and is facilitated at large by their use of ICTs, particularly the Internet. This finding largely supports the position of previous studies on civil society in Indonesia (particularly Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hadiwinata, 2003; Harney and Olivia, 2003; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006) and some early studies about the Internet in civil society and non-governmental organisations in Indonesia (particularly Hill and Sen, 2000; 2005; Lim, 2002; 2003d). But what does this imply in a more general context?

Both as an institution and as a social movement, CSOs have to continue playing their pivotal roles in society. New political climates have primarily allowed CSOs, as social institutions, to work on any issues and concerns, and to carry out various activities. However, this still requires more intensive involvement in current political struggles and debates. Likewise, as promoters of grassroots-oriented development and elements of social movements representing the underprivileged, CSOs have to concentrate on their 'symbolic role of initiating indirect popular resistance' (as also addressed by Hadiwinata, 2003:255), particularly when criticising the direction towards which the country is being developed. However, as this is neither easy nor simple, CSOs also still have to be patient in applying any progressive strategies in civic engagement that they aspire. Not only because various issues and concerns, especially the global and cosmopolitan ones, need to be articulated in the local context, but because CSOs themselves may need some reorientation with the changing terrain they are being situated.

As a social movement, it is imperative for CSOs to strengthen their networking within and between countries. This is partly because CSOs are not designed to compete for formal political power and thus networking can be an effective strategy to influence formal political decision, both at the national and at international level. Such networking strengthens CSOs as third sector organisations, but it is always a double-edged sword. For example, while international networking is significant to help counter pressures against repression in national level, this also leaves CSOs open to the charge of pawns of external actors. That is why CSO networking has to be reoriented so that it can play a more significant role to keep the political reform (in the case of Indonesia) or democratisation and widening participation (in general) going. Democratisation 'from below' requires a healthy civil society, where manifolds of social movements and civic engagements (farmers associations, labours unions, women's groups, religious institutions, intellectuals and students) can express their interests (Deakin, 2001; Edwards and Hulme, 1992; Hall, 1995; Keane, 1998). This process is significant since a strong civil society is needed to uphold a fledgling democracy in a context like Indonesia. However, it is also no less essential in general because that also means active civil society is substantial to animate society, including educating

them, to exercise democratic political activities like articulating interest, conducting representation, engaging in negotiation, lobbying, consensus building, bargaining, and so forth.

With this escalating importance in their roles, CSOs need to maintain trust with their stakeholders, be they donors, beneficiaries, government, or the general public. This means their being accountable. Only when CSOs are accountable can this trust be kept (Edwards and Hulme, 1995c; 1997). Thus CSOs need to develop their organisation to ensure financial stability, to improve their management system, and to develop accountability systems even if professionalism and efficient management system may not be the landmark of the CSO sector (as also concluded by Hadiwinata, 2003). The same applies for their collegial relationship with other CSOs: only when CSOs manage to gain trust from their CSO colleagues they can network effectively and thus achieve their collective goals. It is in this direction, and in order to respond to all of these challenges, that CSOs need to consolidate themselves –to put more serious attention to efficient management of organisations and networks –through mobilisation of any resources they can get access to, including information and communication technology (ICT).

#### ***On the diffusion of the Internet and its implementation in CSOs***

In the case of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet, this study finds some deviations from the accounts suggested by diffusion theory (particularly Rogers, 1995; 2003) –used to analyse the pattern of Internet diffusion in CSOs—and from those suggested by the information system perspective (especially Galliers, 2004; 2007)—used to look at the implementation of Internet use. Chapter Five and Chapter Six show that because they are ontologically different from business entities and government agencies, CSOs perceive, adopt and implement innovation in a different way. Not only do the diffusion and implementation of the technology follow different trajectory, the driver and motivation for adoption and consideration of implementation are also distinct from what theory suggests. The diffusion of the Internet in CSOs is characterised more by their issues and concerns rather than by their socio-economic properties; however, structural problems like access and availability of the infrastructure can significantly hamper the diffusion process in developing economies like Indonesia. Furthermore, internally, the main driver for innovation is the need to obtain information and to improve organisational effectiveness and efficiency; externally, in addition to the need to broaden perspectives, it is the need to bring about mutual relationship and collaboration among organisations instead of competition. Likewise, the way CSOs traverse the phases of Internet implementation are very much a function of how they appropriate the technology to meet their strategic and political needs. This is at large reflected by the way they adapt the technology by focusing on building their configurational capability in using the Internet (See also extensive discussion on these findings in *Chapter Eight*). These findings may have some implications, perhaps, in the wider context.

- First, the fact that issues and concerns characterise the diffusion of the Internet in CSOs need some attention, particularly with the current development of so many contemporary issues that CSOs can take onboard, be they intentionally or not. Here, this study suspects that embedded values and interests of civil society sector play a greater role in CSOs in the innovation process in organisations than implied by Rogers' (1995; 2003) model. One interpretation of the notion of 'organisational value' in adoption (or innovation process in organisations as theorised by Rogers) is that organisations, particularly non-profit ones, knowingly represent particular motives in the way they adopt innovations (Thatcher et al., 2006). When CSOs chose a specific issue or concern to work on, they may be adhering to deeply rooted organisational values that happen to conflict with values held by other types of organisations (like business firms or state agencies). Therefore, if CSO's activities are an extension of tacitly held assumptions and values, CSOs may need to re-comprehend, or to give new meaning/understanding of issues and concerns they work on today. The aim is not necessarily to seek agreement of values with other parties (especially with whom CSOs are criticising), but to ensure that the way and the motivation CSOs undertake their activities –including the way and the motivation they adopt technologies like the Internet— is relevant and significant to the present context.
- Second, CSOs seem to adopt these technologies within a culture of collaboration and co-operation with other CSOs rather than a matter of competition. However, 'collaboration and co-operation' is a major strand of Indonesian culture and that of many societies; it will probably be useful to consider whether distinctive organisational cultures at least partially account for how perceived attributes of the Internet may affect its adoption in CSOs. Scholars in organisational theory (e.g. Martin, 1992; McLaughlin et al., 1999) suggest that organisational cultures vary considerably, from essentially unitary to conflicted or differentiated, highly fragmented, even quite ambiguous in character – which affects circumstances and orientations of the adoption and use of information technologies (as noted by Coombs et al., 1992). As this notion about culture is also true for organisations within civil society, including the social movement they belong (Davis et al., 2005), therefore, it follows that CSOs' cultures, particularly those that are more differentiated or fragmented (as indicated, e.g. in Indonesian context, by Demos, 2005a), may further complicate the adoption of the Internet. However, due to the limitation and focus of this research, it did not venture deeply enough in this direction to acquire data required to analyse and draw conclusions about their respective cultures that affect CSOs' adoption of the Internet.

- Third, despite the fact that CSOs increase their effectiveness by using ICTs, particularly the Internet, they do not perceive it as a source of competitive advantage (among their CSO peers) even though the technology offers capability to generate a high level of visibility for the organisation (for example, by means of WWW). Such visibility, while important for increasing the influence of CSOs to the general public, including expressing critical opinions towards government and business, is not intended as a means to compete with other CSOs. This suggests that the innovation decision process (Rogers, 1995; 2003) in adopting technologies like the Internet in CSOs or other non-profit organisations may be somewhere between the patterns found in public (state/government) and for-profit (business/private) organisations. While competitive advantage is a much less salient factor in the innovation decision process for CSOs to adopt the technology, CSOs themselves have to reap the benefit of their own potential for manipulating the “symbolic content of information” (Thatcher et al., 2006) which is essential for the success of their works in promoting social change through civic engagement and public opinion building, among others.
- Fourth, CSOs’ use of the Internet to encourage political participation should remain relevant. As informational resources for society (Warkentin, 2001), CSOs should not only provide critical views towards government and business, but more importantly, through their use of the Internet, encourage and motivate people to engage in political participation. With perspectives widened and information updated, CSOs should help raise more public awareness about many important contemporary issues and mobilise people to become politically involved. In this light, the CSOs’ endeavour in shaping public perception and opinion can be facilitated, among others, by CSOs being active users on the Net. It is argued that by becoming more active in the cyber-world –through creating an online persona (McCaughey and Ayers, 2003; Warkentin, 2001)—CSOs will engage in framing activities like online public opinion building, especially in the era when online media is increasingly gaining popularity. By shaping the way issues are conceptualised and understood, CSOs can often affect public opinion building in important ways.
- Fifth, as the adoption and use of the Internet potentially enables CSOs to play more important roles in society, the implementation of the technology has to become a more integral part of organisational strategy (as suggested by, e.g. Galliers, 2004; 2007). But there is also another reason: because civil society is dynamic and its development is ongoing, the use of the Internet can be crucial for CSOs to anticipate the future changes (although not entirely) and to remain attuned to the possibilities that the technology offers with regard to various levels of political communication among and within actors

in society. Here lies the importance for CSOs to build their configurational capabilities in appropriating the Internet, because CSOs should be aware that the outcome of their partaking in social movement, despite being driven by technological use, cannot always be guaranteed, and its political implications do not always become a permanent fixture in national (or even global) politics.

- Lastly, while some areas for strategic use of the Internet in CSOs are mapped (in the Indonesian case: collaboration, mobilisation, empowerment and development, research and publication, and advocacy and monitoring) this does not mean to be conclusive in the general context. With the vast richness of civil society activism, no single study could possibly do this and perhaps such an answer to complete mapping strategic area of Internet use in civil society is impossible. It should be evident at this point, however, that through their use of the Internet to engage in various activities in various levels, CSOs strategically and politically facilitate the creation and maintenance of civil society's "foundational network of social relations" (Warkentin, 2001), which, once established, provides opportunities for furtherance of social reform and social development through wider civic engagement. With appropriation of the Internet –which means strategic, smart and political ways in using the technology—CSOs should be able to influence people's attitudes and social behaviours in specific and important ways, in favour of their missions and goals –individually or collectively, locally or globally—to create 'another better world' (Hajnal, 2002; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998).

### ***On the impacts of the Internet in CSOs and the social movement***

Using an adaptive structuration framework to examine the impact of the use of information technology in organisations (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992; 2000), this study identified some intra- and inter-organisational impacts of Internet use in CSOs. While the impacts at the intra-organisational level are apparent in terms of its effect on organisational coherence and cohesion (as result of its effect on identity), at the inter-organisational level it affects the changing roles of Indonesian CSOs in reshaping the socio-political life of the country. As an organisation, the use of the Internet in Indonesian CSOs has affected not only the way the public perceives CSOs' identity but also the way CSOs see themselves. The implication of this to CSOs' roles is twofold: they are both reinforced and transformed. As a social movement, the use of the Internet has helped CSOs to elevate issues in order to gain public attention or/and to prepare the condition for further field actions. This is possible because Indonesian CSOs have been using the Internet to mobilise resources for action and pressures. This way, the impacts of Internet use in CSOs both as organisations and as active social movement becomes evident. The structures of technology use, in a similar way, also affects and is affected by the structural

characteristics and nature of the organisations (which confirms DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 2000; 2002). So, what does all this imply in general?

- First, since Internet use affects organisational identity (Castells, 1997) which is substantial to organisational coherence as well as cohesion, CSOs need to manifest its institutional development and broaden attempts to play its role in society by re-aligning resources, re-defining organisation's strategy, tackling organisational issues (as also suggested by Clegg and Dunkerley, 1977; McLaughlin et al., 1999; Scott, 2003). It is also with this in mind that CSOs' members need to share a collective identity and role, develop mutual respect and increase trust among each other in order to maintain organisational cohesion. Likewise, to uphold organisational coherence, CSOs should strengthen their identity roles, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility. In the dynamic interaction with other actors in society, this practice is important because it arises not solely within the activities of CSOs, but also in a broader field of activity that involves other socio-political players. This brings about a need to open up avenues for examining the dynamics of change and the social construction processes of Internet use in CSOs.
- Second, as the use of the Internet in CSOs becomes more extensive, information acquired also becomes more complete and perspective becomes more widened. This can result in borders between organisations disappearing and sectors within civil society converging (which has been evident in the case of Indonesian CSOs with the blurring division between advocacy and development organisations – see Chapter Four and Chapter Seven). CSOs certainly need to anticipate this development and possibly prepare for new paradigms in their socio-political activism. Not only is the future changing, but the change itself can, and will, affect CSOs' undertakings – in which the use of the Internet will play a mediating role. Consequently, the focus in evaluating or measuring technological impacts in CSOs may give more meaningful results by looking at the use of technology rather than at the technology itself (as also suggested by Orlikowski, 2000; 2002). This is because it is not the technology in its own right, but the use of it, that can have an effect to the organisation's performance.
- Third, having been able to use the Internet to mobilise resources for action and pressures, the challenge is for CSOs to actually connect people and to exchange views across national boundaries on cross-cutting contemporary and global political, social and economic issues. As evident in the Indonesian case, this is also likely to have an effect to CSOs becoming more cosmopolitan and globalised. While the Internet has successfully facilitated ways of fostering reform and development agenda to the wider public, CSOs

will need to remember that the essence of social movement is real engagement, not just information exchange (Juris, 2004). While this implication may apply in wider context, in a context where the Internet is still perceived to be privilege of certain class in society (like in less developed economies), however, CSOs have to be more careful about using this technology to create a genuine movement from below. This is because although the Internet has been integrated into daily CSOs' practices and there are apparent benefits, there are particular grassroots contexts that more conventional or face-to-face communication is preferred to animate that society, in particular where CSOs work closely with cultural groups.

- Lastly, for CSOs as a social movement, the most significant impact of Internet use might be its ability to interconnect organisations and networks of organisations to advance joint actions. This means an obvious challenge for CSOs to use the Internet which serves as a platform for the development of alternative discourses and strategies both in local and in global level, because this is exactly how the use of the Internet can affect the roles of CSOs in reshaping the socio-political life of society. For example, while Internet use can facilitate collective and collaborative work particularly when CSOs endeavour to influence public policy making, CSOs need to build their own capacity in order to be able to strategically use the technology. However, in particular circumstance where deep and intensive interaction with grassroots groups is substantial, the use of the Internet may not be enough as a binding tool for CSOs work in fostering social movement. While the Internet is a vast source of insightful information for civic movement, it is the role of CSOs to transform such information into meaningful materials to empower their beneficiaries to take part in the real actions in social reform or social development agenda.

In many parts of the world where access to the Internet is highly unequal, the problem with Internet access has created information asymmetry between CSOs and their beneficiaries, often putting CSOs in a more influential position. In such a situation, in order to encourage a truly civic engagement CSOs need to not only deliver the information to their beneficiaries (information in), but also to communicate their beneficiaries' achievements and dynamics to the wider social movement (information out), so as to build solidarity among social actors.



## Revisiting Internet research, diffusion analysis and civil society study: Some contributions to the knowledge

There are some contributions to some of the current bodies of knowledge that this research may be able to offer. These contributions have actually been discussed throughout the thesis in the relevant chapters, but for convenience, they are briefly recalled and summarised below.

1. ***To research on the Internet.*** This study provides another empirical exploration of the dynamics of Internet diffusion in a particular type of organisations in a particular socio-political setting. As the field of Internet research is currently dominated by studies mostly in and about Western contexts, this research can be seen as an enrichment endeavour since it presents an example of a non-Western context of Internet study.
2. ***To studies of the Internet and civil society.*** This study looks into some detailed accounts on how the Internet is adopted, implemented and appropriated by civil society organisations – something that is often taken for granted in the area of Internet and civil society studies. This study shows that the adoption and use of the Internet in organisations like CSOs is not as straightforward as it might have been widely presumed in this area. This study could therefore be seen as a contribution to explain what is often left assumed in the Internet and civil society studies.
3. ***To the area of civil society and social movement studies.*** In addition to providing another example from the Indonesian perspective, this study might be the first of its kind that creates and uses its own fairly large dataset, both for quantitative and qualitative analyses, to explain current dynamics of civil society and social movement in the area of study. From a theoretical approach, this study might be among the few, if not the first, that applies adaptive structuration in explaining the interaction between CSOs as agency and social movement as structure in the social practice of civic engagement.
4. ***To the diffusion of innovation theory.*** By presenting the instance of Internet diffusion in CSOs, this study enriches the basic diffusion theory in some ways. First, it suggests that the pattern of Internet adoption by CSOs is distinct from the general pattern of technological adoption that the theory evokes. Second, it suggests that the innovation process in CSOs follows a different trajectory and that the phases of initiation and implementation contain different substances. All this presents a modification of the diffusion model that could possibly be useful to explain other technological adoption in non-profit organisations.

5. ***To research on information systems strategising.*** This study provides an application of the IS strategising framework in the instance of Indonesian CSOs adopting the Internet. While there is nearly no modification of the framework, it presents and explains the framework from an empirical viewpoint and thus expects to enrich it. Within the view, this study attempts to understand the IS framework within the CSOs' strategy in using and implementing the Internet.
6. ***To studies of management and organisational strategy.*** Management and organisational studies have largely dealt with business and public organisations and quite limitedly with civil society or even non-profit organisations. Therefore, this research may be able to offer a brief contribution, as an enrichment to the field, by presenting an empirical observation about management and organisational strategy from the instance of Indonesian CSOs adopting and using the Internet.
7. ***To studies within the Indonesian and South East Asia context.*** This research is among some that tells a story about Indonesia by using the Indonesian perspective. Certainly, it is among the very few, and possibly the first, that tells a story *about* Indonesian CSOs using the *perspective* of Indonesian CSOs –in their attempt to use the Internet. As such, this study is a contribution not only toward Indonesian but also South East Asian studies, particularly in the field of civil society, social movement and grassroots politics.

## Some limitations of the research

There are some limitations of this study which need to be taken into account.

- Firstly, the analysis is a grounded, but not necessarily generalisable, explanation about the nature of the adoption of the Internet in civil society groups and organisations. Explanation grounded in context-rich settings and provided with generalisability for observations are arguably empirical processes that possess contradictory epistemological and ontological logics and serve contradictory purposes (Lonkila, 1995). It is assumed that readers are the final judges of external validity for qualitative studies (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Creswell, 2003). When a qualitative approach provides sufficiently rich detail (as it is hoped in this research), readers, especially in relevant fields, are expected to be able to cognitively convey the 'mental pictures' and findings of the research in order to judge the reasonability of conclusions and transferability of findings into settings which they are familiar with.
- Secondly, the whole discussion about civil society and CSOs in this thesis is actually based on the assumption that civil society and CSOs are 'good' or 'civil'. This is also the

assumption when treating all the data from the fieldwork – by assuming that all CSOs taking part in this research are ‘good’ and ‘civil’ CSOs. This assumption was made clear and taken deliberately because this study needs a solid ground to build the argument. Of course, in reality, ‘bad’ and ‘uncivil’ society and groups do exist, but they are at large not taken into account in this study. However, the fact that ‘bad’ and ‘uncivil’ society, especially in Indonesia, starts to demand attention, was discussed in Chapter Eight.

- Thirdly, likewise, the discussion about Internet use by civil society on the whole assumes ‘good and civil ways’ of using the technology by CSOs. This same assumption underlines the way this research interprets the data on Internet use. Again, of course ‘bad and uncivil ways’ of using the technology, very likely by bad and uncivil society, do exist. To make this point clear, this notion is dealt with in Chapter Two and Chapter Eight.
- Finally, in explaining global civil society, this study, following Chandhoke (2001), should treat the assumption that global civil society is autonomous of other institutions of international politics carefully; that it can provide alternatives to these institutions, and that it can give a deep-rooted and structural critique of world order. A *normative* expectation of civil society should not distort the way the nature of the *real* civil society is being examined, whether national or global. In this regard, one limitation of the study arises from its reliance on the perceptions and activities of CSOs in Indonesia when analysing the dynamics of global civil society in the transition period of the country. This limitation has been dealt properly, however, by arguing that the activism was even not recognised by Indonesian organisations (see Chapter Four).

This study mobilised many new CSO studies to provide some necessary perspectives and to gain some valuable insights. These developments in this field are however very recent –at most, it can be traced back to the last decade (maybe since Seattle 1999). Scholars have warned that the field of civil society, despite its richness and a long attempt of conceptualisation, as an academic field is still ‘young’ and ‘immature’ (e.g. Anheier et al., 2001b; Deakin, 2001; Kaldor et al., 2004; Keane, 1998), compared to, for example, body of academic studies on the government or private sector. This study, however, believes that the novelty lies in what they attempt to do, however imperfect and however limited they are. These studies, including this one, are thus worth studying, whatever the difficulties they may face.

## **On methodological notes**

In general, this study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. This approach is essential in systematically probing and understanding the complexity of the dynamics between

the Internet adoption and use in CSOs, its impact to organisational performance and civil society movement. The argument about the role of Internet use in CSOs in affecting the socio-political circumstance in Indonesia would not have been as clear yet complex if it were not for the rich meaning attached by the respondents' data *and* captured by the combination of methods. Likewise, the limited and different kinds of material gathered during the interviews are significantly enriched by the application of survey and social network methods –and the other way around. It is the combination and conversation across methods, or triangulation, that has allowed this study to probe the issues deeper and wider. This study found that such a combination of methods could potentially be a practical tool in understanding other incidences.

In detail, this study applied different methods to answer different questions within this research. To explain the changing dynamics of Indonesian CSOs, for example, this study triangulated quantitative and qualitative data gathered from survey, interview and workshop. The expansion of CSOs universe, as well as the increasing importance of CSOs' roles, was explained by survey data, interview notes, workshop reflection and network analysis altogether. However, when attempting to understand the pattern of Internet diffusion, this research relied more on quantitative data although a handful of qualitative data was also used for some clarification. Likewise, explaining the implementation of the Internet in CSOs is very difficult, if not impossible at all, to be carried out by mobilising quantitative data. Not only was the survey not designed for such purpose, but even if it was, the richness of implementation stages could only be captured by employing a qualitative approach, like a case study based on in-depth interviews and direct observation. To examine the impacts of Internet use in CSOs and in the wider context of social movement, the best way was to use qualitative data gathered from collective reflection from workshops.

This study shows that applying multi-methods to answer different research questions in a research project is not impossible. In fact, it is more favourable, because particular questions are best answered by using particular types of data gathered by particular methods. However, just like everything under the sun, this approach is not perfect. This study is based on quantitative and qualitative data gathered from a survey of 268 CSOs, three workshops attended by 72 CSOs, six case studies, and in-depth interviews with 42 leaders of 35 CSOs in Indonesia. Despite this breadth and depth, it was not possible for this study to explore hypothesis and propositions in the level of detail called for by the theoretical perspectives and to provide coverage of sufficient number of instances to allow for truly generalisable conclusions to be drawn. The conclusions presented in this chapter are therefore considered provisional.

## Agenda for further research

The results of this research have provided many insights into the specific issues examined in this study. These insights could be broadened and deepened, and the implications for more general issues explored further. Below a number of themes are identified which seem to be particularly promising areas for developing the future research agenda. This study deems this proposal important as a field for study as global transformations are well underway, and an entirely new world is coming, where the role of civil society becomes more central and the way they use the new media and communication technologies affects these transformations.

### *Under the theme of the dynamics of civil society and the role of CSOs*

- With the increasing importance of CSOs' role in the dynamics of socio-political life of the society, the tensions between organisational and social movement demand within CSOs could be examined further. Further comparative research could shed new light on the relation between the needs in an organisational context and in a network/movement context especially when the Internet is adopted and used.
- The constant flux in the terrain of civil society directly or indirectly affected by Internet use in various civil society actors, as found in this study, is another area for further research. Among others, such a research could revolve around the inter-organisational use of the Internet. Using a particular approach, it would be useful to map networks and links between civil society actors in the real world as well as online and compare them over time.

### *Under the theme of Internet diffusion in CSOs*

- The study finds that CSOs adopt and use the Internet in different ways compared to other types of organisation. Among many factors, this difference stems from different values and motivations, as well as issues and concerns of the organisations. However, this conclusion is drawn by a single instance (CSOs in Indonesian context). The area for further research is wide open to see if there are real embedded values and interests of civil society sector that play a significant role in the innovation process. In addition, as adoption of ICTs in CSOs seem to revolve around the big theme of culture of 'collaboration and co-operation' (instead of competition) there is also a need for research into identifying distinctive organisational cultures that account for perceived attributes of the Internet that affect its adoption in CSOs. In this orientation, researching sector-specific, or issues/concerns specific, CSOs can be more helpful rather than researching CSOs in general.

- As the use of the Internet in CSOs aims, among others, at encouraging political participation and widening civic engagement, it might be important to have in-depth research which looks into how CSOs, through their use of the Internet, provide critical views towards government and business, and encourage and motivate people to engage in political participation. In line with this, it is also necessary to look more closely at how CSOs build their configurational capabilities in appropriating the Internet for such purposes.
- A wide-scale survey of how CSOs strategically and politically use the Internet –and what area are strategic and why—will certainly be useful, not only as a seed for a large database on the third sector in the future, but to help the field of Internet and civil society study to grow.

