Citizens in @ction

Collaboration, participatory democracy and freedom of information

Mapping contemporary civic activism and the use of new social media in Indonesia

A joint research project by
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A research project report by

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Executive Summary

The purpose of this research is to empirically examine the ways in which Indonesian civil society organisations and groups engage in civic activism by means of the use of Internet and social media; and how this civic engagement impacts upon the shaping of civil society in Indonesia.

1. The fieldwork data states clearly that civil society in Indonesia is obviously a vibrant sphere. This vivacious realm is apparently not only a result of the engagement of Indonesian civil society groups and communities with global civil society, but is also shaped by the internal dynamics of the civil society over time. This widening of the civic space, as a result of civic activism, is also attributed to the use of the Internet, and lately social media, in Indonesian civil society.

2. Our research findings show that the Indonesian social media landscape is very dynamic. Both as an online sphere and as a market, it is big, growing and highly active. Social networking media such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* have become very popular for various reasons: the affordability of mobile phones; the strong sense of community in the Indonesian culture, and trends that spread quickly. Indonesian civil society groups and communities are also active users of the Internet and social media. The characteristics of new social media make it convenient for civil society to use, in order to assist them in achieving their missions and goals. Yet not all civil society groups and organisations use it strategically. A strategic use of the Internet cannot therefore be seen as just a direct output of using the technology.

3. Our observations suggest that a strategic use of the Internet and social media in civil society should be beyond technological, rather it should be about the widening of the interaction between civil society groups and communities and the beneficiaries they work with and for. Only when civil society can maintain a dynamic interaction with the public through their strategic use of popular new social media, can we expect the impact of the civic activism to be more significant. The diffusion of the Internet and social media in civil society itself is not, and will never be, a black-box process. Here, in the core, is a process of sociotechnical alignment underpinning the diffusion of technology, by putting the agency, not the technology, at the centre.

4. Two trends are noticeable here: the growth of civil society activism, and the use of the Internet and social media. The difficulty lies not in the way we understand the growth of the two, but in the link between them. What we expose and present here are the dynamics of civil society in Indonesia and the impact that the use of the Internet and social media has had upon them. Our main discussion shows that civic activism in Indonesia is characterised not only by their use of the technology (one-direction) but also by the co-evolution between technology use and the development of civic activism itself. There is a two-way relationship between the ways in which civic activism is shaped by Internet and social media use, and the role that the Internet and social media play as a platform for civic activism.

5. Networks of civil society may be both an intended as much as an unintended consequence of civic engagement. Networking should be strategised as networks

provide dynamic ways for civic activisms to be mediated. The implications are twofold: at the organisational level, the focus of attention should be on to what degree the strategy of using the Internet and social media to mediate the networking of civil society is reflected in their organisational strategy at large. Secondly, at the inter-organisational (social movement) level, there is a need to facilitate a sphere where civil society groups and communities can meet and network, not only with other groups, but also with the wider public. Our fieldwork indicates that a few groups have started this initiative, but much more effort is needed.

6. Concerning the future, the study features a modified Foresight exercise, in which the participants envisaged a desirable scenario. It is a plausible future where the wider society is more cohesive, participatory and at the same time interacts in a knowledge-based engagement, facilitated by equally accessible technology for all citizens. It is also a future where the economy is driven by production; the environment is treated carefully, and people live in a vibrant, democratic society. To arrive at this scenario, the suggestion is that the Internet and social media, should be utilised in order to strengthen social cohesiveness and widen participation in socio-political life, as well as to foster economic activity. The Foresight exercise was found to be useful, but should not stop here. There is a need to follow up this exercise, to evaluate how the recent exercise would have directed the future trajectory of the use of the Internet and social media in civil society, and also to build the capacity of civil society for future thinking about their involvement in the information society.

7. In facilitating socio-political activism, the Internet and social media are not detached from the off-line realm, rather, they can work with it. Within civil society, the Internet affects the dynamics of social, economic and political activism. It has the potential to globalise local socio-political dynamics and at the same time to localise global issues. However, in order to ensure this to happen, groups and organisations within civil society have to document their works and engagements by themselves. Our observations uncovered that whilst the groups and communities under study were willing to do it, they noted that their capacity was still somewhat limited

With technology and its use continuously shifting and being shaped, the appropriation of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society is more about process than outcome. The technologies are continuously modified and adapted to bring them into alignment with the organisations' routines. 'Citizens in action' are therefore never fixed in format, but rather 'constituted and reconstituted' through the everyday practices of the civil society groups and communities involving citizens and activists alike in ongoing actions – where technology serves as a convivial means.

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1.
Introduction

*We believe that if we, civil society, want to work in a new fashion, we need new modes of interaction and communication. Consequently we need a new paradigm to devise new tactics and str*ategies*. To us, information and communication technologies like the Internet and social media are innovations that we can use to make our work more efficient, strategic and have wider impact. We have to build our capacity so that we can tactically and strategically take advantage of publicly available information and knowledge.*
(Rini Nasution, Satudunia, interview, 7/9/2010)

Only two days after the Tsunami of 2004 devastated Aceh, Northern Sumatra, volunteers of *Airputih* (airputih.or.id) managed to restore the communication and provided Internet connection without which, arguably, humanitarian relief to work to help the casualties would be impossible (Nugroho, 2009). Similarly, when Mt. Merapi in Yogyakarta recently erupted in October 2010 claiming the lives of hundreds and forcing tens of thousands of people to evacuate, *Jalin Merapi* (merapi.combine.or.id) took advantage of the Internet and social media to mobilise volunteers and distribute aid. In a different way, but in a similar vein, this technology has stolen public attention in Indonesia (and probably beyond) in the case of *Prita Mulyasari* and *Bibit-Chandra* – when *Facebook* was used as *the* tool to organise rallies and mobilise support for those who represented the 'oppressed' in Indonesian society. Arguably, in the Indonesian context, such a phenomenon symbolises - or more precisely- strengthens, the notion of a 'new' social movement in which social media use has characterised both the organisation and the magnitude of the movement.

However, this is not solely about Internet technology and social media innovations. At the centreare the undertakings of civil society groups and communities who organise themselves in the wake of crises, or societal challenges. Technology, in this perspective, comes second – serving civil society communities to help meet their goals and fulfil their purposes. For example, in disasters like in Aceh or Merapi, the government itself was paralysed and unable to react, forcing civil society groups to take care of themselves – with the help of the Internet and social media technologies. Likewise, the technology was central in mobilising support for social causes like the ones supporting Prita who was unfairly tried and prosecuted in her effort to complain about the treatment she received from a private hospital, or to organise massive rallies backing Bibit and Chandra in their efforts to combat corruption. Certainly, this does not stop here.

Today, more and more civil society communities and groups have been using these technologies to effectively manage and expand their activism. To borrow Ivan Illich's term , these communication technologies, Internet and social media, have indeed become new 'convivial' tools (1973) that civil society can use to foster activism. Civil society is now facing a new array of challenges, from the 'traditional' issues of promoting democracy and development, to the modern issue of freedom of information. This is no exception in Indonesian civil society.

Despite all this, systematic research into the use of the Internet and social media innovations in civil society is fairly limited, especially in developing contexts like Indonesia (among the few, focusing on the Internet more generally, see Lim, 2002, 2004, 2006; Nugroho, 2008, 2010a, b, 2011; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008). As a result, not only do we know little about patterns of use and adoption of these technologies; we do not know the extent of the processes involved in such use and how these impact upon civil society organisational functions. It seems natural that such research would be not only academically important in itself, but also beneficial both for policy and practical purposes, especially when taking into account the roles that Indonesia plays in the societal development and technological uptake of the Southeast Asia region, which is one of the fastest-growing regions in the world.

This is what motivates this HIVOS-Manchester research collaboration.

1.1. Background and rationale

The emergence of information and communication technologies (ICTs), particularly the Internet, has given new impetus for the birth, or more precisely, the reinvention, of civil society (Hajnal, 2002). That is, a networked amalgam of organisations, groups and movements within civil society aiming to achieve civic agendas such as democratisation and freedom of information (Anheier *et al.*, 2001; Bartelson, 2006; Kaldor, 2003) – at local, national, regional and global levels. This coalescence is important not only because such civil society movement operates beyond the confines of the traditional boundaries of societies, polities, and economies (and actually offers transnational opportunity for debates), but because it also influences the framework of governance, even at the global level (Anheier *et al.*, 2001:11; Kaldor *et al.*, 2004:2). This argument is worth examining in a contexts where democracy is still in its infancy, such as in Indonesia.

This study examines the patterns and processes of collaboration of civil society groups in Indonesia in promoting participatory democracy and freedom of information using new social media and ICTs. It builds on and extends earlier work by the Principal Investigator (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2010b; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008) which looked at the ways in which civil society organisations (CSOs) in Indonesia innovate by adopting new media innovations. The research is also informed by two recent studies (Berkhout *et al.*, 2011; Gaventa and Barrett, 2010) on civic driven change and citizen engagement respectively, in which HIVOS has much interest. Here we advance the arguments and underline the rationale for the research. Civil society has become more pivotal in social dynamics; challenging and shaping the working of the state/public (first sector) and of the market (second sector) in both familiar and new ways. However, this study does not focus on civil society groups as self-contained units; it will seek to build understanding about the ways in which these organisations and groups –both formal and informal—innovate by using new media and ICTs and thereby shape the dynamics of civic engagement leading to societal change. As such, an innovation perspective is used in this study to examine various innovation processes within the groups (here, we expand the argument already posited in Nugroho, 2011).

This research focuses on formal and informal civil society groups and organisations in Indonesia for two reasons. First, Indonesia is an interesting latecomer economy in which civil society has been very active. Second, in their endeavours to address latecomer

development issues, various Indonesian civil society groups have actively been networking and collaborating both nationally and globally and, as a result, this activism has made Indonesian civil society an important player in the development agenda. Therefore it is expected that showcasing Indonesian groups could shed light on the workings of the civil society sector across geographical space, and the ways in which economical, social and cultural influences shape these processes.

In Indonesia, various civil society organisations and groups have established themselves in pivotal positions in the social, economic and political landscape. They started networking with their partners, nationally and internationally, before the 1997 Asian crisis hit Indonesia and thus were already embedded in a network society during, and in the aftermath of, the crisis. Surprisingly, a large body of analysis of civil society in Indonesia has neglected these networking dimensions of engagement, despite the fact that civil society networking is not a new phenomenon (for a pioneer research into Indonesian civil society networks, see Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008). This research therefore aims to better understand the impacts of the collaboration of civic engagements in Indonesia in promoting participatory democracy and freedom of information by means of the use of new media and ICTs. It will do so by mapping the civic groups and their activisms and examining the motives of such engagements and the perceived current and future impacts.

Collaboration is not assumed to be an unalloyed good. It may have helped foster the democracy that has developed since the 1990s, but it could also be seen as an element in the divisive radicalisation of religious movements, for example. It may have given civil society groups more outreach; but is this at the cost of certain changes in relationships with their previous constituency of citizens? Through exploring the ways and contexts in which collaboration is built, and the impact of such collaboration on the transformation of Indonesian civil society, it helps one to understand the role of civic networks, which may provide a valuable lesson for other countries.

The study will combine sociological and innovation research traditions. Two main sociological theories are mobilised for this research: (i) the Theory of Structuration (Giddens, 1984) and its adaptations (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992, 2000, 2002); and (ii) the Theory of Civil Society (among many prominent scholars we refer to Deakin, 2001; Edwards, 2004; Hall, 1995; Kaldor, 2003; Keane, 1998). We examine the processes, patterns and dynamics of the diffusion of new media and ICTs in various civil society groups and organisations, and how it affects and is affected by civic activism. We approach the understanding of the work of Indonesian civil society groups from two sides. Firstly, the link between civil society and the adoption of new media and ICTs will be grounded in Science and Technology Studies (i.e. building on Callon and Law, 1997; Callon and Rabeharisoa, 2003, 2008), Social Shaping and Social Construction of Technology (Bijker *et al.*, 1993; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1985) as well as Sociotechnical Alignment (Molina, 1997, 1998). Secondly, in order to understand how civil society groups and organisations construct and structure the civil society sphere, our investigation will be guided by work on civic movement and collective action (Blumer, 1951; Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006). Lastly, as the construction of civil society involves networks and networking, we use the well-established framework of actor-network theory (Latour, 2005; Law and Hassard, 1999).

1.2. Objectives

The purpose is to empirically examine the ways in which Indonesian civil society organisations and groups engage in civic activism by means of the use of new media and ICTs; and how this civic engagement impacts in the shaping (i.e. construction and structuration) of civil society in Indonesia. Internally, we expect to see new 'organisation models' that frame the creation, organisation and sustainability of such activism.. Externally, we anticipate the identification of a taxonomy of groups and organisations in civil society and to identify patterns or trends in the use of new media and ICTs that shape the capacity of the groups to perform and to network.

1.3. Questions and research undertaken

This research addresses three main questions:

1. What processes are involved in the creation of and contribute to the organisation, expansion and sustainability of civil society groups and organisations when they adopt and use new media and ICTs?

2. To what extent and in what ways has the use of new media and ICT characterised the ways in which civil society groups and organisations perform and address their goals as well as engage in collaboration and networking?

3. What are the implications of this for the current and future development and role of civil society, in Indonesia in particular?

The answers are sought through an exploratory study carried out between August and December 2010, using a non-conservative approach and involving a combination of methods and research instruments in a number of phases. We outline here the stages of this research.

We started with **PHASE 1.** The study launched a large-scale, online survey, targeting as many civil society groups (formal and informal) as possible, using a snowballing method with the 'seed list' generated with the assistance of HIVOS Indonesia Office. This survey collected data on the organisational profiles, patterns of new media and ICT adoption and use, and the relations between such adoption and organisational performance and collaborative networks. The survey was made available online and offline between 20 August and 10 November 2010, with the participation of 286 organisations[1]. After cleaning the data, 258 are included in the analyses. Some simple statistical descriptive analyses are used to explore the nature of these organisations and groups, their use of new media and ICTs, and the relations between their technological use and organisational performance. In particular, network analysis (cf. Batagelj and Mrvar, 2003) is carried out to reveal the structural features of these organisations' collaboration networks. As English is not spoken widely in Indonesia, we translated the survey to *Bahasa Indonesia*.

PHASE 2 was based on the analysis of Phase 1, which informed us in the construction of case studies through in-depth, semi-structured interviews. From 19 August to 1 October

[1] As reported in the First and Second Interim Report of this project.

2010, we carried out telephone interviews with 35 civil society communities/organisations to obtain in-depth understanding of the use of new media and ICT in those groups. The interviews were analysed with help of CAQDAS. We also organised a series of direct observations covering Aceh, Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, and Denpasar in October 2010 involving 12 organisations/groups/communities[2].

In **PHASE 3** the results of the quantitative and qualitative approaches from Phase One and Two were combined and reported to our informants by means of organising a reflective workshop in October, attended by 11 participants, purposively selected[3]. The workshop was designed for the participants to give us their reflections on the finding from the survey and interviews.

Finally, in **PHASE 4** we synthesised the results from the fieldwork (interviews, observations and workshops) and communicated the findings to the sponsor (HIVOS) as well as the participants of the study. This was organised in a foresight exercise aimed at building some scenarios (Miles, 2002, 2008; Miles *et al.*, 2008) in order to envisage the future of civil society groups and organisations in Indonesia. The exercise was conducted in December 2010 and attended by 14 participants selected by both HIVOS and MIOIR.

The phases are summarised in Figure 1 below.

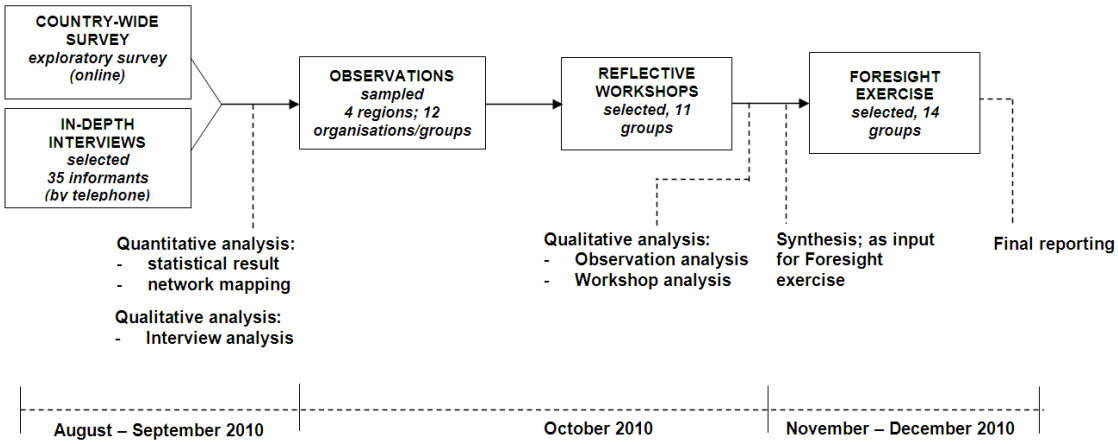

Figure 1. Phases of the study

Given the exploratory nature of this study, we acknowledge that the civil society groups and communities covered here are predominantly Java (and Bali)-based — and biased towards 'modern' and 'Internet-literate' organisations. In part this is because we believe an exploratory approach has helped us to describe in detail the ways in which civil society engage with the Internet and social media technologies. Such level of detail has enabled us to come up with some basic characteristics (or 'models') with regard to technology use and uptake in civil society. However, we realise that civil society groups operating in a developing economy and infant democracy like Indonesia face very different opportunities and challenges –compared to those in developed, democratic countries— with regards to their technology adoption and use. We have therefore integrated our insights in these

[2] See the First Interim Report and Appendix 2.

[3] For complete list of attendees, please consult Appendix 2.

areas[4], but we do recognise the need for further research to address more fully and thoroughly the wider issues related to the use of technology in and its implications in various sectors of Indonesian society[5].

Clearly there is a world of civil society communities, and beyond that a broader civil society sphere, that is not fully represented in this report. Nonetheless, albeit small, our survey, interviews and workshops do represent a significant community of civil society communities and other leaders. It is on this basis that our conclusions are drawn.

1.4. Structure of the report

This report presents a cross-disciplinary study, engaging with research into the diffusion of the Internet and social media and civil society. The early chapters focus on the dynamics of Indonesian civil society and review how Internet technology diffuses in the archipelago. Empirical results from the study are presented to assert some relevant notes in these chapters. Then the report continues with the examination of the use of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society 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 social movement. Having established the discursive context in which the adoption and use of the Internet and social media in Indonesian CSOs emerged, the report returns to the landscape of Indonesian CSOs to explain its constantly changing realm. The remaining chapters synthesise the empirical explorations of the adoption, implementation and impacts of Internet use in Indonesian CSOs, including how possible future scenarios might unfold. Finally, some conclusions and implications are drawn.

In detail, following this introductory chapter, **Chapter Two** highlights the features of Indonesian contemporary civil society by presenting results from the study, which aims to provide a background to explain the current dynamics. **Chapter Three** then presents some facts and figures, and also analyses, of the penetration of the Internet and social media across the country. Then, putting these two big pictures together, the report showcases the profiles and patterns of Internet and social media adoption and use in Indonesian civil society in **Chapter Four**. In **Chapter Five** the report highlights some important consequences of this technological adoption and use, focusing on the transformation of civic realms in Indonesia, including the networks of civil society. **Chapter Six** synthesises the study, emphasising the empirical findings and important priorities to take those forward. **Chapter Seven** discusses the possible future trajectory concerning Indonesian civil society and Internet and social media use, reflecting the outcomes from the foresight exercise. Finally **Chapter Eight** concludes and highlights some implications of this study.

[4] Both HIVOS and MIOIR have long experience in working in this area.

[5] For example a study into new media and its socio-political implications on citizen's and human rights would provide an obvious further research agenda.

2.
Indonesian civil society in the spotlight: A vibrant sphere

Ideally social change should aim at providing and widening space for each and every societal group. It should be snowballing: getting bigger, wider, and involving more people over time. Civil society groups should create mechanisms in which they can build socio-political agreements for the sake of achieving common good. ... This requires civil society groups and communities to have spirit, to be highly enthusiastic and committed to a better social order. Social change necessitates intelligent civil society.
(Haris Azhar, KontraS, interview, 6/9/10)

Scholars often perceive civil society, theoretically, as one of the cornerstones of a 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.*, 2001; Deakin, 2001; Keane, 1998). A loose, yet operational and descriptive definition of civil society is offered by the *Centre of Civil Society* at the London School of Economics and Political Science (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). This concept 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). As Gramsci (1971) understands, 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 us to understand the strength of the *status quo* so that a strategy for its transformation can be devised – a raison d'etre for civil society entities. We therefore propose a working definition of what we refer to as civil society groups, organisations or communities, i.e. *the autonomous, democratic entities, as expressed in organisations independent of the state and of corporate structure, whose aim is to transform existing social order towards a better one*.

Studies on Indonesian civil society have existed for some time (some earliest, relevant academic works found in this area are Billah, 1995; Sinaga, 1994), and have been relatively well documented from different perspectives (among many, e.g. Bunnell, 1996; Eldridge, 1995; Fakih, 1996; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hadiwinata, 2003; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008; Pradjasto and Saptaningrum, 2006; Warren, 2005). It is worth-noting, however, that in Indonesia, the terms civil society organisation (CSO) and non-governmental organisation (NGO) have a rather complicated interpretation and understanding compared to what the literature states. This has a long history, which can be traced back to the New Order's era when even using a term might provoke government repression. It seems that Indonesian social activists have never reached a consensus on what term they will use. We noted, that only after the political reform in 1998, they started using and popularising the term *Organisasi Masyarakat Sipil* (civil society organisation/CSO) to distinctively distinguish civil- and community-initiated organisations from those run or initiated by military, government or business. This study uses the term CSOs and civil society communities interchangeably to include all kind of organisations within the scope of the definition we set earlier.

In our earlier work (Nugroho, 2007; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008) we proposed a periodisation to understand different characteristics of civil society across different time periods. Four main periods were covered: Pre 1995 (authoritarian) when civil society was weak, depoliticised and fragmented; 1995–1998 (transformation) when civil society started expressing its discontent more openly leading to the reform that toppled Soeharto's presidency; 1999–2002 (euphoria) when civil society was blooming partly as result of the chaotic political change due to the euphoric reaction after the displacement of the authoritarian leader; and 2003 and after (stability) when civil society played a very important role in the Indonesian transition towards democracy. We built on this periodisation and slightly modify it in our study to reflect the latest change. We use this periodisation to explain the dynamics of groups and communities within civil society that will become the focus of our study.

In sum, this research aims to enrich those all abovementioned studies by presenting and highlighting some features found in the empirical work that may contribute to an understanding of the character of contemporary civil society in Indonesia.

2.1. Organisational profile

In total 289 groups, communities and organisations within Indonesian civil society participated in the exploratory survey, of which, after the data cleaning, 258 are included in the analysis. To achieve deeper insights, 35 senior activists were interviewed.

Most of our respondent groups (74%) were established after the 1998 reform. In other words, they are part of the new wave of social movement groups as a result of the political openness of the post-New Order regime.

#	When was your organisation established	Response	%
1	Before 1995	49	19%
2	1996-1998	17	7%
3	1999-2001	48	19%
4	2002-2004	33	13%
5	2005-2007	55	21%
6	2008-2010	56	22%
	Total	258	100%

Table 1. Establishment of CSO respondent
N=258

Being established in a relatively more *open* socio-political sphere might affect the ways these groups manage themselves. Most are small and effective in that they have a small number of full-time staff (68% have ten or less) and more part-time workers or volunteers (50% have six or above), but have a large number of members. (56% have 50 or more). See Tables 2 and 3.

#	How many fulltime staff does your organisation have	n	%
1	None	18	7%
2	1-5 persons	83	32%
3	6-10 persons	74	29%
4	11-15 persons	33	13%
5	16-20 persons	11	4%
6	More than 20	39	15%
	Total	258	100%

#	How many part-time staff does your organisation have	n	%
1	None	37	14%
2	1-5 persons	65	25%
3	6-10 persons	50	19%
4	11-15 persons	35	14%
5	16-20 persons	19	7%
6	More than 20	52	20%
	Total	258	100%

Table 2. Number of staff: Fulltime and part-time
N=258

#	How many member does your organisation have	n	%
1	Less than 10	18	7%
2	11-20 persons	28	11%
3	21-30 persons	26	10%
4	31-40 persons	22	9%
5	41-50 persons	19	7%
6	More than 50	145	56%
	Total	258	100%

Table 3. Number of organisation/group/community members
N=258

Concerning annual turnover, the biggest proportion of our respondent group manage a relatively small fund, i.e. IDR100million (USD10k) or less (29%). Altogether, those administering IDR1billion (USD100k) or below per year make up the biggest part of our respondents (61%). See Table 4.

#	Annual turnover in IDR	n	%
1	Less than 100 million	74	29%
2	100-500 million	54	21%
3	500 million - 1 billion	28	11%
4	1 – 2 billion	20	8%
5	More than 2 billion	18	7%
6	Prefer not to disclose	64	25%
	Total	258	100%

Table 4. Annual turnover
N=258

Using existing parameters in the categorisation of civil society groups (Eldridge, 1995; Ganie-Rochman, 2000; Hadiwinata, 2003; Kendall and Knapp, 2000), we asked our respondents what best describes their organisation, in order to understand their profile as *they* perceive it. We found the following features: Firstly, these groups are characterised as *formal, open in membership, founded based on interests, and networked*. This is typical of the character of organisations within civil society in an open, democratic society.

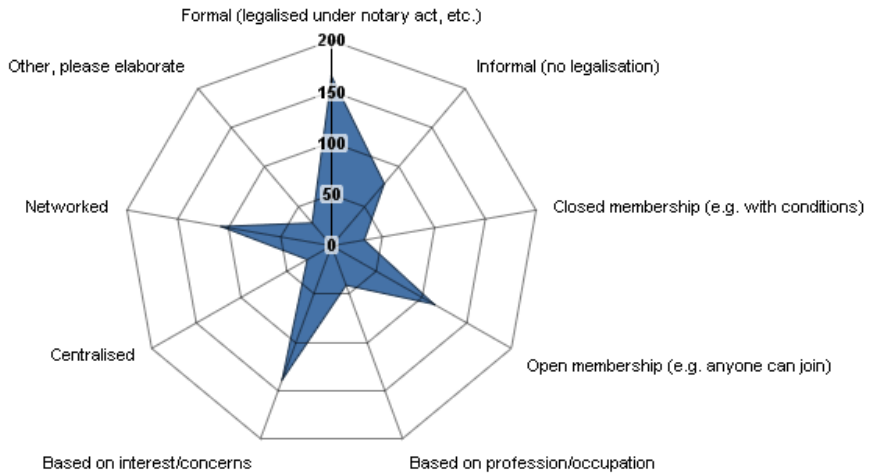

Figure 2. Organisational profile
N=258, multiple answers allowed

Secondly, our respondents are quite diverse in their organisational issues and concerns, yet retain shared interests typical of civil societies across the globe. Among the most salient issues covered are the environment, education and civil society empowerment. Also of great concern are human rights, development, democratisation, women/gender equality, children and youth, rural issues and poverty. Some of the latter issues might be common in a developing economy context.

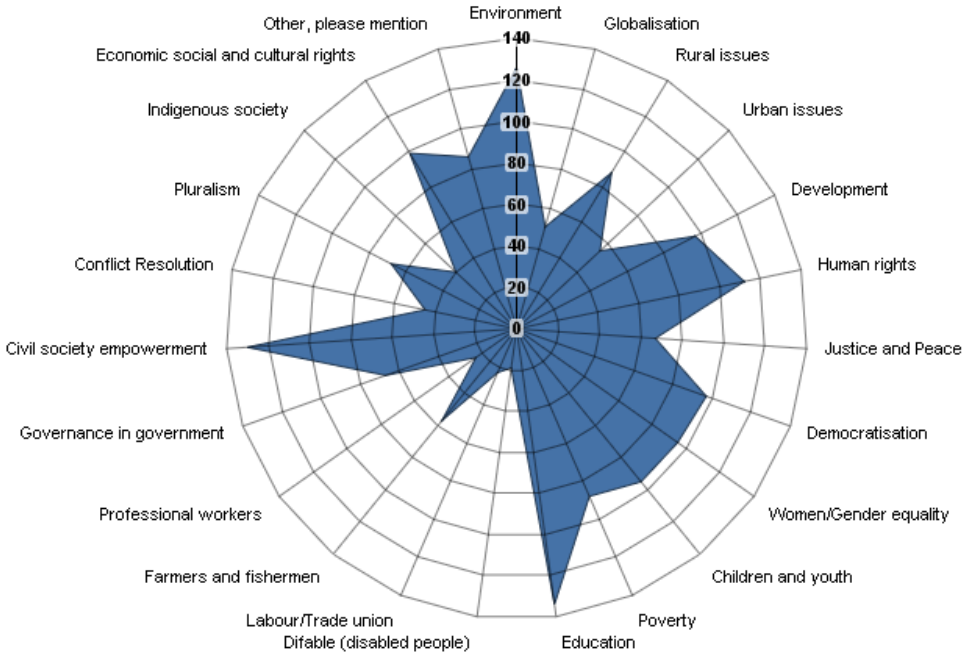

Figure 3. Organisational concerns and issues
N=258; multiple answers allowed

Third, to address these issues and concerns groups and communities within civil society engage in a number of main activities. In our study we find that these activities tend to be skewed towards *capacity building, followed by activities that focus on communicating ideas to public like publication and dissemination.* Research and advocacy come next, and, rather surprisingly, not many engage in mobilisation.

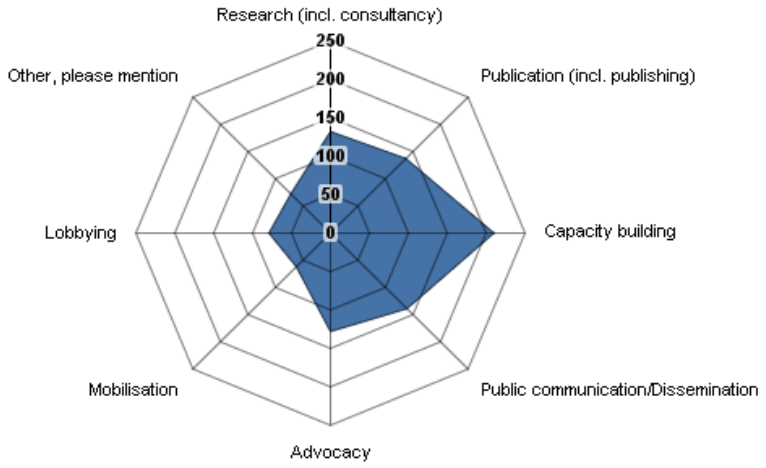

Figure 4. Organisational activities
N=258; multiple answers allowed

It is not difficult to see that capacity building is the most prevalent activity of Indonesian CSOs, consistent with the earlier finding that civil society empowerment is the highest concern of these organisations. Moreover, research, publication, dissemination and advocacy look to have characterised the biggest part of the respondents.

We realise that more analytical, rather than the currently descriptive, statistic analysis of our respondent's profile could have been conducted had the time permitted. Yet as the terms of reference dictates, the timeframe was limited.

