The Development of Civil Society in Indonesia and the Role of Voluntary Organizations

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This article describes the evolution of Indonesia's voluntary sector and the role of nongovernmental and private voluntary organizations in the development of Indonesia's civil society. The paper describes how NGOs and PVOs complement and supplement the role of government in the social and economic development of the society. It also discusses how these organizations manage their responsibility in challenging the government while often remaining financially dependent on the government for their existence. The paper also advances discussions about the organizational theory of voluntary organizations and their particular development in Indonesia.

In the last ten years there has been a growing discourse among intellectuals, private voluntary organization leaders, nongovernmental organization activists, and bureaucrats on the emergence of civil society in Indonesia. In the Indonesian context, the civil society, according to Muhammad Dawam Rahardjo, has several cultural characteristics which originate from two sources. The first comes from the business community, including both large and small businesses, and the second comes from the middle class and social activists. Theoretically, if business grows and develops, a middle class and then a civil society will emerge.[1] However, before we discuss this issue it needs to be noted that development in the Indonesian New Order era (1966–98) had already given birth to a third sector. According to Robert Wathnow (1989), who expanded upon the teachings of de Tocqueville (1805–59), the French social philosopher who visit-

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ed America in 1834 and wrote the book titled *Democracy in America* (1835), modern society consists of three sectors. The first is the state sector, which has the characteristics of monopoly and coercion. The second is the private sector, which works with the market mechanism for obtaining profit. The third sector, or the voluntary sector, is characterized as voluntary, nonprofit, and noncoercive. These three sectors stand independently and possess a degree of autonomy and independence, although often intermixed and interactive.

In the period of New Order, besides the growing role of the state in national development and the growth of the private sector, the third sector also experienced growth. This sector is dominated by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and private voluntary organizations (PVOs). According to de Tocqueville, the third sector is made up of religious organizations, community groups, civic associations, and self-help and civil organizations. If the existence of this third sector defines a civil society, then civil society already existed before the 1970s, in fact it existed even before national independence in 1945. However, NGOs and PVOs are actually known as professional organizations, and to this extent they are understood to be something different than what was meant by de Tocqueville, and this reality was born in the New Order era. Included in this category are the population studies and family planning groups, institutes for development studies, centers for people's participation, center for agribusiness institute, legal aid organizations, and others. These organizations and institutions were also born from the development process of the New Order, although they functioned as a countervailing power as well as partner/counterpart of the government and an intermediary institution between the government and society.

The development of civil society in the developing countries is generally accomplished through economic development. Generally, the government plays the role as an agent of change, modernization, and development. It encourages the growth and development of its educated people. By giving them the chance to enter the political field, the government gives them the opportunity to realize their vision of participating in national development, thus advancing justice, democracy, and prosperity in their country. Generally speaking, newly independent countries are civil societies, although this is not realized. Realization is obtained by the growth of the private sector. The state greatly needs this private sector not only because

the private sector represents a source of income through taxation but also to position itself as a developer of a new society.

Actually, in Indonesian history, civil society existed before the Republic of Indonesia was born. Moreover, the Republic of Indonesia was brought about by the civil society, which had already appeared from the beginning, even before the twentieth century. The Islamic Traders Association (Serikat Dag Islam), for example, was initially formed in 1908, by Haji Samanhudi, in Solo, Central Java. Later it became an important Islamic party known as Partai Syarikat Islam Indonesia (Indonesian Islamic League Party). Additionally, in 1912 Kyai Haji Achmad Dachlan founded the social and religious association, Muhammadiyah, which established in Yogyakarta a clinic and orphanage that offered foster care, medical care for the elderly, and even village and legal aid assistance. In 1926, Kyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari and Kyai Haji Wahab Hasbullah established Nahdlotul Ulama in Surabaya, which is based on the traditional Indonesian Islamic boarding school model, named "pesantrens" which is deeply rooted throughout Indonesia. Soon after, several Islamic organizations emerged on different islands, such as Al Washiliyah in North Sumatra, Tarbiyah Islamiyah in South Sumatra, Nahdlotul Wathan in West Nusa Tenggara, Al Khairaat in Central Sulawesi, and Al Irsyad in Central Java, to mention only the more important Islamic organizations. This is certainly astonishing, for at the time the indigenous private sector had not yet become clearly visible.

