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Indonesian women blogging: from Serambi Mekka (Aceh) to Batawi (Jakarta) and in between

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Indonesian Women Blogging: From Serambi Mekka (Aceh) to Batawi (Jakarta) and in Between

Endah Triastuti

"This thesis is presented as part of the requirements for the award of High Degree Research of the School of Social Sciences, Media & Communication University of Wollongong"

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ABSTRACT

All around the world, women are still facing gender digital divide due to their absence in the internet infrastructure establishment. The Web 2.0 technology helps women to catch up with men in adopting the internet. After the introduction of free blog providers in 2000, a significant number of Indonesian women embrace digital communication through blogging practice. Having a resemblance with women bloggers in general, Indonesian women bloggers tend to use blogging to document personal experiences. However, my thesis refuses to see Indonesian women as single entities, thus I take up de Certeau’s idea in ‘The Practice of Everyday Life’ (1984) to explain that within the circulation of power in media discourse (Couldry, 2004) Indonesian women bloggers apply contextual tactics to reclaim their sense of agency in the Indonesian male-dominated public sphere.

Employing multidisciplinary approaches, my study aim to answer the questions “what kind of things people do in relation to media”? and also “how is the complexity of users’s engagement with media embedded in everyday life cultures”? (Takahashi, 2010; Couldry, 2005; Bird, 2003) within Indonesian women’s context. My study shows that blogging is not a universal practice, nor simple, limited or fixed. That is, in their engagement with blogging, Indonesian women make out by ‘poaching’ blogging in their own contexts and reconstruct blogging for their own social, economic, political and cultural benefit. Thus within Indonesian women’s context that were subjected to national ideology of state ibuism, a blog can be understood as a medium of negotiation for Indonesian women not only for joining public sphere, but also to create their sense of agency.
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Guru Nanak said, ‘Without a Guru none can cross over to the other shore.’ I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Philip Kitley and Mark McLelland for helping me crossing over to the other shore by supporting me with their academic excellence. Special thanks for Philip. If he did not keep challenging me from the beginning and pushing my boundaries I could not have learned as much as I did. I wish also to thank Heather Jamisson for her generous offer to help me with technical and editorial insights and especially for her ongoing friendliness and academic as well as personal encouragement.

I would especially like to thank a number of Indonesian blogger communities and their members: Loenpia Semarang, Anging Mammiri, Aceh Blogger Community, Bali Blogger Community, Kayuh Bainbay, and Bertuah, for their support and friendships. We have witnessed that William Gibson is wrong, that Cyberspace is NOT a consensual hallucination.

I am indebted to my father, mother, and sisters for their encouragement. I have been fortunate to have their support and unconditional love in all its forms. From them, I understand what Jim Butcher meant when he said ‘When everything goes to hell, the people who stand by you without flinching - they are your family.’

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INTRODUCTION

My interest in studying Indonesian women’s blogs was provoked by Merlyna Lim’s claim in her preliminary research on the early Indonesian blogosphere back in 2005-2007 that the majority of Indonesian women bloggers tend to write personal stories about social events and are also fond of women related matters such as sharing recipes (2007). At the same time, I was a loyal reader of a blog authored by an Indonesian woman blogger, http://dapurbunda.blogspot.com, who was a very typical domestic Indonesian woman. She started her blog by sharing recipes and developed her blog as a medium to run her homebased business and networking.

In 2009 a leading Indonesian market research company, Edelman, present a report of differences between Indonesian men and women’s blogging practices (2009). This study claimed that Indonesian men bloggers tend to share ‘knowledge and science’ and Indonesian women bloggers use blogs as a medium that meet their needs to write (as a hobby) (Edelman, 2009, slide #19). They result rendered what so called deficit model of attainment (Selwyn, 2004) describing the greater prestige of male-gendered style of sharing ‘knowledge and science’, which being compared with ‘the female-female gendered style of writing’ (Pedersen and Macafee, 2007). Creating dualism between ‘sharing knowledge and science’ and ‘using blogs as a medium for women’s writing hobby’ sets the tone that women’s writings do not include sharing knowledge and science themes. In this case, it describe Indonesian women bloggers are being excluded in as having lack mastery in digital practices and literacies. However they did not seem to consider that a blog is not a traditional diary that is closed and private, but instead when blogging is supported by Web 2.0 functions, it expands from record keeping to a wider public engagement.

Additionally, Edelman’s results overlook the fact that a number of Indonesian women bloggers have applied tactical practices in blogging. These practices do not only assert the status of a number of Indonesian women as blog authors, but also illustrate differing levels of choices in blogs’ technical presentation as well as making Indonesian women visible through differing levels of agency in a male
dominated area. To illustrate my response to Edelman’s study, I borrow from de Certeau’s ‘The Practice of Everyday Life’, where he notes:

Submissive, and even consenting to their subjection, the Indians nevertheless often made of the rituals, representations, and law imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept. They were other within the very colonization that outwardly assimilated them; their use of the dominant social order deflected its power, which they lacked the means to challenge; they escaped it without leaving it. (Certeau, 1984, p. xiii).

In this quote de Certeau uses the sample of Indians to illustrate that within a dominant order, ‘the common man’ may find an escape by applying contextual tactics to reclaim autonomy. According to de Certeau, these contextual tactics show differences in procedures of engagements with the dominant order. Introducing this, his statement strongly contributes to my research question in this thesis: How do Indonesian women bloggers cope with Indonesian male domination in the bloggosphere and promote autonomy through situated practices to engage with the blogging? This question led me to explore a wide range of research questions which extend beyond the theoretical and Indonesia context to explain the contextual tactics Indonesian women bloggers apply to reclaim autonomy through their engagement with media. This thesis is the first major study of blogging in Indonesia, and more particularly, the first major study of Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging.

To my knowledge, there is no comparable study in the literature. There are, however, some related studies that offer discussions of the internet in Indonesia. Merlina Lim, for example, focused on the impact of the internet in authoritarian countries like Indonesia (Lim, 2003). On one side her study reveals the role of the internet in Indonesian reform period after 1998 (Lim, 2002; Lim, 2011). On the other side, her studies also show how radical groups in Indonesia used the internet to mobilise (Lim, 2005a; see also Hui, 2010; Lim, 2009). Other scholars such as David Hill and
Krishna Sen have argued that the internet creates opportunities for expanding the Indonesian public sphere after Suharto’s regime (Hill and Sen, 2005).

A number of scholars from Indonesia have applied internet self efficacy and internet attitude scales to look at use of the internet between gender in Indonesia (Hermana et al., 2007; Wahid, 2005). These studies found that Indonesian women show less positive attitudes towards the internet than men. They found women were less confident and more anxious in using the internet. In line with international trends in internet research, a number of Indonesian studies focused on Indonesian bloggers’ activities (Ken, 2004; Edelman, 2009; Wicaksono, 2010).

Considering my study as an exploratory study, I introduce a number of recent discussions in media engagement including research, approaches and methods of researching new media, particularly blogging. I discovered methodological difficulties in conducting research in blogging, especially research on non English language blogs, as most published research and blogging research software assumed English language material as its research object. As I discuss in more detail below, I encountered methodological problems in defining a population and drawing samples of Indonesian bloggers, as popular search tools were not configured to deal with Indonesian language content. There are also some logistical and cultural issues that derive from the specificity of Indonesia’s geography and cultural traditions. Even though my study looks at women’s engagement with blogging, which can be categorised as an online, virtual activity, the sense of outgroup and ingroup (we/us) is still strong and became an obstacle in collecting data.

Even though new media studies have become a popular topic for study internationally, in Indonesia blogging is a relatively new, multidisciplinary field, particularly with respect to its relationships with women. The majority of previous studies have employed ‘western’ views and thus assessed the results using a mainstream approach that is not always appropriate for the Indonesian women’s realm. In what follows I draw on practice theory (see Certeau, 1984; Couldry,
2004b), to produce a complex and textured understanding of Indonesian women’s engagement with blogs.¹

To answer my research questions, throughout this thesis I have employed multidisciplinary approaches, including the feminist stand-point approach which I use to adjust methods in surveys on new media efficacy and attitudes. Essentially my study takes up views from media anthropology scholars such as Morley, Abercrombie and Longhurst, Bird, and Takahashi. These scholars shift the questions on audience from “what do media do to people,” and “what do people do in direct response to media,” to “what kind of things people do in relation to media” and also “how is the complexity of users’s engagement with media embedded in everyday life cultures?” (Takahashi, 2010; Couldry, 2005; Bird, 2003). Furthermore, these scholars note that media engagement is affected by a range of interrelated factors such as gender, infrastructure, politics, economy, geography and education, as I will discuss later (Couldry and Inés Langer, 2005; Takahashi, 2010).

I have used mixed data, both quantitative and qualitative, taken from surveys, content analysis, and ethnographic studies of 38 women bloggers from seven different blogger communities in four different islands across the nation. Additionally, I also have taken data from multimodal analyses of a selection of personal blogs. As I have mentioned in the previous paragraph, different disciplines have contributed to the provision of data in this thesis, including history, literary studies, media studies, cultural studies, gender studies, and ethnographic studies. This study aims to understand Indonesian women bloggers’ engagement with the new media (blog) in a media saturated world within their daily life context. This research has been conducted under Ethics Approval number HE09/336 granted by the University of Wollongong.

The thesis is organized into nine chapters. The first chapter introduces the idea of how the state’s domination pervaded the establishment of internet infrastructure in

¹I also take up Takahashi’s study on Japanese women’s engagement with media (2010). My study expands her study by highlighting the different internet infrastructure between Japan and Indonesia on one hand. On the other hand I also emphasise the interactive nature of blog as a new medium that is not part of Takahashi’s concern in her study.
Indonesia. The slow progress during the establishment showed Suharto’s fear of losing his control over the population through media. Additionally, the domination of Indonesian men during the set up of the internet infrastructure prompts the question of the absence of Indonesian women in building the internet infrastructure and women’s underrepresentation in technology and development. Furthermore, in a number of countries, such as India, China, Korea, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Philippines, women’s underrepresentation in technology and development is closely related to women’s perceived roles and status (Budiman, 2011).

To follow up this point, in Chapter 2 I outline the socially constructed position, role and expectations of Indonesian women. In this chapter I review two important historic periods from two different Indonesian women’s movements to illustrate a shift from women’s empowerment under Indonesian Women’s Movement (Gerwani, GERakan WAnita Indonesia) (1950-1965) to women’s re-subordination under the Guidance for Family Welfare organisation (PKK, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) (1967 onward). I look at the New Order regime under former President Suharto, who imposed the state ibuism ideology, a government national wide propaganda to administer Indonesian women’s role as wives and mothers (Suryakusuma, 2011) and thus politically and culturally constructed Indonesian women’s roles. Additionally, I argue that state ibuism predates the decentring of Indonesian women from what is pre-constituted as the ‘public sphere’. That is to say, in the Indonesian context, social institutions have their own ways to exclude Indonesian women from science and technology. This view is pervasive in scholarly studies, which to some extent confirm mainstream assumptions that technology is not women’s territory.

Chapter 3 aims first to locate the biases in mainstream research methodology - notably surveys - and then to develop new research strategies. The second aim is to re-examine (Indonesian) women’s ability to apply internet applications using computers. Using the Indonesian context, the chapter deconstructs previous research on women’s internet efficacy, which continually applies mainstream research

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2Saskia Wieiringa provides a detail discussion of two Indonesian women’s political ideologies between Gerwani and PKK in her article Two Indonesian Women’s Organizations: Gerwani and the PKK(1993)
methods, thus strengthening the myth of women’s technophobia, or even more, women’s lack in technology skills and aptitude especially in Indonesia. I argue that mainstream research misreads women’s ways of engaging in technology, by reading the different ways women use technology as women’s lack of aptitude.

Chapter 4 illustrates how Indonesian women bloggers cope with power discourse within their host community. It examines the notion of the claim that cyber-community is negotiable in terms of ‘space’, ‘definition’ and ‘aim’ (see e.g. Fernback, 1999, Bhabha, 2004). That is to say, my study provides evidence that the power influences that disperse around online and offline environments do not necessarily resemble each other. Instead there is potential for disruption and the possibility of creating resistances.

In chapter 5 I provide a content analysis study and illustrate the different modes of publishing that have moved online and been driven by an emerging technology, namely the blog. It illustrates the salient differences from writing diary and authoring web page are an expansion from record keeping to public interactions, which make Indonesian women visible.

