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**FIVE COLLEGE
DEPOSITORY**

THE ROLE OF NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION:
A PARTICIPATORY INQUIRY IN INDONESIA

A Dissertation Presented

by

MANSOUR FAKIH

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1995

School of Education

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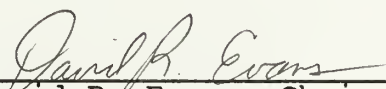
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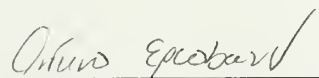
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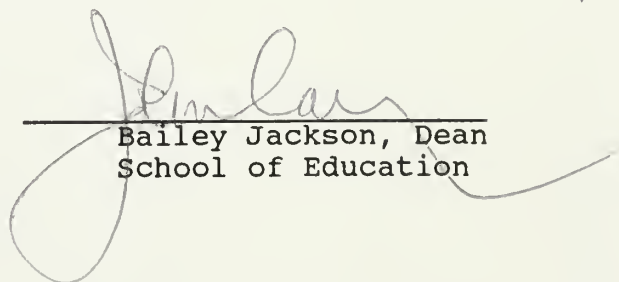
David R. Evans, Chair



David Kinsey, Member



Arturo Escobar, Member



Bailey Jackson, Dean
School of Education

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study is part of my personal reflection after being a field activist in the Indonesian Nongovernmental Organization (NGO) Movement for more than 10 years, including my contemplation during my study for almost four years at the Center for International Education, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. This study has been monumental in giving me new insight, new vision, new ideology, and new ways to understand and theorize about social change. My four years contemplation in Amherst has very much influenced the way I construct Third World realities.

There are several occasions and people who have greatly influenced my assumptions, perceptions and thoughts. First of all, my Development Theories class, although Professor Evans', Mary Jo Connelly's and Joan Dixon's class was really an introductory level, it permitted and encouraged me to inquire more deeply into the issues of Development. My thoughts were also shaped very much by Gramsci's theory of hegemony, which I learned with co-members of a Gramscian discussion group: Kay Pfeiffer, Mary Jo Connelly, Jane Benbow, Nfila Badzili, Lois Martin, Morongoe Ntloedibe, and Professor David Kinsey. In the preparation for this study, I have been fortunate to have a group discussion on NGO issues with Professor Kinsey, Jonathan Otto, and Eloy

Anello. My thoughts have also been influenced by Althusserian overdetermination epistemology which I learned from Professor Resnick in his Political Economy class in the Economics Department at the University of Massachusetts. Gender and Development class and group discussions organized by Mary Jo Connelly and Jane Benbow heightened my gender sensitivity in this study. I am also fascinated by critical theories, especially Habermas which I learned from Professor Peter Park in the Department of Sociology. My involvement at the Center for International Education, the informal discussions, and all unmentioned friends with whom I have shared ideas at the Center, have all enriched this reflection.

As an NGO activist, I have found myself in a contradictory situation. On the one hand I am strongly committed to liberation and 'transformation' through working with people however, on the other hand, I am not able to separate our existence from the influence of the dominant hegemony which is part of the globalization of Developmentalism and Modernization in Indonesia since the 1970s. This study is part of my personal reflection and critiques of this contradiction. As a new tradition of civil societies' movement, Indonesian NGOs are still young and in the process of finding alternative and better ways to understand our social problems. I dedicate this study to my

many NGOs activist friends in Indonesia. This study hopefully will become a part of the movement.

This study would never have been finished without help of many Indonesian activists. Thanks to Sugeng Setiadi, who gave me an opportunity to get involved with NOVIB's partners in developing their programs in Indonesia. Many thanks also go to M.M. Billah, Roem Topatimasang, Mahmudi, Juni Thamrin, Bandung, Muchtar Abbas and the many activists who were involved in the research and became part of the movement. Special thanks go to Galuh W. Sedjatmoko, Lily Purba, Donatus K. Marut, Bonar Saragih, Paul Valentin and other friends in OXFAM who have encouraged me to finish this study. Many thanks go to Sheila Fish and Kay Pfeiffer who have helped me edit the draft of this dissertation, and gave feedback on the draft. Finally very special thanks to Nena, Farabi and Faris for their support. Their support really helped me to finish this study. This study is part of my personal journey toward creating a fundamentally new and better world. I hope this study will bring new hope to civil society's movement in Indonesia.

Jakarta, 1994.

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION:

A PARTICIPATORY INQUIRY IN INDONESIA

FEBRUARY 1995

MANSOUR FAKIH, DRS. INSTITUT AGAMA ISLAM NEGERI JAKARTA

M.Ed. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Ed.D. UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor David R. Evans

This study examines the future role of the NGO movement in social transformation in Indonesia. Social transformation is a process of social change toward the creation of fundamentally new and better economic, political, cultural, and environmental relationships. This study examines three main issues: the nature of ideology, visions, and paradigms of an NGO movement as part of social change; the internal and external factors that prevent an NGO movement from performing a role in social transformation; and, the future agenda and plan of action for social transformation in Indonesia.

The study was conducted by a team of NGO activists employing a participatory research approach. This approach is a combination of research, education, dialogue and action. In this approach, NGO activists are placed at the center and are the subjects rather than objects of the

research. This study describes a research process that consists of a variety activities including field interviews, education, social analysis, dialogue and plans for action.

The first and second part of the study is a literature review of the theoretical underpinnings of social movement organizations. After reviewing various theories on social movements and social change from the perspective of dominant social sciences and traditional Marxism, the study chose a non-reductionist approach, namely, a Gramscian approach to social movements, particularly in terms of Gramsci's concepts of the organic intellectual, state and civil society, and hegemony.

The third and fourth part of the study critically examine the political, economic, cultural and social settings of the present social formation in Indonesia where this study was conducted, revealing the prevailing ideology and paradigm -- called Developmentalism, the mask of Third World capitalism. Chapter five and six describe the process of the participatory research. This is a collaborative process of research and analysis of NGO activists' ideology and vision in social change. This effort led to the construction of a critical map of ideological positions and paradigms of Indonesian NGO activists in terms of their perceptions and goals for social change. In return, it raised the critical consciousness of the activists in examining existing roles, biases, visions, paradigms,

theories, methodologies and practices. The process of the research also succeeded in developing a concrete agenda for change and a plan of action.

The last part of this study includes two chapters, both a conclusion and a reflection on the part of the author about the research process, methodology, and future research. The personal reflection represents accumulated thoughts and expressions gathered throughout the entire process. It accommodates elements of criticism, disappointment, expectation, hope, and recommendation. It is a reflection and expression on the author's role in the process of creating a fundamentally new and better world.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO STUDY

During the past two decades, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of nongovernmental organizations or NGOs operating in the Third World. In 1981, for example, the OECD's Development Cooperation Reviews estimated that as many as eight thousand well established NGOs were engaged in relief and development work worldwide. These organizations were providing over 3.3 billion dollars in annual support to development programs, with two thirds of this support coming from private sources. This constitutes nearly 10 percent of the overall global development assistance funding.¹ In 1985 alone, the lives of more than one hundred million peasants in Latin America, Africa and Asia were directly affected by NGO activities. Nowadays they have doubled in terms of their number and activities. Edwards and Hume (1993) illustrated the growing number of NGOs both in the North and the South.

There are now some 4,000 development non-governmental organization (NGOs) in OECD member countries alone (OECD 1989), depress in almost three billion US dollars' worth of assistance every year... They work with around 10,000 to 20,000 'Southern' NGOs who assist up to 100 million people. Yet despite the increasing scale in this sector, and the growing reputation that NGOs have won for themselves and for their work over the last ten years, their contribution to development on a global level remains limited. (Edwards and Hume, 1993, p.13)

¹ OECD, Development Assistance Committee, Development Corporation: 1986 Report. Paris: OECD, 1986, p. 21.

However, despite the increase in the number of NGOs, their role in global social transformation still needs to be challenged. Questioning the role of those NGOs in the creation of a just and fair world, both at global and local levels, is the main concern of this study. I share Edwards and Hume's argument that one of the most important factors influencing and blocking NGO ability to play a role in global social change is the failure of NGOs to make the right linkages between their work at the micro level and the wider systems and structures of which they form a small part. However, throughout this collaborative study I and a team of Indonesian NGO activists attempted to find out what other factors prevent NGOs from performing their role in social transformation. To begin, the team and I are already complicated by the fact that then NGO movement is not a single entity with one mission, vision and ideology. Edward and Hume (1993) for example defined the term 'NGO' as a very broad category of organizations that comprise a huge diversity of institutions. For example, in terms of their form, size and function, NGOs can be differentiated. There are three types, namely:

International NGOs such as Save the Children Aid (commonly referred to as Northern NGOs or NNGOs); 'intermediary' NGOs in the south (SNGOs) who support grassroots work through funding, technical advice and advocacy; grassroots movements of various kinds (grassroots organizations or GROs, and community based organization or CBOs) which are controlled by their own members; and networks and federations composed of any or all of the above. (Edwards and Hume, 1993, p.14)

In fact, NGOs consist of a large number of distinct entities that are diverse in terms of their goals, visions and motivations as well as their ideological perspectives. Therefore, this study included as one of its goals the development of a map of NGOs' ideologies and paradigms in social change.

In Indonesia, NGOs are considered to be one form of social movement organizations. The NGOs are predominantly called "Lembaga Pengembang Swadaya Masyarakat" (LPSM) or "Promoter Organizations for Self-Reliance". As demonstrated later in this study, the terms of LSPM and LSM are problematic.² Although the terms NGOs and LSM relate to different concepts, throughout this study I use the term NGO as a translation of LSM. The LPSM or LSM tries to respond to the multiple needs of grassroots organizations with the support of international development cooperation institutions or funding agencies. The LPSM, the grassroots organizations are also called LSM, the social movement organizations, and the international agencies (international NGOs, solidarity or funding agencies), are three main protagonists in the nongovernmental development cooperation process. The term NGO refers to any organization which is not part of a government and which has not been established

² Aditjondro, G.J. rejected the use of the term of LSM, instead he proposed to use ORNOP (Organisasi Non Pemerintah) as the translation of NGOs. See George Junus Aditjondro, "Tergusurnya ORNOP oleh LSM" (The Displacement of ORNOP by LSM) in Suara Merdeka, 4 January 1993.

as a result of an agreement between governments. The NGO is one form of social movement organization in Indonesia.

The rapid increase of NGOs as organized social movements in Indonesia since 1970s has been impressive in terms of their number, diversity and geography. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were only a handful of social movements and non-governmental groups actively concerned about, or capable of addressing, the problems of development. The overwhelming majority of these were based in Jakarta where their urban, ex-student activist leaders resided, and where there was ample access to funding sources. In the 70s most of NGOs activists were working under the framework of Developmentalism. There was no single NGO in the 70s which really rejected the basic concept and idea of development. Their questions and critiques however focused on methodological and technical implication of development. Therefore the issues that were struggled with by most NGO activists in the 70s were the issues of approach and methodology such as bottom up versus top down approaches. Therefore the issues that they considered strategic were to find better methodologies from the government's projects. As a result "bottom up" and participation became big issues. Most NGO projects were attempts for alternative techniques and methodologies for development such as small scale industrial development projects; handicraft development projects; income generating

projects, community primary health care; family planning and population control programs, appropriate technology and other rural development projects. Those projects were implemented mainly in order to create alternative methodologies to those massive centralized government's top down approaches of development without questioning structural aspects and systemic relationships of the problems they were attempting to solve.

Now less than three decades later, there may easily be in excess of 3,000 such groups located in remote as well as urban October 17, 1994 and more accessible rural areas throughout the country (Betts, 1987). In terms of the areas of concern, issues are more varied from environmental and rain forest protection issues, human rights and other oppression related issues, gender issues, the right of indigenous people culture and knowledge issues, exploitation and the rights of Labor Unions and many other issues that did not appear in the 70s. In the 70s most of their activities merely worked with people at grassroots level doing community development work, in the 80s the forms of struggle become more varied, from local struggle to international kind of advocacy.³ A number of NGO activists began working on political advocacy in many manifestations

³ See Arif Budiman "Stabilitas Politik dan Pertumbuhan Ekonomi" as a foreword in the INFID book, Pembangunan di Indonesia; Memandang dari sisi lain, Jakarta: INFID and Yayasan Obor, 1993.

and making various forms of political statements, petitions, protests and demonstrations.

Currently, there are a number practitioners who have begun to re-examine some issues of their basic strategies. They have even started to criticize the use of LSM as the translation of NGO, and call to name again their organization as ORNOP (Nongovernmental Organizations). They are attempting to find an alternative solution to social problems and development. They have started to question the discourse of development in a very radical way. The NGOs involved at this level are starting to question the existing structures as well as the significance of the role that NGOs play. "Will there be an alternative role for the social movement organizations in the future?" they ask. They have started to question whether it is correct or not to expect NGO movements to play an active role in social transformation. One also wonders if the social movement organizations in Indonesia really have the capacity to solve the problems of poverty - or will they merely be attacking the symptoms? In other words, can NGOs really become an alternative means of stimulating social transformation in Indonesia?

In order to assess and understand the future role of Indonesian social movement organizations, especially the NGO movement, in creating alternative forms of social change in Indonesia, a group of Indonesian NGO activists conducted a

year and a half collaborative study on social movement organizations in Indonesia, on their perspectives on education and social transformation. This collaborative study, also called participatory research, was supported by many different groups including NGO activists, university based intellectuals and students as well as women activists. I was also involved in this collaborative study as part of my dissertation research. Therefore this collaborative study in a way was not only my agenda but part of a process of creating a space for NGO activists to make it possible for them to realize their agenda.

1.1 The Problem

The phenomena of ambiguity and disorientation in the vision position and mission of Indonesian NGOs as a type of social movement organization toward democratization and transformation in the country have been expressed by many researchers. Observation and studies by Eldridge (1988), Budiman (1990) Fakhri (1991) and Billah (1992) show there are contradictions between the jargon and theories of most big NGOs, and the materialization of those in their field activities. It is become a common phenomenon that most NGOs set their ideals as democratization, transformation and social justice. But when it comes to describing how they will achieve these aspirations, most of them use concepts and theories Modernization and "Developmentalism" without

question. These theoretical contradictions and ambiguities in paradigms have contributed to the inconsistency of their methodologies and approaches in the field. In other words, the problem of ambiguity in paradigmatic and theoretical foundations has contributed to the tendency of cooptation and domestication of various radical and critical methodologies and techniques such as the use of Freirean conscientization pedagogy, participatory research, as well as many other popular education methodologies and techniques, in Developmentalism type of projects such as community development projects or income generating projects.

Among many sources that contribute to this problems is the powerful ideology of Modernization and Developmentalism. Modernization and Developmentalism in nowadays Third World countries have become the mainstream and the dominant paradigm and ideology. They are believed by the bureaucrats, universities based intellectuals, and even among many NGO activists in the Third World, especially in Indonesia, to be the only way to solve the problems. This influence is also deeply rooted in the mind of the majority of Indonesian NGO activists. Only recently, after implementing Developmentalism for more than two decades have they come to realized that Modernization and Developmentalism are not the solution but part of the problem. Therefore Developmentalism and Modernization are

increasingly becoming controversial issues not only among academics who are paying attention to the issues of the Third World but also among many NGO activists.

There have been a numerous studies both in the First World as well as in the Third World criticizing Developmentalism. Those critics started a decade after the Development discourse was launched in the US by the Truman Administration in the 50s. In other words, in less than 40 years of the age of development, there has been a lot of theory and analysis criticizing the discourse of development as the main cause of underdevelopment and misery for millions of people in the Third World. The first criticism came from Latin American economists and social scientists who launched the theory that is called the Dependency Theory of Underdevelopment. Throughout the study the activists got the opportunity to learn about this perspective and try to employ it in their analysis of the politics and economy of Indonesia. The dependency theory as it is understood, questioned the assumed mutual benefit of international trade and development asserted by American proponents of Modernization and growth theories. The central argument of the theory is that socio-economic dependency (neo-colonialism) generate underdevelopment, i.e., the development of underdevelopment.⁴

⁴ See Samir Amin, Unequal Development (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976). Gondre Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment" in Latin America: Underdevelopment or

Criticism also arose among intellectuals in the West. One group of thinkers associated with the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation (Sweden) are promoting what they call "Another Development". They believe that development should be: need oriented, geared to meeting both material and non-material human needs; endogenous, stemming from the heart of each society; self-reliant, implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources; ecologically sound, utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere; and based on structural transformation as an integrated as whole. In a way this group has rejected the notion of a universal path of development, and advocate that every society must find its own strategy.⁵

The criticism of development has reached the point where activists question radically the discourse of development. There have been extensive studies showing that Modernization and Developmentalism are a new bottle of the old wine of Capitalism. Therefore development is also seen as a new dominant ideology that makes it impossible for the Third World to achieve democratization and transformation in

Revolution (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969); Celso Furtado, "The Concept of External Dependence." in Wilber (Ed.), The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment (New York: Random House, 1973); Ian Roxborough, Theories of Underdevelopment, (London: MacMillan. 1979).

⁵ Dag Hammarskjold Foundation. What Now: Another Development/Development Dialogue. (no.1- 2) 1975.

any field including that of economy, politics, culture, gender and environment all of which involved knowledge/power relationships.⁶ From this perspective, resistance is not only at the level of methodology and approach but resistance to the whole concept and discourse of development. Wolfgang Sachs (1993) for example, sarcastically warns us that "indeed, it is not the failure of development which has to be feared, but its success" (Sachs, 1993, p.3).

Along side those intellectual and academic critiques to Developmentalism, in Indonesia another phenomenon has arisen, i.e., that of NGO activists reflecting critically on the role, mission and vision of their movement. Their reflection on the failure of Indonesian NGO movement to bring about social change has been greatly influenced by the academic and intellectual criticism of development. They also critically question the methodological and technical competencies of NGO activists in facilitating the process of change in Indonesia. On several occasions this discontent

⁶ Irene Gendzier, Managing Political Change: Social Scientists and the Third World (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1985). See also Arturo Escobar, "Discourse and Power in Development: Michael Foucault and the Relevance in his Work to the Third World." (Alternatives No. X. 1985). Also see Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development and Social Movement, a paper prepared for "Inter-Regional Dialogue on Development, Democracy and Critical Thought," seminar held by CENDES, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, October, 1990. Also see Richard Douthwaite, The Growth Illusion (Dublin, Ireland: A Resurgence Book, 1992).

has been expressed. For example, a national meeting organized by little NGOs held in Baturaden 1991 clearly indicated the disappointments and criticism was expressed toward the ideological position of NGOs vis a vis the people and of the phenomenon of a wide gap between NGOs and the people. They also criticized the ideological direction of most NGOs becoming part of Developmentalist hegemony. This meeting was followed by other local meetings in East Nusa Tenggara and Maluku. Another national NGO meeting was conducted in Bukittinggi, West Sumatera. The meeting also indicted that the disappointment of many NGO activists on their ideological and political positions. Although in the Bukittinggi meeting, the main concern was the problem of contradiction between big NGOs versus little NGOs, the conflict was not just because of centralization and unequal distribution of fund sources from International funding agencies.⁷ The bottom line of the conflict proved to be ideological, namely involving conflict among paradigms and thoughts of activists on the role, vision and mission of NGO movement in Indonesia.

Finally, a national conference of NGOs took place after a year of criticism. It was a national meeting of NGOs held

⁷ See Indro Tjahjono "Social Movements and the Phenomenon of NGOs in Indonesia" in HIVOS, Organized Opposition, Social Movements and Non Governmental Organizations in Asia, report of a HIVOS Seminar on the Role of NGOs in the Asian Context, at Bangasaen, Thailand, December, 1990.

in Cisarua West Java, organized by INDECO dan P3M in July 1992. The theme of the conference was "Integrated Rural Development". In the conference, these conflicts appeared again, and resulted in the problem remaining unresolved. The problem remained between those who supported the need for development to help the poor, and those who saw development as part of the problem. The experience of that conference supports the argument that there are ideological and theoretical problems faced by most NGO activists in Indonesia. The participants of the conference demanded to tackle those fundamental problems before taking any further steps. First of all there should be an effort to clarify the ideological perspectives, paradigms and theoretical grounding of NGO activists on social change. This problem leads to a second problem, i.e., methodological and technical problems in their realization in the fields. This ideological problem pushed them toward a project oriented approach. Based on theoretical ambiguity this project oriented approach has further repercussions for it prevents the NGOs from taking sides, becoming part of the people's struggle, and makes it difficult to anticipate their impact on democratization and transformation.

The recommendation of the Cisarua national NGO meeting which was supported by INDECO, has lead some activists to conduct a study on the future position and role of the NGO movement in Indonesia. This NGO activists agenda coincided

with my agenda to conduct a form of participatory research on social movements in Indonesia for my dissertation. After thorough negotiations and a series of discussions, we agreed to create a team for the study. The task of the team would include collaborative reflection and critical dialogue on the paradigms, ideologies, and theoretical grounding, as well as field methodologies and practices of NGOs in the country. The team decided that the reflections and dialogues should involve social analyses relating to the existing situation and problems in the country, namely the interconnection and interdependency of politics, economy, culture, gender and environment. One important point that we made was that this reflection and action should be conducted collaboratively and therefore we decided to employ a participatory research approach. We adopted a participatory research approach because we believed that participatory research is an appropriate approach for empowerment and transformation.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The primary assumption of this research was that nongovernmental organizations (as a type of social movement organization) can be a positive force for needed social transformation. The team looked at various forms of Nongovernmental Organizations and the political milieu in which they are a part. Although there are many forms that

might can be categorized as social movement organizations in Indonesia such as independent unions, womens' organizations, human rights and student movements, we used the example of NGOs as the focus of this study. This study covers a wide range of NGOs in Indonesia, however the description of the study focuses on how the process of change has happened in the main core group of NGOs in Java, as a case study of a type of social movement organizations in a Third World setting.

The primary question to be addressed in this study is: "What is the role of nongovernmental organizations in social transformation in Indonesia? This primary question will be examined by asking the following implementer questions:

1. What might be a conceptual framework for viewing NGOs as social movement organizations for social transformation? This question includes the questions of how do the NGOs define the problems. The intention and purpose of questioning how they define the problems is, first of all to understand the maps of thought, paradigms and theoretical grounds of NGO activists in the country. This question has been answered by conducting a collaborative field study and by facilitating a process of dialogue so that they can draw a map of their thoughts. This process is designed to make it possible for NGO activists to construct the social

movement organizations' vision and theory by naming the problem and in proposing alternative solutions.

2. What is the problem of "Developmentalism" and how has the emergence of NGOs as social movement organizations in Indonesia been connected to this? In particular, this question makes it possible for NGO activists to think critically about the dominant system. This question allows them to question the influence of dominant hegemony in their practice. The research team, through a field study and discussions, found out the position of the NGO movement in Indonesia on the question of the contradiction between the State and Civil Society. The team also succeed in raising their consciousness by finding out their ideological and paradigmatic positions.

3. What is the context of Indonesia in the 1992? This question allows NGO activists to inquire into the existing system and structure of Indonesia.

4. How was a participatory research/inquiry into the roles of NGOs in Indonesia in the 1990s conceived, organized and implemented?

5. What did the participatory research find about how NGO activists in Indonesia in the 1990s define their problems, roles and plans of action?

6. What seems to have been the short-term impact of this collective inquiry process and what are the implications of its findings for future research and roles of NGOs in Indonesia?

As an Indonesian NGO activist myself, I hope that this study will be instrumental in constructing a vision and theory of transformative social movements in Indonesia. This study is also intended to respond to the demands of many activists who have begun to question, critically, the basic strategies of the existing NGO movement in Indonesia. After being involved in social movement organizations for more than twenty years, many of these activists have realized that most NGOs work without vision and consequently tend to be more project oriented. I hope therefore, that this study will help to bring into focus and help resolve this fundamental problem.

1.3 Methodology

This study uses participatory research. It is a collaborative process of research, education and action. In this research methodology there is no dichotomy of the object and subject of the research. The detail explanation

of the research methodology and the process is described in Chapter 5.

1.4 Organization

This dissertation report is organized in the following parts and chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter. In this chapter I have provide an explanation of the rationale of the study, including the background of the study as well as the research questions to be answered through the research processes. In this introduction, I also explain about the methodology used in conducting this research, i.e., participatory research and the reasons why we chose this research paradigm. Included in this chapter is the description of the research process and its schedules.

The second chapter deals with the theoretical foundation of social movements organizations used in this study. In this chapter I also develop an analytical frame work of social movement organizations and on aspects of the process of social transformation, namely popular education. This chapter basically highlights the theoretical foundation of political movement and resistance education of the masses in the context of Third World Capitalism.

In order to provide the historical background to contemporary context of this study, in Chapter 3 I provide a social analysis of the existing social formation in

Indonesia. I focus on the concept of Developmentalism and its application as a type of social formation which has dominated the Third World over the last two decades. This chapter critically explains the archeology of the development and how it relates to the emergence of the NGO movement in Indonesia. The primary goal of this chapter is to explore the political, cultural and ideological environment in which the NGO movement in Indonesia emerged as well as how Developmentalism has shaped the ideological position and vision of Indonesian NGO movement.

The fourth chapter contains the participatory research action. In this chapter I describe the process of the research, through which the research team collaboratively conducted research processes, and creating space to dialogue with other social movement activists. The process consisted of, first, the description on the social, cultural, political and economic situation and anatomy of the NGO movement in Indonesian context; second, a collaborative naming of the problems. The process of collaborative naming the problems was done through interviews, as well as dialogical discussions. In this chapter I also explain how collective problem analysis works, and what the results of the analysis were. In this part I also describe how collective consciousness raising has been promoted. In this part I also describe the role of the activists in the process of collaborative raising consciousness and

developing vision and plan of actions. Finally I describe my assessment on the impacts of the study on the broader social movement communities.

The last chapter is the conclusion as well as my personal reflection on the study. In the reflection part I include my personal assessment of the study. In this piece my attention is on the process of the study including the interaction processes, the power relations in the team work, and the impact of those on how decisions were made. The conclusion part of this chapter describes my personal assessment on the impact of the study as well as the core team's assessment. Finally I put my personal reflection to the whole idea and process of this study.

CHAPTER 2
SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE:
A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In recent years, social movements have become a popular subject of study among sociologists in the West especially in the United States. The studies of the US civil rights movement among Blacks in the United States the 1950s and 1960s, the student movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and the various environmental, peace and solidarity movements, and the women's movement of the 1970s and 1980s have produced several approaches and theories on social movements. These kinds of studies are also growing in other part the world. The movements which are often selected for study include the ethnic/nationalist movement in many parts of the Soviet Union, the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa, and a wide variety of movements for better living conditions and a more equitable distribution of economic resources in the Third World countries. Those studies have contributed to the increasing in our understanding of social movements.

In the Third World social movements often have indirect relations with the mainstream approach to social change engineered by the state, i.e., what is called Development. What they have in common is their resistance to and criticism of Modernization which they see as having led to

economic stagnation, ecological crisis, deepening deprivation amid a scenario nevertheless generally viewed as one of increasing prosperity in Third World settings.

The focus of this chapter is to provide and examine the theoretical foundations and the practices of the role of organized civil society in social transformation in the Third World context. Social transformation in this study is defined as the creation of fundamentally new and better economic, political, cultural, and environmental relationships. Social transformation is considered here as a particular type of social change which is the main objective of social movements. In the Third World context, the study of social movements and social transformation can not be separated from the over riding issue of development (Bonner, 1990). Therefore throughout this study social transformation is used as an alternative to "Development" which over the past two decades, has become a new secular religion for millions of people in Third World countries. Development is believed to be the only way to solve the problem of poverty in the Third World. Development in practice has become the only goal of many governments in the Third World. It has been accepted principally by bureaucrats, and academics as well as NGO activists in the Third World without questioning its ideological foundations of its discourse. The question however is not merely in the methodologies and approaches and technicalities of

Development. Theoretically too, Developmentalism itself has become controversial. Is it really the key to solving Third World problems, or is it instead merely a means to gloss over the symptoms of a more basic problem? For the mainstream, this dominant theory of social change is meant to give hope.¹ However, there are those who have critically examined the impacts of Development, and who subsequently consider it to have created rather than solved complex problems for millions of people in the Third World.² Because of the complexity the problem of Developmentalism, the critical analysis of this discourse of development will be elaborated in the next chapter.

The growing numbers of social movement organizations in the Third World especially of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia, cannot be separated from the whole history of the discourse of development. The existence of

¹ See Wiltham W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960). Also see, David McClelland, The Achieving Society (New York: D. Van Nostrad, 1961); and, David McClelland and D.G. Winter, Motivating Economic Achievement, (New York: The Free Press, 1969).

² Alain De Alain, The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981). Dos Santos, "The crisis of Development Theory and The Problem of Dependency in Latin America," In Henry Bernstein (Ed.). Underdevelopment and Development: The Third World Today, (England: Penguin. 1976); and Richard Douthwaite, The Growth Illusion, (Dublin, Ireland: A Resurgence Book, 1992).

NGOs and many social movement organizations in the country is always related to the problems of development. Therefore in many Third World countries the term NGO always has a connotation of nongovernmental "development" organization. A comprehensive social analysis of the historical relations between development and the emergence of NGO movement, especially in Indonesia will also be discussed elsewhere in the next chapter.

The role of Indonesian NGOs as organized components of a social movement has generally been overlooked by researchers.³ Previous studies of social movement organizations however, have not considered the future role of social movements in social change and have not utilized an approach which took into account a dialectical perspective of the interrelated nature of economic, political, cultural and environmental circumstances. The educational role of NGOs in raising critical consciousness, and their role in creating an alternative discourse to the

³ David Korten, "Third Generation NGOS Strategies; A Key to People Centered Development," in A.G. Drabek (Ed.). World Development Supplement, Vol. 15, 1987 (New York: Pergamon Press, 1987). Also see Philip Eldridge, "Non-Governmental Organizations and the Role of the State in Indonesia," paper presented to the Conference on "The State and Civil Society in Contemporary Indonesia," November 1988. Also see Philip Eldridge, "The Political Role of Community Action Groups in India and Indonesia: In Search of a General Theory," in Alternatives. No X. 1985; "NGOs and the State in Indonesia," in Prisma No.47. 1988; and Drabek, Ann. (Ed.), Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs. World Development No. 15, Supplement, 1987.

dominant discourse and hegemony of Developmentalism has not been given fair attention.

Most of the studies of NGO movements in Indonesia have been conducted by outsiders, the Indonesian NGO activists placed as the object and target of their studies. There has been disappointment and frustration among NGO activists due to those studies, not only because of the feeling of disempowerment caused by the studies, but also because of the feeling of being misunderstood and misrepresented by those studies. Although there have been numerous internal reflections and evaluations conducted either by NGOs themselves or by the consultants of a variety of Funding Agencies to explicating the condition and position of the NGO movement in Indonesia, most of those valuational studies had not considered as either part of empowerment process or lack of sufficient sharing of ideological and theoretical foundation that lead to the NGOs transformation as well as social transformation. Most of studies are considered a mere routine necessary for the management of projects where funding agencies want to know about their programs for their internal bureaucratic interests and benefits.