In *History of the Indonesian People's Movement* (1967), Abdul Kadir Pringgodigdo describes the type of organization that gave birth to civil society; namely, the private organizations in the fields of culture, politics, social movement, and religion. They were labor unions; women's, youth, and regional organizations; and study clubs. All these organizations aspired for a free and independent Indonesia, and finally the Republic of Indonesia was established in 1945. Yet before the nation was formed, these organizations asserted the presence of a civil society.

But this tendency ended with the outbreak of World War II in 1939. As mentioned by Ruslan Abdul Ghani, Indonesia went through three periods of growth: the Indonesian independence period (1945–59), which is the period of state building; the period from 1959 to 1967, which is the period of nation and character building; and the period from 1967 to the present, which is the period of economic development. Though the exactness of this classification may be questioned, certainly these early periods of national independence constitute a period of national development, indicated by the

making of three constitutions, a general election and the drafting of a new constitution by the constitutional board that resulted from the general election.

During the early independence period, signs of the emergence of the civil society were not yet discernible. But since the 1950s, an independent and critical press has gathered strength, books have been published, and universities have visibly grown and articulated the freedom of speech platform. From the universities have appeared scientific and intellectual figures who have been visible on the national level. In the 1950s, the student movement became very visible, whether from within or outside the universities. But what was most conspicuous at that time were the political parties, including such large organizations as Masyumi (Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia), which wore the role of a modernist Muslim party; the NU (Nahdhatul Ulama), which represented traditional Muslims; the PNI (Indonesian National Party), which represented the nationalist group; and the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), which was led by the socialists. Also included were such small parties as the PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party), an umbrella organization for the social democratic groups; the Catholic Party and Parkindo (Indonesian Christian Party), which provided a place for the aspirations of Christians; and several other small parties.

The marketplace was also expanded by the small and middle economic actors. The backbone of the economy was foreign businesses, which were still able to give tax contributions to the country. Since 1959, however, large-scale nationalization was carried out. In the absence of large foreign companies (which had already been nationalized or had their activities removed), small businesses were able to grow in a guided economic system. Clearly, small businesses were able to make provisions for a civil society, although a part of them were supported by foreign funding, especially in Christian/Catholic circles. Religious organizations were still able to maintain religious and national foundations, which became party supporters at the grass-roots level.

Under the protection of a guided democracy and economic system, the nation was able to be self-reliant. Under the leadership of national state owned enterprises and cooperatives, a socialist economy was attempted. Although the country strongly suppressed the life of the civil society which flourished in the period of liberal democracy, the civil organizations were able to exhibit their vitality under the pressure of the guided democracy.

In the New Order era the development of the organizations and foundations of the civil society were also visible. More prominent was the growth of NGOs and PVOs, which have three main functions. The first is as a partner of the government in development, where NGOs and PVOs function as the "people's technocrats." The second is as a countervailing power to the excesses of development. The third is as an intermediary institution between society, the government, and the private sector.

NGOs and PVOs have not yet displayed themselves as genuine civil society institutions as described by de Tocqueville, because their activities are still very dependent upon foreign funding agencies and the government, whose funds also originate from abroad.

Organizations which can more properly be called genuine NGOs and PVOs are religious organizations, whether Islamic or Christian. Islamic organizations — such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlotul Ulama, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, Pesantrens (al Ma'ahid al Islamiyyah) — can also be called grass-roots organizations. Christian religious organizations, whether Catholic or Protestant, still possessed NGOs and PVOs due to large financial assistance from abroad. However, these Christian organizations are also supported by the corporate structure, which produced funds from several marketplaces.