***Under the theme of the impacts of Internet use to CSOs and social movement***

- As organisational identity is significantly affected by the use of the Internet, which directly affects organisational cohesion and coherence, it opens up avenues for future particular research into the endeavour of CSOs in working on their institutional development and in broadening attempts to play their role in society by re-aligning resources, re-defining organisation's strategy, tackling organisational issues. This research could also look closely at how CSOs strengthen their identity roles, objectives, focus, strategy and credibility, especially in the dynamic interaction with other actors in society.
- With borders between organisations disappearing and sectors within civil society converging as a result of CSOs engagement with global civil society by means of Internet use, it is important to examine how CSOs will anticipate this development and look for new paradigms in their socio-political activism. Such research can also focus on measuring technological impacts in CSOs by looking at the use of technology (rather than at the technology itself) to see the effect on the organisation's performance.
- Since the Internet has been widely used by CSOs to mobilise for action and pressures, it is interesting to see if CSOs respond to the challenge of using the Internet to connect people (and how) and to exchange views within and between countries on many cross-cutting contemporary and global political, social and economic issues.
- Lastly, with the emergence of global civil society fuelled by Internet-enabled networking of CSOs and social movement, there might be a need for research into how CSOs use the Internet as a platform for the development of alternative discourses and strategies in

global level, and how CSOs connect them with the discourses in local level. It is in this direction that the research should pursue how Internet use affects CSOs in reshaping the socio-political life of society, especially in circumstances where deep and intensive interaction with grassroots groups is substantial and the use of the Internet may not be enough as a binding tool for CSOs work in fostering social movement.

## Closing remark

How transformative is the Internet in civil society? This research has traversed a full circle to look for the answer to this question, which is deliberately signposted in Chapter One when discussing about the Internet as a technological innovation. If this question was addressed to the prominent communication theorist Neil Postman, he would, most likely, ask another question in response, “[W]hat is a problem to which [the Internet] is a solution?” (cited in Graham, 1999:4, modified). When such a question is raised in a particular socio-political context like Indonesia in the era of transition to democracy, the answer is not always clear and thus needs empirical accounts to provide the proper answers.

For civil society, the Internet is expected to be *transformational* in its impact on the character of organisations and the network of social movement across the country. Civil society should not allow themselves to be over-impressed by the popularity and rapid spread of Internet technology, but rather, adjust their interest to the Internet’s quality of being able to serve various needs and having a major impact upon the form of social and political life (Graham, 1999:37). With a transforming technology, organisations within civil society can do more than they could before. Integration of CSOs with global civil society and their increasing ability in reshaping socio-political life is a profound example in which civil society’s power is transformed in their social interaction. With this increase in power comes an increase in choice for civil society. However it should be noted that the actual strength of civil society does not come from their use of technology, which only strengthens their existing strength. In fact, the inner strength and power of the civil society originates from the nature of civil society itself: the guardian of civil civic life (Deakin, 2001; Keane, 1998). Going beyond the data gathered in this study, it can therefore easily be envisaged that mere investment in ICTs is not likely to contribute significantly to the organisational performance of CSOs. Yet, when the use of such technologies is ‘attached’ to the ‘innovativeness’ of civil society not only in performing internal managerial work, but also in external purposes like widening civic engagement or promoting socio-political participation, it would contribute positively to the overall performance of CSOs, both as an institution and as a social movement.

Time does not stand still. And indeed, one of the great social transformations of our time is the spectacular growth of the transforming power of technology. However a modern Internet philosopher Gordon Graham says,

As we saw, the transforming and unpredictable character of technological innovation makes any manageable form of cost-benefit analysis impossible. Does this mean that we have no way by which to judge it? No, because all such technology comes into existence and develops in a context, and that context as its broadest is the one to which reference has just been made –human nature and the human condition. It is a context, however, which bears on our assessment of technology not by providing a medium in which costs and benefits may be compared, but by providing us with the standard against which the ultimate value of technology must be measured. (Graham, 1999:169)

It is to be 'attached to the context' in order 'to measure' the value of the Internet in civil society that this investigation is orientated. As addressed by the quotation at the start of this chapter, it is risky to claim that the findings of this study represents all CSOs in Indonesia. It might, however, be seen as an invitation. Confirming that the use of the Internet in CSOs may have enormous implications both to the organisations and to the social movement, this study calls upon Indonesian CSOs in particular, and other CSOs in general, to endeavour to adopt and use the Internet strategically to facilitate their work. Despite negative impacts and perceived detriments, CSOs could chose to look at the positive sides of the Internet and adopt it to help achieve their ultimate missions and goals: becoming civic guardian. Then, this study might be of some inspirations.

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## Post scriptum

*It was one day in the mid of May 1998, the year of living dangerously in Indonesia following the prolonged 1997 economic crisis which led to severe socio-political calamity. During the days of riots and mayhem, I found myself on the street of Jakarta with thousands students and social activists, challenging the government to cease power. During a severe attack by military, we were forced back from the famous “Semanggi” bridge in the central Jakarta. A violent strike forced us to retreat and hide, otherwise being targeted by the real bullets. We then hid in the morgue at the Jakarta Hospital near Atmajaya University. To our panicking mind, hiding in the place of dead bodies was the only way to keep safe from the armed military personnel who ran after demonstrators violently. I honestly thought that it would not be long before they found us there.*

*Whilst in hiding, I received information through my mobile phone and an old ‘pager’ from our ‘information centre’. A friend updated us with the progress of the military action, as he managed to tap into the military radio communication. It was literally the SMS and paging messages that saved us at that very moment. We were being led, informed about safe and secure routes, to leave the hospital’s morgue in order to return to our campuses and centres of movement safely, to prepare our next actions. I, too, fled to the ‘information centre’ where I was assigned. With some friends, we updated our colleagues with the latest news from the street which would then be spread out to other activists –in Jakarta and in other cities, in Indonesia and abroad—through SMS, paging, fax, and emails.*

*Just like many other activists, I had a first-hand experience of how meaningful and significant the role of the ‘information centre’ was during the heightened period of political reform (‘reformasi’) in Indonesia. Emails were sent to tell the world about what happened in the country –the list ‘apakabar’ moderated by John McDougall was our main channel to broadcast the latest news about Indonesia. The Internet was vital to mobilise support – moral and material—to the students and activists protesting the regime. Messages were spread across activists via SMS and pager, pinpointing the locations of military blockades so that they could avoid them in their rallies and demonstrations. There were many more.*

*Many years later, in the mid of this research in Manchester, I read a book, “**The Internet in Indonesia’s New Democracy**” (Hill and Sen, 2005, Routledge) with a great interest. Not only was it important to my research, but it reminded me about my personal experience being a part of the reformasi movement. It concluded how the Internet “played a central role in the downfall of the Soeharto dictatorship” (p.53). If one was not at the “Ground Zero” during the reformasi in Indonesia, it would be rather difficult to figure out how the Internet could play such a role; or to imagine what kind of Internet technologies could have backed up the massive social movement at that time. Unfortunately, the book never revealed what it really was. But, I still remember in detail, until this very moment, one of the ‘information centres’ that I was assigned to at that time. It was a small room, with a second hand PC-AT486 connected to the Internet via a dial-up modem, a HT (handy-transceiver) we seized from the anti-riot troops during a demonstration, an old facsimile, and an outdated mobile phone at the size of a pencil case. That was all. And the rest was spirit, commitment, and solidarity among us, the activists.*

This research has looked at how different organisations in Indonesian civil society today use the information and communication technologies (ICTs), particularly the Internet. This research is aware that in the civil society domain, too, there are techno-optimists who see the Internet as a

new 'Athenian forum' where without its civic engagement and civil society dynamics will be dull. There are also techno-pessimists who fear alienation brought by the technology and its domination in the civic interaction will destroy the civil society sphere. But the research shows that both are wrong—they have both ignored one part of the equation.

A different approach is needed to understand the impact of the Internet on civil society. It needs a more differentiated and graded perspective that should be positioned in-between 'boom' and 'doom', accepting both enabling and constraining factors of the technology, combining continuity with discontinuity in civic activism. The perspective should accept the dangers of concentration and domination, but at the same time recognise that social movements are benefiting from the same technology. This research has argued that many uses of the Internet by Indonesian CSOs—and very possibly other CSOs across the globe—can be seen as a continuation of what social movements have always done, but in a more efficient, faster, direct, and cheaper way. Thus it shows the Internet does bring something "new" in the domain.

It is not easy to come to this conclusion, however. During the whole research, I have been haunted endlessly by one question: can I properly study about something that I was, am, and will be, a part of? Will the analyses be biased by my personal experience? Will the suggestions be too influenced by my subjective judgement? Or, will my long experience with Indonesian CSOs serve any good to this research—not only to mobilise valuable respondents to give rich data but also to help me reflect the findings deeper and to give more nuanced perspective in the explanations?

This question has partly been answered now. When I carried out my fieldwork in 2005-2006, after each conversation with my respondents, be it in the interview, workshops or focus groups, almost all of them asked me to let them know about the result of this research. So I felt very lucky to have a chance to present this whole thesis back in Indonesia, to some of the CSOs who were involved in the study. In August 2007, in a one-day small gathering of 23 CSOs in Jakarta, I shared my 3-year research journey. The meeting was interesting. The discussion was vibrant. The debate was challenging. I felt very relieved: the participants—my fellow activists—shared similar views to mine. So, even if this thesis were seen at all subjective, it would still confidently represent some Indonesian CSOs' views on the topic. But most importantly, I felt that a responsibility had been fulfilled. The gathering was a 'report' for Indonesian CSOs, to whom this research is dedicated. It was not just a matter of 'repayment' for the organisations which had helped this research with invaluable data and information, but it was an occasion which I hoped would be another phase for me to maintain a genuine involvement with the Indonesian CSOs.

That workshop was not the only one that assured me I was on the right track in my research. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2007, *SatuDunia*, a local franchise of the UK-based *OneWorld* portal for NGOs,

was established in Indonesia. Its aim was to unleash the potential of the Internet for the development and the progress of civil society in the country. I was glad to learn that quite a number of respondent CSOs in my study played some important roles in the development of *SatuDunia*. In an email one colleague wrote to me, *"I am now involved with SatuDunia. I have been more aware of the complexities of the issue since we spent hours and hours talking about the topic. Good that you asked me to participate in your study"*. Then, on the 4<sup>th</sup> August 2007, the Media/ICT programme of HIVOS, a Dutch NGO operating in Indonesia, felt it important to sponsor me to fly to Kuala Lumpur, to present an excerpt of this thesis in the "Internet and Politics in Pacific Asia" panel during the 5<sup>th</sup> ICAS (International Convention of Asian Scholars) International Conference. To HIVOS' Media/ICT programme, my research apparently had some value that it should be disseminated. I was so glad that my presentation attracted many useful comments. The forum in Kuala Lumpur was attended not only by scholars, but also civil society activists. Finally, one day in September 2007, during a hectic period of writing up, an email arrived in my mailbox, inviting me to give a presentation at the opening of an Asian NGO's workshop in Indonesia focusing on the challenges and opportunities for freedom of expression in the region. The organiser of the workshop felt that my experience and my research would suit the forum well. Unfortunately they did not realise that I was still in the UK – they did not have enough money to sponsor my flight.

To me this is all a clear sign that I am not alone in my endeavour to understand the dynamic relationship between social movement and the ICTs, particularly the Internet, in Indonesia. Indeed, CSOs are unique –and studies into CSOs are often seen as not easy. But so are business firms and government agencies. But it is actually in their uniqueness that they learn from each other –as amply documented in this study. However, if I were to claim a uniqueness that really stands out when CSOs adopt a technological innovation, it would not be the different types of innovations they choose. It would neither be the way they adopt, manage nor implement the technology. I would confidently say that what really matters is the commitment to the movement, after all.

I have an expectation that this research would inspire other scholarly research in this area. But much more than that, I would really like to see that this research could be of some real use for my fellow CSO activists when they adopt and use the Internet.

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### A.1.1. Survey design

The survey was designed to capture the (current) maps of Indonesian CSO with regards to their typology (i.e. size, nature of organisation, main issues and concerns and activities) in addition to the main objective to gather data on their current use of ICT (i.e. period of use, ICT expenditure, reason for using ICT, significance of use, fields of use, among others), evaluation of the use of ICT (e.g. benefit and detriments of the use of ICT, individual and organisational learning process, innovation in using ICT, difficulties and barriers to use, among others), and future prospects (e.g. future spending, future ICT impacts on organisational performances, future strategic areas of use, among others). As it can be implied, most section of the survey was devoted to gather the data about the usage profile of ICT.

The target population were the CSOs listed in the four publicly available CSO directories, i.e. SMERU (2005 data), TIFA (2005 data), LP3ES (2004 data) and CRS (2005 data). All CSOs whose email address listed in the directories were without exception invited to the electronic survey (i.e. either MSWord™ form sent as email attachment, or online survey available at <http://www.calibrum.com/Surveylet/takesurvey.asp?surveycode=4633EMS B45886>)<sup>183</sup>. For CSOs listed in the directories without email address, 50% of them (randomly selected by picking every other CSO in the list) were invited for non-electronic version of survey, sent through “signed-for, special delivery” postal mail administered from Jakarta, Indonesia.

The instrument for the survey, i.e. the questionnaire, both the printed version and the electronic version, had been tested through a *pilot* involving 10 organisations. Upon comments and inputs from the pilot, some changes were included in the final version. These include:

- a. rephrasing some statements to make it more concise and precise in Indonesian
- b. changing the position of some survey questions to make them flow better, particularly in section 2 ('use of ICT'), 3 ('evaluation of use') and 4 ('about the future')
- c. changing the type of some questions to help the respondents in completing the survey, i.e. in section 3 (from ranking to multiple choice, from tick boxes to drop-down menu)

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<sup>183</sup> At the moment, the survey application has completely been migrated to the Manchester Business School server, at <http://prest.admbs.mbs.ac.uk/surveylet>

- d. changing the overall presentation of the network question in section 1.4. , i.e. from open question to semi-close question providing choice (name of organisations or networks) and how intensive the network is (or was). Later, further input suggested to change the option from the scale of intensity to the period of networking as this would be useful to map.
- e. (particularly for the online, web-based survey) redesigning the web interface and layout and changing accessibility due to the issue of browser compatibility.

The list generated from the four directories yields 946 organisations with email addresses. All of them were then emailed and invited to participate in the electronic survey, by filling-in either the MSWord™ form or the web-based form on the 15th November 2005. A number of 394 bounced-back emails were received due to the non-reachable email addresses. The non-electronic survey which was administered from Jakarta has been sent through postal service on the 21st November 2005 to 790 Indonesian CSOs in 30 provinces with some 385 mail sent back for the similar reason, i.e. address change. This indicates strongly that the data on the contact details of CSOs provided by the directories may be significantly inaccurate. Upon receiving the bouncing emails and letters, the same invitation was then sent through several NGO mailing lists with a particular request to circulate it as widely as possible. In sum, after deducing the number of bounced back emails and postal mails, the research expects to have invited 957 CSOs (in total) to participate in the survey. The final nominal response was 268.

## A.1.2. Administration of survey

### A.1.2.1. Invitation – in Indonesian language (original)

The University  
of Manchester



Manchester/Jakarta, awal Nopember 2005

Kepada  
**Yth. Ibu/Bapak Pimpinan/Direktur/Koordinator  
LSM/Organisasi/Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil**

**di tempat**

Dengan hormat,

**Hal: Survey penggunaan teknologi informasi di LSM/Organisasi Masy. Sipil di Indonesia**

Saya, Yanuar Nugroho, saat ini sedang melakukan penelitian doktoral di Universitas Manchester Inggris. Dengan surat ini, saya memohon bantuan agar LSM/Organisasi/Jaringan yang Ibu/Bapak pimpin bisa berpartisipasi dalam survey yang saya adakan saat ini. Survey ini adalah bagian dari penelitian mengenai penggunaan teknologi informasi oleh lembaga, organisasi dan jaringan masyarakat sipil di Indonesia.

Penelitian ini mendapat konteksnya karena dua hal. Pertama, keterlibatan dan pengaruh LSM, organisasi atau jaringan masyarakat sipil dalam penentuan kebijakan dan pengambilan keputusan publik makin hari makin meningkat. Kedua, perkembangan teknologi informasi dan pemanfaatannya juga makin pesat dan meluas. Maka, sementara di satu sisi keduanya dipandang sebagai salah satu faktor penggerak perubahan sosial, di sisi lain ternyata ada jarak cukup jauh yang memisahkan keduanya. Studi-studi selama ini menunjukkan bahwa nampaknya teknologi informasi belum dimanfaatkan secara maksimal untuk mendukung kerja-kerja LSM, organisasi dan jaringan masyarakat sipil – apalagi di Indonesia.

Karena itu, selain mencoba mengumpulkan data dan mengidentifikasi sejauh mana LSM, organisasi dan jaringan masyarakat sipil di Indonesia telah menggunakan teknologi informasi, penelitian ini juga menggali bidang-bidang apa saja, saat ini dan di masa depan, dimana teknologi informasi bisa dimanfaatkan secara kreatif, cerdas dan strategis untuk membawa agenda perubahan dan perbaikan sosial di Indonesia. Jika hal ini tercapai, mungkin inilah sumbangan paling bermakna dari penelitian ini bagi perkembangan sektor masyarakat sipil di Indonesia. Maka, di sinilah arti penting partisipasi LSM/Organisasi/Jaringan yang Ibu/Bapak pimpin dalam survey ini.

Saya mendapatkan nama LSM/Organisasi/Jaringan yang Ibu/Bapak pimpin dari kompilasi beberapa direktori LSM/Ornop di Indonesia yang disusun oleh CRS, SMERU, LP3ES dan TIFA. Survey ini sendiri sebenarnya ingin mencakup sebanyak mungkin lembaga/organisasi/jaringan masyarakat sipil di Indonesia. Namun karena keterbatasan, mungkin hanya bisa menjangkau sebagian diantaranya. Karena itu, jika Ibu/Bapak tahu ada lembaga/organisasi/jaringan lain dalam jaringan Anda, mohon survey ini juga bisa disebarluaskan salinannya kepada mereka.

Data dan informasi yang didapatkan dari survey ini akan dipertahankan secara rahasia dan hanya akan diolah dalam bentuk agregat.

Setelah survey ini diisi, mohon berkasnya segera dikirimkan dengan menggunakan amplop berperangko yang sudah tersedia. Survey ini tersedia juga dalam versi lain. Jika Ibu/Bapak mempunyai akses fasilitas internet (email dan web) dan ingin melengkapi survey ini dalam format MS-Word (formulir otomatis) silakan kirimkan email ke [yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk) untuk mendapatkan filenya. Survey ini juga tersedia online di <http://www.calbrum.com/Survey/letTakeSurvey.asp?surveycode=4633&EMSB45886>. Jika Ibu/Bapak memilih mengisi survey online atau melalui email, maka tidak perlu mengisi dan mengembalikan berkas ini – demikian pula sebaliknya.

Sekali lagi, saya memohon partisipasi Anda dan jangan ragu untuk menghubungi saya jika ada hal-hal yang ingin ditanyakan atau membutuhkan penjelasan lebih lanjut.

Disertai salam hormat dan terima kasih,

**Yanuar Nugroho**  
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## A.1.2.2. Invitation – in English (translated)

The University  
of Manchester



Manchester/Jakarta, early November 2005

To

**The leader/director/coordinator/head of  
Civil society organisation/network ...**

**In Indonesia**

Dear sir or madam,

### **Re: Survey on the use of Information & Communication Technology in Civil Society Organisations in Indonesia**

Firstly, let me introduce myself. I am Yanuar Nugroho, from Indonesia, who is currently undertaking a doctoral research in the University of Manchester, UK. Herewith, I would like to ask the assistance of the organisation/network that you are leading, in order to participate in this survey. This survey is part of a research on the use of information and communication technologies (ICT), particularly the Internet, in civil society organisations and networks (aka. "CSO") in Indonesia.

The context of the research becomes important because of two things. Firstly, the involvement and the influence of CSOs in the process of public policy decision making has become intensified today. Secondly, the development and the advancement of ICT, especially the Internet, and its uses have also become extensive. Therefore, while on the one hand both ICT and CSO have been seen as one factor fostering social change, on the other hand there is a wide gap between them: studies show that ICT/Internet has not been explored fully to support and facilitate the works of CSOs and their network in the world – let alone in Indonesia.

Therefore, besides trying to gather data and to identify how far CSOs in Indonesia have been using ICT/Internet, the research is also aimed at exploring areas, at the moment and in the future, where ICT can be used creatively, smartly and strategically to foster social reform and social development in Indonesia. If these aims are achieved, this might be probably the most meaningful contribution of the research to the development of the civil society sector in Indonesia. Here, lies the importance of your CSO/network participation in this survey.

I come to know your CSO contact from the publicly available CSO-NGO directories compiled by CRS, SMERU, LP3ES and TIFA. This survey actually would like to cover as many an Indonesian CSO as possible, but because of resource limitation, this may only be able to reach some of them. Therefore, I would be grateful if you can pass the copy of this survey to other organisations within your CSOs/network link.

The survey period is 15 November 2005 – 15 January 2006. All data and information gathered from this survey will be treated confidentially and will only be processed and analysed as aggregate.

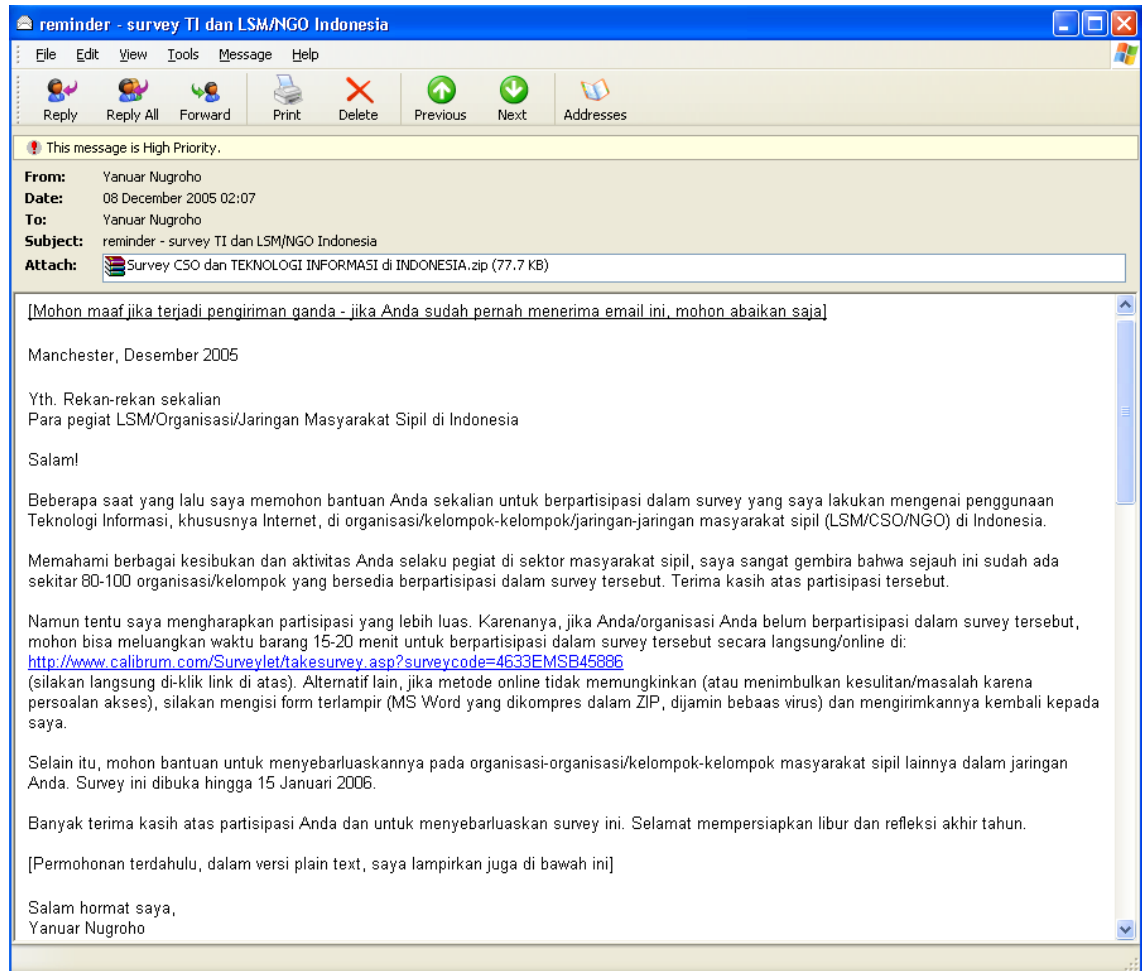
After you have completed the survey, please send it back to us before the end of survey period (date of post office stamp) or as soon as possible using the provided self-addressed stamped envelope. This survey is also available in different formats. If you have/can access to the Internet (email and/or web) and are willing to complete the survey using MS-Word automated form, please email [yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk). We will be sending the electronic form to you as email attachment as soon as we can. The survey is also available online at <http://www.calibrum.com/Survey/lettaakesurvey.asp?surveycode=4633EMSB45886>. If you prefer to complete the online survey or using email attachment, you do not need to complete this form and send it to us – and the other way around.