In that context, I will provide the conceptual and theoretical background to this study of social movement organizations. This conceptual background is divided into three sub-sections. The first part concentrates on the

presentation of the broad perspectives and theories of social movements and social movement organizations. The second part is a review of the theoretical ground which is used and become the main perspective of this study. The review focuses on the Gramscian approach to social movements which is a non-reductionist approach. This approach has been chosen for this study for many reasons. The Gramscian approach is considered as an alternative approach to the traditional Marxist which holds the struggle of working class as essential to social movement. The third part of this chapter focuses on the educational role of organized civil society such as NGOs in social transformations.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Social Movements

Most studies of social movement take one of two divergent approaches. The first approach consists of distinct theories that tend to view social movements as a problem, or as symptoms of societal problems. Herberle (1951) in his book Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology, conceptualized social movements as potentially dangerous forms of non-institutionalized collective political behavior which threatened the stability of established way of life. Other sociologists such as Fruer (1969) tend to look at social movements as the "conflict of generations". Lipset (1967) offered a sociological analysis, by considering that social movements

are part of a new generation struggling for recognition, and in need of striking out against their elders and "the establishment" who were withholding such recognition. Maslow (1962) sought to combine the psychological with the structural analysis. He looked at student movements and other social movements as representing a new generation with higher needs who, precisely because they were raised in middle class comfort, were in the position to seek postmaterial values, related to self-fulfillment and to more altruistic goals connected to the quality of life. Finally, Keniston (1965) considered the students of students movements as alienated members of the middle class.

Those theories are rooted and influenced by the dominant theory of sociology namely functionalism. Functionalism is often labelled 'structural functionalism' because of its focus on the functional requisites, or 'need' or a social system that have to be met if the system is to survive and the corresponding structures hat meet these needs. Functionalism look at societies and social institution as system in which all parts depend on each other and work together to create equilibrium. Equilibrium therefore becomes the key element of functionalism. One of functionalism's most important propositions is that there will always be reorganization due to the necessity of restoring equilibrium. In analyzing how social systems maintain and restore equilibrium, they tend to use shared

values or generally accepted standards of desirability as the central concept. Functionalism emphasizes the unity of society and what its members have in common. In general, functionalism tends to look at social movements as conflict that will disturb the harmony of society.

Although functionalism as school of thought claims to be theory of change, in its basic assumptions are base on the idea of the status quo. Therefore functionalism basically is in fact a theory of social stability and normative consensus. The doctrine is developed based on the assumption that the part of a system are interdependent and mutually compatible, or at least in continual process of readjustment to each other. From this bases, functionalism sees conflict as something that should be avoided. Parsons the founder of functionalism, in his early work on social change clearly emphasizes on equilibrium. He deals with change within the system, and not change of social system. Parson's ideas is of slow and adjustive changes that have already re equilibrate this produces a state of affairs more like a moving equilibrium. In general Parsons associates social change with 'deviance' and 'strain', which have to be controlled in the cause of equilibrium'. He uses terms with negative connotations such as imbalance, coping mechanism, strain and disturbance when discussing conflict and change.

The second approach sees social movements as positive phenomena, as constructive vehicles for social change. This

approach is based on the alternative of functionalism namely conflict theory. Conflict theory makes three basic assumptions. First of all that people are considered to have a number of basic interests that they endeavor to fulfill. The second is that power is the core of social structure and this the results in a struggle to acquire it. Finally that values and ideas are weapons of conflict used by different groups to advance their own ends, rather than as a means of defending a unified society's identity and goals.

Conflict theories have been rooted in traditional Marxism. They argue that revolution is a necessity produced by the worsening of relations of production arising in times of economic crisis, depression and breakdown. However there have been many critics from a new generation of Marxists called the New Left, as well from non Marxist theoreticians to this mechanistic approach of Marxism. The New Left provide an alternative analysis that stress attention role of human agencies including ideologies, critical consciousness and education in transforming economic crisis into general crisis. They reject the idea that economy is the essential and determining factor for social change. They also reject the notion of historical determinism by celebrating human agency as one important factor among many other factors that are dialectically interdependent. This approach is influenced by Gramsci and other left-wing

theoreticians (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991; Epstein, 1991). These theorists argue that the working class is no longer the focal point and leading element in movements for social change.

They argue that in the 1970s and 1980s for example, social movements, did not emphasize class in the way traditional Marxists define it. Anarchism, spirituality, feminism, human rights, civil rights, anti-war, anti-nuclear, community based social movements, NGOs and environmentalist movements are among those movements which are not directly linked to the class struggle of the working class. Therefore these theoreticians formulated frameworks which view the movements as being linked to other social groups or interests while being embedded in wider societal processes (Mallet, 1976; Gorz, 1967). Touraine (1971) also notes that in post-industrial society, the working-class movement or trade unionism is not at the center of the conflicts of society. Touraine states that:

...the working class is no longer a privileged historic agent, not because the labor movement has been weakened or because it is subject to the strategy of a particular political party; still less because it has bad leaders; but simply because the exercise of power within a capitalist firm no longer places one at the center of the economic system and its social conflict.
(Touraine, 1971, p.17)

There is a common consensus emerging among those who are interested in observing social movements, including Marxist themselves that the industrial proletariat in

advanced capitalist countries is no longer a potential revolutionary force. Their ideas no longer concern the working class revolution, or indeed the working class at all. Escobar and Alvares (1992) in their observation of social movements in the contemporary Third World countries also found that they have moved from the narrow economic class struggle to a broader social transformation. They state:

Moreover, social movements cannot be defined solely in term of economic and social strategies; they must also be placed in political and cultural domains. Today's social movement- even those that take place solely in the public arena- do not restrict themselves to traditional political activities, such as those linked to parties and state institutions. rather, the challenge our most entrenched ways of understanding political practice and its relation to culture, economy, society, and nature. (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992, p.16)

They argue that the new theories of contemporary social movements see them as bringing about a fundamental transformation in the nature of political practice and theorizing itself. They also explained that one characteristic of new social movements is that they challenge social analysis that is based on the division of the political space into two clearly demarcated camps (bourgeoisie and proletariat). In the new situation, a multiciplity of social actors establish their presence and spheres of autonomy in a fragmented social and political space. Based on their analysis and observation, it is understood that in order to assess the impact of social

movements they have to be placed on a very broad context of the process of democratization. This is a process of social transformation of cultural, social, economic, and political as well as other aspects of life.

Antonio Gramsci is among the Marxist thinkers who has strongly influenced this second approach as well as Marx-inspired theorists of social change, especially his theory of hegemony. The implication of employing the theory of hegemony is that the working class is no longer considered the center of a revolutionary movement. Gramsci therefore opens up the possibility of including new groups within the category of the working class. He also theorizes about creating the possibility of an alliance between elements of the working class and other groups, and emphasized the transformation of consciousness as part of the revolutionary process. Laclau and Mouffe (1985), broadened Gramsci's theories, by considering the "new social movements" as models in their search for an answer to the stagnation of traditional Marxism.

In this study I take the following position. Firstly I believe in the second approach to the social movements namely the conflict theory that looks at social movements as a necessity seeing the potential they have for producing positive result and therefore a means of bringing about social change. Secondly I reject the notion of essentialism and reductionism in social change. Therefore this study

rejects the notion that a single deterministic entity such as class or economy could be the essential and determining factor in social change. I believe in "overdetermination" process of social change, e.g., that social change is a process which includes many entities all of which are equally important in bringing change.

2.3 Social Movements: A Gramscian Approach

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), according to Femia (1975) is considered the most interesting Marxist thinker since Marx. His brilliant idea of hegemony is considered the cornerstone of an alternative paradigm to the traditional Marxian theory of "base-superstructure" paradigm. As the leader of the Communist Party in Italy, Gramsci can be considered both as a theorist and as an activist. He dedicated his life to the struggle of the Italian working class; his arrest and eleven-year imprisonment made him a revolutionary martyr in the 30s. The 1971 publication of Selections from the Prison Notebooks in English, and the subsequent translations of his earlier works, have led to his recognition as a major theorist. Gramsci has been increasingly influential in the alternative theory of social movements, as well as other social, political and educational theories, because of the anti-reductionism of his analysis. His theories appeared as a criticism and an alternative to the previous approaches and theories which

were dominated by the class and economic determinism of traditional Marxism.

The use of Gramscian analysis is considered significant to this study due to the need for a comprehensive understanding of the future role of social movements and mass education in the current Third World capitalist social formation, especially in Indonesia where capitalism just find its establishment. Other reasons that make the Gramscian approach also appropriate for this study are its non deterministic and nonreductionist style analysis, especially because Gramsci appeared in a period when most of Marxists could be categorized as economic determinists and class reductionist. The influence of economic determinism on the main stream approach of social analysis namely Developmentalism as well as its effect on the NGO movement in Indonesia make Gramsci's nonreductionist approach useful.

In order to understand the problems that have been created due to the reductionist approach, in this section I would like to look back at how reductionism has influenced both Marxist and non-Marxist theories. Traditional Marxism, for example looked to the emergence of a revolutionary working class that would be able to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism. At least through the 1930s this perspective provided a framework for understanding the movements of the advanced capitalist nations, in which

working-class struggles were central. Traditional Marxism also provided a theory for understanding the structure of society and a guide for strategy. This theory is based on a belief that the economic aspect of social reality determines non economic aspects, specifically the various political and cultural aspects of social life (Resnick and Wolf, 1989). Traditional Marxism has been dominated by the notion of economic determinism and humanist determinism. This tradition has often been "labelled" as "classical" or "official" Marxism. They believe that Marx was and is understood to have discovered the truth, that the economic aspect of social reality determines the non economic, specifically the various political and cultural aspects of social life. In other words, this predominant Marxian theory simultaneously claim and "proves" it correspondence to the real world. Supporters of this Marxian economic determinism have always undertaken to elaborate how this determination process works in concrete situations and to discredit alternative "false" theories of social reality. Essentialist epistemology therefore is a specific presumption that characterizes many theories both within and outside the Marxian tradition (Resnick and Wolf, 1989). This tradition has very much influenced the theories of social change.

The theory of class as an approach to social change in Traditional Marxism places the class struggle as the

central, the essential and determining factor of social change. This approach tends to look at capitalist society from the perspective of the economy where it is divided into two essential classes, i.e.. the proletariat as the exploited class and capitalist as the exploiter. Therefore, from this perspective, society consists of two essential elements namely base and superstructure. The basic element namely the economy is considered the foundation so the essentially determining factor of society it is therefore considered the most important factor in the process of change. That is to say that the economy is the essential factor in social change. While the superstructure made up of education, culture and ideology for the essentialist and the reductionist are secondary in importance because those factors are determined by the economy. Class economy analyzed by looking at the mode of production. Social change in this approach therefore is reduced to class struggle where the exploited class revolt against the exploitation of the capitalist class. In other words social change is basically a changing of the mode of production of the society. The essential aspect of social change according to this paradigm is the working class revolution.

Economic determinism is the foundation of the traditional Marxist social movement. This analysis is based on one particular interpretation to Marx's historical materialism. It is considered an empirical theory based on

the presumption that the economic structure of society constituted by its production relations is the real foundation of society. It is considered to be the basis from which rise all forms of social consciousness. Therefore it is believed that the general course of human history is dependent on the growth of the productive forces. The productive forces will include, among other things, means of production, knowledge, labor forces, skills and experiences. In the capitalist social formation, the mode of production which consists of production relations and forces of production (labors) in this view are considered to constitute the basis of all social development. Forces of production (labors) are considered instruments of production, and relations of production include social relations among workers and also between workers and the means of production. These relationships produce a capital owning class and a working class which does not own any capital. The different material interests of the classes divided them and led them to their struggle, which is labelled by the class struggle. The history of every society is the history of class struggles. The ultimate success or failure of a class is determined by its relation to the productive forces. That class wins in the struggle which owns the means of production because it is economically better off. It also has better bargaining power.

Based on this paradigm the working class is seen as the center of change in the traditional Marxian theory of social change and its role in social movements is considered essential. The working class is therefore posited as this main element in the process of change. There are several characteristics of the theory of social movements and social movement organizations. First of all social movements are seen as working class movements of either factory workers in urban areas or landless or labor farmers in rural areas. Second, as a result of the first presumption, the struggles or the nonclass movements, such as environmental movements, women and feminist movements and other nonclass type movements, are excluded from the theory. Third, the focus of the theories on the relation of the working class proletariat and the capitalist class rather than on ideological and cultural hegemony, education, gender and environment.

This approach has been rejected by what so called non-reductionist Marxists or anti-essentialist Marxists. The anti-essentialist Marxian theorists are similar in their rejection of essentialism, determinism or reductionism. They are a minority within the Marxian tradition. They are among a few Marxists who use dialectic materialist perspective to society. They consider Marxism as basically anti-essentialist in its epistemological position. Even though they have different approaches and explanations of

their anti-essentialist position, they have a similar principle, namely the rejection of any assumption that complexities are reducible to the simplicities of cause and effect. They assume that every cause is itself also an effect and vice versa. They refuse to look for the essential cause of any event because they do not believe that it exists. In their view theory neither has an essence, as in empiricism, nor is it the essence as in rationalism. Rather, the epistemological position of these anti-essentialism Marxian theories replace essentialism by their commitment to dialectics. The tradition of dialectical thought has been carried through by such radical and critical scholars as Lukacs, Gramsci, Althusser, Resnick and Wolf, Korsh, Adorno, Habermas, Horkheimer, Marcuse, up to the present day.

The anti-essentialist Marxian theories present the concept of overdetermination as an alternative to essentialism. They use "overdetermination" instead of "dialectic," because for them, the term "dialectic" has been coopted and widely used with different meanings. Overdeterminism refers to how any entity -- a word in a language, politics, knowledge, exploitation, society -- exists. Each exist as a site of different determinations whose combined affectivity constitutes or creates them. Because each is understood to exist in this way, none can be immune from such determination. These entities mutually

constitute (over-determine) each other's existence. In other words, there can be no consideration of one entity as "more determinant" than another. It follows that origins, essences, or in general, self-reproducing entities cannot exist. In other words, overdetermination means that every process in society is determined conjointly by all the others. This in turn implies that social change is the product of the interactions of all aspects of society, rather than the consequences of some "essential" cause or aspect singled out by essentialist observers or analysts. In over-determinist epistemology, there can be no question of reducing the notion of causality, therefore it is fundamentally an anti-essentialist epistemology (Resnick and Wolf, 1988, p.15).

The process of theory according this anti-essentialist Marxian theory is over-determined by all the other processes. The stress of Marxian theory upon economics in general and upon class in particular, is a matter of its particular conceptual approach to social analysis. It is an entry point and focus. Marxian theory in this over-determinist epistemological standpoint -- dialectical materialism -- precludes any argument which puts any entity, such as class, as the essence of social reality. This rejection of essentialism in the Marxian tradition was started by Marx and Engels and followed by other Marxists. Gramsci's concept of hegemony is basically an expression of

this anti-essentialist-determinist position and a sustained critique of and alternative formulation to economic determinism. Therefore, anti-essentialist Marxists recognize no aspect of the essence of another - no origin, no telos, and no subject. According to this Marxian theory, no theory, including Marxian theory itself, can proclaim itself the essence of an approximation to the essence of the reality. No single absolute truth is considered in this Marxian theory. In other words, an anti-essentialist Marxian theory must reject any kind of deterministic argument, such as economic determinism or class determinism, the like of which predominate in the classical Marxian tradition. Society is an over-determined totality of mutually affective, mutually constitutive social and natural processes that are numerous aspects of this totality.

The different conceptualization of essentialism and anti-essentialism within the Marxian tradition effect the different actions individuals and social movement organizations are seen to be able perform in order to change society. Those who believe that the economic aspect of life as the "determining" factor, tend to construct economic problems as the roots of any social problems. Based on the naming of the problem in this way, they tend to solve the problems of society by attempting to change economic aspects and this undermines other non-class aspects of life. In other words, they do not see the importance of other aspects

of life, such as cultural and political hegemony, gender oppression, and knowledge/power and discourse, as forms of domination which perpetuate economic exploitation. On the other hand, those who essentialize "hegemony" as the only cause of social problems, tend to ignore class as an important determinant in creating social problems. This essentialist theory contributes to the growing of dogmatic and fanatical ways of thinking in society because the supporters of that theory believe that they have invented the "absolute truth." It also induces stagnation by denying any alternative discussion and analysis in society. The essentialist way of thinking also holds the danger creating political and cultural intolerance because of it's fanatical character. Dialectical materialism or over-determinism was invented in order to avoid this fanaticism and to create a truly democratic society.

Among the many intellectuals and activists that criticize traditional Marxism and look at class in different way is Gramsci. For him class is considered as one of the many mutually interdependent entities in society such economy, politic, culture, gender and environment. In his non reductionist theory of exploitation, i.e., economic class is no longer considered as the base of society. His theory implies that social change is the product of the interactions of all aspects of society, rather than the consequences of some "essential" cause or aspect singled out

by essentialist observers or analysts. The working class in Gramscian perspective, can no longer be described as likely to play the guiding role in movements for social change.

On the other hand, there has been a shifting phenomenon in analysis of social movements and social change from class struggle analysis to a non class based analysis. Epstein (1991) described this shifting attention as the bias of the new social movement theory in the U.S. She noted that the phenomenon the of the lack of interest of new social movements and the limited of scope of action direct interest to their movement. Many of those social movements are made up of people who are middle-class in current status or in origin, such as the environmental/ecology movements, the peace movements, consumer movements, the direct action movements and other kind of movements. Those movements tend to separate themselves and from the class struggle. Similarly in the Third World a lot of movements such as the environmental movement have suffered themselves from unions or other type of working class movement.

Those types of so called new social movements are generally disconnected from the working movement. They are basically further forms of reductionist movement, other type of essentialism. In this study I intend to construct a new theory of social movement which neither reduces social phenomenon to economics nor neglects class and economic exploitation. The main purpose of this study is not to

discover one correct theory with which to replace the wrong theory, but to build a theory which will provide a better guide toward social transformation.

This new theory is strongly influenced by two Marxist thinkers. Firstly, as I stated earlier, by Antonio Gramsci, particularly his critique of 'economic determinism' and his concept of hegemony; secondly, by a French Marxist named Louis Althusser, especially his concept of overdeterminism as a theory of anti-essentialism, anti-reductionism and anti-determinism. Before elaborating how social change works in the context of hegemony and how it fits with the spirit of dialectics or overdeterminism, I first need to clarify Althusser's concept of overdeterminism and Gramsci's concept of hegemony.

The concept of overdetermination is used by many thinkers such as Sigmund Freud, Georg Lukacs and Louis Althusser. Resnick and Wolf (1987) are among very few economists who have worked seriously on the issue of overdeterminism. They have accommodated the term, borrowed from Althusser, in the context of the debate on dialectical thought. They argued that overdetermination as opposed to determination and determinism oppose any form of reductionism or essentialism. It is the rejection of any presumption that complexities are reducible to simplicities of the cause and effect type. Instead the assumption is that every element in the context of any event plays a

distinctive role in the determining of that event. Every cause is itself also an effect and vice versa. For them therefore there is no such thing such an essence, no question of holding to a theory that states that something "more" or "less" determined by this or that process in society. Rather they maintained that every process exercise its distinctive role in constituting the process of theory and its products: knowledge.⁴

While the term hegemony, has been used by other Marxists, it is very much associated with Antonio Gramsci. Industrial capitalist countries, Gramsci argued, require a more highly trained and motivated working class and new patterns of mass communication. The need for workers who will apply themselves to their task and for a population that would sustain economic growth by consumption, requires a new type of domination which he called hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). Hegemony implies that force (coercion) is no longer an adequate means of social control; the working class has to be made to identify with and cooperate (consent) with the system. Williams (1960) has practically defined the concept of hegemony as:

an order in which a certain way of life and thoughts is dominant, in which one concept of reality is diffused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations, informing its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and

⁴ See Resnick and Wolf, Knowledge and Class, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1987).

all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations. (Williams, 1960, p.387)

The concept of hegemony is central in Gramsci's political thought. It was however not clearly define by Gramsci in his writing. Using Williams definition helps us understand Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Although hegemony is obtained both through consent and coercion of one class over another, consent in a hegemonic process plays a very important role. Hegemony is materialized through the many ways in which institutions of civil society shape people's perception of social reality. For Gramsci hegemony is a very important face of power, the 'normal' form of controls. Therefore hegemonic rule is more rule through 'consent', which involves some kind of intellectual or emotional acceptance of the social-political order. Femia (1975) elaborated Gramsci's concept of consent. His idea of hegemony focuses on the superficiality of consent within capitalist systems where it takes both the forms of active and passive commitment. Consent as conceptualized by Gramsci, is an intellectual expression and moral direction through which the masses feel permanently tied to the ideology and political leadership of the state as the expression of their beliefs and aspirations. (Femia, 1975, pp. 29-48)

In illustrating how hegemony works Gramsci gave the example of the bourgeoisie democracies in the West:

The 'normal exercise' of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority. (Gramsci, 1971, p.80)

However in the nowadays Third World context, hegemony takes the form of development. Escobar (1992) argues that development resulted in a multiplicity of antagonisms and identities (differentiated peasants, urban marginal, 'traditional' groups, women and the like) who, in many instance, become the subjects of struggles in their respective domains (p.60).

Therefore, for Gramsci, education, culture, and consciousness are important terrains of struggle.⁵ This concept of hegemony in fact is the central element of Gramsci's theory of social change, because it is the form of power of dominant groups used to shape the consciousness of subordinate groups. How hegemonic control works, how hegemonic ideology become incorporated into unconsciousness is complex. But Gramsci is committed to a belief in the power of individual critical consciousness, with this idea

⁵ See P. Anderson, "Introduction to Antonio Gramsci, 1919-1920" in New Left Review, No. 51, 1968; Thomas Bates, "Gramsci and the Theory of Hegemony," Journal of History and Ideas, 36, No.2. April-June 1975; R. Bocock, Hegemony, New York: Travistock Publications, 1986; C. Boggs, Social Movements and Political Power, Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1985.

he rejects the notion of economic historical determinism. Gramsci's formulation retains the idea of the working class or some part of it as the center of a revolutionary movement, but it opens up the possibility of including new groups within the category working class, of the creation of an alliance between elements of the working class and other groups, and of emphasizing the transformation of consciousness as part of the revolutionary process.

2.4 Educational Role of Social Movement Organizations in Social Transformation

One important aspect of this study is the educational role of social movement organizations in social transformation. The term of social movement organization is used by Zald and McCarthy (1987) and Tarrow (1991). For them the social movement organization is defined as

a self-conscious group which acts in concerto to express what it sees as the claims of the challenger by confronting elites, authorities, or other groups with these claims. (Tarrow, 1991, p.18)

Therefore, the concept of social movements used here is not what is describe by Smelser (1962) and McPhail (1978) as collective behavior in which people engage when attempting to repair and reconstitute a ruptured social structure. McPhail argued that collective behavior is relatively spontaneous rather than planned, unstructured rather than organized; emotional rather than rational and spread by crude, elementary forms of communication such as circular

reaction, rumor, imitation, social contagion, and generalized beliefs rather than preestablished formal and informal communication networks.⁶ I see social movement as organized with a clear and conscious goal, strategy and methodology based on a strong social analysis.

From the Gramscian perspective the concept of social movement organizations is categorized as organized civil society. The concept of civil society is based on Gramsci's analysis of conflictual interest and the dialectics or unity in contradiction between state and civil society. This analysis in a way the part of his rejection of the narrow focus in which is unit of analysis is dialectical contradiction between workers and capitalists. He has used the terms "state" and "civil society" in his analysis of supremacy and hegemony. Gramsci (1971) states:

What we can do, for the moment, is to fix two super structural "levels", the one that can be called "civil society", that is the ensemble of organism commonly called 'private', and that of 'political society' or 'the state'. These two levels correspond on the one hand to the function of 'hegemony' which the dominant group exercises throughout society and on the other hand to that of 'direct domination' or command exercised through the state and "juridical" government.
(p.12)

⁶ See Clark McPhail "Toward a Theory of Collective Behavior," a paper presented at the Symposium on Symbolic Interaction, University of South Carolina, 1978. Also see Neil Smelser Theory of Collective Behavior, (New York: Free Press, 1962).

Civil society is in contrast to the state or political society, and is the private sphere of individuals. It consists of the various forms of voluntary associations, and is a primarily political realm, where all of the dynamic ideological and intellectual activities as well as the construction of hegemony takes place. Moreover, for Gramsci, civil society is the context in which one becomes conscious, and where one first engages in political action. Civil society is where the aggregation of interests takes place, where narrow interests are transformed into more universal views as ideologies and adopted or amended and where alliances are formed. In this context, civil society for Gramsci is a realm in which people make changes, and make history (Gramsci, 1971).

By using a Gramscian concept of civil society, this study analyzed the existence of Indonesian social movement organizations in particular NGOs in Indonesia. First, as a group the core team have developed a theoretical position relating to Indonesian social movement organizations. This study has constructed an alternative way to look at the topology of social movements and their organizations. The primary focus of this study has been the attitude of those organizations toward the discourse of development. The reason why we focused on the discourse of development is because we took development to be the new form of dominant hegemony in the Third World. To understand how hegemony

works in the Third World context we could not avoid looking cautiously into the discourse of development. I included our analysis of the discourse of development in other chapter of this dissertation. Through this study we also critically analyzed the NGOs ideological and political position and created a map to locate the NGO movements and other social movement organizations into the Gramscian dialectics between civil society and the state. In this study we looked critically at the role of social movement organizations in relation to the discourse of development, as to whether they should be considered as part of the development hegemony or counter to it. By using this topology, we construct a theory of social movement organizations as a counter-hegemonic movement.

Since we took transformation to mean the creation of fundamentally new and better relationships, then, for us, civil society for social transformation means a process for change by the people. In this study, we have considered the role of Indonesian social movement organizations especially the NGO movements in the process of transformation. In the context of Modernization and Developmentalism hegemony, this study has also tried to figure out what the role of social movement organizations is in opposing the discourses of Modernization and development. From this standpoint we have looked at the educational role of social movement organizations in opposing the discourse of development. The

main educational task of social movement organizations will be to act as a counter-discourse movement.

There are several reasons why this study concluded that social movement organizations are the appropriate vehicle for a counter-discourse and a counter-hegemonic movement. The social movement organizations such as NGOs are organizations which promote radical changes at grassroots levels. NGOs also claim to strengthen people's ability to control and use their own knowledge. The possibility of a social movement organizations becoming a counter-hegemonic as well as a counter-discourse movement depends on the social movements activist's commitment to the people. It will be important to look at how the activists work together with the people to create their own paradigm and ideology as well as alternative discourse for social transformation. We have studied the role of ourselves as activists in the process of social transformation, their commitment to create better ideologies, alternative theories and solutions to problems, as well as an alternative discourse and methodology for social transformation. We have examined how we create a space that makes it possible for the oppressed to raise their critical consciousness as well as to create and implement our own theory of transformation. The whole process of the study itself is part of our process of education. In other words the processes of the study itself

is also the manifestation of educational role of social movement organizations.

To understand the theoretical foundation of the educational role of social movement organizations, it is useful to understand that critical educational theories can also be classified as the theory of production in education. Production theories are concerned with the ways in which both individuals and classes assert their own experience and contest or resist the ideological and material forces imposed upon them in variety of settings. These theories reject the dominant theory on education namely the theory of reproduction in education. As Weiler (1985) states,

Reproduction theory in general is concerned with the process through which existing social structures maintain and reproduce themselves.
(p.24)

Reproduction theory can be categorized in to two forms of reproduction, namely social reproduction and cultural reproduction.

Social reproduction theory can be seen in the work of Althusser (1971). Althusser's analysis on the functioning ideology are considered to be the most important source of ideological practices. It is through instruction and social relationships in the school that students learn the way of being in the world and a view of social reality that Althusser's sees as creating the subject (Althusser, 1971, p.7). His strong structural analysis make it difficult to see in his works a place for the human subject as an agent

of change and for the celebration of the role consciousness raising in the process of change. In fact it is hard to find in his works the mention of consciousness at all. Bowles and Gintis (1976) share Althusser's basic notion of the role of schooling in capitalist society. They believe that education serves two functions in capitalist society, the first function is the reproduction of the labor power necessary for the accumulation of capital. The second function is the reproduction of those forms of consciousness, disposition, and value necessary for the maintenance of the institutions and social relationships which facilitate the translation of labor into profit.⁷

In contrast, the theory of production in education which is also called the theory of resistance, is a theory which focuses on the ways in which those involved in the process of education produce meaning and culture through their own resistance and their own individual and collective consciousness. It is only lately that the work of critical education from the perspective of production theory has become more and more acceptable. The educational theory and practice of Paulo Freire, and the work of Antonio Gramsci are among those which can be categorized as representative of production theory. Freire's educational theme is that of

⁷ See Henry Giroux, Theory and Resistance in Education. A Pedagogy for the Opposition (New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1983) .

generating critical consciousness, he recognizes human agency as central to his education for change. It is a process in which the participant of education achieve a degree of consciousness enabling them to view social systems and structure critically.⁸

I want to turn to Gramsci whose work is taken as the theoretical foundation in looking at the educational role of social movement organizations in this study. In discussing Gramsci's concept of education concerning the role of social movement organizations for change, it is necessary to understand how his concept of "organic intellectuals" relates to his concept of hegemony. Gramsci defines organic intellectuals as intellectuals who are organically rooted in the people and part of the people who acknowledge them as social movement activists. Gramsci's original statement was "all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say; but all men do not have the function of intellectuals in society" (Gramsci, 1971, p.121). Gramsci defines intellectuals as those who give a fundamental social group homogeneity and awareness of its function. Gramsci's theory on the role of intellectuals and the need for organic intellectuals is central to understanding his thought on education. For Gramsci:

⁸ See William Smith, The Meaning of Conscientacao: The Goal of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy, (Amherst, MA: Center for International Education, 1976).

Every social group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its own function not only in the economic, but also in the social and political fields (Gramsci, 1971, p.5)

Since, "all men are intellectuals," and yet "not all men have in society the function of intellectuals," every society, therefore, has individuals who serve to articulate and transmit the dominant ideology and to justify the social, economic, and political structure of that society. In other words there are always the dominant intellectuals who play the role of transmitters of the hegemonic ideology of the dominant class. This ideological consciousness of the intellectual is formed primarily through both information and formal institutions. Schools for Gramsci are an example of the formal apparatus for the transmission of ideology (Gramsci, 1971, p.10).