In this way we can know the two types of social organizations of the New Order. The first (old) model is represented by groups concerned with human rights, poverty alleviation, the environment, small business development and cooperatives, local community development, consumer association, social forestry, appropriate technology, and several views that may be characterized as critical or even complementary toward the mainstream view adopted by the government.

The vision of alternative development is not always rejected by the government; moreover, this inclination or tendency is accepted by a certain fraction of the bureaucrats. In fact, in the end the government often accepts and applies some NGO methods, such as environmental protection, appropriate technology, and family planning. Sometimes, however, the government has conflict with NGOs and PVOs over human rights issues, consumer issues, the informal sector, or even the environment. On the other hand, the government absorbed many NGO and PVO programs, for example, in developing small business, social forestry, or poverty alleviation programs, although there is always a difference of opinion between NGOs and PVOs and the government. The increase of the role of the government

during the New Order did not restrict the development of the civil society, but it certainly brought about a response from the people with the increase of the development of NGOs and PVOs. In other words, there was a state of "harmony and tension" between the government and the civil society.

In the last ten years, mass organizations, especially Islamic ones, have begun to find a closer affinity with the government. The government began to approach Islamic boarding schools and institutions of higher education as a way to distribute and implement projects. Indonesian Muslim Intellectual Society (ICMI), which was close to the government, obtained the opportunity to conduct several development projects. For example, ICMI was very successful in developing financial institutions in accordance with Islamic law, working at the grass-root level. With minimal assistance from the government, Baitul Mal wa Tamwil (BMT), which is a credit organization based on the principle of profit sharing, succeeded in gathering funds from the society which were then lent out to its members for carrying out productive activities.

In 1994, the government, via the National Planning Board, began to facilitate the Presidential Decree of the Backward Villages Program, which was aimed at increasing the standard of living for those who lived under the poverty line through productive activities in poor village areas. In this program, the government did not take NGOs and PVOs as partners; rather, the aid was distributed directly to the self-reliant community groups.

Thus, during the period approaching the era of reformation, NGOs and PVOs were marginalized and even entered a period of crisis. Mass organizations, on the other hand, experienced advancement. But even they were not yet capable of functioning as NGOs and PVOs, for they were merely voluntary in nature and not professional. However, these mass organizations were increasingly connected and dependent upon grant and financial aid from the government. Except for Christian and Catholic organizations, members of Islamic mass organizations generally were not able to support their organizations. In advanced civil society the main financial sources are those whose income is sufficient. In other words, supporters of the civil society are from the middle class. But the role and basis of the middle class in Indonesia still has its limitations.

In such a condition, the civil society cannot yet be classified as fully autonomous and independent. It watches the government anxiously whenever its position differs from the official position. Besides, financially speaking, the institutions of the civil society are still very dependent upon

the government. When they are holding a conference, seminar, or consultative assembly, they always approach the government for help. They are also still not yet able to obtain support from the private sector.

Nevertheless, discussions about the middle class and civil society are still incessant and continue. Also, civil society as a third sector, which is autonomous and independent due to support from the critical middle class, is still in the making.

The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Civil Society: Structure, Leadership and Programs

In Indonesia there are many PVOs that have come into being since the establishment of the New Order and that function as NGOs. Development programs in the fields of health services, nutrition, rural credit, informal education, rural community development, environmental protection, appropriate technology, participatory training, and others generally have achieved their present level of success because of the experiment pioneered, or at least supported, by NGOs. This shows that the Indonesian government has, in fact, given recognition to, and provided opportunities for, PVOs to take part in development. In the field of environmental protection and management, for example, the rights and duties of the community and the involvement of the community organizations are guaranteed by Legislative Act No. 4, 1882, Basic Provisions for Management of the Environment.