However, Indonesian women’s engagement with media does not involve communication in any limited sense. Thus, in Chapter 6, I outline how Indonesian women also engage in technical practices in order to meet their needs in practicing blogging. Accordingly, I illustrate how Indonesian women’s technical discretion with respect to their blogs, to some extent, is determined by their daily context.

Chapter 7 demonstrates the notion of a diffused audience, whereby blogging places Indonesian women in a continuous line, as both audience and performers (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). This continuous line brings together many other events and relationships in their life (Takahashi, 2011) within the whole spectrum of media users’ context (Couldry, 2005). In this chapter I pay attention to how blogging as practice comes into Indonesian women’s lives as individual users who look for personal publishing (Herring et al., 2007, Pedersen, 2010), but then see the
opportunities for public participation (see e.g. O'Reilly, 2005, Coates, 2003, Goossen, 2008).

Chapter 8 expands Abercombe and Longhurst’s (1998) discussion of the notion of the diffused audience. It takes up Couldry’s argument of the ‘dispersed audience’ (2005), which critiques the notion of diffused audience because it fails to recognise circulations of power within media culture. Thus this chapter demonstrates how ‘media influence’ circulates through language practices in Indonesian women’s blogs. Accordingly, I take into account the nature of Indonesia as a multilingual, heterogeneous society that opens up space for a hegemonic struggle through language interactions.

I will draw my conclusion by providing a general review of my thesis. I highlight the significance of my study in each chapter. It supports my general arguments that Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging is situated in their daily lives, and how Indonesian women bloggers cope with male domination in the blogosphere and find their own way to empower themselves and create the sense of agency.
1 INDONESIA’S INTERNET BLUEPRINT, AN INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This is the first chapter of a nine-chapter thesis about Indonesian women blogging within their everyday life context. Essentially this thesis emphasizes that the complexity of users’ engagement with media is embedded in everyday life cultures (Takahashi, 2010; Couldry, 2005; Bird, 2003). Furthermore, scholars note that media engagement is affected by a range of interrelated factors such as gender, infrastructure, politics, economy, geography and education, and I will be expanding on this discussion later (Couldry and Inés Langer, 2005; Takahashi, 2010). With respect to the Indonesian context, this introductory chapter outlines the idea that the information and communication technologies (ICT) establishment in Indonesia is characterised by control exercised by male dominated government and corporations (see e.g. Gurumurthy, 2004). In brief, this chapter looks back on periods before blogging became popular in Indonesia and introduces the idea of Indonesian men’s privileged involvement in the development of internet infrastructure.

Consistent with this aim, this chapter will draw attention to the absence of Indonesian women in establishing the internet infrastructure, which both illustrates and supports Karpf’s view of women’s absence within institutions which define and create technology (1987, p. 159). Within this context, this chapter expresses briefly the fact that as in the majority of countries elsewhere within the ICT arena, men dominated new media technologies infrastructure development, and the Indonesian government glossed over the role of women in decision-making processes, as women were underrepresented in the private sector and government bodies which controlled this arena.

It is important to note that my study is not intended to support the idea of a gender digital divide. Thus in later chapters I will address a more pertinent corpus of writings by bringing to light Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging as an innovative medium of self publishing. This chapter emphasises that regardless of their late involvement in the establishment of internet infrastructure, later on Indonesian women developed disciplined spaces through situated practices in coping with their
everyday lives, thus establishing their engagement with the medium, illustrating what de Certeau called “making do” (see e.g. Certeau, 1984; Buchanan, 1993).³

At the outset, I refer to Schlessinger’s assertion (1991 in Kitley, 2000, p. 6-7) that state ideology during Suharto’s authoritarian government (1965-1998) was all pervasive, particularly in media regulations and nation building. Accordingly, in this chapter I outline the commencement of the internet infrastructure in Indonesia and provide an illustration of how implementation of internet technology and communication in Indonesia was intertwined with various social factors and power discourses.

The role of technologies in people’s lives was the core issue pursued by the General Assembly of the United Nations’ program of concrete actions in 1958. Supporting this program, Wilbur Schramm, later an important consultant on communications with the Indonesian government, suggested that media communication development accelerates economic and social development in emerging countries and thus helps people create the path of modernity (Schramm, 1964, p. 5-6). In his argument, in spite of supporting Schramm’s view, Stevenson also gives attention to the negative vision of modernity, which according to his vision is rooted in the failure of communication (1988, p. 1-8). Stevenson argues that power holders in emerging countries tend to control communication technologies, which has a negative impact on a nation’s economic and social development (Stevenson, 1986).

This chapter looks at the relevance of Stevenson’s argument with the Indonesian government’s strategies in establishing Indonesia’s communication infrastructure under the Suharto New Order regime as on one hand, the earlier design of the state’s media communication system’s were heavily focused on promoting education programs and bolstering economic growth. Yet since 1962, Suharto’s authoritarian regime established a media monopoly system and turned the nation into a controlling space (Kitley, 1994, p. 103; Lim, 2002). That is to say, the state used news broadcasts, information, and even entertainment programs to promote state

³The core argument in this thesis is taken up from de Certeau’s idea of the tactics of consumption. He introduces the notion of ‘making do’, a condition where subordinated people make it through their daily practices (1984).
officials and flag the national construct (Kitley, 2003, p. 100; Jurriëns, 2009, p. 54-57, 152-153; Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 5-6). Programs and content that were considered damaging to the national ideology were banned. The state structured, centralised and filtered information flows in a way that represents the panoptic modality of power(Lim, 2002).  

With this understanding, in this chapter I will shed light on the development of the internet’s infrastructure in Indonesia that was strongly linked to a national power discourse reflecting a panoptic, authoritarian culture. For that purpose I carefully look at the long delay in launching the first commercial Intenet Service Provider (ISP) in 1994 after Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie (B.J. Habibie), Indonesian ministry of research and technology in Suharto’s era, proposed the first scheme of the internet infrastructure building in 1986.

This chapter is divided into seven sections. In the first section I will briefly review the implementation of early media infrastructures and policies in Indonesia. I will illustrate the state’s effort in setting up radio and television infrastructures and policies to fortify power discourse (and possibly also to attempt to control discourses) across the archipelago (Barker, n.d; Kitley, 2000; Lim, 2005). However, ICT is an important tool to promote economic growth and plays a significant role in global trade (Stork, 2007). For this reason, considering the state aims to spur the national economy growth through the establishment communication technology, in the second section I look at the establishment of internet infrastructure in Indonesia’s neighboring countries.

I will follow through with an outline of the establishment of the internet infrastructure in Indonesia in the third section, by deviding it into four sections based on the key

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4 In his book “Discipline and Punish: The birth of prison” (1977) Foucault discusses Jeremy Bentham’s terminology of panopticon. Foucault argues in power discourse control does not necessary result from a coercive action. Instead, control can be achieved through a disciplinary mechanism by creating a belief of constant and total surveillance. As follows the systematic control is being internalised forming hegemony of power (p. 200-203). The form of hegemony as a result of 32 Suharto’s authoritarian government is incarnated in Indonesian cyberspace after 1998’s reformation, which I will examine in detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 8.

5 International Communication Union (ITU) reports ICT is an important indicator to measure social and economic performances (ITU, 2006)
actors who play important role within a certain period (The Scholars Period, The Hobbyists Period, The Bureaucrats Period and The Entrepreneurs Period). I will start with a detailed description of the first effort of internet infrastructure establishment initiated by Indonesian scholars. Under B.J. Habibie's scholarship program Indonesia sent students, mostly men, abroad to learn the new media. This section will illustrate that Suharto showed very little interest in the new information technologies by giving limited space for the internet to grow within the Indonesia's universities. In the section four, I will show that almost at the same time, at the grass root level, Indonesian skunkworks, dominated by men, showed a great interest in new communication technologies through the implementation of media telecommunication infrastructure. Bricolaging radio communication technology, Indonesian hobbyists developed a breakthrough wireless communication system using macro radio waves. The fifth section will look at The Bureaucrats Period that illustrates the state’s extemporaneous forethought in structuring regulations in new media and set regulatory power over the internet infrastructure. Thus regardless of the economic potential of the internet, the state sustained its control over information flows. In the sixth section I will examine the period when the state started to show actual enthusiasm in establishing an internet infrastructure by inviting the private sector to operate ISPs. It will illustrate how internet growth was followed by economic growth in other aspects.

The final section will conclude that following the establishment of the internet infrastructure, the state’s disciplinary mechanism through media, especially during Suharto’s era, was reduced. The internet opened up a new, potentially liberating space of flows in a national territory that under Suhato’s regime was in total control. On the other hand, Indonesian men’s domination and Indonesian women’s absence in building the internet infrastructure makes us reflect on whether the internet expands opportunities equally between genders. In contrary the fact female internet users keep growing in number indicates they have found their feet and kept up with male internet users. To pursue this matter further, in Chapter 2 I will draw forth

\[ ^{6}\text{Based on my study, I create a categorisation of the internet infrastructure establishment in Indonesia into four different periods of time. Each category highlights the main actors of establishment within each period: The Scholars Period, The Hobbyists Period, The Bureaucrats Period and The Entrepreneurs Period} \]
Indonesian women’s movement to re-examine their participation in modernisation and in public sphere activities.

1.2 Early media infrastructures and policies in Indonesia

Stevenson’s view is that communication technology is potentially creating a new form of domination (Stevenson, 1988) focusing on elite domination over information flow (Crawford, 2007, para 4). These arguments can be applied in the context of Indonesia considering during his reign, Suharto use communication technology such as TV and Radio to impose his dominant order across the country by controlling the information and its content (Kitley, 1994). In the early years of a national media system in Indonesia (1940s), the government strictly controlled information flows under policies of monopoly in order to preserve and impose national identity. That is to say in this pre internet era (late 1980s) the Indonesian state controlled mass media in the interests of nation building and its own political interests, although during the Suharto regime, he slowly shifted the media system by accentuating economic roles.

On 11 April 1945 President Soekarno established the Department of Information to administer the Indonesian national radio (Radio Republic Indonesia, RRI). This position legitimated RRI’s monopoly over broadcasting news. The role of media under the New Order (1965-1998) slowly shifted from a political role in nation building to an economic role. Under Suharto’s New Order, RRI’s monopoly in producing the news remained, but Suharto allowed hundreds of private radio stations to become RRI’s competitors. After Suharto’s fall in 1998 the reform government deregulated the media, leading to the growth of thousands of private radio and grass root community stations which introduced much greater diversity of voices and perspectives into news broadcasts. Additionally the new broadcast regulations allowed non-government radio stations to produce their news – no longer did they have to re-broadcast RRI bulletins.

7 Actually Indonesian radio organisation was centralised during Japanese occupancy in 1942 under the control of Japanese colonial government’s Propaganda and Information Department (Jurriëns, 2009, p. 12)
8 According to Jurriëns, Indonesia was become known as ‘the microphone republic’ (2009, p.12)
9 But they still had to broadcast RRI news – they couldn’t produce their own news. Private radio was entertainment. They did develop their own shadow news bulletins by various tricks, but it was only after 1998 that these restrictions were lifted
The state assigned a similar role to television. In 1963 President Soekarno declared the function of Television of the Republic of Indonesia (TeleVisi Republik Indonesia, TVRI) as an instrument to build the nation. From the beginning the state institutionalized control over TVRI under the Bureau of Radio and Television’s coordination. In 1966, at the beginning of the Suharto New Order regime, TVRI was placed under the administration of the Department of Information (Kitley, 2000; Sen, 2003). Representing the state’s authority, both institutions managed ownership, programs, content and even airtime. It illustrates Stevenson’s concern about ‘the failure of communication technology’ that in Indonesia the media system was bent to the purposes of the state to construct and represent Indonesian national culture (Kitley, 1994, para 1). Additionally the state’s effort to monopolize television infrastructure, which lasted from 1962 to 1981 gave very limited opportunity for non-state interests and voices to be included (Kitley, 2000).

But, in the 1990s Suharto shifted policies to reform television regulations by opening up access to commercial broadcasting which demonstrates the state’s effort in restructuring Indonesia’s broadcast service (Kitley, 1994). According to Kitley, this major policy change indicated the Indonesian government’s readiness to open up economic and political liberalism that was expected to improve Indonesia’s financial circumstances. However, despite the commercialization of broadcast services, the state still maintained surveillance under rigid censorship policies by implementing TVRI’s censorship regulations on commercial broadcast services. The key point is that even though the TV market was deregulated, it was put in the hands of family and cronies who were sympathetic to state ideology. So the deregulation process, which might have introduced a greater diversity of opinions, was subverted by cronyism which meant state priorities were maintained by different means.