It is with the use of his concept of intellectuals and the theory of hegemony that this study is trying to construct the theoretical foundations of education for change by organized civil society such as NGO activists. In other words, to understand the educational role that should be played by NGO movements as a network of organized organic intellectuals in the Gramscian perspective, one needs to relate it to his concept of hegemony. It is also the use of concept of hegemony that we build our understanding of the

meaning and the relevancy of developing organized civil society. Education in the context of the struggle of ideologies (counter to the dominant hegemony) is the crucial role of organic intellectuals in raising class and critical consciousness. For Gramsci, critical consciousness is:

the product of an ideological struggle led by the intellectuals 'officer' of competing social classes. The phenomenon of 'false consciousness' which from the stand point of economic determinism is simply incomprehensible, represents from Gramsci's standpoint simply a victory of the ruling class intellectuals in this struggle. (Bates, 1985, p.360)

But because of how deeply embedded hegemony is in society, it is very hard for any educational efforts at conscious raising to be successful. In other words because the dominant world-view is highly institutionalized and widely internalized. It is difficult to find a space to allow the majority of people to overcome their intellectual and moral subordination. Therefore the need to find a proper strategy is crucial. In this context it is useful to use Gramsci's strategy of education in the struggle of what he conceptualized as 'war of position' and 'war of manoeuvre'. How these concepts related to the theory of social change can be described as follows.

Gramsci argued that class struggle should be tackled with two main strategies, first, what he called 'war of maneuver,' i.e., the struggle to achieve short term change in the conditions of the oppressed in order to meet their practical needs. Secondly, the 'war of position' which he

characterizes as a long term cultural and ideological battle. For Gramsci the main task of education is to convince the working class that

it is in their interest not to submit to a permanent discipline of culture, but to develop a conception of the world and the complex system of human relations, economic and spiritual that form the social life of the globe. (Fischer, 1971, p.43)

So, according to Gramsci, the educational role of social movement organization, educators or leaders, include achieving short and long term goals, the former practical, the later ideological and cultural, but both being necessary to bring about social transformation.

Gramsci places consciousness raising as the central element of concept of education and strategy for achieving social transformation and change. In other words consciousness raising is considered an important part of the whole process of social transformation. Therefore the creation of counter-hegemonic movement is a precondition for social transformation. In this way Gramsci's idea of the 'war of position' on the cultural and ideological front of 'consciousness raising and education' is crucial to his theory of social change. This notion of consciousness raising for social change has a strong connection with his notion of 'volunterism' in change. This can be understood better by comparing it with the notion of economic and historical determinism in traditional Marxism. In fact it is an anti-thesis to the traditional Marxism belief that

changes take place in the form of mechanistic, linear, universal way, and are therefore historically determined. Using the war of position strategy we place educational role of social movement in the whole process of social transformation.

CHAPTER 3
THE RISE AND THE PROBLEM OF DEVELOPMENTALISM
IN INDONESIA

3.1 Introduction

My review of the Gramscian approach of social movement organizations has provided the theoretical foundations for an alternative construction of the NGO movement as a type of social movement in the Third World. This chapter focuses on my social analysis of the dominant social formation in Indonesia when this study is done.¹ This analysis should help us to understand the theoretical as well as historical context in which the Indonesian NGO movement started. The aim of this chapter is to understand the relationship between the dominant social formation and the origin of the NGO movement in the country. This understanding will help us to comprehend the historical and contextual framework of all the questions posed in this study. The emergence of the NGO movement can not be separated from the discourse of development, therefore in this chapter, development -- which

¹ Social formations are used in this study as a unit for analysis that exhibits more complexity than the concept of "mode of production". This concept is based on a particular 'nontraditional' Marxian theory of class, where class is considered a process of formations. See Resnick and Wolf, Knowledge and Class, (Chicago: The University Chicago Press, 1987); Samir Amin (1976) describes social formations as "organized structures that are marked by a dominant mode of production and the articulation around this of complex group of modes of production that are subordinate of it" (Samir Amin, Unequal Development. New York: Monthly Review, 1976, p. 16).

is considered as the dominant social formation in Indonesia -- is the main focus for social analysis.

This chapter begins with a look at the history of why and how the discourse of development was constructed, and how it effected the dominant vision of social change of the state of Indonesia. The second part of this chapter is basically my social analysis, applying non-reductionist Marxism, namely overdeterminism which has been discussed in the previous chapter. Finally, The last part focuses on the origin of the NGO movement in Indonesia, and how that relates to the development. The aim of this part is to understand the motivations, visions and contradictions of the origin of NGO movement in Indonesia.

3.2 The Archaeology of Development

Over the past two decades, "Development" has become "a new religion" and an ideology for millions of people in the Third World nations. Development provided them with new hopes and expectations for change and improvement in their lives. The problem is that despite the existing development efforts, the absolute numbers and percentages of the world's people living in utter poverty continues to increase. Each Development program registers a different impact depending on the Development concept used, and the point of view or the lens of the user. The dominant concept of Development, which is applied in most Third World countries, reflects the

Western paradigms of Development. Development, then, is identified as some kind of stage-by-stage movement towards 'higher modernity.' This modernity is reflected in the forms of technology and economic advances such as are found in the industrial nations. This concept of Development has historical and intellectual roots in the period of major social changes associated with the Industrial Revolution. In most of the Third World nations, the interpretation of the Development concept is understood as a general improvement in the standard of living. Development is also understood to mean the strengthening of the material base of the State, mainly through industrialization, adhering to a pattern that has been remarkably similar from one country to another. The role of government from this perspective becomes the subject of Development, namely to transform people into: Objects, recipients, clients or even participants of Development.

The creation and globalization of the discourse of Development can best be understood by looking at its history which began at the end of the Second World War. The idea was first launched into public discourse on January 20, 1949, when President Harry S. Truman introduced the US government policy of the newly coined term "underdevelopment". This was the first time the discourse of Development officially was announced, and it was in the context of the "Cold War", and the purpose of this policy is to prevent the expansion

of Communism and Socialism in the Third World countries (Lummis, 1991).

In order to disseminate the idea of Development to the Third World, social scientists in 1950s and early 1960s, particularly the social scientist associated with the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), helped to shape the official and academic discourse on Development (Gendzier, 1985, pp. 69-74). During that period, social scientists were very productive in creating knowledge and theory on Development and Modernization. In this time, economists such as W. W. Rostow invented "Growth Theory" and other social scientists such as McClelland and Inkeles started to develop their theory of Modernization. In 1968, US social scientists became deeply involved in shaping the US government policy for the globalization of Development. Those scientists were asked to conduct a "Conference on the Implementation of Title IX of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961." Their main task was to study the provision of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1966, which became the liberal interpretation of Development. The conclusion of this study was that "popular participation," which was the goal of Title IX, should be set alongside economic Development to form the twin pillars of the foreign assistance program. Since that time the discourse of participation has become the official language within Developmentalism.

Modernization, then became the foundation of Developmentalism. In the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968), the term Modernization included,

... secularization; commercialization; industrialization; increasing material standards of living; diffusion of literacy; education, mass media, national unification; and the expansion of popular involvement in participation.

Modernization and Development became synonymous in terms of their basic assumptions and theory. They come from the same paradigm, i.e., functionalism and positivism. As part of Modernization, Development uses the same theoretical framework and ideological assumptions of Modernization. The basic assumptions of Modernization are related to the process by which the so-called traditional structures are transformed into those of the more modern types along the lines of what happened at an earlier stage in Europe.

There are several elemental Modernization theories. One uses the metaphor of growth, in the organism to explain Modernization. In this case, development is seen from an evolutionary perspective as a journey from "traditional to modern". The assumption here is that all societies were once alike (traditional), and that the Third World will also pass through the same set of changes as had happened in the West, and eventually become "modern". The most famous is the five-stage scheme put forward by W. W. Rostow (1960). Rostow and his followers envisage a gradual transition from tradition to modernity, with ideal Development being

achievable by industrial countries. According to them, Development will flow almost automatically from capital accumulation (i.e., savings and investments) hence the stress on foreign aid and trade. Rostow focused on the need for an entrepreneurial elite to stimulate the Development process. This emphasis on entrepreneurship and capital accumulation is the most pervasive theme in the literature on economic growth.

A second uses sociological and psychological explanations. This theory is based on a study by David McClelland (1961) and Inkeles and Smith (1961). McClelland based his interpretation on Max Weber (1925), arguing that if the Protestant Ethic caused economic growth in the West, then some analogous phenomenon must be sought in other places in order to achieve economic growth. What lay behind Weber's Protestant Ethic, McClelland argues, was a personality trait, "the need for achievement" (N Ach, for short). The reason why people in Third World countries are underdeveloped is because they have a low sense of this need for achievement. What he means is that the prototype of an achieving society is basically a capitalist society.

In practice, Modernization is similar to Westernization which is based on the capitalist hegemony. This interest in Modernization was quickly turned into a new field of study which gradually called itself Development Studies. This field of study is an interdisciplinary

grouping of subjects which focuses upon the analysis and solution of problems of Development, particularly those faced by the poorer, so called developing countries. Through Development Studies in Western countries, the discourse of capitalism is smoothly injected into the Third World by using the label "Development" through Third World technocrats and universities, and even NGOs. Escobar (1990) illustrated the hegemonic process of the expansion of the discourse of Modernization and Development as beginning through

... the creation of a vast institutional network (from international organizations and universities to local level development agencies) that insured the efficient functioning of this apparatus. Once consolidated, this system determined what could be said, thought, imagined; in short, it defined a perceptual domain, the space of development. Industrialization, family planning, the "Green Revolution", macro economic policy, "integrated rural development" etc. all exist within the same space, all repeat the same truth, namely, that development is about paving the way for the achievement of those conditions that characterize rich society: industrialization, agricultural Modernization, urbanization and the like. (Escobar, 1990, p.7)

One of the most dramatic impacts of Modernization in the Third World can be seen in the case of the Green Revolution. The program was started in Third World counties about twenty years ago. During this Development program, forty centuries of people's knowledge of agriculture began to be eroded and erased. The Green Revolution as a form of agricultural Development and Modernization designed by multinational corporations and Western patriarchy,

homogenized nature's diversity and the diversity of human knowledge into reductionist pattern of agriculture. Programs of this sort evolved out of global research centers like the International Rice Research Institute (the IRRI) in the Philippines, the CIMMYT (International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center) in Mexico. Thirteen such institutes exist today, run by CIGAR (the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research). For five thousand years, peasants have produced their own seeds, selecting, storing and replanting, and letting nature take its course. The Green Revolution commercialized and privatized seeds, removing control of plant genetic resources from Third World peasant women and giving it over to Western male technocrats in CIMMYT, IRRI and multinational seed Corporation (Morgan, 1979). Seeds became a source of profit and control. The hybrid "miracle" seeds were a commercial miracle, because farmer have to buy new supplies of them every year. They do not reproduce themselves. The Green Revolution has displaced not just seed varieties but entire crops in the Third World. Just as people's seeds were declared "primitive" and "inferior" by the Green Revolution ideology, food crops were declared "marginally inferior" and coarse grained. Only a biased agricultural science could declare many nutritious traditional crops inferior. But, the IRRI strategy was clearly not the best for the rice farmers of Asia. Variety IR-8, released in 1966, suffered serious

attacks of bacterial blight in 1968-69. In 1970-71 the rice tungro virus destroyed IR-8 crops through the Philippines. The IR-20 which replaced IR-8 in 1971-72 was bred to be resistance against bacterial blight and the tungro virus. By 1973 outbreaks of brown plan hopper and grassy stunt virus had destroyed IR-20 in most Philippine provinces. This was superseded by IR-26 in 1974-75 which was attacked by a new strain of the plant hopper. By 1976, another variety, IR-36, was introduced which was threatened by new disease -- ragged stunt and wilted stunt.

How this policy was implemented in rural areas, can be studied in the case of Indonesian "Green Revolution" program. The program was started about twenty years ago. The Green Revolution in Indonesia is called by BIMAS (Mass Guidance, 1970) or a principal government rice intensification program consisting of packages of inputs and credits. After the decline of BIMAS participants, in 1976 the government launched INMAS (mass intensification), i.e., an auxiliary intensification program providing subsidized credit to former BIMAS participants. The INSUS (special intensification) was introduced in the 1979/80 season to encourage farmers to plant simultaneously as a means of controlling pest infestation.

The quantitative results of the Indonesian the "Green Revolution" in terms of yield of growth and productivity has brought Indonesia from the largest rice importer to a

situation (by 1985) with self-sufficiency in paddy crops. Despite, this achievement, the Green Revolution has intensified inequalities. High yielding seeds require for their successful utilization credit, fertilizer, pesticides and irrigation - inputs disproportionately available to wealthy farmers.²

The Green Revolution also has perpetuated economic exploitation in rural areas of Java. The exploitation takes places in a variety of complex forms of social transitions. These transitions take place in at least three forms of social formations: Feudal, ancient, and capitalist social formations.³ The first is the transition from ancient to feudal social formation. Traditionally most Javanese farmers engaged in the ancient fundamental class process. Ancient fundamental class process refers to a process where individuals engage in a type of private appropriation of surplus labor that unites the production and appropriation of surplus labor on an individualized basis. This unified production and appropriation of surplus labor in a single human being constitutes self-exploitation. Each Javanese

² There have been numerous studies conducted to examine and evaluate the Green Revolution both in Indonesia and other countries. See Zubaida Manzoor Ahmad, "The Social and Economic Implications of the Green Revolution in Asia," International Labour Review, Vol. 105, No.1 (January 1972), pp. 11-21.

³ See Resnick and Wolf, 1987 on transition from Feudal social formation to a Capitalist social formation. pp. 122-124.

farmers had only a limit piece of land which went to meet their subsistence need, or their socially necessary labor time (SNALT), and to pay the ancient subsumed class payments. Therefore, these farmers engaged in a self-exploitation, i.e., working longer and harder in order to survive and to produce and distribute surplus labor individually to the subsumed class in the form of payments (such as taxes, displays, etc.).⁴ Most of them then sold their only land to landlords or other rich farmers. This process has created the increase of absolute landlessness in rural Java. Available population census covering the period 1961, 1971 and 1980, show that about 73% of rural households had farms (of more than 0.1 hectare) in 1963 where only about 57% rural households had farms in 1983 (a 16% rise in landlessness in 20 years). These landless farmers, then have been forced to sell their labor-power to rich farmers, or move to Jakarta to sell their labor-power to industrial capitalists, creating the problem of urbanization.⁵ The increased urbanization of peasants is a result of the Green Revolution, a policy which made capital and machinery

⁴ Huesken (1987) called these small but independent peasantries, neither buying nor selling labor power, neither exploiting nor exploited. But, by using the Marxian concept of class in the sense of appropriation of surplus labor, these farmers are considered as engaging in Ancient social formation, and therefore, they engage in self-exploitation in the Ancient fundamental class process.

⁵ Sasono (1987) noted that the rate of urbanization in the last 25 years resulted in an explosive growth in the size of the cities, many doubling in size every 10-25 years.

investment cheaper than human labor, leading to a substantial decline in agricultural labor opportunities. In 1980, an unemployment rate of close to 50% was quoted for the rural sector, with a labor force that was growing by 1.8 million people per year. The worsening unemployment pushes the rural labor forced into the urban areas. In the cities they seek employment of any kind, mainly in the informal sector (Huesken, 1987). This is the first case of Javanese transition, i.e., transition from ancient to capitalist social formation.

The second form is transition from ancient to feudal social formation. There are many rich people from big cities who buy land in rural areas. They can be industrial capitalists or capitalist subsumed class positions such as managers, military officers, professors or other government officials. Because they are not farmers, in Java especially, much of the land owned by large landowners is not cultivated by them, they therefore have to rent their land to landless farmers. A feudal social formation is represented in these relationships. Some of these farmers (who rent the landlord's land) must hire other landless farmers (labors) who sell their labor-power to do agricultural work. In this case, they then engage in a capitalist fundamental class process. The farmers then distribute a portion of surplus-labor to the subsumed classes, including the landlord, the owner of the land.

They are also forced pay for technical assistance, credit, seeds, fertilizer, and pesticides in the form of credits financed by the World Bank. The Bank also sends its experts to Java to assist the farmers (as foreign subsumed class).

The program in Indonesia was done by "command and subsidization". The forms of the subsidies were: 1) Massive subsidies on artificial fertilizer prices; 2) subsidized agricultural credit; 3) state purchase of paddy through the operation of a floor-price intervention scheme and built in national buffer stocks; and, 4) increasing quantities of free or subsidized irrigation water by irrigation rehabilitation and development schemes financed by foreign borrowing. The quantitative results of the Indonesian Green Revolution are surprising. On the one hand, Javanese peasants now produce twice as much rice as they did in the late 1960s. Java has made more than an average contribution in terms of yield of growth compared to other regions of Indonesia, and therefore plays a major role in Indonesia's transition from the status of the largest rice importer to being (by 1985) self-sufficient in paddy crops. On the other hand, there are several negative, interrelated and overdetermined impacts, such as the increase of absolute landlessness, urbanization and the increase of political domination and repression.

3.3 Developmentalism and its Problems

In this part will look at Development from dialectical perspectives and demonstrate that the problem of exploitation, domination, and oppression are interrelated and overdetermined and are embodied in the concept and practice of Development. The existence of class processes in Development in the sense the appropriation of surplus labor, is also related to the existence of cultural hegemony. The existence of cultural hegemony, on the other hand also depends upon fundamental class processes. The political process also has to do with the contradiction between fundamental class and subsumed class processes. These economic and political relationships also affect the conditions of women. Because the perpetuation of exploitation and oppression of women has to do with the ideology of patriarchy and positivistic paradigm rooted in the liberal tradition of Development. Therefore, to understand the problem of the Third World one can not essentialize one entity as the most important causation of the problem. How Developmentalism and Modernization is implemented in the Third World countries, can be looked at by reconsidering the Green Revolution. The dialectical perspective and analysis of Developmentalism is shown in the Figure 1 as follows.

IMF
The World Bank

Religious
Institutions

Military
Security

Government

Education

Law

Regulations
Mass Media

People
Representation

Capitalists

Managers

Workers

Disabled

Children

Women in
Households

FIGURE 3.1
The Structural Analysis of Developmentalism

This Green Revolution agricultural knowledge and discourse, agricultural technology, AND cultural policy exist and depend upon the fundamental class process in the capitalist or feudal social formation in rural Third World countries. The apparatus of the Green Revolution program from the local, national and international levels received the already appropriated surplus labor and in return they supported the fundamental class process in rural areas. The farmers distributed a portion of surplus-labor to the subsumed classes, including the landlord, the owner of the land. They paid for technical assistance, credits, seeds, fertilizer, and pesticide credits which were financed by the World Bank. On the other hand, the fundamental class process was also depends on political stabilization, the knowledge of Green Revolution, agricultural technology and international trade and the policy of the dominant hegemony of Development. The World Bank sent their experts to Third World rural areas to assist the farmers (and they received foreign subsumed class revenue), and the paddy seeds were produced by the IRRI, Los Banos in the Philippines; the fertilizers and pesticides were produced by the U. S. or Japanese multinational companies.

The labor farmers then went home, and in their household they created feudal social relationships with their family. All these explanations illustrate that from a dialectical perspective the problem of the Third World

appear very complex and interrelated. Development creates this structural problem and in return the economic, political and cultural process in Third World also shapes the concept of Development. This over-determination between Development and other economic, political and cultural processes takes place in a very complex inter-relationship between certain class relationships and all their conditions of existence such as gender exploitation, national economic and Development policy, international trades, political oppression, cultural hegemony of the World Bank, and the central capitalist countries and many other things.

3.3.1 Economic Exploitation and Dependency

Despite the existing development efforts, the absolute number and percentage of Third World people who live in utter poverty continues to increase. Based on this reality, I argue that economic poverty is caused by an exploitative economic system which is perpetuated by, and embodied in Development. In order to understand the problem of exploitation within the context of Development, I employ the Marxian concept of class and exploitation and, Dependency theories. The following discussion looks at Development from the perspective of these two critiques, namely from Marxian political economics and Dependency theories.

Marxian political economics questions who benefits from the process of Development in the Third World. Before I look at the relationship between Development and economy, I would first like to discuss the theoretical background of Marxian theory on class. Resnick and Wolf (1987) defined class as a subdivision among people according to the particular positions that they occupy in the class process, namely some people perform necessary and surplus labor, while others extract or appropriate surplus labor and distribute it. The appropriators and distributors of the surplus labor in the capitalist social formation are called capitalists. Society is understood as comprising different class processes, between the appropriators of the surplus labor (the capitalists) and the producers or appropriated surplus labor (the workers). This class process is named as a "fundamental" class process. The relationship between the two class positions determine the existence of subsumed class.

Class processes in Marxian terms means a process in which unpaid surplus-labor is pumped out of direct producers or in Marx's terminology "extracted" or "appropriated" from the direct producers (laborers) to the rest of society (Marx, Capital, Vol. 3, pp.791-819). Therefore, the uniqueness of Marx's theory is in the understanding of class and its role in the formation of social structure and social change. Marx in Capital paid most of his attention to

analyzing the relationship between the producers of surplus labor and the appropriators (the fundamental class process), and the relationship between the fundamental class process and the non-class part of life in the distribution of already appropriated surplus labor (subsumed class process).

The subsumed class refers to persons occupying a position in the distribution of the already appropriated surplus labor to the rest of the non-class part of life, such as state, managers, distributors, church, armies, polices, research and development, mass media, and others. Unlike the fundamental class process, the subsumed class controls neither the production nor appropriation of surplus labor or its products. Rather, it refers to the distribution of already appropriated surplus labor or its products. The interaction between the fundamental class process and the subsumed class processes occurs within any particular social formation. The conditions of the existence of fundamental class processes requires a subsumed class process to exist and vice versa. Within the industrial capitalist enterprise, for example, all occupants of the subsumed class positions of merchant obtain distributed shares of surplus value. Their paychecks all come from the same source: The capitalist's appropriation of surplus value. On the other hand, the fundamental class process also depends on how this subsumed class position (merchants) market their products. The over-determination

between the fundamental class process and subsumed class processes implies that both are contradictory and constantly changing. These contradictions and changes are also implied among the subsumed classes. Each of the subsumed classes competes against each other to get more of the already appropriated surplus value.

Wolf and Resnick (1979) provide a theory of the transition from non capitalism to capitalism. For them, transition from a non-capitalist to a capitalist society takes place as a consequence of complex contradictions between certain class relations and their economic, political and cultural conditions of existence. No one of these conditions of existence is any more essential than another.

If Marxian political economy looks at the class relationship between the producers of surplus value and appropriators of surplus value and the subsumed class who are part of the distribution of surplus value, the Dependency theorists look more into the macro-relationship between Development and underdevelopment both between the dominant countries (centers) and the Third World (periphery), and between the elite and the poor within the peripheries. This school of development theorists includes

Andre Gundle Frank (1973), Celso Furtado (1973), Samir Amin (1971), and Cardoso and Faletto (1979).⁶

Dependency theorists focus upon the relationship both between and within societies in regard to social, cultural, political and economic structures. The assumption of this theory is that Development and underdevelopment are related concepts within and between societies. The underdevelopment of a region or a society is seen as a process which is linked to the development of another region often outside that region or society. The problem of Third World countries is not rooted in their traditional values and attitudes; it is a dialectical process, where the condition of the less developed region are caused by the activities of rich countries. Dependency prevents the Third World countries from ever being able to achieve or 'take-off' into sustained capitalist Development. Their dependent status rules out the possibility of autonomous accumulation of capital on the basis of a national bourgeois in the epoch of imperialism. In considering the relations of dependency

⁶ Dependency theory is based on a hypothesis that the type of economic relationship established between the dominant and the dominated countries, conditions the social structure of the latter. For them, the penetration of capitalism leads to economic concentration, market monopolization, and the domination of the multinational corporations achieved at the expense of the impoverishment of the masses. See Roxborough, Theories of Underdevelopment. London: McMillan 1985; Cardoso and Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America, Berkeley: University California Press, 1979; also Amin. S. Unequal Development, New York: Monthly Review Press. 1976.

between countries, it is not necessary that the rich country should physically dominate the poor as has happened in classic imperialism. It is enough that the leaders or the elite of the poor countries, "lumpen-bourgeois," hold attitudes, values, interests consistent with those in the rich countries (Frank, 1972). The process whereby the metropolis dominates the countryside within the country is identical to that which occurs between countries.

In Indonesia, for instance, US \$2.71 were siphoned off for every single US dollar's worth of direct foreign capital investment made during the period 1970-77 (Arif and Sasono, 1981, p.155). And, in 1979 North American companies alone made \$12.7 thousand million profit in the Third World and shifted it to the United States. In addition, many of the local rich in the Third World transfer their money to banks in the prosperous countries. The International Monetary Fund is a bank in which all countries of the world are represented, but in which the rich capitalist countries have the final say. To obtain help from the IMF, a government must first arrange its finances in such a way as to make sure that it can pay off its debts and is able to contract new loans and to order goods from the rich countries, all of which greatly benefit foreign bank and foreign business. The great majority of the population is made to suffer due to these arrangements, in as much as their wages are frozen

and money for social services and food subsidies are abolished (Kruijer, 1987, p.100).

3.3.2 Cultural and Political Hegemony in Developmentalism

Modernization is the best example of how the dominant hegemony works. Modernization creates new ideological "terrain," with cultural and political influence through the creation of a systemic and structured discourse, and sophisticated propaganda to replace the ideology, culture and politics of the subordinated people. Religion, education and other institutions have been used by the Development "apparatus" to mystify the power relationships, public things and events, and to induce the oppressed to consent to their own exploitation and daily misery. As hegemony, Modernization creates a concept of reality which is defused throughout society in all its institutional and privately manifested, informing all tastes, morality, customs, religious and political principles, and social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotation. Religious institutions have had a very important role in hegemonizing and disseminating Developmentalism and Modernization in the Third World where religions still have a strong influence in the society. Religious Modernization among Moslems in Indonesia, mostly sponsored by Western educated Moslem scholars, for example, produced the discourse on: The role of religion in

Development; "secularization"; and "modern" theology. This process systematically destroyed traditional religious practice and created new religious interpretation which is appropriate only to Development and Modernization. In this way the dream to achieve high mass consumption (Rostow) within an achieving society (capitalist society) (McClelland) becomes an "opium" of the poor people in developing countries. The cultural impact of this hegemony, is that people in the Third World have lost their traditional and religious beliefs such as egalitarianistic and socialistic ways of life.

As I argued before, Development is basically a "new brand" of capitalism which is the most powerful hegemony in the modern history of the Third World. Mass persuasion includes the kind of education provided in schools, but also by media - the press, radio and TV - and by all sorts of institutions, for example the church and other religious institutions. And, we must not ignore the fact that society itself is a kind of school. The prevalent ideas (usually those of the ruling class) are stamped upon the daily production process. In their work, people act out such ideas as the value of competition, the struggle for existence, efficiency. (Kruijer, 1987, p.89).

There are several vehicles which carry and disseminate the ideology of Development in the Third World. The first vehicle is the use of US influence on economic policy and

planning. The team of US social scientists who were defining the "new" development apparatus, knew very well that some of USAID's most effective work had been done in countries where the US was influential in economic policy and planning. According to them, the planning process provide an opportunity to agree on a strategy for "Development," with all the implications for goals, priorities, and choice among alternative courses.

The second vehicle was the training of the Third World's leaders as a means to disseminate Development. The US team proposed that the US government provide Third World leaders with training and observational trips abroad especially to the US. Even they knew that this might give the leadership exaggerated prestige which would cut them off from the rank and file, e.g., when student leaders are sent off for training or observation tours which detach them from students and student concerns and make them part of the "establishment", this strategy was favored by US policy. This strategy was based on the experience of the role of students in destroying the nationalist government in Indonesia 1966.⁷

⁷ The role of US universities and Indonesian technocrats in the processes of economic, political and ideological change and Development in Indonesia in the 1960s had been explored by several researchers. See David Ransom "The Berkeley Mafia" in Ramparts, No.9, (1970). See Rex Mortimer, (Ed.), Showcase State; The Illusion of Indonesia's 'Accelerated Modernization' (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1973). See also William Liddle, "Modernizing Indonesian Politics" in William Liddle (Ed.). Political Participation

The third vehicle was to use religions for distributing the idea of participation and Development. Studies have been conducted to shape the role of religion in development in the Third World. They knew that throughout the Third World religion remained a vital force, significantly informing peoples' value and behavior. Their main concern and question was: Can the process of social, cultural and physiological dislocation associated with Modernization be made less painful by providing ways whereby people may understand and interpret this process in term of their established religious beliefs? Since that time, many studies have been conducted, dedicated to understand the role of religion in Development. Secularization and Modernization of religion became the official language among religious leaders in the Third World.

The fourth vehicle was to use the training and research function of American University personnel working abroad with USAID. Over the years they had contracted quite a number of them for these purposes. They suggested that USAID recruit persons carefully and disassociate itself as completely as possible from the US government (or at least should permit the professors to dissociate themselves). The main reason for disassociation of professors was to increase their credibility with students in the Third World. This

in Modern Indonesia (Monograph Series No. 19., New Heaven: Yale University Southeast Asian Studies, 1973).

proposal was made because of their deep understanding that students do not like to be manipulated, and in the Third World, they do not at all relish the thought of being manipulated by anyone considered to be an agent of the United States government. Correspondingly, many capable American social scientists were reluctant to work abroad if they were made to feel that they would be "instruments" in the implementation of a "country program" (Millikan and Rostow, 1957).

The last suggestion was to use the US churchmen who wanted to serve in the Third World. According to the team of social scientists, traditionally, most of US churchmen overseas had been missionaries primarily committed to inculcation of Christian belief. The members of the team believed that, if the churchmen could provide assurance of compatibility of purpose between their activities and those of the US government, if some mechanism for coordination of efforts could be devised, and if the churchmen could meet suitable performance criteria, then it would seem appropriate to provide churches and church related groups with direct financial and technical support for specific endeavors.

The cultural invasion of Development and Modernization was also helped by international financial aid, such as the World Bank and the IMF. Hayter (1985) has noted that there are some basic tenets of the Bank philosophy which have been

consistent throughout its history over the last ten years. These are: Support for reliance on market forces and private sector; encouragement of foreign private investment and good treatment of existing foreign investments; support for the principle of free trade and comparative advantages; aversion to the use of controls of prices, imports and movements of capital; aversion to subsidies and support for the principle of full cost recovery on the projects it finances and public investments in general; support for financial stabilization policies to be achieved by the variety of the IMF programs, including overall reduction demand and devaluation; and, the requirement that debts be serviced and repaid (Hayter, 1985, p.111). The Bank of course opposed the public ownership of land and welcomed the termination of land reform programs when this occurred. The Banks puts more emphasis on production that it does on income distribution. The Bank is also biased against production of food for local consumption. Clearly the Bank favors the integration of rural producers into national and international markets, in ways which parallel its advocacy of the greater integration of Third World countries into the world market, and which carry similar or even greater dangers of increased dependency and precariousness in their livelihood (Hayter, 1985, pp. 155-157).