According to Ismid Haddad, however, this sort of recognition and legal guarantee is not an overall policy of the government and has not been applied consistently in all fields, sectors, or regions.[2] Optimal use has not been made of the nongovernment development organizations. In some areas, they have not been involved in social economic development projects, which do in fact have bearing on their interests. Often when the bureaucratic apparatus does, with good intentions, incorporate local community organizations in development programs, it does so in such a way that instead of utilizing the potential of the organizations it stifles their creativity and independence so that eventually they become mere extensions of the bureaucracy and thereby ineffective in reaching and serving the needs of the poor. NGOs thus have to contend not only with their own inherent limitations, but also with problems in their relationship with the government bureaucracy, which operates only in the development of

human resources, particularly at the community level or for underprivileged socioeconomic groups.

These voluntary associations or community organizations can, from a sociological viewpoint, be classified under two general headings, the "primary groups" and the "secondary or intermediate groups" with joint aspirations and activities, in which relationships are close and intimate, which are voluntary, and whose members interact with each other on a day-to-day, face-to-face basis in various mutual assistance activities related to the common interests of the group. These groups are usually small, poor, grassroots communities within a village or a neighborhood and include citizens' associations. In current development terminology in Indonesia, these groups are called "nongovernment organization."

The secondary/intermediate groups are voluntary associations that have grown out of the community whose members have a common interest in carrying out relatively small-scale or limited scope activities with nonprofit motives and humanitarian goals. These organizations are usually better organized and have larger membership with a wide network of relationships with the primary groups. Communication between them, however, is not always direct and interaction is not frequent. Because generally these secondary groups aim to promote the self-reliance of the primary groups, they are often referred to as a "self-help promoter organization" (SHPO), which means an organization dedicated to the promotion of community self-help. This secondary group includes labor organizations and other voluntary associations, institutions, and foundations that are assisting and working with NGOs and PVOs (SHO/CO) or directly involved in social guidance, human resources, and community development.

Since the focus of the discussion will be more on the secondary/intermediate groups, the term NGO is used. The following is a list of some of the NGOs that operate in Indonesia (the field in which the organization operates is in parentheses after the name of the organization): Dewan Nasional Indonesia untuk Kesejahteraan Sosial (DNIKS, social welfare); Lembaga Penelitian Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (LP3ES, economic and social education and reseach); Sekretariat Bina Desa (INDHRRA, rural development); Pusat Peranserta Masyarakat (PPM, integrated community development); Yayasan Mandiri (YM, appropriate technology for rural development); Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (Walhy, social environment); Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (LSP, development studies); Yayasan Kristen untuk Kesejahteraan Umum (YAKKM, public welfare);

Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH, legal aid); Yayasan Lembags Konsumen (YLK, consumer protection); Persatuan Wanita Indonesia (Perwari, women's welfare); Yayasan Pengembangan Kerajinan Rakyat Indonesia (Pekerti, handcrafts); *Canti Sena* (Gandhian people's movement in Bali), Yayasan Annisa Swasti (Yasanti, women's cooperative); Lembaga Pengembangan Teknologi Pedesaan (LPTP, rural technology); Lembaga Wira Koperasi Indonesia (Wirakop, business cooperative). There are also organizations and institutions that have long been active in education and the socioreligious fields such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, Persatuan Islam, Mathlaul Anwar, Nahdlotul Wathan, and Dharma Cipta Dewan Gereja-gereja Indonesia (DC-DGI) and a number of pesantren (rural Islamic schools) such as Pabelan, Darul Falah, Cipasung, Guluk-guluk, Tebuireng, Maslakul-Huda Darussalam, Darunnajah, and others that are active in rural social development in their areas.

These examples demonstrate that NGOs and PVOs differ greatly in characteristics, organizational structure, and type of activity. Their heterogeneity reflects the great variations found in the society they serve and the varied kinds of activities that the communities themselves are engaged in. This point is an important one to remember and to be taken into account when formulating policies or measures to regulate or guide the potential of the NGOs and PVOs. A uniform attitude or measure to standardize them would be inappropriate; it would weaken or possibly cripple the NGOs and PVOs in their activities to develop community self-reliance.