I do hope you will be participating in this survey. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have things to be asked or clarified.

Thank you and with all the best regards.

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### A.1.2.3. Reminders



The literal English translation of the above Indonesian reminder reads:

[Apologise for cross posting – Please ignore if you have received this email before]

Manchester, December 2005

Dear colleagues,  
activists of Indonesian CSOs/CSO Networks

Greetings!

A couple of weeks ago, I asked your help to participate in the survey that I was conducting on the use of Information Technology, particularly the Internet, in organisations/networks/groups of civil society in Indonesia. Having understood the busy activities and heavy schedule of civil society activists, I am glad to let you know that so far there have been 80-100 CSOs participating in the survey.

However, I certainly expect for higher participation. Therefore, if your organisation has not participated yet for any reason, I hope you can now spare 15-20 minutes to take part in the survey directly online at <http://www.calibrum.com/http://www.calibrum.com/Surveylet/takesurvey.asp?surveycode=4633EMSB45886>. (please just click the link above). Another alternative, if the online method is not possible for you or if you experience problem with the Internet access, please fill in the attached form (ZIP compressed MS Word file, guaranteed with no virus) and send it back to me.

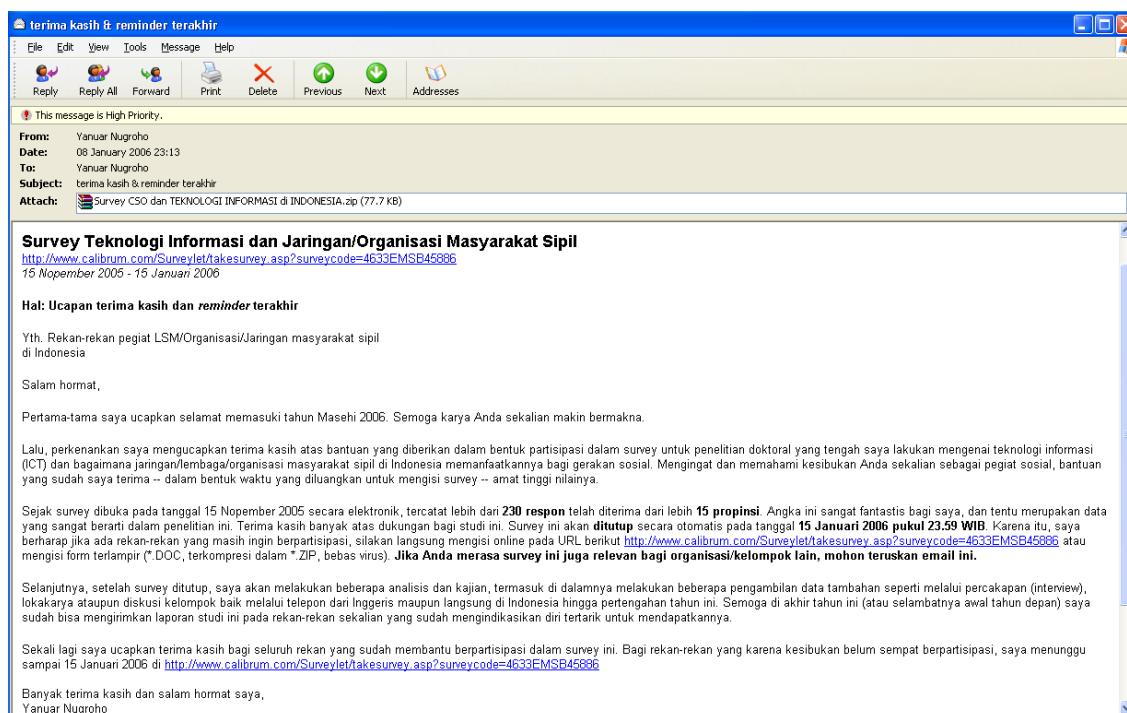
In addition, I also ask you to circulate this survey to other organisations within your network. This survey is open until 15 January 2006.

I thank you for your participation and for your help to circulate this survey. I wish you all the best for your year-end holiday and reflection.

Previous request and invitation, in plain text format, is attached below.

Respectfully yours,  
Yanuar Nugroho

This reminder was sent two times. First reminder was sent three weeks after the survey was firstly launched. The second reminder, very similar to the first with some update on the numbers of responses, was launched two weeks later, or a week before the survey was closed. The second reminder also served as a 'thank-you' note for the participation of Indonesian CSOs. The screenshot of the second reminder and the thank-you note is provided below, without English translation.



### A.1.3. Survey templates

There are three survey templates provided here:

- Printed survey templates (two languages)
- Screenshot of Calibrum online survey template
- MS-Word automated form survey template (in digital format, in the accompanying disk of this thesis)



### A.1.3.1. Printed survey templates

*In Indonesian language*

## Survey penggunaan Teknologi Informasi & Komunikasi di LSM/Ornop/Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil lainnya di Indonesia

Periode : 15 November 2005 – 15 Januari 2006

Petunjuk untuk melengkapi survey ini:

1. Survey ini terdiri dari beberapa pertanyaan yang terbagi atas 5 (lima) bagian. Dari beberapa kali ujicoba dibutuhkan waktu sekitar **15-20 menit** untuk mengisi survey ini dengan **tulisan tangan**.
2. Silakan isikan jawaban Anda pada formulir pada tempat yang tersedia. Jika tidak cukup, silakan tambahkan kertas.
3. Jika Anda mempunyai/bisa mengakses fasilitas internet (email dan web) dan ingin melengkapi survey ini dalam format MS-Word (formulir otomatis) silakan kirimkan email ke [yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk). Kami akan segera mengirimkan filenya.
4. Survey ini juga tersedia *online* di <http://www.calibrum.com/Surveylet/takesurvey.asp?surveycode=4633EMSB45886>. Jika Anda mengisi survey online atau melalui email, Anda tidak perlu mengisi dan mengembalikan formulir ini – demikian pula sebaliknya.

1. Tentang organisasi Anda		
Pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut bermaksud untuk mendapatkan data pokok tentang organisasi Anda		
1.1. Nama Organisasi	1.1.1. dlm. Bhs. Indonesia :	
	1.1.2. dlm. Bhs. Inggris :	
	1.1.3. Singkatan :	
1.2. Alamat Kontak Lembaga	1.2.1. Contact Person :	
	1.2.2. Posisi/Jabatan :	
	1.2.3. Alamat :	
	1.2.4. Kota/Kabupaten :	1.2.5. Kodepos :
	1.2.6. Propinsi :	1.2.7. Tel. :
	1.2.8. HP/Tel. seluler :	1.2.9. Faks. :
	1.2.10. Alamat E-mail :	
1.2.11. Alamat Website :		

1.3. Profil: Tentang organisasi Anda	1.3.1. Mana yang paling tepat menggambarkan tentang organisasi Anda? ( <i>pilih semua yang sesuai</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Berorientasi advokasi <input type="checkbox"/> Berbasis penelitian/ <i>think-tank</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Terdaftar secara resmi <input type="checkbox"/> Berbadan organisasi tunggal/terpusat <input type="checkbox"/> Mempunyai afiliasi agama tertentu <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan	<input type="checkbox"/> Berorientasi developmentalis <input type="checkbox"/> Berbasis aktivitas mobilisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Informal, tidak resmi terdaftar <input type="checkbox"/> Jaringan dari berbagai kelompok <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak mempunyai afiliasi agama
	1.3.2. Apa saja bidang garap utama organisasi Anda? ( <i>pilih semua yang sesuai</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Lingkungan <input type="checkbox"/> Isu-isu rural <input type="checkbox"/> Pembangunan/ <i>development</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Perdamaian & Keadilan <input type="checkbox"/> Kesetaraan jender/Isu-isu perempuan <input type="checkbox"/> Kemiskinan <input type="checkbox"/> Isu-isu penyandang cacat <input type="checkbox"/> Petani dan nelayan <input type="checkbox"/> Tata kelola pemerintahan <input type="checkbox"/> Resolusi konflik <input type="checkbox"/> Masyarakat Adat <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan	<input type="checkbox"/> Globalisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Isu-isu urban <input type="checkbox"/> Hak-hak Asasi Manusia <input type="checkbox"/> Demokratisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Anak-anak & kaum muda <input type="checkbox"/> Pendidikan <input type="checkbox"/> Buruh/Serikat pekerja <input type="checkbox"/> Pekerja profesional <input type="checkbox"/> Pemberdayaan Masy. Sipil <input type="checkbox"/> Pluralisme dan keragaman <input type="checkbox"/> Hak-hak ekonomi sosial budaya
	1.3.3. Apa saja aktivitas utama organisasi Anda? ( <i>pilih semua yang sesuai</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Riset/penelitian (tmsk konsultansi) <input type="checkbox"/> Training/pelatihan <input type="checkbox"/> Kerja-kerja advokasi <input type="checkbox"/> Lobbying/lobi <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan	<input type="checkbox"/> Publikasi (tmsk. diseminasi) <input type="checkbox"/> Peningkatan kapasitas <input type="checkbox"/> Kerja-kerja pengorganisasian
	1.3.4. Kapan berdiri?	<input type="checkbox"/> <1 th <input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 th <input type="checkbox"/> 2-5 th <input type="checkbox"/> 5-8 th <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 th <input type="checkbox"/> >10 th	
1.3.5. Jumlah staf tetap?	<input type="checkbox"/> <5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 11-15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16-20 <input type="checkbox"/> 21-25 <input type="checkbox"/> >25		
1.3.6. Jumlah staf tak tetap?	<input type="checkbox"/> <5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 11-15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16-20 <input type="checkbox"/> 21-25 <input type="checkbox"/> >25		
1.3.7. Dana yang dikelola setiap tahun? ( <i>dalam rupiah</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Kurang dar 100 jt <input type="checkbox"/> 500 jt – 1 M <input type="checkbox"/> Lebih dari 2 M	<input type="checkbox"/> 100 – 500 jt <input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 2 M <input type="checkbox"/> Memilih tidak menjawab	
1.3.8. Sumber-sumber pendanaan? ( <i>pilih semua yang sesuai</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Sepenuhnya donor internasional <input type="checkbox"/> Sebagian donor internasional <input type="checkbox"/> Sebagian dr aktivitas yg mhsikan dana <input type="checkbox"/> Sepenuhnya dibiayai pemerintah	<input type="checkbox"/> Sepenuhnya pembiayaan sendiri <input type="checkbox"/> Sebagian pembiayaan sendiri <input type="checkbox"/> Sebagian dari donor domestik <input type="checkbox"/> Sebagian dibiayai pemerintah	

1.4. Jaringan	1.4.1 Dengan jaringan/organisasi Indonesia mana saja di bawah ini organisasi Anda menjalin hubungan?	Pada periode ...?				
		Sbl '95	'95-'98	'99-02	'03-skr	Tdk pernah
	AMAN (Masy. Adat Nstr.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Bina Swadaya	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ELSAM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Forestry Sector	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Forum GAB (Akunt. Bisnis)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Forum Sosial Indonesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	FSPI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	HRWG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ICW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	INFID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	INSIST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	IPPHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Jaker PO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JARNOPP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JATAM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JKTI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JPL (Pendidikan Lingk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Kalyanamitra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KEHATI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Koalisi Anti Utang	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Koalisi FOIA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Koalisi Perempuan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Konphalindo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KONTRAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Kop-WTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KRKP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KRUHA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	LP3ES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Masy Merdeka/Unisosdem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Migrant Care	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mitra Perempuan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	PBHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	SBMI (Buruh Migran)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Serikat Bina Desa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Tim Relawan u/ Kemns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	UPC	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Via Campessina	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	WALHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	WGPSR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	YAPPIKA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	YLBHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	YSIK/Remdec	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Lainnya:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Lainnya:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.4. Jaringan	1.4.2 Dengan jaringan/organisasi luar negeri mana saja di bawah ini organisasi Anda menjalin hubungan?	Pada periode ...?				
		Sbl '95	'95-'98	'99-02	'03-skr	Tdk pernah
	Amnesty International	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Asia Foundation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	AusAID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Catholic Relief Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	CIDA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	CordAID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Corporate Europe Observ.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Corporate Watch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Down to Earth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Ford Foundation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Friedrich Naumann (FNS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Friedrich-Ebert Stift. (FES)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Friends of the Earth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	GTZ Germany	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Hans-Seidel Stiftung (HSF)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Heinrich-Boell Stift. (HBF)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	HIVOS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Japan Foundation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Konrad-Adenauer S. (KAS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	LEAD International	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mercy Corps	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	NOVIB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	OXFAM Great Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Save the Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	SOMO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	TAPOL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Terre des Hommes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Third World Network	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	TIFA/OSI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	TransNational Institute	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	UNDP/Partnership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	USAID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	World Development Movt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	World Vision Internasional	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Lainnya:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Lainnya:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. Tentang penggunaan Teknologi Informasi di Organisasi Anda		
Bagaimana organisasi Anda menggunakan teknologi informasi selama ini? Catatan: Yang dimaksudkan dengan teknologi informasi dalam survey ini adalah internet dan komputer yang terhubung ke internet.		
2.1. Penggunaan teknologi informasi saat ini	2.1.1 Anda memakai komputer?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ya <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak. Mengapa?
	2.1.2. Jika ya, sejak kapan?	<input type="checkbox"/> <3 tahun <input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 tahun <input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 tahun <input type="checkbox"/> >10 tahun
	2.2.1. Anda memakai internet?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ya <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak. Mengapa?
	2.2.2. Jika ya, sejak kapan?	<input type="checkbox"/> <3 tahun <input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 tahun <input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 tahun <input type="checkbox"/> >10 tahun
	2.3.1. Pembelanjaan teknologi informasi (% total dana/thn)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Kurang dari 25% <input type="checkbox"/> 25%-50% <input type="checkbox"/> 50%-75% <input type="checkbox"/> Lebih dari 75%

2.3.2. Pembelanjaan teknologi informasi (dalam rupiah)?	<input type="checkbox"/> < 50 juta <input type="checkbox"/> 100-500 juta <input type="checkbox"/> Diatas 1 milyar	<input type="checkbox"/> 50 – 100 juta <input type="checkbox"/> 500 juta – 1 milyar	
2.4. Dari segi manajemen internal organisasi, mengapa Anda menggunakan teknologi informasi? (pilih semua yang sesuai)	<input type="checkbox"/> Alasan identitas (agar dikenal publik lebih luas, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan finansial (menghemat biaya komunikasi, administrasi, back office, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan 'dari atas' (keputusan badan yayasan, inisiatif board, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan 'dari bawah' (desakan dari staff, tuntutan lapangan, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan manajerial (menjalankan kantor dan aktivitas lebih efisien, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan teknologis (mengadaptasi perkembangan teknologi, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Kebutuhan informasi (mendapat data dari sumber lain, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan kinerja (mencapai misi dan tujuan lembaga, target, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan peningkatan kapasitas (meningkatkan kemampuan dalam t. info, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan lainnya, sebutkan:		
2.5. Dari perspektif eksternal, mengapa Anda menggunakan teknologi informasi? (pilih semua yang sesuai)	<input type="checkbox"/> Alasan sosial (karena organisasi lain juga menggunakannya, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan lingkungan (mengurangi sampah kertas, mengurangi transport, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan budaya (karena teknologi informasi sudah menjadi gaya hidup, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Intensitas isu & bidang garap (mendptkn info & pengetahuan yg relevan, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan perspektif (memperluas wawasan, bertukar ilmu, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Intensitas persaingan (bersaing/tidak mau kalah dengan organisasi lain, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan intermediasi (berbagi informasi/dana/peluang dari pihak lain, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Intensitas kerjasama (kolaborasi, kerjasama dgn organisasi/mitra lain, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Intensitas jaringan (membuat/memperkuat/menjalankan jaringan, koalisi, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan pemberdayaan (merintis, memberi pengetahuan, pendampingan, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan kekuasaan/power (meningkatkan posisi tawar dalam advokasi, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Intensitas pengaruh (meluaskan pengaruh ke publik/dampingan/jaringan, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Alasan lainnya, sebutkan:		
2.6. Seberapa signifikan penggunaan teknologi informasi telah memfasilitasi kinerja manajemen internal di organisasi Anda?	<input type="checkbox"/> Sangat signifikan <input type="checkbox"/> Signifikan <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak bisa menentukan <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak signifikan <input type="checkbox"/> Sangat tidak signifikan		
2.7. Apakah penggunaan teknologi informasi mempunyai pengaruh yang signifikan terhadap jaringan/hubungan kerja dengan organisasi lain?	<input type="checkbox"/> Hubungan/jaringan dengan organisasi lain berkembang dengan pesat <input type="checkbox"/> Hubungan/jaringan dengan organisasi lain hanya sedikit berkembang <input type="checkbox"/> Secara keseluruhan, netral. Tidak ada perubahan <input type="checkbox"/> Hubungan/jaringan dengan organisasi lain mengalami penurunan <input type="checkbox"/> Hubungan/jaringan dengan organisasi lain amat menurun		
2.8. Apakah penggunaan teknologi informasi selama ini mempengaruhi tujuan dan berjalannya aktivitas di organisasi Anda?	<input type="checkbox"/> Tujuan dan aktivitas organisasi menjadi jauh lebih terfokus <input type="checkbox"/> Tujuan dan aktivitas organisasi menjadi terfokus <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak ada yang berubah dari tujuan dan aktivitas organisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Tujuan dan aktivitas organisasi menjadi bergeser (bias) <input type="checkbox"/> Tujuan dan aktivitas organisasi menjadi jauh bergeser (bias)		
2.9. Seberapa jauh penggunaan teknologi informasi memperluas perspektif/wawasan terhadap isu/bidang garap?	<input type="checkbox"/> Perspektif/wawasan kami meluas sampai di tingkat global <input type="checkbox"/> Perspektif/wawasan kami meluas setidaknya sampai di tingkat regional <input type="checkbox"/> Perspektif/wawasan kami meluas setidaknya sampai di tingkat nasional <input type="checkbox"/> Perspektif/wawasan kami meluas setidaknya lebih dari tingkat lokal <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak ada yang berubah dari perspektif/wawasan kami		
2.10. Secara umum, sejauh mana penggunaan teknologi informasi memberi manfaat scr signifikan utk mencapai misi dan tujuan organisasi?	<input type="checkbox"/> Kontribusinya sangat positif untuk tercapainya misi dan tujuan organisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Kontribusinya positif untuk tercapainya misi dan tujuan organisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Secara keseluruhan, netral. Tidak ada kontribusi <input type="checkbox"/> Mempengaruhi biasanya pencapaian misi dan tujuan organisasi <input type="checkbox"/> Sangat mempengaruhi biasanya pencapaian misi dan tujuan organisasi		
2.11. Jenis teknologi informasi (termasuk layanan internet) mana yang saat ini digunakan di organisasi Anda? (pilih semua yang sesuai)	<input type="checkbox"/> Tak ada. Kami tidak menggunakan teknologi informasi/layanan internet <input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> Mailing list <input type="checkbox"/> World-wide web <input type="checkbox"/> News-group <input type="checkbox"/> Online forum <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:		<input type="checkbox"/> Online chat (mis. YM, IRC, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> VoIP/Internet Telephony <input type="checkbox"/> File transfer/download/upload <input type="checkbox"/> Video and/or audio streaming <input type="checkbox"/> Web-log (Blog)

2.12. Jenis teknologi informasi (termasuk layanan internet) mana yang saat ini disediakan oleh organisasi Anda bagi pihak lain? (pilih semua yang sesuai)	<input type="checkbox"/> Tak ada. <input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> Mailing list <input type="checkbox"/> World-wide web <input type="checkbox"/> News-group <input type="checkbox"/> Online forum <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:	<input type="checkbox"/> Publikasi <i>online</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Perpustakaan <i>online</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Link dengan organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Video and/or audio streaming <input type="checkbox"/> Web-log (Blog)
2.13. Bagaimana akses internet disediakan di organisasi Anda?	<input type="checkbox"/> Tak ada. Kami tidak menyediakan internet di organisasi kami <input type="checkbox"/> Melalui sambungan dial-up <input type="checkbox"/> Tak ada. Kami menggunakan wamnet <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:	<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Broadband</i> (kabel, ADSL, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Menumpang di organisasi lain
2.14. Bagaimana selama ini kecenderungan organisasi Anda memanfaatkan teknologi informasi (termasuk internet)?	<input type="checkbox"/> Kami jauh lebih banyak memberikan informasi untuk diakses oleh pihak lain <input type="checkbox"/> Kami lebih banyak memberikan informasi untuk diakses oleh pihak lain <input type="checkbox"/> Seimbang antara memberikan informasi dan mengakses informasi <input type="checkbox"/> Kami lebih banyak mengakses informasi dari pihak lain <input type="checkbox"/> Kami jauh lebih banyak mengakses informasi dari pihak lain	

<b>3. Evaluasi penggunaan Teknologi Informasi</b>		
<i>Pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut ingin menggali bagaimana evaluasi Anda terhadap penggunaan teknologi informasi dan pengaruhnya di organisasi Anda sejauh ini.</i>		
Evaluasi	3.1. Bagaimana Anda melihat penggunaan teknologi komunikasi di organisasi Anda?	<input type="checkbox"/> Kami menggunakannya di hampir semua aspek dalam aktivitas <input type="checkbox"/> Kami menggunakannya di sejumlah aspek penting dalam aktivitas <input type="checkbox"/> Kami menggunakannya hanya di beberapa aspek dalam aktivitas <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak. Kami tidak menggunakannya dalam tingkat ini
	3.2. Bagaimana Anda membandingkan penggunaan teknologi informasi di organisasi Anda dengan organisasi lain yang bekerjasama dengan/dalam jaringan Anda?	<input type="checkbox"/> Saya kira kami berada dalam kelompok 5% teratas <input type="checkbox"/> Saya kira kami berada dalam kelompok 20% teratas <input type="checkbox"/> Saya kira kami berada di atas 50% teratas <input type="checkbox"/> Saya kira kami berada di bawah 50% teratas <input type="checkbox"/> Mungkin kami berada dalam kelompok 10% terbawah <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak tahu/tidak bisa memperkirakan
	3.3. Dalam aspek apa saja organisasi Anda mendapatkan manfaat dari penggunaan teknologi informasi? (urutkan semua yang sesuai, 1 adalah manfaat terbesar; semakin besar angkanya, semakin rendah urutannya)	<input type="checkbox"/> Penghematan biaya secara umum <input type="checkbox"/> Manajemen organisasi yang lebih efektif (back-office, komunikasi, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Publikasi/komunikasi gagasan yang lebih baik kpd publik/organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Membangun jaringan yang lebih luas dengan organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Fundraising/pencarian dana, tmsk berhubungan dengan lembaga donor <input type="checkbox"/> Lebih mudah bekerjasama/kolaborasi dengan lembaga lain <input type="checkbox"/> Kampanye/membangun opini publik lebih efektif <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:
	3.4. Menurut Anda, dengan tingkat penggunaan saat ini, apakah staff Anda terdorong untuk ingin belajar mengenai penggunaan teknologi informasi?	<input type="checkbox"/> Ya, kebanyakan staff ingin meningkatkan ketrampilan TI mereka <input type="checkbox"/> Ya, sejumlah staff ingin meningkatkan ketrampilan TI mereka <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak begitu, hanya beberapa staff ingin meningkatkan ketrampilan TI mereka <input type="checkbox"/> Tidak, kebanyakan staff tidak ingin meningkatkan ketrampilan TI mereka
	3.5. Dalam aspek apa masyarakat/kelompok dampingan mendapat manfaat dari penggunaan teknologi informasi oleh organisasi Anda? (pilih semua yang sesuai)	<input type="checkbox"/> Tidak ada manfaat bagi mereka <input type="checkbox"/> Masyarakat mendapatkan perangkat <i>hardware</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Masyarakat tahu menggunakan software, aplikasi, internet, dll <input type="checkbox"/> Masyarakat lebih tahu/paham akan isu dan hal tertentu <input type="checkbox"/> Mendapat wawasan lebih luas terhadap isu dan hal tertentu <input type="checkbox"/> Masyarakat termampukan mengorganisir dirinya sendiri <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:

	3.6. Dalam bidang apa saja penggunaan teknologi informasi di organisasi Anda sudah dimodifikasi/diubah/disesuaikan dengan kebutuhan tertentu? (pilih semua yang relevan)	<input type="checkbox"/> Tidak ada <input type="checkbox"/> Keuangan (mis. akunting on-line, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Manajemen internal organisasi (mis. back-office, komunikasi, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> Publikasi/komunikasi gagasan kepada publik/organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Membangun jaringan dengan organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Fundraising/pencarian dana, termasuk dengan donor <input type="checkbox"/> Kerjasama/kolaborasi dengan organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Kampanye/membangun opini publik <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:																																																																																					
	3.7. Bagaimana organisasi Anda melakukan hal-hal yang baru/inovatif/penyesuaian dengan teknologi informasi dalam area(-area) tersebut? (pilih semua yang sesuai)	<input type="checkbox"/> Dengan membeli sistem/aplikasi/software komersial <input type="checkbox"/> Dengan mengkopi sistem/aplikasi/software dari organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Dengan mengembangkan sistem/aplikasi/software sendiri <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan:																																																																																					
	3.8. Apa saja alasan untuk melakukan pengembangan/penyesuaian terhadap penggunaan teknologi informasi yang sudah ada? (urutkan dari 1-5; 1 yg terpenting, 5 yg paling kurang penting)	<input type="checkbox"/> Untuk peningkatan kinerja manajemen organisasi yang lebih baik <input type="checkbox"/> Untuk memperluas jaringan/hubungan dengan organisasi lain <input type="checkbox"/> Untuk memfokuskan isu dan bidang garap <input type="checkbox"/> Untuk memperluas perspektif/wawasan terhadap isu dan bidang garap <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan																																																																																					
	3.9. Kesulitan apa saja yang Anda alami dlm menggunakan teknologi informasi?	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="5">Tingkat kesulitan</th> </tr> <tr> <th>Sangat rendah</th> <th>Rendah</th> <th>Sedang</th> <th>Tinggi</th> <th>Sangat tinggi</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Kurangnya dana</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya waktu</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya sumber daya</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya infrastruktur</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Budaya organisasi yg konservatif</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kebijakan dan birokrasi internal</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Politik eksternal/kebijakan negara</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Manajemen organisasi yg tidak kompeten</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya pelatihan/ekspertis</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Struktur organisasi</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kebiasaan berorientasi jangka pendek</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya visi</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya ambisi/niat/tekad</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Kurangnya kepercayaan</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Lainnya, sebutkan:</td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td><td><input type="checkbox"/></td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Tingkat kesulitan					Sangat rendah	Rendah	Sedang	Tinggi	Sangat tinggi	Kurangnya dana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya waktu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya sumber daya	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya infrastruktur	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Budaya organisasi yg konservatif	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kebijakan dan birokrasi internal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Politik eksternal/kebijakan negara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Manajemen organisasi yg tidak kompeten	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya pelatihan/ekspertis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Struktur organisasi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kebiasaan berorientasi jangka pendek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya visi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya ambisi/niat/tekad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kurangnya kepercayaan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lainnya, sebutkan:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Lainnya, sebutkan:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>																																																																																			
	3.10. Apakah ada hal negatif yang diakibatkan dari penggunaan teknologi informasi (termasuk internet) di organisasi Anda?	<input type="checkbox"/> Tidak ada samasekali <input type="checkbox"/> Pemborosan pulsa/biaya komunikasi <input type="checkbox"/> Isu dan bidang garap mjd bias <input type="checkbox"/> Komunikasi terganggu (mis. karena SPAM) <input type="checkbox"/> Lainnya, sebutkan <input type="checkbox"/> Pengeluaran organisasi meningkat <input type="checkbox"/> Fokus kerja staff berkurang km internet <input type="checkbox"/> Repot mengurus jaringan <input type="checkbox"/> Serangan virus komputer																																																																																					

<b>4. Tentang masa depan ...</b>		
<i>Menimbang penggunaan teknologi informasi di organisasi Anda selama ini, bagaimana Anda memandang prospek di masa depan?</i>		
Tentang masa depan penggunaan teknologi informasi	4.1. Menurut Anda, di masa depan, akankah organisasi Anda membelanjakan lebih banyak dana dari yang sudah dibelanjakan selama ini untuk penggunaan teknologi informasi?	<input type="checkbox"/> Sangat besar kemungkinannya <input type="checkbox"/> Cukup besar kemungkinannya <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak bisa memperkirakan <input type="checkbox"/> Cukup kecil kemungkinannya <input type="checkbox"/> Sangat kecil kemungkinannya

4.2. Sejauh mana Anda yakin akan terjadinya peningkatan kinerja manajemen organisasi dlm 5-10 tahun ke depan dengan tingkat penggunaan dan kemajuan teknologi informasi saat ini?	<input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak tahu <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi																												
4.3. Sejauh mana Anda yakin akan terjadinya peningkatan/perluasan jaringan organisasi Anda dlm 5-10 tahun ke depan dengan tingkat penggunaan dan kemajuan teknologi informasi saat ini?	<input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak tahu <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi																												
4.4. Sejauh mana Anda yakin organisasi Anda akan lebih baik dalam mencapai misi dan tujuannya dlm 5-10 tahun ke depan dengan tingkat penggunaan dan kemajuan teknologi informasi saat ini?	<input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak tahu <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi																												
4.5. Sejauh mana Anda yakin organisasi Anda akan lebih baik dalam mendorong transformasi sosial yang dicita-citakan dalam 5-10 tahun ke depan dengan tingkat penggunaan dan kemajuan teknologi informasi saat ini?	<input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak tahu <input type="checkbox"/> Saya tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi <input type="checkbox"/> Saya sangat tidak yakin hal itu akan terjadi																												
4.6. Dalam 5-10 tahun ke depan, dalam <b>bidang-bidang apa saja</b> penggunaan teknologi informasi oleh organisasi masyarakat sipil Anda diperkirakan <b>akan menjadi strategis</b> dalam konteks perubahan sosial? (Urutkan 1-11, 1 yg plg mungkin, makin besar angka, makin kecil kemungkinannya)	<table border="1"> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Membangun opini publik</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Melakukan advokasi/pembelaan</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Melakukan pemberdayaan</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Mobilisasi massa</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Mendorong pluralisme &amp; keragaman</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Membangun koalisi dengan organisasi lain</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Menyediakan media alternatif</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Membangun oposisi politik</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Mendorong keberlanjutan lingkungan</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Peningkatan taraf kehidupan</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Pengurangan kemiskinan</td> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Mendorong keadilan global</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/></td> <td>Lainnya, sebutkan</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Membangun opini publik	<input type="checkbox"/>	Melakukan advokasi/pembelaan	<input type="checkbox"/>	Melakukan pemberdayaan	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mobilisasi massa	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mendorong pluralisme & keragaman	<input type="checkbox"/>	Membangun koalisi dengan organisasi lain	<input type="checkbox"/>	Menyediakan media alternatif	<input type="checkbox"/>	Membangun oposisi politik	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mendorong keberlanjutan lingkungan	<input type="checkbox"/>	Peningkatan taraf kehidupan	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pengurangan kemiskinan	<input type="checkbox"/>	Mendorong keadilan global	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lainnya, sebutkan		
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<input type="checkbox"/>	Lainnya, sebutkan																												

<b>5. Komentar</b>	
<i>Apakah Anda punya komentar tambahan? Apakah ada hal penting yang terlewat yang berhubungan dengan pengalaman organisasi Anda memanfaatkan teknologi informasi? Apakah Anda punya contoh khusus/menarik dalam pemanfaatan teknologi informasi di organisasi Anda (termasuk sumber-sumber informasi dan pengetahuan yang berguna, website yang menarik dan sumber-sumber lain ttg pengetahuan internasional, dll.)?</i>	
Komentar tambahan	Silakan isikan di bawah ini. Jika kurang, mohon tambahkan kertas.

Terima kasih atas partisipasi Anda! Kini silakan kirim menggunakan amplop berperangko yang sudah disediakan. Jika Anda ingin menerima hasil survey (setelah selesai) silakan beri tanda "V" pada kotak ini .

Hasil survey akan dikirimkan secara elektronik ke alamat email yang Anda berikan pada halaman 1.

# Survey on the use of Information & Communication Technology in Civil Society Organisations in Indonesia

Survey period: 15 November 2005 – 15 January 2006

## Instruction to complete the survey:

1. The survey consists of questions in 5 (five) parts. From previous pilots, it will normally take **15-20 minutes** to complete the survey by **handwriting**.
2. Please type/tick your response in the available spaces. Please use **additional paper** if necessary.
3. If you have/can access to the Internet (email and/or web) and are willing to complete the survey using MS-Word automated form, please email [yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk). We will be sending the electronic form to you as email attachment soonest.
4. The survey is also available online at <http://www.callbrum.com/Surveylet/takesurvey.asp?surveycode=4633EMSB45886> – If you prefer to complete the online survey or using email attachment, you **do not need** to complete this form and send it to us– and the other way around.

1. About your organisation			
The questions below are aimed at gathering basic information about your organisation			
1.1. Organisation name	1.1.1. in Indonesian 1.1.2. in English 1.1.3. Abbreviation		
1.2. Contact details	1.2.1. Contact person 1.2.2. Position 1.2.3. Address 1.2.4. City or Kabupaten 1.2.5. Postcode 1.2.6. Province 1.2.7. Phone no. 1.2.8. Mobile phone no. 1.2.9. Fax no. 1.2.10. E-mail address 1.2.11. Website URL		
1.3. Profile: About your organisation	1.3.1. What is best describing the nature of your organisation (tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Advocacy oriented <input type="checkbox"/> Think-tank/research based activities <input type="checkbox"/> Formally/officially registered <input type="checkbox"/> Single, incorporated body <input type="checkbox"/> Having certain religious affiliation <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	<input type="checkbox"/> Developmentalist oriented <input type="checkbox"/> Mobilisation based activities <input type="checkbox"/> Informal, unregistered <input type="checkbox"/> Network of many groups <input type="checkbox"/> Having no religious affiliation
	1.3.2. What are the main issues/concerns of your organisation? (tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Environment <input type="checkbox"/> Rural issues <input type="checkbox"/> Development <input type="checkbox"/> Justice & Peace <input type="checkbox"/> Gender/ Women's Issues <input type="checkbox"/> Poverty <input type="checkbox"/> Disable issues <input type="checkbox"/> Farmers <input type="checkbox"/> Governance <input type="checkbox"/> Conflict Resolution <input type="checkbox"/> Indigenous group <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	<input type="checkbox"/> Globalisation <input type="checkbox"/> Urban issues <input type="checkbox"/> Human Rights <input type="checkbox"/> Democratisation <input type="checkbox"/> Children and youth <input type="checkbox"/> Education <input type="checkbox"/> Labour/Trade Union <input type="checkbox"/> Professional workers <input type="checkbox"/> Civil Society Empowerment <input type="checkbox"/> Pluralism & Diversity <input type="checkbox"/> Economic/Social/Cultural rights
	1.3.3. What are the main activities of your organisation? (tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Research (incl. consultancy) <input type="checkbox"/> Training <input type="checkbox"/> Advocacy <input type="checkbox"/> Lobbying/ <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	<input type="checkbox"/> Publication (incl. dissemination) <input type="checkbox"/> Capacity building <input type="checkbox"/> Organising people
	1.3.4. Year established	<input type="checkbox"/> <1 yr <input type="checkbox"/> 1-2 yr <input type="checkbox"/> 2-5 yr <input type="checkbox"/> 5-8 yr <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 yr <input type="checkbox"/> >10 yr	
	1.3.5. No. of paid, full time staff	<input type="checkbox"/> <5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 11-15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16-20 <input type="checkbox"/> 21-25 <input type="checkbox"/> >25	
	1.3.6. No. of par time staff (inc. associate)	<input type="checkbox"/> <5 <input type="checkbox"/> 6-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 11-15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16-20 <input type="checkbox"/> 21-25 <input type="checkbox"/> >25	
	1.3.7. Annual turnover (in IDR)	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 100M <input type="checkbox"/> 500M – 1B <input type="checkbox"/> More than 2B	<input type="checkbox"/> 100 – 500M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 – 2 B <input type="checkbox"/> Prefer not to disclose
	1.3.8. Source of funding (tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Entirely international donor <input type="checkbox"/> Some international donor <input type="checkbox"/> Some income generating activities <input type="checkbox"/> Entirely government funding	<input type="checkbox"/> Entirely self-funding <input type="checkbox"/> Some self-funding <input type="checkbox"/> Some domestic funding <input type="checkbox"/> Some government funding

1.4. Net-working	1.4.1 With which inational organisation(s)/network(s) listed below has your organisation established a link?	In what period...?				
		Before '95	'95-'98	'99-'02	'03-now	Never
	AMAN (Masy. Adat Nstr.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Bina Swadaya	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ELSAM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Forestry Sector	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Forum GAB (Akunt. Bisnis)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Forum Sosial Indonesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	FSPI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	HRWG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	ICW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	INFID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	INSIST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	IPPHTI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Jaker PO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JARNOPP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JATAM	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JKTI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	JPL (Pendidikan Lingk)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Kalyanamitra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KEHATI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Koalisi Anti Utang	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Koalisi FOIA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Koalisi Perempuan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Konphalindo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KONTRAS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Kop-WTO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KRKP	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	KRUHA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	LP3ES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Masy Merdeka/Unisosdem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Migrant Care	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mitra Perempuan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	PBHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	SBMI (Buruh Migran)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Serikat Bina Desa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Tim Relawan u/ Kemns	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	UPC	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Via Campessina	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	WALHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	WGPSR	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	YAPPIKA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	YLBHI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	YSIK/Remdec	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

1.4.2 With which international organisation(s)/network(s) listed below has your organisation established a link?	In what period...?					
	Before '95	'95-'98	'99-'02	'03-now	Never	
	Amnesty International	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Asia Foundation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	AusAID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Catholic Relief Services	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	CIDA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	CordAID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Corporate Europe Observ.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Corporate Watch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Down to Earth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Ford Foundation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Friedrich Naumann (FNS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Friedrich-Ebert Stift. (FES)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Friends of the Earth	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	GTZ Germany	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Hans-Seidel Stiftung (HSF)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Heinrich-Boell Stift. (HBF)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	HIVOS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Japan Foundation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Konrad-Adenauer S. (KAS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	LEAD International	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Mercy Corps	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	NOVIB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	OXFAM Great Britain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Save the Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	SOMO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	TAPOL	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Terre des Hommes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Third World Network	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	TIFAVOSI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	TransNational Institute	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	UNDP/Partnership	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	USAID	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	World Development Movt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	World Vision International	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Other:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. About the use Information and Communication Technology in your organisation			
Please tell us below how your organisation is currently using Information and Communication Technology (ICT).			
Note: What we mean by referring to ICT in this survey is internet-based technology and any equipment connected to the internet			
2.1. Current use of ICT in your organisation	2.1.1 Do you use computers?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No. Why?	
	2.1.2. If yes, when did you begin using computers?	<input type="checkbox"/> <3 year <input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 year	
		<input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 year <input type="checkbox"/> >10 year	
	2.2. If yes, when did you begin using internet?	2.2.1. Do you use internet?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No. Why?
		2.2.2. If yes, when did you begin using internet?	<input type="checkbox"/> <3 year <input type="checkbox"/> 5-10 year
			<input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 year <input type="checkbox"/> >10 year
2.3.1. Annual expenditure on ICT as percentage of turnover.	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 25% <input type="checkbox"/> 25%-50%		
	<input type="checkbox"/> 50%-75% <input type="checkbox"/> More than 75%		



2.3.2. Annual expenditure on ICT in figure (IDR)	<input type="checkbox"/> < 50 million <input type="checkbox"/> 100-500 million <input type="checkbox"/> More than 1 billion	<input type="checkbox"/> 50 – 100 million <input type="checkbox"/> 500 million – 1 billion
2.4. From the <b>internal management</b> view, why do you use ICT? ( <i>tick all that apply</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Visibility and Identity (e.g. so that the organisation becomes more well-known) <input type="checkbox"/> Financial reason (saving cost for communication, administration, back-office) <input type="checkbox"/> Top-down organisational reason (because of board decision, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Bottom-up organisational reason (because staff want/propose to use ICT) <input type="checkbox"/> Managerial reason (run the office and do activities more efficiently, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Technological reason (want to adapt with new technology) <input type="checkbox"/> Information intensity (to get more information available from other source, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Performance reason (achieve missions, targeted goals, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Capacity building reason (to build own expertise in ICT, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	
2.5. From the <b>external perspective</b> , why do you use ICT? ( <i>tick all that apply</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> Social reason (because other organisations also use ICT) <input type="checkbox"/> Environmental (use PC reduces paper; online meeting reduces travel, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Cultural reason (because it is lifestyle of the society we are working with, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Concern & Issue intensity (to gather relevant information & knowledge, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Perspective reason (to get wider perspective, knowledge sharing, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Competitive intensity (to compete with other organisations) <input type="checkbox"/> Intermediary reason (to disseminate information to other parties) <input type="checkbox"/> Co-operation intensity (to co-operate, collaborate with other organisations) <input type="checkbox"/> Networking intensity (to create, enable, empower network, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Empowerment reason (to pioneer, to provide knowledge to beneficiaries, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Power-related reason (to accumulate bargaining power for advocacy, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Influence intensity (to widen the influence to society, etc.) <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	
2.6. How significant has the use of ICT <b>facilitated</b> the performance of the <b>internal management</b> in your organisation?	<input type="checkbox"/> It is very significant <input type="checkbox"/> It is significant <input type="checkbox"/> I cannot determine <input type="checkbox"/> It is insignificant <input type="checkbox"/> It is very insignificant	
2.7. Has the use of ICT had a significant influence on your organisation's <b>relations/networks</b> with other organisations?	<input type="checkbox"/> Mainly it supports a major increase in our relation/network with other CSOs <input type="checkbox"/> It has minor support in building our relation/network with other CSOs <input type="checkbox"/> On the whole it is neutral <input type="checkbox"/> It has caused minor decrease in our relation/network with other CSOs <input type="checkbox"/> Mainly it has led to a major decrease in our relation/network with other CSOs	
2.8. Has the use of ICT <b>influenced</b> your organisation's <b>aims and activities</b> ?	<input type="checkbox"/> Aims and activities have become much more focused <input type="checkbox"/> Aims and activities have become more focused <input type="checkbox"/> Aims and activities remain the same <input type="checkbox"/> Aims and activities have become distracted (biased) <input type="checkbox"/> Aims and activities have become very much distracted (biased)	
2.9. Has the use of ICT <b>facilitated</b> your organisation to gain wider <b>perspective</b> (toward issues and concerns)?	<input type="checkbox"/> It highly enables us to widen our own perspective to the global level <input type="checkbox"/> It has enabled us to widen our perspective to regional level or beyond <input type="checkbox"/> It has enabled us to widen our perspective to national level or beyond <input type="checkbox"/> It has enabled us to widen our perspective somewhat beyond local level <input type="checkbox"/> On the whole it does not facilitate us to widen our perspective.	
2.10. Overall, how significant has your organisation <b>benefited</b> from the use of ICT to help <b>achieving its mission and goals</b> as aimed?	<input type="checkbox"/> It contributes very positively to the achievement of mission and goals <input type="checkbox"/> It contributes somewhat positively to the achievement of mission and goals <input type="checkbox"/> On the whole it is neutral <input type="checkbox"/> It has distracted the achievement of our mission and goals <input type="checkbox"/> It has led to a major distraction toward achievement of our mission and goals	
2.11. Which ICT/internet-based services is your organisation currently <b>using</b> ? ( <i>select all that apply</i> )	<input type="checkbox"/> None. We do not use any of ICT/internet-based services. <input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> Mailing list <input type="checkbox"/> World-wide web <input type="checkbox"/> News-group <input type="checkbox"/> Online forum <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Online chat (e.g. YM, IRC, dll.) <input type="checkbox"/> VoIP/Internet Telephony <input type="checkbox"/> File transfer/download/upload <input type="checkbox"/> Video and/or audio streaming <input type="checkbox"/> Web-log (Blog)

	2.12. Which ICT/internet-based services is your organisation currently providing? (select all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> None. We do not provide any ICT/Internet-based services <input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> Mailing list <input type="checkbox"/> World-wide web <input type="checkbox"/> News-group <input type="checkbox"/> Online forum <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify <input type="checkbox"/> Online publication <input type="checkbox"/> Online library <input type="checkbox"/> Links to other organisations <input type="checkbox"/> Video and/or audio streaming <input type="checkbox"/> Web-log (Blog)
	2.13. How is access to the internet provided in your organisation?	<input type="checkbox"/> None. We do not use internet at all. <input type="checkbox"/> Dial up connection <input type="checkbox"/> We access Internet via telecentre <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify <input type="checkbox"/> Broadband (24/7) <input type="checkbox"/> Indirect via other organisation
	2.14. How do you find your organisation's way of exchanging information using ICT so far?	<input type="checkbox"/> We provide and contribute information much more than we access and need <input type="checkbox"/> We provide and contribute information more than we access and need <input type="checkbox"/> It is balance between providing and accessing <input type="checkbox"/> We access and need information more than we provide and contribute <input type="checkbox"/> We access and need information much more than we provide and contribute

<b>3. Evaluation of the use of ICT</b>		
<i>The following questions are about how you evaluate the use of ICT in your organisation so far and how you see your organisation has been influenced by the use of ICT.</i>		
Evaluation	3.1. How do you find your organisation after engaging with ICT so far?	<input type="checkbox"/> We have engaged ICT in almost all aspects of our work <input type="checkbox"/> We have used ICT in some important aspects of our work <input type="checkbox"/> We have used ICT only in few aspects of our work <input type="checkbox"/> No, we are not engaged with ICT at this level
	3.2. If you see other organisations in the networks you are working most closely, where will you put your organisation in terms of ICT use?	<input type="checkbox"/> I think we are likely to be in the top 5% <input type="checkbox"/> I am sure we are somewhere in the top 20% <input type="checkbox"/> We are somewhere above the top 50% <input type="checkbox"/> We are somewhere below the top 50% <input type="checkbox"/> We may be in the bottom 10% <input type="checkbox"/> We do not know/cannot decide.
	3.3. In what way has your organisation benefited from its use of ICT? (rank all that are relevant, 1 is the highest benefit; the bigger the number, the lower the rank)	Cost saving in general More effective management of organisation (back-office & internal com) Better publication/communication of idea with public/other organisation Building wider network with other organisation Fund-raising, including networking with donor Collaborative project with other organisation(s) Campaign/Opinion building Other, please specify
	3.4. Do you think, with this level of use, your staff have become eager to learn using ICT?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes, I find most of the staff want to improve their internet skills <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, I find some of the staff want to improve their internet skills <input type="checkbox"/> Not really, I find only few staff want to improve their internet skills <input type="checkbox"/> No, most staff do not seem to want to improve their internet skills
	3.5. In what aspects has the society (your organisation's beneficiaries) benefited from the use of ICT? (tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> There is no benefit for them. <input type="checkbox"/> Provision and maintenance of hardware <input type="checkbox"/> Provision and familiarisation of application/software/internet-literacy <input type="checkbox"/> Becoming more informed on related issues and concerns <input type="checkbox"/> Having widened perspective towards issues and concerns <input type="checkbox"/> Become empowered to organise themselves <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify
	3.6. Are there any areas where you have customised ICT innovatively (e.g. modify & develop systems, build software, modify equipment) to meet your organisation's needs? (tick all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> None <input type="checkbox"/> Financial purpose like online accounting <input type="checkbox"/> Internal management of organisation like back-office & internal comm. <input type="checkbox"/> Publication/Communication of idea with public/other organisation <input type="checkbox"/> Building network with other organisation <input type="checkbox"/> Fund-raising, including networking with donor <input type="checkbox"/> Collaborative project with other organisation(s) <input type="checkbox"/> Campaign/Opinion building <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify

<p>3.7. How does your organisation go about doing new things with ICT in above areas? (tick all that apply)</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> By purchasing commercial system/software/application <input type="checkbox"/> By copying system/software/application from other organisation <input type="checkbox"/> By developing own system/software/application <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify
<p>3.8. What are the reasons for undertaking further adoption/development to the current use of ICT in your organisation? (tick all that apply)</p>	<input type="checkbox"/> To achieve better organisational management performance <input type="checkbox"/> To expand organisational network <input type="checkbox"/> To focus more on issues and concerns <input type="checkbox"/> To widen organisational perspective towards issues and concerns <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify

3.9. What difficulties have you experienced in using ICT?	Level of difficulty				
	V. low	Low	Moderate	High	V. high
Lack of money	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of time	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of resources (s/w, b/w)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of infrastructures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conservative culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Internal policy & bureaucracy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
External politics/state policy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Incompetent management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of training/expertise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Organisation structure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Short-term-ism	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of vision	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of ambition/drive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lack of trust	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please specify )	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3.10. Are there any negative aspects caused by the use of ICT in your organisation?