Projects in agriculture are in line with the interests of the increasingly powerful and expanding agribusiness

firms which supply the inputs of fertilizer and improved seeds used in Green Revolution projects. They are also, of course, a means of helping to secure continued supplies of agricultural commodities for consumption in the West (Hayter, 1985, p.243). Until the 1970s, the Bank went no further than the so called 'trickle down' theory; economic growth would automatically produce benefits for the poor, which would trickle down to them from the rich. Growth is supposed to be possible once stabilization has been achieved under IMF-type programs, so even growth was, and still is, a secondary objective (Hayter, 1985, p.228). When the program did not work, Robert McNamara, the President of the World Bank at the time launched the "basic human necessity" program. This new World Bank's strategy of rural development and income distribution was largely rhetorical. It appears to have addressed the social-democratic consciences of the practitioners of the businesses of rural development, and to defuse the radical critics of the practice of Development. Its logic is to intensify the 'compulsive involvement' of small standing commitment to liberal trade and exchange policies, by arguing that these promote the welfare of the worst off. It finances, on a greatly extended scale, a continuation of the various forms of rural development undertaken, with more or less success by colonial government. It also serves other purposes namely, providing employment to experts, or markets for

firms, subordinating rural producers to the requirements of agro-industrial firms, enriching the better off, and extending networks of political patronage (Hayter, 1981, p.44).

Development aid is often based on the maintenance of the status quo. It is kind of umbilical cord, that ties the underdeveloped countries to the economies of the rich. A major part of the so-called aid is used by Third World governments to service loans from banks in the rich countries. Another part is given by the donor countries to help their own exports and to support their own businesses that are invested in the Third World. Development Aid is used to assist commercial exporters to buy adequate supplies of raw materials, and to counter subversion (Kruijer, 1987, p.116).

3.3.3 Knowledge/Power Domination in Development

In order to understand the discourse of Development and how it has shaped socio-political and economic system in the Third World. I will next use Foucault's concept of discourse analysis. Foucault, in the late 1960s and the 1970s, contributed to critical shifts in ways of considering how meanings are constructed. His work on discourse analysis has had radical implications, not only for the disciplines of the humanities, literary studies and the human sciences, but for all knowledge. His thoughts provide

means to begin theoretical inquiry of the discourse of domination in the Third World. Knowledge is not something that can exist apart from power relations. According to him, the knowledge relation is a power relation. Knowledge is the currency with which state agencies, multinational corporations, universities, and other formal organizations advance capitalist society.

Knowledge of Development and Modernization for example, does not represent merely a desire to know, but an intention to control and to dominate. Discourse of development is social and political. The statement of Development, the words of Development, and the meaning of the Development, depend on the dominant hegemonic power at local, regional and global levels. Since the discourse of Development dominates the Third World, it has become the only legitimate form of knowledge, economics, politics and culture. Therefore the discourse of Development illegitimate other forms of non-positivistic ways of knowing, such as traditional ways of agriculture replacing them with modern types of agriculture. It destroys non-capitalistic social formation. The collaborative works "gotong royong" tradition in Java has been replaced by capitalism and industrialization. Finally it destroys other forms of political process and replaces them with the political Modernization doctrine which has become the dominant idea of political Development in the Third World, this demonstrates

the interconnected relationships - intellectual, political, ideological - that constitute integral part of the discourse of Development.

The knowledge of Development which is produced by the dominant Western countries and sent to Third World people is not neutral knowledge. It is not only based on Western ideology but also on the desire to control. Knowledge relations do not represent merely a desire to know, but an intention to control. It is a procedure for the scientific management of populations in the power/knowledge ruling formations of the modern social order. Mueller (1987) analyses the relationships between the discourse of Development and capitalism.

Development agency procedures tie peasants and professionals together and tie them as a power/knowledge couplet into a social organization which, as we trace its articulations and conjunctions, we see is part of the ruling relations of the capitalist world order. (Mueller, 1987, p.12)

The process of Development is a set of practices which are controlled by First World institutions. A relation between the First and Third Worlds is established whereby the Third World is divided in terms of lacks which First World Technology and professional expertise can meet. This is relation of imperialism (Mueller, 1987).

3.3.4 Gender Issues and Domination in Developmentalism

Developmentalism also produces the perpetuation of the oppression of women in the Third World. Women in Development (WID) as part of the mainstream of Developmentalism is designed to pay more attention to driving women to participate in Development, and does not question the inequalities and discriminations manifested by gender. Therefore the mainstream WID programs have resulted in more regulation and cooptation of women in the Third World, than liberation. Without addressing gender issues, any women's program and development efforts will fail to address the main issues of women.⁸

Several studies have been conducted on women's issues and problems in the Third World. Some researchers focused on the political and economic perspectives and employed class analysis to understand the marginalization, subordination, violence and oppression of women in the Third World (Stamp, 1989; Boserup, 1970). Other researchers use alternative frameworks to understand women's role and issues in the Third World, such as frameworks of discourse and

⁸ Gender, contrary to sex refers to the "behavior differences between women and men that are socially constructed - created by men and women themselves; therefore they are matter of culture." Gender roles have created inequalities manifest in exploitation, subordination, stereotyping, violence and double burden of women in private and public sphere (Elizabeth Eviota, The Political Economy of Gender, London: Zed Books, 1992, p.4). Also see, Ann Oakley, Sex, Gender and Society (New York: Harper and Row. 1972).

knowledge production (Mueller, 1987); of cultural domination related to natural and environmental issues (Shiva, 1989); as well as many other feminist perspectives.

But few of them, as far as I know, really look at women's issues using a dialectical or overdeterminist analysis. Women's problems in the Third World are not simple, therefore, we need a comprehensive approach. This study proposes to look at women's issues in the Third World, by employing a dialectical perspective. The reasons of employing a dialectical, or over-determinism approach, to examine women's issues is to avoid over simplification in understanding women's problems and to avoid an essentialist and reductionist approach. What I mean by dialectic in this context is that the problem of women in the Third World can not be understood only by and through one perspective of analysis such as class or economic analysis, but requires inter-related and over-determined analysis of political economy, cultural domination, political oppression, gender inequalities and natural destruction.

To understand the domination of women in the Third World this chapter focuses on "Women in Development" (WID).⁹ The reason of positing "WID" as the target of

⁹ The concept of WID become the policy of USAID. See USAID. A.I.D. Policy Paper: Women in Development, Washington D.C., Office of Women in Development. Also see Patricia Maguire, Women in Development: An Alternative Analysis (Amherst: Center For International Education, 1987).

analysis is based on the assumption that one can not understand Third World women issues, without considering the WID agenda. Looking at women's issues in Development by using dialectical perspectives, means using political, economical, social and natural analysis to look at development. In other words, this study looks at women's issues in the context of Development from several lenses, using for example Marxian economic class analysis, Foucauldian power and discourse analysis, Gramscian cultural and political hegemonic analysis and Eco-feminism and other feminists analysis. These analyses, do not materialize independently, but are inter-related.

The focus of this section is women's domination and its relations to the concept of WID.¹⁰ It is assumed that WID is a part of "Developmentalism." While Development has become "a new religion" for millions of people in the Third World nations, WID also has become "the only" official policy dealing with women in most of the Third World nations. This policy also gives promise to millions of

¹⁰ As an alternative to WID, many NGO activists constructed GAD or Gender and Development. GAD concentrates on the gender relations between men and women instead of focusing only on women. See Julia Mosse, Half the World Half a Change: An Introduction to Gender and Development (Oxford: Oxfam, 1993). Many training manuals and books have been implemented based on GAD. See the Canadian Council for International Co-operation and MATCH, Two Halves Make a Whole: Balancing Gender Relations in Development, Ottawa: 1991. See also Rani Parker, Another Point of View: A Manual on Gender Analysis Training for Grassroots Workers, New York: Unifem, 1993.

women in the Third World. WID started in the early 1970s when there was increasing emphasis placed on the role of women in international economic development. The discourse of WID started when the US government announced the Percy Amendment to the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act which called particular attention to women in international Development programs. This U.S amendment affected the United Nations in 1974 when they declared the Decade for Women (1976-85). The WID office of the Agency for International Development (AID) was also created in 1974, and since that time there has been a lot of knowledge, policies, resources and information created and imported into the lives of millions of women in the Third World nations. WID was the answer to the critiques of Developmentalism when they were accused of having neglected women in the process of Development.

How has Developmentalism, especially the Green Revolution, perpetuated the oppressed role/position of women in the Third World? Several studies disclose that women in rural areas became victims of the Green Revolution. In Java, for example, traditionally women had important roles in food production, especially during harvesting. Harvesting as the most labor-intensive of all agricultural activities, demanded large supplies of labor at concentrated period of time. Most women, particularly in the poorer households, supported the family by hiring themselves out for harvesting and other agricultural works. Several

studies reported that, generally, in the poorest households, women made the greatest relative contribution to subsistence, and their contribution was most explicitly recognized by all members of the family. Women's roles were crucial to rice production, not only in terms of hours worked, but also in terms of the intensity and timing of periods of peak activity. But, since the Green Revolution, new types of paddy and new technology introduced by the program, have been systematically adopted they have replaced women's role and work in rural areas of Java. Although the total labor inputs per hectare were higher for women than men, the program replaced women's role by technology which is controlled by men.¹¹

Many Marxian analyses of women's position focus their analysis on the position of women related more to the economic system, rather than focusing on gender relationships between women to men. First women are considered as part of the working class, by analyzing this relationships they consistently place women in relation to men under worker's relation to capital. I will again use the Green Revolution program as a case study to explain this approach.

The introduction of a cash economy, and the pursuit of individual security through accumulation of material wealth

¹¹ See Chapter 6 in Vandana Shiva, Staying Alive (London: Zed Books, 1989).

promoted by the Green Revolution has been channeled through men. The general pattern of the program was to assist farming families through the 'head of the household' classified as a man, even in cases where he is not physically present in the household. It is relatively rare for females to be included in rice production training, although the fact demonstrates that much of the labor input in rice production is contributed by females. Women were often responsible for the care of pigs and chickens in the backyard, but they were not recognized as livestock raisers. Although it is a well known fact that women participated actively in decisions affecting the farm, and were almost always in charge of marketing farm products, they have never been a deliberate target for the Green Revolution programs. Through Green Revolution, Javanese (male) farmers entered into the capitalist mode of production, and this relationship affected their relationships to their wives. The landless farmers, which were the majority of Javanese farmers, sold their labor-power to the capitalist farmer. In this capitalist fundamental class relationship process, the land owners or the capitalist farmers appropriated the surplus labor and distributed a portion of the surplus labor to other subsumed classes such as the state (taxes), bankers, landlords etc. The landless farmers then went home and gave a part of their wage to their wives. The relationship between landless farmers and women takes place

in the feudalistic mode of production, namely, in other words, the landless farmers buy women to serve their family.

Other affects on women resulting from the capitalist relations in rural areas was the removal of their right to land in rural Third World countries. Boserup (1970) explains, that in south Asia, colonial and post colonial administration has apparently transferred women's land rights to men in a similar way observed in Africa. Among matrilineal clans in colonial Malaya, for example, much land was traditionally passed down from mother to daughter.

Even after WID was introduced, rural women in the Third World countries were trapped by the international capitalist world. Mies (1986) suggests that Women in Development must be seen as one component in a complex and hierarchial division of labor organizing international labor, commodity, and capital markets in the capitalist world order.¹² Here women are assumed to have a reproductive role in the working class. The existence of the fundamental class process in the capitalist mode of production also requires a supply of cheap labor power. In this context, therefore, Women in Development mobilizes women in the capitalist rural agrarian and international food market and production. Finally, the problem of women exploitation in the Third World does not stand by itself. It is interrelated with other political,

¹² Maria Mies, Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labor, London: Zed Books, 1989.

cultural and psychological problems. This reminds me of what Mao Tse-tung says about African women. He says that the African woman carries six mountains on her back: The first and the second are her oppression by neo-colonialism and traditional structures, the third is her backwardness, the fourth is a man, the fifth is the color of her race, and the sixth, not the least important, is herself. Women suffer by their own negative self-image, from centuries of internalizing the ideologies of patriarchy and gender hierarchy.

The wide application of WID in the Third World countries, indicates the domination of the Western paradigm of Development, i.e., Modernization. "WID" as part of Development, is able to create a concept of reality for women which is defused throughout society in all its institutional and private manifestations. WID in the context of Development, then is used as a vehicle to disseminate capitalist hegemony into the broader society in the Third World. Modernization stresses the important role of the family, in disseminating capitalist hegemony. The family is located in a set of social, political, economic, and cultural relations comprising the capitalist world order.

WID as a form of knowledge about Third World women, also has been created through the social organization of Development discourse as part of the project to bring new

regions and populations under the rule of advanced capitalist disciplines. In this context, we can see knowledge and discourse as tools of domination. The WID discourse and knowledge of women cannot be divorced from the power to change the destiny of millions of women. The notion of functionalism and positivism in WID make it possible for WID programs to dominate and demolish the possibility of women's ways of knowing. Education, both formal and non-formal has been "controlled" by the dominant forms of knowledge to shape people's consciousness. WID as a new knowledge appears to be a powerful discourse. Mueller (1987) identified this knowledge relations between development professionals in the West and women in the Third World as an imperialism relationship.¹³

3.3.5 Environmental Destruction and Developmentalism

The anti-nature character of development creates environmental problems for people in the Third World. This analysis will focus on agricultural Development and the resulting destruction of the eco-environmental system in the Third World. The problem of environmental destruction in the Third World rural areas is rooted in agricultural industrialization. It is a progressive force which

¹³ See Mueller, "Peasants and Professionals: The Production of Knowledge about in the Third World," a paper presented to the Meeting of the Association for Women in Development, Washington, D.C., April, 1987.

harnessed technology to natural resources and permitted a reduced dependence on agriculture. By following the logic of industrialization, agricultural Development especially the Green Revolution was practiced as a linear process in which shifting field cultivation, labor using and capital saving methods made way for permanent field cultivation and, through the stimulus of accelerating population, led to a feed back effect from industry. Crop research, pesticides, fertilizers, mechanization, roads and credit facilities all helped to develop an increasing labor saving, capital intensive agriculture.

The new seeds of this type of agricultural industry are highly vulnerable to pests, and therefore they require a heavy use of pesticides to ensure "pest control" and "plant protection." Pesticides, far from controlling pests, are actually prescriptions fostering them, and because they create new mutants and increase vulnerability to old ones, they expose plants to ever new hazards. But actually, the war with pests is unnecessary. Local people for years have known that the most effective pest control mechanism is to build into the ecology of crops, partly by ensuring balanced pest-predator relationships through crop diversity and partly by building up resistance in plants. Seeds and chemicals have been the two most important inputs for the Green Revolution. With the biotechnology revolution, these inputs will become fully integrated, as multinational

chemical companies start taking over the business of plant breeding and entire university research programs. In Java, for example, over a seven year period, average hectare chemical fertilizer use rose 50%, while per hectare pesticide application more than doubled. These inputs on the one hand have tremendously destroyed the ecosystem of the environment in the Third World rural areas, and on the other hand created chemical and pesticide dependency in the Third World rural areas.¹⁴

¹⁴ See S. Adiwibowo and Agung Riyadi, "Dampak Ekologi dan Sosial Economy Revolusi Hijau: Kasus Pedesaan Pulau Java" (Ecological and Social Economic Impact of Green Revolution: The Case of Rural Java) (Jakarta: Komphalindo, 1993).

CHAPTER 4
THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE NGO MOVEMENT
IN INDONESIA

4.1 Indonesia in the 1990s

Before the team began this study, a meeting had been held to discuss the historical context of our research project. A member of the team prepared a paper analyzing contemporary Indonesia. The following description of the context of Indonesia in the 1990s is based on this discussion. Although this study concentrated on Java and was conducted by NGO activists in only four big cities -- Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Salatiga in Central Java -- the context discussed in this study is about all of Indonesia.

Indonesia, a country located in the South East Asia, stretching 3500 miles from Aceh in the west to Irian Java in the East. In the 1990s it has a population of some 185 million people, making it the fourth most populous country in the world. Indonesia proclaimed its independence on August 17, 1945, after the Japanese occupation of 3 years. The Japanese took over the country from the Dutch, who had colonized Indonesia for more than 350 years. Sukarno, the first president ruled the country until 1967. This study was done during the Suharto government, a government that started its rule in 1967 after a bloody coup. In October 1965, soldiers led by General Suharto seized power after an

abortive coup by the Left. Around 700,000 died and some 200,000 political activists were imprisoned. There has been disagreement among scholars as to who was behind the coup. Harold Crouch insists that the army leaders of the coup originated from among middle-levels officer in Jakarta, and that Aidit (leader of Indonesian Communist Party) was directly involved after the plot had been hatched. On the other hand, Anderson and McVey (1971) are among those researchers who consider that the PKI had no reason to be involved in the coup.¹

The New Order government since 1967, has introduced open door policy by inviting foreign capital into Indonesia and applying the Western growth model of development. It is translated in Indonesian as REPELITA. The IMF from the very beginning supported the government by organizing Western Block creditors and establishing its office in Jakarta in early 1967.² The World Bank followed the IMF and helped Indonesia by strengthening economic links 'with the non-Communist world'.³ In short, the West has helped in preparing a five-year development plan and in formulating

¹ Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey, "A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965, Coup in Indonesia," Ithaca: Cornell University, Modern Indonesia Project No. 52, 1971.

² Brian May, The Indonesian Tragedy, Singapore: Graham Brash Ltd, 1984.

³ Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies, Canberra, Vol.X, no. 2, July 1974.

the annual national budget. US universities and Indonesian technocrats have also played a very important role in setting the foundations of the process of economic, political and ideological change and Development in Indonesia since the 1960s. Within this historical context the Indonesian NGO movement was born. It was basically a New Order phenomenon, i.e., a new type of organization born only during the early years of the military 'new order' government. In fact some of the first generation NGO activists were involved in the 1966 student movements to overthrow the old order of Sukarno's government.

Since the New Order government came to power, there have been two tendencies in term of development: First, Indonesia has moved towards a market oriented economy, marked by deregulation and privatization in industrialization and trade; second, rural development policy has followed the Green Revolution approach. In urban development, economic liberalization programs, characterized by the heavy inflow of foreign investments have resulted in a 7.25% economic growth in 1990. But Indonesian workers are the lowest paid in Southeast Asia. The government claims that manufacturing workers Jakarta and the rest of West Java receive the minimum wage, as socially necessary labor time (snalt) of about Rp 2100 (US \$1.10) a day. In practice over 80% of the workers in Tangerang (an industrial region near

by).⁴ Groups which are the most disadvantaged by accelerated urban development are factory workers, particularly women and children. Besides getting very low wages and being made to work very long hours in order to fulfill quotas, the workers are not allowed to unionize. The government actively promotes cheap labor in order to attract foreign investment. So deregulation and privatization based on a system of exploitation which offers cheap labor to be exploited.⁵ The result of the influx of foreign investment has led also to an increase in land acquisition for development project, tourist resorts, and the infiltration in to agricultural land and forests by private industries.

In order to prevent mass resistance in the face of increased marginalization -- an impact of industrialization

⁴ Budiman, Arief. "Stabilitas Politik dan Pertumbuhan ekonomi" (Political Stability and Economic Growth) in INFID, Pembangunan di Indonesia; Memandang dari sisi lain (Indonesian Development: From Another Perspective), Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesian, 1993. A study conducted by Indrasari Tjandraningsih also showed the rate of exploitation, by pressing wages below the official minimum wage standard in Indonesia; see Tjandraningsih, I. "Buruh Pabrik Sepatu di Tangerang" (Shoe Factory Workers in Tangerang) in INFID ibid., pp. 161-172.

⁵ Resnick and Wolf, (1987) defined exploitation as a process where some people perform necessary and surplus labor, while others extract or appropriate surplus labor and distribute it. In Marxian terms this means a process in which unpaid surplus-labor is pumped out of direct producers or in other Marx's usages, "extracted" or "appropriated" from the direct producers (laborers) to the rest of society which is called the subsumed class. See also Marx Capital. Vol.3, pp. 791-819.

-- the Indonesian government installed sophisticated political, ideological and cultural control mechanisms. First, they implemented what is called the "floating mass policy". It bans all mass organizations at village level (formerly democratically elected village heads) and replaces them by assigning military men to civilian duties to complement the existing sub-district (kecamatan) and village level military units; by establishing Village Unit Cooperatives as the only allowed cooperatives operating in sub-districts; and, new regulations on village government since 1979 trying to replace traditional village councils with government-controlled institutions (Sasono, 1987).

Second, they established the cultural hegemony of development which creates new ideological terrain, with cultural and political influence, through the structuring of discourse and sophisticated propaganda to replace the ideology, culture and politics of the subordinate people. Religion, and education, as well as other institutions have been used by the Development "apparatus" to mystify the power relationships and public events, and to induce the oppressed to consent to their own exploitation and daily misery. Mass persuasion includes the kind of education provided in schools, but also by controlled media - the press, radio and TV - and by all sorts of institutions, for example the church and other religious institutions.

Religious institutions, particularly Islam in Indonesia has been used as vehicle to Modernization and development. Religious Modernization among Moslems in Indonesia, mostly sponsored by Western educated Moslem scholars, for example, produced, as stated earlier, the discourse of: The role of religion in Development; "secularization;" and "modern" theology. This process systematically destroyed traditional religious practice and created new religious interpretation which is appropriate only to Modernization. The cultural impact of this hegemony, is that people in the Third World have lost their traditional and religious beliefs such as those promoting egalitarianistic and socialistic ways of life.

A third means for the government to prevent mass resistance was through knowledge/power domination. Knowledge connected to development which is produced by the state for the civil society is not neutral knowledge. It is a procedure for the scientific management of populations in the power/knowledge ruling formations of the modern social order.⁶ The process of development is a set of practices which are controlled by the State. A relation between the state and the people is established whereby the people is divided in terms of 'lacks' which the state expertise can meet.

⁶ Mueller, 1987

In Indonesia, knowledge or "pembangunan," does not represent merely a desire to know, but an intention to control and to dominate. Discourse of pembangunan is social and political. The words and their meaning depend on the dominant hegemonic power at local and national levels. It has become the only legitimate form of knowledge, economics, politics and culture process. Therefore the discourse of development illegitimizes other forms ways of knowing, such as traditional ways of agriculture which have been replaced by the Green Revolution. It destroys non-capitalistic social formations. Finally it destroys other forms of political process and replaces them with the political Modernization doctrine, this demonstrate the interconnected nature of relationships -- intellectual, political, ideological -- that constitute an integral part of the discourse of Development. In this kind of political environment NGO movement have to survive and to struggle.

4.2 The Indonesian NGO Movement: Origin and History

In Indonesia, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are called Lembaga Swadaya Pengembang Masyarakat (LSPMs) or Promoter Organizations for Self-Reliance that try to respond to the multiple needs of the grassroot sector (and that of its organizations) with the support of international development cooperation institutions or funding agencies. There are three organizational forms: The LPSM (NGOs or

PVOs), the LSMs (indigenous grassroots organizations) and the international agencies (international NGOs, solidarity or funding agencies).

The reason for using the term LPSM or LSM instead of using term NGOs in Indonesia is for the tactical reason of avoiding "the anti-government" impression of the NGO terminology because of its negative implications regarding their relationship with a "sensitive" government. The term NGO, which is translated as "organisasi non pemerintah" (non-government), it was argued, could easily be perceived as "anti-government" implicating them as rivals to the government in the development process. Since "organisasi non pemerintah" or NGO bears an "anti-governmental" connotation, at least placing NGO in a dichotomy position vis a vis government, so, LPSM (Promoter organization of self-reliance) and LSM (Community self-reliance organization) are used (Betts, 1987). The use of the term LPSM also conveys the sense of the popular self-determination they seek.

The term NGO in reference to the community for self reliance organization (LSM) in Indonesia indicates that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are any of those organizations which are not part of a government and which have not been established as a result of an agreement between governments. But NGOs or LSM have been understood as nongovernmental "development" organization. The term of

"development" is important in order to avoid the use of the term for other types of organizations such as research institutions, professional associations, boy scouts, chambers of commerce, youth organizations, religious institutions, tourist bodies, or political parties which also have "non-governmental" characters.

The LSM are formal organizations, and as such, they emerge when a group of people organize themselves into a social unit that is established with the explicit objective of achieving certain ends, and formulate rules to govern the relations among the members of the organization and the duties of each member. Though the NGOs are called by different names, all share some main characteristics: They are formed by individuals who do not always receive payment for their duties, they are a private, non-profit institution, and operate within a legal framework. They work through development projects (programs) that benefit people other than their own members and their financing comes from sources outside the organization. Though many NGOs have programs on economic development and cooperative movement, they are not economic organizations. Another main characteristic is that the NGOs' commitment to the popular sectors is articulated through their emphasis on popular participation and through the provision of support and professional services for the autonomous organization of those popular sectors with which they work. Their ideology

is mainly based on the idea of learning together, rather than the mere transfer of knowledge or any other traditional form of technical support from above.

The goals of NGOs, as opposed to those of other non-government organizations, are almost always related to the problems of development, that is, to problems surrounding the economic, social, and cultural order of a country or region. NGOs explicitly attempt to differentiate themselves from governments, which also intervene in the economic, social, cultural dynamics of their countries - though they do this with different, if not opposing objectives, forms of action, and result.

It is necessary to understand that there are several types of NGO. Although almost all NGOs are formal, non profit organizations trying to amass financial and/or technical/scientific resources to meet socially identified needs, they differ as to their affiliations, objectives, methods of action, and internal structures. The affiliations, objectives and basic assumptions of Indonesian NGOs can be understood by looking at the forces influential in their emergence, namely student activists, middle class intellectuals and religions, both Christian and Moslem (Betts, 1987).

4.2.1 The History of NGOs in Indonesia

The phenomenon of NGOs in Indonesia, is associated with the changes in Indonesia in 1967, when Indonesia entered a new era, of capitalist "liberal" policies, characterized by the opening of Indonesia to the world market economy. NGOs were born as a reaction to bureaucratic Developmentalism which disabled the government as an effective agent of development. Based on this assumption, NGOs can be seen as a new phenomenon of the capitalist environment.

Though NGOs are a modern post "New Order" phenomenon, the volunteerism associated with them has traditional roots in the modern history of Indonesia during the Dutch colonial period. More specifically volunteerism can be said to have started in Indonesia in the last decade of the 19th century, when Suryopranoto a Javanese activists established Mardi Karya (1890) and then Adhi Dharma (1896), which were organizations aimed at helping communities in their social, political and economic affairs (Betts, 1987). There were several other organizations and movements started after those first movements, e.g., Budi Utomo, Taman Siswa, several religious movements such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama and also political movements.

The 1970s marked a sort of starting point in the history of NGOs as studied in this paper. Indonesian NGOs took shape at that time; but their outlook and role then differed significantly from what they are today. During

1970s nongovernmental cooperation agencies supported the developmentalist ideology being promoted by the modernizing elites of the military government. The NGOs played a role in forms of cooperation that emphasized "aid" and small "industrialism". Institutions such as churches and United Nations related organizations took the first steps in encouraging the actions of such institutions, i.e., NGOs based on the idea of 'promoting development.' "Development" in this context was understood as support for economic growth so as to overcome "backwardness". The problem was one of transferring resources and technology, securing investments for development that would yield results measurable in general indicators such as per capita income. The issues these NGOs mainly dealt with were approach and methodology, such as bottom up versus top down approach, mobilization versus participation, without questioning the development paradigm behind Modernization. In other words NGOs at that time consented to the Modernization hegemony.

Before discussing the connection of Indonesian NGOs and their reactions to Developmentalism in Indonesia, it is necessary to conduct a critical analysis of the concept of development and its implication in Indonesia. This analysis makes it possible to understand the role of NGOs in the context of Indonesia. I will first present the model of Developmentalism which is followed by the Indonesian

government and the political economy of Indonesia in the New Order era under the military government.

4.3 The NGO Movement and Developmentalism

Policies that have influenced the development process during the past two decades in Indonesia are based on the Modernization framework in which the growth model of development is applied. This development approach is an economic growth strategy and policy which gives special attention to rates of saving and investment and capital intensity with modern technology. It has been assumed that rapid industrialization and the expansion of the modern sector in general is the best answer to the need of the rapid development of the economy and the creation of employment opportunities. This growth model of development has been applied in both in urban sectors of industrialization, and the rural agricultural sector. The policy of rural agricultural development was translated through the "Green Revolution" program.

The Green Revolution and urban industrialization projects have been the subject of criticism from among NGO activists. The rapidly increasing involvement of NGOs in the development assistance process during the 1970s has a relationship with these criticism of the development strategy and are a reaction to the government approach to development which was considered inadequate, especially in

term of methodologies and techniques. A number of factors apparently have contributed to this trend. These include, among others, the perceived failure of government policy to effectively promote development or to raise the standard of living of the poor and the unprecedented amounts of financial contributions channelled through NGOs.

Unfortunately, only a few NGOs really question the ideology and paradigm of Developmentalism and Modernization. NGOs involved in the first period (late 1960s and early 1970s) did not introduce a radical alternative paradigm of development, but merely tried to "reform" and reacted to the methodology and practices of the development, without questioning the basic assumptions of Modernization.

Eldridge (1984) notes that there has been tremendous contradiction and ambiguity among the Indonesian NGO community in responding to the growth model of development. Many NGO activists are motivated by a mixture of political and service ideals. However, many of them appear quite unclear about how their development programs are supposed to lead to a transformation of the political macro structure. Also, enormous ideological confusion is evident in relation to basic objectives such as the promotion of "self-reliance", with "dependency" analysis being mixed with entrepreneurship training along the lines advanced by American social scientist such as David McClelland (Eldridge, 1984). Most of them share the assumption with

McClelland's theory of Modernization that the underdeveloped condition of people is caused by values and traditions which are not fit for development.

Based on the rationale of underdevelopment, the main concern of mainstream NGOs such as LP3ES and Bina Swadaya and other big NGOs, in the early 1970s were to change traditional beliefs, attitudes, values and institutions helping people to become modern through creating participatory action programs among rural small business groups. Participatory training and institution building in rural areas become the main transforming tools of "modernity". These programs were based on the assumption of "Modernization" that the development process will work if capital is given to the right persons (thus the High Need for Achievement entrepreneurs and mastering micro technology of business such as marketing, accounting and financial management). The entrepreneurs will become the drivers of the process of growth and the rest of people which will benefit from the trickle down effect.

Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (LSP) was among the few NGOs during this time that based their work on the use of dependency theory and structural analysis (Arif and Sasono, 1981). Critiques of the dominant theories of Developmentalism and Modernization were introduced by LSP through publishing of books and journals, and through discussions. The introduction of the thoughts of dependency

theorists such as Paul Baran and Andre Gundle Frank (1973), Celco Furtado (1973) Cordoso (1972), Amin (1971) and liberation theorists such as Freire (1972), Guitierrez (1973) and others to the Indonesian NGO community in the late 1970s, enriched the jargon and the vocabulary of "development" among Indonesian NGOs.