Although each NGO and PVO has its own style of operation, there are a number of similarities among them. Generally, most NGOs and PVOs are established at the initiative of the community, and they grow and develop without any dependence on or support from the government. They tend to nurture a specific identity and this is reflected in the way an NGO and PVO chooses its leadership and determines its policies and program of activities based on its own wishes and capabilities. The ability of NGOs and PVOs to manage themselves and their self-reliance is also reflected in their approach to their target groups and the communities with which they work.

Because NGOs and PVOs have been called into existence by problems of poverty or backwardness, they usually have a core of highly dedicated staff and volunteers. This motivation is often based on strong religious convictions about serving one's fellowman (*wa Allahu fi 'aunil 'abdi ma kanal 'abdu fi 'auni akhihi*) or the idealism of youth. Many NGOs and PVOs are

made up of young people, students, and graduates who wish to channel their ideals, knowledge, and youthful dynamism into concrete development activities that will be directly felt by the public at large. Another feature of NGOs and PVOs is their creativity in developing innovative and unique programs and projects and their nonprofit orientation. Most NGOs and PVOs work through local bodies (foundations, associations, or cooperatives), but some are individual concerns with no legal status whatsoever.

The most important feature of NGOs and PVOs, however, is their outlook and perception. Generally, NGOs, and PVOs see development not merely as an activity geared toward producing a certain output, but as a process of developing community motivation and awareness, of promoting people's abilities so that they can help themselves and, in turn, create a self-reliant community and nation. Thus, development is not just the responsibility of the government or its planners; the people and the NGOs and PVOs have a legal right and an obligation to play an active role in the development process. The NGOs and PVOs do not see community involvement in the development process merely as a way to achieve a goal; community participation has its own meaning, value and goals. Thus it is important to notice that NGOs and PVOs have an approach which stresses the participation of all involved parties in each stage of the development process. In the philosophy of most NGOs and PVOs, the participatory approach better guarantees the promotion of self-help and self-sufficiency.

Thus in evaluating the development activities of the NGOs and PVOs, the most important measurement of success or failure is not the size of the output but how far the community has moved toward self-reliance. The greater the ability and the more self-reliant are the target group and the less need that group has for the NGOs and PVOs, the more successful the NGOs and PVOs have been.

Obviously, many factors can influence their activities. The analysis focuses on both internal factors of the NGOs and PVOs — such as the structure of the organization, the leadership, membership composition, strategies and aims, and level of operation — and on external factors — such as relationships with target groups and the surrounding community; sources of funds and resources that support the activities of the NGOs and PVOs; and the efficiency, effectiveness, and impact of various kinds of NGOs and PVOs and their programs.

Typology, Role and Programs

Seen from their relation with the government's development effort, NGOs and PVOs have essentially three roles or functions. The first is a complementary function. NGOs and PVOs carry out development activities in those fields, sectors, and regions which, for one reason or another, have not been included in government development programs. In this context, the greater the number and the wider the scope of development activities handled by the government, the less room there is for the NGOs and PVOs, and, consequently, the smaller their function. For that reason, one important condition for the success of NGO and PVO activities is a certain level of complementarity in the functions and areas of activities handled by the government and NGOs and PVOs, and the speed with which the NGOs and PVOs can avail themselves of opportunities. The second function of the NGOs and PVOs is to support the implementation of national or local development programs aimed at the target groups with which they have well-established relationships. The third function of NGOs and PVOs is to act as intermediaries or as go-betweens, i.e., in cases where bureaucratic agencies and government programs cannot reach the poorest level of society, or if communities at those levels cannot get the assistance that is appropriate to their needs and social-economic conditions. These functions or roles are not mutually exclusive. In fact, NGOs and PVOs often combine these functions so as to have a more effective presence in society.