<input type="checkbox"/> Not at all	<input type="checkbox"/> Overall organisation's expenditure increases
<input type="checkbox"/> Increase of communication expenditure	<input type="checkbox"/> Staff concentration and focus on work decreases because of using the Internet
<input type="checkbox"/> Organisation's issues & concerns get biased (diverted)	<input type="checkbox"/> Become too much occupied to manage network
<input type="checkbox"/> Obstruction in communication (e.g. spam)	<input type="checkbox"/> Computer virus attack
<input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify	

**4. About the future ...**  
*Taking into account the current use of ICT in your organisation, what do you think about the future?*

About the future use of ICT	4.1. Do you think in the future, your organisation will spend more than what it has for ICT use?	<input type="checkbox"/> The possibility is very high <input type="checkbox"/> The possibility is high <input type="checkbox"/> I cannot predict <input type="checkbox"/> The possibility is low <input type="checkbox"/> The possibility is very low
	4.2. How far do you believe it will happen in 5-10 years that your organisation management performance will improve with the current use & development of ICT?	<input type="checkbox"/> I highly believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> I doubt it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not believe at all it will happen
	4.3. How far do you believe it will happen in 5-10 years that your organisation network will expand with the current use & development of ICT?	<input type="checkbox"/> I highly believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> I doubt it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not believe at all it will happen
	4.4. How far do you believe it will happen in 5-10 years that your organisation in general will be better in achieving its mission and goals with the current use & development of ICT?	<input type="checkbox"/> I highly believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> I doubt it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not believe at all it will happen

	4.5. How far do you believe it will happen in 5-10 years that your organisation in general will be better in contributing to social transformation with the current use & development of ICT? 4.5.	<input type="checkbox"/> I highly believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I believe that it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not know <input type="checkbox"/> I doubt it will happen <input type="checkbox"/> I do not believe at all it will happen
	4.6. In 5-10 years, what <b>strategic areas</b> do you believe the use of ICT by CSO in general will contribute to the social change? (rank all that are relevant, 1 is the highest)	<input type="checkbox"/> Building public opinion <input type="checkbox"/> Mass mobilisation <input type="checkbox"/> Provision of alternative media <input type="checkbox"/> Promoting environmt. sustainability <input type="checkbox"/> Enhancing poverty reduction <input type="checkbox"/> Civil society empowerment <input type="checkbox"/> Other, please specify

<b>5. Comments</b>	
<i>Would you like to put additional comments? Are there important things about your organisation's experience with ICT that are being neglected here? Would you suggest us a particularly good practice of the use of ICT in your organisation (including useful sources of knowledge, helpful web resources, or international knowledge, etc.)?</i>	
Additional Comments	<i>Please type/write below. Use additional paper if necessary</i>

**Thank you for your participation!**

Now please save the copy of this survey in your computer and then send it via email to [yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk) as email attachment

If you would like to receive the survey result (after it has finished) please tick this box . The result will be delivered electronically via email to the email address you provide on page 1 of the survey.

## A.1.3.2. Example of Calibrum® Online survey template

http://prest.admbs.mbs.ac.uk - PREST : [Penggunaan Teknologi Informasi - Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia] - Mozilla F...

NEXT SAVE FINISH 25% 50% 75% 100%

**MANCHESTER**  
1824

The University of Manchester

**PREST**  
Policy Research in Engineering Science & Technology  
Institute of Innovation Research  
Manchester Business School

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### Survey pemanfaatan teknologi informasi oleh Ornop/LSM/organisasi masyarakat sipil lainnya di Indonesia

[\[Help\]](#)

**Terima kasih atas kesediaan Anda untuk berpartisipasi dalam survey ini!**

Survey ini bertujuan untuk mendapatkan informasi dasar mengenai pemanfaatan Teknologi Informasi & Komunikasi (TIK), khususnya komunikasi dengan media komputer dan internet, oleh Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil di Indonesia bagi transformasi sosial.

Tidak ada maksud dan tujuan lain dari survey ini kecuali untuk kepentingan studi dan penelitian ini. Seluruh data yang dikumpulkan selama studi akan diperlakukan dengan sangat rahasia dan tidak akan dibagikan pada pihak lain. Data akan diproses secara anonim dan diperlakukan serta dianalisis sebagai data agregat (bukan data individual) sebelum dimasukkan dalam laporan akhir dan/atau publikasi studi ini. Namun demikian, pengecualian secara spesifik atas informasi yang Anda berikan tetap dimungkinkan. Mohon hubungi peneliti.

Survey online ini akan ditutup pada tanggal 15 Januari 2006 pukul 24.00 BST.

**Terima kasih, selamat melengkapi survey ini.**

Kini silakan klik **NEXT** di bawah untuk membaca petunjuk singkat.

NEXT SAVE FINISH 25% 50% 75% 100%

Done

http://prest.admbs.mbs.ac.uk - PREST : [Penggunaan Teknologi Informasi - Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil Indonesia] - Mozilla Firefox

BACK NEXT SAVE FINISH 25% 50% 75% 100%

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### Mengenai organisasi Anda

Pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut ini dimaksudkan untuk mendapatkan data-data pokok tentang organisasi masyarakat sipil dimana Anda bekerja.

**Nama Organisasi Anda \***  
*Sebutkan nama organisasi sebagaimana dikenal umum. Pertanyaan ini harus dijawab*

**Nama Organisasi Anda dalam Bahasa Inggris/Bahasa lain (jika ada)**  
*Sebutkan nama organisasi, jika ada, dalam bahasa aslinya jika bukan bahasa Indonesia*

**Nama Organisasi Anda dalam singkatan/akronim**  
*Apa nama singkat/singkatan/akronim organisasi Anda?*

**Contact person di organisasi Anda**

Nama  Posisi/Jabatan

**Alamat lengkap organisasi Anda**

**Kota/Kabupaten/Dati II**

**Kode Pos**

**Propinsi**  
Pilih propinsi

**Nomor yang bisa dihubungi**

No. Telepon  Telepon seluler/HP  Nomor faksimili

**Alamat e-mail organisasi**

**Alamat web-site atau URL organisasi**

Done

### **A.1.3.3. MS-Word automated form survey template**

The MS-Word automated form survey template is attached in the digital format, in the disk of accompanying the submission of this thesis. Please consult subfolder **Attachment\Survey** and files named *IN - Survey CSO dan TIK di Indonesia.doc* (Indonesian version) and *EN - Survey Question - Final - Electronic Form.doc* (English version)

### **A.1.4. List of respondents and codification**

Survey respondents are listed as an electronic file. Please consult the file *Survey Respondents.xls* in the subfolder **Attachment\Survey**. Organisations are anonymised using their ID (Column 1).

### **A.1.5. Raw survey data**

Full survey data is available in the electronic attachment of this thesis submission. Please consult file *Attachment\Survey\Raw Data.xls*. Due to the large number of variable, the data is split into two worksheets (profile-use and eval-future).

### **A.1.6. Scoring ranking data**

There are two ranking data in the survey that are processed below.

## A.1.6.1. Survey Item 3.3.

### In what way has your organisation benefited from its use of the Internet?

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Cost saving in general	1	57	456
	2	15	105
	3	9	54
	4	11	55
	5	15	60
	6	19	57
	7	32	64
	8	1	1
<b>Total:</b>		159	852

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Fund-raising, including networking with donor	1	14	112
	2	12	84
	3	33	198
	4	18	90
	5	27	108
	6	21	63
	7	15	30
	8	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		140	685

	Rank	Respondents	Score
More effective management of organisation (back-office & internal communication)	1	48	384
	2	46	322
	3	12	72
	4	16	80
	5	13	52
	6	16	48
	7	6	12
	8	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		157	970

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Collaborative project with other organisation(s)	1	10	80
	2	22	154
	3	30	180
	4	31	155
	5	27	108
	6	24	72
	7	8	16
	8	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		152	765

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Better publication/communication of idea with public/other organisation	1	24	192
	2	27	189
	3	30	180
	4	23	115
	5	31	124
	6	14	42
	7	4	8
	8	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		153	850

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Campaign/Opinion building	1	14	112
	2	9	63
	3	17	102
	4	21	105
	5	13	52
	6	26	78
	7	30	60
	8	2	2
<b>Total:</b>		132	574

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Building wider network with other organisation	1	32	256
	2	48	336
	3	39	234
	4	34	170
	5	14	56
	6	3	9
	7	3	6
	8	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		173	1067

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Other	1	4	32
	2	0	0
	3	0	0
	4	0	0
	5	0	0
	6	1	3
	7	1	2
	8	4	4
<b>Total:</b>		10	41

### A.1.6.2. Survey Item 4.5.

In 5-10 years, what strategic areas do you believe the use of ICT by CSO in general will contribute to the social change?

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Building public opinion	1	109	1417
	2	19	228
	3	12	132
	4	9	90
	5	5	45
	6	8	64
	7	4	28
	8	4	24
	9	2	10
	10	1	4
	11	0	0
	12	1	2
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		174	2044

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Building political opposition	1	1	13
	2	3	36
	3	5	55
	4	3	30
	5	9	81
	6	11	88
	7	12	84
	8	22	132
	9	14	70
	10	12	48
	11	10	30
	12	3	6
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		105	673

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Advocacy/ reclaiming rights	1	9	117
	2	47	564
	3	22	242
	4	14	140
	5	8	72
	6	13	104
	7	13	91
	8	7	42
	9	5	25
	10	7	28
	11	0	0
	12	0	0
	13	1	1
<b>Total:</b>		146	1426

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Promoting environmental sustainability	1	3	39
	2	8	96
	3	8	88
	4	14	140
	5	11	99
	6	14	112
	7	13	91
	8	15	90
	9	25	125
	10	7	28
	11	8	24
	12	1	2
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		127	934

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Civil society empowerment	1	28	364
	2	31	372
	3	38	418
	4	14	140
	5	7	63
	6	10	80
	7	8	56
	8	6	36
	9	3	15
	10	2	8
	11	2	6
	12	0	0
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		149	1558

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Development of livelihood	1	4	52
	2	8	96
	3	6	66
	4	9	90
	5	8	72
	6	4	32
	7	8	56
	8	15	90
	9	11	55
	10	32	128
	11	11	33
	12	5	10
	13	1	1
<b>Total:</b>		122	781

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Mass mobilisation	1	3	39
	2	8	96
	3	10	110
	4	22	220
	5	12	108
	6	16	128
	7	12	84
	8	11	66
	9	8	40
	10	6	24
	11	5	15
	12	4	8
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		117	938

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Enhancing poverty reduction	1	6	78
	2	7	84
	3	8	88
	4	8	80
	5	9	81
	6	7	56
	7	8	56
	8	11	66
	9	10	50
	10	13	52
	11	30	90
	12	8	16
	13	2	2
<b>Total:</b>		127	799



	Rank	Respondents	Score
Promoting pluralism & diversity	1	1	13
	2	6	72
	3	12	132
	4	18	180
	5	26	234
	6	16	128
	7	10	70
	8	6	36
	9	6	30
	10	6	24
	11	6	18
	12	4	8
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		117	945

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Promoting global justice	1	3	39
	2	6	72
	3	5	55
	4	8	80
	5	8	72
	6	8	64
	7	5	35
	8	9	54
	9	24	120
	10	17	68
	11	15	45
	12	21	42
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		129	746

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Building coalition with other CSO	1	11	143
	2	26	312
	3	27	297
	4	25	250
	5	26	234
	6	15	120
	7	11	77
	8	7	42
	9	4	20
	10	1	4
	11	2	6
	12	0	0
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		155	1505

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Others	1	0	0
	2	0	0
	3	0	0
	4	0	0
	5	0	0
	6	1	8
	7	0	0
	8	1	6
	9	1	5
	10	1	4
	11	0	0
	12	0	0
	13	4	4
<b>Total:</b>		8	27

	Rank	Respondents	Score
Provision of alternative media	1	22	286
	2	13	156
	3	19	209
	4	21	210
	5	21	189
	6	14	112
	7	21	147
	8	9	54
	9	6	30
	10	4	16
	11	4	12
	12	4	8
	13	0	0
<b>Total:</b>		158	1429

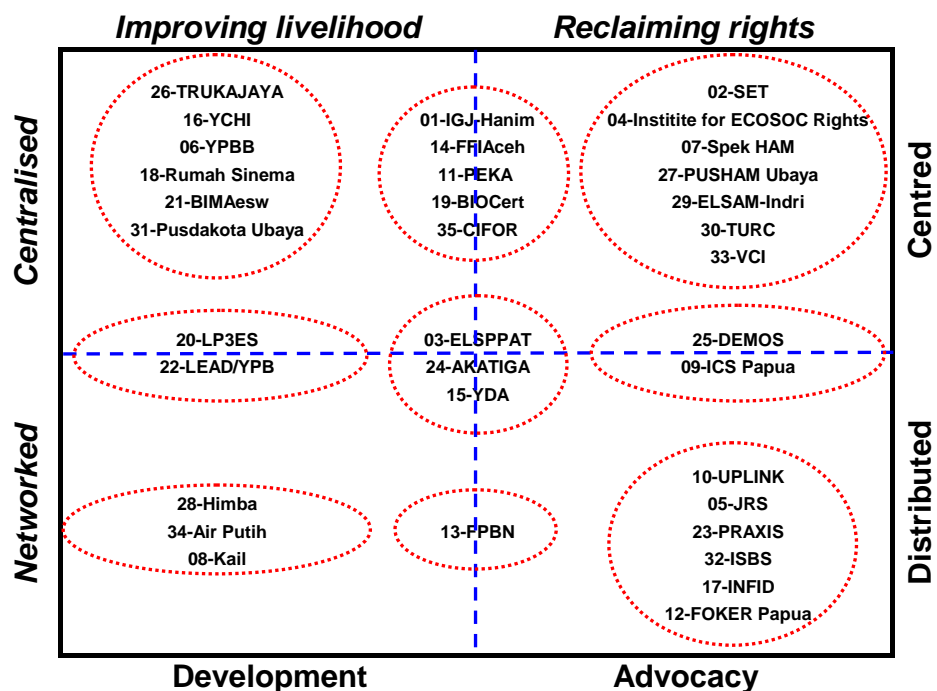
#### A.2.1. Interview design

Interviews were arranged with 35 Indonesian CSOs which were selected from the combination between their nature of activities (advocacy v. developmentalists) and organisational structure (formal/centralised v. informal/networked). The interviews are designed primarily to provide more detailed information and insights about

- a. the nature of organisation and its position (relative) within the CSOs movement and activities in Indonesia,
- b. the current use of ICT and how it is organised in the organisation,
- c. the current innovation in using ICT and the strategic areas that have been significantly influenced by the use and innovative use of ICT,
- d. looking for plausible strategic areas in which ICT can be engaged more effectively by CSOs and
- e. to gather the stories of good practice from their experiences.

The instrument for the interview, i.e. the survey question, has been tested through a pilot involving 5 organisations. Upon comments and inputs from the pilot, there was almost no change at all that needed to be taken into account in the 'final version' thanks to the precise and concise formulation of questions assisted by the supervisors. One suggestion did come out on the order the questions should be addressed and to make it more 'flowing' as conversation rather than a structured interview.

By 7 April 2006, 35 CSOs had been interviewed, mostly over the phone (including using internet telephony service commercially provided by Skype) as depicted on the 'spectrum map' of CSO below. This is to make sure that within the limitation of this study, the interviews adequately cover different nature of Indonesian CSOs.



Respondents were approached by email and telephone. Upon positive indication for interview, interview question (respondent version) was then sent by email for the respondent to further consider and to prepare for the interview session. Because of time difference, most of the interview took place between 10.00–13.00 Indonesia time or 03.00–06.00AM British winter time.

All of the interviews were recorded using *PDA Ipaq H2210* installed with the Microsoft PPC2003™-based “**NoteM**” freely available software which made it possible to record directly to MP3. All interviews were transcribed in verbatim (word by word) with some helps from Indonesian colleagues in Indonesia. Next, the transcriptions were sent to the interviewee for checking and further additional information if they felt necessary. Both recording files (.MP3) and transcription were then included in the user-defined *hermeneutic unit* (HU) of **atlas.ti**™ software. In cases where interviewees also provided documents (in most cases, they were documents stating vision and mission of organisations as well as history and recent development) in addition to the interview itself, the documents were also included in the HU.

Despite its superiority for grounded theory, **Atlas.ti** was just used merely as a means to help the analysis of the interview content for supporting argument and building case studies. The final version of the quotes and case studies appeared in the thesis were also sent back to the interviewees for final confirmation. This explains why there are cases with some updates in the main part of this thesis.

## A.2.2. Administration of interview

### A.2.2.1. Interview questionnaire – Respondent version

This questionnaire, in Indonesian language, was sent prior to the interview session.

#### Pertanyaan untuk wawancara Menggali penggunaan teknologi informasi di kalangan organisasi masyarakat sipil di Indonesia

*Wawancara dilakukan dengan narasumber yang mempunyai pengetahuan memadai tentang isu dan bidang gerak, manajemen organisasi, jaringan dengan lembaga/organisasi lain di organisasi dimana ia bekerja dan bagaimana teknologi informasi digunakan di sana (misalnya direktur pelaksana/harian, koordinator program, atau barungkai aktivis senior atau koordinator jaringan/koalisi, dll).*

##### A. Introduksi

1. Pengantar dan penjelasan tentang tujuan studi (oleh pewawancara).
2. Informasi dasar tentang organisasi – *mungkin sudah tersedia di web atau laporan/publikasi*
  - a. Apa visi dan misi organisasi Anda?
  - b. Apa saja tujuan dan sasaran organisasi Anda?
  - c. Bagaimana sejarah singkat organisasi Anda dan perkembangannya saat ini?
3. Informasi singkat mengenai narasumber
  - a. Nama dan jabatan/posisi Anda?
  - b. Berapa lama Anda memegang posisi tersebut?

##### B. Sekelompok mengenai organisasi Anda

4. Apa saja **bidang garap** dan **isu utama** organisasi Anda? Apakah anda melakukan kerja-kerja yang berorientasi **advokasi** atau **developmentalis**? Apa saja aktivitas yang akhir-akhir ini **muncul dan menjadi penting** di organisasi Anda?
5. **Bagaimana** Anda **mencapai misi dan tujuan** organisasi Anda melalui manajemen internal organisasi?

##### C. Penggunaan teknologi informasi (TI) di organisasi Anda

6. **Kapan** organisasi Anda mulai menggunakan teknologi informasi (termasuk internet)? **Mengapa**?
7. **Bagaimana** Anda mengelola penggunaan teknologi informasi di organisasi Anda?
8. **Kesulitan apa saja** (jika ada) yang sudah dialami oleh organisasi Anda dalam menggunakan teknologi informasi selama ini (mis. kurangnya dana, kurangnya kepercayaan, kultur organisasi, dll.)? Bagaimana Anda mengatasinya?

##### D. Pentingnya penggunaan TI

9. **Seberapa penting** penggunaan teknologi informasi **bagi** organisasi Anda?
10. **Bidang/aspek apa saja** di organisasi Anda yang sangat terpengaruh oleh penggunaan teknologi informasi?

##### E. Evaluasi penggunaan TI

11. Dari pengalaman Anda, **aktivitas apa saja** atau **dalam bidang strategis apa saja** teknologi informasi bisa digunakan secara efektif oleh organisasi masyarakat sipil?
12. Di jaringan dimana organisasi Anda paling aktif terlibat, kira-kira **dimana** Anda akan **menempatkan** organisasi Anda diantara yang lain dalam hal penggunaan teknologi informasi untuk mencapai misi dan tujuan organisasi (mis. 5 teratas, 10 teratas, atau di bawah itu, dll.)?
13. Apakah Anda melihat penggunaan teknologi informasi di organisasi Anda selama ini sebagai **proses belajar**?

##### F. Memperkirakan masa depan

14. Dalam upaya organisasi masyarakat sipil **mendorong transformasi sosial**, apa yang Anda perkirakan/harapkan akan terjadi (dalam 5-10 tahun ke depan), menimbang penggunaan teknologi informasi di organisasi masyarakat sipil dan perkembangannya saat ini?

##### G. Other

15. Apakah ada hal-hal penting dari pengalaman organisasi Anda dalam menggunakan teknologi informasi yang terlewatkan dalam pembicaraan ini? Apakah ada contoh pemanfaatan teknologi informasi yang menarik di organisasi Anda (termasuk sumber-sumber informasi, web, mailing list, dll.)?

##### End-Note:

1. Pewawancara akan menyarikan wawancara ini dan mengirimkannya kepada Anda sesegera mungkin melalui email sehingga Anda bisa mengoreksi/melengkapinya. Silakan tambahkan informasi dalam koreksi tersebut jika ada.
2. Apakah Anda ingin mendapatkan salinan laporan/studi ini (versi elektronik)?

Terima kasih.

The English translation of the respondent version questionnaire reads:

## **Interview Questions**

### **Knowing more about the use of ICTs in Indonesian CSOs**

*Interview is to be arranged with respondent(s) with good knowledge of their organisation's concern, management, networks, and engagement with information and communication technologies (e.g. a managing director, program coordinator, or perhaps, senior activists or network/coalition coordinator, etc.).*

#### **A. Introduction**

1. Introduction and explanation of the objectives of the study.
2. Basic details relating to the organisation – possibly available on organisational websites or reports
  - a. Vision and Mission
  - b. Aims and Goals
  - c. History & Recent developments
3. Interviewee details
  - a. Name and function
  - b. Time in current role

#### **B. Nature of the Organisation**

4. What are the main **concerns** and **issues** of your organisation? Are you doing more **advocacy** works or **developmentalist** agenda? What is the **emergent activities** in your organisation?
5. How do you support the pursuit of your missions and goals through your internal organisational management?

#### **C. The use of Information & Communication Technology (ICT) in organisation**

6. **When** did your organisation start using ICT or the Internet? **Why**?
7. **How** do you organise and manage the use of ICT in your organisation?
8. **What difficulties** (if any) has your organisation encountered in using ICT so far (e.g. lack of money, lack of trust, organisation culture, etc.)? How do you solve them?

#### **D. Importance of the use of ICT**

9. **How important** is the use of ICT for your organisation?
10. **What area/aspect** do you think the use of ICT for your organisation has been highly **influential**?

#### **E. Evaluation of the engagement with ICT**

11. From what you have experienced, what **activities** or within which **strategic areas** do you think ICT can be effectively used?
12. In the network in which your organisation is mostly active, where do you put your organisation in terms of the use of ICT to achieve missions and goals (upper 10%, 10-20%, below)?
13. Do you see engagement with ICT as part of **learning**?

#### **F. About the future**

14. In terms of social transformation and CSO's contribution to promote it, what do you expect to see in the future (5-10 years) with this current use of ICT and its current development?

#### **G. Other**

15. Are there important things about your organisation's experience with ICT being neglected here? Would you suggest a particularly good practice of the use of ICT in your organisation (including useful sources of knowledge, helpful web resources, or international knowledge, etc.)?

#### **End-Note:**

1. The interviewer/researcher will write up this interview and send it back to you as soon as possible, for corrections. Please feel free to add more information.
2. Would you like to see the report (electronic version) that will be produced as a result of this study?

**Thank you very much.**

## A.2.2.2. Interview questionnaire – Researcher version

Interview questionnaire for the researcher has 'probing questions' to make sure that all relevant research questions were addressed and is able to anticipate respondents' answer for a deeper discussion. This version is understandably much more extensive.

### Interview Questions Knowing more about the use of ICTs in Indonesian CSOs

*Interview is to be arranged with respondent(s) with good knowledge of their organisation's concern, management, networks, and engagement with information and communication technologies (e.g. a managing director, program coordinator, or perhaps, senior activists or network/coalition coordinator, etc.).*

#### A. Introduction

1. Introduction and explanation of the objectives of the study.
2. Basic details relating to the organisation – possibly available on organisational websites or reports
  - a. Vision and Mission
  - b. Aims and Goals
  - c. History & Recent developments
3. Interviewee details
  - a. Name and function
  - b. Time in current role

#### B. Nature of the Organisation

4. What are the main concerns and issues of your organisation? Are you doing more advocacy works or developmentalist agenda? What is the emergent activities in your organisation?

Probing Q:

- a. What is your organisation established for? (*raison d'être*)
- b. What was the concern towards social transformation or the betterment of society that was idealised at the time of its establishment?
- c. Do you see any strategic value of the issue for social transformation in Indonesia/region?
- d. How do you promote change in society (e.g. dissemination agenda or mobilisation)?
- e. How are aims changing over time? Any distraction?

5. How do you support the pursuit of your missions and goals through your internal organisational management?

Probing Q:

- a. What is the size of your organisation? number of paid staff, fellows/associates, financial source and annual turnover, organisation ownership, accreditation in the UN (if applies)
- b. What network (provincial, national, regional, international), is your organisation involved? How far?
- c. Please elaborate more on how your organisation's identity is built upon [*In Indonesia, we use largely the term 'LSM – Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat' – does it reflect the nature of your organisation?*] What about visibility (i.e. how other see your organisation?) → explore here!

#### C. The use of Information & Communication Technology (ICT) in organisation

6. When did your organisation start using ICT or the Internet? Why?

Probing Q:

- a. What were the most important factors that affected the decision to use ICT at that time?
- b. What ICT services/technologies that are currently used in your organisation?
- c. How far have these been used in your organisation to help activities and management?