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10 In first paragraph of the Presidential decree of February 1963, KEPPRES/27/1963,
11 It is a very short airtime of TVRI in 1963 (from 19.30 pm to 21.30 pm). During its development, TVRI’s airtime had been extended. Starting in 1981 TVRI had aired its programmes from 16.30 to 24.00 during weekdays and on Saturday, and from 09.00 to 24.00 on Sunday.
12 It covers education, information, religion, culture, sports, and international affairs, politic, social and economic affairs (Kitley, 2000, p. 42). On Indonesian Independence Day, August 17, 1962, for example, TVRI aired the first official television broadcast from Merdeka Palace.
Even though state authorities under Suharto’s regime changed a number of regulations and loosened their control over Indonesia’s media system, it did not provide enough confidence to launch the internet infrastructure promptly. In the following sections I will illustrate a series of periods to show various parties’ effort to establish the internet infrastructure in Indonesia.

With respect to new media, the Suharto regime showed resistance in incorporating the internet within Indonesia’s media discourse, pointing to the possibility that it might undermine the state’s panoptic control (Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 31). The internet was seen to challenge authoritarian governments, in this case, the Suharto regime, as it opened up liberating spaces for its users (Newey, 1999). The description of state control of the mass media recalls Collin’s argument that the birth of all new technologies needs to be supported by contributive political circumstances, before innovations can possibly disseminate through the nation (1987).

Thus, following this, in the next sections I will identify five important periods within the internet infrastructure establishment in Indonesia. Taking account of this, in spite of the fact that the internet establishment in Indonesia started within universities, the progressed has been different compared with other countries. Saying that, a range of interrelated factors influenced the establishment of the internet infrastructure in Indonesia and to some extent delayed a nationwide service network.

1.3 The scholars’ period: From PUSILKOM UI to UNInet (1972-1989)

As in many other countries, the interest to establish the internet infrastructure started among scholars within universities in Indonesia. For this reason, I nominate the first

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14 Prior to the establishment of the internet infrastructure in Indonesia, Suharto was advised concerning the different nature of new media, and his attention was drawn to the fact that it was a technology openly designed for both users and inventors (Castells, 2000), and that controlling the new media was totally impossible. Indeed, Alwi Dahlan, Suharto’s last Information Minister, expressed reservations about the potential of new media, stating: “I do not see how you could regulate the internet” (cited from Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 51). Obviously the idea of the internet created anxieties for state officials who realised that it would undermine the surveillance system created from the monopoly of state controlled media practice (McChesney, 1999: 119-20)

15 Considering that the internet is a new medium that will challenge Indonesia government’s policies in censorship in a way that it gives its users the liberating power of self-censorship that will reduce government’s role in regulating or dominating the information flows (Newey in Liberty, 1999 pp. 15). Dili’s massacre on November 12, 1991 aired through TV3 Malaysia is an illustration of damaging effect from media liberalism that potentially damaged Indonesia’s integrity.
period of the internet establishment in Indonesia as the scholars’ period. Unfortunately, during the scholars’ period, women’s participation in the tertiary level of education was lower than that of men. (See Table 1.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male/Female</th>
<th>1971 (%)</th>
<th>1975 (%)</th>
<th>1980 (%)</th>
<th>1985 (%)</th>
<th>1995 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1 illustrates that the enrolment rates per entire population in Indonesian higher education for women increased from 1975 to 1980, from 0.2% to 0.3% of the population. Although within 10 years (1985-1995) there was a significant improvement shown in 1995, in which women’s participation rates at the tertiary level increased from 0.5% (in 1985) to 1.9% (in 1995), men’s participation rates at the same level in the same years were higher than women’s (2.3% in 1985 and 3% in 1995). It illustrates that during the scholars’ period, women’s chance to participate in internet infrastructure building within Indonesian universities was less than men’s.

In the 1970s, computer installation was still something too expensive to be privately owned. Only government institutions such as the State Oil Extraction Company (Pertamina, PERsuaapan TAMbang Mnyak Negara) and the Local Government of Jakarta (Pemda DKI, PEMeringat DAerah Daerah Khusus Ibukota) had access to computer technology. During that time, Indro Suwandi, PhD, a lecturer from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Indonesia who initiated the establishment of the Computer Science Center (PUSILKOM, PUSat ILmu KOMputer) at the University of Indonesia had built a close relationship with Pemda DKI and Pertamina. Due to this circumstance, PUSILKOM’s computing activities were hosted in Pemda DKI and Pertamina offices.

In order to further the development of the internet, in 1976 PUSILKOM sent six staff members to the United States for further study, including Joseph Luhukay who was...
sent to study internet technology at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign (UIUC). Unfortunately, during that time Indonesian women faced difficulties in taking advantage of available fellowships for study abroad (Achmad and Hermawati, 1998). When he finished his PhD in 1982 Luhukay returned to Indonesia to develop the UNInet project with Johny Moningka. The inter UNIversity Net (UNInet) was a joint universities project involving a number of public universities in Indonesia. It established the ethernet network in the University of Indonesia to develop Unix- and ethernet-based message system in 1983, which we may mark as the commencement of Indonesia’s networking era.

In the early 1980s this network enabled the staff at PUSILKOM to send electronic messages (Luhukay and Budiardjo, 1983). In 1986 UniNet created links within Indonesian universities and the Directorate General of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture (Lim, 2005b, p. 66). In the same year, the University of Indonesia was able to make the first international connection between the Korean Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST) in Korea, and Seismo, Seizmic Research, Arlington-Virginia, USA through a Unix-to-Unix-Copy Protocol (UUCP). Not only did PUSILKOM initiate collaboration between PUSILKOM and KAIST, it was granted a loan from the World Bank to further the establishment of the UNInet project.

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17These universities were UI, Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) in Bandung and Bogor Agriculture Institute (IPB) in Bogor, West Java, Gajah Mada University (UGM) in Yogyakarta, Surabaya Institute of Technology (ITS) in Surabaya, Hasanuddin University (Unhas) in South Sulawesi and the Directorate General of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education and Culture.
18This network was built from the set of dual systems 83/20” Unix-based computer and also one ethernet terminal server “NTS” Intel 80186-based that Luhukay bought in the United States.
19The pioneering network within PUSILKOM operated at a basic functional level and was of limited practical usage. Limited numbers of (email) accounts were provided only for people who were directly involved in PUSILKOM or having a good relationship with people in PUSILKOM. Even though this early networking activity could be included as “mailing list” activity, but there are no records confirming this electronic mail based networking activity as the first Indonesian online community.
20In her dissertation Lim mentioned about the other first internet development project: UINET (The University of Indonesia NETwork), which pioneered by Joseph Luhukay – from the Department of Computer Science, University of Indonesia (UI) (2005b, p. 65-66).
However, in the late 1980s the UNInet project activities declined and then soon after completely failed.\textsuperscript{21} This revealed the Indonesian government’s lack of understanding of the importance of communications technologies, even though the UNInet project was running during Indonesian Research & Technology Minister B.J. Habibie’s leadership. Although B.J. Habibie’s vision for wiring Indonesia may appear to be the important baseline of internet development in Indonesia (Hill and Sen, 2005), the state took no interest in immediately establishing the infrastructure.

Despite this setback, a small group of researchers and scholars from the Institute of Technology, Bandung (ITB) under the Computer Network Research Group (CNRG) independently established an internet network, bypassing the state’s projects in building the internet infrastructure. Aiming to build a low-cost secure internet connection throughout Indonesia, they used radio packet technology.\textsuperscript{22} Using a speed of 9.6 Kbps they managed to make the first internet connection to The Science and

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\textsuperscript{21} According to key actors involved in the development, several factors contributed to the failure of UNInet development projects. The first factor was the poor support within the universities in developing UNInet project. Secondly, the universities could not afford high costs involved in dial-up connections (see also Hill and Sen, 2005). Samik Ibrahim, one of the key actors, stated that the Indonesian government’s views of innovations blew hot and cold. He noted that post proposal project submissions were not followed by a steady access to budgets.

\textsuperscript{22} This technology is invented by an ARC (Amateur Radio Club) member Suryono Adisoemarta.
Technology Network project (IPTEKNET proyek, Ilmu Pengetahuan dan TEKnologi NETwork).\textsuperscript{23}

Around 1995-1996, WIDE (Widely Integrated Distributed Environment) Project in Japan invited several research partners to join the AI3 Asian internet Interconnection Initiatives project, and Bandung’s Institute of Technology was one of the partners selected. Based on assumptions about technology transfer and flows from the research community to the commercial market, this project aimed to improve internet technology. In 1997 ITB built a local network within the ITB campus under the auspices of the AI3 project (Lim, 2006, Purbo, 1996, Barker et.al, 2001). This project gave Onno Purbo a vision of establishing ITB as a hub for Indonesia’s other universities for educational purposes (Purbo, 1996, Lim, 2006, wiki). Using leased bandwidth from the Elekttrindo Company, ITB connected AI3 into Indonesian universities using the Japan Satellite Corporation (jSat).


The second period of the internet establishment in Indonesia is the hobbyist period. This period took place after the internet was introduced within national universities. During this period, the skunkworks,\textsuperscript{24} who were university students, opened up possible alternatives for establishing the internet in Indonesia.

In the 1970s diffusion of innovations scholars introduced the notion of \textit{re-invention} (Rogers, 1995). Rogers defines it as the degree to which an innovation is changed or modified by users in the process of its adoption and implementation. The notion of

\textsuperscript{23}IPTEKNET is a joint project between Indonesian scholars, supported by the state. For this reason, I will discuss the IPTEKNET project in the section of bureaucrats’ period.

\textsuperscript{24}The notion of skunkworks is not commonly used in Indonesia. I deploy this term to describe a phenomenon that originated in the work of Clarence “Kelly” Johnson at Lockheed’s Design and Development Centre in Burbank, California, America sometimes after World War II. He explained skunkworks as “a concentration of a few good people, applying the simplest most straightforward methods possible to develop and produce new products” (Rich, 1995, p. 221). I believe there is no Indonesian academic manuscript has discussed ‘skunkworks’. However, a group of people from this period identifies that a similar phenomenon also does exist in Indonesia. Indonesia skunkworks at the internet establishment period were radio amateurs who recognize possibilities to establish the internet infrastructure in Indonesia using radio wave. Different compared skunk works in US who worked under formal institutions or organisations, Indonesian skunkworks were independent people who did not work for certain institutions.
re-innovation resembles the theory of social construction of technology (SCOT). It argues that technology is product of society, and thus is influenced by norms and values of the social system (Bijker et al., 1989). With regards to the internet, it grew out of USA’s military purposes in the 1960s and during its development this technology was used for more social purposes. With this in mind, this section will illustrate that in Indonesia’s context, users reinvented the adoption and the development of the internet technology. They implemented the new technology in a wide variety of different ways that relate to Rogers’ argument that, “…an innovation is not necessarily invariant during the process of its diffusion. And adopting an innovation is not necessarily the passive role of just implementing a standard template of the new idea” (Rogers, 1995, p. 17). Due to the state’s lack of real interest in national communications technology innovations, a group of people who saw the potential of the internet created an independent effort to reinvent the internet. In Indonesia, these efforts came from the hobbyists, which illustrates the important role of skunkworks (Peters and Waterman, 1982) or hot groups (Jean Lipman-Blumen and Leavitt, 2001) in the establishment of internet technology. Rogers (1995) defines “skunkworks” as small and often subversive units within a large organization that pioneer in creating innovation. Skunkworks have made breakthroughs in technology re-invention possible due to the enriched environment they work in. This environment is designed to help their small group escape usual organizational procedures thus facilitating increased innovation (p. 139).

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25 The idea that social structures have great impact to the development of technology was coined by Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker in their article The Social Construction of Facts and Artifacts: Or How the Sociology of Science and the Sociology of Technology Might Benefit Each Other (Bijker et al., 1989). Their idea, in contrast, point to the flexible nature of technology that opens up to social modification. It illustrates that instead of having power over social structures, technology is an open structure, depends on social structures (Klein and Kleinman, 2002).