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of an NGO and PVO has a strong bearing on the effectiveness of its development activities. One of the main differences between NGOs and government agencies is their less bureaucratic and more flexible structure. This added flexibility enables them to act more quickly, efficiently, and effectively in implementing community development programs; it enables them to respond and adjust to new and sudden challenges; and it enables them to meet the often rapidly changing need of a target group. If an NGO or PVO grows and acquires a more rigid organizational structure, that particular organization should be reviewed to assess to what extent the principle of participation is applied, not only to target groups and the society outside the organization but within the organizations as well.

An NGO or PVO that applies a participatory approach within its own organization not only prevents itself from becoming too rigid and too formal but also implements a more open system of management, a more dem-

ocratic way of choosing the leadership, and a decision-making process whereby decisions are made on a collective basis and not on the basis of position or authority alone. The NGO and PVO that centralizes all authority and decisions in the organization's leadership, does little to promote the participation of its staff members, and does not have open communication with its target group will almost certainly be unable to compete with other NGOs and PVOs in terms of effectiveness in serving the needs of the people.

Leadership

In developing countries in general and in Indonesia in particular, leadership of an NGO and PVO tends to play a very dominant role in keeping the wheels of the organization turning and in establishing a relationship with the government and its target groups. This is all the more apparent in NGOs and PVOs, where the leader is usually a founder of the organization and thus feels it is his prerogative to determine the principles of the organization and its policy direction. In addition, the leader is often a person with vastly greater experience and ability than the staff and members. This sort of strong leadership need not be a problem — it is often just what is needed — as long as the style of leadership is in keeping with the nature and goals of the NGO or PVO itself, i.e., democratic and always inviting the participation of staff and target groups to increase their ability and self-reliance. What often happens, however, is that the role of a dominant leader is not sufficiently balanced by an effective mechanism for participation. This leads to a greater dependency on the leader with the result that the organization loses its ability to motivate the participation of its members and the community with which it is working. Target groups are reluctant to relate to an NGO and PVO leader who is dogmatic or inflexible in grasping their problems and needs and who tends to dominate their lives. Thus, ideally an NGO or PVO should be led not just by a charismatic leader but by a team of leaders and a number of core staff who are young, dynamic, and bound to the organization's ideals of service and collective work as the core of a participatory movement that will gradually involve social groups in a cooperative network to achieve common goals.

In formulating goals and targets the NGO or PVO must avoid technocratic planning, i.e., planning without prior consultation with the target groups. Flexibility is required, for it must be remembered that community development programs are very different from physical or technical development programs. There is always the possibility of unanticipated obstruc-

tions and deviations. It is important that the NGO or PVO knows as accurately as possible its target groups and its priorities, to prevent other groups, which do not need assistance, from enjoying the benefits of the program.

Relationship with the Target Group

Identifying the target group or working partner in the field plays a key role in determining the program's success or failure. This is true not only for the NGOs and PVOs operating at the local and regional level but also for those operating at the national level, as well as for foreign donor agencies. Studies have shown that clear identification and familiarity with the target group, plus a knowledge of the group's aspirations, needs, and goals, are prerequisites for an effective working relationship. The more appropriate the choice of a group as a partner in the field and the more appropriate the goals that are determined, the more detailed and appropriate are the duties and targets that can be given to them. This decreases the risk of difficulties arising as a result of discrepancies between the goals and thinking of the NGO or PVO and the target group. The NGO or PVO needs to develop institutionalized mechanisms and procedures to ensure that it always knows the actual needs and goals of colleagues in the field.