2.2. Organisational dynamics

The fieldwork data says very clearly: civil society in Indonesia is obviously a vibrant sphere. This vivacious realm is apparently not only a result of the engagement of Indonesian civil society groups and communities with global civil society (which becomes more evident when elaborated upon later), but is also shaped by the internal dynamics of the civil society in Indonesia from time to time. Of course, there are two sides –civil society cannot be seen as a homogeneous sphere. Whilst realising the dark side of civil society (e.g. uncivil groups claiming to be part of civil society), we focus on its bright side (e.g. civil groups working on empowerment, advocacy, development and other programmes aimed at the betterment of livelihoods). We highlight some findings on the organisational dynamics, following the pointers we proposed in one of our earlier studies (Nugroho, 2007):

The first aspect is that of *financial sources*. Since early research into civil society began, scholars have noted that one of the biggest challenges for civil society groups is accountability –more precisely financial accountability (among many, see Edwards and Hulme, 1995, 1997). Financial matters affect not only organisational accountability, but also agenda, independence and self-reliance, management, and even organisational change. We look more closely at the financial sources of our respondent organisations and find that most of the groups in the survey have, on average, two or more sources of income, with international donor and income-generating activities as the most common sources. Quite a number of respondent groups benefit from charging a membership fee. The least accessed source is the domestic private sector.

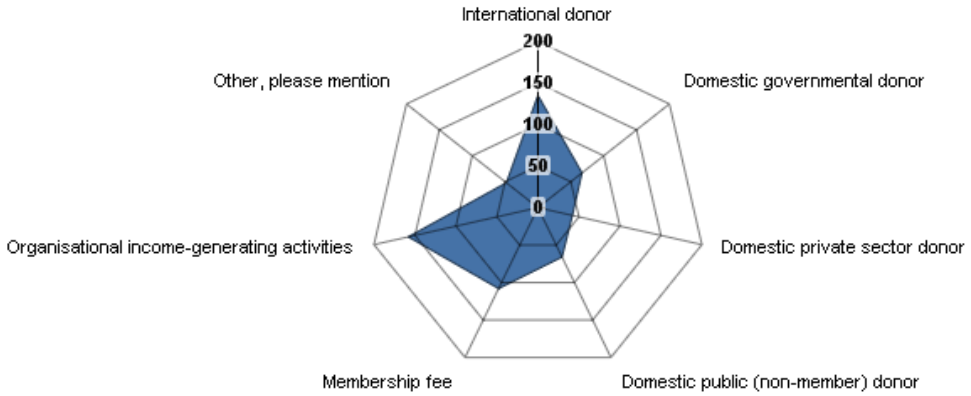

Figure 5. Source of funding
N=258, multiple answers allowed

These circumstances are likely to impact upon organisational management. Managing multiple sources of income sometimes puts a higher burden on the organisation (which is the case with the majority of civil society groups and communities). On top of this, relying on funding from donors, particularly from international ones, might be problematic. A typical issue with regard to international donors, as stated by a senior human-rights activist, is that:

> They [the donors] often do not stand at the same side as us. They do not show their clear standing in the [sensitive] issues and [are] not always willing to see the process. Instead they focus more on the result, … whether we [the civil society groups] follow the so-called log-frame and other [result-based] indicators. They paid much less attention to the capacity building of the staff, unfortunately. (HA, Jakarta-based human-rights CSO, interview, 6/9/10)

The second aspect to consider is *spectrum of activities*. The above descriptive statistical analysis shows that capacity building is the most prevalent activity, followed by idea dissemination endeavours like public communication and publication. In other words, it is around and about empowerment, be it for their own group or others, that most civil society groups focus their activities on. It is not surprising, as there is mounting pressure for civil societies to be more competent in their area. A story of a senior activist in an arts-based civil society group in Yogyakarta sheds some light on this issue:

> [A]t that time, there was no competent organisation working in the field of art to create vibrant art communities. To do so we need more than just infrastructure; we need people capable dealing with the complex development of arts. Consequently we need repositioning, sharpening of our focus, showing to the world we know what we do, we know what we are talking about, and so on and so forth. And there is only one way to do that: capacity building. When I was recruited, it was just natural to me to go for it … because I do what I am interested in. That's it. But entering the arena I gradually realised that here there was, and is, a vast vacuum: we have no, or very limited at best, experts in this area. For example, just to recognise and communicate the concern on how valuable arts database is need a huge effort. We need transformation and revitalisation of activism. (FW, Yogyakarta-based arts CSO, interview, 31/8/10)

Clearly the need for expertise in civil society is now imperative. It is not just that the world has become much more complex, but that inherent in civil society organisations is the drive to deliver a 'result' – a societal transformation. We borrow the framework developed by Kendall and Knapp (2000) to measure performance in voluntary organisations (including civil society entities). It is obvious that unless civil society is equipped with skilful workers it is impossible to create a dynamic sphere within which civil society organisations, groups

and communities can transform society. This is because there are no linear links between inputs and outputs in civil society activisms. Rather it is a feed-back effect mechanism, linking not only resources and outcomes (at the organisational level), but also in constant interaction with the organisational networks (at the meso level) and the societal context (at the macro level). See Figure 6.

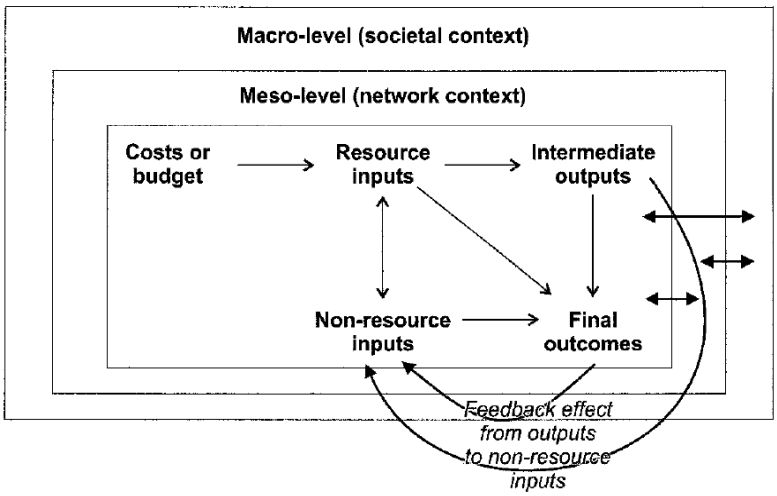

Figure 6. Feedback effects in measuring performance of voluntary organisations
Source: Kendall and Knapp (2000:120)

Another story from a community organiser working with young people in the capital Jakarta helps substantiate these non-linear relations between resources and outcomes of the organisation, as conceptualised above, when it comes to the real agenda of transforming society through their activism:

> Our organisation [CH] was initiated when JP started its campaign against the Pornography Law. The initiative attracted many young people. They came to our office, joined our discussions. We realised that there was actually a need for a civil society group for young people which had programmatic support. What we had were just volunteer groups, or internship schemes in big organisations. Then our colleagues in JP started to facilitate the group [CH] and include the activities in one of their programmes. They also shared their office with us. What we wanted was to routinely publish a magazine, targeted to the young people at the high-school age. We wanted the magazine to be free and reach as many young people as possible. So we started establishing the editorial board, pool of writers, and distributors too. They all consisted, and still do, of young people. They developed their own concepts in each edition. JP only helped make sure that gender and human rights issues are incorporated there. Now, two years later, the magazine has been publishing routinely. We have 20 issues. In many high-schools students have become familiar with gender as well as human rights issues. They now understand that against pornography law is not the same as pro pornography; instead, they realise the deeper issue about victimisation of women and gender inequality inherent in the law. Now those students also want us to organise discussions, workshops, gatherings, and trainings around the issue. (AWH, Jakarta-based youth group, interview, 6/9/10)

This account shows the duality of the relationship between civil society groups and organisations and the society in which they exist. Civil society groups engage with the wider society, in a number of activities and achieve some certain outcomes (Gaventa and Barrett, 2010) with the aim of facilitating bottom-up societal changes (Berkhout *et al.*, 2011). But what is the nature of the processes involved in this engagement? Borrowing Giddens' notion of *structuration* (Giddens, 1984), the process might qualify to be labelled as *structuration of engagement* i.e. that the societal influence of civil society groups in the wider society is structured and has become routinised through recursive civic engagement practices (like protests, rallies, discussions, and even public gatherings) across time and space. A senior activist working with a blogger in Central Java asserts,

> Since the establishment we have been organising meetings periodically, not only involving our members but also other similar groups' members. This contributes significantly to the cohesion of our organisation. In addition to meeting other CSOs from other sectors, we also periodically schedule meetings with the authorities [local governments] including the Mayor and local parliament members. We, too, have good links with business communities. We now enjoy a multiplication of benefit: not only have we now been recognised as one of the civil society clearing houses in our region, we also provide consultancy for the local government. We now have office, thanks to our partner organisation [YT] and we enjoy free high-speed point-to-point internet access [provided by XLC]. Of course these all did not fall from the sky. We earned it through capacity building with other organisations [like YT, ICTW], through non-stop dialogue with the government, and negotiation with business [such as DDD, J, AX]. In return we provide free trainings and workshops for many groups who need it: disabled groups, SMEs, etc. What we aim for is a more interdependent society. We realise fully we are transforming our society now. (BP, Solo-based blogger group, interview, 25/8/10)

BP's assertion underlines what constitutes the most important aspects of civil society activism: continuation and network. While continuation guarantees a 'routinisation' of involvement and hence ensures the transformation of the societal structure, network is essential in that civil society groups or communities, inherently, never work in isolation. We examine this issue in the next section.

2.3. Organisational network

Engaging in a network society, we can see similar dynamics apparent in the networking between civil society groups and communities and their counterparts, both in Indonesia and internationally.

Using simple network mapping (Batagelj and Mrvar, 2003), the data collected from the fieldwork across five time periods (Pre-1995, 1996-1999, 2000-2003, 2004-2007, 20008-now) is plotted. This periodisation reflects the political stages of the time. Here we continue and expand on our previous research (Nugroho, 2011; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008).

Firstly, we have looked at the growth of the national network of our respondent groups. From the survey data, we mined 936 civil society groups, organisations and communities networking with each other across the periods of pre-1995 to 2010. See Figure 7.

Many socio-political developments from pre-1995 to the aftermath of 1998 *reformasi,* up to and including the present day, have significantly affected civil society networks. What we argue here is that those developments could only happen when civil society groups were involved, as this is a two-way process. We borrow Gidden's logic of structuration theory (Giddens, 1984) and its application in diffusion research, i.e. adaptive structuration theory or AST (DeSanctis and Poole, 1994; Orlikowski, 1992, 2000, 2002). Just as socio-political changes in the country emerge as societal structure, they are both outcomes and fabrics of Indonesian civil society's socio-political engagement. As outcomes, these changes reflect how Indonesian civil societies have advanced their movement and partaking in social change. As fabrics of civic engagement, such socio-political changes provide a context and opportunity for Indonesian civil societies 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 (as we also argued in Nugroho, 2007, 2011).

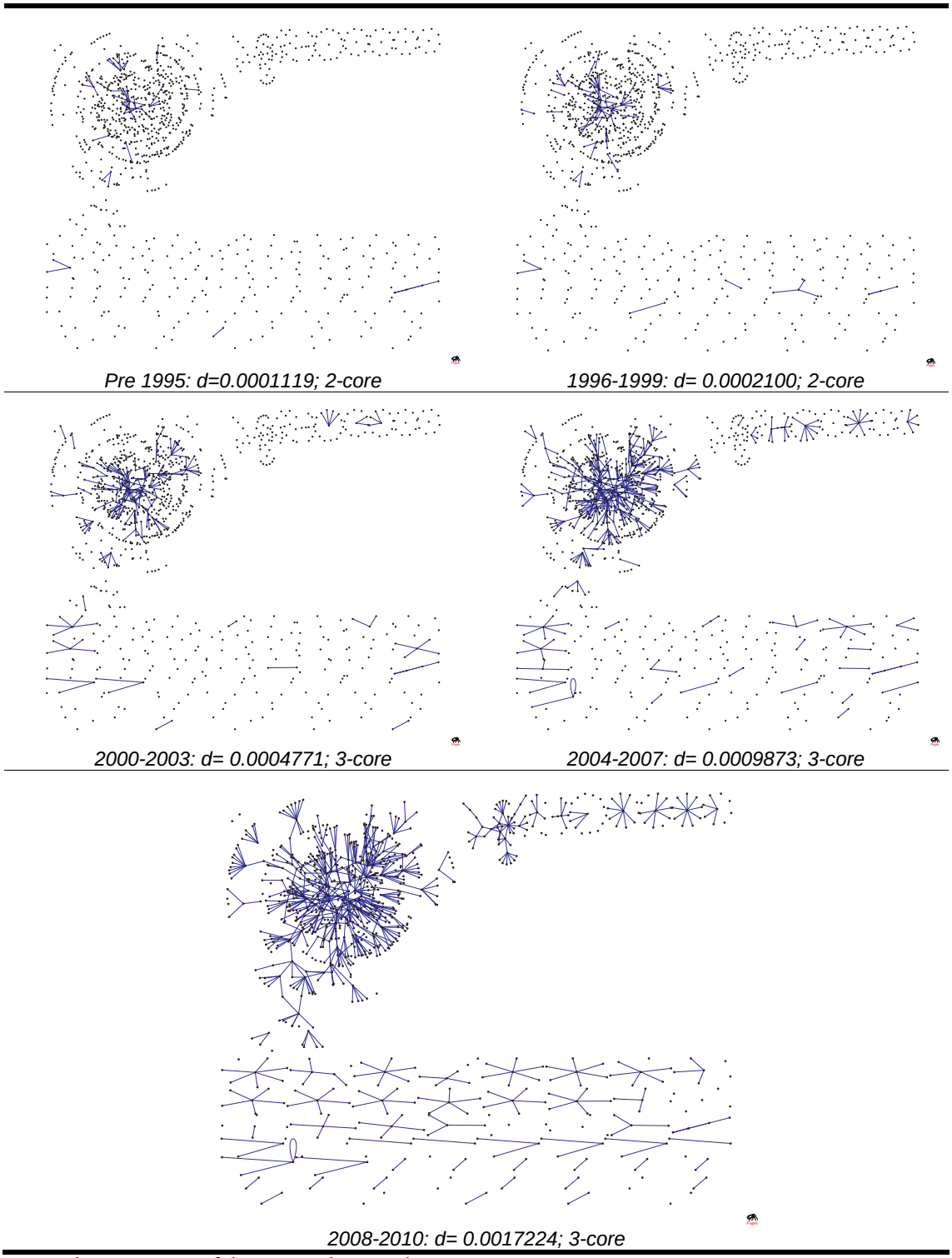

Figure 7. The expansion of the national network
N=936; processed with Pajek®; plot based on Kamada-Kawaii algorithm with separate components; all nodes depicted across period; links represent "join action"; data collected Sep-Nov 2010

Similarly, we have mapped the international network in which our respondent organisations are involved. We identified 380 nodes involving the respondent groups and their international partners (in the 2-mode network). When we remove the national organisations, we find 263 organisations mapped as international partners of our respondents (1-mode network).

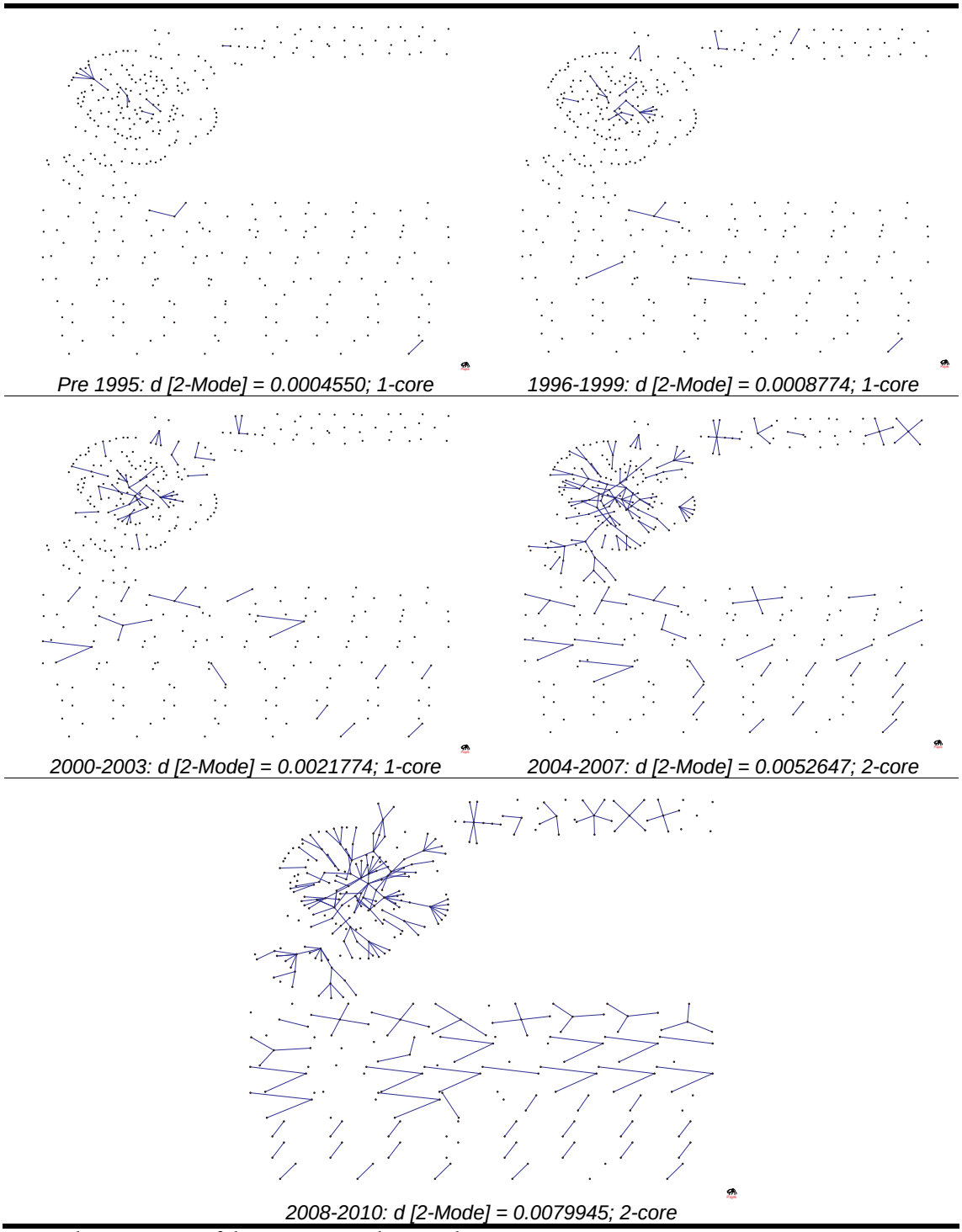

Figure 8. The expansion of the international network
N=380 (2-mode); processed with Pajek®; plot based on Kamada-Kawaii algorithm with separate components; all nodes depicted across period; links represent "join action"; data collected Sep-Nov 2010

What we can see here is the rapid growth of networks after the New Order regime fell and political chaos ended (i.e. after 1999). Seemingly, the end of the authoritarian New Order regime may have given new impetus for more involvement of civil society groups and communities, and their networks, in national politics. This represents a significant widening of the civic space in the country. Global civil societies paid close attention to the Indonesian situation and were willing to establish networks with Indonesian civil society. From 2003 up to the present time, the international networks appear to be more stable.

The depiction shows that both international and national networks of the respondent groups have become more cohesive over time (indicated by the increasing *k-core* and density). The link between nodes represents a unique notion, commonly understood as direct engagement, rather than merely networking (which can be anything from just knowing each other, being part of the same mailing list, to collaboration). Such engagement includes all activities implying real action including campaigning, coordination, collaboration, fund raising, other exchange activities and capacity building, etc. (we firstly asserted this in our earlier work, see Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008).

Some scholars (Anheier *et al.*, 2001; Bartelson, 2006; Kaldor, 2003) argue that such network dynamics reflect an evolution of amalgam of communities, groups, organisations, and movements within civil society. When aimed at achieving civic agendas like democratisation and freedom of information (which is the case in Indonesia) this coalescence is important because of two reasons. One, the civil society groups and communities often operate beyond the traditional boundaries of societies, polities, and economies (Kaldor *et al.*, 2004; Keane, 1998). Our findings on the Indonesian case, as exposed in this chapter, confirm this claim. Two, as such, civil society groups and communities can influence the framework of governance, even at the global level (Anheier *et al.*, 2001:11; Kaldor *et al.*, 2004:2)[6].

Some commentators argue that this widening of the civic space should be attributed to the use of the Internet in Indonesia (Hill, 2003; Hill and Sen, 2000, 2002; Lim, 2002, 2003a, b, 2004, 2006; Marcus, 1998; Tedjabayu, 1999), including in our own earlier works (Nugroho, 2008, 2010a, b, 2011). Indeed, the emergence of ICTs, particularly the Internet, has given new impetus for the birth, or, more precisely, the reinvention, of civil society (Hajnal, 2002). While these arguments are valid and in fact we extend them in our report here, we need to firstly present a clear picture of the Internet in Indonesia. Only after that can we discuss how civil society engages with the technology and uses it for social transformation.

2.4. In hindsight: Reflecting civic engagement and societal changes

Having presented the richness (or lack of it) of the Indonesian civil society sphere, we might want to reflect on whether or not, and to what extent, civil society can play a role in the betterment of society. This reflection is timely for we are witnessing how the nation is being torn apart due to the unsustainable exploitation of the environment and natural resources and the rising social tensions, caused not only by socioeconomic inequality but also massive growing intolerance over religious diversity.

Through this fieldwork (and also using evidence from many previous studies), we are convinced that the Indonesian civil society holds the key to preventing a national breakdown, where states (and markets) are apparently failing. Civil society is indeed a key agent of change, but in order for the change to take place, we need a more careful examination of the links between those existing in the sphere of 'civil society', i.e. citizens,

[6] Here we realise the need for future research to see how Indonesian civil society takes part, actively, in the global civil society dynamics. At the moment, what is available for academic discourse is only some accounts of our earlier research (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2010a, b, forthcoming; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008)

grassroots groups and communities, NGOs, and others. Moreover, we also need to know how the change takes place.

However, due to its limitation, this research is not designed to arrive at a solid theory of change on civil society or citizen action. Instead, it endeavours to empirically map some civic engagements of groups and communities within the Indonesian civil society that lead to societal changes.

A recent collaborative work of *HIVOS*, *Context*, *Institute of Social Studies* and *Broederlijk Delen* (Berkhout *et al.*, 2011) reminds us that the success of societal changes driven by civic activism (or as they call, "CDC, civic driven change") depends much on whether or not the knowledge gaps on how citizen action leads to social change, which are substantive, are properly addressed. What we have here indicates that the Indonesian civil society has been a vibrant sphere where, arguably, knowledge exchanges among groups and communities within civil society take place and are facilitated. Civic engagement as such, borrowing from Gaventa and Barrett (2010), is essential for "*the construction of citizenship, the strengthening of practices of participation, the strengthening of responsive and accountable states, and the development of inclusive and cohesive societies*".

We do not deliberately endeavour to substantiate Gaventa and Barrett's work (2010) using the Indonesian context. Instead it helps us to become more sensitive in examining the outcomes of civic engagement during our fieldwork, which has provided us with an overview of the Indonesian civil society sphere. It focuses more on groups and communities which are generic and almost spontaneously formed based on interest and concern, and not always formal in nature. To some extent, this is an update of our previous study (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2010a, b, 2011; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008) which dealt more with civil society organisations (CSOs) and non governmental organisations (NGOs). We have become increasingly convinced that not only is the civil society sphere vivacious; the groups, communities and organisations within it have indeed played a pivotal role in socioeconomic and political development in the country.

3.
Internet and social media in the contemporary Indonesia

I remember the first time we established our blogger group [AM]. It was very difficult. [In Makassar] there was rarely telecentres and they were so expensive. Luckily we received assistantship from the government through the Education Directorate who provided Internet access in schools that we could also use. ... The last two years witnessed the advancement of wireless Internet. Now you can easily spot coffee shops offering free wi-fi for their customers. Facebook has become a new phenomenon, affecting life of many people, including those in the very remote areas.
(Intan Baidoeri, Blogger Anging Mamiri, interview, 24/8/2010)

In Aceh, Tangerang, Batam, and Indramayu kiosks/outlets selling mobile phone's *pay-as-you-go* credit now have a new business activity. Not only can anyone buy mobile credit, they can also request a specific service for creating *Facebook* accounts, with a fee of IDR50k (USD5) per account. And once they do it, they usually remain as loyal customers, returning again and again when they forget their *Facebook* password. And that costs them IDR5k (USD50cent) per recovery. Absurd? Perhaps. But this is today an *online Indonesia*.

What Intan says in the quote above, briefly summarises the development of the Internet in Indonesia over the past fifteen years or so. From being a relative nobody in the Net-map, Indonesia has now quickly become one of the much discussed nations online with regards to the proliferation of Internet and social media use, from fun, to humanitarian causes (e.g. Doherty, 2010; Reuters, 2010; The Economist, 2011). The so-called Web 2.0 and new social media like *Twitter* and *Facebook* diffuse so rapidly in the country, affecting people's lives, for better and worse.

However, the extent to which the diffusion of the Internet and social media has impacted upon Indonesian societies remains largely unknown. Understandably, this is due to the vast geographical coverage and large spectrum of societal groups of the country and studying the use and impacts of the technologies in such circumstance is certainly not easy. Luckily, some historical notes of the development of the Internet in Indonesia since its early time have been documented by Onno W. Purbo, often referred to as the 'father of the Indonesian Internet' (see some important trajectories in Purbo, 1996, 2000a, b, 2002a, b). Other commentators have also tried to picture the development of the Internet, along with other information and communication technologies, in the country. Most of these records are in the form of grey-literatures (e.g. Manggalanny, 2010; Pacific Rekanprima, 2002; Purbo, 2002b; SalingSilang, 2011; Telkom, 2002; Wahid, 2003; Widodo, 2002), as opposed to academic accounts. We use both resources available at hand to help us understand the complexity surrounding this issue and hopefully illuminate the findings of our empirical study.

3.1. At the backdrop ...

In Indonesia the development of the Internet began in the early 1990s (Purbo, 2000a). In terms of users and subscribers, Indonesia is lagging behind other countries with less than 20% of the population (240 million) connected to the Internet (The Economist, 2011). In ASEAN, the highest penetration is in Singapore (29.9%), followed by Malaysia (25.15%). Over the past few years, the number of Internet users in Indonesia increased significantly. According to APJII (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers), the number of users leaped by 770% during 1998-2002, from half a million in 1998 to 4.5 million in 2002; then nearly doubled from 16 million in 2005 to 31 million in 2010 (APJII, 2010).

However, the latest report of the Indonesian Ministry of Information and Communication shows that, based on the National Census, 67% of the distribution of personal computer and 70.05% Internet access are concentrated in Java and Bali (in terms of ownership and access per household respectively) while other regions are largely left behind (Kominfo, 2010:47). Such disparities are also reflected in the spread of *warnet* –a most economical access point for people—which is still concentrated in big cities like Jakarta, Surabaya, Yogyakarta, Bandung and Semarang. This picture has not changed much since it was first mapped by Wahid (2003).

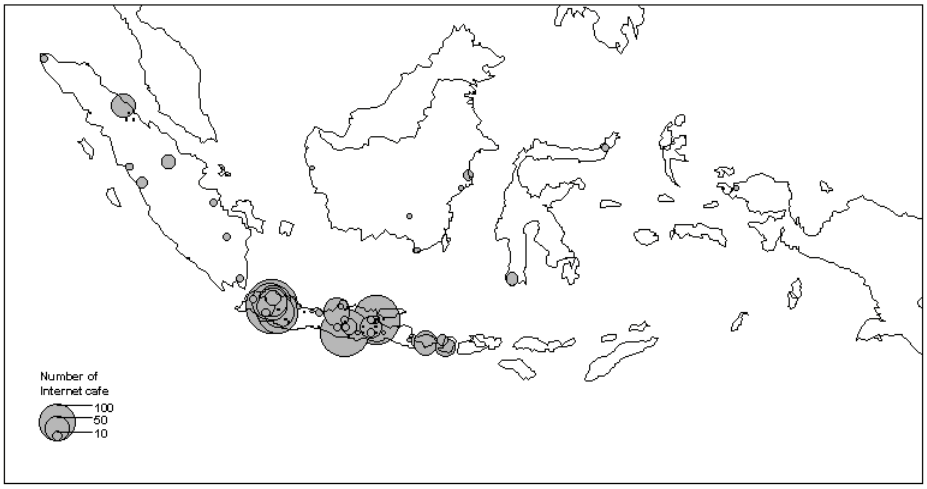

Figure 9. The diffusion of *warnet* (Internet kiosks) in Indonesia
Source: Wahid (2003), http://www.natnit.net – this figure is also depicted in Nugroho (2007)

This can be explained, using the same source, as the provision of information and communication infrastructure is also unevenly distributed. Both for cable and wireless telephony connections Java and Sumatra and the western part of Indonesia enjoy better infrastructure. In 2005, there were 24,257 villages (34.68% of total villages) in Indonesia with a cable telephone connection. In 2008 this number increased to 24,701 villages, but in terms of percentage it decreased to only 32.76% as the number of villages also increased. Most of them are in Java-Bali and Sumatra. A similar picture emerges for cable connection. Villages in Java have the most wireless connections (Kominfo, 2010:34). See Figure 10.

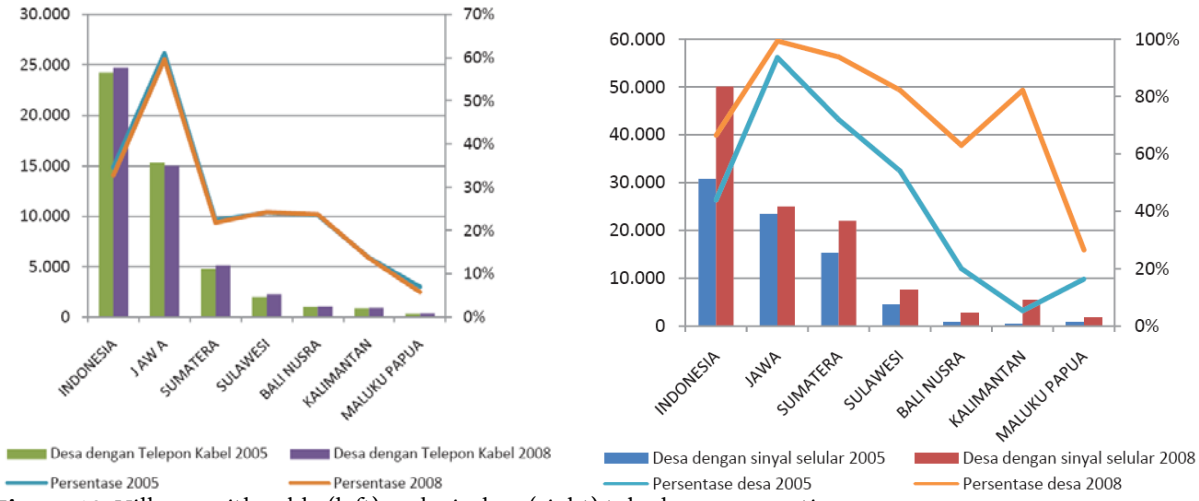

Figure 10. Villages with cable (left) and wireless (right) telephone connection
Bar legends indicate nominal in corresponding years; line legends indicate percentage.
Source: Kominfo (2010:34)

Unable to find recent, reliable data on the profile of Internet users in Indonesia, we turned to some grey literature to provide rough, but hopefully interesting and insightful pictures. For example, around two-third of users access the Internet from *warnet* (internet kiosk/telecentres) (Purbo, 1996, 2002b); of 512,000 Internet users in 1998, 410,000 (80%) were individual and the rest were corporate (Basuni, 2001). In 2002 there was a decrease in the number of home-based subscribers, but this was compensated for by commercial users (from 10, 539 in 2001 to 39,598 in 2002), which eventually helped Internet Service Providers (ISPs) 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)[7].