26 The phrase Skunk Works has its origins in the work of Clarence "Kelly" Johnson at Lockheed's Design and Development Center in Burbank, California sometime after World War II. Someone asked what Johnson was doing. The reply was, "I guess old Kelly's stirring up a little kickapoo joy juice." Kickapoo joy juice was a violent moonshine drink brewed by the mountain hillbilly family featured in the Al Capp cartoon Li’l Abner. Now and then, the hillbillies were seen in the comic strip tossing a skunk into the pot to give the brew an added kick. The Lockheed team became known as the Skunk Works.
The first version of the internet in Indonesia was a simple Bulletin Board System (BBS)\textsuperscript{27} introduced early in the 1980s by Jim Filgo.\textsuperscript{28} BBS’s in Indonesia were most warmly welcomed by hobbyists in Jakarta, who became highly engaged with the new technology. However, BBS had several issues, mainly related to the insufficient fixed line telephone connection establishment.\textsuperscript{29} In 1982-1983 there were very limited numbers of fixed line phone connections of satisfactory quality, and they were mostly in the capital city Jakarta.\textsuperscript{30} Additionally, the cost of telephone subscriptions was high(Lim, 2005b). Indonesian hobbyists aimed for a new breakthrough, attempting to devise low-cost-connection-BBS that were generally accessible.

In the following paragraphs, I illustrate the re-inventing of the internet connection, initiated by the hobbyists. According to Lim the hobbyist are the amateur packet radio fans, who were also computer enthusiasts (Lim, 2005b). In Indonesia the amateur packet radio society established a non-profit organisation on the 9\textsuperscript{th} July 1968 that became known as the Amateur Radio Organization of Indonesia (ORARI, Organisasi Radio Amatir Republik Indonesia).

\textsuperscript{27} In terms of hardware, the BBS ran on computers equipped with a modem and telephone line connection with limited speed ranging from 300 bps to 2400 bps (to note: in 1995 the modem speed reached 115,000 bps). Multiple interconnected BBS’s enabled users to access resources on other computers (http://opensource.telkomspeedy.com).

\textsuperscript{28} Filgo is a US Army veteran who was assigned to attend the Indonesian Army Command and Staff College in Bandung

\textsuperscript{29} In 1981 and 1982 the national fixed line phone density rate was only 0.57 per 100 inhabitants. Compared with other ASEAN countries, Indonesia’s national fixed-line phone density at that time was extremely low. That is to say although fixed lined phone connection was in high demand, product and service availability was very low. Not only because the expensive registration fee, but also additionally people have to queue up to register their applications. Even in 2005 PT Telkom, which has built Indonesia’s telecommunications infrastructure for many decades provided 9 million units of fixed-line connection (Priyanto, 2005). With a population of more than 215 million, national fixed-line density rate in that year was only 4%, which was below the world’s average fixed-line density rate that reached 10%. Indonesia’s fixed-line density rate even was less than Singapore’s rate, which in 2002 had already reached 46.6%. Anyway, there is a lot of fuss on telecommunication infrastructure establishment in Indonesia. The main issue has been central and peripheral: as a capital city, Jakarta has been well infrastructured, compared with small remote and hinterland areas (villages), which 64.4% have not been touched by basic telecommunications such fixed-line telephone.

\textsuperscript{30}In my Chapter 6, I will outline Indonesian women blog forms, which includes a description of the remaining poor condition of Indonesia dial up internet connection that is relied on the fixed line telephone network.
The history of ORARI was rooted in Indonesia’s independence war, where radio played important role in guerrilla warfare. Interestingly, as an organisation, ORARI was dominated by men. This domination is reflected in its leadership structure within the organisation. In three periods of ORARI’s leadership (1978-1982, 1982-1986, and 1986-1991), a majority of male amateur radio hobbyists held leadership positions within ORARI (Jambi, 2011). It illustrates that during this period, skunkworks became the icon of masculinity, where male amateur radio hobbyists played dominant roles in remodel the internet, and that women were marginalised in the development of the internet.

Radio was a precursor of real time communication that bridged gaps of time and space (Lindsay, 1997). With respect to the new communication technology, BBS technology extended radio’s basic feature: transmitting text over voice using telephone lines. However, in the Indonesian case, BBS connections were not suited to the overpriced fixed line phone connections (Purbo, 1994). Thus it provided the impetus for amateur radio to play an important role in reinventing the internet development in Indonesia.\(^\text{31}\)

In 1987 A senior member of ORARI, Robby Soebiakto (his ORARI’s name is YB1BG), introduced the idea of setting up computer technology with packet radio (http://opensource.telkomspeedy.com/, accessed March 27, 2009). This technology enabled users to send textual data using radio waves and has become known as the Amateur Packet Radio Network (AMPRNet) among radio amateurs in Indonesia. AMPRNet is a non-commercial computer network that connects radio amateurs all around the world on radio communication system basis (Purbo, n.d.), including projects of exchanging information between Indonesia and the USA and Canada. The additional benefit of the inexpensive AMPRNet encouraged radio amateurs in Indonesia to establish packet radio BBS, which in turn fostered communities and hobbyists to reinvent low-cost internet connections using packet radio technology in Indonesia. Students in ITB who joined the Amateur Radio Club (ARC) and the

\(^{31}\) According to McQuiggin (1983), a number of now-commonplace communication technologies have their genesis in amateur radio. In United States, amateur radio started to establish in 1920s and has been connected to the hobby of two way wireless communication. Since at the outset of the practice of amateur radio has been always engage two things: “broadcast listeners” and “transmitting amateurs” as “types of amateurs” (Haring, 2003).
Computer Network Research Group (CNRG) initiated the practice of using packet radio technology as a foundation for internet connections.

These early experiments in radio opened up opportunities for computer communications pioneers to create internet connections in a number of public universities in Indonesia. This was no doubt a genuine attempt to use the new technology for educational purposes at a reasonably low-cost. In 1998 hobbyists proposed to move the broadband links to 2.4 GHz, owned by the Indonesian government, opening up the prospect that the Indonesia people would be able to have low-cost internet connections by raising Indonesian public awareness about the possibility of low-priced broadband connection:

The technology is no longer confined in an education and research network environment. It is loose among the public! Lots of early cybercafes, ISP, corporate network in Indonesia were (illegally) adopting the low cost broadband Wireless access at 2.4GHz (Purbo, 2009).

The hobbyists organised a protest march, demanding the state free up 2.4 GHz in order to provide the Indonesian people with low-cost internet connections. Finally, on the 5th January 2005, Hatta Rajasa from the Ministry of Transportation signed the Ministry Act that liberated 2.4GHz in Indonesia.

1.5 The bureaucrats’ period: From IPTEKNET to the first ISP policy (1983-1997)

The third period within the internet establishment in Indonesia is the bureaucrats’ period. This period indicates the first government’s effort to organise the internet connection in the country. Prior to the establishment of the internet infrastructure in Indonesia, Suharto was advised concerning the different nature of new media. Alwi Dahlan, Suharto’s last Information Minister, speaking as a New Order ideologue, expressed reservations about the potential of new media, stating: “I do not see how you could regulate the internet” (cited from Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 51). However, by

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32 Around that time people or corporation could lease the 2.4 GHz frequency from Deparpostel for US$2000 / link / year.
this time the contribution advanced technologies might make to Indonesia was
recognised and that was the reason why in 1974 former President Suharto called on
German-educated Professor Dr. Ing. Bachruddin Jusuf Habibie, and appointed him
Minister of Research and Technology. It illustrates the state’s deliberate intention of
exploiting technology in fostering economic growth in Indonesia (Makka, 1996). B.J.
Habibie’s vision influenced the development of science and technology policies in
Indonesia and represented his own ambition to create a high-technology (high-tech)
Indonesia (Hill and Sen, 2005).

To pursue his goal, Habibie provided support to a majority-male group of students
34 to study overseas under the scholarship programs:

In the beginning of internet (establishment) it was driven by people of our
kind who were studying abroad, supported by World Bank loans and the
Ministry of State for Research and Technology at that time. I, myself, got the
grants from National Education Department not from the Ministry of State for
Research and Technology] (personal interview with Onno W. Purbo via email
on the 11 May 2010)

Habibie’s scholarship program was in line with the fact I mentioned in the previous
section that during the internet blueprint set up in Indonesia, the Indonesian
government did not foster opportunities for women to study abroad (Achmad and
Hermawati, 1998). Thus Habibie’s scholarship policies demonstrate that males
dominated leadership within the Indonesian government and tended to exclude
women (Højgaard, 2002). In fact, during Suharto’s regime, the Minister for Women
was the only woman in cabinet (Robinson, 2009, p. 142). Additionally, women’s

33 He emphasized the national’s development expenditure on science and technology research. In the
second national development plan, REPELITA (1974/75 – 1978/79) and the third REPELITA
(1979/80 – 1983/4), the Indonesian government reduced expenditure for agriculture and irrigation
sectors, and increased the expenditure for science and technology.
34 Some of scholars call these Indonesian internet pioneer as “Habibie’s kids: “Much of the
groundwork for the superhighway in Indonesia was laid by what one industry executive dubbed
‘Habibie’s kids’, a reference to a generation of foreign- and locally trained technologists who
benefited from the policies championed, and largesse bestowed, by Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie,
Indonesia’s influential Minister for Research and Technology for two formative decades (1978-98)
and later president (Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 34)”, although Onno W. Purbo, as one of the main actors in
internet infrastructure establishment rejected it.
representation in The House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*, DPR) was also very limited; thus women had an insignificant role (power) in planning programs and budget (Parawansa, 2002),\(^\text{35}\) including technology.

Table 1.2 Representation of Women in DPR from 1977-1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971-1977</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>92.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-1982</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>93.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982-1987</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>91.5</td>
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<td>1987-1992</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-1997</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997-1999</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Parawansa, 2002, p86

Table 1.2 visualises the prevailing gap in percentage between women and men members in DPR. In the beginning of the establishment of internet (1973), there were only 36 (less than 8%) women members in DPR. Even until 1999, there were only 54 (just over 10%) women members in DPR. This situation figures out an assumption that smaller number of women representatives in the legislative caused less access of women in strategic decision-making, resulting in exclusion of women in the development process of internet infrastructure.

However, under the Bureau for the Assessment and Application of Technology control and sponsorship (BBPT, *Badan Pengembangan dan Pengawasan Teknologi*), Habibie initiated the IPTEKNET project in 1989 (Hill and Sen, 2005, Lim, 2006)\(^\text{36}\) to establish a self-sustaining ISP\(^\text{37}\) which would become the embryo of the

\(^{35}\)According Parawansa, the majority women members in the house of representation is assigned in low prestige commissions such as Commission VIII (religion, social, empowerment of women), which provide women with no access to executive programs and budgets (Parawansa, 2002).

\(^{36}\)Funding for this project was obtained by allocating funds from the World Bank, which had been due dedicated to research and high-tech projects related to industrial development. However, Habibie used his authority as chairman of the National Research Council (DRN) for allocation of funds to field non-industrial.

\(^{37}\)In 1989 the first official BPPT project was to successfully create a Local Area Network (LAN) to connect computers and transfer data within the confines or offices of BPPT. The first trial connection of IPTEKNET was in April 1993 (Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 36). It was a Micro-IPTEKNET prototype involving six government instrumentalities, several influential state-owned universities and research institutes. Two years after that IPTEKNET project when it launched the open internet connection capable of connecting a limited number of users to the internet at 14.4 Kbps on a leased line (compare 14.4 Kbps speed of internet connection at that time with 3.1 Mbps speed of internet connection nowadays)
commercial era of internet connections in Indonesia (Owen et al., 2001). Less than 10 year after the IPTEKNET project, Time magazine recorded 1995 as Indonesia’s year of the internet as the state officially took a leap. Unfortunately, during this time the uncertainty in internet regulations came under discussion. Hill and Sen argue that the ambiguity in internet regulations and management reflected what they called government failure. In the commencement of the internet in Indonesia the state was unable to maintain the previous strict departmental arrangements and was forced to place internet regulation under two different departments, namely the Department of Information and the Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunication. It complicated matters further by appointing the Department of Research and Technology to build the actual internet infrastructure (Hill and Sen, 2005, p. 49).