7. **How do you organise and manage the use of ICT in your organisation?**

Probing Q:

- a. Is there any particular person/division/dept that deals with this in particular? Or is everyone involved?
- b. How does your organisation **acquire** ICT (e.g. provider? other organisation)?
- c. **How far** does **staffs' knowledge** in using ICT **matter**? Do staff engage with ICT at large, or only some of them? Does your organisation provide ICT training for staff?

8. **What difficulties** (if any) has your organisation encountered in using ICT so far (e.g. lack of money, lack of trust, organisation culture, etc.)? How do you solve them?

Probing Q:

- a. What **internal** factors have contributed to the difficulties experienced?
- b. What **external** factors have contributed to the difficulties experienced?

**D. Importance of the use of ICT**

9. **How important** is the use of ICT for your organisation?

Probing Q:

- a. **How important** is it for **organisational management** (communication with staffs, recording file, managing finance, publishing documents/reports, running offices, etc.)? Why? In what ways?
- b. **How important** is it for your organisation activities? Does it help the achievement/realisation of your organisation's vision, mission/aims/goals? Why? In what ways? Could you give a specific example?
- c. What are the influences of it on the development of organisation's **issues and/or concerns**? Do you see any changes (get expanded, widened?) Do you have specific example(s) to share?
- d. **How far** do you find it help your organisation **communicating ideas** to people/society and to other organisations of your networks and, thus, contributing to social change? In what ways? Could you give specific example?

10. **What area/aspect** do you think the use of ICT for your organisation has been highly **influential**?

Probing Q:

- a. **What area of activities** within your organisation in which the use of ICT has been undertaken in **innovative ways** (e.g. internal management, network, etc.) so that it suits your organisation's need (e.g. customised e-mail, self-developed system, etc.)?
- b. Has ICT **facilitated other innovations** in your organisation (e.g. new services, time of delivery, etc.)
- c. What are the most important **factors** that affects the innovation in using ICT?
- d. What **areas** has the use of ICT been **influential** both at **organisational** level and at **wider** level (e.g. supporting work with other organisations/network, etc.)

**E. Evaluation of the engagement with ICT**

11. From what you have experienced, what **activities** or within which **strategic areas** do you think ICT can be effectively used?

Probing Q:

- a. **How** do you measure the use of ICT in your organisation?
- b. What **area/activities** do you think the use of ICT can contribute **most importantly** to the change in society?

12. In the network in which your organisation is mostly active, where do you put your organisation in terms of the use of ICT to achieve missions and goals (upper 10%, 10-20%, below)?

Probing Q:

- a. Do you think/find that **other organisations** (both within your network and outside your network) also use ICT? In what way is their use **similar** to yours and in what way it isn't?
- b. Do you think **other organisations** have **learned from yours** in terms of better use of ICT to achieve organisation's aims and missions?
- c. In using ICT, **what** was (and is) your **source of inspiration**? Did (or do) you refer to other organisations for better engagement with ICT? Are (or were) you referred by other organisations?

13. Do you see engagement with ICT as part of **learning**?

Probing Q:

- a. Have you seen any **individual learning** as well as **organisational learning** in your organisation since you decided using ICT? What problems occur during the learning process?
- b. Have you seen engaging with ICT as part of **social learning** at large? Have you noted any problems that have occurred?
- c. In the wider context, do you see this also as part of '**something new**' in **social movement**?
- d. Has there been any **major impacts** in your organisation after using ICT?
- e. Are there any **negative impact** from the use of ICT in your organisation

#### **F. About the future**

14. In terms of social transformation and CSO's contribution to promote it, what do you expect to see in the future (5-10 years) with this current use of ICT and its current development?

Probing Q:

- a. How far do you believe it will happen that your organisation **management** performance will improve with the current use & development of ICT?
- b. How far do you believe it will happen that your organisation **network** will expand with the current use & development of ICT?
- c. How far do you believe it will happen your organisation **in general** will be better in achieving its mission and goals and thus **contribute to social transformation** with the current use & development of ICT?
- d. What **negative impacts** you may have foreseen from the use of ICT in the future? What **future impediments** have you seen and how they could be dealt with?

#### **G. Other**

15. Are there important things about your organisation's experience with ICT being neglected here? Would you suggest a particularly good practice of the use of ICT in your organisation (including useful sources of knowledge, helpful web resources, or international knowledge, etc.)?

#### **End-Note:**

1. The interviewer/researcher will write up this interview and send it back to you as soon as possible, for corrections. Please feel free to add more information.
2. Would you like to see the report (electronic version) that will be produced as a result of this study?

**Thank you very much.**



### A.2.3. List of interviewees

Organisations interviewed for this study are listed in the table below, which also indicates resource persons/informants, duration and mode of interview.

No.	ID	CSO	Informant	Role of informant	Date	Duration	Means
1		IGJ – The Institute for Global Justice	Lutfiyah Hanim	Programme Coordinator	22/10/05 27/10/05 23/02/06	170 min. 113 min.	Telephone Face-to-face
			Bonnie Setiawan	Executive Director	22/02/06	46 min.	Face-to-face
2		SET – <i>Sains Estetika dan Teknologi</i>	R. Kristiawan	Programme Coordinator	28/10/05	53 min.	Telephone
3		ELSPPAT	Antonius Waspotrianto	Coordinator	28/10/05	95 min.	Telephone
4		ECOSOC – The Institute for Ecosoc Rights	Sri Palupi	Executive Director	29/10/05	89 min.	Telephone
5		JRS Indonesia – Jesuit Refugee Services	Deddy Kristanto	Programme Manager	15/11/05	85 min.	Telephone
			Philip Yusenda Perdana	Programme Officer Aceh	25/03/06	38 min.	Face-to-face
6		YPBB – <i>Yayasan Pengembangan Biosains &amp; Bioteknologi</i>	David Sutasurya	Coordinator	16/11/05	69 min.	Telephone
					15/03/07	N/A	E-mail
7		SPeK-HAM – <i>Solidaritas Perempuan untuk Keadilan dan Hak Asasi Manusia</i>	Kelik Ismunandar	Coordinator/ Director	17/11/05	46 min.	VoIP via Skype
					18/11/05	N/A	E-mail
8		KAIL – <i>Kuncup Padang Ilalang</i>	Catharina Any Sulistyowati	National Coordinator	17/11/05	67 min.	Telephone
9		ICS Papua – Institute for Civil Society Strengthening	Budi Setyanto	Director	22/11/05	61 min.	Telephone
10		UPLINK – Urban Poor Linkage	Ari Ujianto	National Coordinator	24/11/05	66 min.	Telephone
11		PEKA Manado	Antonius Purwanto	Executive Secretary	25/11/05	37 min.	Telephone
			Andri Haryadi	Chief of Foundation	26/11/05	13 min.	Telephone
12		Foker Papua – <i>Forum Kerjasama LSM Papua</i>	Kenny Mayabubun	Forum Coordinator	25/11/05	65 min.	Telephone
					24/11/05	N/A	E-mail
13		FPBN – <i>Forum Pendamping Buruh Nasional</i>	Liest Pranowo	National Coordinator	28/11/05	45 min.	Telephone
			Indro Wicaksono	Secretary & National Comm. Off.	30/11/05	25 min.	Telephone
14		FFI Aceh – Fauna Flora International	Ilarius Wibisono	Programme Officer	28/11/05	55 min.	Telephone
15		YDA – <i>Yayasan Duta Awam</i>	Muhammad Riza	Executive Director	30/11/05	32 min.	VoIP via Skype
					15/03/07	N/A	E-mail

16.		YCHI – Yayasan Cakrawala Hijau	Koko	Executive Director	01/12/05	55 min.	Telephone
17.		INFID – International NGO Forum for Indonesian Development	Wahyu Susilo	National Programme Officer for MDG	01/12/05	61 min.	Telephone
18.		Rumah Sinema	Zamzam Fauzannafi	Executive Director	02/12/05	48 min.	Telephone
19.		Bio-CERT	Agung Prawoto	Executive Director	03/12/05	117 min.	Telephone
			Indro Surono	Board of Advisor			
20.		LP3ES - Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial	Muhammad Hussein	Deputy of Executive Director	06/12/05	50 min.	Telephone
21.		BIMAEsw – Benih Matahari	Maria M. Purboningrum	Executive Director	14/12/05	52 min.	Telephone
22.		LEAD Indonesia	Maria Dian Nurani	Comm. Manager	16/12/05	52 min.	Telephone
23.		PRAXIS	Andi K. Yuwono	Nat. Prog. Coord. for Interactive Media	16/12/05	60 min.	Telephone
24.		AKATIGA – Centre for Social Analysis	Yulia Indrawati Sari	Executive Director	19/12/05	91 min.	Telephone
25.		DEMOS	Anton Pradjasto	Deputy of Executive Director	17/01/06	38 min.	Telephone
26.		Yayasan Trukajaya	Suwarto Adhi	Executive Director	24/01/06	60 min.	Telephone
27.		Pusham Ubaya – Pusat Studi Hak Asasi Manusia Universitas Surabaya	Hesti Armiwulan	Director	24/01/06	51 min.	Telephone
28.		KSK HIMBA – Kelompok Studi Konservasi	Arif Candra	Chief Executive	21/11/05	N/A	E-mail
29.		ELSAM – Lembaga Studi Hak Asasi Manusia	Indriaswati Dyah Saptaningrum	Research Coordinator	10/01/06	N/A	E-mail
30.		TURC – Trade Union Rights Centre	Surya Tjandra	Executive Director	03/03/06	109 min.	Face-to-face
31.		PUSDAKOTA – Pusat Studi & Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Perkotaan Surabaya	Cahyo Suryanto	Executive Director	07/03/06	49 min.	Face-to-face
32.		ISBS – Institut Solidaritas Buruh Surabaya	Ignatius Suparno	Executive Director	10/03/06	53 min.	Face-to-face
33.		VCI – Vincentian Centre Indonesia	Wawan	Executive Director	11/03/06	91 min.	Face-to-face
			Lasmidi	Executive Coordinator			

34.		<i>Yayasan Air Putih</i>	M. Salahuddien	National Coordinator	24/03/06	119 min.	Face-to-face
			Heru Nugroho	Founder	04/04/06	194 min.	Face-to-face
35.		<i>CIFOR – Centre for International Forestry Research Indonesia</i>	Anggoro Santoso	Comm. Officer	07/04/06	95 min.	Face-to-face
<b>Total</b>		<b>35 CSOs</b>	<b>42 respondents</b>		<b>2,715 min. = 45 hrs and 15 min</b>		

#### **A.2.4. Interview recording**

The full recording of all interviews with 35 CSOs, in MP3 format, are part of the submission of this thesis in digital format. Please see the corresponding MP3 files in the subdirectory **Appendix\Interview\MP3 Recording**.

#### **A.2.5. Interview transcripts**

Interview transcripts (plain text, \*.txt) are attached in this thesis in digital format. Please consult files in the subfolder **Appendix\Interview\Transcript TXT**.

### A.3.1. Workshop design

Three one-day workshops were organised in Jakarta (2/03/06), Surabaya (9/03/06) and Yogyakarta (18/03/06) which were considered as the centres of social movements in three different regions in the most populated island, Java. These workshops were identically designed to ensure that the same programmes were delivered and stimulated for group discussions. Part of the effort was to employ a facilitator, an expert in ICT projects for CSOs, to lead and facilitate the three workshops. The role of the researcher was limited only as a resource person who presented the preliminary results and findings from the survey and interview as per 15 January 2006. Researcher did not interfere in the group discussion sessions but was requested by the facilitator to take part in the plenary ones.

The objectives of the workshop were to serve as a tool for validation –further notes, comments, amendments, etc– to the initial findings and early interpretation of the study and to provide a media and space for a collective reflection towards the issues. In other word, the nature of the workshop is input-seeking workshops, unlike the common CSOs workshops which are disseminative and/or activity-oriented in nature. To ensure that all inputs (validation, comments, notes, reflections) were taken into account, each workshop employed some 4-5 note-takers who had to take note, record and transcribe the discussions mostly in group sessions and some in plenary sessions.

## A.3.2. Workshop administration

### A.3.2.1. Workshop plan

Workshop plan was agreed by researcher and supervisors and served as guidelines.

## Workshop Plan

### Objectives

The workshops have two objectives:

First, as a tool for validation –further notes, comments, amendments, etc– to the initial findings and early interpretation so far

Second, as a media for a collective reflection towards the issue of the Internet use in Indonesian CSOs

### Key questions

Key questions addressed throughout the workshops are:

- i. What should Indonesian CSOs do that they have access to ICT today?
- ii. How do Indonesian CSOs use ICT strategically?
- iii. What are the potentials and challenges ahead?

These key questions are articulated and addressed in four sessions and are operationalised in more detail in group sessions.

### Workshop flow

Each workshop will consist of four sessions @90 minutes:

#### Preparation : 08.30 – 09.00

Registration, distribution of material

#### Opening : 09.00 – 09.30

Opening, introduction

#### Session 1 : 09.30 – 11.00 – “Kilas Balik” (Research at a glance)

Presentation (45’):

- a. What have been done in the study (objective, methods, participation, etc.)
- b. What findings have been so far?
- c. Short QA (for informative and clarification purpose)

**Small group discussion (30’) and plenary (15’):**

To what extent is the study relevant and useful for Indonesian CSOs?

#### Session 2 : 11.15 – 12.45 – “Internet and CSOs”

Short underline of findings (15’-30’):

- a. Profile of Indonesian CSOs
- b. Profile of internet use

**Small group discussion (30’) and plenary (15’):**

- What is the importance of CSO in social development? In social development?
- Why do CSO use ICT? What are the determining factors?
- Does the use of ICT affect CSO’s identity, activity, issue, concerns, organisational performance?

#### Session 3 : 13.45 – 15.15 – “Strategic use of ICT”

Short underline of findings (15’-30’):

- a. Identification of strategic use of ICT
- b. One implication: networks of CSO

#### Session 4 : 15.45 – 17.15 – “Looking at the Future”

##### **Short underline of findings (15'-30'):**

- a. Profile of future use of ICTs by CSOs
- b. Identification of potential strategic areas of use in the future

##### **Small group discussion (30') and plenary (15'):**

- What area that will become strategic in the future in bringing about social change? What will social movement look like in 5-10 years?
- How will ICT be used by CSO in 5-10 years? What are the possible implication?

#### Closing : 17.15 – 17.30

Concluding remark.

#### **Technical notes**

There are some technical notes to follow:

- Workshop will be lead and facilitated by a facilitator
- There will be some (4-5) administrative staffs responsible for note-taking, recording, etc.
- The researcher (myself) will serve as resource person who will be presenting initial findings and some early analyses.
- Most of the workshop will be dedicated for small group discussions. With this arrangement it is expected that sharing experiences, views and reflection will involve as many participants as possible
- All sessions will be recorded in audio and audio-visual, upon participant's consent.

*Manchester, 9 Feb 2006*

### **A.3.2.2. Invitation**

This is an example of the workshop invitation (in Indonesian Language), outlining venue and time, participants, format of the workshop, administrative matters including reimbursement of transportation cost, and confirmation of the invitee.

Manchester, awal Pebruari 2006

Kepada Yth.  
Rekan Surya Tjandra, SH., LL.M. – Trade Union Rights Centre  
di tempat

Hal : Undangan untuk berpartisipasi dalam lokakarya penelitian mengenai  
"Komunikasi *via* Internet dan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia

Dengan hormat

Melalui undangan sederhana ini, saya mengharapkan kehadiran dan partisipasi rekan kolega/lbu/Bapak sekalian dalam lokakarya penelitian mengenai "*Komunikasi via Internet dan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia*" yang merupakan tindak lanjut dari pengumpulan data melalui survey dan wawancara yang telah saya lakukan dan (mungkin) melibatkan Anda beberapa bulan yang lalu.

**Waktu dan tempat**

Lokakarya akan diselenggarakan pada hari Kamis, 2 Maret 2006 di Wisma PGI, Jl. Teuku Umar 17, Jakarta Pusat (Tel. 021-31907640). Lokakarya akan berlangsung selama 1 (satu) hari penuh mulai pukul 09.00 WIB (daftar ulang peserta mulai pukul 08.30 WIB) dan diharapkan selesai pada pukul 17.30 WIB.

**Peserta**

Peserta lokakarya adalah pimpinan/wakil kelompok/organisasi masyarakat sipil yang diundang dari *Jakarta, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi, Bogor dan Bandung*. Peserta diharapkan bisa menyampaikan pendapat/pandangan/pengalaman lembaga/organisasi/kelompok yang diwakilinya selain pandangan/ pendapat/pengalaman pribadinya. Hampir seluruh peserta adalah partisipan dalam studi ini, yang sudah terlibat dalam pengumpulan data melalui survey dan/atau wawancara sejak Oktober 2005 hingga Pebruari 2006.

**Format**

Sebagian besar lokakarya berupa aktivitas/diskusi/refleksi dalam kelompok terhadap temuan-temuan sementara studi ini yang akan dipaparkan sebelumnya. Pemaparan tersebut akan menjadi acuan utama dalam diskusi untuk melakukan validasi dan/atau refleksi secara kolektif. Lokakarya dipandu oleh seorang fasilitator. **Kerangka acuan terlampir.**

**Administrasi**

Karena sifat studi ini dan keterbatasan sumber daya, peserta tidak mendapatkan honor. Penggantian maksimum biaya perjalanan per orang pulang-pergi adalah sbb:

- Peserta dari lembaga yang beralamat di Jakarta Sel/Ut/Pst/Tim/Bar Rp 100.000 per orang
- Peserta dari lembaga yang beralamat di Depok/Tangerang/Bekasi Rp 150.000 per orang
- Peserta dari lembaga yang beralamat di Bogor Rp 200.000 per orang
- Peserta dari lembaga yang beralamat di Bandung Rp 300.000 per orang

**Konfirmasi**

Peserta diharapkan menanggapi undangan ini dan mengkonfirmasi kesanggupan/ketidaksanggupannya untuk hadir **selambat-lambatnya tanggal 13 Pebruari 2006** melalui email ke [yanuar.nugroho@gmail.com](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@gmail.com) dengan tembusan ke [yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:yanuar.nugroho@manchester.ac.uk).

Karena pentingnya acara ini bagi studi dan penelitian yang tengah dilakukan, saya sungguh mengharapkan konfirmasi positif dari rekan kolega/lbu/Bapak sekalian atas undangan ini. Terima kasih.

Salam hormat saya,

**Yanuar Nugroho**

Peneliti doctoral di Institut Studi Inovasi –  
Pusat Studi Kebijakan Rekayasa, Sains & Teknologi,  
Universitas Manchester, Inggris  
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### A.3.2.3. Terms of Reference

The workshop plan was then operationalised into the Terms of Reference, accompanying the invitation (in Indonesian language).

On the page 1, the ToR outlined the background of the study and proposed the workshop programme: objectives, questions, and how the workshop would flow.

## Komunikasi *via* Internet dan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia Sebuah Kerangka Acuan untuk Lokakarya dan Diskusi Terarah

Yanuar Nugroho  
Peneliti doktoral

Institut Studi Inovasi – Pusat Studi Kebijakan Rekayasa, Sains & Teknologi, Universitas Manchester, Inggris

### Pengantar

Keterlibatan dan pengaruh LSM, organisasi atau jaringan masyarakat sipil (selanjutnya demi hemat kata, disingkat CSO, *civil society organisation*) dalam penentuan kebijakan dan pengambilan keputusan publik makin hari makin meningkat. Dalam hal yang lain, perkembangan teknologi komunikasi melalui internet dan pemanfaatannya juga makin pesat dan meluas. Maka, sementara di satu sisi keduanya dipandang sebagai salah satu faktor penggerak perubahan sosial, di sisi lain, studi selama ini menunjukkan bahwa teknologi informasi belum dimanfaatkan secara maksimal untuk mendukung kerja-kerja CSO di berbagai konteks, termasuk di Indonesia. Inilah motivasi utama studi yang tengah dilakukan saat ini.

Studi ini mencoba mengumpulkan data empirik dan mengidentifikasi sejauh mana CSO di Indonesia telah menggunakan teknologi informasi. Selain itu, studi ini juga menggali bidang-bidang apa saja, saat ini dan di masa depan, dimana teknologi komunikasi melalui internet bisa dimanfaatkan secara kreatif, cerdas dan strategis untuk membawa agenda perubahan dan perbaikan sosial di Indonesia. Jika hal ini tercapai, mungkin inilah sumbangan paling bermakna dari penelitian ini bagi perkembangan sektor masyarakat sipil di Indonesia.

Kerangka acuan ini disusun sebagai bahan awal seri lokakarya dan kelompok diskusi terarah (*focused group discussion*) dan diharapkan bisa melibatkan seluas CSO di Indonesia yang sudah berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini sebagai responden dalam survey dan/atau informan dalam wawancara.

### Tujuan

Lokakarya dan diskusi terarah ini mempunyai dua tujuan utama.

- Pertama, sebagai sarana untuk melakukan validasi –catatan, komentar, koreksi, tambahan, pengurangan, dan lain-lain—atas temuan-temuan dan analisis-analisis yang sudah dikumpulkan sementara ini.
- Kedua, sebagai ruang untuk melakukan refleksi kolektif terhadap temuan dan validasi tersebut

### Pertanyaan pokok

Pertanyaan pokok yang diajukan dalam interaksi melalui lokakarya dan diskusi terarah ini adalah:

- i. Apa yang seharusnya dikerjakan oleh CSO di Indonesia ini setelah mempunyai akses relatif lebih mudah terhadap teknologi komunikasi melalui internet?
- ii. Bagaimana berbagai CSO ini menggunakan teknologi tersebut secara strategis?
- iii. Apa potensi dan tantangan yang dihadapi dalam penggunaannya?

Ketiga pertanyaan ini akan dituangkan dalam beberapa sesi. Interaksi peserta dalam memberikan jawaban terhadap pertanyaan tersebut diharapkan mencakup validasi atas temuan-temuan yang sudah dikumpulkan dan sekaligus memberikan kontribusi dalam refleksi kolektif berdasarkan pengalaman selama ini.

### Alur

Lokakarya terdiri dari empat sesi, masing-masing 90 menit, yang diselingi dengan rehat atau istirahat makan. Alur yang diusulkan secara tentatif adalah:



On the page 2, the ToR proposed the time table of the workshop and an explanation that the workshop would be led by an independent facilitator, instead of by the researcher himself. The ToR also asked permission for the audio/video recording during the sessions of the workshop.

**Persiapan : 08.30 – 09.00**

Daftar ulang, penyelesaian administrasi, distribusi material

**Pembukaan : 09.00 – 09.30**

Pembukaan, perkenalan, pengantar

**Sesi Pertama : 09.30 – 11.00 – “Kilas Balik”**

**Paparan (45'):**

- a. Apa yang sudah dilakukan dalam studi ini? (Metoda, partisipasi, dll.)
- b. Temuan apa yang sudah dihasilkan dari studi ini?
- c. Tanya jawab singkat (informatif dan klarifikasi)

**Diskusi kelompok kecil (30') dilanjutkan pleno (15'):**

Sejauh mana studi ini relevan dengan situasi di lapangan?

**Sesi Kedua : 11.15 – 12.45 – “Internet dan kelompok masyarakat sipil”**

**Garisbawah (15'-30'):**

- a. Profil kelompok/organisasi masyarakat sipil
- b. Profil penggunaan internet untuk aktivitas

**Diskusi kelompok kecil (45'-60') dilanjutkan pleno (15'-30')**

- Apa makna “organisasi/kelompok masyarakat sipil” dalam gerakan sosial hari-hari ini?
- Mengapa menggunakan Internet? Faktor apa yang mempengaruhi? Seperti apa?
- Apakah identitas terpengaruh oleh Internet? Seperti apa? Apakah kinerja terpengaruh? Seperti apa?

**Sesi Ketiga : 13.45 – 15.15 – “Penggunaan yang cerdas, strategis dan politis”**

**Garisbawah (15'-30'):**

- a. Identifikasi penggunaan internet yang “cerdik, strategis dan politis”
- b. Salah satu implikasi: jaringan

**Diskusi kelompok kecil (45'-60') dilanjutkan pleno (15'-30')**

- Dalam area apa saja Internet bisa digunakan secara “cerdik, strategis dan politis” baik untuk kebutuhan internal (manajerial) maupun aktivitas eksternal? Bagaimana caranya? Apakah ada strategi untuk itu?
- Salah satu penggunaan yang penting adalah untuk berjejaring. Apa guna jaringan? Bagaimana proses terbentuknya jaringan? Apa yang sebenarnya terjadi dalam aktivitas berjejaring itu?

**Sesi Keempat : 15.45 – 17.15 – “Menerawang masa depan”**

**Garisbawah (15'-30'):**

- a. Profil “keyakinan” atas perubahan sosial
- b. Identifikasi area strategis di masa depan

**Diskusi kelompok kecil (45'-60') dilanjutkan pleno (15'-30')**

- Area/bidang apa yang akan menjadi strategis dalam mendorong perubahan sosial di masa depan?
- Seperti apakah gerakan sosial dalam 5-10 tahun ke depan? Apakah “organisasi masyarakat sipil” akan berubah? Seperti apa? Mengapa?