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 potential Internet users in Indonesia could reach 61 million when they accessed the technology from public clusters like universities, offices, schools and *warnets*, etc. (Telkom, 2002). But, although APJII (2003) finds that most of the users are educated (in addition to that they are predominantly young males(aged 23-35 years))[8], the number of Internet users from education institutions 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 (Purbo, 2002b)[9].

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7 This statistics is also featured in our earlier work (Nugroho, 2007)

8 To promote Internet use, APJII introduced a roadshow program called *Sekolah2000* (literally School2000) for students at the high-school level. At the same time, the Government also launched a similar program for vocational secondary education (SMK). In 2001, of 4,000 SMKs, 1000 were connected to the Internet.

9 This is the latest data available at the time of writing. It is believed that this number has significantly increased, although it may not change the bigger picture.

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, as discussed earlier, creating a so-called 'technological apartheid' (Castells, 1999). We briefly address this issue in the next section.

3.2. ICT: Bridging or dividing?

It is outside the remit of this research to analyse ICT policy in Indonesia, but certainly policy plays a vital role in the dynamics of Indonesian telecommunication. What the data shows is one level of disparity: Java vs. outside Java. This disparity can also be found in the urban vs. Rural sphere. These disparities are created, or perhaps more precisely caused, by the centralised development policy that has been in existence in Indonesia since the 1960s. In the aftermath of the 1998 reform, there was much hope that democratisation would not only be about political but also governmental systems, and that regional development would be prioritised. However, at least in the telecommunication sector, what we learn here shows that development is still very much unequal.

What makes this matter worse is *another deeper level of disparity* in ICT development, i.e. cable vs. wireless. Cable infrastructure is much less developed than wireless. The official government data confirms that during 2004-2009 there has been insignificant growth of cable penetration (4%) whereas wireless networks have grown tenfold (41%). Cable customers during 2005-2009 decreased at an average rate of 0.67% per year while wireless customer expanded at a rapid rate of 34% per annum (Kominfo, 2010:33).

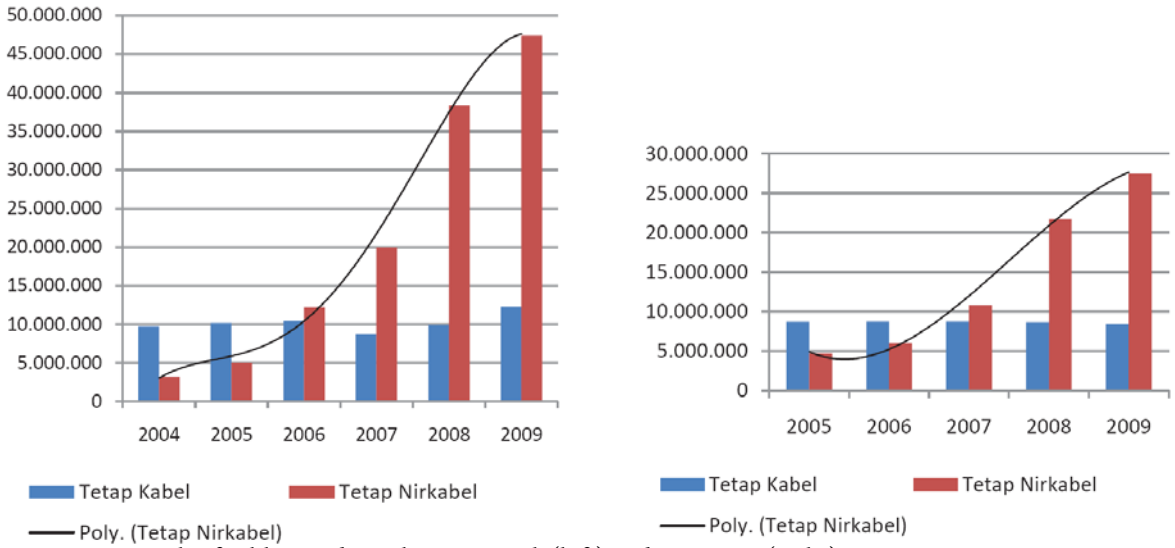

Figure 11. Growth of cable's and wireless' network (left) and customer (right)
Legends bar indicate cable (left/blue) and wireless (right/red).
Source: Kominfo (2010:33)

Such development has created an entirely new culture in Indonesia: mobile phone culture. The mobile phone is no longer perceived as a luxury, rather as a necessity (although in reality, putting it into the context of poverty in Indonesia, it still is something of a luxury to some). Even more so than in developed economies such culture has penetrated deep into society. However, what appears on the surface might be very different from what lies

beneath. We learn from our fieldwork that the implication of this mobile trend is much deeper than anticipated. Recalling our field observation in the southern part of Yogyakarta in Wonosari, a respected villager tells us:

> Mobile phone has changed our lives so much. Over there [he pointed to a direction] there used to be teakwood forest. But it is now gone. People cut the teak trees and sell it quickly in order to buy mobile phones and motorcycles! Nobody can live without mobile now. But it is expensive if you have to regularly top-up the [mobile] credit. So, we you have to find the job that lets you earn that much. What is it? *Tukang ojek* [motorcycle-taxi driver]! Because you can earn relatively easily, and THAT gives you money to top-up your mobile credit. See what I mean? (NN, Wonosari villager, interview, 12/10/10)

The issue of deforestation, which might appear to be poles apart from this technology, now seems inextricably linked.. The disappearance of hundreds of teakwood trees in an area which used to be famous for its teakwood forest, actually has a lot to do with the new mobile culture and life style that has penetrated the area. Is it only the teakwood forest that has gone missing? Apparently not. Our informant continued:

> Now we have no more *becak* (rickshaw) in this area. *Becak* drivers have to go somewhere else to find customers or to find a new job. This is also because of the mobile phone. Before we had mobiles we used to ride on *becak* when we got off from the bus. Now even before we arrived here, whilst still on the bus, we could call home using our mobile and ask our family members or relatives to pick us from the point we get off from the bus. Or, we can call *tukang ojek* who also has mobile phones. (NN, Wonosari villager, interview, 12/10/10)

Extreme as this seems; more was to come. In an informal gathering at CRI's (Combine Resource Institution) office in Bantul, some participants told another poignant story about the way in which mobile culture has jeopardised a supposedly (although some debate this) useful government initiative. A scheme called BLT (*Bantuan Langsung Tunai*, or Unconditional Cash Transfer) is a local/ regional initiative to provide monthly cash aids for deprived families. The scheme is designed to help the poor family to survive as the cash aid can cover the cost of *sembako* (basic needs). However, mobile culture has seriously damaged this scheme – at least in this area. Even the poor want to have mobile phones and once they have one, the costs do not stop there. Maintaining the use through topping-up the credit or paying regular bill takes a large proportion of what they can earn. Instead of buying basic needs, poor families are using up the BLT money to purchase top-up credit or pay phone bills. Cynically, BLT now has a new label: *Bantuan Langsung Telas*, or '*quickly used-up cash transfer*' (Group discussion, CRI workshop, Bantul, 12/10/10).

All these accounts show that mobile technology –in fact, any technology—has two conflicting sides. A praised and groundbreaking communication technology like the mobile phone has a real capacity for destroying the fabric of societal life, as clearly exemplified in this study. The dark sides of the technology (like deforestation, or loss of jobs) are surely never intended, but it is precisely there that (technology) policy matters: it should make sure that the unintended consequences of technological advancement are anticipated[10]. Development policies - technology ones included- are meant to ensure that the socio-economic divide can be bridged, not made wider.

With regards to broadband usage, cable broadband distribution at the moment covers less than 9 million users and with zero growth after more than 20 years industry protection. Cable broadband is only available in major cities like Java, Bali, Sumatera, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi, and more than 50% of the capacity is installed only in Jakarta and its satellite

[10] Here we find a strong rationale that a further research into policy might be needed.

cities (Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi). This situation forces people in the most rural areas to use limited & high cost VSAT services (Manggalanny, 2010).

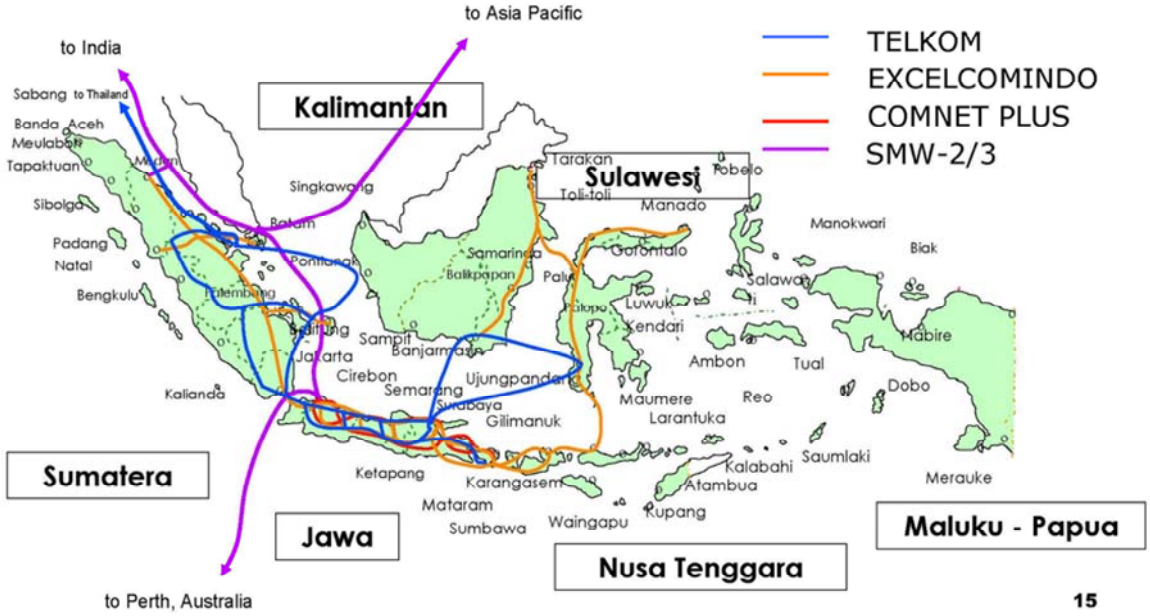

Figure 12. Existing fibre optic in Indonesia
Source: Manggalanny (2010)

Clearly, more cable is needed and the government is trying to realise this need through USO (universal service obligation). In the near future, interactive multimedia applications (e.g. triple play) will soon need bandwidth and this can only be handled by end-to-end reliable cable networks. Wireless networks, on the other hand, only fit to mobile services. Wireless networks are not intended to be used as carrier (inter-city) or distribution (inter-BTS) link. Technically, for fixed data and internet services, wireless networks are just a temporary solution to accelerate penetration and to boost growth. However for the longer term, it is only the cable networks that could answer the needs of extending network handling capacities and provide more reliable backhaul links.

Yet, without underestimating the problem of these multi-layered disparities, the adoption and use of ICTs have put Indonesians on the global map saliently, as one of the most active world Netters. We address this topic as part of our background context in this study

3.3. An 'always online' generation: Networking and social media

For some, Indonesia is communication heaven. Due to business competition and blatant price wars, the telecommunication market has been an attractive one. It is so appealing that "*... mobile contracts in the country are dirt-cheap. For Indonesians living in North America, it is often cheaper to buy an Indonesian SIM card and roam with it than it is to sign up for a local plan*," as reported by The Economist (2011). From our brief fieldwork in Aceh, Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, and Denpasar (October and December 2010) we note that a complete desktop computer, ready to surf the Net costs less than IDR5million (USD500); a netbook plus cellular data service modem can be purchased at IDR3million (USD300); internet-enabled mobile phones are available at less than IDR1million (USD100) – and this price is

getting lower day by day. All of these, with the monthly cellular or non-FO cable broadband subscription data at a flat rate of IDR200k (USD20), have probably changed the communication culture, and even life-style, of Indonesians who can afford it and live in an area where access is available.

These all have created what we call an 'always online' generation: those who are at all times, 24/7, connected to the internet and online communication networks. By March 2010, there were 3 million personal computers (including 2 million notebooks) sold in Indonesia. During the day time, 40% of the internet access in Indonesia originates from offices and schools/universities; and from cybercafés, hotspots and home at night. Sixty percent of the total connection is from other gadgets, netbooks, laptops, and mobile phones. Blackberry seems to be one of the most used devices, with around 1 million Indonesians using it – just like in the US—and the flat dataplan price just dropped from IDR300k (USD30) to IDR90k (USD9). ID-SIRTII estimate that there are approximately 135 mobile users, of which 85 million use GPRS (General Packet Radio Service) (although 175 GPRS numbers have been sold in the country, and only 45 million active) and 12 million subscribe to 3G (Manggalanny, 2010).

We can see here that the combination between the relatively low price of mobile gadgets and the dataplan, and the telecommunication infrastructure which is wireless-biased, has played a vital role in the emergence of this 'always online' generation. In both urban and rural areas, especially in Java and Sumatra, it is easy to find streets full of mobile and data plan outlets. What we saw in Yogyakarta for example, as depicted in Figure 12 below, can also be easily seen in other cities, especially in Java-Bali and Sumatra.

Figure 13. Mobile vendors in a street in Yogyakarta
Source: Private collection. Used with permission from MS. Widyartini

What do Indonesians do online? The latest data from the government reports that social networking is the most popular activity, even surpassing information searching (Kominfo, 2010). See Table 5.

Rank	Site	Rank	Site
1	*Facebook*	2	Google.co.id
3	Google	4	Blogger.com
5	Yahoo!	6	Kaskus
7	Youtube	8	WordPress.com
9	Detik com	10	4-shared
11	*Twitter*	12	KOMPAS.com
13	Wikipedia	14	VIVAnews.com
15	Detiknews	16	Clicksor
17	Angege.com	18	KlikBCA
19	Zudu	20	Kapanlagi.com

Table 5. Top-20 most visited sites by Indonesians when online
Source: Kominfo (2010:47).

Indeed, Indonesia is now the world's second-largest market for *Facebook* and the third-largest for *Twitter*. Without even an office in Indonesia, *Facebook* users have reached more than 35 million(Socialbakers, 2011), taking over the once-famous *Friendster* (this had been forecast back in 2009) (see Figure 14). Some 20.8% of Indonesian internet users aged over 15 tweet, making them the most prolific users of *Twitter* on the planet (compared to Brazil with 20.5% and the US with 11.9%) (Doherty, 2010) which left *Plurk.com* behind very quickly. In May 2010 *Yahoo!* ventured into the emerging social media market in Indonesia by buying *Koprol*, a location-based social network (The Economist, 2011). *Multiply* plans to set up an office in Jakarta to serve around 3 million loyal users who would like to sell goods and services using the platform (Jakarta workshop, 21/10/10).

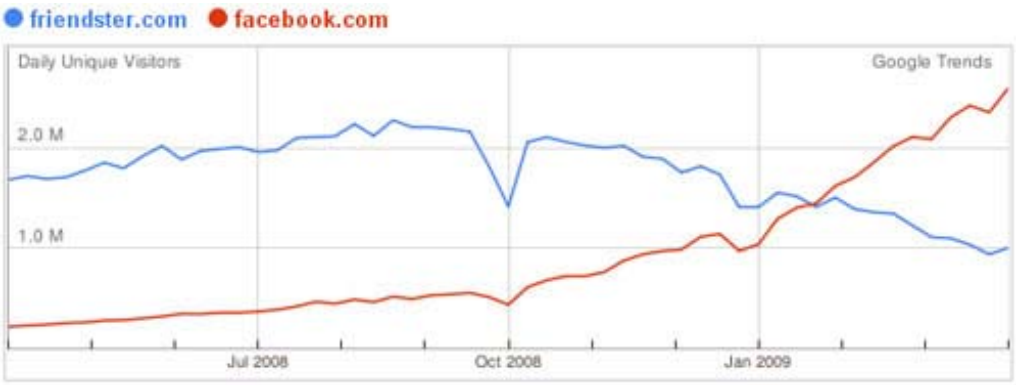

Figure 14. *Facebook* vs Friendster in Indonesia
Source: indonesiamatters.com (http://www.indonesiamatters.com/5072/time-wasters/)

This phenomenon may show that Indonesian culture seems to be highly receptive to online socialising. People love publicity, do not care much about privacy and happily follow trends – perhaps without knowing the exact consequences. A senior blogger from East Java asserts strongly, "*This is all about friends and attention. We love comments; we love to comment and, much more than that, to be commented [on]*" (SA, Malang-based blogger, Solo focus group, 11/10/10). Online lifestyle in Indonesia currently revolves around news, social networking, blogging, micro-blogging, chat, and online fun (e.g. games). Being online, for many Indonesians, also means creating an imagined self through the creation of g virtual identities.

In online gaming, the phenomenon of dual identity is much more common; sometimes to the extent of absurdity. In our fieldwork we met a group of die-hard gamers in Aceh who play *perfectworld* (http://perfectworld.lytogame.com/), one of the most famous online games in Indonesia, which has a number of local servers to handle huge data traffic. What makes *perfectworld* popular, apart from its attractive storyline, is its ability to serve social

networking and to create alternative persona so that the gamers can have a completely, but seemingly real, life. And they are willing to pay the price for that. A male player says,

> I spent nearly 30 million rupiah [USD3k] to buy new armours for my avatar. I also spent around 15 million rupiah [USD1.5k] to buy accessories. Now I am highly respected in the perfectworld land. People do not stand in my way. If they do I can easily kill [them]. … If I have to work, I pay my friend or my relative to keep my avatar online. … Of course these all are expensive [to buy armours, accessories, to pay people to play], but with all the respect I have now got in the gameland, that is not really expensive, I think. … So, yes, I am willing to buy some more equipments and accessories again, and to pay someone to keep my avatar online when I cannot. (NN, male perfectworld gamer, Aceh, interview, 5/10/10)

For a society with more than 30% of the population living on or below the USD1 per-person-per-day poverty line, what he does seems so difficult to understand. But things can be much more extreme than that. When asked what the most fascinating thing about online gaming is, one female player told us:

> What I like [about perfectworld] is that I can be entirely a new individual. I have a [online] husband there and I also have a [real] husband here. They know each other [in real life]. They even are helpful to each other. When X [*referring to her online husband*] had problems, Y [*referring to her real husband*] helped him to solve his problems. It was nice to see both engage very well. It is nice to feel I have two husbands who are ready to help me online and offline (NN, female perfectworld gamer, Aceh, interview, 5/10/10)

In Aceh, where these gamers live, and which is a strict Muslim community, her account sounds to be quite bizarre. This can be interpreted as reflecting the sense of 'internal rebellion' among female gamers against strict masculine Muslim culture, as much as the pure enjoyment of having two completely different, and yet unified, self identities. Whichever interpretation is true may matter less when it is put in a bigger picture, i.e. the political economy of online interaction. Online gaming is indeed a new emerging market: not only does this drives the development of online content, but it is done so that people can really earn money from a virtual world. 'Gold farmers' are a new example of this (Heeks, 2010). So, although these phenomena may be common elsewhere, we perhaps need to be cautious with the case of Indonesia, as it might be a special one, in that "*... its social networks freely integrate both real and imagined selves. The archipelago could prove a useful test market for tech firms seeking to enter the wide-open and barely understood social-networking markets of the rest of Asia*" (The Economist, 2011). *That* is the picture of Indonesia before market capitalism. Like it or not, it is the picture people are starting to make reference to.

The advancement of mobile phone technologies makes social networking easier. Recent research conducted by Salingsilang.com confirms that most of the 22.7 million tweets generated by 4.8 million people in January 2011 are mostly done from mobile gadgets (SalingSilang, 2011). If *Facebook* is used more to share life and what people are doing, *Twitter* has been a convenient means to exchange news and activities through micro-blogging. Blogging itself remains popular in Indonesia. Up to January 2011, Salingsilang (2011) tracked 4.1 million Indonesian blogs, mostly hosted in blogspot.com (81%), some in wordpress.com (14.5%) and the rest in other blog service sites. However, of all blogs tracked, only 32.67% were updated in the past three months. This suggests that despite being online, the bloggers are mostly busy doing other things – or, something else takes their blogging time.

In a focus group in Solo, during the discussion, a participant gave a hint:

> I think *Facebook* is sometimes more [psychologically] rewarding than blogging. If I blog, I have to think harder; I have to carefully compose the sentences and write the story of what I want to blog. I

> may end up with a post of 20 or more sentences. But after two days, if lucky, I only have a couple of comments. In *Facebook*, things are different. I can just post an eye-catching status, without having too much thinking, such as "I let you go..." and within minutes I will receive tens of comments from my friends and contacts. And so it is in *Twitter*. (Group discussion, Solo focus group, 11/10/10)

Apparently, what matters more and more to many people involved in social media or social networking, is not just interactivity, but immediate interactivity. Time has become an important dimension; swiftness determines not only what media is to be used, but also influences what is to be said. Whether or not a 'status update' (be it on *Facebook* or *Twitter*) reflects a thorough reflection or thought now matter less than it did before. Unfortunately, we do not really understand what the full consequences of this will be.

Nurturing the sense of community is also part of online activism. *Kaskus* is the largest Indonesian online community. It ranks as the 6th most popular website in Indonesia (Kominfo, 2010) and is one of two local sites in the top 10 (detik.com at 9th), positioning at 351st worldwide. As of 22 April 2010, *Kaskus* has more than 1.6 million registered accounts. As an online community *Kaskus* not only facilitates forum and discussion but also proves to be a trusted market platform. Every month, approximately IDR2billion (USD200k) worth of transactions take place in *Kaskus*. Yet *Kaskus* does not intend to impose transaction fees – like in other social media sites (Andrew Darwis, founder of *Kaskus*, personal account, 9/12/10).

Until relatively recently, social media was seen by most of the people as a place for socialising and befriending only. Yet several things happened and they have changed this perception. First, the *Prita Mulyasari* case: *Facebook* was used to congeal the voice of those disagreeing with the Omni International hospital and Attorney General's Office's reaction to her complaint. Then, tweets showed their influence in the the Ritz Carlton-Marriot bombings. Since Daniel Tumiwa first tweeted the news of the bombing followed by others sending first photos, not only did Indonesian tweets dominate the conversation in *Twitter* worldwide by pushing the hash-tag #indonesiaunite to the top trend topic, this movement also influenced many people's awareness of terrorism issues. Lastly, in the case of *Bibit-Chandra* (also known as *Cicak-Buaya* depicting a fight against corruption): *Facebook* and *Twitter* were used extensively by supporters and the dedicated *Facebook* page *'Gerakan 1,000,000 Facebookers Dukung Chandra Hamzah & Bibit Riyanto'* succeeded to gather over 1.3 million followers.

Figure 15. The dedicated *Facebook* page to support for Bibit-Chandra
Source: Internet (http://www.*Facebook*.com/group.php?gid=169178211590)

We know that the story of the 'other-side' of social media in Indonesia does not stop there. During the Mt. Merapi eruption in October-November 2010, for example, *Twitter* was heavily used by *Jalin Merapi* and Combine Resource Institution to mobilise volunteers and distribute aid to the victims. This was also the case (albeit to different extents) in other disasters like the tsunami that hit the Mentawai islands and major flood in Wasior, Papua, all in the same year. *Twitter* is also being used for socio-political movements. The 'Save Jakarta' movement, born in twitland (or 'twitpolis' as termed by its activists) is aimed at letting common citizens point out everyday problems that need to be fixed in the city by tweeting with the hashtag #savejkt. But in addition, @savejkt also sets its sight on influencing future elections in the city.

In sum, what we see here is that the Indonesian social media landscape is very dynamic. Both as an online sphere and as a market, it is big, growing and really active. Not only has it become a new media for information sharing, but it also has mediated more 'conversations.' With the imminent danger of information overload, what is needed is a credible party: news organisation or 'curator'. Conversations are manageable with the right tools.[11] Social networking media such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* suit Indonesia for a number of reasons. First, as argued here, mobile phones are very affordable. Second, there is already a strong sense of community in the Indonesian culture. Finally, as social media is driven by celebrity and something of an obsession with new technologies, trends spread quickly.

Although the Indonesian Internet and social media sphere may look like huge masses; these masses are diverse and hugely varied. While people like InfoCom Minister Tiffatul Sembiring may be a steady and prolific tweeter –despite that his tweets often ignite fury among others— millions of people living on islands distant from Jakarta have never even used a computer due to poverty and other social problems. This gap seems to be too wide to bridge.

But there are groups of people, part of Indonesian civil society, who are actively working with the common people, most of them poor and vulnerable. They, too, use Internet and social media in somewhat different ways – or at least use them to serve different purposes. We discuss this in the next chapter, and present our empirical findings.

[11] There is a need for deeper research to understand the dynamics of social media exchange in Indonesia and its impact.

4.
Indonesian civil society online: Profiles and patterns

We use Facebook and Twitter for socialising purpose, to attract audiences to visit our website or blog. On the other hand, we maximise the use and functionality of our Wordpress blogs and website. We have one website and four sub-blogs. They are essential because text is our capital. People's comments are currency. We want people to comment. We learn and reflect from them, then we can write new posts ... In turn, this also helps us update our Twitter and Facebook. All new articles are promoted through them. In other words, we use social media as promotion tools. We also maintain our mailing list as that keeps the option open for those who prefer conventional exchange. And there are many of them.
(Ferdi Thajib, Senior Researcher, KUNCI-Yogyakarta, interview, 25/8/10)

Since the infamous NusaNet, a dial-up access at 9.6Kbps and an encrypted email system established in the early 1990s by INFID, Indonesian civil society communities and organisations have become active Netizens. Many groups and organisations within civil society in Indonesia started using the Internet, reaping its benefit to exchange ideas and develop networks with other organisations and activists. Until the late 1990s and the early 2000s, most of them were in the most active subset of CSOs (civil society organisations), i.e. NGOs (non-governmental organisations) like WALHI and YLBHI. They played an important role in providing Internet training to NGOs and democracy activists alike, all of which were proven crucial when it came to coordinating campaigns and protests in cities throughout Indonesia and consolidate the movement to challenge and eventually bring down Suharto's authoritarian regime (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2009).

After Soeharto's era, the sphere of Indonesian civil society has become much more dynamic. Over the past ten years or so, we have witnessed the blossoming of civil society activism. Many groups have emerged, both formal (established and legalised by Notary act) and informal (groups of users, communities, etc.), networking with both national and international organisations alike, and they have both shaped and been shaped by the social, economic and political development of the country. We argue, in our earlier works (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010a, b, 2011; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008) that this development has been very much characterised by their use of ICT, particularly the Internet.

With regards to the use of the Internet by Indonesian civil society, despite being active users, the ways in which civil society organisations use the technology is very much characterised by their organisational profile (demographic features) and whether they are an early or late adopter of the technology. Early adopters are likely to be established, large and 'rich' organisations (Nugroho, 2007, 2010b). But another factor that also influences the user profile is that of issues and concerns. The early and late majority adopters 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 the like) (Nugroho, 2010a, b). However, since the distinction between advocacy and development is blurred, which in part is also affected by Internet use itself (Nugroho, 2008), it is understandable that some organisations working in development-related issues and concerns can also be found in the majority group, whereas 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.

In terms of application, for civil society groups, it appears that email is the most used , followed by mailing lists, and web (Nugroho, 2007). This use has contributed much to the dynamism of the civil society sphere. One of the most visible dynamics, perhaps, is the widening network of Indonesian civil society, which not only link with national organisations but also with global civil society groups, despite criticism (Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008). However, when we look at the organisational level, we find that the technological adoption trajectory is quite different to firms or public sector institutions. Civil society groups tend to configure technologies to meet their needs. They develop their 'configurational capability', and as such, they do not just adopt and use the technology – they appropriate it (Nugroho, 2011).

Now, has the picture changed? In this study we revisit and update our previous works and, through fieldwork data collection, we ask a further, deeper, question: *What processes are involved in the creation, and contribute to the organisation, expansion and sustainability of civil society groups and organisations when they adopt and use new media and ICT?*

4.1. Internet and social media: adoption, use, and appropriation

We find from our survey that some 78% of our respondents start using the Internet within the first three years of becoming established (with 64% immediately upon establishment). See Table 6. Taking into account that most of these organisations are set-up after the reform era, and at the time when the Internet is relatively more available, these groups and communities are early adopters of Internet technology[12].

#	Answer		n	%
1	Yes, immediately upon established		150	64%
2	Yes, within a year since established		8	3%
3	Yes, within 1-3 years since established		25	11%
4	Yes, after 3 or more years since established		48	21%
5	No. Why?		3	1%
	Total		234	100%

Table 6. When did your organisation start using the Internet?
N=234

When we investigated those who do not use the Internet, we found that this was due to the unavailability of an adequate internet access.

From those who use the Internet we further asked about some basic Internet applications that they use/adopt. Mailing lists are used by 75% of the respondents who connect to the Internet. Whilst 72% of the respondents have an organisation website, which is currently seen as *the* must-have online presence, much less (39%) have blogs. See Table 7. We looked, at a more detailed level, into the reasons that those organisations do not use website.

[12] We refer to the classical adopter category as proposed in the diffusion of innovations research (Rogers, 1995)

Among the most common reasons are that they cannot afford a decent one; they do not have the expertise needed to create and maintain the website; and that there is no one in the organisation capable of managing it.

Does your organisation/community/group use …											
mailing list?				website?				blog?			
#	Answer	n	%	#	Answer	n	%	#	Answer	n	%
1	Yes	174	75%	1	Yes	167	72%	1	Yes	90	39%
2	No. Why?	57	25%	2	No. Why?	64	28%	2	No. Why?	144	61%
	Total	231	100%		Total	231	100%		Total	231	100%

Table 7. The use of Internet technologies
N=231

With regards to blogging, which seems to be unpopular at least among our respondents, we investigated further to see what was causing this reticence. It appears, in most cases, that the functionality of the blog as a tool for information updating has been covered in the website. Other salient reasons include the lack of time for continuous updating and that there are no staff who can take care of the blog. Can this fact indicate a low uptake of web 2.0 among Indonesian civil society? Quite possibly, especially if we take a macro perspective. Among our respondents are blogger communities, a subset of civil society groups, and through them we endeavour to understand blogging as civic activism.

Currently there are some 20 blogger communities across archipelago, mostly concentrated in Java-Bali, then Sumatra, and some in Kalimantan and Sulawesi (SalingSilang, 2011). They are connected with each other and often collaborate closely.