The relationship between the NGO or PVO and its target group — whether it is an individual or a group — can be seen in terms of the four functions that the NGO or PVO serves in society. First, it serves as a motivator, stimulating the awareness of group members to the problems they face, the potential of the resources, and the prospect they have for building a better future for themselves on the basis of their own potential and self-reliance. Although these primary groups are, in general, made up of poor and uneducated people, the NGO and PVO should not view them as being unaware or lacking motivation improvement themselves. They are quite aware of their socioeconomic condition and would very much like to break free from the bonds of poverty, but often they do not know where or how to begin. It is not the task of the NGO and PVO to dictate to them or motivate them, but rather to help them become aware of their own motivation, which can then be directed toward finding a way out on the basis of their own resources and efforts. In this task, the NGO and PVO can assist the target groups' development with input such as training, education, and information on how to work together, how to organize, and so on.

Second, the NGO or PVO functions as communicator, observing, recording, and channeling the needs and aspirations of the target group as a basis for formulating policies and development programs affecting their inter-

ests. The NGO or PVO can also monitor and supervise the implementation of these development programs for feedback to correct any deviations that occur. On the other hand, the NGO or PVO can also provide the target group with information about national development programs in a language that it can understand.

Third, the NGO or PVO functions as a dynamic force, pioneering development strategies and methods that are unfamiliar and introducing new methods and innovations in the fields of technology and management that are useful and relevant.

Finally, the NGO or PVO functions as a facilitator, providing technical assistance to the target group in the form of funding, working capital, equipment, raw materials, and market channels.

Obviously, not all NGOs and PVOs can successfully carry out all of these functions at the same time. Nevertheless, whatever kind of functional relationship exists between an NGO or PVO and its target group, the relationship must be one based on mutual trust and respect as partners. An NGO or PVO, in providing its partner with assistance, must do so unselfishly and without ulterior motives so that the target group feels that it has found a close friend who is prepared to help it solve its problems. Satisfaction should come from knowing that its dedication and efforts are valued and appreciated. But what often happens is that the working relationship between the NGO or PVO and its target group is consciously or unconsciously colored by a false attitude. The NGO or PVO feels that it "owns" the group or considers it as its "follower" or "subordinate." Obviously, this attitude is wrong. The NGO or PVO must be aware that the goal of a cooperative relationship is to increase the target group's capabilities so that it can help itself. If the target group develops independence it should not be greeted with disappointment that it wants to be "free" of its mentor, but should be welcomed as a sign that guidance has been successful. The goal of achieving the target group's independence and self-reliance should be initiated from the beginning. NGO and PVO staff working in the field must find and prepare cadres as quickly as possible to take over their roles and duties should the NGO or PVO staff leave them. The measure of success for the NGO or PVO is when the target group no longer needs their presence, because it can organize its own self-help.

Sources of Funds and Other Resources

Given the central importance of funding, an NGO or PVO must, from the time of its establishment, think about ways of securing sufficient, continu-

ous funds to finance its programs and activities. Funds must be nonbinding and be sought in fair, legal, and noncommercial ways. No less important than funding are the other resources that help guarantee the continuance of NGO or PVO activities. These include buildings, equipment, skilled technical assistance, technology, raw materials, and market outlets. Funds and supporting technical assistance can come from domestic or foreign sources: government agencies, private businesses, foundations, religious bodies, or development funding agencies and international agencies such as the UN or World Bank. Funds might be obtained in the form of institutional gifts or contributions, program subsidies, contracts, contributions from NGO or PVO members or target groups, or even as income generated by economic units of the NGO or PVO itself.

Even with the great number of possible funding sources, the fact remains that most NGOs and PVOs experience difficulties in funding their programs and activities because most do not have their own sources of funds. Even if they do, the amount is far from sufficient, especially to meet long-term program needs. Thus, NGOs and PVOs look to outside sources for financial assistance. This situation often causes a problem of NGO and PVO dependency on the donor agencies for finance, expertise, and even administration and management. Thus, in order to obtain a program budget of the amount and the time required, an NGO and PVO often sacrifices its autonomy in the sense that it is no longer free to choose and determine its own program strategy or targets. It may even sacrifice its working relationship with the target group.