**Penutup : 17.15 – 17.30**

Penutup, ucapan terima kasih, varia.

Lokakarya akan dipimpin oleh seorang fasilitator dan didukung beberapa tenaga administrasi untuk melancarkan jalannya proses. Peneliti (dalam hal ini saya sendiri, Yanuar Nugroho) akan menjadi narasumber dan memaparkan temuan-temuan sementara. Sebagian besar waktu dialokasikan untuk diskusi kelompok dimana diharapkan sebanyak mungkin peserta bisa menyampaikan pandangan, gagasan, pengalaman dan refleksinya. Untuk kepentingan studi ini, seluruh proses lokakarya akan direkam secara audio/audio-visual. Namun tetap dimungkinkan peserta bisa meminta sebagian informasi yang diberikan untuk tidak disertakan dalam rekaman atau tidak diperhitungkan dalam studi.

On the page 3, the ToR briefly presented the initial findings of the study, up to January 2006. On this page three findings are outlined: (i) the blurring division between advocacy and development CSOs, (ii) the trend that CSOs are becoming globalised and more cosmopolitan, (iii) strategic use of the Internet as result of Indonesian CSOs' innovation.

### **Sekilas temuan**

Sebagai gambaran dalam garis besar, berikut ini disampaikan sekilas temuan yang didapatkan dalam studi ini dari pengumpulan data melalui survey dan wawancara.

#### **Pertama, batas yang kabur antara developmentalis dan advokasi**

Studi ini menemukan ada indikasi *batas yang makin kabur* dalam klasifikasi CSO di Indonesia, yaitu antara mereka yang berorientasi advokasi dan mereka yang berorientasi developmentalis. Makin banyak kelompok developmentalis yang melakukan kerja-kerja advokasi dan sebaliknya. Maka, sementara di satu sisi pemilahan ini berguna setidaknya di level analitis, dalam level praktis nampaknya perlu cara yang baru agar pergeseran ini bisa direkam dan dimaknai.

Pertanyaan yang mungkin berguna sebagai refleksi:

Mengapa batas ini menjadi kabur? Apakah ini bermakna positif atau negatif bagi gerakan sosial di Indonesia? Apakah kaburnya batas ini terkait dengan situasi ekonomi-sosial-politik di tingkat lokal? Atau di tingkat global? Apakah kaburnya batas ini juga dipengaruhi oleh penggunaan teknologi komunikasi dengan internet –karena perspektif meluas, karena kolaborasi menjadi lebih mungkin, karena gagasan-gagasan global makin dipahami, dll.? Faktor lain apa yang mempengaruhi kaburnya batas ini?

#### **Kedua, kelompok masyarakat sipil menjadi makin global dan kosmopolit**

Temuan sementara ini mengindikasikan berbagai CSO di Indonesia nampaknya makin akrab dengan ide-ide kosmopolitan dan terlibat dalam berbagai isu-isu global, baik dalam tingkat gagasan maupun aktivitas. Makin mudahnya membangun jaringan dan kolaborasi kelompok masyarakat sipil antar negara juga mempermudah terciptanya kepedulian dan keprihatinan bersama. Namun debat juga mengemuka berkaitan dengan persoalan identitas CSO: seperti apakah wajah CSO di Indonesia saat ini?

Pertanyaan yang mungkin berguna sebagai refleksi:

Faktor apa yang mempengaruhi hal ini secara internal (misal. informasi yang makin tersedia luas, dll.)? Faktor eksternal apa yang mempengaruhi (misal. jaringan dengan donor, partner internasional, dll)? Apakah ada faktor lain yang mempengaruhi?

#### **Ketiga, inovasi dalam gerakan sosial – penggunaan teknologi komunikasi yang sederhana namun strategis**

Hampir seluruh CSO yang menjadi responden (97.83%) kini mampu mengakses internet dengan berbagai cara. Mereka juga menyadari pentingnya pengaruh teknologi ini bagi kinerja organisasi. Walau keterbatasan infrastruktur menjadi kendala utama, berbagai CSO di Indonesia mampu memanfaatkan teknologi komunikasi melalui internet ini secara efektif meski terbatas pada jenis-jenis layanan dasar. Studi ini menemukan bahwa *e-mail*, *mailing list* dan *WWW* bisa menjadi alat ampuh untuk mendorong kinerja organisasi/kelompok dan jaringan. Selain itu, sebagai 'partisipan' dalam masyarakat informasi, walau terbatas secara infrastruktur, CSO di Indonesia adalah pengguna aktif – mereka tidak hanya mengakses informasi, namun aktif memberikan informasi bagi pihak lain.

Akibatnya, berbagai CSO di Indonesia mampu menggunakan teknologi komunikasi via internet ini untuk bekerja sama dan berkolaborasi, menyampaikan gagasan lebih efektif ke organisasi lain dan kepada publik, membangun jaringan lebih kuat, melakukan kampanye – yang semuanya ini dipandang sebagai penggunaan teknologi yang sederhana, namun strategis bagi perubahan sosial. Beberapa studi kasus yang menarik mencontohkan bagaimana kerja bersama bisa digalang secara efektif melalui komunikasi email yang aktif dalam mailing list yang akhirnya bisa menghasilkan strategi bersama untuk mendesakkan perubahan pada pengambil keputusan publik (pemerintah), misalnya di bidang pertanian organik, kebebasan informasi, buruh migran, dsb.

Pertanyaan yang mungkin berguna sebagai refleksi:

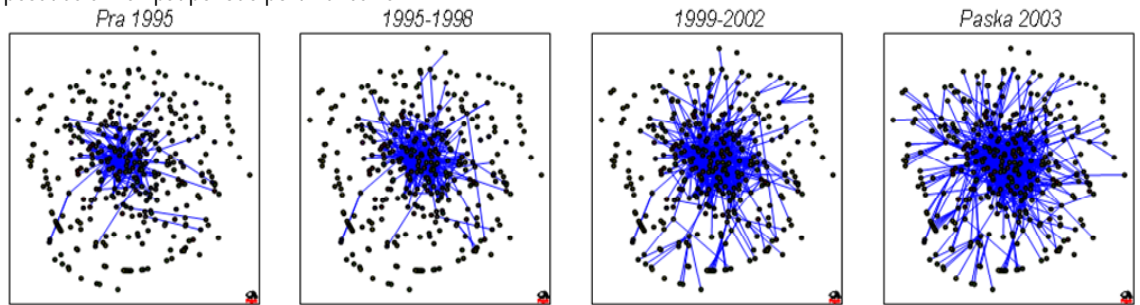
Bagaimana penggunaan komunikasi internet di berbagai area strategis ini dimulai? Adakah hal yang baru di sana yang dulunya (sebelum menggunakan komunikasi internet) tidak ada? Apa sumber inspirasinya? Apa kesulitannya?

On the page 4, the ToR continued presenting the initial result, particularly the dynamics of Indonesian CSOs network.

#### Keempat, dinamika jaringan – antara persepsi, klaim dan temuan lapangan

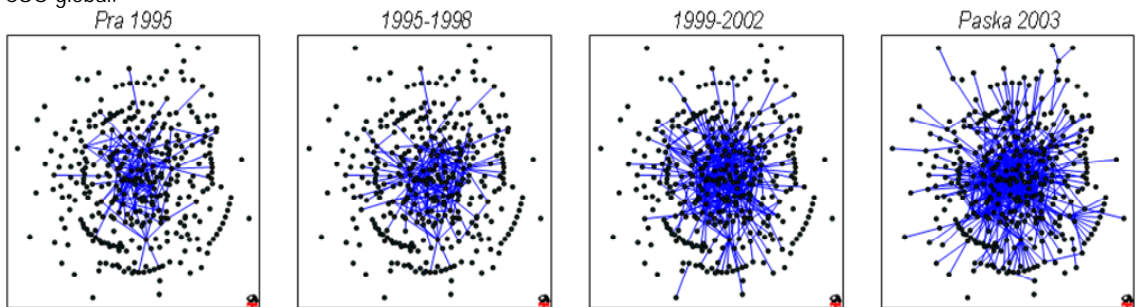
Temuan sementara menegaskan bahwa penggunaan teknologi komunikasi mempunyai hubungan erat dengan berkembangnya jaringan CSO, baik jaringan antar CSO di Indonesia, maupun dengan mitra-mitra jaringan/organisasi/ lembaga-lembaga internasional (CSO global).

Dalam berjejaring dengan mitra nasionalnya, nampak jelas bagaimana jaringan antar CSO di Indonesia tumbuh dengan pesat dalam empat periode politik di bawah ini.



Gambar 1. Dinamika jaringan kelompok masyarakat sipil Indonesia dengan mitra nasionalnya

Tumbuh berkembangnya jaringan ini nampaknya punya pola sama dengan berkembangnya jaringan mereka dengan CSO global.



Gambar 2. Dinamika jaringan kelompok masyarakat sipil Indonesia dengan mitra globalnya

Sekilas nampaknya yang terlihat adalah tumbuh-berkembangnya jaringan CSO di Indonesia dengan subur, baik di tingkat nasional maupun internasional. Namun studi ini mendindikasikan bahwa pertumbuhan ini punya makna berbeda, khususnya dalam jaringan internasional dan pemahaman akan peran CSO global dalam transisi demokrasi. Temuan studi ini memberi makna lain secara empirik –setidaknya dalam cakupan jaringan responden—terhadap klaim atau pemahaman yang berkembang secara umum selama ini tentang keterlibatan CSO global dalam transisi demokrasi, yakni bahwa mereka mengambil peran sentral dan penting dalam setiap fasenya.

Secara jelas temuan ini memang menunjukkan adanya peran CSO global, namun peran itu berbeda secara signifikan dari waktu-ke-waktu dalam periode transisi tersebut. Jelasnya, peran CSO global lebih 'kurang signifikan' dalam periode dimana rejim otoritarian masih berkuasa (pra-1995) dan dalam periode kaotik dimana perlawanan dibangun dan diwujudkan di lapangan secara intensif dan bahkan berdarah-darah dan tinggi risiko politiknya (1995-1998). Peran itu menjadi 'lebih signifikan' ketika rejim otoritarian sudah tidak berkuasa lagi atau dalam periode yang walaupun kaotik dan euforik namun tidak berdarah-darah dan berisiko secara politik (setelah 1998). Tentu klaim ini masih amat dini dan perlu mendapatkan pemaknaan lebih dalam melalui diskusi dalam lokakarya ini.

Pertanyaan yang mungkin berguna sebagai refleksi:

Faktor apa yang menyebabkan jaringan-jaringan itu berkembang? Apa saja hal yang menentukan satu CSO untuk berjejaring atau untuk tidak berjejaring dengan CSO lain: dengan CSO lain di Indonesia, dengan donor, dengan global CSO? Bagaimana jaringan ini terbentuk? Apa peran jaringan ini (baik nasional maupun global) dalam perubahan sosial?

On the last page (5), the ToR concluded the workshop plan and re-endorsed the invitation.

**Penutup: Sekedar stimulan bagi sebuah kehadiran**

Seluruh paparan dalam kerangka acuan ini diharapkan tidak saja mampu memberikan gambaran terhadap rencana lokakarya yang dan diskusi akan diselenggarakan dalam waktu dekat ini, namun lebih dari itu, menjadi stimulan bagi kehadiran dan partisipasi peserta di dalamnya.

Karena itu, saya menunggu dengan harapan yang amat tinggi akan konfirmasi **positif** Anda sekalian untuk hadir dalam lokakarya dan diskusi ini. Bukan saja untuk kepentingan studi ini, namun terutama untuk sebuah kesempatan berjumpa secara pribadi dan berbagi gagasan, pandangan, pendapat serta refleksi.

Untuk itu semua, saya ucapkan terima kasih.  
Sampai jumpa dalam lokakarya kita.

Manchester, awal Pebruari 2006.  
**Yanuar Nugroho**  
*Peneliti*

### **A.3.3. List of participants**

The lists of participants of the three workshops are attached in the electronic format as part of this thesis. Please consult the "Presence List" Excel files, according to the venue of the workshop, in the subfolder **Appendix/Workshop**.

### **A.3.4. Workshop audio recording**

There are some plenary sessions as well as group discussions that were managed to be audio-recorded into MP3 format. However, this particular appendix does not cover all sessions in all workshops as they were recorded in the *analog* format using tape recorder. Please see some available MP3 format recording from some workshops' sessions in **Appendix/Workshop/MP3 Recording**.

### **A.3.5. Transcript of the discussion sessions**

Transcript of all discussion sessions in all workshops are provided in plain-text format. Please see \*.txt files beginning with "WS ..." in the subfolder **Appendix/Workshop/Transcript TXT**.

### **A.3.6. MP3 recording of the interview with the facilitator**

Interview for preparation and evaluation of the workshops were all recorded in MP3 format. Please consult MP3 file beginning with "Indo-XX-Idaman..." in the subfolder **Appendix/Workshop/MP3 Recording**.

### **A.3.7. Transcript of the interview with the facilitator**

The transcripts of the interview with the facilitator for preparation and evaluation of the workshop are also provided. Please consult the \*.txt files beginning with "Ind\_XX\_Idaman..." in the subfolder **Appendix/Workshop/Transcript TXT**.

### **A.3.8. Video recording of the workshops**

All workshops were video recorded. There are two DVDs (single layer, 4.7GB each) attached in this thesis containing some selected recording of the plenary sessions in all workshops. Please contact the author for the provision of the full video recording.

## A.3.9. Workshop reflections: Impact of Internet use on CSOs' identity

Chapter Seven discusses the impact of Internet use on CSOs' identity. The excerpt from the workshop reflections is presented below.

Jakarta Workshop	Yogyakarta Workshop	Surabaya Workshop
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Internet helps [CSOs in receiving] public's wider recognition [about the organisation]. More people become involved with CSOs' works by [means of] website, emails, [in other word] the internet. So, yes, the Internet boosts CSOs [identity] not only in local [level] but [also] to international [level] (Group reflection, 2/03/2006).</li> <li>What changes CSOs is not the Internet but the information it contains. And that's what has changed us [CSOs]. But it can also damage our identity. For example, a dodgy organisation [claiming to be a good CSO] can be very active in [using] the Internet and then its identity becomes more firm. When something goes wrong [with the organisation], this will be also quickly spread over the internet and directly affect us [as CSOs]. With the internet everything is transparent. Anyone can do <i>black campaign</i> to any CSOs and [damage] their identity. (Group reflection, 2/03/2006, original wordings)</li> <li>By using the Internet like email CSOs promote their organisation's visibility. They put their organisation's details [as email signature]. When [this email is] used for [communication via] mailing list, for example, this gives positive effect to the internal organisation as staff share [common] organisation's identity. It also affects the network's identity (Plenary reflection, 2/03/2006).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identity of [individual] CSO is part of its network's identity]. Here, the use of the internet is a must. (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006).</li> <li>CSOs whose identities known to public are typically consistent organisations. But [what about] those organisations having dodgy identity [and claiming to be] a CSO? Who are actually the persons behind them? What are their missions? In [a context like] Indonesia, this is [a] complicated [problem to see] what CSOs look like in terms of their positions, roles, challenges and difficulties. But this is the reality. So the question must be actually about whether that CSOs are still consistent in promoting better social change, what are their role in social change, are they ideological, are their movement contemporary? The Internet helps us [to answer this question and to] know them and make them know us. It helps to form CSOs' identity (Group reflection, 18/03/2006).</li> <li>Clearly Internet helps us [to make our organisations known by public]. Often contacts we received from abroad were because they knew us from the Internet. Even, this includes opportunity for funding and project. We don't feel and work locally anymore, we are part of global CSOs networks (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Using the Internet makes us become global. CSOs who are already working [via] the Internet are [part of] global network. [Using] the Internet helps us to know global issues and problems that we think [are] the root of many local problems. This becomes more crucial today as the victims whom we are working with have started to ask more critically about why they suffer. Although we work in local level, with the international network we build using the Internet, we are part of global movement (Plenary reflection, 9/03/2006).</li> <li>By exchanging experience [through the internet] with other CSOs', we realise that we have to progress our work in planning and monitoring actions ... In terms of planning we have to be able to initiate, encourage and coordinate social groups' movement aimed to influence public policy making. In terms of monitoring we have to ensure public participation in CSOs work from planning to implementation, to evaluation. So people will know about whom they really work with (Group reflection, 9/03/05).</li> <li>So there is a deepening here. No, not only deepening, but [also] widening on how we realise who we are, thanks to the Internet (Plenary reflection, 9/03/05).</li> </ul>

## A.3.10. Workshop reflections: Impact of Internet use on the reinforcement of CSOs' roles

Chapter Seven discusses the impact of Internet use on the reinforcement of CSOs' roles. The excerpt from the workshop reflections is presented below.

Jakarta Workshop	Yogyakarta Workshop	Surabaya Workshop
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>So far the most important role of CSOs is as <i>mediator, facilitator, and social control</i> towards business, government and society. We know that among those, society is the weakest [in terms of power]. So, in [the context of] Indonesia, this is our role, to strengthen the bargaining position of the society before government and business. We should use any means [that are] available and [that] we [can] access to perform our role (Group reflection, 2/03/2006, emphases indicate original wordings).</li> <li>In relation to our roles as social control and agents of change we have to be open with [advancement of] technologies. Internet is just a tool to help us carrying out counter campaign and control, isn't it? Everyone use the same media today and people are bombarded by information ... Here is the point. We can counter such information if it is not true or misleading. Like the <i>CSR Award</i>, they promote that company A is good, company B is good and take care of their labour, but as we know the fact is often far from that. This is our role as CSO. We can counter this misleading campaign and we can disclose the real facts. Internet is perfect for this. It is quick and cheap and reaches more people up to international level. Indeed there is problem with access. Only small portion of the population use Internet, but these are people in the policy making and business leaders. They listen and take into account what we are doing (Plenary reflection, 2/03/2006, original emphasis).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The direct benefit [from using] the Internet for us is that it helps us building our own organisational capacity. It is really important as since the beginning we position ourselves as facilitator and mediator [for our beneficiaries, society groups] which need continuous capacity building. We can use the Internet not only to help us carrying out our work but also to help our beneficiary groups to develop their own capacity through information dissemination or as an alternative media for us. In some cases in Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces even farmers and SME groups have access to email and have their own website (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006).</li> <li>Inevitably, conflict will always occur among us, CSOs despite the same role we have. Hopefully there will be no serious problem. I think Internet can help us communicating ourselves, makes our self clearer to each other. That's why it is important to have staff who can access and use email and website. Let alone the Internet in general will give more benefits to CSOs particularly for better communication (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Let's be clear first. Internet is a just a media. But it is effective as media to empowerment people as we have experienced here. Although the infrastructure is still bad, the Internet helps us reach our beneficiaries and communicate with them much better (Group reflection, 9/03/2006).</li> <li>Indeed infrastructure is more problematic in our area, I guess, than other [area]. This hinders CSOs from using [the Internet]. But in certain issue, like labour, we use it a lot to exchange news and information with other CSOs. Since the beginning we work together with labour and trade union, and the Internet help us to keep this work. Yet, I have to admit [that] the [current] use is still far from efficient and effective, but [even in this level] it has already been very helpful to fight for labours' rights. Some meetings and discussion can be done through the Internet via <i>chatting</i>. We also use it for campaign, including in the international level. The Internet helps us [to do our] work. We also want our beneficiaries [to be able to] use it. It will empower them. But for labours and trade union activists, not all of them know Internet yet (Plenary reflection, 9/03/2006).</li> </ul>

## A.3.11. Workshop reflections: Impact of Internet use on the transformation of CSOs' roles

Chapter Seven discusses the impact of Internet use on the transformation of CSOs' roles. The excerpt from the workshop reflections is presented below.

Jakarta	Yogyakarta	Surabaya
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The situation has changed and this is very real. We all experience this. [Both in] advocacy and development, the game has been different [for CSOs] today. In the past, more or less CSOs roles were more elitist. We represented society in the dialogues with policy makers and the society stood behind. We were speaking up people's voice. Now, we realise that our position is not supposed to be in front, but behind the society. We [are supposed to] support, not [to] lead. So now we learn about new ways in organising and accompanying society groups. We do empowerment now, not simply mobilisation. This is a transformation because [it is now the] people, [the] victims who [should be] speaking up their problems with the policy makers, not us. We just support them from behind. For advocacy [organisation], this [support and organising activities] may now be seen as organisation, advocacy. But in fact this is just to help the society. [Nevertheless] we have to admit that there is transformation [taking place] in CSOs [sector] in Indonesia. And Internet is a factor here. We use the internet to learn a lot and to communicate a lot during this whole process (Plenary reflection, 2/03/2006)</li> <li>We get a lot of information through the Internet, and this widens our perspective and affects our activities. It even changes us. In effect, it is true that advocacy organisations carry out development activities, and the other way around (Group reflection, 2/03/2006).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Today we have good coalition between society and CSOs. They are our partner now. But let us remember. We used to deal with them as client in the past, didn't we? Remember? Roughly this change has been since 1998. Since then we realised that we were not [supposed to be] professional and the society our clients. We realise now we have to empower them and not just organise them, farmers, labours, fishermen, urban poor, among others. With this [change in relation between CSOs and society] we can do better networking and synergy. The Internet has helped a lot here since the reform. Now it helps many CSOs to realise that their relationship with the society has to change. ... And because it is still a luxury for many people, Internet can also now help CSOs to do the campaign for the people they are supporting. (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006)</li> <li>There are a lot of materials available in the Internet that we can use for our advocacy purpose. [We can] also seek for support for campaign for cases that need joint actions. The [Internet] technology has been really helpful for this purpose although we still have [technical and access] problems. But we managed to convey the information and extend the network. This is extremely helpful in our work supporting the community or society groups. What we rarely realise, we now have changed because of this. Especially in the way we work and the role we play (Plenary reflection, 18/03/2006)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Many new CSOs are now relying on the [Internet] technology to expand their contacts and networks and to keep updated [with the information]. Especially for global issues. These new CSOs realise the importance of the global issues in the national context. As I personally observe, this is the strength of these new CSOs. They quickly become recognised among more senior organisations because they always have the latest information. And this is no doubt because of the Internet. And, because they also use the Internet to contact other organisations, their network expands rapidly. This affects not only those new CSOs, but also us, the old player. We cannot but adjust our roles (Plenary reflection, 9/03/2006).</li> <li>I think we all remember that a lot of us were ignorant about globalisation issues. But now I am sure none of us are. In fact we now know that roots of our problem in this country are related to the global issues. We have to bring this knowledge to the people we are accompanying, we are working with. They blame themselves for their poverty and injustice [they suffer]. They won't be changed if this is continued. Maybe we have to change our engagement strategy with them. The knowledge and information [we receive] from the Internet must be channelled to them. We cannot just accompany them or organise them. We must also show them the way (Plenary reflection, 9/03/2006).</li> </ul>



## Appendix 4

# Correlation analysis of survey variables

### A.4.1. Age, size, annual turnover

Table A.4.1. Correlation of responses to the age, size and annual turnover (Pearson R)

	AGE	SIZE	TURNOVER
AGE	1		
SIZE	.327(**)	1	
TURNOVER	.317(**)	.688(**)	1

\*\* Statistically significant at  $P < .01$  (2-tailed).

Source: Fieldwork – survey data

### A.4.2. Nature and structure

Table A.4.2. Correlation of responses to the natures of Indonesian CSOs (Pearson R)

	advocacy	Develop- mentalist	thinktank	mobilisation	officially registered	Informal	centralised	Networked	relig. affiliat.	other
Advocacy	1									
Develop- mentalist	-.132(*)	1								
think tank	0.107	-0.03	1							
mobilisation	.235(**)	.167(**)	0.082	1						
officially registered	0.095	.129(*)	0.062	.151(*)	1					
informal	-0.106	-0.012	-0.029	0.072	-.415(**)	1				
centralised	0.038	0.104	0.085	0.059	.304(**)	-.131(*)	1			
networked	.171(**)	-0.079	0.042	0.081	0.039	0.092	-.154(*)	1		
relig. affiliat.	-0.02	0.039	-.142(*)	0.035	-0.074	.258(**)	0	0.116	1	
other	-0.055	-0.059	0.05	-0.085	0.021	0.039	0.085	-0.092	0.002	1

\* Statistically significant at  $P < .05$  (2-tailed).

\*\* Statistically significant at  $P < .01$  (2-tailed).

Source: Fieldwork – survey.