Figure 16. Map of blogger communities in Indonesia
Source: SalingSilang.com (2011)

Why do they blog and why can blogging be seen as constituting civic activism? Some interview accounts below may provide us with some perspectives on their goals and missions and concerns:

> [We] blog with a mission: to promote cultural heritage in Ponorogo. We feel that in Ponorogo we have a very special cultural heritage, i.e. *reyog*. But it is not well promoted to people outside this region. So, that becomes one of our missions. We, bloggers in Ponorogo, gather and we feel united in our willingness to make people out there know and get familiar with our culture. … I think, to

> some extent, we succeed. Even the local government, who actually did not do their job to promote our local culture [like *reyog*] has now recognised what we are doing and is now supporting us (KAM, Ponorogo-based blogger, interview, 7/9/10)
>
> Many of us already blogged before we established [the community: Plat-M]. Our mission is to write, to blog, everything about the potentials in Madura island. We want Madura to be exposed in the virtual world. We want as many people to know about Madura as possible. So far, if you query about Madura in search engines like Google, most likely only bad things, or negative content about Madura that appear. So we want to counter this. We want to write as many positive contents about Madura as possible. This includes people, customs, culture, etc. (NA, Madura-based blogger, interview, 8/9.10)
>
> [As] a community of bloggers, we want to educate our society – our local society. We want to educate them how to write and how to blog properly. We want to build what we call *citizen journalism* and we want to be the bridge between the people and the government. It is to realise what we want that we have some programmatic agenda such as *workshops*, *trainings*, and discussions on blogging. We have collaborated with the local government to organise a blog competition [in Depok]. It was because of that event we could communicate our ideas with the government, also business, and we managed to gather so many bloggers in Depok to share our idea about educating the society. … Another event that we organise is *ngabubur-IT* [*Sundanese word ngabuburit means gathering*]. We invited people from seven cities and now the event is very well known. This gave birth to the *interne tsehat* [healthy internet], which has a very strong visibility and influence in Indonesian *cyberspace* – so strong that the Minister of Information and Communication even uses the same label. Those events that we organise have had big impact and influence and made us, Blogger Depok, well know. We want to be model for other communities and for the society (DM, Depok-based blogger, interview, 27/8/10, original wordings in italics).
>
> [Our] main goal is to make people in Surabaya know and get more familiar with blogging. Our main activity is capacity building – we do trainings on blogging. We also organise dissemination workshops and seminars and radio talk-shows to introduce blog and blogging. We also disseminate the idea of *internet sehat* [healthy internet] and *internet aman* [safe internet] as wide as possible. So, yes, the main element of our activity is indeed capacity building. (NR, Surabaya-based blogger, interview, 22/8/10)

What we find, and as the quotes above assert, is that blogging has indeed changed, and at the same time been changed by, the landscape of civic activism in Indonesia. Despite being small in number, blogs can facilitate and animate movement. In our field observation we heard a story from an Aceh Blogger Community who helped refugees from Rohingya, Myanmar, sometime in 2009. Rohingya people are Muslims who were oppressed in their home country and were told to leave it. Quite a large number of these people took Refugee in Aceh. On 20 February 2009, the Aceh Blogger Community donated to the local government of East Aceh some IDR5.1million (USD500) for some 200 Rohingya refugees there. The Aceh Blogger Community, together with the Linux User Community in Aceh spent more than two weeks doing two things: (1) campaigning for support for these refugees through blogs and *Facebook* and (2) collecting money directly from the public. They blogged at night and stood on street junctions in Banda Aceh during the day with donation boxes, asking people to donate. Thanks to their postings in blogs and *Facebook*, and thanks to the blooming internet café across Banda Aceh since the Tsunami , people were aware of the situation. Not only did they give generously, they also become supporters of the cause, forcing the government to take more careful and friendly steps in dealing with these refugees. No matter how small the donation was, it "*...meant so much for them* [refugees] *not only that this is Muslim solidarity, but moreover because of the humanitarian solidarity. We do not discriminate based on neither ethnicity, nor religions*" (NN, Aceh Blogger Community, focus group discussion, 5/10/20).

What about other Web 2.0 or social media applications? We asked this in the survey and it is apparent that Indonesian civil society groups, as represented in our respondents, are active users. *Facebook* is *the* most widely used social media, followed by *Twitter* and *Youtube*.

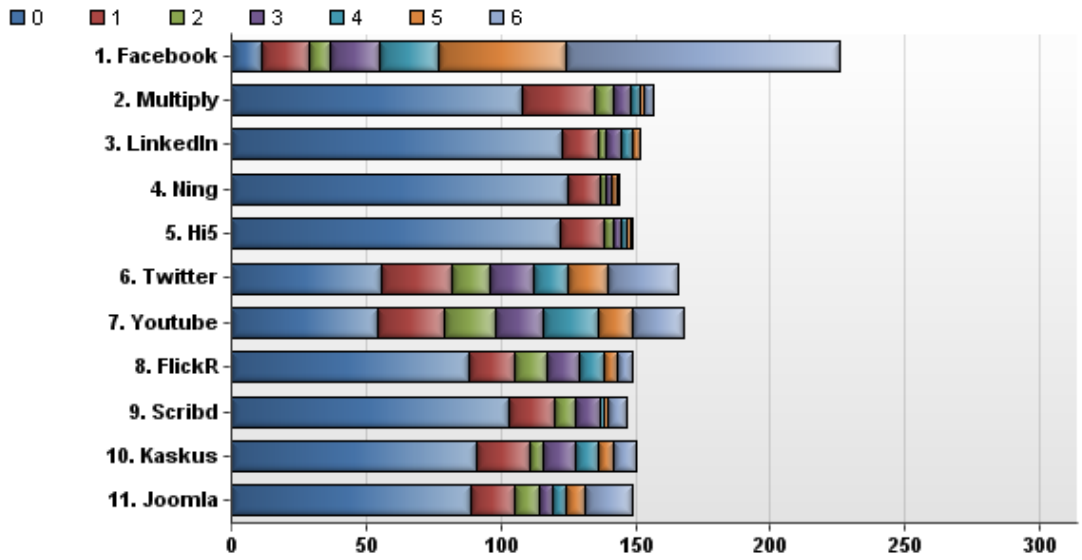

Figure 17. The use of new social media in Indonesian civil society communities and organisations
N=231; multiple responses allowed; 0=not at all, 6=very intensive

With this advent of social media in particular and the Internet in general, one might ask, at this point, how the use of this technology can be managed in civil society? Indeed, using or adopting technology is one thing; strategically managing it is a completely different matter. Our fieldwork informs that, unfortunately, not many civil society groups properly devise strategies to use the wide range of Internet technology today. Among the few that do, AIMI-ASI (*Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia*, or Indonesian Association of Breastfeeding Mothers) share its experience,

> [We] use all popular technologies [which are] available. We us mailing list, website, *Facebook* and *Twitter*, of course in different proportions. This all depends on the purposes that we have. We find different technology can serve different purpose. We use [mailing] list *ASI for Baby* as a media for sharing and information exchanging for our members. [This is a] two-way interaction. For example a new mom who has problems with breastfeeding will share her problem in the list, then other moms will share their experience and try to help. … Website is designed as *the* information point. We post all information, both educative material on breastfeeding and news about our activities, in the website. The [educative] material we provide covers numerous topics on breastfeed, breastfeeding, breast milk, including related regulations and laws. … We have our organisation *Facebook* page that we use as a medium for consultancy for members. The moms seek advice through the *Facebook* page and we give answer and advice through dedicated system and staff called *on floor lactation* and *lactation counsellors*. We use *Twitter* to recruit new members. Not all of our followers are our members. Not all of our followers know about us. Not all of our followers even know about breastfeeding properly. So we use it to reach out. Not much can be said within the 140 characters, though. So we just post brief information about breastfeeding, short consultancy, and links to articles and information in our websites... so if you asked which one we used the most, I cannot really answer because they all are used to serve different purposes (MS, Jakarta-based advisory group, interview, 20/8/10).

What AIMI shows is an act of Internet and social media appropriation, i.e. a strategic use where the user directs the technology for their own purposes, utilises it to achieve their own objectives and makes it their own – rather than mere adoption or use. If Indonesian civil society groups and communities are to make significant impacts, they have to appropriate technologies which are available to them, and not just use or adopt it uncritically. Of course this is not easy as they have to understand not only about what different technologies can do, but more importantly about the different purposes the organisation has that can be served by these different technologies. This, certainly, is the

area where further works are needed – in order to strengthen the profile of the technology use of civil society.

Using new media technology does not mean that conventional media is left unutilised. SMS remains as the most used, followed by Blackberry messenger, perhaps as an impact of the 'Blackberry-boom' in Indonesia. In addition to this, media like radio and television are also still alive at community level, in which the society, and the people themselves, define what is to be broadcast. The survey shows that quite a number of civil society communities use community radio, and relatively fewer, community television.

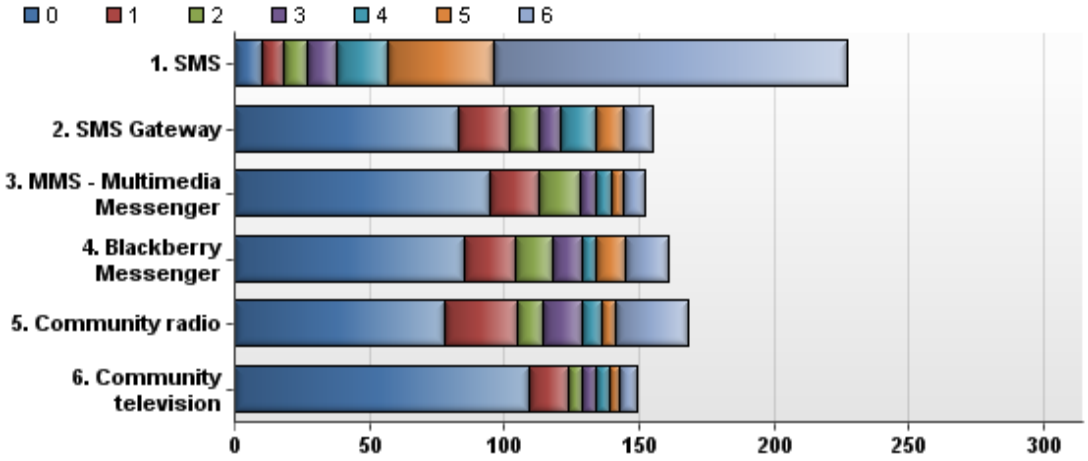

Figure 18. The use of conventional media in Indonesian civil society groups and organisations
N=231; multiple responses allowed; 0=not at all, 6=very intensive

It is not uncommon to see civil society groups use more than one media, combining both new and conventional ones. However from our exploration, this sort of use is not widely strategised – and instead is used more arbitrarily or reactively. For example, using SMS and Blackberry messenger alongside email, website, *Twitter*, and *Facebook* is often done in an *ad hoc* manner, rather than being carefully planned and designed. When used in convergence, different technologies can make huge impact.

Here, the experience of *Combine Resource Institution* (combine.or.id) which helped *Jalin Merapi* coordinate the mobilisation of humanitarian voluntary workers and aids during the havoc caused by the eruption of Mt. Merapi in October 2010 may be a good example. The news and update (be they about the refugees or about the volcanic activities of the mountain) were sent by the volunteers via HT (handy transceiver), or SMS. This news and update were then relayed to tens of thousands followers of *Jalin Merapi* (@JalinMerapi and @JalinMerapi_en), which then automatically appeared on the dedicated page http://merapi.combine.or.id, spread through the *Facebook* page (http://www.*Facebook*.com/pages/Jalin-Merapi/115264988544379) and was broadcast over the community radio network. The website itself then functioned as a landing page which integrated all information to and from the public and converged all media involved in the creation of the content.

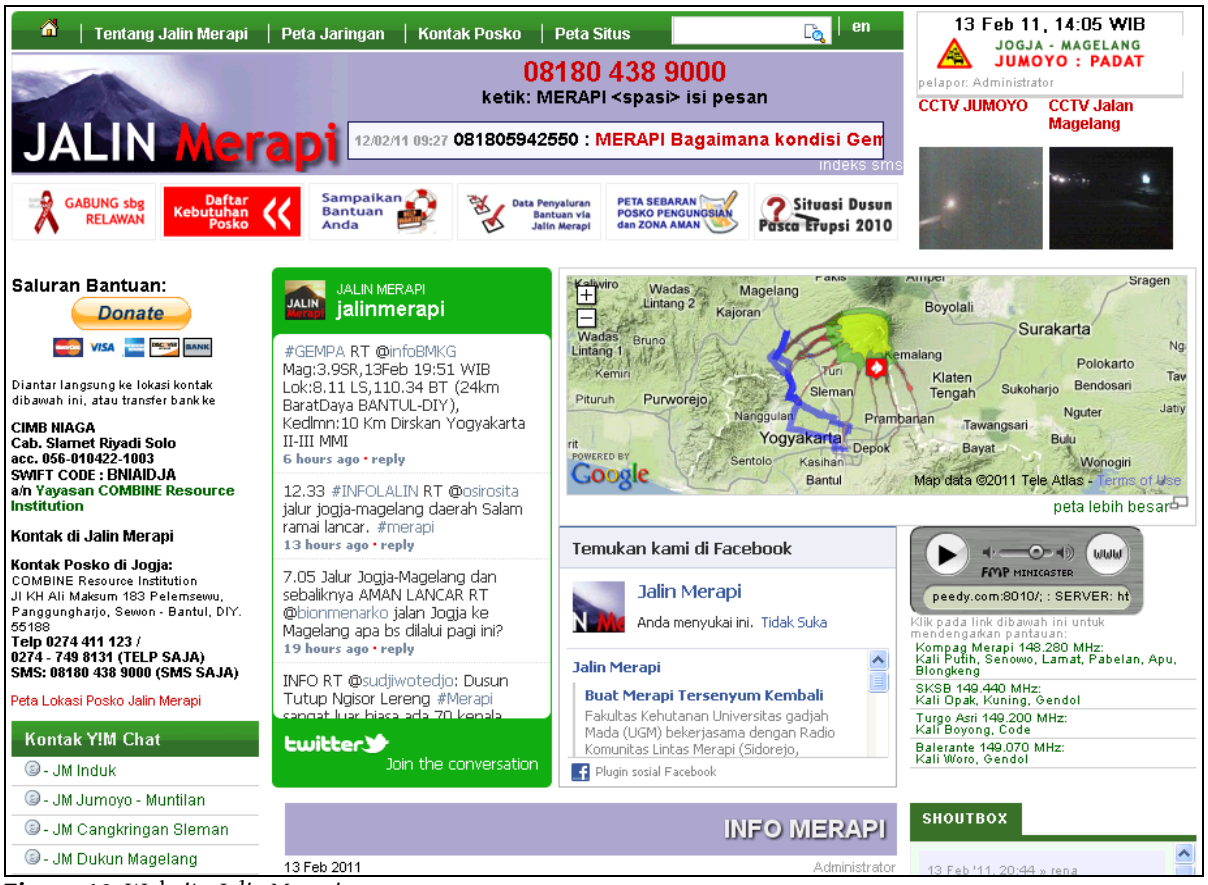

Figure 19. Website *Jalin Merapi*
Source: http://merapi.combine.or.id – visited 13/2/11

The convergence between new social media (*Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Blog*) and the conventional ones (community radio, HT, SMS) as shown by CRI and *Jalin Merapi*, or media strategy such as demonstrated by AIMI-ASI earlier, certainly do not take place in a vacuum. Furthermore, it is not only about technology use, but the real work, engagement, and involvement of the volunteers in *Jalin Merapi*, and AIMI-ASI likewise. It is this kind of use –which is appropriated, strategic and impacting—and it is grassroots involvement and work with beneficiaries and people that should be the aim for civil society groups and organisations when using and adopting technology.

Here we may recall the work of Callon and Law (1997) who underlined that the capacity for strategy is '*an effect of a more or less stable arrangement of materials*' (p.177). From this view, strategic action is a collective property, rather than something carried out by individuals in the collective. The example of *Jalin Merapi* and AIMI-ASI substantiate this paradigm. However as use and adoption is also never a black-box-like process (Molina, 1997; Nugroho, 2011), we need to see what actually drives, as well as inhibits, civil society groups and communities in using Internet and social media.

4.2. Drivers and barriers to Internet and social media adoption

An important point informed by diffusion theory is that it is the individual's perception of the attributes of an innovation that affects adoption, not those attributes defined by experts. There are 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, 1995). We use this insight in our attempt to explore and explain why Indonesian civil society groups and communities adopt the Internet and social media and what perceptions have characterised the reason for adoption, be it from internal or external perspectives.

Drivers

When asked about the organisational internal reason for using the Internet and social media, most of our respondents say that it is mainly because of (1) information-related reasons (seeking alternative data source, etc.), (2) identity reasons (to increase public visibility, etc.), (3) performance reasons (to achieve missions, targeted goals, etc.), (4) technology-related reasons (catching up with technological advancement), and (5) financial reasons (saving cost for communication, administration, back-office, etc.). Much less than a quarter of the respondents feel that their organisation/group/community uses the Internet because of a bottom-up initiative or conversely, top-down instruction.

Figure 20. Organisational internal reasons for using Internet and social media
N=231; multiple responses allowed; 0=not at all, 6=very intensive

This finding may suggest that while the need to be kept up to date with current information is the strongest internal driver for Internet and social media adoption, reasons related to increasing an organisation's public visibility have internally driven the adoption more strongly than the increasing effectiveness and efficiency of works and a 'craving' for new technology.

Externally, some of the top reasons for adopting the Internet and social media in civil society are networking, collaboration and extending knowledge and perspective. This also shows that the issue of competition is not an important one for adopting the Internet and social media in civil society. See Figure 20.

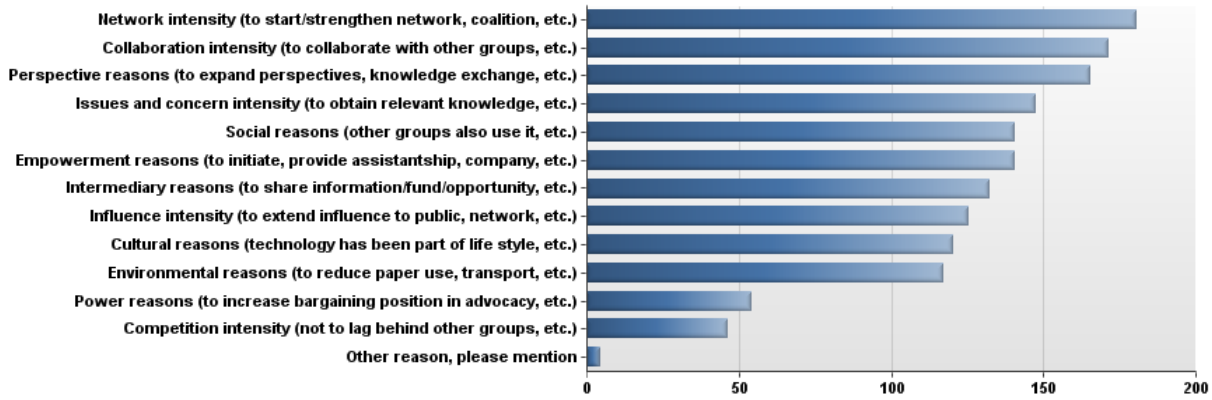

Figure 21. Organisational external reasons for using Internet and social media
N=231; multiple responses allowed; 0=not at all, 6=very intensive

This result highlights some points of interest. One, the main reason for adoption seems to have risen from the need for mutual relationships with other communities, including networking, collaboration, widening perspectives and to seek knowledge. In contrast, organisational egocentric motives like accumulating power, gaining influence or competing against each other are significantly low drivers for the adoption. Two, social esteem (e.g. adopting Internet and social media because it is popular and used by other organisations) drives the adoption more than the need to facilitate changes does (e.g. empowerment, intermediary, and influence reasons).

Barriers

Now, having mapped the drivers, we pose the question of what the barriers to Internet and social media adoption are? 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 the Internet and social media, and the other one, the extent to which some factors hampered Internet and social media use.

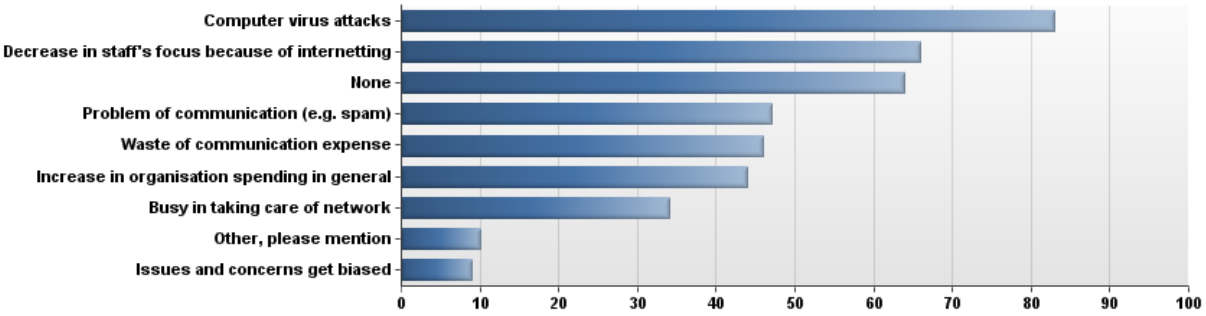

Figure 22. Negative aspects caused by Internet and social media use
N=231; multiple responses allowed; 0=not at all, 6=very intensive

The most observable negative aspect of Internet and social media use in civil society seems to be a technical one (computer virus). Yet, what is striking, although not surprising, is that in a significant number of cases, the technology is distractive to the organisation staff. Internet and social media use is not really seen to cause the organisation's issues and concerns to become biased.

In terms of difficulties, the survey shows that lack of money, resource, infrastructure and expertise seem to be high (moderate to very high) on the list. Perhaps due to the nature of the organisation, problems like internal policies, external politics, conservative cultures, and many others, do not contribute significantly (low and very low) to the difficulties in the use of Internet and social media in the majority of Indonesian civil society groups and communities. See Figure 22.

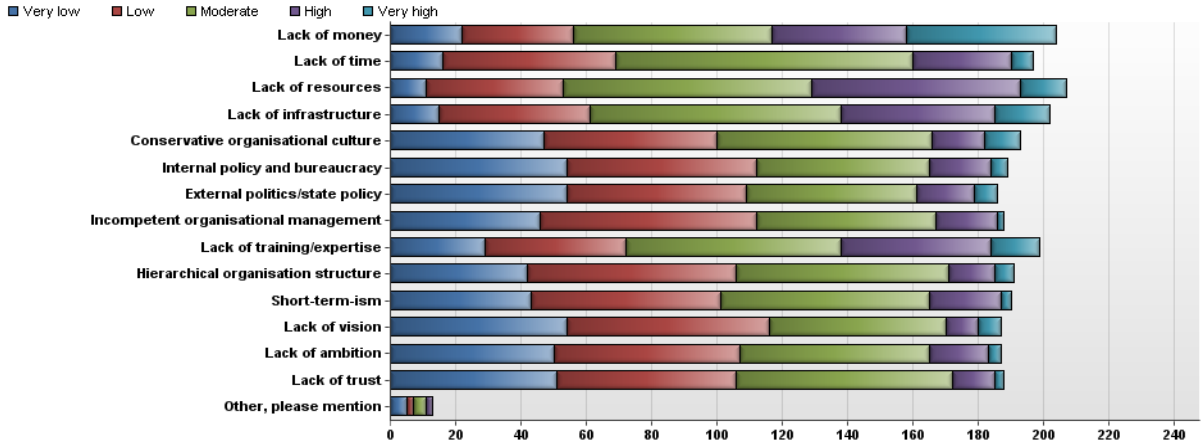

Figure 23. Difficulties in the use of Internet and social media
N=231; multiple responses allowed; 0=not at all, 6=very intensive

From these findings, it seems that the barriers to Internet and social media adoption are more technical (in all respects) than substantial across our respondents. This reflects some common problems experienced by late adopters, which perhaps strengthens the indication that civil society is lagging behind (despite probably having ability to quickly catch up) in the adoption of Internet and social media. This may also relate to the particular circumstances in Indonesia where the availability of Internet access and the development of telecommunication infrastructure is unequally distributed.

Perceived attributes

The data on the internal and external drivers of Internet and social media adoption in Indonesian civil society can be used to assess perceived attributes that determine adoption rate (Rogers, 1995). The first attribute is *relative advantage*, i.e. the degree to which an innovation is perceived as being better than the idea it supersedes, which can be expressed as economic profitability or as conveying social prestige. Internally, many groups within Indonesian civil society perceive that the Internet and social media enable organisations to be more knowledgeable and to be more visible publicly. Externally the technologies are perceived to help the way that communities network and collaborate.

The second attribute is the *compatibility* of the technology with the organisation's values, aims and needs. It is evident that external reasons for the adoption of the Internet and social media are heavily characterised by the notion of compatibility. They are perceived to be compatible and can fulfil the needs for networking and better collaboration in civil society. In addition, it is also perceived to be able to offer relevant knowledge and information according to the issues and concerns of the organisations and is also seen as effective means to disseminate information and thus to empower and to influence society.

The third attribute is *complexity*. It has been commonly perceived that the Internet and social media represent hi-tech products that can be quite complex to understand and use and requires an element of 'learning' in the user. Despite the claim that advancement in technological devices will make them easier to use, still, civil society needs to learn how to use the technology. They need to invest more time and effort to effectively, strategically (and politically) use the technology.

The fourth and the fifth attributes, *trialability* and *observability*, seem to go together in characterising the Internet as an innovation when adopted in civil society. In many cases civil society communities would need to observe the results of adopting the new technology, which can only be achieved through experimenting with it 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.

In hindsight, from the points on the perceived attributes above, it seems that it is the 'newness' embedded in the Internet and social media that brings so many qualities and drives civil society to adopt the technology. What can we expect to see when civil society takes advantage of this 'newness' through appropriation?

4.3. Beyond communication tools?

We asked our respondents how they used, and later appropriated, Internet and social media. Most of them access it through high-speed connection – taking advantages of being located in Java and/or cities where broadband access is available.

#	Answer	n	%
1	None. We do not provide internet access in the office	6	3%
2	Dial-up access	37	17%
3	Broadband (cable, ADSL, etc.)	124	56%
4	None. We use public internet kiosks/telecentres	19	9%
5	Access through other organisation's	9	4%
6	Other, please mention	27	12%
	Total	222	100%

Table 8. The provision of Internet access in civil society groups and organisations
N=222

Our direct observations across four regions (from Aceh to Denpasar) during fieldwork in October 2010 confirm that telecommunication infrastructure remains problematic. The unavailability of, or unequal access to, infrastructure hampers many civic groups or communities in carrying out activities on the Net. To name a few: narrow bandwidth restricts video or media activisms in cities like Yogyakarta and Jakarta (HF, interview, 26/8/10); bloggers (and Netizens alike) in Ngawi can only rely on *Warnet* (internet kiosks) due to unavailability of Internet access (SA, interview, 7/9/10).

As logical consequence of this, mobile-internet (over mobile phone platforms) has become a widely spread mode of use. In turns, this shapes not only the activism of civil society on the Net, but also the Internet use in civil society itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that on the issue of **social media application**, mobile-friendly apps are popular. As also confirmed in the survey and interviews, the observation corroborates that *Facebook* (and *Twitter*) are the

'killer applications' that dominates the internet-use landscape in civil society groups and communities. Many civic groups are also found to be actively using the media as a channel for campaign, advocacy, and recruitments. Yet, how do they shape the Net? How do they contribute to the creation of the content?

It seems the engagement with new media has somewhat changed the way Indonesian civil society accesses the Net. Today, not only do they access information available on the Net, they also provide information that others can access.

#	Answer	n	%
1	We provide much more information than what we access	46	21%
2	We provide more information than what we access	30	14%
3	Balance between providing and accessing information	108	49%
4	We access more information than what we provide	33	15%
5	We access much more information than what we provide	5	2%
	Total	222	100%

Table 9. Provision and access of information on the Net
N=222

About half of our respondents provide at least as much information as they access. Some 35% even provide more information than they access. This means, arguably, that Indonesian civil society has been actively contributing to the creation of the content of the Net – not solely communicating and exchanging news.

We also investigated the extent to which civil society groups and communities use Internet in their activities. Most of them (45%) use it in nearly all aspects and a significant proportion (38%) use it in some important aspects in their activities.

#	Answer	Response	%
1	We use it in nearly all aspects in our activities	98	45%
2	We use it only in some important aspects in our activities	82	38%
3	We use it only in some aspects in our activities	36	17%
4	No. We don't use it at this level	0	0%
	Total	216	100%

Table 10. The use of Internet and social media in civil society groups and organisations.
N=216

Such patterns of use, as observed here, may have contributed to the creation of a more active, technology-savvy, and creative civil society which has gone beyond using the Internet and social media as tools for communication. In our observation we encountered a number of groups of civil society which matched these characteristics across the region that we visited. Among them is *Jalin Merapi*, a group of volunteer and humanitarian workers. We recount a testimony of a volunteer below:

> It was 5 November 2010, 19.30 [Indonesia time], when a call from a voluntary fieldworker alerted us. We received an emergency request from our Post at Wedi, Klaten, who just received refugees from Balerante and Sidorejo, and now needed 6,000 portion of *nasi bungkus* (rice meal). That phone call was so desperate, asking us to tell the public about the need for *nasi bungkus*. We did not dare to promise anything as it was already night time. Who could have provided that much rice meal in such circumstance? However, we kept trying. Our admin team did everything they could. Some called other Posts or refugee camps who might have some surplus of rice meal. But we did not get what we needed. Not even close. At 19.55, Nasir tweeted: *#DONASI nasbung utk 6000 pengungsi di Pusdiklatpor Depo Kompi C, Wedi, Klaten. MALAM INI | Candy 081XXXXXXXXX*

> [literally: #DONATION ricemeal for 6000 refugees at Pusdiklatpor Depo Kompi C, Wedi, Klaten, TONIGHT | Candy 081XXXXXXXX]. The time passed so slowly. We knew the tweet was re-tweeted by the followers of @JalinMerapi. In half an hour, the phone rang again. The very volunteer in Klaten told us, gladly, that they have received the rice meal for the 6000 refugees. He wanted us to tell the public about the matter so that there would be no excess of rice meal. We were so glad and felt relieved. One of us, unfortunately I forgot who, tweeted: #DONASI Puslatpur Depo Kompi C, Wedi, Klaten sdh kelebihan stok nasbung. Air minum masih dibutuhkan [literally: #DONATION Puslatpur Depo Kompi C, Wedi, Klaten has received more than enough rice meals. Fresh water is still needed]. (ASD, *Jalin Merapi* volunteer, interview and written testimony, emailed 15/12/10)

As a civic community, *Jalin Merapi* realised the magnitude of the work it was doing. The use of social media like *Twitter* has been proven useful not just to communicate news and situation updates but more importantly to mobilise helps and aids. Of course, public participation is vital – that civil society groups and organisations have to actively involve the wider public. Our informant gives us further data on the dynamics of public participation with *Jalin Merapi*,

> Among other social media, we found *Twitter* is the quickest. At that time [when Mt. Merapi erupted on 27/10/10] the followers of @JalinMerapi had already reached 800. By the end of that day the number of *Twitter* followers of @JalinMerapi kept increasing to 7,000, while the members in our *Facebook* page reached 200. The number of the *Twitter* follower continuously increased and by the morning of 28/10/10 there were 10,000 followers. When the biggest eruption took place on the 5 November 2010 the *Twitter* follower reached 36,000. Until today, the number of our *Twitter* follower is between 32,000 and 33,000. To me it is fantastic. Our followers, public, help us by providing various information, from the info on volcanic activity of the mountain, to the condition of the refugees who need logistic and helps. (ASD, *Jalin Merapi* volunteer, interview and written testimony, emailed 15/12/10)

We are granted permission to use the geographical map of @JalinMerapi followers, generated by Lim and Utami (forthcoming), to enrich this report.