But the state's administration involving two departments can be viewed from a different angle. The complex nature of the internet needed different administration. Additionally, the early administration of the internet infrastructure was consistent with the four Program Objectives of a US$ 34.5 million World Bank Loan initiated in 1998. This loan was intended to expand telecommunications infrastructure in Indonesia, and covered the basic communications medium using the postal communication network and the new communication media by introducing the internet. Thus in order to support these goals, the World Bank required the state to involve several institutions in the new venture, namely the Ministry of Tourism, Post and Telecommunications, PT Pos Indonesia, IPTEKNet, and BAPPENAS. That is to say the internet was recognised as definitely not an ‘ordinary’ medium compared with ‘traditional media’ before it.

Although gradually the early commercialisation of the internet showed its capacity to increase Indonesia’s economic growth, the maze of bureaucratic complexities show that the internet is not always a liberating medium. That is to say, even though the

---

38 In line with this, Indonesian internet pioneer Onno W. Purbo argues that notes this uncertainty resulted in the caused the timid progress in the internet infrastructureestablishment (personal interview via email on 10 April 2010).
39 As I have mentioned in the section 1.2 of Indonesia media before the internet
40 Hill and Sen acknowledge it as ‘Government Failure’ (p. 49) in a way that the state by assigning two departments to administer the internet. These two departments, namely the Department of Information and the Department of Tourism, Post and Telecommunicationapplied different policies to regulate the internet that reflect the tense within Indonesia’s bureaucracy.
internet led Indonesian society into the first stages of an information literate society and dislodged the state’s panoptic surveillance capacities (Maddison, 2007), the fact that the internet infrastructure was connected with power discourses in Indonesia and thus decentred more marginalised groups, reveals that the internet is not necessarily free from the culture of authoritarianism.  

1.6 The Entrepreneurs’ Period (1994-recently)

The entrepreneurs’ period indicates a period when industries started to undertake business in the internet infrastructure. Castells said that we are entering a new economic era identified by three characteristics: informational, global, and networked (Castells, 2000, p. 77). He argues, following the information technology revolution, that both productivity and competitiveness will depend on knowledge-based information. Additionally he stresses that productivity and competitiveness will take place on a global scale, where each of the units and interaction are networked.

However, despite Castell’s claim that productivity and competitiveness will take place on a global scale, Indonesian women’s participation in the labor force as an indicator of globalization is reasonably small. That suggests that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>6.59</td>
<td>6.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>3.82</td>
<td>3.80</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sukernas 1986 - 2005

Additionally, Indonesian women’s employment shares by main industry and main occupation in general is lower than men as shown in Table 1.4. Indonesian women show a higher share in wholesale trade, retail trade, restaurant and hotel industry, mainly as clerical and related workers (0.37) and sales workers (10.7). But

In Chapter 8 I take up Couldry’s notion of ‘extended audience’ that points to the circulation of power within the media culture. Regardless of scholarly believe that as a new medium the internet is, in and of itself, liberating, perhaps encouraging its users to be more active yet within the Indonesia context its establishment strongly link to the existing power relations. The interweaving power discourse, dominated by men, in the internet establishment indicates the power circulation with Indonesia’s culture is taking place.
Indonesian women’s highest share is in community, social and personal services industry as professional, technical and related workers (3.8). In contrast, Indonesian women’s employment in manufacturing industry (3), transportation, storage and communication (7), financing, insurance, real estate and business service (8) in every level of occupation is lower than men’s employment in similar industries.

Table 1.4 Sex Disparities of Population 15 Years of Age and Over By Main Industry and Main Occupation in February 2012 *

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Industry</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7/8/9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.044</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.017</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.039</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.026</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.047</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.023</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.028</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>0.109</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.299</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.066</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.135</td>
<td>0.039</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.052</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.145</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.089</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.068</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>0.054</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>0.042</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (BPS, 2012, p. 113-114) *Data calculation Per 1 000 000 population

As an example, and confirming women’s low representation in entrepreneurial fields, the percentage of women members in The Indonesian internet Service Providers Association (APJII, Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa internet Indonesia) is less than 5%. 44

Despite the lack of Indonesian women’s involvement in the internet infrastructure building, Indonesia’s circumstances confirm Castells’ predictions. After the first

42(1) Professional, technical and related workers (2) Administrative and managerial workers (3) Clerical and related workers (4) Sales workers (5) Service workers (6) Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry workers, fishermen and hunters (7) Production and related workers (8) Transportation equipment operators (9) Labourers (10) Others
43(1) Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishery (2) Mining and quarrying (3) Manufacturing industry (4) Electricity, gas and water (5) Construction (6) Wholesale trade, retail trade, restaurant and hotels (7) Transportation, storage and communication (8) Financing, insurance, real estate and business service (9) Community, social and personal services
44 Authors’ calculations based on APJII’s Board Sketch 2009 – 2012, which is dominated by men.
three commercial ISPs were launched, the establishment of the internet infrastructure in Indonesia accelerated.\textsuperscript{45} Table 1.5 shows that in 1999 the Director General of Post and Telecommunications issued 50 ISP licenses. In 2007, there were 298 ISP licenses. It means within less than 10 years, the number of ISPs in Indonesia provided by the state increased almost 6 times.\textsuperscript{46}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ISP</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Indonesia ISP Association website, retrieved on 7 November 2011

Due to several factors in Indonesia such as geographical, economic and political conditions which I will be discussing in Chapter 6, around 1998 – 2002 it was not easy to get a private internet connection. As a result, and as a direct commercial response to the bottleneck in private connections, the first internet café (WARNET, WARung interNET)\textsuperscript{47} began to operate, offering users relatively low cost accessible

\textsuperscript{45} In 1995 the Indonesian government provided the first ISP license to PT Radnet as the first ISP company in Indonesia. In almost the same year, the state published 27 ISP licenses (Pribadi, n.d)

\textsuperscript{46}By 1996 there were 16 ISPs operating in Indonesia, which increased to 232 ISPs by 2005 (BuddeComm, 2010). Still, only a few ISPs covered services outside big cities. Wasantara.net (owned by PT Pos Indonesia) provide internet connections in 26 provinces and Indosat.net provided internet connections in 12 big cities (ITU, 2002). Late in 2006 at least 17 commercial ISP implemented IPv6 (internet Protocol version 6), which provides much larger capacity for internet connections.\textsuperscript{46} According to APJII, there were 131,073 IPv6 address users at the end of 2004. Since those IPv6 has been connected to two national interconnection, IIX (Indonesia internet Exchange) and NICE (National Interconnection Exchange), speed of information traffic inter ISP in Indonesia no longer depend on international internet connection (Mudiardjo et al, 2006). As the national IP backbone, national telecommunication company, PT Telkom (PT Telekomunikasi Indonesia Tbk) dominates the ISP market with 20% of total Indonesia’s dial-up internet subscribers by 2008 (BuddeComm, 2010, p. 7).

\textsuperscript{47}Most writers use “internet Cafe” as the English translation for ‘Warung internet’ in Indonesia. In my opinion by using the word “Cafe” those writers have misrepresented the word “warung” to the reader. Since today there are so many cafe’s in Indonesia – in literary meaning, the meaning of cafe in every part of the world: a-sometimes-cozy-place to enjoy time drinking coffee. These cafes serve free or discount price internet hot spot connection for their customers. In contrast, warung internet does not serve coffee or food, and instead only provide a PC with the internet connection
connections. ‘Warnet’ is a place where internet users can rent both computers and an internet connection.48

According to Hill and Sen (2005) the first warnet in Indonesia started six weeks after Jakarta’s riots in July 27, 1996. According to Lim (2006), however, the first warnet was Waroeng Bonet in Bogor, first established in January 1996. Scholars claim that internet cafes meet the needs of low and middle class consumers from big cities in Java (Figure 1.3) (Wahid et al., 2005, p. 4). Responding to market demand for internet access, soon after the fall of Suharto, warnet businesses flourished, especially in Indonesia’s big cities and close to universities. During this time, the market established several types of warnet, their size depending on the contribution of capital. Clearly in the early 2000s people saw warnet as a good business opportunity. According AWARI, 40% of 20 million internet users in Indonesia access the Net from an internet café. In 2011 there were at least 260,000 warnets across Indonesia (Economics, December 2011, p. 6).

Figure 1.2 Map of Internet Café in Indonesia

48In 1998 the average cost to use one hour internet connection was between Rp. 700 – Rp. 1200 and increased between Rp. 3000 – Rp. 5000 in 2008. Based on 2012’s AUD rate, 1 AUD is around Rp. 10.000
My interview with a woman blogger from Makassar who became the sole and first woman leader of a blogger community in Indonesia, however, revealed that around 1998 there were not many warnet available in Makassar in Sulawesi. At the same time, however, my interviews revealed important evidence that a number of Indonesian women bloggers’s initial activities with blogging started when they worked as operators in internet cafes. It indicates that while women were excluded from the development of internet infrastructure, in the end they used their own ways to participate in ICT as I will examine in remaining chapters in this thesis. Additionally the Indonesian government did not back up the lack of internet cafes outside Java by providing well-established dial up internet connection across the archipelago.

So far as infrastructure is concerned, there is a significant gap between rural and urban areas (Udhiarto and Anggono, 2007; Pisu, 2010). Internet connections are very limited and expensive for users in rural/provincial areas. Only people who work for local government or foreign companies can access the internet (Udhiarto and Anggono, 2007; Sikhakane and Lubbe, 2005). Problems of significant gaps in the internet access between rural and urban areas give users different realms of engaging

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49I present a detail interview and discussion in Chapter 6 about Indonesian women blogging’s forms.
with the new media, especially blogging.\textsuperscript{50} The different qualities and quantities of internet facilities across the nation has a varying impact on Indonesian women’s blogging practices. That is to say, Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging is determined by, among other things, internet infrastructure\textsuperscript{as I will illustrate in Chapter 6Chapter 7 where I discuss Indonesian women’s blog forms and practices in depth.}

Whatever boost to internet access small business opened up through the proliferation of warnet, the most flourishing and outstanding period in the internet establishment in Indonesia occurred in 2005, when the state released the 2.4 GHz wireless radio wave to build wireless internet connections. This policy not only reduced costs in technology setting, but moreover, it also encouraged communities to arrange or to develop their own internet access independently. Thus it has fostered an internet industry in Indonesia and also increased the number of internet subscribers and internet users in Indonesia.

In 2008 the Directorate General of Post and Telecommunications showed an interest in building Worldwide Interoperability for Microwave Access (WiMAX), involving several telecommunication companies. In January 2009 the Indonesian government released spectrum at 2.3GHz and 3.3GHz in an effort to assist the government’s policy goal of connecting 100 million users to broadband by 2015. Yet despite this effort, due to difficulties in servicing and connecting a sprawling archipelagic national territory, during this time the state still faced difficulties in bringing the internet to Indonesia’s remote areas.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{50}In Chapter 7 I illustrate that accessing the net using mobile phone becomes a popular alternative for accessing the net. Unfortunately mobile phone internet providers provide limited internet connection. Thus users face difficulties in accessing website, yet easily access social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook.

\textsuperscript{51}Briefly, starting around 2011 Indonesian government established programs on the accessibility of the internet for rural people such as “Desa PINTER (internet for rural people, 2011), internet stalls and mobile internet for remote areas, namely PLIK and MPLIK programs (2012) and “Desa Digital” (digital rural village), which have been implemented in early 2013.
Significantly, the innovation of mobile internet is more “friendly” to Indonesian netters who live in rural areas. The state opened up opportunities to have the internet access by finalising telecommunication law No. 36/1999, that endorsed the Anti-Monopoly Law in telecommunication industry. The law effectively ended two giant telecommunication providers, PT Telkom and PT Indosat’s monopoly in Indonesia’s telecommunication sector. In line with these circumstances, in February 2006 the Indonesian government authorised PT Natrindo Telepon Selular (Natrindo) and Hutchison CP Telecommunications (formerly Cyber Access Communication) to build a mobile internet infrastructure in Indonesia. Following these two providers, Telkomsel and Excelcomindo (XL) also built their 3G infrastructure to share the Indonesia’s internet market.