For those organizations ascribing to a development theory based on Modernization ideology, the need for increasing people's participation in development was the main theme. They tended not to question the existing structure and the dominant hegemony. Corruption in the government was seen as the fundamental cause of "underdevelopment". And in accordance with the Modernization paradigm, they believed that the underdevelopment of the majority of the people is caused by something that is wrong with the people's mentality and the people's values. This backwardness mentality and backward values were considered to be the main cause and influence for their lack of "participation" in development. Big NGOs such as LP3ES and Bina Swadaya, Dian Desa and YIS based their work on this paradigm. These big NGOs shared their paradigm and vision with the rest of NGOs in Indonesia, because most of NGO activists in the country participated in their training programs.

According to Modernization, people are considered to be part of the problem, so the main task of NGOs in this scheme

is to "facilitate" the people to improve their knowledge, skill and "attitude" in order to become more modern, so that they can participate in "development". The indicator of their success is measured by their capacity to develop the spirit of entrepreneurship and cooperation which consists of organization management, marketing and financial management, and the bridging of their relationship with modern financial institutions such as banks and the increase of their income.

The issues of participation (swadaya) and cooperation which were the main themes of this type of NGO are not considered as fundamental values, but recognized as an effective approach and methodology to "motivate" people to become involved in the development which is delivered by NGOs. LP3ES and Bina Swadaya consistently include "the Achievement Motivation Training" (AMT) of David McClelland in their field workers (motivator) training. This AMT is the main vehicle to inject the virus of Need for Achievement (N'Ach), to change the "backward" mentality so as to become modern entrepreneurs, such as people in achieving societies. No wonder the Indonesian Government, which is one among many Third World countries implementing Modernization and Developmentalism (growth model), adopted the idea of small-scale industry program of LP3ES, the pre-cooperative movement (usaha bersama) of Bina Swadaya and the agricultural and fishery approaches of Dian Desa Foundation. The small scale industry of LP3ES is considered to be the

best example of the influence of NGO programs on national development policies. It proves that this type of NGO unconsciously shares the same values and ideology of the government, namely Modernization and Developmentalism.

4.4 The Emergence of Transformative NGOs

After almost 20 years of applying this model of development, some of NGOs started to realize that there were no significant changes in the political and economic situation in rural Indonesia. This awareness motivated many to look for another paradigm, and to move from the "reformation" approach to the transformation approach which has to do with the creation of fundamentally new and better relationships. In my observation, there do not exist NGOs that really represent the transformation paradigm yet. However, there is evidence that many NGOs are moving toward the "transformative" paradigm. NGOs are starting to implement participatory action research within the Indonesian Action Research Network (Jaringan Riset Aksi Indonesia), which from a political stand-point is basically an attempt at creating a counter-discourse movement, and therefore can be categorized as a transformative type. The Indonesia Action Research Network consists of practitioners who are interested in Action Research, Participatory Action Research and Popular Education. The program was founded by the International Development Research Center (IDRC) in

1987-1988. Among them are traditional Moslem groups (pesantrens) which have tried to reconstruct their theory of transformation based on the traditionalist values through the P3M network (the Indonesian Society for Pesantren and Community Development). Though there are still a lot of contradictions between P3M and pesantren (Fakih, 1987) and most of their programs are still a mix between "conformism" and "reformism" types of activities, but their "popular ulama" (ulama rakyat) program is developed based on the "transformation" assumptions. The introduction of Islamic Liberation Theology in P3M's "popular ulama" program can be categorized as the transformative paradigm (Pesantren, 1988).

Another transformative approach among NGOs that work on environmental issues is one used by SKEPHI. The spirit of counter-capitalist hegemony has been demonstrated by this NGO through its Newspaper of Berita Hutan and serial magazine of Setiakawan. In addition, their "advocacy" program for mobilizing poor farmers to complain to the members of the House of Representative (DPR) is part of a process of raising "class consciousness" and can be considered a counter-hegemonic movement. The process of moving toward the "transformative" paradigm, among NGOs in Indonesia, creates new hope for the future role of NGOs as a counter-hegemony and a counter-discourse to Developmentalism. Finally, NGOs' research report on "Studi

Of Poverty III" which was presented at the INGI conference in Frankfurt, West Germany in 1990, demonstrated that Indonesian NGOs are moving toward "transformative" paradigm. Possibly it is time to create a network among the "transformative" type of NGOs in Indonesia and to challenge them to consolidate their creation of a counter-discourse and their counter-hegemonic activities in the formation of an NGO concept of social transformation.

What will be the trend of Indonesian NGOs in the next decade? The 1990s may be the decade for Indonesian NGOs to build their vision and their paradigm of social change. It seems to me that the strongest trend of Indonesian NGOs is the movement toward the transformative paradigm. There are two obstacles faced by this movement: The first is how far they can create a space to actualize their paradigm under the influence of the Developmentalism hegemony sponsored by the Indonesian government; the second depends on how strong their commitment is to their paradigm in the face of funding agencies that work in Indonesia, which mostly consent to the ideology of the Modernization. The developmentalistic institutions such as USAID, CIDA, and the World Bank are in a powerful position to determine the shape of the future of Indonesian NGOs. These institutions will become the biggest obstacle to Indonesian NGOs in implementing their paradigm and concept of development. What they need are funding agencies which take side the transformative paradigm.

Facing the dilemma of needing to create an alternative paradigm of social transformation while still being dependent on hegemonic funding agencies, the NGO community needs to reconstruct its concept of development. It was in this context this participatory research took place in Indonesia.

CHAPTER 5
THE PARTICIPATORY INQUIRY:
CONCEPTION AND IMPLEMENTATION

5.1 The Conception and the Goal of Participatory Research

In the last ten years participatory research as a combined process of research, education and action has been used by some NGO activists in Indonesia. Although not all of NGO activists in the core team member had implemented the approach in their prior activities, all of the team members were familiar with participatory research approach and agreed to apply participatory research methodology in this study. Only four people among the core team member had practiced the research approach in their organization. Two of the team members had a background strong in traditional research methodology. We started the project by agreeing on the definition of participatory research. We also tried to find designs, methods and techniques for the research which fitted with the existing social and political condition in Indonesia.

5.1.1 The Conception of Participatory Research

The team agreed to use the definition of participatory research introduced by Yusuf Kasam and Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA). According to their definition, participatory research involves social inquiry, educational work and political action. The team used the concept of

participatory research in the context of historical materialist methodology, which is defined by Kasam (1982) as:

research structured by the democratic interaction of the researcher and the oppressed classes of people and takes the form of a dialectical unification of theory and practice reciprocally between the researcher and the oppressed classes. (Kasam, 1982, p.4)

The team chose this research paradigm because of its promise for creating non-violent and democratic methods for economic, political ideological and cultural transformation. Participatory research rests on the assumption that human beings have an innate ability to create knowledge. Therefore this research also created the possibility for NGO communities to be involved and to control the research process as well as the production of knowledge, by placing them as the subject and therefore the center of the transformation. In other words, this research places the 'oppressed' in the position of the being creator of knowledge in the process of their own transformation. Therefore participatory research is seen as an educational process for the participants in the research program as well as for the researcher.

Participatory research, in a way, is an alternative to the traditional research which placed people as the object of their research in order to control them. The idea of controlling the object of research, originated from a dream of the social scientists who studied society in the same way

that the natural scientists studied nature. The goal of research in the social sciences then becomes similar to the goal of research in the natural sciences, i.e., to understand social events; to be able to predict social behavior, to be able to describe the social elements and their functioning; and to be capable of reducing people to explainable formula. All human actions, behavioral patterns of social groups, all historical events would be studied, or so it was thought, systematically, carefully, and with objectivity. Objectivity meant the scientific ability to examine society and all its phenomena as though they were "things".

Kasam and Mustafa (1981), Comstock and Russel (1982), Hall (1981), Fernandes and Tandon (1981) among others have attempted to identify the major characteristics of participatory research that the team has explored. The underlying reason for the team to use participatory research is a believe that it will benefit the research participants who are Indonesian NGO activists, since they are placed as the subject of research. The research is based on a dialectical process of dialogue between the team study and the extensive NGO activists. The kind of research that the team believe in is within the dialectical materialism paradigm that has been influenced by the critical theory of the Frankfurt School which seeks both to understand the world and to change it (Park, 1989). Therefore this

participatory research process was a problem solving approach. The objective is to uncover the causes of the NGO movement's problems and mobilize the creative human potential to solve the problems by transforming the conditions underlying the problems.

There is absolutely no single model for conducting participatory research. Case studies which appear in literature exhibit different approaches depending on each unique set of conditions or context.¹ Although some methodologies and techniques used in this study were modified as well as adapted from experiences which were developed by practitioners in popular education. The uniqueness of this research, however, allows for the possibility of creating new techniques and new approaches. Secondary data was needed during the analysis. The baseline data as well as the background information of the study were supplemented by library research, and informal or formal interviewing.

5.1.2 The Goal of the Participatory Research

The broad goal of this participatory research is a collaborative process of reflection and action on the role of the NGO movement in Indonesia. The research consists of several stages: (1) Naming the problem, by understanding the

¹ See Walter Fernandes and Rajesh Tandon, Participatory Research and Evaluation, New Delhi: Indian Social Institute, 1981, pp. 127-199.

vision, ideology and paradigms of NGO activists on social change and how those are translated into field activities; (2) to collaboratively develop alternative paradigms and translations of those into plan of actions. It is hoped that through this reflective study, we the NGO activists will be able to build an NGOs paradigm and perspective of social change. Based on the paradigm, we will find a way to materialize it in to our field activities.

The detail goal of this research is: First is to facilitate the activists of the NGO movement to conduct critical studies questioning their basic assumptions, ideologies and paradigms and the implication to their theory and practice. This process hopefully will allow the NGO movement to achieve democratization in Indonesia. Second is to facilitate the NGO movement so that they can create a better understanding of their positions in terms of their theoretical foundations. The third is to facilitate a process that might make it possible for NGO activists to collaboratively study ideologies and theories of social change thus enabling them to formulate Indonesian NGO activists paradigms and theories on social change. Fourth is to create a map of the political positions of NGO ideologies on change. And finally, fifth is to develop the NGO perspective paradigm on social change in Indonesia, and plan of action and agenda based on the paradigm, theory and methodology that have been develop collaboratively. The

primary goal of this study is to create a map of the NGO activists political and ideological position on social change in Indonesia. In other words this research is a process of creating a space for the NGOs to transform their movement. The research is also part of an educational process for the activists in giving them an opportunity to analyze critically their role in the context of interdependency of the political, economic, cultural, gender and environmental in the country. This research then also becomes a collaborative reflection and action.

5.2 Preparation for the Inquiry

The research process itself started in January 1992. The first step, upon my arrival in Indonesia, was to contact activists of participating organizations and other individuals to negotiate the extent of their involvement in the research project. During this process I introduced and proposed several activities such as meetings and conferences. One of the activities which I proposed to them during individual meetings was a national NGO conference for Indonesian NGO activists. The proposed conference topic was the broad issue of the role of Civil Society in Social Transformation. I explained and prepared the conference by focusing on assessing the role of social movement organizations in Indonesia, as well as aiming to answer the question of what the future role of social movement

organizations should be. The main purpose behind this conference was to create a collective plan and design for this research project. I found that most activists that I met at this stage agreed and were willing to participate in the conference. Although I got support from many activists for this conference it never materialized. My plan changed because of their suggestions. When I met personally with many activists to introduce and explain my plan, I also received information that they had just finished conducting a national conference on Integrated Rural Development. The conference was attended by around 30 participants, and about 10 of them had prepared case studies to present at the conference. The conference was held in Ciawi, Bogor, West Java, and was sponsored by INDECO and P3M.

Based on this, I started collecting more information about the IRD conference. I studied the report of the conference, the case studies presented in the conference, and even the minute of the discussions of the conference. I found that the participants of the conference had agreed to conduct a follow up study focusing on the visions and paradigms of their 'development' approaches. I found there was confusion and uncertainty over the theoretical foundation of their field development practices (in their case studies). The results of the conference demonstrated a significant weakness in the ideological and theoretical foundations of the participants. In the discussion session

I found that they were struggling to respond to critical questions, failing to answer fundamental and critical questions relating to their paradigms and ideological positions, the theoretical background and the implications for their approaches and practices. Based on those problems, they agreed to participate in making a plan that would allow them to understand critically the theoretical grounds of their practices, as well as clarify the ideological positions. In other words, they wanted a process of education and study that would contribute to the further process of social change. I found that the situation was most conducive to my dissertation research. Therefore I made a contact and proposed to participate in the follow up study. They agreed not only to accept and allow me to participate in their project, but also asked me to become a full time person in the project. The appeal was based on the fact that I was the only person who did not have a routine job or worked in a particular organization. My involvement in the project led me to become a member of the core team group. I was approved by a group of NGO activists in a national meeting held in Surakarta. I appropriated this opportunity to meet my commitment to social transformation in Indonesia through the transformation of the Indonesian NGO movement as well as to finish my dissertation.

5.2.1 Selection of the Participants

Becoming a member of the study team, made it difficult for me to follow through my initial plan for the study. The selection process of who would become the participants of the research was decided collaboratively by participants themselves. In this way I could not control the process of the study as previously planned. In my original research proposal, I planned to have important criteria for determining which organizations to work with and which activists to involve in the research process.

In the original design I only wanted to work with organizations that desired to participate in the research process, based on similar principles and a similar understanding of the problem. My original intention was only to work with the participants from organizations which can be categorized as transformative, instead of reformist and conformist (Fakih, 1990). I also thought it very important only to work with organizations that have direct contact with poor people in rural areas in Java, Indonesia. There were a variety of organizations, including environmental groups, cooperative groups and people's economic movements, religious movements, human rights movements, labor unions and women' groups which also would be part of the research.

The formation of the core team also was done through a selection process in which I had very little say and did not

prove to be in accordance with my original plan. First of all, selection of the research team was decided by the participants themselves and was done through the national conference of NGOs held in Surakarta, Central Java. Activists who participated in that conference decided to form a core group to become the main participants of the study. The process of the team work formation however, did not operate like the plan that I constructed in my research design. The participants of the meeting rather agreed to establish a core team group which consists of activists who agreed to join this study through a collective choice. There were not clear criteria for the member of the core group. The selection process it self was conducted through an acclamation. After deciding the core team group, we discussed the role of those who are not involve in the core team group and how to relate them. Latter on we decided that there were three circles of participants involved in the research process. The level of involvement of the researchers are summarized in Figure 5.2 on the next page.

The first circle was the core team. The main task of the core team was to create a space to enable the NGO movement to change. The practical task of the core group, however, was to design a study that would make it possible to involve the NGO movement in the study. It is believed that change rarely happens without any form of outside stimulus. Change, however, does not occur spontaneously and

must be provoked. Therefore the core team placed themselves as facilitator to enable the NGO movement to find space to reflect on their actions. The members of the core team were chosen by NGO activists to follow the study. Among the eight people, two of them participated only in the first process due to time limits.

First Circle -- The Core Team

Consists of 8 activists, from Jakarta, Bandung and Surakarta. Their task is as fundraiser, organizer and facilitator of the study.

Second Circle

About 180 activists and intellectuals from Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Salatiga. They are involved in discussions, analysis and distribution of information.

Third Circle

All Indonesian NGO activists who are not in the first and second circle, but received the results/reports of the study and independently conducted small discussion on the issues of the study.

FIGURE 5.2

The Team Researcher Circles

The eight member core team consisted included a famous intellectual in the NGO circle from Jakarta, who has strong background in Indonesian NGO movement. He has conducted several studies and evaluations for the NGO movement in Indonesia. He had worked as the Executive Director of BINA DESA in the 1970s and as a researchers in a prominent NGO namely LP3ES. He also used to be a NOVIB consultant in Indonesia. Now he is preparing a feasibility study for CPSM, a new organization to support the Indonesian NGO movement.

The second person was an activist of the Indonesian Society for Pesantren and Development (P3M), Jakarta. P3M is a national umbrella organization trying to promote traditionalist Moslem groups in rural areas, i.e., pesantrens in Indonesia. He is one of the founding fathers of a Bandung appropriate Technology Group 'Yayasan Mandiri'. He also used to be a LP3ES field worker in Pabelan, a village in central Java, in which time he was elected to be the village head of Pabelan for five years. In the village Muchtar Abbas together with several other activists, he established and become the Director of the Institute Social Development, a rural college for NGO activists. This was an alternative higher co-education institute supported by the NGO movement in Indonesia.

The third person described himself as a NGI (nongovernmental individual). He used to be a student

activist in Bandung. He was involved in the 1978 student movement and ended up in prison for four years. He also associates himself with the network organization of human rights, INFIGHT, as well as with a radical rain Forest protection group of SKEPHI in Jakarta. He is now working as a free lance consultant for several national organization such as P3M, YLKI and Yayasan SEJATI, as well as international organizations such as the FAO's project of Integrated Pest Management and other international organizations. Lately he has concentrated his work in Maluku, in the eastern part of Indonesia, where he is working to promote the issues of indigenous people, knowledge and wisdom. He has a strong background on popular education, popular theater, participatory research and campaigns.

The fourth person is a researcher in AKATIGA, a research institution in Bandung that pays a lot attention to labor conditions and unions in Indonesia as well as issues of rural farmers. The organization was set up by researchers who involved in the Netherlands based university research project of the Institute Social Studies in Indonesia.

The fifth persons is an NGO activist from Surakarta. He works for LPTP, (Institute for Rural Development) an organization that was established to focus on appropriate technology and rural development. He was the project

director of a national participatory action research training program of JARI (Indonesian network of Action Research). The program conducted several national training sessions on participatory action research, participated by nearly 80 NGOs through out the country. He is involved in designing, educating and implementing participatory action research in Indonesia.

The sixth person works as a consultant for INDECO, a consultant firm established in 1990 in Bandung originally to facilitate and consult on the communication, management, evaluation and coordination of NOVIB's partners in Indonesia. He also teaches in the Department of Anthropology, University of Padjadjaran, Bandung, Indonesia.

The seventh person is an intellectual working for LPIST or The Social Sciences Institute for social transformation. The main activities of the institute are in providing the theoretical foundation of social sciences as well as conducting social research on many social issues from the perspective of critical social sciences. However, he could not participate fully in the research and project process due to his activities in this organization.

The last person among the eight members is myself. I was known by all of the conference participants as an NGO activist. I have been involved in the NGO education and participatory research network in Indonesia. My involvement in the NGO movement started in the late 70s when I started

working as a field worker for the LP3ES's small industrial development project, then working in the Institute for Development Studies as facilitator and researcher. Before I studied at the University of Massachusetts (Amherst, MA, USA). I was of Director for Training and Community Development of P3M in Jakarta. Since the 1980s, I was known as a person interested in education for social change. I was involved in the translation of Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and have published several trainers books and various training manuals. I received my masters degree focusing on Adult Education and Development, with my masters project on participatory research. In the group, my involvement was known as an NGO person who wanted to study the Indonesian NGO movement for a dissertation.

The second circle were those who participated intensively in dialogues and discussions, analyzing data and writing reports. Among those involved in dialogues were university based intellectuals in Indonesia. They are very close to the NGO movement in Indonesia. All of them are now teaching at Satyawacana Christian University at Salatiga. In addition there were many other activists, labor unions activists, feminists, environmentalist, student activists, and about 30 NGO activists from throughout Java. The second circle was also involved in the process of the dissemination and socialization of the study. There were small regional discussions conducted in Boyolali, Surakarta, Bandung and

Jakarta. These discussions were supported by the second circle.

The third circle were those involved only in conferences or those who received the reports of the study. This included hundreds of activists working in many NGOs throughout the country. They were also the people primarily involved in the discussions held in several places throughout the country. The results of the study have been discussed in Palembang South Sumatra at a Regional NGOs meeting, Yogyakarta and other places. For example, it has been applied at the National Training of trainers for gender and development which was organized by Kalyanamitra a Jakarta based feminist organization.

5.2.3 Role of the Researcher

This study is about the role of civil society in social transformation. Therefore, besides those NGO activists involved in the research process, other subjects of the research were myself as an Indonesian activist and graduate student of the Center for International Education, and the Indonesian NGO activists involved in the research. This research, therefore, should not be viewed as being simply an academic exercise, but, should instead be considered as part of actual process of social transformation. All researchers involved have a deep commitment to social transformation.

Doing this research process, I associated myself with the activists involved in the process. Acknowledging that social transformation must come from within a group, I was continually aware that my role was to create a space where the activists can engage in genuine dialogue, so that they could identify and achieve their goals. That dialogue also stimulate increased critical consciousness as well as enhancing skills such as problem-solving techniques. Although my decision to take the side of the movement in this struggle is very important to me. I am also aware, it is dangerous to believe that, the task of a researcher is to deliver consciousness and power to a group of people. One cannot deliver consciousness or power. Therefore, the role of researchers, is more parallel to that of those Gramsci called "organic intellectuals" that is, intellectuals who "organically" emerged and are rooted in the people.

As an Indonesian NGO activist, and university student, my position is ambiguous. On the one hand, as an NGO activist and an Indonesian civilian, I am part of and therefore an "insider" to the Indonesian civil society's movement or an Indonesian NGO activist. On the other hand, as a university student, my position also can be categorized as an outsider, and part of the dominant and global knowledge/power hegemony. The Center for International Education (the University of Massachusetts), the institution where I am a student, has been criticized for its

involvement in the discourse of Developmentalism and the World Bank's nonformal education projects in many Third World countries, including Indonesia in the 1970s. The CIE's programs in Indonesia also were influential in shaping Indonesian NGO activists in terms of their ideologies, approaches and methodologies.

As a part of the research process, therefore I explicitly addressed my own subjectivity and continually talked with those who were involved in the research process, both the core team group and outer circle of activists. My interactions and connections were important in bringing about change in our discourses and in our naming of realities. But, in respecting the fact that transformation and change must come from within the NGO activists group, this study was not only involving NGO activists themselves in the research process but also placing them as the center of the study and change. In fact the study has even been taken over by them and has been decentralized spreading into other areas. There is evidence that in many regions by using the results of the study many activists have organized discussions which resulted changing perspectives and approaches. My role in the whole research process therefore, as I anticipated before was only to create a space for Indonesian NGO activists to have dialogues and make studies themselves, so that the process of collaborative naming the problems and collaborative action

for change is taking place. I am very conscious that my task is not to deliver consciousness or power to the NGO activists. A researcher can not deliver consciousness nor can a researcher deliver power. The task of a researcher is to facilitate the people's own transformation, their consciousness as well as their power.

5.3 Implementation of the Research

To implement the research, the team decided upon a participatory process of the research and data gathering techniques. The following is how the team implemented the research.

5.3.1 The Research Process

The team chose to follow a participatory research process proposed by Rajesh Tandon and which was adapted by the team into the research process shown in Figure 5.4 following Figure 5.3 below.²

² The steps of the research are adapted from Rajesh Tandon, "Main Concepts and Issues," in Walter Fernandes and Rajesh Tandon, Participatory Research and Evaluation, New Delhi: India Social Institute, 1981.

Request
from actors
in the problem
situation

Joint agreement
between
researchers
about the problem

Small group
responsible
for PR

Joint design of research

Sharing
with
analysis

Joint
data
collection

Joint
data actors

Developing of change-plan

Implementation
of
change-plan

Consolidation
of
learning

FIGURE 5.3

The Steps of the Participatory Research

Ciawi
meeting
on development

Solo meeting
to create the
research team

Bandung and
Jakarta meeting
to develop
research design

Field research: Data collection & Analysis

Discussions
on theories
and then result
of field
studies

Discussions
on Development
theories in
Jakarta, Bandung,
Surakarta

Translation and distribution of the readings

A national seminar
on the result of the
study and develop
plans of action

Distribution
of reports and
meetings on
implementation
of the action
plan

FIGURE 5.4

Implementation of the Participatory Research Process

Figure 5.4 explains how the research was implemented. It was almost a two-year intensive process of seminars; serial discussions on theories and field practices; field research as well as secondary data studies; serial collective analysis and sharing understanding; and writing reports. There are five separate reports for every steps of the study that have been published by INDECO and P3M, and have been distributed to and discussed by the wider circles.³

5.3.2 Data Gathering Techniques

This participatory research primarily employed dialogue as a method of gathering data. It is through dialogue that the social movement activists came together and participated in all crucial aspects of both the investigation as well as in the process of collective plan of action. Dialogue occurs when two or more people talk as equal partners in an exchange of not only information but also of sentiment and values (Park, 1989). This study needed many different kinds

³ See INDECO DE UNIE and P3M, Laporan Workshop Pembangunan Pedesaan Terpadu, (workshop on Integrated Rural Development), at Cisarua, Bogor, 24 - 27 July 1992 (Unpublished report, Jakarta: P3M. 1992). See also Indeco De Unie, "Laporan Diskusi Study Tentang LSM" (A Study on NGOs: A Discussion Report), Bandung: Indeco De unie, 1993. This report consists of notes on five discussions and dialogues in Jakarta, Bandung, Boyolali, and Salatiga, Central Java. The field study was reported by teams. See Mansour Fakhri, et al., "Study Tentang Ornop" (Study on NGOs), Bandung: Indeco De Unie, 1993.

of information, therefore it utilized many different data gathering methods.

First is the in-depth interview. The in-depth interview was conducted by the core team in several areas. In Central Java we interviewed an NGO activist who are also now teaching at the Christian University of SatyaWacana in Salatiga. This interview lead to an agreement to have a national dialogue on NGO activists political and ideological positions. We also managed to interview several activists in Yogyakarta, i.e., the staff of Yayasan Anisa Swasti, a women NGO in the city, the staff of Pesantren Maslakhul Huda, Pati, Central Java, and many other activists in the region. In Jakarta dan Bandung we managed to interview people from many kinds of organization, big NGOs such as LP3ES, YLK (Indonesian Consumers Group) and P3M a national network of Pesantrens; to small NGOs such as Anti-pesticides misused Network (PAN) of Indonesia and FORMACI, of student Movement in Ciputat, Jakarta.

Secondly, we used seminars and group discussions. Seminar and discussions were used three stages during the research project. At the beginning of the project, mid-way through, and as part of the evaluation process and dissemination ideas of the study. Discussions and seminars at the beginning of the project were held in two places, namely in LPTP Solo, Central Java, in INDECO, Bandung West Java and in P3M Jakarta. These serial discussions and

seminars resulted a clear plan and research design. The second type of discussions were held in several places. First, a discussion was held by the NGO network in Solo with a group of facilitators of LPTP in Cepogo, who are working with participatory research approach with farmers in an integrated rural development program in the region. The discussion aimed not only at finding information and data on their ideological perspectives and theoretical foundations, but also on how they related to their practices in field. The discussion itself was a process of education and change. Throughout the dialogical discussions and interviews both parties benefitted from the process. The similar discussion were also conducted in other several places. The discussions also used various different methods, including problem posing techniques. The techniques involved raising issues and themes for group discussion and analysis. It took the form of analyzing a real incident or symbol. This method were used periodically during the research process to facilitate an analysis of the current situation within Indonesia.

In Surakarta we managed to have this kind of discussion with NGOs network in the region. The discussion was attended by participants who represented eight organizations. During the discussions they asked me to explain the background of the study, and started to challenge the research questions that we had designed

earlier. One of the members of the core team recorded the discussion and made notes on the process of discussion and distributed to wider participants.

The third kind of discussion was to disseminate the results of the study. This kind of discussions took place in Bandung, West Java, it was attended by 14 activists representing West Java NGOs network. The discussion was hosted by AKATIGA Bandung. In Jakarta P3M hosted the discussion and it was attended by most of the big NGOs in Jakarta. Among others were as Bina Swadaya, an NGO which has a national reputation for their effort in the pre-cooperative movement, LP3ES a national NGO which also received recognitions of their studies, publications and field projects. SKEPHI an national umbrella organization on Environment which has also receive on recognition for their critical analysis and radical action programs. Bina Desa is also an old national umbrella organization on rural development.

Third, we used is observational field notes. This method was used in the research process, especially during the exploratory phase. In every meeting there was always one among the core team who played the role of an observer. There was also one person in charge of recording the whole process of discussion. The reports were then transcribed and published and distributed to the three circle of participants.

Fourth, we used secondary data and theoretical studies. This method was very important during the initial phase of the research, especially in considering the history of social movements in Indonesia; as well as the interrelated nature of the political, economic, cultural, and environmental problems as defined at local, national and international levels. To accomplish this theoretical studies, the core team also established weekly discussions on the NGO movement in Indonesia. The result of the theoretical study was used to analyze the field information. The theoretical study also included wider group discussions. The biggest one was conducted in Salatiga, Central Java. In order to provide the theoretical foundation of the study in reaction to the poor theoretical grounding of numerous NGOs, which became clear in the various dialogues that took place, the core team made an extra effort to make all of theories of social change available in the Indonesian language. They worked on the translation of many theories and have distributed them throughout the NGO communities in Indonesia.

5.3.3 Collaborative Data Management and Analysis

Participatory research requires a more participatory approach for analyzing the data. Initially, the research project was discussed with the participants in an effort to encourage the participants to become involved in the data

collection and interpretation from the very beginning. The data and information was stored in notebooks and manual report notes. This information was then keyed into a computer, including descriptions, as well as methodological, theoretical, and analytical notes. Relevant interviews and meeting recordings were transcribed into Indonesian.

After the data and information was collected, the participants of the program, were asked to read and to make meaning of the data. I suggested the use of problem posing techniques, as well as seminars and popular education techniques to conduct the data analysis. Interpretations and generalizations were aimed at understanding. The interpretation of the data was considered valid as long as all participants utilized non-reductionist dialogue during the interpretative process.

A 5-day analysis meeting was conducted at least four times in Jakarta and Bandung. In the process of data analysis the core team usually also invited several other activists to participate. The result of the analysis was always discussed with the broader participation of the outer circles in an attempt to get feedback.

5.4 Establishing Validity

In participatory research, the question of validity cannot both be raised and answered solely through the use of instrumental knowledge terms (Park, 1989). Therefore, I

follows Lather's (1989) suggestion and use one of her "types" of validity as a guideline in this research, namely "catalytic validity".

Catalytic validity... refers to the degree to which the research process re-orientes, focuses, and energizes participants in what Freire (1973) term "conscientization," knowing reality in order to better transform it. One of the guidelines proposed here by far the most unorthodox as it flies directly in the face of the essential positivist tenet of researcher neutrality. My argument is premised not only on a recognition of the reality-altering impact of the research itself, but also on the need to consciously channel this impact so that respondent gains self understanding and, ideally, self-determination through research participation. (Lather, 1989, p.67)

Therefore, in accordance with the definition of catalytic validity this participatory research used the raised consciousness and the transformation of the participants as the measure of validity.⁴ I hoped from the beginning that there would be noticeable changes in attitudes of the participants toward social transformation and subsequently a change too in related action.