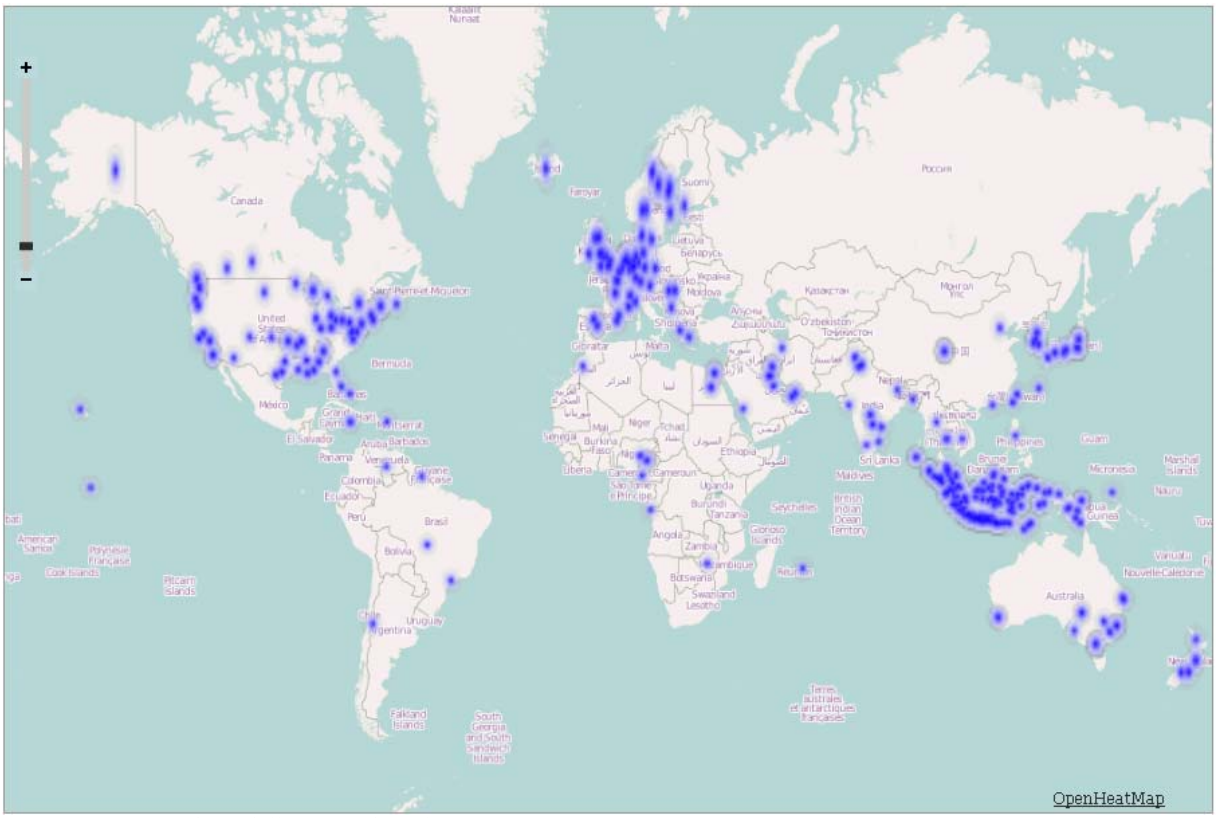

Figure 24. Map of the followers of @JalinMerapi
Source: Lim and Utami (forthcoming), with permission.

We can see that the followers of @JalinMerapi are well distributed globally. The data further shows that about 55% of them identify their locations as Indonesia, mostly in Yogyakarta (25%), followed by Jakarta (14%) (Lim and Utami, forthcoming).

What we can see from *Jalin Merapi* case, as well as in other cases featured here earlier, is an endeavour of civil society community in using, adopting, and eventually appropriating Internet and social media to support the achievement of their missions and goals. In doing so, they gradually extend their understanding about the technology: from a mere tool to communicate, socialise and network, into a tool for social change.

4.4. In hindsight and summary

We have seen, in this chapter, processes that are involved in the creation, and contribute to the organisation, expansion and sustainability of civil society groups and organisations when they adopt, use, and appropriate the Internet and new media. The characteristics of new social media –openness, participation, conversation, community and connectedness (as identified by Mayfield, 2008) –makes it convenient for civil society to use in order to assist them in achieving their missions and goals. The aim should be, obviously, beyond technological, but rather the widening of the interaction between civil society groups and communities and the beneficiaries they work with and for. Only when civil society can maintain a dynamic interaction with the public through their strategic use of the popular new social media, can we expect that the impact of the civic activism will be much more significant.

Social shaping and social construction of technology offer a useful perspective to reflect on this chapter. On the one hand, it can be seen that technology plays a role in almost all aspects of society; on the other it is known that social arrangements are 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 devices, they provide new possibilities of doing things and in the process of putting the devices to use, they are actuated. This is how we should put the adoption, use and appropriation of Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society groups and communities into perspective. As Callon and Law (1997) argue, strategic action is an inherent part of collective property. The actions of individuals matters less if it is not situated within the groups, communities, or organisations as collectives.

What we find seems to strengthen a current strand of sociotechnical studies. A similar argument, albeit in a slightly different context, is argued by Callon and Rabeharisoa (2008) who look at the emergence of concerned groups and explore how these groups contribute to shaping the relations between technoscience, politics, and economic markets. To them, under certain conditions, emergent concerned groups are able to impose a new form of articulation between scientific research and political identities by directly linking the issues of research content and results to that of their place in the collective. The cases with *Jalin Merapi*, AIMI-ASI, support for *Prita Mulyasari* and *Bibit-Chandra*, are very much in the same vein.

The diffusion of the Internet and social media itself is not, and will never be, a black-box process. Our previous research on the diffusion of the Internet in Indonesian CSO (Nugroho, 2007, 2011) confirms this. An earlier study in a different context by Molina (1997) also emphasises the influence of social behavioural factors in the outcome of diffusion. Here, in the core, is the process of sociotechnical alignment underpinning the diffusion of technology (Molina, 1998).

Whether, and to what extent, the use of such social media impacts towards civic activism and transforms the civic realms will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.
Transformation of the civic realms: Intended or unintended?

[Back] in 1996 we might have just used [Internet technology] without awareness. Now, it is imperative for us to use [it] appropriately, with full awareness, which often is beyond or outside the technology domain, like politics, environment. [We have to be] aware of the extent to which technology use impacts or will impact our society, our own pattern of energy consumption, and many others. [What we have to embrace are] awareness that are even new for us, civil society. Can we be critical towards dominant de facto *idea? Of course that is risky, but [it is] our call. The challenges are there ... So we have to use these new digital and information technologies with a critical view, not only about the technology itself, but about what it can be used for in order to transform our society.*
(Gustaff H. Iskandar, Coordinator of CommonRoom, Bandung, focus group, 7/10/10)

The advancement of ICT, particularly Internet technology, has given new impetus for the birth, or more precisely the reinvention, of civil society (Hajnal, 2002). The way civil society work is now even defined or understood as a network –of concerned individuals, groups, communities, organisations, or movements – that aims for a societal change or transformation. In the context of an infant democracy like Indonesia, the ideal for such change and transformation often revolves around the two fundamental agendas: democratisation and freedom of information. What makes civil society movements special, perhaps, is that not only do they operate beyond traditional boundaries of societies, polities, and economies (Anheier *et al.*, 2001), but also that they, as civic movement and collective actions (Blumer, 1951; Crossley, 2002; Della-Porta and Diani, 2006), influence the framework of governance. Internet adoption and use have made civil society more prominent in this role.

This chapter aims to answer a key question in this study: *To what extent and in what ways has the use of new media and ICT characterised the ways in which civil society groups and organisations perform and address their goals as well as engage in collaboration and networking?* We attempt to answer this question, and also examine the above arguments, by presenting some relevant findings from our survey; from group discussions during our field observation (October 2010), and from the workshop held in Jakarta (21/10/10).

5.1. What transformation?

It is not easy to agree on the notion of social, or societal, transformation in Indonesia. Partly because as a developing economy and infant democracy which has just been set free from authoritarian regime, there are far too many societal conditions that need to be transformed, for the sake of a better standard of living for society. Therefore transformation itself has many dimensions.

It is impossible to portray the whole spectrum of transformation and in this study we do not attempt to do so. Instead, we just present some anecdotal cases through which the complex nature of societal transformation might be understood.

The first story is about a children's community. In a kampong in Subak Dalem, Denpasar, Bali, a young couple –Anton Muhajir and Luh De Suriyani, both activists—work closely with children (age 5-15years) in the area. Having a toddler themselves, they decided to convert part of their house into a public space for the children, who come to learn, to play, and to socialise there. These children set up a community, which they call *NakNik* (which means small kid). This community becomes their second home. For a period of time, they even blog and share their stories in the blog (naknik.wordpress.com). Through this community, and the companionship of Anton and Luh De, these children learn the way they can live as neighbours with respect, despite their differences. They wrote in their blog:

> We live in a slum settlement. We all [in this kampong] are newcomers. Most of us are from Karangasem. … Most of us are mixed origin; some of us Bali – Lamongan, Bali – Lumajang, East Timor – Padang, Bali – Jember, etc. You can also see that in a house there can be many religions. For example, Dodik is Muslim because of her mother, while his brother Satria is Hindu because of his father. You can also meet Jenifer and William who are Christian, different from their younger brother who are Muslim. Cool, isn't it? (Naknik.wordpres.com visited 12/1/10)

What transformation do these children wish? In their own words:

> If possible at all, we would like to expand our community, to reach our friends in Subak Dalem and its surroundings. … Wish there were.. place for us … [that] can be a place for learning about everything for everyone for free, including our pre-school friends, homschoolers, etc. Illiterate adults are also welcome to learn here. There are still many people out there who cannot read. … What we usually do is creative actions: we learn something different from what we do at school. We learn about waste processing, creative writing, and public speaking. … That is why most of our activities are to empower children, to empower ourselves. (Naknik.wordpres.com visited 12/1/10)

In a country where diversity is actually a fabric of societal life, what NakNik aims for, and what Anton and Luh De do, is highly relevant. It is even more relevant taking into account the recent incidents which have torn at the nation's very belief in 'unity in diversity', such as recent violence and killings in the name of religion. Even, whilst this report is being drafted, some policy makers have started to consider discriminating against some minority religious groups.

Another story paints an important picture: Gaining popularity as one of the most wanted destinations for international tourists does not, in reality, make Bali wealthy – at least the wealth is unfairly distributed. While the southern part of Bali enjoys the development and the income from tourism, the northern part is deprived of even basic provisions. A community called *Komunitas Anak Alam* (www.anakalam.org) works with the poor in Karangasem, probably the most deprived area in Bali, to help them improve their livelihood, especially the livelihood of the children. In a discussion, the community leader openly says,

> I witness with a deep sadness how dogs and pets are being taken care by international NGOs, [the preservation of endangered] animals like green turtle is sponsored by many big companies, the many international schools are established in cities, who care about the future of these deprived children here in the middle of the Island of Gods [Bali]? Their voice is never heard. They live in a remote poor village near Batur lake, Kintamani. While children of their age in cities go to good schools, enjoy modern entertainments like *playstation* or going to malls, these children here have to work very hard, helping their poor parents. Some of them have to walk a great distance just to get fresh water, or to gather woods for fire. Just look at their pictures on our website [http://www.anakalam.org/galeri_foto1.htm] and you'll see for yourself (PPS, Komunitas Anak Alam, Denpasar focus group, 16/10/10)

Indeed some ideas about transformation concern social-economic (in)justice. Again this cannot be separated from the county's very centralistic development policy that in the end left many regions undeveloped. In our Focus Group Discussion in Denpasar hosted by the

Sloka Institute (16/10/10) we learned that in addition to the fulfilment of ecosoc (economic, cultural and social) rights, another idea concerning social transformation is about the freedom of information, which at the moment is one of the most discussed topics in Indonesia. Since the enactment of the Freedom of Information (FoI) law on 3/4/08, the government of Indonesia has to acknowledge that access to information is a fundamental human right, and that the right to information for their citizens has to be protected. However in order for the freedom of information to be beneficial for development (as it is believed it can be) it implies an imperative to educate citizens so that they can be knowledgeable in exercising their rights.

Across our field work, we also noticed another idea of social transformation that links both to the knowledge-based civil society and democratic society. This is quite subtle for this idea often challenges not only the transformation of outside realm, but also inside realm of the civil society itself. An account in our Focus Group Discussion in Yogyakarta hosted by the Combine Research Institution (12/10/10) by a group of young *santri* (Islamic religious pupils) best represents this concern:

> Nowadays, what we are working on is to encourage *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) to do information exchange. We suspect that there has been some stagnations in *pesantren*, especially those of the third generation. The third generation of *pesantren* leaders [i.e. the grandson of the founder] usually have lost the very core spiritual idea of the founder. They just inherit the big name, like Ali Makshum. If we do not take care of this stagnation, this will certainly affect the younger Muslim generation here. … This is not just about *pesantren* belong to NU [Nahdlatul Ulamma] but also in general. … At the moment we work with five pesantren in Yogyakarta: Pandanaran, Lukmaniyah, Umbul Harjo, Krapyak, and in Imogiri. What we imagine about transformation is the emergence of a young, well informed Muslim generation. We initiate a movement we call *Gerakan Islam Indonesia* [Indonesian Islamic Movement]. Our challenge is one, but grand: now we notice the emergence of new Islamic movements aiming at Islamising the country. They are actually small groups, but very noisy and work very hard to influence and shape public opinion using new media like Internet. So, whenever we seek for any information or discourse about Islam [on the Internet], what we get is the knowledge produced by these groups. So, this is our challenge. Can we take advantage of the Islamic movement that has long and historical roots, who actually played an important role in establishing this Republic? Can the very idea of Indonesian Islam be spread and disseminated more widely? This requires us, the true Indonesian muslim to be more open than before, to let public know us, to let them access our *khazanah* [knowledge-base] – not like what it is now: difficult and bureaucratic. Can we? (NN, Gerakan Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta focus group, 12/10/10)

Some commentators argue that at the moment Indonesia is being torn apart by two fundamentalisms: religion and market. While religious fundamentalism is often associated with the emergence of more radical Islamic groups imposing their idea to convert Indonesia into an Islamic state and to impose Sharia Law at all expense, market fundamentalism is often referred to as the way the neoliberal economic system works through policy and practice, marginalising the poor and discarding alternative economies. A different aspect of transformation, understandably, also concerns the latter, i.e. the alternative economy.

At grassroots level, many civil society groups and communities have been working to promote an alternative economy. Across the country, development civil society organisations have been working hard to promote micro-credit schemes to the marginalised rural inhabitants, facilitate capacity building for home-based industries, and conduct training for house-wives to improve their financial and production skills, among many others. These beneficiaries –the rural people, micro businesses, the poor housewives—are among those left behind by the centralistic, neo-liberal development economy. It is no surprise, then, that aiming to transform such economic circumstance has become one of the civil society ideals. For example, *Tobucil & Klabs* (tobucilhandmade.blogspot.com), a Bandung-based community-run economy initiative,

regularly organises events to encourage public to make (Do-It-Yourself) and to use more handmade products. Combine Resource Institution in Yogyakarta (combine.or.id) initiates *Pasar Komunitas* (pasarkomunitas.com), an information network that aims to capitalise economic potentials in the rural areas by means of marketing management and bringing rural products and creative investments (such as *gaduhan*/rotating capital investment) closer to the buyers and investors. In Solo, Central Java, Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan (www.bengawan.org) empowers local producers through capacity building trainings and workshops and links them with the market through an initiative called Produk Solo (www.produksolo.com), a result of collaboration between Bengawan and Juale.com (fieldwork observation, October 2010) to promote local products to national – even international- market.

In slightly different front, but still very much in the same vein of fighting against neoliberal-driven consumption, a couple of civil society groups working in cultural domain also have their own visions about social transformation. Soundboutique (twitter.com/soundboutiquex) in Yogyakarta is a forum for electronic musicians and music lovers. Functioning as a platform for discussion, information and experience exchange, it aims to bring music alive in the centre of society by means of live performances (they call it "Performance Art") where the performers interact with the audience, rather than just replaying recorded music. In Ujung Berung, a remote corner of Bandung, Burgerkill, a metal band music group chases its dream to set the trend of underground music for young people in the area. It is through their music that they promote universal values such as diversity and freedom of expression.

These are just few of the grassroots initiatives aiming at societal transformation. It is impossible to map all aspects and ideals of societal transformation that are envisioned by the highly diverse Indonesian civil society. After we presented the preliminary results of our research in a workshop we organised in Jakarta (21/10/10), the participants (those who took part in our study) reflected on the links between civil society and societal transformation. We recall one particular account from a group reflection presented in the plenary:

> We think we all agree that what constitutes civil society organisations or communities are organised individuals who have certain stance, reference, or perspective towards the societal issues. Usually they are relatively important social groups [which are potentially able] to make social transformation happen for they are more dynamic … have better access to information and knowledge … compared to other social groups. … Like it or not we have to admit that the process of social transformation is not straightforward, but rather it starts from a small, relatively marginal group. In the current context of social movement, the existence of civil society communities or organisations is actually significant and has become one of many important components that can foster social movement or social change. So civil society communities cannot be seen as the only social component that facilitates the process of social change, but just one of many others with whom they have to work together (RN, plenary reflection, Jakarta workshop, 21/10/10).

This reflective account is encouraging, for it recognises the role of civil society groups and communities as important agent of changes, and also at the same time admits that no transformations are possible unless civil society works with other sectors in the society. This underlines an imperative that in order for civil society to be a transformative agent in the society it has to open up for collaboration and networking with other societal groups.

How, and to what extent, does the use of Internet and social media contribute to the work of civil society groups and communities in order for them to advance the social transformation that they idealise?

5.2. Role of Internet and social media

There are different extents of Internet use in organisations, i.e. access, adoption and appropriation. In order to maximise the benefit of using the Internet and social media, the technology has to be appropriated – or strategically (and arguably politically) used and adopted. What matters here is the impact of such adoption and use on the performance of the organisation. Our fieldwork survey shows the overall effect of the Internet and social media use in civil society groups and communities. See Table 11.

Some 95% of civil society groups who use the Internet and social media find that such use positively or very positively affected the achievement of the organisations' goals and missions. Using the Internet has widened nearly all (99%) of the group's 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 their networks expansion and significantly or very significantly increases the performance of the internal management as it helps the organisation to become more focused in their aims and activities.

How significant has Internet and social media use in your organisation facilitated the internal managerial performance?			
#	Answer	n	%
1	Very significant	84	38%
2	Significant	104	47%
3	Cannot decide	31	14%
4	Insignificant	3	1%
5	Very insignificant	0	0%
	Total	222	100%

How has Internet and social media use in your organisation impacted your links/network with other groups/organisations?			
#	Answer	n	%
1	It increases very rapidly	155	70%
2	It somewhat increases	52	23%
3	It is neutral/no increase/decrease	15	7%
4	It somewhat decreases	0	0%
5	It decreases very rapidly	0	0%
	Total	222	100%

How has Internet and social media use in your organisation impacted the goals/activities?			
#	Answer	n	%
1	Become much more focussed	72	32%
2	Become more focussed	97	44%
3	No changes/shifts/biases	49	22%
4	Become somewhat biased	4	2%
5	Become very much biased	0	0%
	Total	222	100%

How has Internet and social media use in your organisation widened the organisation's perspective?			
#	Answer	n	%
1	To the global level	126	57%
2	To at least the regional level	24	11%
3	To at least the national level	59	27%
4	To at least beyond local level	10	5%
5	No widening perspectives	3	1%
	Total	222	100%

How has Internet and social media use in your organisation contributed to the achievement of the organisation's missions and goals?			
#	Answer	n	%
1	Very positive	103	46%
2	Positive	108	49%
3	Neutral. No positive/negative contribution.	7	3%
4	Somewhat contributing to the bias of it	3	1%
5	Highly contributing to the bias of it	1	0%
	Total	222	100%

Table 11. Impact of Internet and social media use and adoption in civil society groups and organisations
N=222

This discussion resonates with other finding concerning the benefit of Internet and social media use in the organisations. Most of the groups find 'cost saving in general' as the main benefit followed by 'better communication/dissemination of ideas to public/other groups', 'more effective organisational management' and 'widen and expand network with other groups'. This shows how Internet and social media have been inseparable parts of the groups' or organisations' activities. See Figure 25.

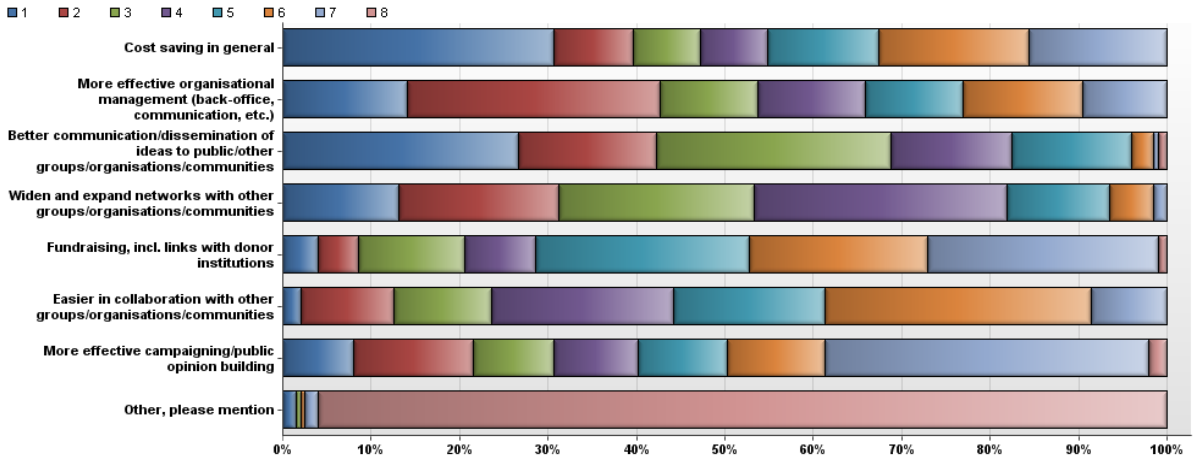

Figure 25. Benefit of Internet and social media use in civil society groups and organisations
N=199; 1=highest, 8=lowest

Yet, given the abundant possibilities of such appropriation, the actual use of the Internet and social media amongst Indonesian civil society seems to be still somewhat lagging behind what they can actually benefit from. From our observation, in many cases, these groups are simply using the technologies uncritically, i.e. they use them without any critical thought about the area and the ways in which these technologies fit into their political work strategically. It is not that these organisations are ignorant , but rather, that they do not really consider different ways in which they can be using these technologies most strategically.

Therefore it is important to explore empirically how civil society groups and communities in different contexts and settings appropriate Internet strategically and politically so that it matches their own missions and goals. In a focus group discussion in Yogyakarta (13/10/10), Indonesian Visual Art Archive (IVAA) shares its experience:

> For us, the Internet is very useful and helps us realise many potentials. [Using the technology] we can act as source of knowledge [in visual art]. One can just search in the Internet and we can provide information on the Net. This is highly potential for we see more people use the Internet as a source of knowledge. So that is our homework, [i.e.] to realise that potential. And we have done it, to some extrent. The same goes with social media. *Facebook*, for example, is now used by everyone literally. It is easy to upload and share information across social media platforms. … It also helps collaboration and saves some work visits. We do not have to travel and waste time and money because we can collaborate online. Even, in Jember and Banyuwangi there are art communities whose *Facebook* pages are very active for public relations and information points. As for us, although we have been using Internet and social media for some time, we are still strategising the way we work and consume on the Internet. What is more important here is how we can use the technology in a way that we can impose the idea that art production should not only be driven by economic motive. What I mean here is that we are not only talking about exhibitions to make some money, but also how we can have our own databank and argue that the production of art or culture does not have to be done through it [exhibition]. Internet can make this possible and this is what we are working on. If we have the databank of art activities, the art piece itself is not what is traded; it will enter the arena as the point of reference. Internet certainly has huge potentials to disseminate this sort of idea across the globe; to let us know what other people from other places

> in the world are doing, and to make all of these ideas happen. (FW, IVAA, Yogyakarta focus group discussion, 13/10/10).

IVAA's experience shows that the role of the Internet and social media is much beyond that of technicality, although, certainly this is the entry point. As much as the outreach is concerned, strategic use of the Internet and social media can help civil society connect to a widespread audience. If lucky, or more precisely if the strategy is right, the impact is sometimes beyond what can be imagined. We conducted a Focus Group Discussion with a few civil society groups and organisations which worked in the issue of human rights (4/10/10). In the discussion a group noted:

> So we know now that as the result [of the government] that our society is no longer aware of the human rights issue. The challenge is how we can use the Internet to provide as much information [on human rights issues] as possible to our friends and colleagues, student movements, and wider public. … The problem [with the human rights issue] is that it is confronted head-to-head with the Islamic Sharia. With the public perception that human rights is the western, instead of universal, issue, it is difficult to socialise it in Aceh. … Internet, social media like *Facebook*, can play an important role here. If we manage to educate the public, if we manage to transform the understanding that human rights is my issue, my community's issue, then that is success. … In my reflection, in Aceh, our most serious problem is dealing with difference. If you are not a Muslim, that is fine. You can wear anything you like; you can do anything you want. If you are Muslim, you have to wear *jilbab*; you have to practice what the religion tells you; you have to think in the way the religion dictates.. You see? This is all difficult for us to promote human rights as well as pluralism value. … You know that Sharia Law is applied in Aceh. But things have gone far too extreme. Now there is a public discourse whether *rajam* [stoning to death] and *potong tangan* [hand-cutting] punishments should be legalised. And even when it is still as a discourse, we have noticed that in some elementary schoolbooks there are chapters that detail how the punishment should be conducted. … So now we have to change our strategy. Thanks to the boom of free hotspots across Aceh, people are connected to the Internet. Most of them – no, all of them – are using *Facebook*. Now we use *Facebook* to campaign human rights and pluralism. We cannot say we have been totally successful, but we can see many young people now become aware of the issue; how the issue is being openly discussed in schools, in mailing list; even how some high-level public officers engage with this discourse. I believe, now, there will be some public discontent if the plan with the punishments dues (NN, name and organisation disclosed, Aceh Focus Group, 4/10/10)

The above note seems to have supported what we found in the survey when we asked about the benefit that the wider society enjoy from the use of the Internet and social media in groups or communities.

In which aspects does the wider society benefit from the use of the Internet and social media in your group/community/organiation?				
#	Answer		n	%
1	No benefit for them.		7	3%
2	Provision of hardware		11	5%
3	Knowledge and skill in using software/applications/Internet, etc.		92	43%
4	Deeper understanding on certain issues		148	69%
5	Wider perspectives on certain issues		166	77%
6	Increase in capacity to organise themselves		53	25%
7	Other, please mention		7	3%

Table 12. Benefit of Internet and social media use to wider society
N=222; multiple responses allowed

What matters more is how the use of the Internet and social media helps civil society to transform the wider society in which they exist. The note of our respondent in Aceh and our survey result above show that the most important benefit, perhaps, is the way the wider society widens their perspectives and deepens their understanding about certain

issues at stake. Societal influence as such is pivotal; it transforms the society from within. Yet, this has to be done by design, rather than by accident.

It becomes apparent, such as in the above account, that civil society needs a strategy when using modern technology like the Internet and social media so that the result can be transformative. Devising such strategy will help organisations use the technology by focussing not only on the adoption of the technology as given devices and its influence on use, but also on the organisation's strategy in the recurrent use of technology so that it becomes routinised, and embedded within the organisation.

Internet and social media use has certainly played an important role in civil society activism. However, its effectiveness is determined by other factors than just 'use' and adoption. We have revisited some examples from our fieldwork here to assert the importance of strategy in addition to mapping areas in which Internet and social media can be used strategically and politically for social transformation. To recap this subsection, we recall a remark made during our reflective workshop in Jakarta (21/10/10):

> If you ask us why we use the Internet, the answer is clear: it reaches globally and it is interactive. These two features enable you to get feedback from wide ranging of audience when you communicate an idea. It also functions as communication media, even when we are absent … Because the Internet connects people, if we use it for education, it will become much more effective as it can help share our limited knowledge resources to many more communities and network providers. That way, we collaborate and network with others (FC, Jakarta focus group discussion, 21/10/10).

5.3. Collaboration and networking revisited

The very essence of the Internet and social media is its ability to network; to reach those that are usually unreachable. The analogy of the Internet as 'web' strengthens this idea. Yet, the potential of the Internet to network individuals or groups will not be harnessed, unless the users themselves engage in networking activities. Networking should empower civil society as it decentralises knowledge production and enables knowledge sharing. This idea has been said by many (for instance, see Anheier and Katz, 2005; Castells, 1996; Diani and McAdam, 2003).

To substantiate this point in our research we extract the national network of our civil society group and community respondents as depicted in Figure 7 of this report, focusing on the last three periods (2000-2003, 2004-2007, and 2008-2010). We keep the technical details and measures to the minimum and just pay attention to how the network structure has changed over time.

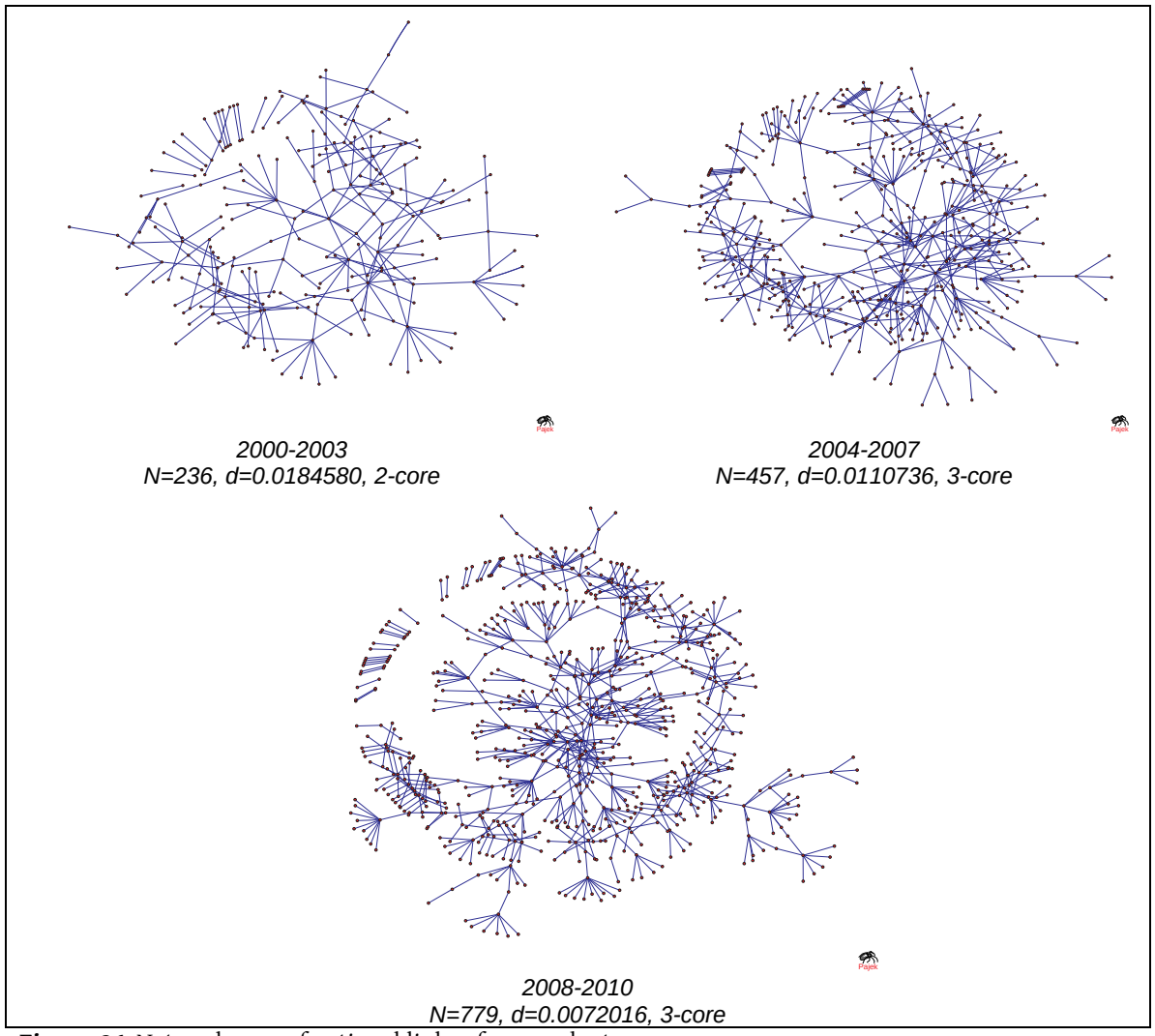

Figure 26. Network map of national links of respondent groups
Processed with Pajek®; plot based on Kamada-Kawaii free algorithm; only linked nodes depicted across period; links represent "join action"; data collected Sep-Nov 2010

The depiction above shows how the network structure has significantly evolved over the past 10 years. From a relatively sparse network in 2000-2003, it grew and 'coagulated' during 2004-2007, and finally exploded and became decentralised in 2008-2010. Of course this does not reflect the network dynamics of the whole civil society universe in Indonesia but at least we can draw some lessons.