Increased access to the internet meant that women users gradually took up opportunities in the networked society. As Table 1.6 presents, there is a significant increase in the number of Indonesian women internet subscribers and users. The proportion of female users increased from 20% of total the Indonesian internet user population in 2001, to 24% in 2004 and 43% in 2009. Thus even though Indonesian women were excluded during the internet infrastructure building, as time went on, an increasing number of women initiated their engagement with the internet using mobile acces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Subscribers Both Sexes</th>
<th>Subscribers (Female)</th>
<th>Users Both Sexes</th>
<th>Users (Female)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>1,900,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>4,200,000</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>667,002</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>4,500,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>865,706</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>8,080,534</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1,087,428</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>11,226,143</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>16,000,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>20,000,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>25,000,000</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>ND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>31,000,000</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>ND</td>
<td>45,000,000</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Hermawati and Saari, 2011, p. 43)
Regardless of this improving but still barely satisfactory internet infrastructure development, in Chapter 6 I will illustrate, however, that mobile internet connections do not necessarily promote blogging practices among Indonesian women. In fact, the poor quality of mobile internet speed and service are important issues for women to engage with blogging.

1.7 Early 2000s: The first Indonesian women’s blogs

The first Indonesian bloggers can be traced from http://msn.or.id/. Msn.or.id was an online space where Indonesian MSN users gathered and called themselves MSN’s chatterbox (msnceletukers). MSN is an online service and internet service provider, launched by Microsoft on August 24, 1995. Sixty-four bloggers joined msnceletukers. They were 33 men, 17 women and 14 anonymous bloggers (who did not show their gender on their profiles).

Msnceletukers started on the 31st of June 2000, a year after the first blog-publishing services such as LiveJournal, Blogger and Blogspot were launched in 1999. Each member in msn.or.id was a ‘blogger’ who had their own personal account to log in to msn.or.id and to write posts. Following Blood’s definition of blog, msn.or.id takes a form of a blog with ‘link-driven’ sites. Each was a mixture in unique proportions of links, commentary, and personal thoughts and essays (Blood, 2000, para 5) (see Figure 1.4). It has dated entries of opinions and essays, contains links and comments. Additionally, it has a blogroll of contributors on its sidebar.

52 MSN was a ‘web’ provider
53 Celetuk means chat and celetukers literary means a person who talks actively, especially about trivial matters
54 This data is recorded from msnceletukers’s blogroll under the title ‘contributors’.
55 These blog-publishing services make blogging easier for non-IT enthusiasts.
In my search through the blogroll and links on msn.or.id in late 2011, I found a number of Indonesian women contributors. Compared with men contributors, the majority of women contributors did not author personal blogs. The only woman from msn.or.id group who maintained her personal blog for an extended period was Novi the Explorer from Jakarta. She has authored a personal blog, www.novi.lv since the 20th September, 2000. Her blog is under a paid hosting blog provider, Wordpress.org. Her last post was on June 20th 2011 and did not continue her blogging practice.

In contrast, Enda Nasution, who became known as the father of Indonesian bloggers (bapak blogger Indonesia), started blogging on the 26th of September 2001 under a free hosting, Blogger, a year later than Novi the Explorer. Enda has been continuing his blogging practice until recently.

Similar to Novi the Explorer, Blognya Daffa authored two personal blogs: Blognya Daffa and Bianglala, for an extended period (2006-2010 and 2003-2009). Blognya Daffa contained almost no links and also received almost no comments. In contrast, Bianglala, even though it contained almost no links, received a few comments from regular visitors. Blognya Daffa too, like Novi the Explorer did, did not continue her blogging practice.

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56 Retrieved from [http://enda.goblogmedia.com](http://enda.goblogmedia.com)
Another early Indonesian woman blogger was tolelojing (intentionally uncapitalized). She started blogging in June 2001. She authored several personal blogs such as ‘my little playground’ (http://flowerdiver.blogspot.com/) and ‘I hate pink’ (http://sambilngupi.blogspot.com/a0). Both blogs are under a free blog hosting, Blogspot, but both have been neglected. However, tolelojing established a blog for Indonesian women divers, www.pinkscuba.com. The first post was on the 8th of October 2003. One post expresses her displeasure in maintaining this blog ‘Another test. When can I enjoy updating and maintaining pink scuba?’ (on October 8th, 2003). This blog lasted for a year and was then neglected. Another woman, Anggun also had personal blogs, but similar to tolelojing, she neglected them. A woman blogger, Vanda posted on msnceletukers, and recorded her engagement with blogging for 9 years in 2008. That is, she started blogging in 1999. Unfortunately, I could find no record about her and her blog:

tuesday, november 18, 2008
I can’t believe it’s been 9 years since I maintained my personal blog.
Unfortunately, I lost all of my record. I wish I blogged on Blogger, I could have still had my records. Never mind.
(postedon msnceletukers by vanda at 11/18/2008 10:53:00 pm)

The majority women bloggers ionly hosted their blog in msnceletukers. In contrast, the majority of men contributors in msnceletukers author personal blogs and have maintained them up until today. In another word, during that time men had more interest in developing their personal blogs compared with women. Anzarra Djahran, for example, authors 10 blogs. One of his blogs, Blogsport, started in 2001 and is still updated until August 2012. Similar to Anzara Djahran, Enda Nasution also authors his personal blog, www.enda.goblogmedia.com/. He has maintained it since 2001 until today.

Despite the facts that the majority women did not continue their first blogging practice in in msnceletukers, however, these women show attempts to participate in the engagement with blogging. Additionally, it also shows that regardless of the small number of women who engaged with this first blogging experience, the
technology does not exclude them. When new applications such as free blogging software (Blogspot and Blogger) were introduced in Indonesia, Indonesian women begin to participate in blogging. During my research I recognize that Indonesian women do not fall behind men with reference to internet attitude. In Bali, for instance, Kamar Kecil, a woman blogger with two children who is also married to a blogger, acknowledges women started blogging later than their male counterparts but she does not consider them less capable. She states:

I found (Indonesian) women are too late to recognize the power of technology to develop their potentials. They think blogging is kind of online shopping. Many still believe like this “I blog or not, nothing will change, really” They haven’t seen blogging as a liberating media with attention to the fact that they can write many things. Nowadays, through my blog walking, I found many women’s blog with great qualities in writing to a greater extent than men’s (personal interview with Kamar Kecil on 7 December 2009).

Kamar Kecil’s statement reminds us that although Indonesian women were left out of the internet infrastructure establishment and so lay far behind men in terms of skills, like women all around the world they are catching up with men. However, my interview with Kamar Kecil illustrates that in their first engagement with the internet women tended to be users, rather than producers. My remaining chapters will show that Indonesian women enthusiastically embrace digital communication through blogging practice by taking their role as both consumers and producers.

With respect with the fact that women are latecomers to the digital age, my study confirms scholarly finding that the lack of internet infrastructure widens gender digital divide, creates difficulties for women’s adoption of the internet (Kakar et al., 2012; Gill et al., 2010; Chen and Wellman, 2007). SoeramoeLiza described the poor infrastructure of internet connection across Aceh, especially in hilly areas such as Pidie, Tangse and Sigli. Although she admitted that almost coffee shop (warung kopi) in Aceh, especially in Banda Aceh, has a good internet connection, but warung kopi is not a common place for Acehnese women to hang out (personal interview on December 4, 2009). Women in Aceh choose to connect the internet from home or
universities as men do too (personal interview with Neng Riza on December 5, 2009). That is to say men in Aceh have more varied offer to connect the internet compared with their women counterpart.

It can be indicated that a new dawn has come for Indonesian women to reclaim different forms of agency through their engagement with the internet. However, my interview with her highlights the fact that Indonesian women’s bloggers first encounter with online activities happened after they were already exposed to internet connection, which indicate women’s slow catch up in new media which results the low rate of adopting the new media (see also for example Miller et al., 2012; Trauth, 2009). According to this, Rogers suggests that rate of adoption of a new technology depends on the nature of the social system in which the innovation is diffusing (Rogers, 1995, p. 207).

In the following account I put forward an opposing point of view concerning how technology is socially shaped through a process of negotiation within (social) power discourse during the introduction into any social setting (see for example Kadi, 2013). I look at social structures that constitute the process of domestication of technology and how this structures influence the use and consumption of technologies. Scholars of the domestication of technology\textsuperscript{57} make particular mention of the ‘house’ as a context where the process of the ‘domestication’ of technology mostly occurs (e.g. Silverstone, 1991; Berker et al., 2007). In my study, the Indonesian context shows several different perspectives and therefore may offer another view on the domestication of technology. IkaWidari, a single mother of a 10 years old girl, who was expecting a baby and living with HIV/AIDS, experienced her first encounter with blogging at work, outside the domestic space. She was introduced to blogging by her colleagues in a non-government organisation concerned with HIV/AIDS issues in Bali. When they stopped working there, a number of colleagues encouraged her to keep writing about HIV/AIDS issue on a blog:

\textsuperscript{57} “Domestication” may means applications of ‘new’ technology in everyday life for daily practices that is involved personal negotiation”
I started my blog in 2005 without any serious intention. I worked at the Indonesian National AIDS Commission (KPA, Komisi Penanggulangan AIDS). When we stopped working there, I didn’t have any idea where should I share my opinion about AIDS. Anton and LuhDe introduced me to blogging, they said a blog is a place for me to keep my writing about HIV/AIDS and it is up to me how to write it. So, I made one account in 2005 (personal interview with Ika Widari on December 9, 2009).

Baidoeri, a single woman blogger from Makassar, first experience with blogging did not start in ‘domestic’ and/or private space. In fact, her first encounter with blogging started in internet café, where she worked as an operator:

I knew about blog when I worked as an operator in one internet café. While supervising the customers, I didn’t have anything to do.
Browsing.Browsing.Browsing. That was what I did. And, yes! I found blogs, started to read them and [I was] encouraged to author one of my own
(personal interview with Baidoeri on December 17 2009)

Her experience, interestingly, indicates that Indonesian women bloggers’ first encounter with blogging was not necessarily happening in the offline environment. In fact, some of them were introduced to blogging in online life. It confirms that prior to blogging, for some Indonesian women, their online life had already become an integral part with their offline life. Take Ihansunrise, a single woman blogger from Banda Aceh, for example. She works as a journalist. Prior to blogging, she used email and instant messenger applications to communicate online, where she met a man that she had never met before I interviewed her.

I set my blog’s feature myself after an online friend gave me a link how to make a blog account. I haven’t met him until today. I met him online for the first time in a mailing list. From there, we continued our communication through instant messenger. We chatted a lot. He introduced me to blog. I
asked many questions in our chatting. He worked in Air Putih. He also introduced me to his friend, a lecturer from Surakarta Institute of Technology (ITS, Institut Teknologi Surakarta). I asked her many questions too, using instant messenger. I also haven’t met her (personal interview with Ihansunrise on December 5, 2009).

Sayap Bidadari, a married woman blogger with one child from Makassar, experienced a similar first encounter with blogging. She actively looked and learnt how to create an account, but at the same time was being encouraged to seek help from an anonymous person that she believed to be a man after she read ‘his’ blog:

I started blogging in February 2005. I think I learnt blogging independently, online. Hmmm I was looking articles for my school project about weed (ilalang, Indonesian) on the internet then I found a blog, www.ilalang liar.blogspot.com. I read through this blog then I was thinking it was fun to have a blog. I could write poetries or anything else. Then I sent email to its author, a man. I told him I wanted to learn how to blog. He gave me his instant messenger account name, we exchanged instant messenger accounts. He was willing to teach me how to blog online. So we set the time. We chatted. He gave me links and asked me to open them. I continued learning how to blog by myself. I have never met this person. Even, to be honest, I don’t know his real name. I asked. But he asked me to call him ‘Langli’, ilaLANG Liar. He refused to give me his real name. But I think he lived in Tangerang (a suburb near Jakarta) (personal interview with Sayap Bidadari on December 17, 2009).

My study reveals that men – mostly from Java and institutions, often became agents who opened up women’s relationship to blogging. The two statements above suggest that in the Indonesian context, most Indonesian women bloggers were introduced to blogging through their male counterparts who adopted blogging earlier. It confirms previous studies that state that Indonesian women are late in adopting the internet

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58 Air Putih is a non-government organisation that focuses on ICT establishment in Aceh after tsunami in 2004.
compared with their male counterparts (Wahid, 2005; Hermana et al., 2007). Additionally my study supports Everet Rogers’ views (2003) that men tend to be early adopters, and become role models for women as late comers.