⁴ Rajesh Tandon suggested that the concept of validity as defined by the classical research paradigm is inappropriate. For him, the participatory process tends to lay emphasis on authenticity as opposed to validity. Therefore he suggested to use alternative criteria of validity, namely: Relevance; researcher celebration; convergence and inclusion. See Rajesh Tandon, "Participatory Evaluation and Research: Main Concepts and Issues," in Walter Fernandes and Rajesh Tandon *ibid*, . p.31.

5.5 The Implemented Research Time Schedule

The main research project took place in 1992 - 1993 over a twenty month period. Most of the research project was conducted in various cities in Java, i.e., Jakarta, Bandung, Surakarta, Salatiga, Yogyakarta. There were many activists working in various organizations who were involved in the research. The research is divided into following stages.

The first stage was the preparation. This stage had ongoing since January 1992. Prior to my travel to Indonesia I conducted a initial investigation on the Indonesian economy and political situation. I conducted a library study to collect secondary data and information on current Indonesia. I visited the John Echol Library at Cornell University at Ithaca, New York to find information on the political economy and general situation of the county. I also collected secondary data on Indonesian social movement organizations. This library has a collection of secondary data on contemporary Indonesian social movements.

As soon as I arrived in Indonesia, I contacted various organizations. First of all I connected P3M in Jakarta and INDECO in Bandung. I got information that they had just finished a national seminar on NGOs rural development programs. I expressed my interest in the possibility of studying the action as the follow up of the seminar, and volunteered to help to manage the activities. Following

negotiations finally they agreed to involve me as one of the participants.

After they agreed that I could participate in the process, I negotiate to use this process as part of my dissertation. There was a meeting conducted at The University of Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, and formally they put my name among the core group to obtain a mandate to study. Every body in the meeting was aware that I was in Indonesia to finish my research for my dissertation. After the meeting we had several meeting and discussions, and during this process we had the opportunity to discuss the use of the result of the study. The agreement was that every one involved in the research process could interpret and use the result of the research as they so wished. They agreed that I could use this research to write my dissertation without seeking any permission.

5.7.1 Consolidation of the Research Team: May 1992

Several activities were conducted in the consolidation of the team and our process. First of all, I have already described that the research team was established during a meeting in Surakarta. In the meeting they decided that the elected members of the core team group would become the primary core conducting the study. I was invited to get involved in the study as one of the eight people where chosen for the core team. It was also agreed to have the

first meeting of the team in Jakarta or Bandung. The first meeting was conducted in Bandung. In Bandung we agreed to use participatory research approach. All of us were familiar with that approach. Several articles and cases studies on participatory research were distributed among the team members.

5.7.2 Fundraising: June 1992

The second task was fundraising for the research project activities. After developing the research design the team tried to find a sponsor for the project. Finally we received support from INDECO, a development consultant firm based in Bandung. They agreed to financially support the study. They asked the team to present a proposal elaborating the financial support needed as well as the process of the study. This agreement make it possible for the team to continue the study. Based on this agreement the team made a schedule for the research.

5.7.3 Getting Started: July 1992

The main activity of the Participatory Research Action Program was conducted from July 1992 - January 1994. The process of the study consisted of three main activities. The first was a study on activists vision and paradigms on social change and development. This study was conducted by the team. But the process of data analyzing was conducted

with broader social movement activists. The second activity was a study of the theories and paradigms of social change and development. The team started by making a map of the grand theories of social change. Most of the theories were still in English. The team started to translated all of the development theories into Indonesian. The translations were published and distributed within the NGO communities in Indonesia. Several discussions and seminars were conducted regionally to discuss the theories. The third activity was to conduct dialogues and discussions. This activity had various purposes: First, to study theories and paradigms of social change. This type of discussion was held in Central Java, Bandung and Jakarta. The second purpose was to discuss the results of the field study. This discussion was held in Jakarta, Bandung and Surakarta. The third purpose was to create an action plan and network among NGOs in the country for social transformation.

5.7.4 Finishing the Task: February - July 1994

There were two main activities started in February 1994, namely consolidating of the results of the study and writing reports of the study. The consolidation of the study including implementing one of the proposals of the study namely to develop an educational process of activists. This school has started in July 1994.

CHAPTER 6
THE RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ACTION

6.1 Perception and Conception of NGO Activists

The study has succeeded in addressing an shared by anxiety most NGO activists in Indonesia over the last ten years about their role in the process of social change and democratization. This feeling has been transformed into a new consciousness that has lead to critical questioning of the mission, vision, and paradigms of the NGO movement in social change. Practical, methodological and technical aspects of their work in the last ten years have been brought into question during this study.

The design of the study was decided in Bandung in a small meeting attended by the whole core group. The design of the study consisted of three components of study. The first component was the study on existing development theories. The second component was the field study on the vision of NGOs in Indonesia and the third component was dialogues with activist as well as intellectuals. The following is the result of the processes of those three components.

6.1.1 Understanding Development Theories

This study was designed to support a participatory research process in building theoretical understanding. There has been an awareness among NGO activists of their

lack of theoretical understanding. Based on this need, the core team facilitated a process of study which consisted of:

First, searching out articles on development theories. Those articles were then discussed and selected. Second, effort was given to translating the selected articles into Indonesian. The translation team consisted of six persons from the core group. The third step was publishing and distributing the translated theories to the wider circle of activists, i.e., the second and the third circle of participants. The theories that were translated and discussed were placed in a book. The book contains several sections.

The first section consists of a sketch of development theories. In this part the team provided a critical introduction and explanation of development theories within a historical perspective. In this section the team also describes the concept of paradigm and how it shapes the construction of any development theory. An article by G. Morgan, G. and Burrell, G. from their text, Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis (1979), was agreed to be translated and discussed.

The second part of this book presents mainstream development theories. Several articles were translated. First is Rostow's "The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto" (1964). This article is recognized as the inspiration of the mainstream 'growth' development

theory. Another article close to Rostow's theory is McClelland "The Achievement Motive in Economic Growth" in Selingson's The Gap Between Rich and Poor (1984), a paper considered to be the short version of the McClelland book, The Achieving Society (1961), which also has become a grand theory of Modernization.

Several critical analyses of mainstream development theories were also selected and distributed. First is Samaster's article of "From Growth to Basic Needs: The Evolution of Development Theory". This article was published in Monthly Review Vol. 36, 1984. Critique of growth and distribution theories by James Weaver, K.P. Jameson and R.N. Blues were taken from Wilber's The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment (1977). Their article provided a critical analysis and insight on development theories using the growth model namely: The Employment Generation Approach; Redirecting Investment Approaches; Basic Needs Models; Human Resources Development Models; Agricultural First Development; Integrated Rural Development and the New International Economic Order Model.

Several articles which dealt with issues of Women and Development were also translated. First were articles on the liberal main stream US ideology on issues of Women in Development. Besides these, we also provided readings about several feminist theories such as Radical Feminism, Marxist

Feminism, and Socialist Feminism. The team also translated Mueller's article, "Peasants and Professionals: The Production of Knowledge about the Third World," a paper presented to the Association for Women in Development, Washington D.C., April, 1987.

During the discussions, the team also introduced gender tools for analysis. The readings on gender and development have caused participants to look back at their organizations and existing projects from new perspectives. Although this issue is considered a new issue among most participants, bringing the gender issue into this study clarified for participants that gender is an important issue.

The team also succeeded in collecting articles on environment and development. Sustainable development, which only recently became a new phrase among NGO activists, got more attention when the team distributed some articles on the issue. Among others that were distributed were chapters from Richard Douthwaite's provocative book, The Growth Illusion.

The third section of this book presents critical theories on capitalism. In this section the team translated several articles on Marxist and Critical theories, and other alternative theories. An article by Heilbroner, "Marx: For and Against" was distributed to participants during the discussions. As were several articles on Dependency Theories, such as Gundre Frank's 1973 paper, "The

Development of Underdevelopment;" also Dos Santos' article "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependency in Latin America."

The fourth section of the book includes other critical theories. The team included some article on Post Modernism and Development. We translated several parts of Wolfgang Sachs' book, The Dictionary of Development: Guide Knowledge Power. More applicative theories on development practice such as Escobar's article on "Discourse and Power in Development: Michael Foucault and the Relevance of his Work to the Third World" which appeared in Alternatives No. X. 1985. The translation of the theories discussed have been published and distributed to the second and the third circle participants. This translation project has contributed to solving the problem of "working without theory" among NGO activists in Indonesia.

6.1.2 The Vision of NGO Activists on Social Change

This field study was designed as one mode of knowledge production and reflection and is considered a part of the participatory research process. The broad goal of the field study was to bring about a collaborative reflection on the role of the NGO movement in Indonesia. The research was conducted in order to understand the position of NGO activists, i.e., their vision, ideology and paradigms on social change and the implication of these for their

approach to action programs. The project was designed as follows. First, selection and discussion tools of analysis appropriate for understanding the political position of NGO paradigms and visions. Second, use of the selected tool to design the field study and data analysis. And finally, presentation of the analysis to wider groups of activists in different regions.

Several studies have been conducted to understand Indonesian NGOs by Indonesian NGOs themselves, as well as other researchers. The team read those studies and analyzed them. The study by David Korten, "The Third Generation of NGOs" is the most influential and famous topology among the NGO community as well as other agencies. The focus of this final section is a criticism of Korten's framework as well as, Philip Eldridge's general theory and framework. Based on these criticisms, the team provide an alternative framework for looking at Indonesian NGOs as well as the NGOs in other countries.

David Korten (1987) generalized about NGOs based on their development program strategy. Korten concludes that the development strategies of NGOs can be categorized into a three generation topology. The first generation is called "relief and welfare", the second generation is called "small scale and self reliance" local development and the third generation is called "sustainable systems development". Korten stated that many of the larger international NGOs

such as Catholic Relief Services, CARE, Save the Children, and World Vision began as charitable relief organizations, to deliver welfare services to the poor and unfortunate throughout the world. He also observed the same pattern in some national NGOs such as Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and other local NGOs. Many of them, according to Korten, were focused originally on natural disaster and refugee situations relating to floods, famine, and war. The focus was on meeting immediate needs through direct action such as the distribution of food, the fielding of health teams, and the provision of shelter.

The second generation is "small-scale self reliant local development". According to Korten this second generation appeared as a reaction to the limitations of the relief and welfare approach as a development strategy. The second generation mostly appeared in the late 1970s when many NGOs undertook community development style projects in areas such as preventive health, improved farming practices, local infrastructure, and other community development activities. What distinguishes these efforts from relief and welfare approaches is the stress on local self-reliance, with the intent that benefits be sustainable beyond the period of NGO assistance. Often second generation NGO activities parallel those of government, but are defended on the grounds that the government services are inadequate in the villages in which the NGO works. Second generation

strategies by definition do not attempt to address the cause of the inadequacy of other service providers.

For Korten, the third generation, is the segment of the NGO community which began to engage in a re-examination of basic strategic issues relating to sustainability, breadth of impact, and recurrent cost recovery. Korten explained the reason for the emerging third generation is the realization that: (1) acting on their own they can never hope to benefit more than a few favored localities ; and (2) self reliant village development initiatives are likely to be sustained only to the extent that local public and private organizations are linked into a supportive national development system. Most of the NGOs that undertake a third generation strategy will find themselves working in one way or another with the government. Often government programs already command the resources required for broader impact, but use them ineffectively. This institutional and policy setting may actively discourage the self-reliant local initiative that might result in the effective mobilization of local resource (Korten, 1987, p.149).

Korten's "three generation NGOs' topology" according to the team's analysis basically does not address the issue of the need for an alternative paradigm of development. The focus of Korten's attention is more on strengthening the management function and methodology of networking of an NGO movement instead of questioning the paradigm and ideology of

NGOs which are based on Modernization and Developmentalism. The team assessed the basic assumption and paradigm which are used by Korten to develop his three generation categories, and finally agreed that Korten is a functionalist. By the third generation of NGOs as the highest stage in the evolution of NGO, Korten basically is not trying to create an alternative paradigm, or a counter-discourse to Developmentalism, but rather supports the capitalist hegemony, i.e., Modernization and Developmentalism. In the other words Korten's third generation NGOs accept and consent to the Developmentalism discourse which is basically a capitalist ideology, and not question the structure of the capitalist hegemony.

Another topology of Indonesian NGOs is elaborated by Philip Eldridge (1988). He proposes a theoretical framework to understand and define NGOs based on their activities. Eldridge basically divides the Indonesian NGO movement into two categories, the first is labelled "development". This refers to organizations which concentrate on conventional programs of community development, i.e., irrigation, drinking water, health centers, agriculture, animal husbandry, handicraft and other forms of economic development. The second is labelled "mobilization" which are those whose main efforts center on educating and mobilizing poor people around issues related to ecology, human rights, status of women, legal rights in relation to

land tenure and compensation for compulsory alienated land, securing tenancy rights for petty trades, scavengers and squatters in cities (Eldridge 1988).

Eldridge's topology tends to look at the phenomena of NGOs from the perspective of their programs and their methodologies. Looking at NGO activity as the basic criteria to make a topology without considering the paradigm and the basic assumption of the specific NGO can produce a misunderstanding of Indonesian NGOs. There are many case studies that prove that community health programs (which according to Eldridge's topology are considered to "development" and non-political) can be political and based on a radical alternative paradigm. On the other hand there are many of programs such as those related to the status of women, and ecological activities which can be categorize as "apolitical" for they do not address the structural causes of injustice or to raise critical and class consciousness. Even a potable drinking water project can be a very political and counter-hegemonic to Developmentalism, if the program is based on critical analysis, or it can consent the ideology of the Modernization also. Making a topology based on the comparison of NGO programs such as "income generation" versus "status of women" activities creates a false dichotomy. The issue is how we can bring together the components of critical consciousness and empowerment of women within an income generation program (Tandon, 1989).

6.1.3 Mapping of NGO Activists' Paradigms

Learning from the problems of the existing tools of analysis, the team developed their own tool.¹ Based on the tool the team created a topology of Indonesian NGOs derived from NGO activists' observations regarding the problem of people and their implications for their action programs. The topology of Indonesian NGOs is based on a whole set of aspects which include: Their basic assumptions and definition of the problem, methodology and program of action; their assumptions of the nature of community; their goals and objectives for the activities, etc., as described in the Figure 6.5 on the following page.

¹ The team's framework was based on Hope and Timmel's (1988) framework.

	CONFORMISM	REFORMISM	TRANSFORMISM
Causes of the problem.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - circumstances beyond local people - God's decision - bad luck 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of educ - corruption - overpopulation - traditional values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - exploitation - unequal structure - capitalist hegemony
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to relieve suffering - to pray - to hope 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - raise production - to make the existing structure works - to change the people's value 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to challenge exploitation - to build new econ/political structure - counter-discourse
Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - child care - famine relief - clinics - orphanage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - technical training - small business - community dev. - legal aids - supplementary service 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conscientization - alternative economic dev. - trade union - Co-ops.
Type of change and assumption	FUNCTIONAL / EQUILIBRIUM		STRUCTURAL CRITICAL
Type of leadership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reliance on authority - consultative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - participative - shared responsibility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - participatory facilitator - strong discipline
Type of service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - charity help the poor - welfare 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - help people to help themselves - Green Revolution - community dev. - nfe - vocational educ. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - land reform - PR - popular-education
Inspiration.	- Conformation	- Reformation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Emancipation - Transformation

FIGURE 6.5

Map of NGO Paradigms

There are several different ways of analyzing this data. In this collaborative study, the core team decided to analyze the information through a dialogical process which took place through serial discussions. In this study the team discovered several modes and ways to collect the data and information. The first mode of collecting data was by interviewing NGO activists as well as intellectuals who have a strong interest in the NGO movements in several places and regions. The interviews were conducted in several cities in Central Java, Yogyakarta, several places in Jakarta and Bandung. The initial goal of this field study and in-depth interviews was to collect information on visions and paradigms of NGOs on social changes and development. The final goal of these in-depth interview was to construct a vision and ideological map of the NGO movements in Indonesia. However, the core team found it difficult to find such information. The problem was that different activists in different organizations have different visions and paradigms for social change. Another issue that come up later during the serial discussions was that the effort of creating a map of NGOs' visions does not encourage any change in their thought, but instead led to an intensification of self-defence among those organizations. Based on this analysis and trial experience the team shifted the goal of the study. Instead of studying the NGO

perspectives on social change, the team decided to study the activists' perspectives on social change and development.

In order to understand the perspectives and the paradigm of NGO activists and how their vision is translated into activities, the core team provided three main themes and broad questions as agendas and topics of dialogues and interviews. The three questions were: (1) What are their opinions on what they perceive as the idea and concept behind government sponsored development in Indonesia? (2) What are their own visions and theories of their organization's work on social changes? (3) and, How are their visions on social changes translated into their actions or field programs? The team has classified the responses of the in-depth interview, discussion and dialogues, combined with the secondary data into the framework shown in Figure 6.5.

The second approach was to study written documents presented and produced by NGO activists. This process helped us to understand the ideological and theoretical positions of these activists. The documents were read by the core team individually and discussed in order to clarify and understand their position. This reading task was meant to complement the results of the interviews and to see if there was consistency in their opinions. The third approach to collecting data was facilitation of serial discussions. This process was done by presenting the team assumptions,

the team's analysis of the written documents, and the compilation of field data analysis to several circles in several places. This type of problem posing discussion and dialogue was meant to classify ideological perspectives, paradigm, theories, and daily practices of activists.

This process was not only considered as a process of analyzing data, but also as an educational process. In other words, consciousness raising was taking place during data analysis. Therefore the results of this process were not only analyzing information, but also raising critical consciousness and new understanding of the existing system and the future role of NGO activists in the process of social transformation. Analyzing, conscious raising and educating are all considered as a part of the whole participatory research process. It was hoped that through these serial discussions and dialogues, activists could locate their ideological positions and theoretical perspectives. The map that was discussed and analyzed help activists to construct their future paradigms and perspectives on social changes.

The following is the result of the field data analysis. This analyzed data, the presentation and the discussions took place in several regions in several occasions. The aim was to develop a collaborative data analysis process to make it possible for us to develop a map of activists paradigms and their ideological position. After the core team studied

several frameworks of mapping NGOs in Indonesia, the core team agreed to adopt a modified the Hope and Timmel (1988) model of classification and framework for this data analysis, in order to help us understand better activists' perspectives on social change. This framework has been successful in giving a clear and distinctive picture of activists' political and ideological position on social change. The ideological position of Indonesian NGO activists can broadly be categorized into a three fold topology as follows.

1. **Conformism.** The first type, namely "conformist", consists of charitable relief organizations and other organizations of "working without theory" or project oriented and work as charitable organizations that conform to the existing system and structure. This type of activists posit their position as follows. Basically, the fundamental motivation for their programs and activities is to help people and is based on goodwill to help the needy. The question of why there are so many poor people, for them, is not considered an important question; or, as stated by an activist,

Our organization has been working on the issue of poverty, such as income generating programs, appropriate technology an so on. We do not really understand why people are poor, and we do not think this kind of question is relevant. However we really understand that they need a help. So we support them with our good motivation (niat baik)

as religious people that helping poor people is part of our obligation.²

In response to the third question on how they implement their theory and vision into field programs, we found that most of them have been using approaches developed by holders of the reformist perspectives, i.e., participatory community development. One of the reason is because those conformist activists received training and education from reformist NGOs, as illustrated by the following,³

The biggest problem in this area is that the land is poor and dry. The people give up and finally they motivation and spirit to develop has declined. Therefore our focus here is to educate and motivate people by providing support such as water project and credit scheme. We hope the weather will change, the rain will come, so that people can maintain their spirit to develop.⁴

² Interview with ex-Director Biro Pengembangan Masyarakat, (Community Development Office), Pesantren Maslkhul Huda, Kajen, Pati, Central Jawa, February 1993.

³ Billah (1991) stated that big NGOs such as LP3ES, Bina Swadaya, Dian Desa and YIS, base their work on this reformist paradigm. The influence of these NGOs are very strong because they have training facilities. People according to reformist paradigm are considered as part of the problem, so the main task of NGOs in this scheme is to "facilitate" the people to improve their knowledge, skill and "attitude" to become more modern, so that they can participate in "development". The indicator of their success is measured by their capacity to develop the spirit of entrepreneurship and cooperative which consists of organization management, marketing and financial management, and to bridge their relationship with modern financial institution such as banks and to increase their income.

⁴ An interview with a program coordinator of a small Yogyakarta based NGO who runs program in the Gunung Kidul region of rural community development, Yogyakarta, December 1992.

The percentage of conformist activists is declining. Now less than 10% of NGO activists maintain this position. In the future this number will decrease because of their relations with the reformist activists.

2. **The Reformist perspectives.** The second category is the reformist perspective. These thoughts are based on Modernization ideology and Developmentalism. The majority, namely about 80% of NGO activists, follow in one way or another the reformist paradigm. The need for increasing people participation in development is the main theme of this paradigm. Corruption in the government is blamed to be the fundamental cause of the "underdevelopment".

The thesis behind this theme is that the underdevelopment of the majority of the people is caused by something that is wrong with the people's mentality and the people's values. This backward mentality and values are considered to be the main cause of their lack of "participation" in development. The majority of NGO activists that were involved in this study represented the reformist perspective.⁵ All the three modes of analysis

⁵ In a sharing and analysis meeting held in P3M Jakarta, May 11, 1993, there was a strong reaction from activists, mainly those of big NGOs such as LP3ES and Bina Swadaya on this topology. However they agreed that their perspective can be categorized as reformist, but they asked the participants "Why?" See "Diskusi terbatas tentang Paradigma Pembangunan dalam perspektif LSM" (Discussion on NGO perspective on Development) in Laporan Disukusi Studi tentang LSM Bandung: Indeco, 1993.

utilized in this study, (namely the field research through in-depth interview, analyzing secondary data and formal documents as well as observing dialogues and discussions that were planned for this study) demonstrated that the majority of activists have a strong tendency to follow a reformist vision of social change. Therefore, in responding to the question on what their opinion about the main stream government development concepts, most of the activists argued that basically the theory and ideas of government development are good. What that means is that from a theoretical perspective they see nothing wrong with the growth model of development which is translated in Indonesia with the Repelita. In other words, principally the NGO activists accept the basic concept and paradigm of Developmentalism.⁶ What they found problematic was the approach and methodology, namely the 'top down' and non-participative approach of government development.

This is why in their field activities most of these activists' projects tend to seek or to motivate people to participate in small economic development project with

⁶ Also see interview with Erna Witular, "Easing The Government's Burden" in Prisma. No.28, June 1983. Similar conclusion was also founded by other researchers. See M.M. Billah et.al "Ornop Mencari Format Baru" (NGOs looking for a new Format). a conference report, CPSM, Jakarta, 18-19 June, 1993.

growth as their essential rationale.⁷ In these kind of projects they tend to neglect the problem of class exploitation in the sense of the 'appropriation of surplus value' embedded in the model. They also do not challenge the nature of economic exploitation, political oppression, gender bias and cultural and ideological hegemony of development. They often focused on the issue of corruption and the need for a clean government, and those issues are looked as the fundamental cause of the underdevelopment of the majority.

The central thesis of this view is that the mentality and behavior and culture of people, such as the low level of their 'need for achievement' and other traditional values, prevent them from developing and growing. Therefore, according to them people need to be involved in development. Because people from this perspective are considered part of the problem, the main task of NGOs then is to become facilitator, i.e., to facilitate the people in generating knowledge, skills and "attitude" so as to become more "modern", so that they can participate in "development". For them indicators of success are measured by the people's capacity to develop the spirit of entrepreneurship and

⁷ See Permadi, "LSM/LPSM Sebagai Mitra Pemerintah dalam Pembangunan Nasional" (The Role of LSM as Government's Partner in National Development"), a paper presented at a seminar on the Roles of LSM in National Development, in Mataram, 21- 23 December, 1987. Also see Pinney A. "Partner in Development? The Government and NGOs in Indonesia" in Prisma, No. 28, June 1983.

organization such as marketing and financial management, and to bridge the relations the people with the modern financial system and institutions. A program coordinator staff of P3M Jakarta explain in an interview that:

I heard many people believe that people are poor because they don't have proper education and they don't have capital to do business. I think it is more than that, it is depending on mentality, creativity and work ethos or spirit of life. This is very basic requirement for people to develop. After that they can be trained in doing business aspect such as marketing, financial management, leadership and so on.⁸

The problem of participation and self reliance become the main theme from this perspectives. Participation and self reliance are not considered as fundamental values and ends in themselves, but are more considered as a media, approach and methodology to motivate people to participate in development which is conceptually developed by themselves. That is why they consistently included the David McClelland's Achievement Motivation Training (AMT) as the main item in the curriculum of their training. This is the reason why this type of NGO are pleased to become partners of the government in Development.⁹

⁸ An interview with a program coordinator staff of P3M, Jakarta, December 12, 1992. Similar responses can also be found in many interviews that conducted by each member of the core team. This perspective was also often stated in discussions and seminar during this study. See "Laporan Workshop Regional Aktivis Jawa tengah dan Jawa Timur," Cepogo, Boyolali. 9 May 1993.

⁹ For example, the Indonesian Government in the last 15 years has adopted many ideas from the LSM approaches, such as the small-scale industry program of LP3ES, the pre-

In response to the second theme on how they implement their field activities, most argued for the need for more participation and self-reliance of the people, and the appropriate target group they saw was the poorest. In this context, activities like needs assessment, participatory training, two-way communication, participatory evaluation have become their jargon. There has been a tendency for lack of vision among activists tending to center their activities on the process of organizing, without questioning why people should be organized.¹⁰

In response to the third question, on how they translate their ideas into action, they argued that the most important thing was the struggle to influence the government so that their approach and methodology would be adopted and implemented by the government too. In fact a lot of NGO policies, approaches, program methodologies and techniques

cooperative movement (usaha bersama) of Bina Swadaya, and the agriculture and fishery technology of Dian Desa Foundation, The small scale industry and "Community Development Through Pesantren" of LP3ES is considered to be the best example of the influence of NGO programs on national development policies. See an unpublished report of M.M. Billah, "Evaluasi Proyek PMPP di Sembilan Pesantren," LP3ES - Swiss Development Corporation, 1991. It proves that this type of NGO unconsciously shares the same values and ideology with the government, namely Modernization and Developmentalism. About the relations between NGOs and government see Eldridge, P. "NGOs and the State in Indonesia" in Budiman, A.(Ed.), State and Civil Society in Indonesia. Clayton: Monas paper on Southeast Asia, No. 22, 1990.

¹⁰ Similar observation has been made by David Korten, see Korten, "Issues in Community Organization" in Prisma No. 16, March 1980, pp. 71- 78.

have been adopted by the government, mainly based on community development and income generating ideas. For example, small business and development projects using the motivator model, have been adapted by several government projects. Models using facilitators have been adopted in many government projects such as family planning programs, appropriate technology, small industrial development, the pre-cooperative movement (usaha bersama), and other sectoral programs. Another phenomena also uncovered during this study was that most activists utilize a linear and mechanistic approaches. This is clear from the way they plan their programs, which is generally through rigid needs assessment, planning, implementing and evaluation of programs. Funding agencies also play a role in shaping their perspectives. Knowing that funding sources are important, their programs are adjusted to fit the themes of the funding agencies.

The main goal of this perspective is to raise the welfare the target groups. Their programs are measured on welfare measurement and are decided based on the following indicators: The first indicator is whether or not the income per capita of the target groups is increased. In small industrial development type projects the success is measured by how much labor power can be absorbed by small industries. Another indicator is whether or not traditional small industry communities are able to link themselves to

the modern financial sector, such as banks and other formal credit schemes. A second indicator is whether or not the motivation of the people participating in the NGO projects fits with modernist attitudes and mentalities. In small economic development projects this attitude and mentality are measured by looking at the skill and knowledge of the people in developing their production, marketing, management and entrepreneurship skills. Third, for NGO activists who tend to develop people through group dynamics, the measurement is whether or not the target group can accept the behavior of a modern organization. The question is how far their target groups are good at organizational capacities, such as making decisions democratically and so on.

This perspective has been dominant among the NGO movement in Indonesia. This approach does not question or aim to undermine the class structure, gender bias or political oppression both in their organization's projects and in the broader community. However, a few NGO activists have started to question this perspective and develop alternative perspectives. They have named their perspectives as a transformative perspectives.

3. **The Transformative perspectives.** The third category is the transformative perspective, i.e., an attempt to find an alternative to the two other approaches. Very view NGO

activists in Indonesia can really be categorized as having transformative perspective. The characteristic of transformative perspective is one of questioning the existing mainstream paradigm and its hidden ideology; and many are trying to find an alternative paradigm that will change the structure and superstructure which oppresses the people and would make it possible for people to realize their human potential. This alternative paradigm should provide a superstructure and structure that will allow for people to control the modes of production and to control information and ideological production. They are looking for a structure and superstructure that will make it possible for the people to control their own social change and history. Such a structure would involve a democratic way in the economy and the politics of development. The transformative perspective is not the same as Korten's third generation NGO. He explains that the third generations NGOs will find themselves working in one way or another with government (Korten, 1987, p.149).

From the transformative perspective the cause of the problem is the discourse of development as well as unequal structures in the existing system. In our observations and interviews only a small portion of the NGO activists represent the transformative paradigm. There are many reasons why the transformative paradigm is less developed. The first reason is because most of the NGO activists depend

on their funding from mainstream oriented funding agencies. Therefore they have to conform within the realities that their main financial sources who tend to adhere to the Developmentalist paradigm. The second reason is lack of opportunity to discuss and decide on the vision and ideology of their organization. NGOs rarely have institutional goals clarifying their official perspective and ideology on social change. The vision on social change is made up of the activists visions, which are contradictory rather than uniform. This puts the majority of NGO activists in an ambivalent position to the people, i.e., to be part of the people's movement or consultants of development. It also makes it difficult to generalize on the vision of a particular NGO. The third reason is inconsistency between ideology, theory, methodology and practice.

Responding to the third question on action programs, those from the transformative perspectives tended to look at community development programs such as income generating projects, primary health services and many other field activities as an entry point to long term activities such as organizing community, farmers and laborers for change. Education for raising critical consciousness is chosen as the main activity for the long term activities. During interviews, dialogues and discussions there was a critical assessment of any kind of protests, demonstrations and strikes. Those kinds of activities do not necessary

demonstrate that they are based on transformative vision. In fact many protests, strikes and other forms of advocacy were not based on critical consciousness so therefore are were not transformative. Those who are using transformative approach also base their activities on transformative methodology. Among those who have practiced transformative methodology such as participatory action research or popular education, are those activists who involved in the participatory research training and network that was organized by LPTP in Surakarta. The network in the last ten years has introduced and educated NGO activists throughout Java. Other groups that are using popular education are LP3 an organization working for landless farmers based in Bandung, West Java.