First, indeed there has been marked widening of civic space. The expansion of the network shows how this space has widened distinctly. In real terms, more and more civil society groups network with each other and work together. They start grouping themselves (k-core indicates the growth of this grouping, from 2-core to 3-core). Secondly, however, despite the growth of the network, the cohesiveness of the overall network is decreasing (indicated by the decrease of density, from 0.018, to 0.011, to 0.007). One explanation is perhaps that the external national politics are perceived to have become 'less and less challenging' (whether this perception is true or not, is irrelevant for the network analysis) so that civil society groups and communities do not deem collaboration as important as before. As a result, what we see here is the growing of many small groupings (or 'cliques') in the Indonesian civil society universe, but decreasing cohesiveness overall. Third, as the future is still yet to unfold, the fact that the cohesiveness of Indonesian civil society networks is

decreasing has to be taken into account seriously. If civil society is to become a powerful and pivotal sector that aims to contribute to and shape socio-economic development policy and practices, it has to strengthen itself internally; it has to become more cohesive as a sector.

In our observation we noticed that groups which are prominent and become salient in their movement and activism are good networkers. AIMI-ASI, for example, networks not only with fellow civil society organisations, but also with governmental departments (Ministry of Public Welfare, Ministry of Health, etc.), United Nations bodies (UNICEF, WHO, etc.), and international NGOs (Helen Keller, CARE, Save the Children, etc.). Rumah Blogger Indonesia *Bengawan* takes a step further: they also collaborate with the private sector (XL Axiata Tbk, Juale.com) as well as with civil society groups (Yayasan Talenta, other blogger communities, etc.) and government institutions (Major of Solo, Local Infocom office, etc.) and prove that such collaboration is beneficial and has impact. For example, recently they organised ICT training for some excluded communities such as disabled persons, commercial sex workers, and also for women and SMEs. See illustration in Figure 27.

These are just anecdotal examples from our limited observation. Across our fieldwork, it is heartening to see how various civil society groups and communities are active networkers. In Aceh, while Aceh Nature, a photographer community, links with the local government and wider public in order to promote the 'beautiful face' of Aceh to foster development through tourism and investment alike, the Aceh Institute works hard through research and disseminates the results through its network of academia, civil society and policy makers to promote pluralism and the protection of human rights. In Bali, BaleBengong, a blogger community, works with civil society networks and provides space for civic engagement to discuss and work on numerous issues from the over-commercialisation of Bali to diversity and environmental concerns. In East Java, bloggers in Surabaya, Ponorogo, Ngawi, Malang, and Madura work hand-in-hand to educate the wider public not only on the technicality of blogging and writing online, but also on a much more fundamental issue, i.e. freedom of expression and freedom of information.

In Central Java and Yogyakarta, the civil society network has proven itself to be more responsive and effective than the government when dealing with recent disasters. A large number of grassroots groups, volunteers, Netters, and social activists joined forces to help the victims of Mt. Merapi eruption. In Bandung, CommonRoom works hard to provide what they call the 'third sphere', i.e. a semi regulated sphere where various civil society groups and communities, particularly cultural workers, can come together, meet, discuss, and explore, possibilities to collaborate. In Jakarta, which is perhaps the most vibrant area for civil society activism, there are numerous groups emerging such as Bike2Work, XLCommunity, KRLMania, Komunitas Sekolahrumah (homeschooling community), Change, SaveJkt, among many others. While most of these groups are formed based on mutual interests, some of them are formed to advocate civil rights that are perceived to be violated, or at least neglected, by the government.

Figure 27. Capacity building trainings organised by Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan, Solo
ICT trainings for women and SME (top), and disabled/blind youth (bottom)
Source: Pictures provided by Blontank Poer, archive of RBI, used with permission.

However, as also discussed previously, although the micro picture of this networking seems to be uplifting, we have to keep reminded that the bigger picture tells a rather different story. The increasing growth of closed- and small-groupings ('cliques') and at the same time the decreasing cohesiveness of civil society should be considered as wake-up calls. Networking cannot be assumed. Even if it is, networking should be about making civil society more cohesive, , not just networking as an end in itself. It is of no surprise that diversity in issues and concerns is a double-edged sword. On the one hand it enables civil society as a sphere to be more knowledgeable and responsive to many different issues; on the other, it increases difficulties for civil society organisations to coalesce. Worse, when it comes to limited resources (like funding), groups working in similar issues start competing with each other.

This is why the need for a 'clearing-house' –a sphere where groups, organisations, and communities within civil society can engage—is imminent. *Komunitas Langsat* (Langsat Community) and SalingSilang.com are among those who recognise this need. From providing web services for communities (such as Politikana.com for civic journalism, Cicak.org for news on corruption, BicaraFilm.com for film reviews, CuriPandang.com for celebrity gossip, or Ngerumpi.com for women's issues, among many others), they have stepped a mile further by regularly hosting *Obrolan Langsat* (Langsat Conversation) or Obsat (ObrolanLangsat.com). As remarked by one of the organisers of Obsat:

> The idea is to let the public know what is going on, directly from the source. … for example, we invited TVRI and RRI [National Television and Radio Broadcasting Company] to discuss about public broadcasting bodies; we invited Ulil Abshar Abdalla to discuss about JIL [Jaringan Islam Liberal/Liberal Islam Network], or, just like recently, we invited Aburizal Bakrie to discuss about [Mudflow] Lapindo. So, as you see, the idea is to clarify things. If we feel something is problematic, why not talk to concerned people directly? The concept [behind Obsat] is simple and clear: talk

> directly to the concerned. Of course there has to be a thorough thinking before we decide any topic, but that's the idea. … If I recall correctly, it was after the earthquake in Padang that we started to take initiative to link with other [civil society] groups and organisations. We used Ngerumpi.com to collect donations. Since then, we have been known as one of the centres for social initiative in Jakarta. Then we also organised Koin Prita [Coins for Prita], then Tolak RPM Konten [Rejection to the Proposed Ministerial Decree], and the most recent one, Petisi Rakyat. It is through these initiatives many [civil society] groups and communities come together. Perhaps unintended, but they get to know each other better, I think. Obsat itself is just a venue. Obrolanlangsat.com is just a repository of discussion notes. It is the users itself that generates the content that matters. (NDR, Jakarta-based Langsat community, interview, 23/8/10)

This remark shows not only the central role of the 'clearing house' –like Komunitas Langsat in Jakarta, CommonRoom in Bandung, or Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan in Solo—in facilitating networking among civil society elements, but more importantly, that networking cannot just be taken for granted. The emergence of civil society networks is both an intended and unintended consequence of their engagement. Therefore it is imperative for civil society to strategise their networking endeavour, in order to extend their network deliberately, rather than as an *ad hoc* activity.

5.4. In hindsight and summary

Two trends are noticeable here: the growth of civil society activisms and networks, and the use of the Internet and social media. The difficulty lies not in the way that we understand the growth of the two, but on the link between them. In such pursuit, any research should be cautious about one of the basic dangers: mistaking correlation with causality, and vice versa.

What we have exposed and presented here are the dynamics of civil society in Indonesia and how the use of the Internet and social media may have impacted upon them. To some extent, this is another update of our previous study on the use if the Internet in the Indonesian civil society organisations (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2010a, b, 2011; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008). Advancing what we have learned previously, our main discussion here shows that civic activism in Indonesia is characterised not only by their use of the technology (one-direction) but the co-evolution between technology use and the development of civic activism itself. There is a two-way relationship between the ways in which civic activism is shaped by Internet and social media use, and the ways in which Internet and social media play their role as platforms for civic activism.

Our case seems to have strengthened the synthesis of Gaventa and Barrett (2010) on civic activism. A strategic use of the Internet and social media can be devised for the construction of citizenship where it assists the increase of civic and political knowledge as well as to strengthen the sense of empowerment and agency. Another direction might be for civic participation: the Internet and social media use can be appropriated in order to build and increase civil society capacities for collective actions, to enhance its creativity (e.g. in seeking new ways or forms of participation) and to extend networks. In terms of changes that are led by civil society (Berkhout *et al.*, 2011), Internet and social media use can be politically oriented towards many advocacy works that aim for the realisation of civic rights (civic-politics, or economic-social-cultural), enhancement responsive and publicly accountable state bodies which eventually will lead to the greater access to services and resources. Finally, internally the technology can be appropriated to assist groups and communities in civil society to become more inclusive and cohesive across groups, by not

only welcoming new ideas, issues and concerns, but also new actors and new groups. Networking is therefore crucial.

Networks of civil society, as well as the civic realm itself, is an intended as much as an unintended consequence of civic engagement. Networking should be strategised as networks provide dynamic ways in which civic activisms can be mediated. The focus is to what degree the strategy in using the Internet and social media to mediate networking of civil society is reflected in their organisational strategy at large.

6.
Towards the future of Indonesian civil society on the Net: A Foresight exercise

In terms of network, I do not think we will change that much. But what we expect to see over the next five to ten years from now on is more and more individuals blossoming from communities ... taking initiatives at various levels: at local levels, in their own societies. In terms of the use of information technologies, I expect to see more innovations in using them as learning tools ... What we are using now –emails, blogs—will become traditional in the very near future, but I see there will be plenty of resources available for all of us to learn, and most of them are generated by us. ... I hope the government will have visions to improve the [telecommunication] infrastructure so that multimedia materials become more accessible for more people in Indonesia. Learning should be for all, not just those in the centre [of development]. The future of civil society is the future of learning.
(Sumardiono, Homeschooling community, interview, 31/8/10)

The penultimate question that we strive to answer in our research concerns the future. Having mapped the use of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society groups and communities, it is natural that we now need to understand what its implications are for the current and future development and role of civil society in the country. We asked our respondents in our survey about how sure they are, given the current use and development of the Internet and social media, that it will affect their group, organisation, or community. The answer is uplifting.

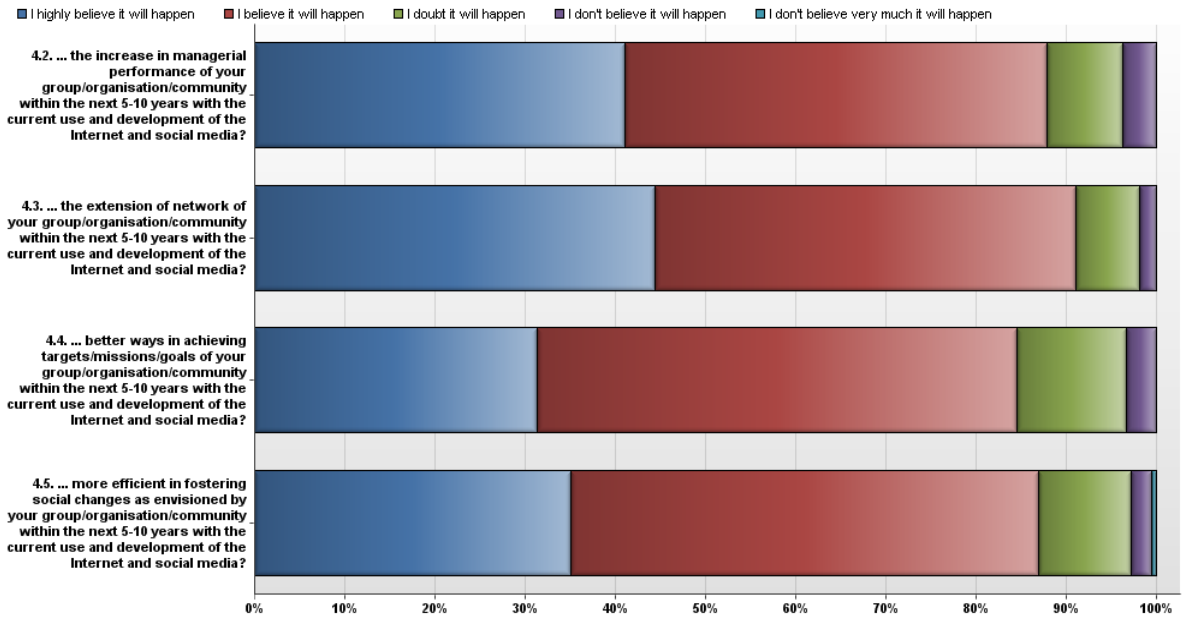

Figure 28. How confident are you about ...?
N=214

Most of the respondents (between 85%-90%) believe and highly believe that in the future, the use of Internet and social media in their organisations, groups or communities will have positive impacts on their internal managerial performance, extension of network, better and more efficient ways of working to achieve goals/missions and to transform society. Reflecting on this confidence, we organised a Foresight exercise, in a modified version, not

only to get deeper insights into the future as perceived by our respondents, but more fundamentally, to involve them in an attempt to make their desired future into reality. Why Foresight?

When it concerns the future, there are a number of methods available in futures studies to understand how it may unfold. Here we use Foresight (Keenan and Miles, 2008; Miles, 2008; Miles and Keenan, 2002), rather than forecasting or other prediction techniques, for at least two reasons. One, unlike forecasting which tries to *predict* what the future might be by using the past and current trends, Foresight is an attempt to *shape* the future by involving concerned stakeholders (Miles, 2008). Two, as such, Foresight is more participatory and bottom-up in nature, and this is deemed to be more suitable and closer to the nature of civil society. Overall, Foresight can provide valuable inputs into future strategy and policy planning, while also mobilising collective strategic actions.

Over the past few decades, Foresight has gained importance as an approach both to envisage and to shape the future. The strength of Foresight lies in its systematic, participatory, future-intelligence-gathering and medium-to-long-term vision-building processes as well as informing present-day decisions and mobilising joint actions (Miles and Keenan, 2002). By emphasising networking and stakeholder participation during the future oriented vision development and policy making processes, Foresight can be effectively used to inform policy making, build networks, and enhance capabilities for tackling long-term issues (Nugroho and Saritas, 2009).

Typified by Miles (2002) a Foresight exercise covers five sequential steps, including 'pre-Foresight (or scoping)', 'recruitment' (or participation), 'generation', 'action' and 'renewal' as illustrated below.

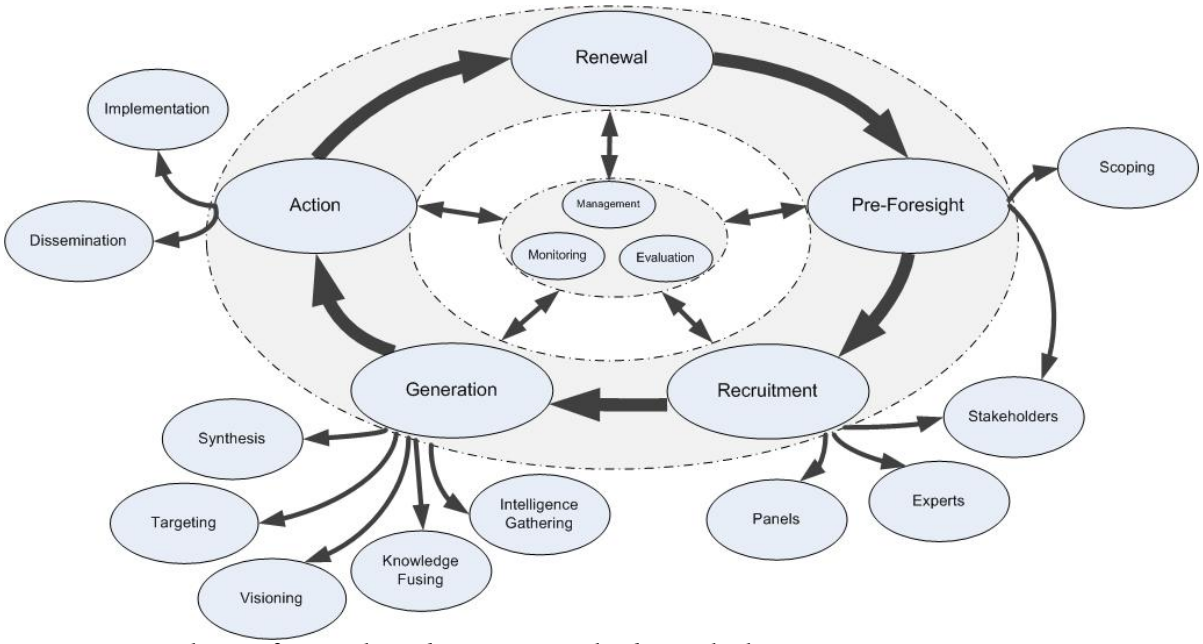

Figure 29. Five phases of Foresight and activities involved in each phase
Source: Miles (2002:8)

In this study, we modify the way these phases are implemented, mainly because the research is not designed as to contain a full foresight exercise. Our modifications, or more precisely modified implementations, cover the following:

(a) *The earlier phases of the research constitute the pre-Foresight and Recruitment phase.* *Pre-Foresight* (also known as 'scoping') covers the main decisions taken on the (i) shape and size of the exercise, (ii) definition of rationales and objectives of the programme, (iii) project team and (iii) methodology for the exercise. In our case, the foresight exercise is positioned as the 'action point' of the research. This exercise is the first of its kind in Indonesia (a much smaller exercise was conducted in 2007 for Nugroho (2007)) and we hope to be able to roll it sometime in the future (should resources be available). The rationales and objectives are derived from the research, i.e. to understand the plausible future trajectory of the use of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society. The exercise was led by the PI, co-facilitated by Hivos and assisted by Research Assistants. The method was a participatory workshop.

Recruitment activity focuses on identifying and enrolling participants of the Foresight programme who involve the experts and stakeholders. Experts bring their knowledge and experience, and discuss the issue from a particular perspective. Stakeholders can affect or can be affected by the decision taken and policies made. The participants of our exercise were leaders and coordinators of the respondent civil society groups and communities, who have taken part in the study. They are also experts in their area.

(b) *The research results (survey, interview and observation) inform the Generation phase.* *Generation* phase is also often know as the actual Foresight phase, where existing information and knowledge is obtained and synthesised, new knowledge is created, future visions are set, and actions plans are made. In our case, the information and knowledge were acquired through the preliminary result of our research and direct experience of the participants. This chapter is largely about this phase.

(c) *Action and Renewal phases are for the future agenda, as agreed by the participants.* While the purpose of the *Action* phase is to lead to immediate actions for the short term in order to change the existing systems to desirable future systems, which were defined and shaped throughout the Foresight process, the *Evaluation* phase helps discover whether or how far the exercise has achieved its desired outcomes. In our case, we limit the exercise into mapping the trajectory for a desirable future and we will separately conduct a meeting with our participants, hopefully sooner rather than later for discussing future actions and evaluation[13].

In the sections that follow, we report on the modified Foresight exercise organised as a one full day meeting in Jakarta (21/12/10). The exercise follows the well-established method (as suggested by Miles, 2002; Miles and Keenan, 2002), on which we base our observations and remarks.

6.1. Horizon Scanning: Events and trends

The first task of the participants in the Foresight exercise is –based on their experience, involvement, and observation—to scan the horizon, i.e. to identify events and to find the

[13] This is outside the scope of this research, but given the importance, it will be proposed to the funder/sponsor of this research, i.e. HIVOS.

trends related to the use of the Internet and social media in various civil society groups, communities, and organisations. What was identified during this session is interesting because not only did it confirm the preliminary findings of the study, it also considerably enriched them. Some trends and events were captured by one group during the exercise:

1. ***Massive use of social media fuelled by the development of mobile technology***. Social media, particularly *Facebook* and *Twitter*, are booming. So many Indonesian people use it not only because it is practical and instantaneous, but because it 'matches' the culture which nurtures close conversation. Due to these reasons, even a considerable number of 'celebrity' *Facebook*ers (eminent persons) are moving to *Twitter*, creating new *iconoclasms*. The participants see that this development has become possible because of the advancement in mobile technology which makes being online easier and relatively cheaper (despite bandwidth problems) and hence creates an 'always online' mass.

2. ***Market-driven economy and inequality***. However economic development, whilst being massively liberalised, has remained unjust for Indonesian society. Economy is driven by consumption rather than production; corporations get privileges and grow stronger while the state and government looks to become weak, unable to protect consumers' and citizens' rights. In the telecommunications sector, policies have been liberalised leaving the sector captured by strong companies. People in the remote, less developed areas remain in poverty but still obsessed by mobile culture. Social media fuels the expansion of the market.

3. ***Emergence of new, dynamic communities***. Communities of civil society have blossomed over the past five years. Some of them are founded based on interests, some of them based on concerns. Society starts to (re)organise itself. Knowledge sharing becomes more intensive as individuals with similar passions get easier to meet and network with, thanks to the Internet and social media. Communities become a new trend in many societies. Many of them start from online forums or social media. They empower themselves and in some cases have proven their power when mobilising people in off-line meetings and rallies.

4. ***Increasing demand for open access to and freedom of information***. When access to the Internet and social media becomes more available, many communities and pressure groups in Indonesia start to demand open access to information that matters to wider society. In the other direction, social media makes it easier for groups and communities in civil society to address such demand, not only because it assists the groups in organising themselves but also because conventional media will quickly pick up the issue and take it to public discourse level. However public authority is not always receptive towards this sort of demand.

5. ***Awareness of identity and diversity***. Engaging in online communication enables different communities to encounter each other, to work with each other, to network and to benefit from the engagement. Central to this interaction is the growing sense of respect of diversity. At the same time, awareness of identity also matters, both at the community and individual levels, as the basis of the collaboration of civil society in Indonesia.

Another group identify slightly different trends and events:

6. ***Shift towards social media***. In Indonesia, applications such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* have dominated the Net. Even instant messaging like Yahoo!Messenger is no longer used by many, taken over by the popularity of the new media. Fan pages (in *Facebook*, for example) have become online public spheres where people discuss certain issues. The growth of online fora facilitated by social media as such, to some extent, is deemed to impact upon the nature of civic engagement.

7. ***Cloud computing***. As more people go online, online collaboration becomes more natural. This all requires more power but at the same time awareness of environmental problem gets stronger. Ethical computing starts to emerge, like 'green computing' – bringing the idea that collaborating online does not have to be at the expense of the environment. Cloud computing is seen as one of the alternatives to this challenge as the need for power is distributed over the Net, reducing the overall computing load.

8. ***Development of micro- and small-scale economy***. Social media and social networking sites make people do business online much more easily (compared to having a full-fledged online shop) in Indonesia. The good thing is that it keeps the economy local. It even strengthens local products and opens up local markets.

9. ***Penetration of mobile telephone to remote areas***. All of the above trends may be due to the development and advancement of mobile technology and how it has penetrated deeply even to the remote areas of Indonesia. 'Mobile culture' has become an obsession for many people and this has started to create social-environment-cultural implications in some areas.

10. ***Online anonymity***. Being online enables anyone to create a different identity. One of the most discussed topics while online is the socio-political circumstance in Indonesia. Yet it is not without risk, particularly after the government legalised UU-ITE (Internet and Electronic Transaction Law) which gives reasons for the state to intervene in private or semi-private/public conversation domains (such as forums). This has motivated some people to be anonymous when online, although certainly there are other factors and motives influencing this action.

11. ***Increasing sense of community, also offline***. Although more people are getting online, the interest of organising offline engagement ('*kopdar*', offline meeting) among Indonesian netters remains high. The sense of community, to some extent, seems to be well maintained despite the perception that being online increases individuality.

These are the most salient trends and events that were identified by the participants in the exercise. Their group work is captured in the Figure 30, as it was in the session. This depiction, arguably, shows a much richer exposition compared to what is reported here. In other words, this elaboration is not final – despite that it is extracted from the group and plenary discussions' transcripts. We can always revisit the depiction and enrich the narrative presented here.

Figure 30. Foresight exercise: Identification of events and trends
Source: Foresight exercise, 21/12/10, research documentation

6.2. Drivers for change

The second task of the Foresight exercise was to identify the factors that drive the development of the events and trends as mapped in the first task. These factors, known as *drivers for change*, are categorised into a standardised STEEPV grouping (Miles, 2002; Miles and Keenan, 2002). From the plenary and group discussions, the following drivers were identified by both groups (combined):

Social drivers – The participants brainstormed and discussed some social drivers that were deemed to have significantly influenced the recent development in both the Indonesian civil society and the use of social media. They are:

- The disappearance of open public space
- Self-existence [that matters more than before]
- [The phenomenon of] Alienated society
- The shift in the shape of sphere for [self] actualisation
- The shift of priority in daily needs
- [The fulfilment of] Self actualisation
- [The phenomenon of] 'eminent persons' and iconoclasm
- Knowledge/interest sharing
- The expansion of exploratory sphere

Most of these social drivers seem to have pointed at the externalities, and at the same time, the internalities of civil society. This shows how civil society is indeed inseparable from the wider society in which it functions.

Technological drivers – The rapid growth of civil society activism, as well as the use of the Internet and social media, may have been driven by the following:

- Technology as the main driver [for social interaction]
- [The advancement of technology that enables] quick processing and access
- [The advancement of] mobile technology that becomes much more practical
- Stagnancy [in the provision] of cable network access
- Mobile devices become more accessible
- [Significant increase of] the use of visual media technology

These technological drivers show the dilemma. On the one hand technology advances extraordinarily. On the other, access to technology for the common people is always problematic.

Economic drivers – Economics is about resource allocation. The participants identified the following drivers:

- Affordable technology
- [The role of technology in] supporting local economy
- [Focus on] economic growth
- State income from bandwidth access
- The development towards a micro-scale economy
- Efficient, but ineffective, technology
- Consumption as an indicator of progress [economic growth]
- Corporate sector becoming more powerful and influential

- Changing consumption patterns in society
- Changing market patterns in urban society
- The decreasing price of processors

These drivers confirm the classical view and battle between different schools of economics, where scale (macro vs. micro) and mode of growth (production vs. consumption) matters the most.

Environmental drivers – How does the environment drive the development of civil society and its use of the Internet and social media? Some environmental drivers discussed in the exercise are listed here.

- The depletion of oil [fossil fuel]
- Deforestation forcing a paperless culture
- Slight disadvantage from [the country's] geographical position

It seems that the mainstream environmental problems are reflected and this indicates civil society's standing towards environmental issues.

Political drivers – Politics have tremendously affected the dynamics of civil society and hence becomes important drivers, as listed below.

- [The lack of] documentation of local resources
- [Inconsistence] in the state governance (i.e. open vs. closed)
- [Civil society] Communities become channels to voice aspiration
- The extended understanding of politics
- The weakening of state capacity/[bargaining] position
- Government policy [lacking vision/clarity]

What we can see here is mostly classical perspectives of politics, i.e. to gain and increase political power. Civil society, while perhaps apolitical, needs to understand the logic of politics so that it can effectively contribute to the betterment of societal politics.

Value drivers – Through brainstorming and discussion, the participants tried to list the values that drive the current development of Indonesian civil society using the Internet and social media.

- *Glocalisation*, i.e. globalisation and localisation at the same time
- [Embracing] global value
- Fairness [becoming a societal norm]
- [Demand for] Transparency in government
- Global openness [as embraced value]
- [The value of] Community that increases capacity
- *Facebook* being illegitimated (*di'haram'kan*)
- Consumption becoming valuable to associate progress

These value drivers show that the classic norms like diversity and clarity, among others, matters. This may come as no surprise, given that civil society has many inherently embedded values.

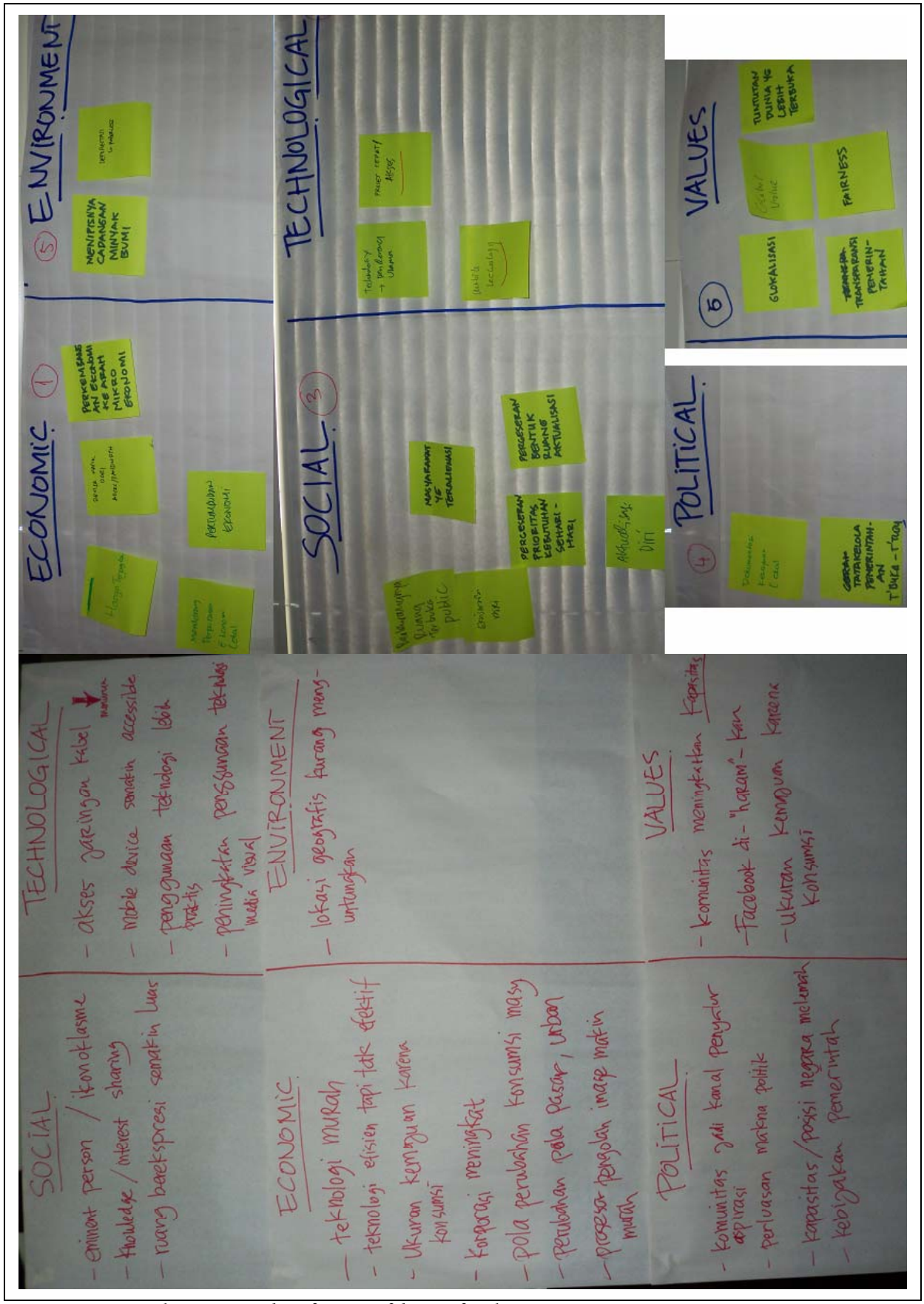

Figure 31. Foresight exercise: Identification of drivers for change
Source: Foresight exercise, 21/12/10, research documentation

From the list above we can immediately see some drivers of change which do not directly drive the use of the Internet and social media (as explained in Section 4.2) but yet are very important and shape the direction of other drivers. For example, the disappearance of public space (social), consumption as an indicator of progress (economic), communities becoming channels to voice aspiration (political) – are all indirect, yet pivotal, to the trend of Internet and social media use today.