To ameliorate their dependence on donor agencies, NGOs and PVOs can employ a number of different strategies. At the outset, they might establish that outside assistance to pay for a particular program is only temporary, after which the relationship with the donor agency is over. Some NGOs and PVOs choose to live off contracts, from one project to another, and from one resource to another. Some use program assistance to increase as quickly as possible their own institutional capabilities so that they are more able to develop their own funding sources and can end their further dependence on donor agencies. Some NGOs and PVOs try to diversify their sources of funds, obtaining some from government sources, some from cooperation with foreign and domestic development funding agencies, and some from their own resources. Some NGOs and PVOs avoid the donor agencies, developing their own business capabilities and establishing their own economic support units to pay for their program activities. Whatever strategy

is used, it is clear that becoming self-reliant in funds and other resources is not easily achieved. It is almost impossible without improvements in financial administration, levels of efficiency, management, and a capable professional staff. NGOs and PVOs are commonly faced with a dilemma: the efficiency and professionalism that is required for them to become self-reliant is often out of line with their flexibility, staff dedication, and informal structure, which are needed for them to be effective in serving their target groups.

Programs and Projects

It would be impossible to list here all the kinds of development activities represented in NGO and PVO projects and programs. They range from agriculture to small industry, from nutrition research to solar energy, from training regional government planning officers in small neighborhoods to training them at the international level. Nevertheless, because projects and programs are the primary means by which NGOs and PVOs give form to their development goals, it is very important that their identification of activities and choice of programs and projects be consistent with the organization's goals and the target groups needs.

Thus, in deciding the elements of programs and in planning projects, NGOs and PVOs must bear in mind a number of criteria:

1. To what extent does the project involve the development of human resources?
2. Which group in the community will benefit from the project? Will it be the village and district elite, the economically weak, or the poorest groups who most need help, who have been most neglected and most repressed and who suffer most?
3. Who can be anticipated to lose by the implementation of this project? Would they include any of the poorest group? What steps are to be taken to reduce their loss?
4. Apart from establishing the output, are the target group and all the elements of the community with an interest in the project involved in this process?
5. To what extent is the target group involved and participating in the project? Is it involved in the preparatory, planning, and supervision stages, or only during implementation in the field?
6. Apart from the extent of participation, how intensive is it and what form does it take: voluntary, obligatory, semi-coerced, paid or unpaid, direct or indirect, formal or informal? What conditions do the target groups have to fulfill to be able to enjoy the benefits of the project?

7. Are the goal and the expectation really geared to increasing the capability, self-reliance, and self-sufficiency of the target group?
8. Is the technology to be used in the project "appropriate" to the target, or might it lessen or even obstruct their participation and result in the local population's increased dependence?
9. To what extent will the project affect social transformation and the development of the immediate community's self-reliance and the development of civil society?

Conclusion

This article has attempted to provide an introduction to the development of civil society in Indonesia and the role of nongovernment and private voluntary organizations in reaching and serving the needs of community and in the strengthening of civil society. The discussion of their function, role, weakness, and challenges is from the point of view of an "insider." While there are many kinds and types of NGOs and PVOs in the developing countries, particularly in Indonesia, we need to be aware of their essential characteristics and their function in the formation and strengthening of civil society. In general, NGOs and PVOs stress self-reliance, flexibility, participation, innovation, and service to the community, with an emphasis on human resource development to strengthen civil society.

Notes

1. Dawam M. Rahardjo, "Pembangunan Orde Baru dan Masyarakat Madani" (paper presented in the Seminar on the New Order's Development and Civil Society, Indonesian Center for Religion and Philosophy Studies, Jakarta, September 3 1998).
2. Ismid Haddad, "Peranan Lembaga-lembaga, Non-Pemerintah dalam Pengembangan Teknologi Pedesaan," in Widyakarya Nasional Teknologi Pedesaan LIPI, Jakarta, March 1979.