Throughout this study the team examined cautiously a few NGO activists who can be identified as having transformative vision. These included activists who started to implement participatory action research within the Indonesian Action Research Network (Jaringan Riset Aksi Indonesia). They can be categorized as transformative. The Indonesia Action Research network consists of practitioners who are interested in Action Research, Participatory Action Research and Popular Education. Other activists who are also considered to have started to employ transformative perspective are those who involved in YASANTI activists in a women's group based in Yogyakarta, SKEPHI activists in

Jakarta, some of the LPTP activist in Surakarta and Boyoali, Kalyanamitra, a women NGO based in Jakarta and the JARI network in Indonesia. There are traditional Moslem groups (pesantrens) which have tried to reconstruct their theory of transformation usually based on the traditionalist values through the P3M network, especially their "popular ulama" (ulama rakyat) project by introducing Islamic Liberation Theology.¹¹

Another transformation approach was found among NGOs that work on environmental issues with SKEPHI. Their spirit of counter-capitalist hegemony has been demonstrated by this NGO through its newspaper and magazine.¹² This perspective is also translated into actions in their campaign and advocacy programs by supporting poor farmers, indigenous people and other marginalized groups to defend their rights. The whole approach of study, advocacy, research and

¹¹ P3M has developed the concept and practice of liberation theology for Islam. Their idea was influenced by Indian Moslem intellectual Asghar Ali Engineer and Hasan Hanafi of Egypt. See Asghar Engineer, "On Developing Liberation Theology in Islam" in Islam and Revolution (New Delhi: Ajanta Publication, 1984). Also see Masdar Mas'udi (Ed.), Agama dan Hak Rakyat, (Religion and People's Rights), (Jakarta: P3M, 1993). This paradigm was implemented in the P3M's education system. See "Program Pendidikan Pasca Pesantren untuk Transformasi Sosial" (Pesantren Educational Programs for Social Transformation), an unpublished program document, Jakarta: P3M, 1989-1990.

¹² This opinion was concluded from our interview with their Director Indro Tjahjono, and from studying their publications such as: Berita Hutan, No.15/III, 1988, and their English magazine Setia Kawan, from 1989 - 1993, Jakarta: Skephi.

publications, is considered to be a form of a resistance movement and a type of counter-hegemonic movement. The process of moving toward the transformative paradigm, creates a new hope for the future role of NGOs as counter-hegemony and a counter-discourse to Developmentalism. Many indicators demonstrate that NGO activists are moving toward the transformative paradigm.¹³ It is time to create a network among the transformative NGO in Indonesia and to challenge them to consolidate the counter-discourse and counter-hegemony activities toward the formation of an NGO concept of social transformation. In an interview with a member of the core team, an activist from SKEPHI explained that:

The problem of poverty is caused by very complex interrelated problem. Our entry point is forest issue. The problem of poverty has dialectical relations with the problem of poverty and political oppression. Deforestation for example is not only an environmental issue and not only has to do with economic and the interest of logging companies. It involves government policy, capital investment both national and international. Therefore we can not only attack the problem at local level by only educate people

¹³ INGI (International Forum of Non Governmental Organizations on Indonesia) and lately INFID (International Forum on Indonesian Development) organized an annual international conference attended by NGOs activists to respond to development and human rights issues in Indonesia. Several research reports were presented at numerous other INGI conference, such as in Frankfurt, West Germany in 1990, Washington D.C. in 1990, and in Odawara, Japan 1991. The memoranda resulting from these conferences have indicated the moving process. See Budiman, Arief, "Stabilitas Politik dan Pertumbuhan Ekonomi" (Political Stability and Economic Growth" in INFID, Pembangunan di Indonesia (Development in Indonesia) Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia dan INFID, 1993.

on social forestry projects. What we need is to organize people in the projects, but also to conduct campaign and advocacy both at national and international level.¹⁴

This study however revealed that those activists who are identified as representing the transformative paradigm also possess contradictions and ambiguities. There has been inconsistency and contradiction between their paradigm, vision, methodology, approaches and management. It was clear that during the interviews, most of them could clearly describe structural problems and how they effect the community. Yet, when it came to how to translate and implement their ides into programs, contradictions clearly materialized. Some of them had been trying to develop their activities based on a structural social analysis using dependency theory to understand social reality. But when it came to implementing it, most of their activities and solutions back to a Developmentalist approach, which are carried out through hegemonic and discursive approaches. Gender bias still affects those organizations due to lack of sensitivity. They have not put gender on the same level as other issues.

Another problem is the lack of consistency between their ideological and theoretical framework and their methodologies and practices in the field. This situation makes it possible for the Freirean "conscientization" method

¹⁴ Interview with a staff of SKEPHI in Jakarta, October 12, 1992.

to be applied in an "entrepreneurship and income generation program" within the reality of the Modernization paradigm.¹⁵ Another example frequently observed is that of them trying to conduct participatory research without any theoretical background.

This study has been conducted mainly on Java, i.e., Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java. Although we started this collaborative study with only a few NGO activists who became the core team group, later on, the study spread out in terms of the number of related groups then out of the control of the core team group. At the same time, another similar study was also being conducted by a different team of activists, namely the study sponsored by NOVIB by a research group identifying themselves as the Center for Participatory and Social Management (CPSM) group. Although their study employed 'traditional' empirical research approaches, it was conducted with larger intentions and with wider respondents, namely with national interviews. There have been interactions and information exchanges between the core team and the CPSM team that had a similar focus of study, namely the future role of the NGO movement in Indonesia. The result of their study in terms of the NGO

¹⁵ Eldridge in his study on Indonesian NGOs also discovered this phenomenon. See Eldridge, Philip. Non-Governmental Organization and the role of the State in Indonesia (Paper presented to the conference on "The State and Civil Society in Contemporary Indonesia," November 1988).

paradigm is similar in its conclusion, i.e., the majority of NGO activists are in the reformist paradigm.¹⁶

6.1.4 Biases of the NGO Activists: The Conclusion

From the collaborative interviews, documentary studies and discussions and collaborative critical analysis, the team also found that there are strong similarities in biases of activists that show manifestations of the dominant paradigm, which were held by almost all of the activists involved in this study despite the three differing perspectives or paradigms.¹⁷ There are several causes for these similar biases. First of all almost all of activists have a similar educational background, mostly graduates of Indonesian universities. As curriculums and faculties of almost all universities and institutes of higher education are standardized and controlled by the government their products obviously have similarities. Second, most of them come from similar economic and social class backgrounds,

¹⁶ Although most of NGO activists use transformative jargon in discussions, their internal organization and their field activities show inconsistency between their perspective and program activities. See Billah, et al. Ornop Mencari Format Baru (NGOs Looking for a New Format), a report on a meeting in Cisarua, 18-19 of June 1993. Jakarta: CPSM, 1993, p.33.

¹⁷ The definition of bias used in this study is "systematic errors" or "encouraging one outcome or answer over others". See Puettew, William, J. Through Jaundice Eyes: How the Media View Organized Labor. Ithaca: Cornell, ILR Press, 1992.

namely they do not come from the exploited classes such as landless farmers and labors but from elite or at least the middle class. Third, in terms of their financial resources, the main income sources are the same funding agencies, namely Western funding agencies. Those similarities of backgrounds are complicated by the fact that the government has a very strong influence in forcing their development and Modernization ideology on the civil society including the NGO communities. These biases can be described as follows:

1. **State Biases.** Analyzing the ideological position of activists on the relationships between state and civil society from a Gramscian perspective, almost all activists realized that the ideologically activists are part of the state hegemony, namely Developmentalism. There have been unresolved contradictions among activists between their presumption that their movements are part of the people's movement, taking the side of the oppressed and their views on social change stemming from Developmentalism which is part of the state hegemony. In other words throughout the processes of this study, almost all of the activists realized that in terms of their vision on social change, they share that of the main stream dominant belief of the State namely Developmentalism. It is this ideology which is position basically the main bias among activists. It has contributed to the existing ideology of NGO activists and

manifests itself in the way they perceive people and in their methodological approaches as well as technical assistance. The term of LSM (self reliance institution) replacing the ORNOP (nongovernmental Organizations) according to activists during the serial discussions was considered as a part of the process of domestication and cooptation by the state which has made it possible for the NGO activists to be considered as part of the state.

2. **Scientist and technocratic biases.** There is also an unconscious tendency among activists for scientism which is basically empiricism and positivism to deeply penetrated their way of thinking and beliefs and manifest itself in their methodology and approach in their field projects. Empiricism and positivism have become the sole principle of almost all activists in relation to their projects. Most activists believe that their programs must be scientific, meaning neutral, objective, rational and open. Operating by this standard basically puts them in the main stream epistemological position namely of empiricism and positivism. This epistemology has become the belief of almost all state apparatus such as government agencies, the mass media, industrial communities, universities and most intellectual communities, as well as the believe of NGO activists. On result of this bias has been the undermining

of much indigenous wisdom as well as many non positivistic way of knowing such as local knowledge and women's wisdom.

During the discussions the core team provided the theoretical foundation for discussions of epistemology and social change. There were criticism of the strong influence of positivistic paradigm from most activists. In several discussions the participants critically looked at the influence of positivism in their field projects, such as their planning, implementation, and evaluation of their programs. They realized that they tend to see people or community as 'object' of their projects, and therefore quantifiable as numbers. Knowledge on projects and evaluations are controlled by activists. Although the activists believe the participation model is the most appropriate approach in implementing programs, almost all activists use participation more as a tool to influence and motivate people to accept their programs instead to create space for the people to transform. They plan their program through needs assessments which are designed by activists from their offices without participation of the people in naming the problems as well as in analyzing the results.

During the discussions, the core team also provided translated readings as well as guest speakers on some thoughts and critics of the Frankfurt School, particularly Jurgen Habermas on his criticism of positivism as well as the questions of Gurnal Myrdal on the objectivity of social

sciences. The discussions on scientific biases made it possible for the activists not only to raise their critical consciousness on positivism, but also on how it has contaminated on their methodology for activities. This process also produced a heightened awareness against the dominant stream of social sciences, and deconstruction of the discourse of social engineering and the believe that they have the right to manage, to engineer and to direct people. They realized that the influence of positivism and empiricism is quite deep in their minds.

3. **The elite class bias.** This study also uncovered the basic perspective of activists regrading their economic perspective. There is a strong tendency among activists to hold the bias of the elite class. This bias can be identified in their discourse on social change as well as their ideas around community development projects. When they talk about economy they tend to follow the neo-classical theory of economics. This strong influence of neo-classical economics on the minds of activists is due to their educational backgrounds. All educational institutions in the country have systematically eliminated alternative views of economics from their curriculum. All elements that are potentially against capitalism are dismissed. In higher education, political economy has been replaced by Economic Development which focuses more on improving the rate of

growth, instead of understanding exploitation and economic justice.

This neoclassical bias influences activists in almost all their field programs in how they define the problem, implementation as well as evaluation. This phenomena can be identified in almost all NGO income generating programs or other economics programs such as small business development programs, small scale industry programs and pre cooperative movements. Almost all NGOs economic programs are concerned with growth of the people's income without questioning the class process and exploitation that is taking places in the economic process. NGO activists do not question economic class in the sense of appropriation of surplus value basically because of the elite bias. Therefore almost all NGOs economic development programs fail to answer the problem of exploitation, or question class as a unit of analysis and evaluation. They also fail to answer marginalization and subordination of women as the manifestation of gender inequalities. Instead, they concentrated on the growth aspect of the economy. This gives the impression that all of NGOs economic and income generating programs are not only perpetuating the exploitative mode of production and therefore perpetuating the class structure in society, but also supporting the dissemination of capitalism in rural areas.

4. **Modernist biases.** The dialogues and discussions throughout the study revealed that almost all activists follow the logic of Modernization. As followers of Modernization they believe that the human factor (not the structure and system) is the root of the problem of underdevelopment. For them Modernization is an evolutionary process of society moving from traditional to modern. Their assumption is that all societies including the West have been 'traditional' and finally become "modern." Traditionalism is considered a problem. This bias is influenced by Rostow and his followers and posits that development will work almost automatically through capital accumulation saving and investment with foreign aid. They focus on the need for elite entrepreneurs to be the motor of the process. Modernization has become a global belief, and has strongly influenced both the state and civil society in the country. It has become the main subject of study in universities and schools in the country. The majority of technocrats, intellectuals as well as NGO activists, in the country have followed Modernization for the last thirty years. It is believed as the only way for social change and has blocked any alternative ideas of social changes.¹⁸

¹⁸ Almost all of the NGO's income generating programs and small scale business development projects were based on the assumption that people are poor because they do not have entrepreneurship and creativity. Therefore McClelland's AMT (Achievement Motivation Training) became very familiar among large NGOs in the country.

The team, as well as the wider NGO activists community, recognized that there are several factors producing this tendency. First of all, is what they called internal factors. Most NGO activists agreed that they do not decide organizationally on their position, vision, paradigm or ideology on social change. The reason was because of the security strategies that are implemented by the state. However all participants agreed that they do not even talk about their ideology and vision formally, and even in their organizational constitutions, they do not state clearly their ideological perspectives. This leads to the second problem, namely of working without theory and analysis. From the research processes the team found that most of the activists do not have clear tools of analysis for understanding the problem. Most of the activists worked without theory. This situation makes it easier for Developmentalism to get a place. Although there is a small number of activists who participate in a participatory action research group, they do not consistently use the approach as the official approach of the organization. They tend to put the participatory approach as one type among others in their projects.

Third, is the strong influence and domination of the state ideology of Developmentalism. This influence has been manufactured both through formal and nonformal education and mass media over the last 30 years, i.e., almost the whole

life of most of the NGO activists. The fourth is caused by their relations to funding agencies. There was debate during this study on this relationship. Many of them questioned the relationships between NGO movements and funding agencies and concluded that they created dependency in terms of vision and analysis. Recognizing that most funding agencies working in Indonesia are also part of the mainstream Developmentalism and Modernization, relationships between the two parties have strongly shaped the activists ideology and perspectives.

Fifth are the internal relations among NGOs themselves. Networking among NGOs has been created more for the purpose of project administration and managerial issues rather than to develop substantial social change issues. Issues of strategic planning and vision and theory do not get enough attention in the networks. Sixth is the mentioned biases of activist themselves. Those biases have been unconsciously internalized in their thoughts, approaches, methodologies and techniques so are never questioned. This situation has made it difficult for them to integrate their movement into civil society, instead it has become part of the state. The issue of NGOs' position has become the starting points for them to think about their future movements.

This study proved that almost all NGO activists are influenced by Modernization. For them, generally, growth as well as modernity, are seen as a must. This influence can

be identified in almost all the community development programs as well as income generating programs. Traditionalism is seen as a problem to be solved. The ideology behind all of pesantren NGO programs is basically to transform traditional institutions into modern institutions. Another indicator is that most activists look at human factors and their functions are placed at the center of their analysis. Therefore there are a lot of NGO programs that focus on education and training in the context of human resource development. Although most of them also believe that system and structure must be changed, the changes should be started by changing the human factors. Some of them place structural problems in theory and when it is translated in to actions, then what they are really doing is trying to change human behavior.

5. **Male biases.** The strongest bias which can be identified is the male bias. They do not tend to look at the problem of women as a priority in their development projects. Therefore there has been a general tendency for gender blindness of activists in their activities such as their training and educational activities, institutional and management arrangements of their organization as well as in their projects. There has been no effort to incorporate gender into the issue of the mode of knowledge production or education. The issue of how to legitimate 'women's ways of

knowing' has not become an issue. Most modes of knowledge production and research use dominant social scientist approaches which is based on male ideology. In other words their criteria, measurements, approaches, methodologies, can be considered either gender blind or based on masculine principle.¹⁹

Among women activists, there has been growing concern about how to put gender issues on the agenda. But in general, this is motivated and necessitated by funding agencies working in Indonesia, because almost all of them have a gender agenda. But if we observed carefully the level of awareness on the issue, it can be seen that 'naming the problem' and 'constructing the realities' about women is still strongly influenced by the male view. Another phenomena is the 'quantitative' response toward the issue, i.e., they tend to respond to the need to include gender issues in to their programs only quantitatively, namely by presenting, or involving number of women in their data such as the number of woman in their project participants, number of women on staff, etc. This quantitative approach includes the effort to change the condition of women without integrating it on the long terms struggle of women for emancipation. Women in their programs are still considered

¹⁹ The team utilized the terms masculine and feminine used by Vandana Shiva. See Shiva, Staying Alive London: Zed Book, 1989.

as the target of their projects. Therefore it is general phenomenon that the question of ways of knowing, is not on their agenda. Most of activists, even women, are still using masculine ways of knowing and doing. No effort has been made in creating alternative paradigms for social change from women's perspectives either theoretically or practically. This male bias results in a conflict between women activists and NGO activists which consequently undermines and disempowers social movements in the country.

6. **"Priest" biases.** There is also a strong tendency for NGO activists to believe that one aspect of life such as economic or political, is basically the determining factor in society. In other words they tend to believe that there is only single truth and they have to defend it. This bias was influenced by logical determinism and essentialism as well as reductionism.

The determinist and reductionist influence on social change posits that social problems should only be measured and determined according to the logic of certain approach or theory. Some activists, for example, believe that economics is the only approach for their community development projects. In other words, they have found that economics is the truth. On the other hand, there are also some activists who believe that politics is the only way to solve the problems, and tend to look down on and undermine other forms

of analysis and projects. This bias has been one of the causes of conflicts among activists.

During discussions the issue of reductionism and determinism became a big issue, especially the influence on NGO sectoral projects and networking. New consciousness developed among activists of the dangers of reductionism and essentialism, and therefore they agreed to stop them. Indeed, NGO activists agreed to have a new approach and analysis that shows that the problem of human society can not only be viewed and analyzed from one aspect, such as economic or political. Reality is the dialectical interdependence of all aspects of life such as economy, politic, culture, gender, environment etcetera.

Almost all of NGO activists in solving their problems reduced the solution to the problem to a specific knowledge. There is no efforts at a more multi-level analysis or dialectical analysis. This led to a strong tendency for growing NGO networks of various sectors such as NGO networks on environment, gender, pesticides, consumer, labors issues. The result is that NGO movements became more specialized, narrowly focused and scattered. Each sector focused on their work without considering the dialectical relationships with other factors. They tended to look at social and political phenomenon and social systems from a single perspective. This bias has resulted in the problem of building alliance among social movement organizations. NGO

movements as one among other social movements such student movements, labor movements and other movements, has not yet succeeded in building alliances in order to become a consolidated movement that can have an impact at national level and therefore bring about change. Based on this awareness, they started to rethinking about their training and systems.

7. **"Psychiatric" bias.** There is a strong tendency in the minds, as well as in the project policies, of the majority of activists to place people such as farmers or labors as the objects of their social change projects. As an object of development, people are asked to 'participate' in the sense of supporting the program which is planned and designed by the activists. The way the activists considered the problem dictated the strategy and methodology of the development projects. Placing people as the object of development is rooted in the way activists perceived themselves and the people.

This perception strongly influence on how they interact and communicate with the people. The way they interact can be analyzed as the relation between psychiatrist and their patients. In this analogy, the NGO activists perceive themselves as psychiatrists and the people as their patients. The people as patients are diagnosed, assessed, planned and evaluated. In other words their knowledge of

development make it possible for them to control and dominate people. Instead of being a liberating process, the participatory approach to assessment and planning becomes a method for making their work run smother. This bias alienates activists from the people, and has prevented the people from being subjects of their own history. This awareness has forced them to rethink their communication approaches to the people. The report as the result of this field study and its analysis has been published and distributed to the second and third circle of NGO activist through out the country.

6.1.5 Dialogues on Theories of Social Changes

Parallel to the field study and translation of theories, there were dialogues with several well known intellectuals. These dialogues took place in Salatiga, 6-7 March 1993, with four intellectuals from Satya Wacana Christian University. There were several purposes for the dialogues. First was to facilitate discussions on the theories in the hopes of making it possible for the NGO activists to build their own paradigm and vision of their movement. Second was to facilitate activists to enable them to develop their own agenda and action programs as well as their paradigm and theories. Third was to facilitate activists to understand their future role. Through the process of discussions the core team discovered that there

was strong discontent and discouragement among activists on their future role. They are at a crossroads and facing the choice between being development consultant organizations or social movement organizations for change.²⁰

Based on the dialogues, the team discovered several points to be taken seriously. The first was that there was growing belief and heightened consciousness on the very fundamental problem of ideology and vision. It was proposed to develop a collaborative vision, ideology and paradigm in naming the world which is to fit the current global as well as local situation. The problem of inconsistency between vision and field activities is identified as critical and therefore needed to be placed as first priority on the agenda. Second, they agreed that after they succeeded in developing their new vision on social transformation, there was the need to disseminate the new vision systematically through NGO communities. This included a process of reorientation and reeducation of activists. The reorientation of their vision and paradigms as well as the review required critical questioning of their biases. This agenda shows that this study has facilitated the NGO movements making both short and long term strategies. The

²⁰ See LPTP "Laporan: Workshop LSM dan paradigma Perubahan Sosial," (A Workshop Report on NGOs and Social Change Paradigms) held in Salatiga, 6-7 March 1993; published in "Indeco De unie Laporan Diskusi: Study tentang LSM" (A discussions report on the study of NGOs, Bandung: Indeco 1993.

third is the need to restructure their organizations. This agenda included improving their relations and connections with the people at grassroots levels. The fourth was the need to develop their capability in delivering services based on the principle of participation and liberation. This capacity includes improving methodologies and techniques to correspond to the transformative vision and paradigm. The participants were searching for models of education and action that are appropriate for social transformation. Popular Education and Participatory Research are the approaches that they thought appropriate for carrying out this mission. Following this seminar, there were four other similar discussions also was conducted in Jakarta, Surakarta, Bandung and Jakarta. The presentation and the process of those discussions were noted and distributed to the wider circle.

6.2 NGO Plans of Action

Having raised critical consciousness and understanding of the activists on their ideological positions and biases, this study led to the final question of what the future role of NGOs will be in social transformation and how. The question of the role of Indonesian NGO activists in the next decade, did not only arise at the end of the study, it had indeed been the main question of the study from very beginning. Yet, a discouraging phenomenon appeared. The

numerous dialogues, small discussions, and seminars among the activists involved in this research processes, both among the core team as well as the wider circles of activists, indicated a strong tendency toward frustration on their existing role. The question became whether it is possible to use the NGO movement as a vehicle for social transformation. Although some of activists felt hopeless, most of them were still positive about the NGO movement, but changes and transformations in their organizations are strongly needed.

Based on those frustrations, this collaborative study has motivated them to make a new agenda. The 1990s is celebrated as a new decade for Indonesian NGOs to establish a clearer vision and paradigm of their struggle for change. In the last meeting in Ciawi West Java, as part of the main research process, there was a strong indication that the strongest trend among Indonesian NGO activists was toward the transformation paradigm. Criticism of Developmentalism and Modernization became the main theme of the failure of the NGO movement to create change. Based on this, they tried to look for an alternative vision and paradigm of social change. Many NGO activists who were involved in this study in the last conference declared that they wanted to escape from the Developmentalism. The impact of this declaration for the NGO community is quite deep. According to the team's observation, many training programs and

conference conducted by activists, included critical development theories in their curriculums.

Several obstacles according to participants are faced by the NGO movements in changing the NGO movement in to a transformative type of social movement organization. First, how far can they create a space to actualize their paradigm under the influence of the Developmentalism hegemony? This hegemony has influenced the NGO movement deeply, it has shaped the whole taste of activists as well as the people; it has also influenced ethics and approaches of NGO activists in their daily activities. It has shaped the way NGO activists defined problems, analyze and respond to them. Therefore the influence of the hegemony of Modernization and Developmentalism has been deeply internalized and become part of the spirit of the NGO movement.

Second, how far can they create space to raise critical consciousness within their own network as well as of the people who are participants of their programs, because of the stronger influence and forced control of Developmentalist apparatus sponsored by the state to stop any alternative thought and ideology? Development has been admitted through a national consensus as the only path in the current history of social change in Indonesia.

Third, how strong is their commitment to their paradigm in the face of funding agencies working in Indonesia? Those funding agencies consent mostly to the ideology of

Modernization and Developmentalism. The Developmentalist institutions such as USAID, CIDA, and the World Bank have very strong power in determining and shaping the future existence of Indonesian NGOs. Due to the money/power characteristic of their relationships, these institutions will become the biggest obstacle for NGO activists in implementing their paradigm and concept of social change. What they need are funding agencies which follow the transformative paradigm.

Fourth, how far can they escape from the imbalanced relations between big NGOs and small NGOs? Big urban based NGOs tend to develop a structural hierarchy and the dependency of rural based small NGOs. There is a strong tendency for most big NGOs to support the status quo and they hesitate to take risks, therefore difficult for them to change fundamentally. What they need in the future is to develop fair relationships between big NGOs and small NGOs. All participants agreed that the source of funds channeled by funding agencies through big NGOs is one way in which Developmentalism and Modernization are disseminated. Yet this relationship has been recognized as creating dependency relations. Therefore the practice should be stop.

Fifth, how much can they escape from the process of organizational alienation? There has been a strong tendency NGOs in Indonesia to be alienated from the people at the grassroots level. There many causes of this alienation.

First of all their ideological position namely Developmentalism, places them unconsciously as a part of the state. This position makes it difficult for them to become part of peoples movement. This is also because of their chosen legal form. Most NGOs choose Yayasan (foundation) as the legal form for their organization. This form of organization makes it impossible to become part of a people's movement because it separates them from the people. This legal position makes it possible for the NGO movement to become more and more elitist, therefore they do not have a mass-based support. As well, their bureaucratic projects-based approach and methodology, such as nonformal education, income generating projects and other entrepreneurship programs, block them from being part of a people's movement. Therefore during the study and discussions it was acknowledged by activists that the NGO movement is now in a crisis of legitimation and crisis of constituency.

Sixth, how far can they solve their managerial problems, both inside as well as out side their organization? The internal managerial problem is how to create a democratic and participatory management for decision making at all levels of the organization. The external managerial problem is the accountability of the NGO movement to their stake-holders, such as the community of the participants in their programs, the funding agencies as well as other NGO activists. The core of the problem as

identified by them was on the legal format of their organization, namely the yayasan (foundation). By using this type of organization it is difficult for NGOs to be open and transparent organizations. It is difficult for the people to have any control, because of their position as the object beneficiaries of NGO's programs. This position allows the organization to become more alienated.

6.3 Agenda for the Future Role of the NGO Movement

Based on these identified problems, the core team and the wider circles of participants agreed to put together an agenda implementation. The agenda consists of: (a) A long term agenda that deals with improving the ideological and paradigmatic problems of NGOs and the position of civil society; and, (b) A short term agenda to solve NGO's practical problems. The first agenda aims at developing a grand strategy, including the reorientation of the paradigmatic vision and the repositioning of the NGOs and people's movements. This also includes the need to deconstruct the term LSM (Lembaga Swadaya masyarakat) which is considered part of the domestication of the NGO movement in Indonesia. There has been a call to rename the movement back to ORNOP (Nongovernmental Organization). Beside changing the term, the need for ideological transformation was stressed both during the serial dialogues as well as at the last meeting. The agenda includes the construction of a

systematic plan to build wider alliances with progressive elements among civil society in other sectors. In order to do that they need first of all to identify the progressive elements within the civil society. This agenda also includes the need to develop a wider network in campaign and advocacy work, at local, national and international levels.

The main focus of the second agenda is the process of empowerment, namely creating a space at any level for the NGO movement to organize and to develop a program that makes it possible for NGO activists to realize political as well as economic democratization in field programs. Political education should be done in the form of creating a space for the people to develop their own ideas of social change. Economic democratization should be the making of a space for the people to develop a non-capitalistic economic system, namely a non-exploitative mode of production. The NGO movement needs to develop a participatory and democratic system and disseminate them in to grassroots organization. In particular, this agenda was divided into four sub-agendas as follows:

6.3.1 NGOs as a Counter-Hegemonic Movement

For the transformative type of NGOs, the first agenda is political and ideological, namely a battle against the Modernization/ Developmentalism hegemony. Hegemony is an organizing principle or world view (or combination of world

views) that is diffused by agencies of ideological control and socialization into every area of daily life. The concept of hegemony is used in the context of cultural, moral and ideological leadership over allied and subordinate groups. It is used with the formation of a new ideological "terrain", with political, cultural and moral leadership and with consent (Gramsci, 1971). Every individual is "shaped" by Modernization hegemonic ideas and historical circumstances. In this context the role of NGOs as counter-hegemonic institutions is to strengthen civil society and to help them raise their "critical consciousness" of that shaping process.

Developmentalism has been understood by the participants of the study as the present dominant hegemony. It is a process in which a new climate is created in which people "consent" to and host the values of the exploiter. The ability of the development hegemony to legitimize this values and maintain false consciousness make it very difficult to create a space in which the counter-hegemonic movement can be supported by the oppressed. The following strategies are based on Gramsci's concept of counter-hegemony by using grassroots organizations.

Rather than develop totally new strategies of a counter-hegemonic movement, the participants plan to assess some considerations based on their experience of "development". Their existing development projects can be

developed into a transformative approach by implementing critical education programs. Critical education includes popular education and participatory research is considered as the most appropriate vehicle for NGOs to create a counter-hegemonic movement. Critical education is considered to be the best vehicle to help people assert their own experience and contest or resist the ideological and material forces imposed upon them. The goal of critical education is to create a critical consciousness among the people and so transform their false consciousness to a critical consciousness which is an understanding of the ideology of the dominant hegemony.

In the case of Indonesia, the main task of NGOs is to penetrate the false world of appearance created by the dominant system of Modernization and Developmentalism. They also agreed on choices of popular education and participatory research as vehicles of creating a new ideas and values as the basis of human liberty. Critical pedagogical activities within the grassroots organization is also considered a means of creating organic intellectuals to become the main organizers of the counter-hegemonic movement.

6.3.2 NGOs as a Counter-Discourse Institutions

The second agenda is developing NGOs as counter-discourse movements toward Developmentalism. The dominant

paradigm of Developmentalism, places people as the objects of development because of their view that people can not solve their own problems. Most of the people who are affected by underdevelopment tend to be seen as a kind of a problem that experts have to solve. In order to induce development, then, the dominant society need to conduct research. As the object of research, people are identified, measured, dissected and programmed from the outside by the dominant society and its representatives. The dominant society, with the help of their researchers, determine the goal of "development" and the methodology how to achieve it. Moreover the results, are practically never communicated, or even discussed, with the people who are most directly concerned. The people are simply considered "an object of development". They are unaware of how their responses to dominant research can be used to know them better and to control them better. (De Olieveira and De Olieveira, 1975).