As most of the drivers identified in the earlier phase of the study (Section 4.2.) are more (directly) technology-related, identifying and understanding a much larger number and diversity of drivers helps us put our case into perspective. Clearly, what drives the dynamics of Internet and social media use in civil society is by no means a singular and monolithic driver. Rather, it is a combination of a number of factors, which affect such use in different directions.

We depict the actual groups' output on the discussion about drivers in Figure 31 above.

6.3. Plausible Scenarios

The third and, in our modified version, final part of the Foresight Exercise was to derive plausible scenarios and analyse these. There are two main steps involved.

Firstly, in order to be able to work on the scenarios, the participants were asked to discuss and agree on the most influential drivers. All participants unanimously agreed that *Technological* and *Economic drivers* are the two most influential factors that characterise our life today and will continue to do so in the future.

- In terms of *technological drivers*, there are two possible trajectories of the development of technology: whether the technology will be 'more accessible', or 'less accessible'. This will constitute the first axis with the two positions as opposing points.

- In terms of *economic drivers*, similarly, there are two possible directions for the development of the economy: whether it will become more 'productive' or 'consumptive'. This will make up the second axis.

With this in mind we can draw the 'arena' in which the plausible scenarios of the future can be situated.

	Economy based on production	*Economy based on consumption*
Technology which is more accessible	***Scenario I***	***Scenario II***
Technology which is less accessible	***Scenario IV***	***Scenario III***

Secondly, in order to be able to envisage the plausible future trajectories, we asked the participants to develop each scenario. Due to the limited time available, a full-fledge scenario development is impossible. Instead, the participants illustrated the characteristics of each scenario. We tabulate the characteristics of the plausible scenarios below, and offer a possibility of developing those scenarios, while the actual depiction from the workshop can be seen in Figure 32.

	Economy based on production	*Economy based on consumption*
Technology which is more accessible	***Scenario I*** Technology: *more accessible* Economy: *more productive* Social: *more participatory, knowledge-based* Environment: *more sustainable* Politics: *more democratic* Value: *more respect in pluralism*	***Scenario II*** Technology: *more accessible* Economy: *more consumptive* Social: *alienated* Environment: *less sustainable* Politics: *pseudo- democratic* Value: *pseudo-plural*
Technology which is less accessible	***Scenario IV*** Technology: *less accessible* Economy: *more productive* Social: *pseudo-solid* Environment: *degraded, deteriorated* Politics: *less democratic, tend to be authoritarian* Value: *determined by those in power*	***Scenario III*** Technology: *less accessible* Economy: *more consumptive* Social: *restless* Environment: *less sustainable, deteriorated* Politics: *pseudo-democratic* Value: *pseudo-plural*

Firstly, ***Scenario I*** is about a plausible future where the wider society is more cohesive, participatory and at the same time interacts with knowledge-based engagement. This is made possible by technology which is equally accessible for citizens. As result, the economy is driven by production, yet the environment is treated carefully so that it provides more sustainable resources for development. People respect each other's diversity and lives in a democratic society. The direction: The Internet and social media, which are widely used by civil society, should be utilised in order to strengthen social cohesiveness and widen their participation in socio-political life, as well as to foster economic activities.

In the ***Scenario II*** the future is characterised by technology that disperses widely and can be accessed by the wider public. Yet, because the politics do not give clear direction on technology policy, despite the intensive use of technology, it makes the society, at the wider level, alienated. The economy is driven by consumption and as such the environment is not taken care of in a good manner. This society seems to respect pluralistic views from the outside, but on the inside they do not believe in the value of pluralism as they do not trust that the politics work for their benefit. The direction: *Civil society should use the Internet and social media to empower the society in order to (i) exercise their own social capital to nurture trust and respect for others, (ii) demand a more open, democratic government, and (iii) drive towards a more productive and sustainable economy.*

Scenario III tells a story about a possible future trajectory where technology is unequally distributed and much less accessible to the citizens due to the absence of visionary technology policy. Incompetent government and politicians, despite being popular, create a pseudo-democratic and pseudo-pluralistic society, i.e. a society which looks democratic and pluralistic from the outside, but finds it difficult to accept differences from the inside. Economy is driven much by consumption and it results in the deterioration of environment. In general, the society is restless. The direction: *The use of the Internet and social media should be oriented towards (i) strengthening civil society through communities so that they are empowered, (ii) demand fundamental changes in the government and policy, in order to (iii) restore public trust in politics, rebuild the economy and preserve the environment.*

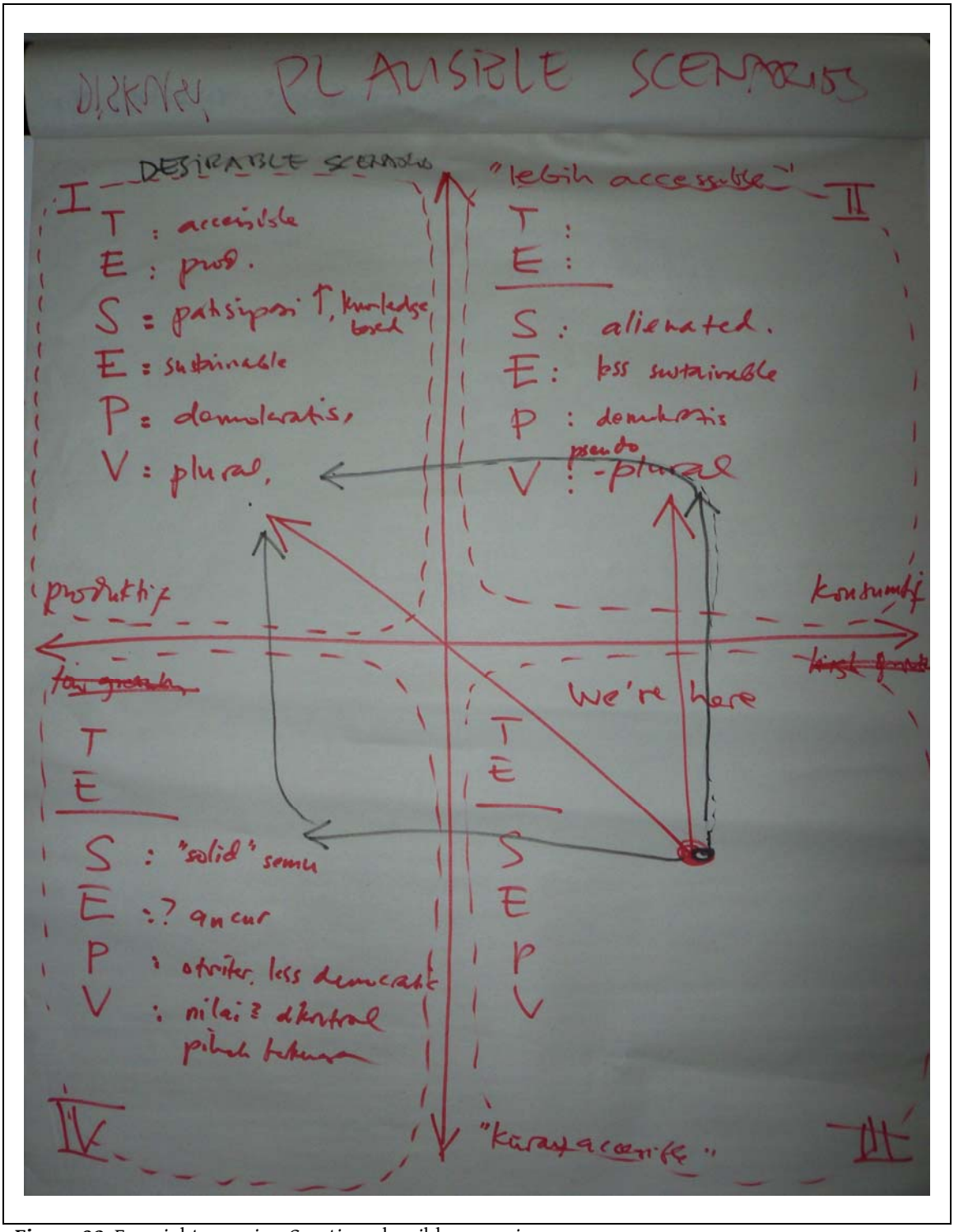

Figure 32. Foresight exercise: Creating plausible scenarios
Source: Foresight exercise, 21/12/10, research documentation

Finally, ***Scenario IV*** is a future where technology is less accessible to the public. The government is strong and gives clear direction of development policy and practice. Yet, due to the degradation of environmental quality which significantly reduces the capacity to provide resources for development, the economy is forced to be productive, possibly by mobilising resources from outside the country. The society looks solid from the outside as they are forced to face challenge together, but this strength is ungrounded because they do not

live the values they really believe in, but instead live the norms imposed by those in power. The direction: *Civil society has to organise themselves. Internet and social media should be used to empower and solidify groups and communities to demand for more democratic and sensible government that can take care of their people, economy, and environment. The aim is reform.*

The development of the scenarios above presents some possibilities. There are certainly other ways in which the scenarios can be developed. What we have presented here, however, is what was discussed in the exercise.

6.4. In hindsight and towards a roadmap

In the discussion during the Foresight exercise, the participants agreed that *the **desirable scenario** would be Scenario I*. That is the scenario where all the participants felt content about an imagined possibility of the future of Indonesia. In a consecutive collective reflection, the participants also agreed that *Scenario III is more-or-less **where Indonesia is*** at the moment. We also note that Indonesia once, when under Soeharto's regime, resembled Scenario IV. This gives a sense of direction, a sort of roadmap, as to where we should go and what steps should be taken.

However we did not carry out a full road mapping. Instead, in the exercise we opened up discussion about four possibilities on how the future might unfold.

- First, that the future will continue as it is now, i.e. remain in Scenario III.
- Second, that the future will evolve directly towards what is desired, i.e. from Scenario III to Scenario I.
- Third, that the future will evolve indirectly, in the sense that it will transform gradually, from Scenario III to Scenario II, to Scenario I.
- Fourth, that the future will evolve indirectly, in a different gradual trajectory, i.e. from Scenario III to Scenario IV, to Scenario I.

For each possibility, in the corresponding scenario we attempted to provide a generic direction with regard to the use of Internet and social media in civil society. We hope that in the short – to mid term, the participants of this Foresight exercise can be gathered again to reflect on the trajectory that will have passed.

***

This chapter has discussed the findings from the survey and Foresight exercise. We are confident that this has helped the participants to see a potential prospect of Internet and social media use in civic activism in the future. One thing is sure: the development of both technology and civic activism has reached a point of 'no return'. The challenge is for civil

society to reap the benefit of the technology to help them position themselves in the socio-political dynamics of Indonesia.

It is in this sense that we 'forced' our respondents to sit together and to reflect on the possible future trajectories. Foresight exercises, as were been carried out, are relatively new for Indonesian civil society. We believe the exercise has not only helped the participants understand how the future might unfold, but also provided them with a new method to learn. Indeed, the future of civil society in Indonesia, and elsewhere, will remain bright only on the condition that people keep learning.

In hindsight, Sumardiono, as quoted in the opening of this chapter, is right, "*... The future of civil society is the future of learning.*"

7.
Citizens in @ction: Synthesis and reflection

[About the Internet and social media,] it helps us tremendously not to carry out the work like campaigning, but to assist the coordination of our many activities and programmes. Yes, our members are well connected, but not necessarily by Internet and social media. ... We are just a civil society community, we are not an NGO. We use [the technology] as much as we need it. I remember in the beginning we used mailing list systems very intensively in coordinating all activities. Now we have our website, mailist; we use Facebook, Twitter. We can connect to everyone, from any social classes; we have so many fans and followers. ... But for us that is second. The main thing is for more people use the bikes to work, making themselves healthy, saving the environment by reducing pollution, and contributing to the betterment of livelihood. Things may have changed [with the technology], but I believe what matters most is the people behind [it]
(Ozy Sjarinda, Bike2Work Community, interview, 11/10/10)

Ozy's account above is important for the basis of our reflection here, after we have presented the empirical findings of our study. After intensively reflecting back on the data and materials of this study, we argue here that the Internet and social media is not *the* most important source of advantage for civil society, although it often makes it more valuable. When all civil society groups and communities use the Internet and social media, the technology will be 'neutralised' as a source of advantage. The strategic and pivotal role born by civil society today, despite their use of Internet technology, actually arises from their 'inherent strengths', i.e. relevant issues and concerns, social and political orientation, and other distinctive activities. Internet use does enhance these strengths and potencies and perhaps make them more realisable, but it does not, and will never, replace them.

Upon further reflection, there is an issue at stake here: the difficulty that civil society groups and communities have encountered in the strategic use of the technology is often rooted in the importance of non-technological aspects like trust and differences among civil society components themselves, and at the external politics affecting the societal life. The Government of Indonesia, particularly the Ministry of Information and Communication has been notorious for its coercive approach to control the Internet through blockage. Using the two omnipotent Laws on Pornography and Internet and Electronic Transaction, blocking has been very much 'on the air' among Indonesian Netters, threatening the civil rights to freedom of access to information and freedom of expressions. This has led to civil society responses. Among many, ID-Blokir (Indonesia Blockage), one of the groups, is persistent not only in opposing against the blockage idea, but also empowering the society so that people know their rights.

> [ID-blokir is] indeed a responsive movement. It is a movement reacting against a futile, dangerous state policy … that is the blocking of the Internet, introduced and led by the Infocom Minister Tifatul Sembiring. It is a spontaneous movement, just like any other movements in the Internet. … It was in the beginning of Ramadhan [when the blockage started] many sites were blocked, often arbitrarily, in a very ineffective way.. that was when we thought we had to react, we had to meet and talk with others. We were sure, and it was proven shortly later, that many people became concerned. Why? Because [this blockage] surely would have never been possible without great power behind it. We thought that we needed to be powerful, too, to fight against it. One or two organisations, or a number of activists, would never suffice. So we needed to consolidate, to coalesce; we needed to exchange information; we had to share motivations, and also resources. This [policy] is taking our civil rights away. That's why we then decidedly created the mailing list, Yahoo groups, *Facebook*

> page … to help us to coordinate the movement and to gather public support, to show the Government we disagreed with a policy like that. … But again this is all about people. We know we are fighting against a vague, evil policy – but we don't want to be a new villain. We need to educate the public. We need to collaborate. So then we extended our hands and collaborated with others: APJII, press offices, blogger communities, among many others. We wanted to guard the Internet to be a free public sphere. But, it is not easy [to work on collaboration]. It is really not easy. (EN, an initiator of ID-blokir, interview, 7/9/10)

Learning from this, it is thus important to acknowledge that a strategic use of the Internet and social media, like collaboration, is not an instant and natural output of using email, *Facebook*, or *Twitter*. Instead, it is the result of civil society's hard work in overcoming the difficulties. With technology and its use continuously shifting and being shaped, the use of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society is understandably more about process than outcome.

We offer some reflections while trying to synthesise the main findings here. They might be neither final nor theoretically (academically) thorough. But they aim to offer a sense of direction towards which further research agenda might be devised, or a springboard on which further academic works might be carried out.

7.1. Internet and social media: A *sui generis*?

The Internet has always been about networking. It is not just about networks of computers, wires and hubs, but networks of people. Civil society, likewise, 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. 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. This is evident in our research.

This probably raises a belief that the Internet, particularly social media, is so *sui generis* that its unique features alone will 'save' those who use it from societal discontents. Perhaps so it seems at the beginning, especially in the Indonesian context. But the very same technology can also potentially be used as much a tool of control (or worse, coercion) as they are of 'liberation' –as Morozov, in his book "Net Delusion: How not to liberate the world" (2011) has warned.

In the Indonesian context, we may need to be acutely aware of how vulnerable social media, or more generally Internet, users are. Most of the people are careless when going online and take no effort to protect their identity. Here is the relevance of the movements like #internetsehat (healthy internet): they have been actively promoting safe ways when people use the Internet. But there is also another front: a possibility of civil society activists (including trade unionists, rights activists, political demonstrants, etc.) becoming targets of the military or government (if eventually they turn repressive). Perhaps not yet manifested, but the Law on Internet and Electronic Transaction, in addition to Pornography Law, has given the authority a blank cheque to intercept Internet user's privacy. For example, the recent case of the Indonesian Infocom Ministry forcing RIM (Research in Motion, Ltd) to install web filters and to build a local server network of aggregrators in the Indonesian Blackberry market has been interpreted by many as an exercise of state power aimed at

public surveillance. It is no exaggeration to imply that as much as privacy is held as a value when being online, there is a great danger that it may just be an illusion.

So how should we understand the role of the Internet and social media? Across this study we have gathered evidence about how tools like *Facebook* and *Twitter* have been instrumental in effecting the changes. But we also take a critical stance here. These changes happen primarily not because of the tools, but because of the people who are the agents of change. Social media is not a 'magic wand' that magically changes people, but a communication means that amplifies and extends what they have already been doing. Social media is therefore important to change. But it is so because it is chosen carefully, adopted properly, used well, and appropriated strategically as an effective tool, not by word of faith.

If civil society fails to understand this distinction, it would prove fatal because they will place the Internet above the social, cultural, economic, and political contexts necessary for real change.

7.2. Does agency matter? Real engagement v. 'click activism'

This research is carried out at a macro, or at least meso, level – but certainly not at a micro level. We have captured what civil society groups and communities are doing when online, but we did not really investigate what the individuals (civil society activists) do in front of the monitor or mobile screen. This is important because there is a wide gap between clicking the button '*Like*' or '*Attending*' in a *Facebook* page or invitation for a rally or public meeting, and spending time and effort to really join the rally or the meeting – be it on a hot sunny day, or a wet rainy one. Similarly, by clicking '*Forward*' after reading a moving or touching email pledging for participation or donation, people can feel they have done something. Indeed, they have – forwarding the email. But there is a huge difference between forwarding an email and directly participating in an event, or donating goods or money. In other words, we have to be aware of the distinction between real engagement and what we term here 'click activism'.

What matters here is not the Internet or social media *an sich*, but how civil society groups and communities strategically and politically use the media to multiply. This multiplication works in two ways: between groups/organisations through collaboration, and between the group/organisation and their beneficiaries through direct engagement. This is the direction for a strategic use of the Internet and social media: that it should minimise 'click activism' as much as possible. An example is how bloggers in Aceh mobilised support for Rohingya refugees, by not just inviting comments on blogs or promoting the 'Like' button on the *Facebook* page, but they went to the streets and persuaded people to really donate their money and get involved in the movement. Another example might be *PasarKomunitas*: inviting on-liners to get directly involved in rural development through financing programmes.

In addition, a space where *online* engagements 'meet' offline ones might be more effective when involving the wider public. The idea of creating a 'semi regulated, third sphere' (as termed by CommonRoom Bandung for their activity inviting local communities in off-line discussions or fora) or 'clearing house' (as practically done by Langsat Community through *Obrolan Langsat*) can provide opportunities to 'prepare' the public for a full-blown

engagement. Though it is perhaps still too premature to evaluate, the #savejkt initiative seems to use this strategy rather nicely: campaigning through social media and organising public meetings to prepare the wider public for larger scale engagement in the future.

On reflection, it is naïve to focus our analysis only on the technical aspect of the Internet and social media as a success factor in civil society movements (or social transformations) and put aside the human –or agency— factor. In all instances that we have presented in this report, agency matters. It is only through such critical lenses that we may be able to explain sufficiently the success or failure of the use of social media in civil society activism. For example, without any intentions to provide a moral judgement, we can explain why the initiative of *Solidarity for Lapindo Mudflow Victims,* organised through *Facebook*, has different outcomes compared to a very similar one for *Prita Mulyasari* or *Bibit-Chandra*. The Solidarity for Lapindo Mudflow Victims has not been able to significantly mobilise support and advocacy outside the online realm to enable it to facilitate a prolonged massive public protest or force the authority to take the case seriously in favour of the victims. Some commentators argue that external politics are much stronger (i.e. between the company's owner and the powerful political parties) than the civil society initiative. Other analysts pinpoint the absence of a media convergence strategy, i.e. that the use of social media should be strengthened by conventional media. While these points may have some validity, the factor of agency barely exists in the body of analyses. The effort to support the victims of the Lapindo mudflow is not only about external politics or technicality of media convergence, but more importantly, it is about an active involvement of agency. For instance, at the community level, involving local dwellers and refugees can be the backbone of a media convergence strategy, i.e. to feed the movement with field data, such as in *Jalin Merapi* case; while at the same time at the organisational level, social media strategy can be devised. This could then be converged with conventional media. Of course, all of this is still speculation, but one thing is for sure: the agency factor cannot be omitted in both the strategy and analysis of technology use.

7.3. Beyond individual, collective, and network: The role of technology

In a socio-technical system, we have to be aware of the construction of the collective, but also of mechanisms of exclusion, which can reverse the constitution of a collective identity (Callon and Rabeharisoa, 2003). Inappropriate (or carelessly planned) social media use can exclude people from participating in an engagement. The Internet and social media has to be appropriated so that it helps create the interrelations between the construction of individual identities and the collective form of civil society movements in which they participate. In other words, the emergence of concerned groups should be deliberately –and strategically—facilitated through their interaction with the technological system (such as the Internet and social media) and exposure to the actual societal dynamics (Callon and Rabeharisoa, 2008).

If we are successful in strategically using the technology, there is a good possibility for concerned civil society groups not only to emerge but to contribute to the shaping of relations between technology (in this case: the Internet and social media), politics, and civic engagements. Under these conditions, emergent concerned civil society groups are able to articulate their political identities through direct actions as a collective. The cases of Prita Mulyasari, Bibit-Chandra, Rohingya refugees, *Jalin Merapi*, amongst many others, show this

clearly. Of course there is a continuous change of the social, economic, and political circumstances, combined with the advancement of technology. If civil society groups and communities can strategise how they use technology, this could potentially lead to a multiplication of the emergent concerned groups in the wider public[14].

This research has taken a critical position on the belief that technology is, or can be, neutral. This is because certain technologies are more likely to produce certain social and political outcomes than other ones (Bijker *et al.*, 1993; MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1985). Innovation research posits the point that the adoption of any (technological) innovation is influenced by its perceived attributes (Rogers, 1995). It is through a thorough examination of all advantages and disadvantages that we can get an idea of its overall usage or the risks it poses.. Our examination on the provision, and availability of access to infrastructure of the communication technology (in Indonesia, at least) should make us –and all civil society groups and communities – more critical and careful towards today's cyber-utopianism or 'Internet centricity' – which perhaps unknowingly has already crept into our minds. Instead, civil society needs to continuously encourage thoughtful consideration on how a given technology might effect them.

The last point concerns networks. Networking is about widening direct involvement of organisations, their counterparts, and the members or beneficiaries. We have shown here that networks of Indonesian civil society groups and communities have expanded significantly, particularly after the regime change. What is important is to see whether, and to what extent, the networks impact upon the dynamics of civil society – both at the individual and collective levels. The distinction between individual and collective action and how actions are distributed through networks has been a subject of science, technology and society (STS) studies. A network is a configuration of individuals within a collective and to be able to understand other possible configurations we may borrow what Callon and Law suggest that (i) the social is heterogeneous in character; (ii) that all entities are networks of heterogeneous elements; (iii) that networks are unpredictable; and (iv) that every stable social arrangement is simultaneously a point (an individual) and a network (a collective) (Callon and Law, 1997). The fabric of network is exchange (of data, information, experience, etc.), and crucial to the exchange process is communication, which in this case is facilitated by the Internet and social media, which in turn, eventually, affect the dynamics of civil society networks.

7.4. In hindsight

We have argued here that explaining the impact of the Internet and social media use in civil society cannot be done by focusing only on the obscure realm of cyberspace and thus secluding the Internet as an isolated on-line space separated from real, off-line, world activities. The examples throughout this study show that in facilitating socio-political activism, including networking, the Internet and social media are not detached from the non-cyberspace realm, rather, it corresponds with it. In the civil society sphere, the Internet affects the dynamics of social, economic and political activism. It has the potential

[14] However, conditions under which these emergent groups can influence social, political, or economic dynamics need a further research.

to globalise local socio-political dynamics and at the same time to localise global issues (Nugroho, 2010a).

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, the appropriation of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society is more about process than outcome. The technologies are continuously modified and adapted to bring them into alignment with the organisations' routines (Nugroho, 2011; Orlikowski, 2000). Civic engagement (Gaventa and Barrett, 2010) needs to be (re)oriented towards real societal changes in which the groups meet, discuss, network, and collaborate regularly in order to influence state decision making and business practice.

'Citizens in action' is therefore never fixed in format, but rather 'constituted and reconstituted' through the everyday practices of the civil society groups and communities involving citizens and activists alike in ongoing actions.

8.
Conclusions and implications

Over the past year we have been thinking that it might have been simply too far to discuss about an outcome that aims for a change at a massive scale. We hope that Suara Komunitas *[the Voice of the Community, a radio community] is not only seen as a tool for content exchange among various community medias, but as a common channel, a common platform to foster changes at the local level, no matter however small it is. ... The problem, for me is the information discrimination. We should relinquish our position as information owner. We have to involve actors at the local level, NGOs at the local level, mass organisations at the local level. Only then, changes will happen*
(Budhi Hermanto, Radio Suara Komunitas, interview, 20/8/10)

The above quote, from a prominent figure in *Suara Komunitas*, more or less captures the essence of these concluding comments. This is study shows that Internet and social media use in groups and communities within civil society is not only about the technology, but more importantly about the involvement of agency. It brings enormous opportunity for civil society once the technology is appropriated in strategic and political ways. This study has demonstrated that, despite problems and difficulties, the use of the Internet and social media in Indonesian civil society has brought significant implications not only to the organisation's internal managerial performance but more importantly to the external aspects of their work, particularly the dynamics of civic activism and socio-political engagement in the country.

Since the prophetic writing of Benjamin Barber in his *Strong Democracy* in which he projected the possibility of using new ICT 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'. At the same time, with the discourse on civil society, the 'marriage' between Internet research and civil society studies has become an emerging field of study. These developments have shed light on the role of the Internet in the dynamics of civil society. This study aspires to further this course of reflection by presenting the case of the Internet and social media use in Indonesian civil society groups and communities. It focuses on how civil society adopts and uses, as well as anticipates, the impact of the Internet in groups, organisations and communities.

8.1. Conclusions

Civil society has been playing a pivotal role in Indonesian development. The new political climate has allowed many bottom-up initiatives to grow and blossom. Numerous groups have been established, working on many issues and concerns, and carrying out various activities. However, given the current political struggles and debates, it is very likely that civil society still requires more intensive involvement. As a social movement, it is imperative for civil society groups and communities to strengthen their networking. These organisations are not to compete for formal political power; it is the networking that can be an effective strategy to influence formal political decisions. Bottom-up democracy necessitates a healthy civil society, where manifolds of social movements and civic engagements can express their interests. This is crucial in an infant democracy like

Indonesia, for active civil society is substantial to animate society, i.e. to exercise democratic political activities like articulating interest, conducting representation, engaging in negotiation, and so forth.

The diffusion of the Internet and social media in civil society groups and communities is characterised by a number of factors, mainly the issues and concerns they are engaged with. However, structural problems like access and availability of infrastructure can significantly hamper these processes. Internally, the main driver for using the Internet and social media is the need to obtain information and to increase public visibility; externally, in addition to the need to expand networks, it is the need to collaborate with other groups and to extend perspectives. The process in which these organisations use the Internet and social media affects, and is affected by, their strategic and political needs. Likewise, in the end, eventually, the use of the Internet and social media also affects and is affected by the roles played by civil society groups and communities in reshaping the socio-political life of the country. The most visible outcome, in the Indonesian context, is the widening of the civic space.

In this research we identified some impacts of Internet and social media use in civil society groups and communities. The use of the technology has affected not only the way the public perceives these organisations' identity but also the way they see themselves. The implications of this on the roles of civil society are twofold: they are both reinforced and transformed. Furthermore, as a social movement, the use of the Internet and social media may potentially help civil society groups and communities elevate issues in order to gain public attention or/and to prepare the conditions for further actions aimed at wider societal changes.

8.2. Implications

We draw a few, but perhaps fundamental, implications here.

1. As the aim of Internet and social media use should be the widening of the interaction between civil society groups and communities and the beneficiaries they work with and for, they have to be empowered, encouraged and supported to be able to maintain a dynamic interaction with the public through their strategic use of the technology. This is a requirement if we are to expect for a more significant impact of civic activism.

2. With the significant growth of civil society activisms and networks fuelled by the use of the Internet and social media, one can mistakenly favour technicality over the involvement of human agency. Therefore in policy orientation, the focus of civil society should be the development of the agency's capabilities, not only in using and appropriating technology but in building comprehension of the dynamics of civil society and a wider societal realm.

3. As a network becomes both a locus and instrument of changes for civil society, networking should be strategised. The Internet and social media should be used strategically to mediate and facilitate networking, not only between groups within the civil society sector, but also with organisations from other sectors: public and

private. This will pose new challenges for civil society, but it will also present unprecedented opportunities.

4. As far as the future is concerned, our Foresight exercise, despite being simplified, has stimulated civil society to start thinking about where they are now and the future trajectory that they desire. Essentially, the roadmap to the desired future implies that the use of the Internet and social media in civil society should aim at strengthening communities, empowering them to demand fundamental societal changes. From the methodology perspective, this means that the exercise has to be repeated in the future in order to continuously evaluate how civil society as a stakeholder has actively shaped the future as it unfolds.

8.3. Limitations

There are at least two basic limitations of this research.

- Firstly, the analysis offers a grounded, but not necessarily generalised, explanation about the nature of the adoption of the Internet and social media in civil society groups and organisations. Having provided the rich details, readers, especially in relevant fields, are expected to be able to judge the reasonability of conclusions and transferability of findings into settings with which they are familiar.

- Secondly, the whole discussion about civil society groups and communities is based on the assumption that they are 'good' or 'civilised'. This is done deliberately because we need a solid ground on which to build our argument. Of course, in reality, 'bad' and 'uncivil' society groups do exist, but they are not taken into account here. Likewise, with the use of the Internet and social media, we do not regard the 'bad and uncivil ways' of using the technology.

This study has mobilised some perspectives to provide necessary depth and, hopefully, valuable insights. The developments in the field of Internet (particularly social media) studies and civil society research are however relatively very recent. Despite its richness and a long attempt at conceptualisation, as an academic field, civil society is still 'young' and 'immature' (Anheier *et al.*, 2001; Deakin, 2001; Kaldor *et al.*, 2004; Keane, 1998), compared to, for example, the body of academic studies on the government or private sector. We believe, therefore that there are novelties here, however imperfect and limited they are.

8.4. Closing remark

We have confirmed that the use of the Internet and social media in civil society groups and communities have some enormous implications both to the civil society itself and to societal dynamics in Indonesia. We now call upon future initiatives to empower civil society groups and communities, particularly in Indonesia and hopefully beyond, so that they are capacitated to adopt and use the Internet and social media strategically to facilitate their work which eventually will lead to societal changes. Such adoption and use will help achieve the ultimate mission and goal of civil society: that of being a civic guardian.

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Appendix 1.
Notes on impacts

We envisaged some outputs and potential impacts of this research.

Academic papers: We expect to produce at least 2 (two) academic papers (or equivalent, such book chapter if there are invitations). The first will set up a discussion for this research and sets the context. This will lead to subsequent publications, which will examine the hypothesis and detail the result of this study. It is very likely that the submission and the publication of these papers are done after the project ends due to the very tight timeline.

Conference papers and presentations: We will seek opportunities to present the paper in major international conferences such as EUROSEAS (*European Association for South East Asian Studies*) or ICAS (*International Convention of Asian Scholars*, the coming conference will be in March 2011 in Hawaii). However, this will only be done if there is extra funding made available by HIVOS for such participation.