Regardless of their role as blog’s early adopters, my study shows Indonesian women bloggers were active and self-directed in the way they gained knowledge and information about blogging. To relate this circumstance to Everett Roger’s (1995) idea of innovation, we may say that these women were directly influenced by reading blogs, and actively decided to supplement their established media practices by looking for help online. They directly implemented information they gathered online to support their beliefs. Regardless of low internet penetration in Indonesia, let alone among women, the character of the Web 2.0 platform has created self-encouragement for Indonesian women by increasing autonomy in a way that “it gives them the opportunity to become authors and for some at least, programmers” (Doueihi, 2011, p. 30).

Setting aside stereotypes about women and technology, women in my study have a great interest to ICT since its coming in Indonesia. i-Rara, for instance, a single woman blogger from Makassar, in contrast, has been interested in ICT since she was in high school, and is thus among the first adopters of ICT in Indonesia:

Hmmm initially it started from my interest in IT (Information Technology) – regardless of the fact that I am a dentist. Since the very beginning I was very into electronics. But sadly, when I enrolled in university I only got accepted in the faculty of dentistry. When internet arrived in Indonesia, I liked to undergo tests to everything that related to internet. I was in IRC, I loved it. I went to internet café very often and to chat online. In IRC forum my online friends from Serve Undernet Indonesia room introduced me to a concept of homepage. They were mainly from Yogyakarta, Surabaya and Jakarta. At that time, around 1998-1999 internet cafes were booming already there while I am here in Makassar still accessed internet using dial up connection (laughing). So at that time, when you introduced yourself – you would be asked for your homepage, and I didn’t have one! (laughing). From there, I asked them how
to make a homepage. I really wanted to know and really wanted to have a homepage. I browsed on geocities website then from there I learnt how to make a homepage. I visited many homepages. I left traces in their guess books. I went from one homepage to another homepage. I tried many models of homepage. I learnt php (a programming language). Then my friends introduced me to how to make and to write a post. But I disliked the method, because everytime I wrote a new post, I had to change the entire homepage. I wanted to know how to change only one column and leave the other columns unchanged. Finally, I found a blog provider, blogspot.com (laughing). I made an account, I tried it out. I tried many themes and other technical features. And I am a blogger now. It was that simple. (laughing) (personal interview with i-Rara on December 17, 2009).

My interview with i-Rara shows that the poor internet infrastructure and connection in outer Java regions discourages women’s engagement with technology in general and with blogging in particular. Only women with a particular socio economic background could afford private dial up internet connections and thus could engage with the media in general and blogging in particular. Additionally, only women with good educational backgrounds could teach themselves how to learn to operate internet applications in general and blogging applications in particular. Furthermore, i-Rara brings awareness to us that the advancement of Web 2.0 opens up possibilities for women who do not have easy access to education to take part in engaging with blogging. However, when the phenomenon of Web 2.0 in general allowed people to create and share digital content, internet access and connections become more contextual issues for Indonesian women in engaging with blogging. The next section illustrates Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging and shows how they access blogs within their daily contexts.

1.8 Conclusion

Starting from the beginning of its development in the scholars’ period to a commercial or industrial period in the entrepreneurs phase, this brief history of internet infrastructure development illustrates that technological innovations involve
hegemonic masculine discourse, which according to Gurumurthy includes governments and corporations, which are dominated by males (see for example Pohlman, 2004). In this male dominated sphere, they not only create a system of surveillance (Gurumurthy, 2004, p. 11), but especially in Indonesia’s case this system, which men played dominant roles, opened up limited space for women to participate in national internet infrastructure development and thus become later internet adopter compared with men.

However, at the same time the convergence of the internet with other factors such as industry, economy and communication created avenues for women to participate as users. Within the context of globalisation, the development of the internet industry increased women’s participation in ICT. As I indicated in the last section, although the early development of the internet occurred in male dominated areas such as universities and skunkworks organisations, eventually the internet business invited a far wider range of groups to participate. In the Indonesian context, statistics show a composition of internet users in 1996 included: entrepreneurs (42.8%), academics (29.9%), government (20.9%), researchers (5.8%), and NGOs (1%) (Tjiptono and Santoso, 2000, p. 5). That is to say, male hegemony in the internet infrastructure establishment could not hold its domination and Indonesia women everywhere made their own adjustments in engaging with the internet as I will examine in detail in remaining chapters in this thesis.

The brief records of msnceletukers available illustrates that with limited internet connections, only people from Indonesia’s big cities were able to create their blogs (1999-2000). During that time, blog applications were not as easy to use as they became post-Web 2.0. However, from the moment of new applications, women began to participate in blogging. Msnceletukers’ members included a few women bloggers, the majority of whom developed their personal journal blogs utilising blog-publishing services. Despite their small numbers and low popularity compared to men bloggers, I show that women kept up with the internet establishment. I will be talking about women’s participation in blogging in more depth in the remaining chapters, starting in chapter three. Before that, however, in Chapter 2 I will examine the particular cultural and political structure in Indonesia which accounts for
women’s low participation in technological change and development. This background is most important as later chapters trace the various ways women throughout the country have overcome historical, environmental and cultural impediments to take charge of their own interest in using blogging as a way of building individual identity and managing online and offline relationships.
2 INDONESIAN WOMEN’S SITUATED CONTEXTS: A STEPPING STONE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I argue that the New Order regime created a political and social discourse which effectively marginalized Indonesian women from what is constituted as the ‘public sphere’, such as schools and career in technology and science. In this chapter I look contextualise the absence of women from the development phase in Indonesia by examining the socially constructed position, role and expectations of Indonesian women within Indonesian national discourse, especially how Indonesian women negotiate their public and private roles during the relevant period.

This chapter may be understood as an orientation for later discussions of the relationship between Indonesian women and their blogging practices (that is considered as public sphere) in remaining chapters. It reviews the flux of Indonesian women’s effort to join Indonesian public sphere through education and labor from RA Kartini’s era to the post Suharto’s era. I will argue that within Indonesia power discourse, the notion of the private and public sphere is part of gender reproduction, and is unstable and subject to negotiation (Butler, 2009). In the Indonesian case, the New Order regime imposed a nation-wide bureaucratic administrative apparatus that attempted to construct the ideal woman. Relevant here is the notion of state ibuism, which refers to ‘the domestication of Indonesian women as dependent wives who exist for their husbands, their families and the state’ (Suryakusuma, 1996, p. 98). According to Suryakusuma, under this ideology, former President Suharto organised a women’s mass movement to impose this ideology throughout the country. After Suharto was forced out of power in 1998, scholars have discussed women’s efforts to resist, challenge and to negotiate the ‘national construct of womanhood’ and to show their great desire to be part of the public sphere (Handajani, 2005; Brenner, 1999; Hatley, 1999; Sen, 1998).

That is to say, these studies show that Suharto’s ideology could not hold women everywhere throughout Indonesia, and that they negotiated their own space, and made their own adjustments. Drawing on these scholarly works, this chapter gives centre position to the broader theme of the public and private, especially in discussion of new media. It is worth recalling Butler’s claim that ‘the reproduction of
gender is thus always a negotiation with power; and finally, there is no gender
without this reproduction of norms that risks undoing or redoing the norms in
unexpected ways, thus opening up the possibility of a remaking of gendered reality
along new lines’ (Butler, 2009, p. i).

This chapter has four sections. In the first section I outline scholarly discussion of the
notion of public and private. In section two I examine the New Order’s attempt to
envisage and marginalise Indonesian women which played an important role in
restraining them from engaging with technology, which theoretically considered as
male’s domain thus public sphere. However, in the third section I look at scholars
who reveal that regardless of the fact that Indonesian women are subjected to
Suharto’s national programs, not every woman believes in them. Thus women
created their own adjustments and ways to negotiate with this national discourse
through various agencies. In the fourth section I pay attention to Indonesian women’s
profile in education and the labour force. In the last section I summarise my chapter
and suggest that Indonesian women bloggers’ relative lack of engagement with the
internet may be understood as a response to the lack of involvement in pioneering
design and conceptualisation of the internet as a result of male domination in public
sectors. Thus women’s lack of participation in the engineering of the internet is an
outcome of a number of factors: unequal participation in education, state ideology,
and geographical factors which tended to limit the participation women.

2.2 Women’s role: a negotiated public/private
The most common excuse for women’s minor participation in technology is that
‘technology is masculine’ (Hodgkinson, 2000). The majority of feminist scholars
point to views that assume both masculinity and technology are part of the public
sphere (Lubar, 1998; Lohan, 2001), and that a dichotomy of technology/nontechnology is parallel with a dichotomy of the public/private
(Cockburn, 1997, p. 361). The subject of the relationship between technology and
women always involve a dichotomy of the public/private sphere.

59According to Lubar (1998, p. 19), this view is rooted in actual practices of use technologies in
industries and productions, which is associated with public sphere.
This dichotomy follows the mainstream division between public/private is a social construction that relegates specific roles of women and men (Benhabib, 1992; Davidoff, 1998). It suggests that women belong within the domestic sphere and thus are granted roles as nurturing women who create a refuge for husbands and children. Women’s domestic roles include housework, reproduction, and nurturance, which decenter women from the public sphere, which is dominated by men (Ackelsberg, 2010). According to feminist scholars, the dichotomy of public/private is rooted in sexual politics, a political discourse where women are subjected to particular constructed traits (Butler, 1990; Ackelsberg, 2010).

Butler views sexual politics as a reiterative discourse of power which produces the phenomena that it regulates and constrains (Butler, 1993, p. 2). Thus, she suggests social constructions are negotiated performances, and that people can choose whether to conform or to resist (Butler, 2009, p. 32). For this reason, some scholars have faith that social constructions such as the separation between public/private is very dynamic (Butler, 2009; Ackelsberg, 2010). Ackelsberg, for instance, claims that the division between public and private sphere is not permanent, and instead changes constantly (2010, p. 85). Her view is very important in examining women’s engagement with new media, which will be my core concern in remaining chapters.

Cyber scholars have suggested that cyberspace obscures the division between public and private (Haraway, 1991; Turkle, 1997; Turkle, 1995). The fluid division between private and public in cyberspace does not only come from opportunities to manipulate social identity (Plant, 1995; Plant, 1997; Nardi., 2010; Turkle, 1995), but also comes from the character of the medium and its renewed user-friendly applications that encourage users to access public/private spheres at the same time (Mazzarella, 2011; Goossen, 2008; van Doorn et al., 2007; Lieber, 2010).

Unfortunately, however, gender digital divide is a worldwide phenomenon for various reasons (Jackson et al., 2008; Kakar et al., 2012). One of the most popular scholarly assumptions about this phenomenon notes women’s discrimination in
education, and in jobs related to advanced technology (Ersoz, 2008; Huyer and Hakin, 2012).

Rejecting the claim that science and technology are value free, Wajcman (1991), instead, points to technologies being social constructions. She emphasises the fact that men have constantly had access to privileged subjects such as science and technology, from which women were excluded, and that this accounts for the historical subordination of women (p. 9). Thus in her view, this condition illustrates the sexual politics of science is rooted in women’s stereotypes:

For example, the current career structure for a professional scientist dictates long unbroken periods of intensive study and research which simply do not allow for childcare and domestic responsibilities. In order to succeed women would have to model themselves on men who have traditionally avoided such commitments. The equal opportunities strategy has had limited success precisely because it fails to challenge the division of labour by gender in the wider society (Wajcman, 1991, p. 2-3).

Scholars such as Sandra Harding (1986) note a strong association between science and technology, and that an androcentric bias distort science as well as technologies. It implies that sciences and technologies are male dominated fields. Unfortunately, scholarly arguments claim these fields as strong indicators of modernity. Thus, women have been excluded and alienated historically from technology and thus are left behind in the modernity process (Kirkup, 1992; Harding, 2008). That is to say, the social construction of sex in forms of norms, stereotyping and roles has impeded women in benefitting from technological and scientific development. Consequently, this complex interplay of factors promotes a system of inclusion and exclusion within modern society. Women’s participation in the labour force has been limited. Even though the industrial revolution brought women into the labour force and relied on them in industrial production, women remained dependent

\[60\] Technology and science are related (Wyer (ed.), 2009; Kirkup, 1992). Referring to western tradition perspective, science runs by the systematic rules: predictive, reliable, and value free. This is how western tradition of science understands knowledge in nature. Technology is a process of creating artifacts using that knowledge.
on technology and did not invent or promote new technologies. Thus even though women were not eliminated from the labour force, they were not allowed to participate in the engineering of technology as society still expected them to perform domestic roles and duties.