Another Developmentalism assumption is that only the expert has the right to create knowledge and the sole prerogative of the professional elites. The people affected by this new knowledge do not have to participate in formulating the problems collecting and analyzing the data and deciding how to use the results. The Developmentalism paradigm places the people, the systems and the setting to be researched as mere objects who help provide the basic data for knowledge. People's control over knowledge is

taken away. Since "knowledge is power", research of this manner becomes a political issue, because it further enhance the power of the elites. This paradigm ignores these ethical and political issues in the name of "objectivity and neutrality".

The team acknowledged that all of these assumptions are based on a system of philosophy called Positivism. The approach that flows from the method developed in the natural sciences, and deals with determination, fixed law, or set of laws compiled into theories. Positivism, the approach which dominates the academic world, also assumes that a single form of explanation is appropriate in all inquiry. This approach defines the purpose of traditional social inquiry as a search for truth which can only be carried out through an objective, value-free scientific methodology (Myrdal, 1969). In terms of a social investigation the positivistic thinking requires the separation of facts from values in order to bring about an objective understanding of reality. In other words, positivism insists on a gap between the observable world out there and the observer. By separating the observer from the observable world positivism claims that to know or comprehend the world is to know it independently of human will or subjectivity. Scientific fact should be separated from human values.

It is in this context, that the role of NGOs is very critical, namely as a counter-discourse to the

Developmentalism which is also based on the positivistic paradigm. This study has succeeded in creating a counter-discourse moment, by creating spaces to question the dominating nature of the state elites in the use of their knowledge and their research to create the discourse of "underdevelopment" and impose it on civil society on the economic, politic as well as cultural sphere. By imposing the discourse of underdevelopment based on the state industrialization hegemony, development ideology is legitimated for the people, including the NGO activists. The process of this study is a first step of how the counter-discourse movement works. A strategic program is needed for NGOs in the future. The main problem facing the movement is on the ideological level. Critical consciousness is the main strength in an ideological struggle.

6.3.3 NGO Paradigms and Visions: Repositioning

To construct the NGOs as a counter-hegemonic and discourse movement, a fundamental change is needed, namely repositioning the NGO's vision and paradigm. As a first step, the team decided to conduct two preliminary studies. The goals being to understand the anatomy and the family trees of social change theories. The team collected many articles and translated them into Indonesian, published them and distributed them widely to NGO activists, and discussing

them in Bandung, Jakarta, Salatiga, Yogyakarta and Surakarta. This translation project focused on the following issues. First was the issue of epistemology mainly regarding the social change paradigm and how it affects activists' vision. Following this, the team also distributed the translation of mainstream theories, models and approach on social changes. Including the mainstream Capitalist model of development, consisting of: Neoclassical economics and modern dominant theories, from growth with equity up to the theory of basic needs. They also translated theories and models criticizing the mainstream, such as Marxism and Socialism, dependency theories;²¹ and finally, alternative theories such as gender and development, liberation theology and post-Modernism on knowledge/power relationship were distributed.²²

²¹ Most of activists were unaccustomed with alternative grand theories. Some of them understood superficially. The discussion of the translated articles on alternative theories has helped them to understand more deeply. The materials which had been translated are: Heilbroner, R.L. Marxism For and Against, especially the chapter on "Socio-Analysis of Capitalism", (New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1980); Jameson K. and C. Wilber. "Socialism and Development" in Wilber, C.K. and Jameson, K.P. Socialist Models of Development (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981); Blomstorm, M. and Hettne Bjorn. Development Theory in Transition (London: Zed Books, 1984), especially the chapter, "Dependency Theory of Latin America"; and Dos Santos, T. "The Structure of Dependency" in American Economic Review. Vol.60, No.2, May 1970, pp. 231-236.

²² See Jaquet's article. "Women and Modernization Theory," and Mueller, "The Bureaucratization of Feminist Knowledge: The Case of Women in Development," in Resources for Feminist Research Vol. 15 (1), March 1989. The discussion on gender issues led to the conclusion that most

6.3.4 Reschooling the Activists

Based on the previous agendas the participants agreed to a fourth agenda, to create a follow-up plan of action. One priority was political education. The main goal of this education was to transform the NGO movement in Indonesia by reconstructing activists that have vision, knowledge and capabilities.

The curriculum of this critical education was divided into several parts as follows. The first part is critical analysis and the construction of a vision and paradigm which has implications for social transformation. It is the activists with clear ideological positions that are needed in the process of democratization in Indonesia. The second part is to find appropriate methodologies that fit with their visions. The capability of translating critical analysis and vision into practical methodology is very important in order to be part of a people's movement through

of the activists needed the very basic training on gender sensitivity, namely the very basic introduction on what gender is and why gender has become a development issue. The discussion on Post-Modernism was started by discussion on the translation of Arturo Escobar's paper, "Discourse and Power in Development: Michael Foucault and the Relevance in his Work to the Third World." This discussion has forced the rethinking of the NGO activists knowledge/power relation to the people. The activists also had opportunities to discuss the article of Guitierrez, Theology of Liberation (Markinol, New York: Orbis Book, 1973), and one article written by Comstock D., "Methods for Critical Research, Investigating the World," Department of Sociology, Washington State University, 1980. The discussion on liberation theology has motivated the participants to rethink their interpretation of their theologies.

the participatory approaches rather than approaches of domestication, cooptation, subjection and domination. And finally, the third part is the strong technical capabilities of organic intellectuals for participatory planning and organization action and mobilization of people for social transformation both at the local and national level.

Following this agreement, they created a team of political educators who designed the system of education. This team was established in Boyolali, Central Java. The team consisted of 15 activists who have a variety of different experiences and interests in popular education spanning over the last ten years. The team was coordinated by a member of the core group from LPTP Surakarta. He was selected because of his experience in conducting the first training on Participatory Research and Action Research in Indonesia several years ago. They have succeeded in conducting three training classes. Other members of the team consists were: (a) Two activists from the LP3 Bandung. Both activists were founders of a Bandung based facilitator group called Front Pemandu Latihan (Facilitator Group Front). LP3's activists over the last 10 years have been involved in organizing and educating farmers in many land displacement cases in West Java. They have also consistently supported the establishment of a free farmers union in West Java; (b) The third person is also an activist

of Skephi, Jakarta. Skephi is well known for its national as well as international advocacy on environmental as well as other political issues in Indonesia; (c) The fourth is an activist from of LBH (Legal Aid Foundation) based in Surabaya, East Java. The LBH Surabaya has been involved in several participatory research projects for displacement cases in East Java, and indigenous people in East Kalimantan; (d) The only woman in this team is a feminist from Kalyanamitra, the Jakarta based feminist NGO, who has a lot of experience in conducting training on gender issues and development.

Other activists involved in later this programs later were an activist who had been involve in education for the last fifteen years, and a researcher of AKATIGA (Institute for Social Analysis) in Bandung, and finally myself. I have been involved from the beginning, and in fact I was very much concerned on how this education agenda would be implemented. They had finished developing the design of the educational system, including curriculum, training methodology and technical process, materials and selection of participants, facilitator and lecturers, reading materials etc. The first class which was held in July 1994.²³

²³ The team has met four times to design the system of education. They agreed that this experiment will become the embryo of the educational institution for NGO activists in Indonesia. See Laporan Workshop "Pendidikan Politik untuk Aktivist Organisasi Non Pemerintah" (A Workshop Report on

The political education includes five main themes.²⁴ The first section is about ideology, paradigm theories and vision on social change and development. The main purpose of this section is to deconstruct the dominant hegemony and discourse. This section will provide insight on different ideologies, visions and grand theories of social changes in contemporary development theories. Through these sessions it is hoped the participants will find an alternative theory and paradigm of social transformation. The dialectical relationships between many recent development issues such as the issues of human rights and basic rights, environment and sustainable livelihood issues as well as gender issues are stressed. In this section is also included social analysis and class analysis.

The second section deals with methodologies and techniques of social transformation. The team has selected Popular Education and Participatory Research approaches as the major content areas of the second section of the curriculum. The main purpose of this section is to identify how the dominant hegemony has influenced the methodology of NGO activities, and to try to develop an alternative methodology for field activities.

Political Education for NGO activists), Kaliurang, 30 March - 1 April, 1994.

²⁴ The team has published a guide book for the candidate of the education. See Prospectus Pendidikan Politik Aktivistis Organisasi Non Pemerintah, (Guide Book of NGO activists Political Education), April, 1994.

The third section deals with action and planning action. This section consists of a sharing experience, learning how to organize people in a counter-hegemonic movement. It is action in the struggle of "war of position, namely attacking the short term problems of communities. In rural sectors this struggle include resistance to land displacement, marginalization and poverty alleviation projects and the rights of farmers to organize. In urban sector the struggle is how to organize unions to demand their rights. This struggle however should be connected with the long term struggle, namely creating cultural space and critical education for the whole people.

6.3.5 Toward NGO Activists as Organic Intellectuals

This study has concluded that in the future NGO activists can play role as organic intellectuals in the process of social transformation. There are in fact several roles that should be played by NGO activists as organic intellectuals. First of all is the role of activists in the process of knowledge production. The process of the study made them aware about the possibility for NGO activists to control and use their knowledge. They need to question the various theories in social change and development, through various discussions. In each discussion they involved local intellectuals and universities lectures. In each discussion participants in each circle were to find alternative visions

and paradigms to Capitalism and Marxism. Although in these discussions they faced the problem of how to find out about the alternative paradigms. Instead of choosing any particular ideology, they admitted that social transformation is a long process of action and reflection. The whole process of this study exhibits an alternative mode of knowledge production and has caused them to rethink their knowledge/power relations to the people.

Another role of the organic intellectual is the process of conscientization. The studies and dialogues during the research showed a major change in the consciousness of activists on macro issues as well as micro issues. That is to say, this study has made it possible for the activists critically understand their ideological positions, their relations to the state as well as to the people. For example, the awareness of the position of NGOs in the contradiction between the state and civil society. The issue is about ideology and the state hegemony, and the NGOs role in the process. This issue also make them aware of their ideological position in confronting the state ideology. There has been ambiguity due to the cooptation and coercion of the State apparatus toward the NGO movement in Indonesia.²⁵ Despite of the strong influence of

²⁵ There will be a new Presidential Decree (Kepres) in Indonesia to control NGO movements. Most of NGO activists believe that this Decree is another new means of control of the State over NGO movements. See Kastorus Sinaga, "Over Regulation Haunts Indonesian NGOs" in The Jakarta Post,

Modernization and development hegemony to the most of activists, the state also have sponsored the quasi-NGOs at national level such as DNIKS, as well as provincial levels what its calls by BK3S.²⁶ This study raised the important issue of NGO activists as an organic intellectuals in creating space so that people can better understand their positions within the larger structural contexts.

August 26, 1994. There has been resistance and protest from NGO activists to this decree. See press release of INFID (International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development) 19 August 1994, regarding the draft of presidential decree to regulate NGOs.

²⁶ DNIKS (Dewan Nasional untuk Kesejahteraan Sosial) or National Board for Social Welfare, is the only national NGO to be recognized by the Government. The BK3ES is DNIKS's branch at the provincial level. See Menteri Sosial dan Menteri Dalam Negeri, Surat Keputusan Bersama tentang Pembinaan LSM, 1993. (Joint Decree between Minister of Home Affair and Minister of Social Affair on NGOs).

CHAPTER 7

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION: A REFLECTION

In this final chapter, I wish to conclude with what I view as the important criticism of the works of the NGO movement as an example of a social movement organizations in Indonesia. As one among the eight members of the core team in the participatory research process, this conclusion and recommendation is my personal conclusion. However this conclusion has been discussed and shared with members of the team as well as the wider NGO community. Each of us has the right to analysis and conclude on what she/he can grasp from his/her personal experience and analysis. In other words each of the members has the authority to make sense of our experience of the whole processes of the study as well as to take a lead to facilitate follow-up suggested by the research participants. The followings are some points and thoughts that I think are shared by most of the activists.

7.1 NGOs and the State Hegemony

This study has succeeded in uncovering the positions of NGOs in relation to the state hegemony. It was through this study that NGO activists examined their positions critically. The framework that was used basically is the kind framework that makes it possible for them to answer the question as to whether or not their structural position is

that of the state; or whether they are really advocating the interests of civil society. The discussions have located the position of NGOs under the state hegemony, and confirm that the NGO movement is part of the state hegemony. There are several indicators than can be reflected.

7.1.1 NGO's and Developmentalist Hegemony

It is quite surprising that the majority of activists in the NGO movement tend to support and to promote Developmentalism. The majority of NGO activists take the concept of development for granted in a very generic sense, and understand it as a neutral term. They often expressed that there is basically nothing wrong with any concept of development, the problem is on how you carry it out and who benefits from it. This influences their approaches and choices. Most activists follow the logic of economic growth in their vision of development and in the field and therefore do not question the status quo of class, gender, political oppression, cultural hegemony, and knowledge power relations. The tendency can be seen clearly in their field programs such as income generating programs, community development and entrepreneur training, population control programs and other programs. Those programs have a common characteristic namely class and gender blindness. The tendency also can be observed in the way they name the problem and how the do social analysis.

Only a very few NGO activists really question the systemic and structural problems of society when naming the problems. This study has succeeded in deconstructing the discourse of Developmentalism. However it has not succeed in providing the space to create an alternative vision and paradigm yet. In other words, this study has succeeded in rising critical consciousness among activists to challenge the classic assumptions of Developmentalism. It has succeeded in motivating NGO activists to plan their transformational base through a critical consciousness process. Beside this, the critical consciousness has started influencing many NGO activities in such ways their training, planning and evaluation designs. The activists involved in this study have successfully developed their education plans and have started to implement them.

7.1.2 NGO's Structural Position

In the very beginning of the growth of the NGO movement in Indonesia, namely in the late 1970s, it was clearly stated by NGO leaders that their existence was as a partner of the government in development. It was believed that NGOs contributed alternative approaches to development in terms of methodology and technique of implementation. They identified themselves therefore as Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM) instead of ORNOP (nongovernmental organization), to show that they were not anti-government or

out to undermine the state development ideology. This choice was supported by the government, and in fact the name of LSM was given by the government to avoid the bad connotation of 'anti' government. Through this study however, there was a call to be renamed ORNOP, instead of LSM.

There are also other phenomena which showed that many NGO activists perceive themselves as extensions or parts of the state's national policy of development. It is understood that basically what they are doing is similar to that of government programs. The differences between the government and the NGO movement are only in terms of scale and approach. The government programs tend to be on a very large national scale. Where as the NGOs tend to deal with local small projects at grassroots level. In terms of their approaches, the government projects of this scale, tend to be developed and designed by command from the top. While the NGO projects, because of the character and the scale, are done through a more local participatory approach. But there is no distinction in term of their vision and paradigm.

There has been also ambiguity on the position of activists in relation to civil society. As an institution it is very hard to located their place as within the people's movements (civil society). They claim to part of the people's movement. However, as exhibited and examined

carefully during the study, the majority of NGO activists shared the beliefs of the state, namely Developmentalism. This ideological position makes it very difficult for them to realize their missions to promote social transformation. This study however has succeeded in raising new consciousness of NGO political positioning and provoking them to realign themselves with the people.

This study also has succeeded in raising critical consciousness of their structural position and the impact of this on their daily practices. Exploring collaboratively the nature of development ideology in the NGOs vision, policies and methodologies as well as their daily practices has driven activists to inquire new paths for social transformation. The explorations consist of a variety of activities and have resulted in raising the consciousness and awareness of activists in their ideological position and how this affects their approaches, methodologies and techniques.

7.1.3 People's Movements versus Development Consultants

This study has revealed the nature of NGOs role, which up until now, has been as development consultants rather than as part of the people's movement. Despite most of the activists awareness that NGO movement should be part of the movement of civil society or people's movement, or based on people (mass-based movement), there are institutional

problem that makes the NGO movement alienated from the people. This awareness drove the desire to clarify their basic constituency, mainly the need for legitimate criteria to be part of the people's movement.

However, there a significant number of activists especially, those who are from big NGOs, who do not see it as necessary for their organizations to have a mass base. This view tends to look at the NGOs as development consultants which have a strong commitment to the poor. This view tends to look at the role of NGOs as friends of people. The problem of this is rooted in the history of the existence of the NGO movement in Indonesia. The 'yayasan' (foundation) form of organization makes it difficult for NGOs to integrate with the people's movement. The foundation tends to be a non-democratic, hierarchial and closed organization. Those characteristic is complicated by the fact that the majority of their financial sources come from international funding agencies that require modern forms of organization to work with.

This situation alienates NGOs from the people. This alienation takes place due to the fact that most NGO programs are set annually based on their own interests. The NGO movement, which was initially established with the aim of replacing the bad impacts of development with a strong ambition to be part of people's movement, in the process has changed its nature and become a consultant of development.

This change was influenced dialectically by many factors, the financial resources, i.e., from funding agencies, the nature of the approaches namely project based activities which have time limits, and the form of their institution and the utilization of the logic of Developmentalism.

The study however did not succeed in facilitating the NGO movement in inventing a different form of organization which would not separate them from the people structurally and be accepted by the state's rule and funding agencies's requirement. There was a hard struggle to find alternative form of organization. But, it has not been successful yet.

7.1.4 The Donor Agencies' Hegemony

This study also made people aware that international funding agencies, both the state related funding agency such as Canadian CIDA, American USAID and German GTZ and nongovernmental funding agencies such as CRS, USC Canada, CUSO, CARE, Save the Children, CEBEMO, HIVOS, NOVIB, OXFAM and many other organizations, play a very big role in shaping NGO visions, missions as well as programs. The mutual cooperation which has become the basic agreement between NGOs and funding agencies is very difficult to realize due to the unequal relations between the two parties. The international funding agencies have the power to direct and shape the agenda of the NGOs cooperation. Many local NGOs agenda have basically been prescribed by

international funding agencies. These power relationships make it difficult for the NGO movement in Indonesia to develop their own ideologies, visions and agendas.

This imbalanced relationship between the funding agencies and their local partners is complicated by the fact that many funding agencies respond to the need for affectivity and efficiency created by new bureaucratic structures, by employing big national NGOs to become mediators in their relations with small NGOs. This structure places big NGOs not only as administrators but it has been perceived by little NGOs at grassroots level as resulting in a type of domination of the little NGOs, i.e., a new type of power relations. So a lot of little local grassroots NGOs have been forced to adopt the issues and agendas that have been stipulated by the national NGOs, previously assigned by the funding agencies.¹

7.2 The Future Action and Agenda

This study has successfully stimulated a commitment to an agenda for change. The agenda consists of two main sections namely the ideological and the political struggle. The ideological agenda is basically to develop a mechanism both internal of the NGO movement as well as external for

¹ One example of this approach is the creation of YAPIKA. YAPIKA (Indonesian-Canadian Foundation) was created by Canadian CIDA and the large Indonesian NGOs to bridge between the Canadian funding agencies and local Indonesian small NGOs.

having a space for education. By inside movement, they mean to create a long term process, using the existing institutions for ideological change among activists themselves and to transform their relations to the people. While by external to the movement, they mean a struggle in the arena of civil society, such as schools and other types of educational institutions and occasions, mass media, both being part of the same counter hegemonic movement. In the Indonesian context this counter hegemonic movement is the creation of space for activists and people to question the existing social formation and structure, by deconstructing the discourse of Developmentalism as a type of capitalist social formation of the Third World context. At the same time the counter hegemonic movement is also the construction of new critical consciousness in order to transform society toward fundamentally new and better relationships.

The political agenda of NGO activists is critical social analysis that leads to raising the consciousness of the people on their position in the existing system and structure, and to relating analysis with the actions, in other words, they should respond both short term to respond practical needs (war of maneuver) and long term to respond strategic needs (war of position). A war of maneuver is always conducted in the framework of war of position, namely ideological and cultural struggle. Therefore both strategic

and practical issues can not be separated.² In order to realize these agendas, the NGO movement have taken the following steps.

7.2.1 Repositioning NGO Activists

NGO activists have started to reposition themselves within in the civil society. They are locating themselves as 'organic intellectuals'. That is a type of intellectual that is rooted in the exploited and dominated class. The role that can be played by activists in that position is as the follows. First of all, activists hold a position in the arena of knowledge production. Second they can create space so that people can analyze the existing structure and system that marginalizes, dominates and exploits them and disseminate the analysis to society at large. Third they can create space to raise critical consciousness. This process of conscientization is conducted by assisting the people in understanding the class system of exploitation, political oppression as well as cultural hegemony that domesticates them.

There have been efforts to identify possible vehicles for raising this critical consciousness. The process of

² The concept of "practical and strategic" actions/programs are used by the women's movement to achieve their short and long terms goals. Similar to this approach is the concept of "war of position" and "war of maneuver". This concept was adapted from Gramsci's thoughts. See Gramsci, 1971, pp. 238-240.

questioning the dominant ideology, and how it has affected existing social formation and structure should be raised at all occasions and opportunities, such in NGO regular meetings, training and networking. However, at the wider level, namely raising consciousness at community level, we agreed to apply Popular Education and Participatory Research, because they are considered the most appropriate means.

7.2.2 To Establish Alternative Education for Activists

In order to move to the position of organic intellectuals, political education for NGO activists needs to be supported. This study has successfully taken a lead in this action. A core team has been established to develop this kind of education. Those involved in the core education team are those who had a lot of experience in participatory research, popular education and organizing farmers, labor union and other kinds of social movements for social change.

The education is to be conducted at several regional educational meetings. The first in Solo Central Java. It will be attended by around 30 activists from 30 NGOs in Central Java. The curriculum of the education has been set and tested. The curriculum consists of five topics, namely ideology and vision; social analysis and theories of social change, development theories; gender and development;

participatory research and popular education and plan of action.

7.2.3 Improving Organizational and Management Capacity

With very few exceptions, a commonly acknowledged weakness of the NGO movements is management. The efforts that have been made over the last ten years to improve their management capacity are problematic, mainly because of the chosen nature of the management paradigm and organizational development are in fact counter productive to the whole processes of social transformation. That is to say that the management and organizational developments that have taken place that do not fit the purpose of an organization for social change. Instead it is a kind of management that is suitable for developmentalist types of organization.³ In this kind of management there are no questions of class exploitation, political oppression, cultural hegemony, knowledge/power relations, gender domination and other types of discriminations. This kind of management has contributed to the organizational problems faced by participatory democratic organizations for social transformation. The

³ There were various programs conducted to improve management capacity of NGOs in Indonesia, such as "The Indonesian Management Development Projects 1985-1986" by the Manitoba Institute of Management, Inc. Canada. See Management Nirlaba (Management for Non Profit Organizations), Jakarta: P3M, 1988. The program was supported by CIDA. GTZ of Germany also sponsored other approaches to planning which is called ZOPP.

need for participatory methodology in planning activities and evaluating them is recognized. The problem is not only technical, but also to invent internal organizational forms and structures that make it possible to materialize the process of democratically shared decision making possible so that NGOs have a strong connection with their constituency namely the people.

7.3 What We can Learn from the Research

This study proved a deep lesson for activists on how to organize a collective organization for change. This process has made us aware that using the NGO movement as a vehicle for social transformation is problematic and challenging. The following points are assessments, thoughts and personal evaluations based on this study.

7.3.1 The Problem of Participation and Representation

The attempt at a participatory process for social change is problematic, especially for activists. I observed that part of the problem has to do with the way NGO activists perceive their projects, that is as projects per se and not as part of a movement for a change. Another problem that frustrated us was the process of group formation. Knowing that this study needed a cohesive group, the low level of commitment among some of the members of the core group made it difficult for the rest to make decisions.

Another problem of participation was the formation of the core team. The existence of a core team in this study was itself problematic. By establishing the core group on the one hand the study was managed and worked. But on the other hand, placing the study in the hand of the core team meant placing the majority of NGO activists as the objects of the research. This structure was also problematic because it created circles, with the core team at the center of the circle, acting on behalf of the wider circles.

The creation of the core team created the problem of separating the researchers and the researched as in the traditional research paradigm.⁴ The process of separating researchers and researched, together with other processes such as representation and project approaches in my observation are a few of many results inherited from positivism and empiricism. This heritage has been internalized deeply in the minds of the members of the core team and wider activists.⁵

⁴ The problem of separation of researchers and researched is considered a fundamental issue. See the Introduction of Hall, Gillete and Tandon, Creating Knowledge: A Monopoly, New Delhi: Participatory Research in Asia, 1982, pp. 6-10.

⁵ There were also strong indicators of "unequal relations of knowledge" between the core team and the wider NGO activists. The problem of monopoly of knowledge is one of participatory research. See Rahman, Muhammad Anisu, "The Theoretical Standpoint of PAR" in Fals Borda. O, and Anisur Rahman. M, (Eds.). Action and Knowledge; Breaking the Monopoly with Participatory Action-Research. New York: The Apex Press, 1991, pp. 13-34.

In the early stages of this study, this structure also created knowledge power relationships within NGO community itself between the member of core team and outer circles. In a way this counter hegemonic movement created a hegemony of its own. However, the core team struggled to find ways to make the wider circles share their power in decision making and by the end of the study, several activities had been taken over by the wider circles. The follow up of the study has been carried out by many groups and become a movement in itself.

7.3.2 Gender Issues in Participatory Research

This study proved to us that women issues are still a big problem among NGO activists in Indonesia. There are gender biases and gender inequalities strongly shaped and internalized in the minds of activists. This gender blindness influenced the whole process of the study. Although gender has become a big issue over the last five years among the NGO community in Indonesia, in reality it is still a big problem. There are several points related to this study.

The whole study focused too much on the issue of politics, economics, and cultural ideology. The discussions on the impact of development on women's conditions and position is very rare. The core team discussed this problem and tried to raise the issue by providing translated

articles on gender and development. However, during discussions, issues of women were not heard.

During the research process, only a very few women were involved either as the interviewers as well as interviewed during the field study. Although during discussions the social analysis of 'women's position' was analyzed and related to the whole problem of domination, there were no further discussions on women questions. The level of participation of women in the research process indicates the level of sensitivity of the issue in the NGO community in Indonesia. They are a minority in a male dominated arena and subordinated, dominated, stereotyped as a result. None of the members of the core team was a woman. And only a very few of the participants of the wider circles were women.

Taking gender as a consideration was mentioned during the early preparation of the research process. However the core team member could not find a way of implementing it. The gender issues in the planning finally disappeared during the process. Unfortunately there was no strong enough voice to disturb the norm and get gender sensitive methodology applied. Although some of the members of the team succeeded in collecting some models of gender tools analysis such as Harvard Gender Tools and Mauser's Tools of Analysis, the team could not find a place to implement.

7.3.3 The Role of Activists in Participatory Research

The main role of the core team of activists in the process of participatory research for social transformation is to facilitate a process to make it possible for wider activists to move. That is to say that basically the role of those activists is to create a space so that activists can collaboratively work together in making an agenda for change. But my experience in collaborative work proved it is quite difficult. The core team were familiar with working on project-based activities, so when they participated in non-project based activities, like this study, problems arose.

This study also demonstrated that working for social change needs activists with a strong dedication toward social change. If NGO activists are accustomed to working on project-based activities, they will face the problem of commitment which will finally influence the whole process of the study. I think there are very important criteria those who work in social movements should meet. First of all, activists involved in social change projects need to be emotionally involved in the process. The second is that they need to be able to work not in order to compete or to win, but to create a space that makes it possible for the people to change.

7.3.4 Methodology and Techniques

This study demonstrated that participatory research by NGO activists is possible. Although in the early stages of the study all of us agreed to employ participatory research, later on we realized that we did not have similar definitions, concepts or procedures on how to conduct the research. The problem was that members the core team did not have enough opportunity to close the gap of the differences and build up a concept and a new understanding of what we meant by 'participatory research'.

The dissimilarities created problems in choosing methodologies and techniques for collecting data and information, and analyzing the data as well as the research processes. The core group spent a lot of time in discussing whether or not the information stated during group discussions was valid, whether discussion can be recognized as means of data collection. In other words there were various definitions and assumptions on participatory research understood by each of the team members. This research process taught us that to conduct a participatory research among NGO activists, the first important step is to have a workshop on what participatory research is.

The questions of the politics and economics of research touches on who benefits the most from the research process. Before the research was conducted, there was questioning among the core team on why they were involved in the

research process at all, and the answer was for social change. These were members of the core team who benefitted the most. I also benefitted; as a result of this study, I can complete my dissertation.

7.4 Recommendations for Further Research

This research is only a starting point of the creation of organizations for social transformation. In order to materialize this movement further, follow up studies need to be done. There are many points that I think can be followed up.

First of all is a participatory research study focusing to the creation of Indonesian NGO paradigm and theory of social change and social transformation. This study has succeeded in understanding NGO activists position vis a vis the dominant hegemony of Developmentalism. This study also has been very successful in the deconstruction of the discourse of Developmentalism. However, this study did not succeeded in reconstructing the vision and theory of Indonesian NGO activists as an alternative to Developmentalism.

Second, there is a need for participatory research into the implications of rejecting Developmentalism for the NGO movement in Indonesia. It is a process of reconstructing and reforming institutional structure to allow the NGO activists to working cohesively with the people. The study

should answer the question of what kind of relationships, and what kinds of programs, methodology and techniques would allow the people to be at the center of their social change. The study should also answer what is structural and systemic problem that prevent the NGO movement from realizing their vision.

Third, is the study of how to integrate the war of maneuver activities, namely activities which response practical needs of the people with the long term activities of a war of position. This is a long term study, i.e., the struggle in the cultural and ideological realm. The study should start by strategising on how to launch a collaboration among NGOs with many different interests and focuses.

7.5 Personal Reflection

This last is personal. After working as an NGO activists for almost fifteen years in the field of development and adult education, I am certain that development, and institutions working for it, fail to fulfill promises. The poor who are supposed to be the actors in their history and change are alienated by the project-based approaches. The poor are supposedly to be the main beneficiaries of development, but are in fact marginalized economically by the process of development. The poor who are supposedly the center of knowledge and

cultural production, in reality become the target of cultural hegemony and the victims of the dominant discourses. The poor have been driven by force as well as through socialization and manufactured consent to accept their misery. In this long process of marginalization, subordination, domination, socialization, and dehumanization of the poor, NGOs in Indonesia are among the key players, I am one of those players

I have come to this conclusion not only because I want to testify and try to make those who are involve in development aware. But due to deep reflection on my personal experience. It is quite personal, but it also has a wider dimension. It is my personal response to structural and systemic problems. As an activist from the Third World involved in Developmentalism, the whole issues of how development has affected the Third World is not only analytical, but also very personal. The Developmentalism as an ideology created by the West has manifested itself in the marginalization, subordination, domination and dehumanization and destruction the Third World; and personally, I can feel it. Therefore, it is scientific, analytical, and rational, as well as subjective, personal, and emotional.

This study is one terminal in a long journey that has made me conscious about the need for a change. This study has driven me personally to keep working in a different

direction, away from Developmentalism, and toward the process of social transformation. This study has made me believe that something needs to be done in order to stop this process of dehumanization. It is through this study that I have come to believe that my future involvement is meaningful. Therefore the question is, what can I do to shape the development processes to become socially transformative.

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