Practitioner output: Some of the results are likely to be of interest to civil society activists and organisations, media, governments and possibly business. We therefore anticipate writing summary articles for practitioner publications in popular media such as national newsletters or magazines after the research concludes shall the resource permits.

Other output: We also plan to anonymise the dataset created from the survey and make it publicly available (in the UK, we may store it in the UK Data Archive; in Indonesia we may host the data in HIVOS server). We will endeavour to do this after the research concludes.

Appendix 2. Respondents, interviewees, and participants of workshops and focus group discussions

A.2.1 Survey Respondents

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
1	AATI	[left empty]
2	Forum Belajar Kreatif	[left empty]
3	FOWAB	[left empty]
4	Indonesia UNGASS-AIDS Forum	[left empty]
5	Kelompok Studi Barokatul Ummah	[left empty]
6	Kosayu Linux User Group	[left empty]
7	LDK Al-Hikmah	[left empty]
8	LSM ISET SELAYAR	[left empty]
9	ShARE Tim Universitas Indonesia	[left empty]
10	Xzone	[left empty]
11	Komunitas Aceh Blogger	Aceh
12	PELITA	Aceh Tengah
13	YAKKUM Bali	Badung
14	Yayasan Export Pengembangan Bali	Badung
15	Aceh Information Technology Development	Banda Aceh
16	Atjeh International Development	Banda Aceh
17	Katahati Institute	Banda Aceh
18	Koalisi NGO HAM Aceh	Banda Aceh
19	Koalisi untuk Advokasi Laut Aceh (Jaringan KuALA)	Banda Aceh
20	Komunitas Pengguna Linux Indonesia Aceh (KPLI Aceh)	Banda Aceh
21	Roda Tiga Koetaradja	Banda Aceh
22	The Aceh Institute	Banda Aceh
23	Jaringan Radio Komunitas Lampung (JRKL)	Bandar Lampung
24	Perkumpulan Watala	Bandar Lampung
25	ACALAPATI	Bandung
26	Common Room Networks Foundation	Bandung
27	Deathrockstar.info	Bandung
28	Formahesaplb2009	Bandung
29	Forum Hijau Bandung	Bandung
30	IMPACT Bandung	Bandung
31	Komunitas Waria	Bandung
32	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Bandung	Bandung
33	MAGICuhibiniu	Bandung

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
34	Mahasiswa S2 IKM UNPAD 2010	Bandung
35	Openlabs	Bandung
36	Puzzle Club	Bandung
37	Rockgod Foundation	Bandung
38	Sekolah Hijau	Bandung
39	Studio Driya Media Bandung	Bandung
40	Tobucil & Klabs	Bandung
41	Yayasan BPK GKP	Bandung
42	yayasan pengembangan biosains dan bioteknologi	Bandung
43	Yayasan Pengembangan Swadaya Masyarakat	Bandung
44	Saudara Sejiwa Foundation	Bandung
45	Yayasan Ashoka Indonesia	Bandung
46	COBS	Bangkalan
47	Komunitas Linux Trunojoyo	Bangkalan
48	Plat-M (Nak-Kanak Blogger Bangkalan - Madura)	Bangkalan
49	Lembaga Kajian Keislaman & Kemasyarakatan	Banjarmasin
50	COMmunity Based Information NEtwork Resource Institution	Bantul
51	LEMBAGA PENYIARAN KOMUNITAS SWADESI	Bantul
52	Ma'arif Imogiri	Bantul
53	Media Komunitas Angkringan	Bantul
54	Perkumpulan Pegiat Radio Komunitas Suara Desa Wonolelo FM	Bantul
55	Portal Online Suara Komunitas	Bantul
56	Radio Komunitas Angkringan	Bantul
57	Radio Komunitas Sadewo	Bantul
58	Teater Garasi	Bantul
59	ASSOSIASI PENDAMPING PEREMPUAN USAHA KECIL	Bantul
60	Positive Rainbow	Bekasi
61	Stasi Stanislaus Kostka Kranggan	Bekasi
62	Cahaya Perempuan Women's Crisis Center Bengkulu	Bengkulu
63	Perkumpulan Kantor Bantuan Hukum Bengkulu	Bengkulu
64	KAMPUNG MEDIA "JOMPA MBOJO" KABUPATEN BIMA	Bima
65	Gabungan Solidaritas Anti Korupsi	Bireuen
66	ASTEKI (ASOSIASI TELEVISI KERAKYATAN INDONESIA)	Bogor
67	DeTara Foundation	Bogor
68	ELSPPAT Institue for Sustainable Agriculture and Rural Livelihood	Bogor
69	koalisi rakyat untuk kedaulatan pangan	bogor
70	Komplotan Penulis Imajinasi Sastra (Kopi Sastra)	Bogor
71	Pusat Informasi Lingkungan Indonesia	Bogor
72	Yayasan Penyelamatan Orangutan Borneo	Bogor
73	RMI the Indonesian Institute for Forest and Environment	Bogor
74	Lembaga Bhakti Kemanusiaan Umat Beragama	Boyolali
75	Lestari Mandiri	Boyolali
76	Malhikdua	Brebes
77	Yayasan Al-Qurni	Cirebon

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
78	BESTARI Indonesia	Deli Serdang
79	Perkumpulan Penyiaran Komunitas Media Transformasi Rakyat	Deli Serdang
80	Social Justice Initiative	Deli Serdang
81	Aliansi Jurnalis Independen Denpasar	Denpasar
82	Bale Bengong	Denpasar
83	Denpasar Photographers Community	Denpasar
84	Ikatan Korban Napza (IKON) Bali	Denpasar
85	indieGO! magazine	Denpasar
86	Naknik Community	Denpasar
87	Sloka Institute	Denpasar
88	Wijayana_Computech	Denpasar
89	YOUTH CORNER - Bali	Denpasar
90	deBlogger	Depok
91	IGOS Center Depok	Depok
92	PIRAC (public interest researc and advocacy center)	Depok
93	Society of Indonesian Environment Journalist	DKI Jakarta
94	STRATEGIC BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT	DKI Jakarta
95	Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan	DKI Jakarta
96	YAYASAN TANANUA FLORES	Ende
97	Yayasan Karuna Bali	Gianyar
98	The Gorontalo Instiute	Gorontalo
99	Yayasan Baruga Cipta	Gowa
100	Mantasa	Gresik
101	Blankon Linux	Jakarta
102	IT Center	Jakarta
103	Jaringan Perpustakaan APTIK	Jakarta
104	Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan (KontraS)	Jakarta
105	Komite independen pemantau pemilu Indonesia	Jakarta
106	Masyarakat ekonomi syariah (MES)	Jakarta
107	PUSAT PEMBERDAYAAN PEREMPUAN DALAM POLITIK	Jakarta
108	The Habibie Center	Jakarta
109	Yayasan TERANGI	Jakarta
209	Change Magazine	Jakarta
110	Forum Indonesia Membaca	Jakarta Barat
111	ID-Networkers	Jakarta Barat
112	Uni Sosial Demokrat	Jakarta Barat
113	Yayasan Agenkultur	Jakarta Barat
114	Yayasan AIDS Indonesia	Jakarta Barat
115	Rachel House Indonesia	Jakarta Barat
116	BADAN NASIONAL PENANGGULANGAN BENCANA/BNPB	Jakarta Pusat
117	Freedom Institute	Jakarta Pusat
118	Government Watch	Jakarta Pusat
119	Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan	Jakarta Pusat
120	Musholla Al Hikmah	Jakarta Pusat

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
121	Orangutan Conservation Services Program	Jakarta Pusat
122	Pelayanan Advokasi untuk Keadilan dan Perdamaian Indonesia	Jakarta Pusat
123	Perkumpulan DEMOS	Jakarta PUsat
124	PWYP-Indonesia (Publish What You Pay - Indonesia, koalisi LSM)	Jakarta Pusat
125	Rujak Center for Urban Studies	Jakarta Pusat
126	AirPutih	Jakarta Selatan
127	ALIANSI MASYARAKAT ADAT NUSANTARA	Jakarta Selatan
128	Asosiasi Ibu Menyusui Indonesia	Jakarta Selatan
129	Church World Service Indonesia	Jakarta Selatan
130	CKNet-INA untuk Indonesia dan Aguajaringuntuk Asia Tenggara	Jakarta Selatan
131	Claser Community	Jakarta Selatan
132	Forum Lenteng	Jakarta Selatan
133	INDONESIA CORRUPTION WATCH	Jakarta Selatan
134	Indonesian Human Rights Committee for Social Justice	Jakarta Selatan
135	Institute for Global Justice	Jakarta Selatan
136	Institute for Policy and Community Development Studies (IPCOS)	Jakarta Selatan
137	International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID)	Jakarta Selatan
138	Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (JATAM)	Jakarta Selatan
139	Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (KID)	Jakarta Selatan
140	Lembaga Ourvoice	Jakarta Selatan
141	Madrasah Aliyah Citra Cendekia	Jakarta Selatan
142	ngerumpi.com	Jakarta Selatan
143	PALANG MERAH INDONESIA	Jakarta Selatan
144	Perkumpulan Indonesia Berseru	Jakarta Selatan
145	Serikat Petani Indonesia	Jakarta Selatan
146	The Asian Muslim Action Netwok (AMAN) Indonesia	Jakarta Selatan
147	WWF Indonesia	Jakarta Selatan
148	Asosiasi Pendamping Perempuan Usaha Kecil	Jakarta Timur
149	Ikatan Serikat Buruh Indonesia	Jakarta Timur
150	Jaringan Pendidikan Berbasis Keluarga	Jakarta Timur
151	Just Associates Southeast Asia	Jakarta TImur
152	Pemberdayaan Perempuan Kepala Keluarga	Jakarta Timur
153	Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum dan HAM Indonesia	Jakarta Timur
154	World Community for Christian Meditation/ Komunitas Mondial Meditasi Kristiani Indonesia	Jakarta Utara
155	Pinang Sebatang	Jambi
156	KOMUNITAS FILM INDEPENDEN JEMBER (KOIN)	Jember
157	Perkumpulan Suara Warga	Jombang
158	Radio Komunitas Taratak 107.7 fm	Kabupaten 50 Kota
159	Anak Alam	Karangasem
160	Lembaga Kediri Bersama Rakyat	Kediri
161	Lembaga Netra Testimoni Rakyat	kendal
162	Yayasan pengembangan, studi hukum dan kebijakan	Kendari
163	Jatayoe	Kudus

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
164	Media Opsi - KPK Biro Kudus	Kudus
165	Yamsik Pecinta Alam	Kuningan
166	Yayasan Kanopi Kuningan	Kuningan
167	Penguatan Institusi dan Kapasitas Lokal	Kupang
168	Conservation Digital Opportunity Centre - Orangutan Information Centre	Langkat
169	Pos Bantuan Hukum dan Pengaduan Pelanggaran HAM Aceh Utara	Lhokseumawe
170	Perkumpulan Jari Manis	Magelang
171	Pusat Telaah dan Informasi Regional Magelang	Magelang
172	Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia	Makassar
173	Forum Informasi dan Komunikasi OrNop Sulawesi Selatan	Makassar
174	Jirak Celebes	Makassar
175	Komunitas Blogger Makassar AngingMammiri	Makassar
176	KOMUNITAS SEHATI MAKASSAR	Makassar
177	Lembaga Mitra lingkungan	Makassar
178	Perkumpulan Jurnalis Advokasi Lingkungan	Makassar
179	Poros 3 Institute	Makassar
180	Rumah Kaum Muda	Makassar
181	Yayasan Bursa Pengetahuan Kawasan Timur Indonesia (BaKTI)	Makassar
182	Organisasi Benih Matahari	Malang
183	IGAMA	Malang
184	Klub Buku Malang	Malang
185	Komunitas Blogger Malang	Malang
186	Pusat Inkubator Bisnis dan Layanan Masyarakat	Malang
187	Bragi FM Radio Komunitas	mataram
188	KPLI-NTB	Mataram
189	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Nusa Tenggara Barat	Mataram
190	Lembaga Studi Kemanusiaan	Mataram
191	Caritas Keuskupan Maumere	Maumere / Sikka
192	Gerakan Sehat Masyarakat (GSM)	Medan
193	KOOS (Komunitas Orang Orang Sehati)	Medan
194	LEMBAGA KASIH RAKYAT	Medan
195	Pusat Pengkajian & Pengembangan Masyarakat Nelayan (P3MN)	Medan
196	Sources of Indonesia	Medan
197	Yayasan BITRA Indonesia	Medan
198	APTISI Sumatera Utara	Medan
199	Yayasan Papan MBO	Meulaboh
200	BRENJONK	Mojokerto
201	Komunitas Tahan Bencana	Nabire-Papua
202	Perkumpulan Desa Mandiri	Nganjuk
203	Forum Academia NTT	Online networked
204	Konsorsium Pengembangan Masyarakat Madani (KPMM)	Padang
205	Pusat Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya	Padang
206	Komunitas Sarueh	Padang Panjang
207	Kelompok Tani Ternak SAIRIANG SAIYO SAKATO	Padang Pariaman

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
208	Dolphin Indonesia	Palu
210	Yayasan Merah Putih Sulawesi Tengah	Palu
211	Kelompok Studi dan Pengembangan Prakarsa Masyarakat	Parapat/Simalungun
212	Limbubu	Pariaman
213	Komunitas Blogger Bertuah Pekanbaru	Pekanbaru
214	Komunitas Blogger Warok Ponorogo	Ponorogo
215	Institut Dayakologi	Pontianak
216	Peternak Muda Kambing Etawa *Gunungkelir*	Purworejo
217	Green.Pieces Moslem Students Gathering	Salatiga
218	Yayasan Lumbung Cinta Masyarakat Indonesia	Salatiga
219	MDMC (Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center) Jawa Tengah	Semarang
220	EFFORT to struggle human right	Semarang
221	Komunitas Blogger Loenpia.Net	Semarang
222	Perkumpulan SOHIBB	Serdang Bedagai
223	gloBAL communiTY nusantaRA (BALTYRA.com)	Serpong
224	Lembaga Studi Masyarakat Manna Papua	Serui-Kepulauan Yapen
225	Radio Komunitas Langgiung	Simalungun
226	Bancakan 2.0	Sleman
227	JaRI RaBerdasi (Jaringan Rakyat Indonesia Berdaya dan Siaga	Sleman
228	Jogloabang	Sleman
229	PODJOK	Sleman
230	dCARE	Surabaya
231	Injecting Drug Users/Yayasan Bina Hati	Surabaya
232	Komunitas Blogger Surabaya (Tugupahlawan.com)	Surabaya
233	Pusat Studi Hak Asasi Manusia - Pusham Ubaya	Surabaya
234	Sampoerna Rescue	Surabaya
235	Takmir Mushola At Takwa	Surabaya
236	Wangta Agung	Surabaya
237	FMKI Surakarta	Surakarta
238	Yayasan GESSANG	Surakarta
239	Yayasan Insan Sembada (formerly Yayasan Indonesia Sejahtera)	Surakarta
240	Komunitas Blogger Bengawan	Surakarta
241	Solidaritas Kaum Termarginalkan	Surakarta
242	KPLI Solo (Kelompok Pengguna Linux Solo)	Surakarta
243	Yayasan Krida Paramita Surakarta	Surakarta
244	Ubuntu Metro	Tanggerang selatan
245	Paguyuban Kampung Sablon	Wedi Klaten
246	Pusat Sumber Daya Buruh Migran	Yogyakarta
247	mac.web.id	Yogyakarta
248	Hijau - Gerakan Peduli Lingkungan	Yogyakarta
249	Indonesian Visual Art Archive	Yogyakarta
250	Institute for Community Behavioral Change (ICBC)	Yogyakarta
251	Institute for Research and Empowerment	Yogyakarta

No.	Organisation/Community/Group	City/Municipal
252	Majelis Pendidikan Tinggi Penelitian dan Pengembangan Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah	Yogyakarta
253	People Like Us (PLU) Satu Hati	Yogyakarta
254	Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (PKBI) DIY	Yogyakarta
255	Stube-HEMAT Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta
256	Suara Malioboro	Yogyakarta
257	Unit Fotografi Universitas Gadjah Mada	Yogyakarta
258	Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia - Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta

A.2.2. Interviewees

No	Name of Respondent	Organisation / Community	Date of Interview
Voice and Direct Interview			
1	Jonathan Lassa	NTT Academia	19-08-2010
2	Mia Sutanto	AIMI	20-08-2010
3	Budhi Hermanto	Suara Komunitas	20-08-2010
4	Novianto Raharjo	Tugupahlawan.com	22-08-2010
5	Victorius Elfino	Komunitas Langsat	23-08-2010
6	Intan Baidoeri	Anging Mammiri Blogger Makasar	24-08-2010
7	Antok Suryaden	Joglo Abang	24-08-2010
8	Firdaus Cahyadi	KRL Mania	25-08-2010
9	Ferdi Thajib	Kunci Cultural Studies Center	25-08-2010
10	Hafiz	Forum Lenteng	26-08-2010
11	Ishari Sahida	Sound Boutique	27-08-2010
12	Firdaus Cahyadi	Korban Lapindo	27-08-2010
13	Dodi Mulyana	The Blogger	27-08-2010
14	Akhmad Nasir	Combine Research Institution	31-08-2010
15	Sumardiono	Sekolah Rumah	31-08-2010
16	Farah Wardani	IVAA	31-08-2010
17	Aquino Wredya Hayunta	Change Magazine	06-09-2010
18	Haris Azhar	Kontras	06-09-2010
19	Sam Ardianto	Blogger Ngalam	07-09-2010
20	Khamdani Ali Mashud	Blogger Ponorogo	07-09-2010
21	Enda Nasution	ID Blokir	07-09-2010
22	Nurwahyu Alamsyah	Plat-M	08-09-2010
23	Aloysius Purwa	Rotary Club	13-09-2010
24	Maria Mumpuni	Benih Matahari	13-09-2010
25	Wayan Rustiasa	Karuna Bali	16-09-2010
26	Lukman Age	The Aceh Institute	17-09-2010
27	Teuku Farhan	KPLI Aceh	17-09-2010
28	Fadli Idris	Komunitas Blogger Aceh	21-09-2010
29	Rebecca Sweetman	Paradigm Shift	28-09-2010
30	Ozy Sjarinda	Bike to Work	11-10-2010
31	Yakob	Aceh Green	05-10-2010
32	Syaefuddin	Rincong	06-10-2010
Email/written interview			
33	Blontank Poer	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan	25-08-2010
34	Rini Nasution	Satudunia	07-09-2010
35	Tarlen Handayani	Tobucil	29-09-2010

A.2.3. Participants of workshops and focus group discussions (FGDs)

FGD: Research and Environmental Groups (Aceh),
4 October 2010 09.00-12.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Muhammad	Air Putih
2	Adi Saputra Wijaya	Air Putih
3	Elita Roni Lubis	Air Putih
4	Satriyo Hadi	Air Putih
5	Teuku Ardiansyah	Katahati Institute
6	Nurul Kamal	The Aceh Institute
7	Shita Laksmi	Hivos
8	Eka Rahmadi	Pengguna Linux Takengon (Pelita)
9	Zulfikar Ahmad	Dishub Kominfo Aceh Tengah
10	Adi Usman Musa	Institute Green Aceh
11	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR, University of Manchester

FGD: Human Rights and Politic Groups (Aceh),
4 October 2010 14.00-16.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR, University of Manchester
2	Tery Ardiansyah	Kontras Aceh
3	Khairil	Kontras Aceh
4	M. Agam K.	Kontras Aceh
5	Ade Firmansyah	Aceh Dev
6	Bahrizal	LEUHAM Aceh
7	Shita Laksmi	Hivos
8	Muhammad	Air Putih
9	Elita Roni Lubis	Air Putih
10	Adi Saputra Wijaya	Air Putih
11	Satriyo Hadi	Air Putih

FGD: Linux User Group in Aceh (Aceh),
4 October 2010 17.00-19.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Ismail Ibtami	KPLI
2	Eddie Iskandar	KPLI
3	Afzaloer Riza	KPLI
4	Khairil Badri	KPLI
5	Razinal Rahmat	KPLI
6	Surya Bunayya	KPLI
7	Zahrul Marzi	KPLI
8	I. Wibisono	Air Putih

No.	Name	Organisation
9	M. Fadhil	KPLI – Aceh
10	M. Ali Murtaza	KPLI – Aceh
11	M. Iqbal El-Adani	KPLI – Aceh
12	Cheek Yuke	GK – Gayohkopi
13	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
14	Shita Laksmi	Hivos
15	Muhammad	Air Putih
16	Satriyo Hadi	freelancer
17	Elita Roni Lubis	Air Putih
18	Adi Saputra Wijaya	Air Putih

FGD: Blogger Aceh (Aceh),
5 October 2010 17.00-19.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
2	Fadli Idris	Blogger Aceh
3	Pozan	Blogger Aceh
4	Satriyo Hadi	Air Putih
5	Elita Roni Lubis	Air Putih
6	Muhammad	Air Putih
7	Tasha Setiawan	Air Putih
8	Maimun doank	Aceh Blogger
9	T.R. Muda Bentara	Aceh Blogger
10	Husni	Aceh Blogger

FGD: Air Putih (Aceh),
5 October 2010 20.00-22.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Yuhendra	Air Putih
2	Safrizal	Air Putih
3	Adi Saputra Wijaya	Air Putih
4	Rudi S. Y.	Air Putih
5	Tasha Setiawan	Air Putih
6	Elita Roni Lubis	Air Putih
7	Muhammad	Air Putih
8	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
9	Fachrul Idris	Air Putih
10	Muh. Rizal	Air Putih
11	Andi Setiawan, ST	Air Putih
12	Afrizal M.	Air Putih

Meeting: Tobucil (Bandung),
7 October 2010 09.00-13.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Tarlen Handayani	Tobucil & Klabs
2	Arie Wibowo	freelancer
3	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
4	Shita Laksmi	Hivos

FGD: Common Room (Bandung),
7 October 2010 15.00-18.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Okid	BDM (Bandung Death Metal)
2	Ranti	Common Room, Open Labs, YPBB
3	Idhar Rosmadi	Common Room
4	Gustaff H. Iskandar	Common Room
5	Reina Wulansari	Common Room
6	Tian	Forum Hijau Bandung
7	Dolly Isnawan	YPBB
8	Arie Wibowo	freelancer
9	Sandy Adriadi (Ate)	YPBB
10	Shita Laksmi	Hivos
11	Tony Maryana	Compusician
12	Ipank	Compusician
13	Indro	Trah
14	Rahadian	SDM
15	Eddie B. Handono	SDM
16	Donna	Common Room
17	M. Akbar	Open Labs
18	Kimung	Ujung Berung Rebbels
19	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan (Solo),
11 October 2010 09.00-15.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Blontank Poer	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
2	Andrean Saputro	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
3	Ody Dasa F.	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
4	Dony Alfan	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
5	Sam Ardi	Bloggerngalam
6	Hassan	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
7	Nenden Sekar Arum Nurannisaa	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
8	"Iyem" Siti Fatmawati	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
9	Indra Wardana	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan

No.	Name	Organisation
10	Imron Rosyid	Freeland Jurnalis
11	Akhmad Nasir	Combine
12	M. Darul Mukhlasin	PLAT-M
13	Sapto Nugroho	Yay-taleanta-Solo
14	Daniel S.P.	XL Center Solo
15	Anisa Febrina	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
16	Ageng	Komunika XL
17	Pipit	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
18	Ebik Dei	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
19	Andy MSE	Sekolah Rakyat IFK
20	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: Blogger Jatim-Jateng (Solo),
11 October 2010 17.00-21.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Nurwahyu Alamsyah	Plat-M
2	Denden Sofiudin	Pendekar Tidar (Magelang)
3	Moch. Sebbhie T.	Benteng Pendhem Club (Ngawi)
4	Sang Bayang	Benteng Pendhem Club (Ngawi)
5	Moh. Arifudin	Kotareyog.com (Ponorogo)
6	Fajar Rahman	Bloggerngalam (Malang)
7	Hendri Destiwanto	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
8	Hamdani Ali M.	Kotareyog.com (Ponorogo)
9	Endah Murwani K.	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
10	Riwis Sadati	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
11	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: Suara Komunitas (Yogyakarta),
12 October 2010 19.00-22.00

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Ketut Sutawijaya	Combine
2	Anggoro	IHAP
3	Merry	Combine
4	Anton Birowo	Atmajaya YK
5	Gopek	Radio Angkringan
6	Ari	Senayan Library Management System
7	Farid B.S.	LOS DIY
8	Amryn	Radio Angkringan
9	Khoirul M.	Combine
10	Isnu Suntoro	Combine
11	Sarni	ASPPUK
12	Didi	ASPPUK
13	Yusuf H.	Combine

No.	Name	Organisation
14	Tugiman	Ngijo Sitimulyo
15	Ambar Sari Dewi	Radio Angkringan Timbulharjo
16	Choirun Nangim	UMY
17	Muh. Arif Ma'ruf	UMY
18	Yurdan Biyantoro	UMY
19	Farhan Luthfi	UMY
20	Tabah S.P.	UMY
21	Ibnu Saptatriansyah	UMY
22	Joko W.	Rakodal Sriharjo
23	M. Ibnu Sumarno	Suara Malioboro
24	Kamal Hayat	UMY
25	Fachriy N Akas	UMY
26	Valeytina Sri Wijiyati	IDEA YK
27	Bambang	IDEA YK
28	M. Imran K.	MPM
29	Budhi Herwanto	Combine
30	Sulchan R.	STIE
31	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant
32	Indra Soeharto	freelancer
33	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: IVAA (Yogyakarta),
13 October 2010 09.00-12.30 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Elanto Wijoyono	Green Map Indonesia
2	Cicilia Maharani	Yayasan Kampung Halaman
3	Nuraini Juliastuti	Kunci Cultural Studies Center
4	Ferdi	Kunci Cultural Studies Center
5	Anang Saptoto	MES 56
6	Pitra	IVAA
7	Ferial	IVAA
8	Melisa	IVAA
9	Edy	IVAA
10	Yosi	IVAA
11	Wimo Bayang	MES 56
12	M. Dzulfahmi Yahya	IVAA
13	Agung K.	
14	Elly Kent	Asialink
15	Anissa A.K.	IVAA
16	M. Zamzam F.	Yayasan Kampung Halaman
17	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant
18	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: Kunci (Yogyakarta),
13 October 2010 13.30-17.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Gunawan Julianto	Rumah Pelangi
2	Iwan Effendi	Papermoon Puppet Theatre
3	Wok The Rock	Yes No Wave Music
4	Ria	Papermoon Puppet Theatre
5	Melle Jaarsma	Cemeti Art House
6	Adriani	Combine
7	Yoshi	IVAA
8	Imof	HONF
9	Ira	HONF
10	Iteq	ICAN (Indonesian Contemporary Art Network)
11	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
12	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant

FGD: Joglo Abang (Yogyakarta),
13 October 2010 20.00-21.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Aranto Sulistyo	Joglo Abang
2	Akhmad Nasir	Combine
3	Purnomo	Gunung Kelir
4	Sugiharto	Gunung Kelir
5	Elanto Wijoyono	Combine
6	Shita Laksmi	Hivos
7	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant
8	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: Focus Group Discussion Evaluation (Yogyakarta),
14 October 2010 13.30-16.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Farah Wardani	IVAA
2	Nuraini Juliastuti	Kunci
3	Pitra Hutomo	IVAA
4	Syafiatudina	Kunci
5	Ferdiansyah Thajib	Kunci
6	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
7	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant

FGD: Karuna (Bali),
15 October 2010 15.00-17.00 WITA

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Philip Yusenda	Karuna / LEEI
2	Triarani Utami	Karuna / LEEI
3	Ni Luh Warsini	Karuna / LEEI
4	Equatori	Karuna / LEEI
5	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
6	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant

FGD: Sloka Institute (Bali),
16 October 2010 10.00 WITA

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Novian	Yakeba
2	Trisna Pramana Igk	PPLH
3	Sang Ayu	Yakkum Bali
4	Fransiska	Bali Collaboration on Climate Change
5	Riana Dyah S.	PPLH
6	Suarsana	Akademika
7	Happy Ary S.	Akademika
8	Rahaji	FFTI
9	Pande Putu Setiawan	Komunitas Anak Alam
10	Intan Paramitha Apsari	Sloka Institute
11	Agus Sumberdana	Sloka Institute
12	Adi Mantara	Yakeba
13	Maryo	Walhi Bali
14	Mang Arix's	ICX Klungkung
15	Hira J.	Bebew
16	Luh De Suriyani	Sloka Institute
17	Gung WS	Sloka Institute
18	Anton Muhajir	Sloka Institute
19	Rofiqi Hasan	Aji Denpasar
20	Triarani	LVE
21	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
22	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant

FGD: Naknik Community (Bali),
16 October 2010 16.00-17.30 WITA

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Mei Rismawati	Naknik Community
2	I Gede Santika	Naknik Community
3	Ayu Sugiantari	Naknik Community
4	Jenifer Esperanca	Naknik Community
5	Shanny Samantha	Naknik Community

No.	Name	Organisation
6	Dwija Putra	Naknik Community
7	Murdiana Saputra	Naknik Community
8	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant
9	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
10	Triarani	LVE

FGD: Change (Jakarta),
18 October 2010 14.00 WIB

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Aquino	YJP
2	Oswald	Change
3	Syahdi	YJP
4	Astrid	Change
5	Afra	Change (YJP)
6	Eddy	Change (YJP)
7	Indah	Change
8	Arip P.	IKJ Change
9	Budi Rachman	IKJ
10	Amalia Sekarjati	Change
11	Dini	Suara Pemuda Anti Korupsi
12	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
13	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant

Reflective Workshop (Jakarta),
19 October 2010

No.	Name	Organisation
1	Rini Nasution	Satu Dunia
2	Afra Suci Ramadhan	Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP)
3	Suwarno	INFID
4	Darmanto	ASPPUK
5	Nurlina N. Purbo	Air Putih
6	Victorius Elvino (Ndaru)	Politikana / Langsat
7	Firdaus Cahyadi	Satu Dunia
8	Adrian B Sentosa	Kontras
9	Hafiz	Forum Lenteng
10	Donny BU	ICT Watch
11	Sumardiono	Jaringan Homeschooling
12	Gustaff H. Iskandar	Common Room
13	Idhar Rosmadi	Common Room
14	Tarlem	Tobucil & Klabs
15	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester

FGD: Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan (Solo),
12 December 2010 19.00-22.30 WIB

No	Name	Organisation
1	Hasan	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
2	Donni	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
3	Blontank Poer	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
4	Mursid	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
5	Happy	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
6	Andre	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
7	Riyusa	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
8	Iyem	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
9	Ciwir	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
10	Henny	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
11	Indra	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
12	Sapto	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
13	Yanuar Nugroho	MIoIR – University of Manchester
14	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant

Workshop: FORESIGHT,
Jakarta, 21 December 2010

No	Name	Organisation
1	Yanuar Nugroho	University of Manchester
2	Shita Laksmi	Hivos
3	Maria Santi	Local Research Assistant
4	Mirta Amalia	University of Manchester
5	Blontank Poer	Rumah Blogger Indonesia Bengawan
6	Gustaff Harriman Iskandar	Common Room
7	Tarlem	Tobucil
8	Rini Nasution	Satu Dunia
9	Ndaru	Langsat
10	Darmanto	Seknas ASPPVK
11	Sumardiono	Jaringan Homeschooling
12	Agus Triwanto	Air Putih
13	Aquino Hayunta	Jurnal Perempuan
14	Wahyu Susilo	INFID
15	Suwarno	INFID
16	Donny BU	ICT Watch