## A.4.3. Issues and concerns

Table A.4.3. Correlation of responses to issues and concerns of Indonesian CSOs (Pearson R)

	env	glob	rural	urban	devp	hrights	justpec	democ	gender	child	poverty	educ	disabl	labour	farmer	Prof	gov	csemp	confries	plural	idigns	ecosoc
glob	.232**																					
rural	.367**	.266**																				
urban	.213**	.446**	.419**																			
devp	.376**	.229**	.325**	.287**																		
hrights	0.109	.364**	.170**	.304**	0.059																	
justpec	.168**	.482**	.164**	.268**	.215**	.502**																
democ	.137*	.482**	.270**	.298**	0.082	.484**	.481**															
gender	.144*	.234**	.234**	.256**	.186**	.470**	.268**	.328**														
child	.186**	.233**	.243**	.241**	.279**	.316**	.286**	.200**	.347**													
poverty	.240**	.219**	.291**	.288**	.338**	.281**	.205**	.249**	.421**	.301**												
educ	-0.001	.187**	.139*	.226**	.134*	.194**	.188**	.218**	.231**	.424**	.247**											
disabl	.144*	.203**	.231**	.248**	.201**	0.096	.229**	0.054	.146*	.264**	.203**	.197**										
labour	.164**	.343**	.187**	.300**	.183**	.307**	.303**	.210**	.241**	.182**	.329**	0.103	.222**									
farmer	.436**	.172**	.362**	.177**	.315**	.131*	.135*	.177**	.246**	.276**	.442**	.197**	.179**	.159**								
prof	.127*	.183**	.176**	.200**	.238**	.195**	.172**	.133*	.162**	.287**	.182**	.154*	.408**	.270**	.172**							
gov	0.053	.204**	.175**	.194**	0.12	.238**	.235**	.355**	.141*	0.075	.190**	0.061	.131*	.286**	0.049	.259**						
csemp	.164**	0.101	.267**	.176**	.261**	.252**	.265**	.271**	.376**	.158**	.372**	.212**	0.116	0.091	.364**	.122*	.204**					
confries	.275**	.319**	.368**	.282**	.177**	.333**	.471**	.347**	.234**	.192**	.175**	.221**	.266**	.233**	.213**	.276**	.168**	.236**				
plural	.257**	.362**	.363**	.400**	.216**	.287**	.444**	.370**	.313**	.299**	.186**	.320**	.348**	.237**	.223**	.261**	.285**	.301**	.503**			
idigns	.337**	.211**	.237**	.219**	.279**	.258**	.300**	.249**	.228**	.195**	.249**	.198**	.273**	.186**	.399**	.257**	0.095	.213**	.494**	.307**		
ecosoc	.232**	.317**	.206**	.321**	.164**	.432**	.385**	.422**	.425**	.277**	.419**	.255**	.161**	.305**	.353**	.152*	.224**	.411**	.334**	.358**	.311**	
oth	-0.051	-0.069	-0.034	-0.001	-0.156*	-0.08	-.157*	-.186**	-.216**	-0.107	-.250**	-.183**	0.044	-0.069	-.129*	0.019	-0.031	-.204**	-0.015	-0.079	-0.004	-.174**

\*\* Statistically significant at  $P < .01$  (2-tailed).

\* Statistically significant at  $P < .05$  (2-tailed).

Source: Fieldwork – survey

# Appendix 5

## Multiple Indicators Multiple Causes Latent Class Analysis (MIMIC-LCA)

### A.5.1. MIMIC LCA in brief

The multiple indicators multiple causes (MIMIC) latent class analysis (LCA) model is a classification method when researchers cannot find a “gold standard” to classify participants. The MIMIC-LCA model includes features of a typical LCA model and introduces a new relation between the latent class and covariates (MacCutcheon, 1987; Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002).

### A.5.2. Parameter estimation in this thesis

#### A.5.2.1. Characteristic of Indonesian CSOs as adopter

In this case, the covariates are: length of the Internet use (*intsinc*), PC use (*pcsinc*), IT expenditure as percentage of annual turnover (*itexpproc*), and IT expenditure in nominal (*itexpnom*); while variables being estimated are the demographical data: age of organisation (*est*), no of staff (*staff*), and annual turn over (*ato*). The task is to find out the patterns of internet adoption and their stratification based on demography variables, given that there are many items and multiple stratification factors. The criteria for choosing among various models is based on the goodness of fit, with the lowest BIC (Model 1) is preferred (Magidson and Vermunt, 2002; Vermunt and Magidson, 2002).

**The goodness of fit of the MIMIC model**

Model	LL	BIC(LL)	Npar	L <sup>2</sup>	Df	p-value	Class. Err.
2 class	-795.019	1816.7598	42	1096.2965	179	1.50e-131	0.0395
3 class	-736.693	1851.2579	70	979.6461	151	2.00e-121	0.0568
4 class	-696.628	1922.275	98	899.5146	123	2.70e-118	0.0413

### The profile of indicators

	Class1	Class2		Class1	Class2
Class size	0.7556	0.2444	Class size	0.7556	0.2444
<b>Indicators</b>			<b>Covariates</b>		
<b>est</b>			<b>pcsinc</b>		
0-1yr	0.0431	0.0003	3-5 yr	0.3025	0.0451
1-2 yr	0.0493	0.0004	5-10 yr	0.3644	0.2431
10+ yr	0.2038	0.8581	<3 yr	0.1555	0
2-5 yr	0.2711	0.0023	>10 yr	0.0774	0.6885
5-8 yr	0.299	0.0717		0.1002	0.0233
8-10 yr	0.1336	0.0672	<b>intsinc</b>		
<b>staff</b>			3-5 yr	0.3309	0.0871
11-15	0.1478	0.0343	5-10 yr	0.2104	0.5356
16-20	0.0461	0.1303	<3 yr	0.2562	0.0218
21-25	0.0001	0.0575	>10 yr	0.0049	0.2633
6-10	0.3259	0.2658		0.1976	0.0922
<5	0.4798	0.0891	<b>itexpproc</b>		
>25	0.0003	0.4229	25-50%	0.1428	0.2995
<b>ato</b>			50-75%	0.0239	0.0186
1-2b	0.079	0.2935	<25%	0.6949	0.4798
100-500m	0.3541	0.1738	>75%	0.006	0
500m-1b	0.1556	0.1838		0.1323	0.2021
<100m	0.3809	0.0043	<b>itexpnom</b>		
>2b	0.0303	0.3446	100-500m	0.018	0.1112
			50-100m	0.0536	0.2608
			500m-1b	0.0179	0
			<50m	0.741	0.3926
			>1b	0	0.0186
				0.1695	0.2168

### Parameter estimation: characteristics of Indonesian CSOs as adopter

Variables	Late majority and laggards (75.56%)	Leaders and early majority (24.44%)
Period of Internet use (years)	<3	5-10
	3-5	>10
Age of the organisation (years)	0-1	>10
	1-2	
	2-5	
	5-8	
	8-10	
Number of staff (persons)	<5	16-20
	6-10	21-25
	11-15	>25
Annual turn over (IDR)	<100 million	500 million - 1billion
	100-500 million	1-2 billion
		>2 billion

*N=268. Latent class analysis. BIC(LL)=1816.7598; NPar=42; L<sup>2</sup>=1096.2965; df=179; p<0.0001; Class.Err=3.9%*

### A.5.2.2. Issues and concerns of CSOs in each adopter category

Using exactly the same method as explained in Appendix A.2.2.1., in this case, the covariates remain: length of the Internet use (*intsinc*), PC use (*pcsinc*), IT expenditure as percentage of annual turnover (*itexpproc*), and IT expenditure in nominal (*itexpnom*); while variables being estimated are the issues and concerns data: *ic\_env* (environment), *ic\_glob* (globalisation), *ic\_rural* (rural), *ic\_urban* (urban), *ic\_devp* (development), *ic\_hrights* (human rights), *ic\_justpec* (justice and peace), *ic\_democ* (democratisation), *ic\_gender* (gender), *ic\_child* (children and youth), *ic\_poverty* (poverty alleviation), *ic\_educ* (education), *ic\_disabl* (disable), *ic\_labour* (labour and trade union), *ic\_farmer* (farmer), *ic\_prof* (professional worker), *ic\_gov* (governance), *ic\_csemp* (civil society empowerment), *ic\_confres* (conflict resolution), *ic\_plural* (pluralism), *ic\_idigns* (indigenous rights), *ic\_ecosoc* (economic, cultural and social rights), *ic\_oth* (other issues). The results from multiple indicators multiple causes (MIMIC) latent class analysis (LCA) models and the profile are presented below.

The goodness of fit of the MIMIC model

Model		LL	BIC(LL)	Npar	L <sup>2</sup>	Df	p-value	Class.Err.
Model 1	2-class	-2553.67	5420.4256	58	4421.7976	163	1.8e-811	0.0153
Model 2	3-class	-2450.18	5407.792	94	4214.8303	127	1.3e-794	0.0258
Model 3	4-class	-2363.57	5428.8913	130	4041.5957	91	1.7e-786	0.0384

The profile of indicators

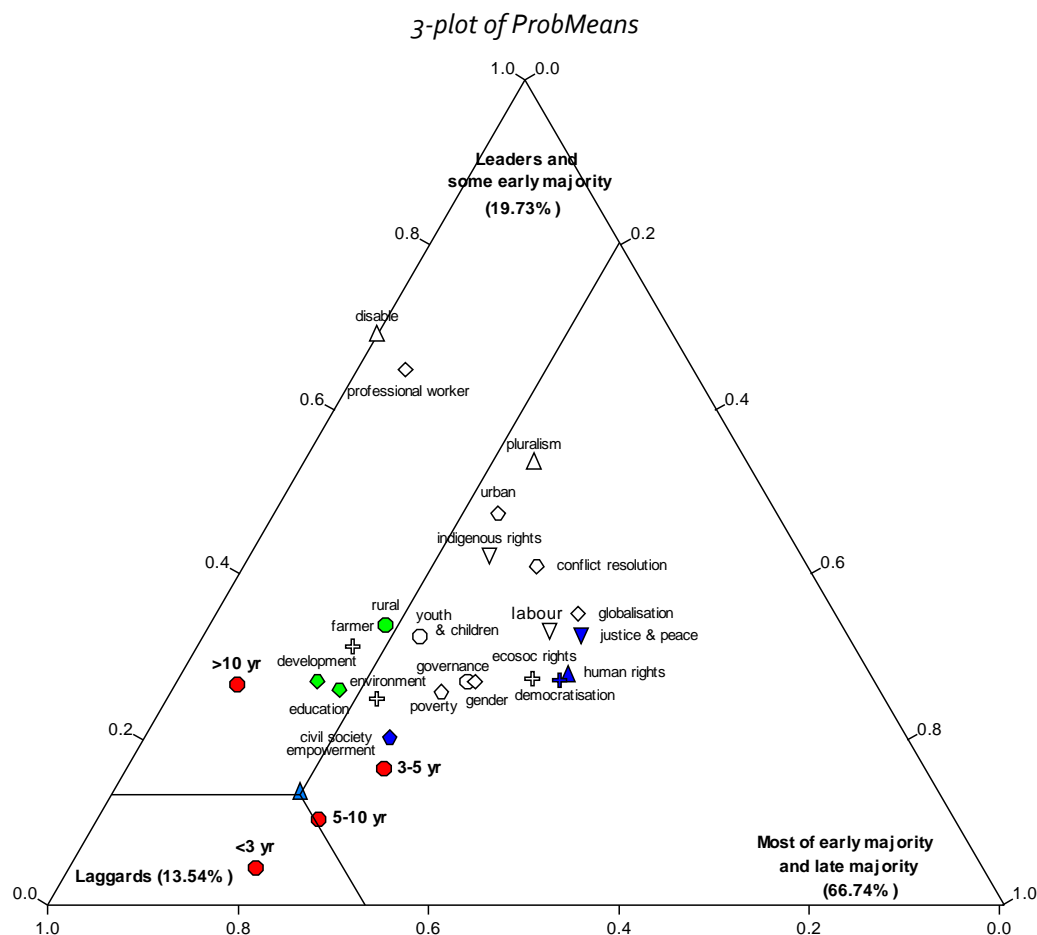
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
<b>Class Size</b>	0.6674	0.1973	0.1354
<b>Indicators</b>			
<b>ic_env</b>			
0	0.5716	0.4027	0.0051
1	0.4284	0.5973	0.9949
Mean	0.4284	0.5973	0.9949
<b>ic_glob</b>			
0	0.8782	0.4172	0.2107
1	0.1218	0.5828	0.7893
Mean	0.1218	0.5828	0.7893
<b>ic_rural</b>			
0	0.7605	0.6886	0.1612
1	0.2395	0.3114	0.8388
Mean	0.2395	0.3114	0.8388
<b>ic_urban</b>			
0	0.905	0.7422	0.2401
1	0.095	0.2578	0.7599
Mean	0.095	0.2578	0.7599
<b>ic_devp</b>			
0	0.5659	0.6272	0.0066
1	0.4341	0.3728	0.9934
Mean	0.4341	0.3728	0.9934
<b>ic_hrights</b>			
0	0.7764	0.0299	0.0399
1	0.2236	0.9701	0.9601
Mean	0.2236	0.9701	0.9601
<b>ic_justpec</b>			
0	0.8419	0.2439	0.074
1	0.1581	0.7561	0.926
Mean	0.1581	0.7561	0.926
<b>ic_democ</b>			
0	0.782	0.1033	0.1059
1	0.218	0.8967	0.8941
Mean	0.218	0.8967	0.8941
<b>ic_gender</b>			
0	0.711	0.2742	0.0735
1	0.289	0.7258	0.9265
Mean	0.289	0.7258	0.9265
<b>ic_child</b>			
0	0.7512	0.5723	0.1091
1	0.2488	0.4277	0.8909
Mean	0.2488	0.4277	0.8909
<b>ic_poverty</b>			
0	0.6424	0.2548	0.0053
1	0.3576	0.7452	0.9947
Mean	0.3576	0.7452	0.9947

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
<b>Class Size</b>	0.6674	0.1973	0.1354
<b>Indicators</b>			
<b>ic_educ</b>			
0	0.5788	0.559	0.0427
1	0.4212	0.441	0.9573
Mean	0.4212	0.441	0.9573
<b>ic_disabl</b>			
0	0.9661	0.9995	0.6334
1	0.0339	0.0005	0.3666
Mean	0.0339	0.0005	0.3666
<b>ic_labour</b>			
0	0.8936	0.5822	0.4291
1	0.1064	0.4178	0.5709
Mean	0.1064	0.4178	0.5709
<b>ic_farmer</b>			
0	0.6726	0.6555	0.0413
1	0.3274	0.3445	0.9587
Mean	0.3274	0.3445	0.9587
<b>ic_prof</b>			
0	0.959	0.9764	0.5684
1	0.041	0.0236	0.4316
Mean	0.041	0.0236	0.4316
<b>ic_gov</b>			
0	0.8184	0.5605	0.4299
1	0.1816	0.4395	0.5701
Mean	0.1816	0.4395	0.5701
<b>ic_csemp</b>			
0	0.5163	0.2241	0.1035
1	0.4837	0.7759	0.8965
Mean	0.4837	0.7759	0.8965
<b>ic_confres</b>			
0	0.8924	0.6059	0.2333
1	0.1076	0.3941	0.7667
Mean	0.1076	0.3941	0.7667
<b>ic_plural</b>			
0	0.9312	0.7507	0.1986
1	0.0688	0.2493	0.8014
Mean	0.0688	0.2493	0.8014
<b>ic_idigns</b>			
0	0.9032	0.7488	0.3728
1	0.0968	0.2512	0.6272
Mean	0.0968	0.2512	0.6272
<b>ic_ecosoc</b>			
0	0.7567	0.1437	0.0716
1	0.2433	0.8563	0.9284
Mean	0.2433	0.8563	0.9284

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
<b>Class Size</b>	0.6674	0.1973	0.1354
<b>Covariates</b>			
<b>pcsinc</b>			
3-5 yr	0.2305	0.3224	0.1653
5-10 yr	0.3106	0.4337	0.3107
<3 yr	0.148	0.0267	0.0996
>10 yr	0.2255	0.1622	0.3233
Mean	0.0853	0.0549	0.101
<b>intsinc</b>			
3-5 yr	0.2298	0.3716	0.3324
5-10 yr	0.2875	0.3399	0.2267
<3 yr	0.2261	0.1974	0.0674
>10 yr	0.0679	0.022	0.1346
Mean	0.1887	0.0691	0.2389
<b>itexpproc</b>			
25-50%	0.1685	0.2757	0.1047
50-75%	0.0135	0.023	0.0673
<25%	0.6418	0.701	0.5607
>75%	0.0068	0	0
Mean	0.1694	0.0003	0.2673
<b>itexpnom</b>			
100-500m	0.0262	0.0716	0.068
50-100m	0.1121	0.1033	0.065
500m-1b	0.0068	0.046	0
<50m	0.6645	0.6891	0.566
>1b	0.0068	0	0
Mean	0.1836	0.0899	0.301



Parameter estimation: Issues and concerns of each category  
*N*=268; Latent Class Analysis. *BIC(LL)*=5407.792; *NPar*=94; *L*<sup>2</sup>=4214.830;  
*df*=127; *p*<0.0001; and *Class.Err*=2.6%

### A.5.2.3. Internet application used by CSOs in each adopter

Using exactly the same method as explained in Appendix A.2.2.1., in this case, the covariates remain: length of the Internet use (*intsinc*), PC use (*pcsinc*), IT expenditure as percentage of annual turnover (*itexpproc*), and IT expenditure in nominal (*itexpnom*); while variables being estimated are the types of Internet technologies being used: *us\_none* (none), *us\_email* (email), *us\_chat* (internet chat), *us\_milist* (mailing list), *us\_voip* (voice over Internet protocol), *us\_www* (browser/web application), *us\_ftp* (file transfer protocol client), *us\_news* (newsgroup), *us\_stream* (audio/video streaming), *us\_forum* (Internet forum), *us\_blog* (web log), *us\_oth* (other internet technologies). The results from multiple indicators multiple causes (MIMIC) latent class analysis (LCA) models and the profile are presented below.

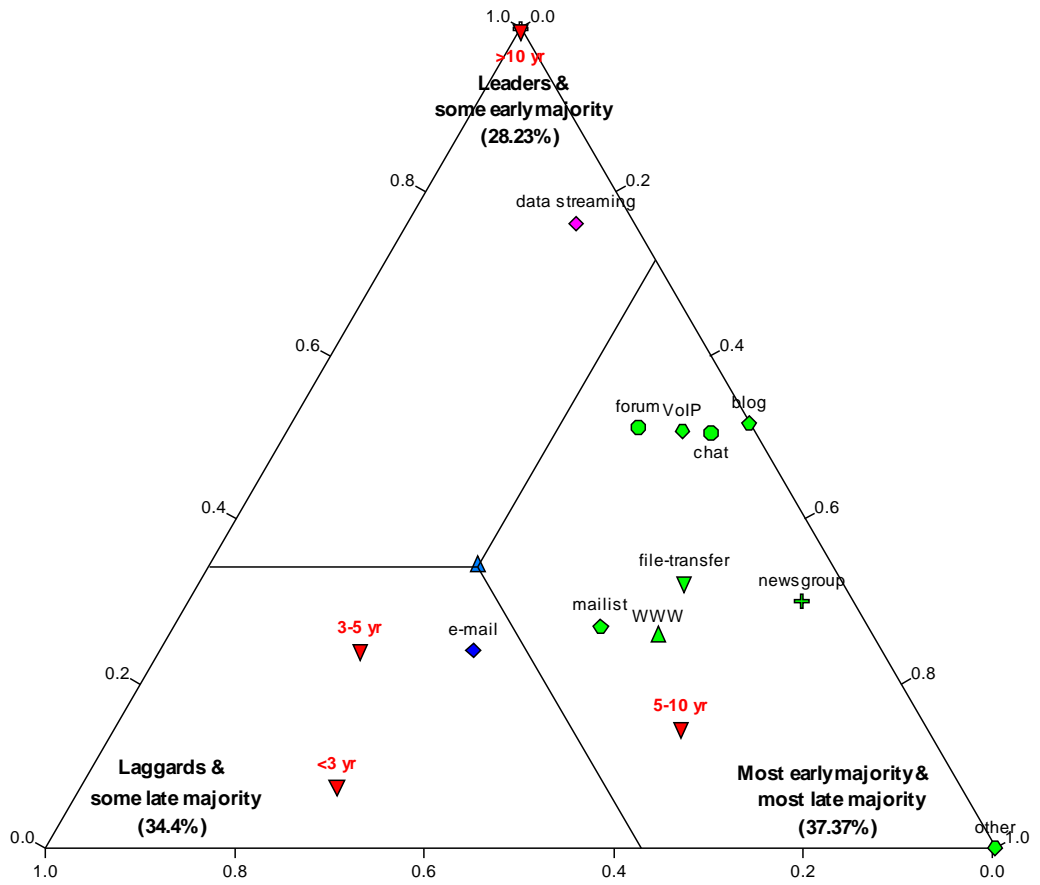
The goodness of fit of the MIMIC model

Model		LL	BIC(LL)	Npar	L <sup>2</sup>	Df	p-value	Class.Err.
Model 1	2-class	-912.5508	2030.2318	38	1270.2457	183	5.5e-162	0.0386
Model 2	3-class	-848.3051	2042.0926	64	1141.7543	157	4.6e-149	0.0471
Model 3	4-class	-769.2628	2024.3602	90	983.6697	131	1.2e-130	0.0435
Model 4	5-class	-738.3002	2102.7872	116	921.7444	105	1.1e-130	0.0465

The profile of indicators

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4		Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
Class Size	0.3737	0.2823	0.1763	0.1677	Class Size	0.3737	0.2823	0.1763	0.1677
Indicators					Covariates				
us_none					pcsinc				
0	0.9998	0.9998	0.9996	0.6238	3-5 yr	0.3304	0.2009	0.1872	0.1584
1	0.0002	0.0002	0.0004	0.3762	5-10 yr	0.3009	0.3822	0.3622	0.3021
Mean	0.0002	0.0002	0.0004	0.3762	<3 yr	0.1338	0.1879	0.0255	0.0602
us_email					>10 yr	0.1952	0.2289	0.4251	0.0815
0	0.0128	0.0006	0.0263	0.7788		0.0396	0	0	0.3978
1	0.9872	0.9994	0.9737	0.2212	intsinc				
Mean	0.9872	0.9994	0.9737	0.2212	3-5 yr	0.3966	0.201	0.3745	0.0023
us_chat					5-10 yr	0.199	0.6109	0.2403	0.0029
0	0.9651	0.5564	0.1958	0.9981	<3 yr	0.3479	0.1881	0.0255	0.068
1	0.0349	0.4436	0.8042	0.0019	>10 yr	0	0	0.3591	0.027
Mean	0.0349	0.4436	0.8042	0.0019		0.0566	0	0.0006	0.8999
us_milist					itexpproc				
0	0.5303	0.0017	0.0562	0.9685	25-50%	0.1068	0.2987	0.2561	0.0693
1	0.4697	0.9983	0.9438	0.0315	50-75%	0.0115	0.0321	0.0256	0.0285
Mean	0.4697	0.9983	0.9438	0.0315	<25%	0.7632	0.6512	0.5643	0.4408
us_voip					>75%	0.0121	0	0	0
0	0.9731	0.8067	0.6235	0.9991		0.1065	0.018	0.1539	0.4614
1	0.0269	0.1933	0.3765	0.0009	itexpnom				
Mean	0.0269	0.1933	0.3765	0.0009	100-500m	0	0.0001	0.2307	0
us_www					50-100m	0.0251	0.1538	0.2907	0
0	0.6843	0.0508	0.2675	0.9678	500m-1b	0.0241	0.0161	0	0
1	0.3157	0.9492	0.7325	0.0322	<50m	0.8686	0.78	0.1959	0.4575
Mean	0.3157	0.9492	0.7325	0.0322	>1b	0	0	0.0256	0
us_ftp						0.0821	0.05	0.257	0.5425
0	0.803	0.203	0.1817	0.9968					
1	0.197	0.797	0.8183	0.0032					
Mean	0.197	0.797	0.8183	0.0032					
us_news									
0	0.966	0.4632	0.5984	0.9983					
1	0.034	0.5368	0.4016	0.0017					
Mean	0.034	0.5368	0.4016	0.0017					
us_stream									
0	0.9873	0.9517	0.6949	0.9725					
1	0.0127	0.0483	0.3051	0.0275					
Mean	0.0127	0.0483	0.3051	0.0275					
us_forum									
0	0.9447	0.7768	0.5524	0.9449					
1	0.0553	0.2232	0.4476	0.0551					
Mean	0.0553	0.2232	0.4476	0.0551					
us_blog									
0	0.9998	0.8847	0.8008	0.9996					
1	0.0002	0.1153	0.1992	0.0004					
Mean	0.0002	0.1153	0.1992	0.0004					
us_oth									
0	1	0.984	1	1					
1	0	0.016	0	0					
Mean	0	0.016	0	0					

3-plot of ProbMeans



Parameter estimation: Internet application used by each category  
 N=268; Latent class analysis. BIC(LL)=2024.3602; NPar=90;  $L^2=983.6697$ ;  
 df=131;  $p < 0.0001$  and Class.Err=4.35%.