However, according to a number of scholars, the long history of the social construction of women’s domestic roles discouraged women at every level from engaging with technologies in anything but a dependent, ‘operator’ level (see for example Turow and Kavanaugh, 2003). Stretched across paid employment and domestic expectations meant women were in no position to develop independent expertise in technical fields and roles (Duxbury et al., 1992). Focusing her analysis on women and the labour force, Gattiker’s statement below illustrates the difficulties women face in attempting to work across the public and private spheres and thus must cope with balancing different roles, multitasking as wives, workers, and mothers:

In most countries, people comfortably believe that women are merely casual workers who enter the work force only until they marry and/or have children. Intermittency in employment – the idea that women enter and exit the labor force in response to marriage and childbearing has been considered a likely explanation for the wage gap, and is based on human capital theory (2008, p. 14).

With regard to the separation between public and private, the internet opens up and contests the idea of public and private (Hilbert, 2011). Within women’s context, the internet does not only open up the possibility to re-define identity by creating pseudo identity in the public sphere, but moreover women can access public space within their private context (Gregg, 2006). Additionally the internet supports women in private interests that are exercised publicly and enhances economic activities within the domestic areas (Philipps, 2003). Working on a perception that the internet is less a technology and more a medium, the new medium opens up possibilities for women to create their own agency and rework the definition of public/private through their engagement with technology (the internet).
However, geography becomes a critical factor for women to access Information & Computer Technology (ICT) (Wamala, 2012; UN, 2005). According to the United Nations, women are tied to domestic roles that limit their mobility and access to the public sphere including education (p. 8). In the following section I illustrate that similar factors are relevant in the Indonesian context where the government created a systematic national ideology to embrace and celebrate women’s domesticity which tended to discourage women from engaging with ICT.

2.3 State ibuism: domestication of Indonesian women
The famous woman figure that initiated Indonesian women’s way to liberation is Raden Ajeng Kartini (1879-1904), from Jepara, Central Java. She was brought up by a feudal aristocratic family.61 Her short education experience sparked off her effort to establish the right to education for Indonesian women by exchanging letters with her former teachers in the Netherlands (Geertz, 1985; Natih, 2005). Regardless of the fact that Kartini never led a women’s movement and died young in childbirth, her ‘silent’ combat against a patriarchal, feudal system became a legacy for Indonesian women all around Indonesia to pursue the right to education for girls.

Another important figure for Indonesian women is Dewi Sartika (1884-1947), a noble woman from West Java.62 Her fate was more fortunate compared with Kartini: her efforts to provide equal education for women/girls were fully supported by male figures in her family (particularly her father, uncles, and husband). Although it was against the law, Dewi Sartika’s parents insisted on enrolling her in the Dutch school. After her father died, her uncle, the governor of Cicalengka, sent her for further education in Sundanese culture and history. Aware that Indonesian women’s fate during the Dutch colonial period was extremely poor and expectations were that women were ‘naturally’ subordinate to men, in January 1906, Dewi Sartika established the first Sakola Istri (women’s school) in the Dutch East Indies region of Bandung.

61 A detail review about R.A. Kartini can be read in a number of books, for example Realizing the Dream of R.A. Kartini: Her Sisters’ Letters from Colonial Java (Coté, 2008) or In Letters from Kartini: An Indonesian Feminist 1900-1904 (Coté, 1992)
62 A detail review about Dewi Sartika can be read in a number of books (in Indonesian), for example R. Dewi Sartika, 1884-1947: sebuah biografi pahlawan nasional (Daryono, 1996)
Kartini and Sartika’s era opened the first base for Indonesian women’s access to formal education. However, contrast with their predecessor, the first wave of Indonesian women’s movement endorsed feminine values in education programs in order to maintain Indonesian women’s domestic roles such (Hatley and Blackburn, 2000; Wirienga, 2002). During this era, education system for Indonesian women rearticulated and supported social constructions of femininity defined as ‘kodrat wanita’ (women’s essentialist roles).

The second wave of Indonesian women’s movements was marked by the first Indonesian women’s congress in 1928. It brought in agenda to addressed education for girls and legal marriage policies, including preventing trafficking.63 Including to this women’s organization was The Indonesian Women's Movement (GERWANI, GErakan WAnita INdonesia), formed in 1950. Gerwani was very progressive compared with other Indonesian women’s organisations at that time. Their vision was to encourage Indonesian women, especially in rural areas, to be politically active,64 to have a higher standard of living, to develop leadership skills, and to be an equal labour force partner for men (Wieringa, 1993; Wieringa, 2002).65

When Suharto defeated the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI), he also swept away Gerwani due to their close affiliation PKI. Additionally Suharto constructed myths of unprecedented violence, and sexual debauchery allegedly committed by Gerwani in the night before the PKI allegedly murdered the six generals (Pohlman, 2004, p. 2).

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63 These women’s organisations submitted a formal proposal to the Dutch colonial government, encouraging them to increase the number of schools for girls, to ask peremptorily to the government in providing marriage certificate immediately, to provide scholarships for female students who had the ability to learn but facing financial lacks and establish institutions called: Studie Fonds, to establish women’s literacy classes, health awareness classes for women and to prevent children marriage acts. Also the participant agreed to manage an official association to protect children from trafficking (the Association for Combating Trafficking of Women and Children) in 1929.

64 One of their activity combating women’s illiteracy was reading PKI newspaper, Harian Rakyat (The People's Daily) and Berita Gerwani (Gerwani's News) (Wieringa, 2002). Then after that they would discuss some selected articles from those newspapers. I reason, according to a fact that around that time only 5% women from the total population were literate (Huang et al., 2013); activities which were offered by Gerwani initiated the strong impulse to be literate as well as the awareness for politics among Indonesian women.

65 Additionally, they also shared a common goal with other women’s organisations of reforming Indonesia’s marriage laws under Soekarno’s era.
Suharto established his reign of power under the New Order (Orde Baru) as an antidote to communism. Considering the scope of Gerwani’s effort to empower women in politics and participation in the public sphere, it is fair to say that under the New Order, women’s empowerment in politics and participation in public sphere faded. The regime cultivated a national ideology of womanhood, seeking to replace the influence of Gerwani. Suharto prevented progressive women’s movements by legitimizing several women’s organizations under Indonesian departments and the Indonesian army: Dharma Wanita⁶⁶ and Dharma Pertiwi⁶⁷ (Wieringa, 1992, Blackburn, 2004).

The government reinforced the importance of Indonesian women’s domestic roles by defining them as subordinate agencies, supporting servicemen’s careers in the army, although membership of Dharma Wanita and Dharma Pertiwi was constructed as an honour for military wives to support and join their husbands’ careers. In fact it was a manipulative and systematic agenda to impose a ‘follow the husband’ (ikut suami) culture (Suryakusuma, 1991).

The main program of these organisations was to nurture Suharto’s idea of an ideal Indonesian womanhood. Suharto defined the notion of emancipation as Indonesian women’s contribution to the state without personal interest (tanpa pamrih). Women were to support national development in all aspects: politics, economy, social and cultural activities. The family was thus positioned as the smallest political unit in the state. The Guidance for Family Welfare’s programs (PKK, Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga) provided Indonesian women with knowledge of how to be good wives and mothers. In 1978 Suharto established the Department of Ministry for Women’s Role to promote women’s affairs in Indonesia (Blackburn, 2001). The guidance policies and the Department can be understood as hegemonically promoting the mantra of asas kekeluargaan (family principle) (Wieringa, 1993, p. 25), and Mrs. Tien Suharto, his wife, as ibu (mother) (Suryakusuma, 1999). This propaganda promoted a specific ideological and gendered division of labour throughout the nation which in effect privileged Indonesian men’s status and power:

⁶⁶Dharma wanita is women’s organization, which members are the wives of civil servants who join the government party, the Golkar (Golongan Karya).
⁶⁷Dharma Pertiwi is women’s organization, which members are the wives of Indonesian army.
The honour [women] could gain was that of being a good Ibu. Power and prestige remained the privilege of men (Nieuwenhuis, 1987 p. 43).

On the other hand, the state constructed five major roles of ‘good women’ which celebrated Indonesian women’s roles within the family and within the nation (Pimpinan Daerah Pertiwi, 1974, p. 4 in Sulivan, 1991). Women were to be a loyal backstop and supporter of their family, a caretaker of the household, a producer of future generations, the family’s prime socialiser, and an Indonesian citizen.

In line with this, through the legalization of the marriage bill 1974, Suharto created a surveillance system within families as the smallest social unit. He nominated Indonesian men as the main breadwinner and head of household. Through this bill Suharto also legitimated the subordinate roles for Indonesian women as house managers and main child carers. That is to say, it illustrates the state’s control over women by promoting the idea of domestic sphere as Indonesian women’s natural domain. In this context, education was understood as a way of cultivating better mothers and reinforcing the autonomous role of husbands in the family unit. Consequently, Indonesian women tended to leave school early and gave little thought to entering tertiary education.

In the next section I look carefully at how the constructed ideal of Indonesian women whose life revolved around the domestic sphere was reworked under modernisation. That is, when Indonesian women were offered opportunities for broader engagement in the public sphere, they took them but their responses were constrained by geographical and social and cultural factors.

2.4 Indonesian women’s efforts to enter the public sphere
The New Order regime tried to establish a strong division between the private and public spheres. It attempted to construct an ideal for women and for society, where women were to be part of the private sphere. However, a number of studies show that this ideology could not hold women everywhere throughout Indonesia, and that women made their own adjustments (Brenner, 1998; Sen, 1998; Hatley, 2008; Brenner, 1999; Handajani, 2005).
Studying an urban community in Lawean, Central Java, Brenner, for example, challenges the notion of state ibuism by revisiting the conception of gender within Indonesia power discourses (Brenner, 1998). Brenner reveals the pivotal role Javanese women played in the domestic economy by trading in traditional markets and managing their family businesses. Instead of seeing public/private as a radical separation, Brenner proposes a nexus between colonialism (traditional life) and modernism (globalisation) mixed up in within the notion of public/private. To maintain their sacred status as priyayi or superior public servants, Lawean men saw traditional markets and trading as domestic and low activities that threatened their sacred role in society and in the house. Thus they let women, who were considered to have a lower social class, to trade in the markets. Thus the markets became associated with ‘unrestrained female sexuality’ (Brenner, 1998, p. 75), where ‘men could not control women’ (p. 76). Expressing a similar point of view, Sen (1998) noted the contested zone between private/public that is associated with modernisation in Indonesia. In her view, the emerging Indonesian female labour force in the 1990s provides a sharp contrast to the 1970s (p. 35). That is, the paradigmatic female subject in Indonesia national discourse has been replaced by that of the affluent working woman in 1990s. Drawing on these insights, Sen suggests that the separation between public/private within modernisation in Indonesia is not fixed. Instead, it is challenged by modernism and globalisation.

The impact of globalisation on the negotiation of public/private in Indonesia became more intense after Suharto's fall in 1998. As scholars have noted, the fall of Suharto was largely provoked by the Voice of Concerned Mothers (SIP, Suara Ibu Peduli) (Robinson, 2009; Howell and Mulligan, 2005). SIP is a group of Indonesian women that in February 1998, three months after the monetary crisis, stood up for Indonesian housewives. These women marched in protest against the rising prices of basic commodities, which had become the main concern of housewives within the family. SIP took on an activist, logistic support role by building emergency shops that offered cheap basic commodities (Aspinall, 2003). Thus SIP was a symbol of Indonesian women’s counter-hegemonic interpretation of the role of housewives and

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68 In her article, Sen emphasises on the changing discourse due to modernisation in Indonesia. Thus the issue of the gender wage gap (see for example Grossman, 1979).
mothers, where women brought their domestic issues into the public sphere. Indonesian women’s aspiration to engage in the public sphere grew greater after Suharto’s fall. Ayu Utami, a young Indonesian female writer, through her novel *Saman* challenges the mainstream literature that not only embraced women’s role in domestic/private sphere, but to some extent compelled Indonesian women into the domestic/private sphere (Hatley & Blackburn, 2000; Salmon, 1985). Her novel projected a discussion of Indonesian women's sexuality into the public sphere, something which was forbidden during the New Order and the Old Order.

Indonesian women’s varied efforts to negotiate and to challenge the rigid division between public/private illustrate that state ibuism is a national ideology which was not universally persuasive. These studies of women in the public sphere confirm scholarly arguments that the division between public/private is not fixed and instead is negotiated through interactions with the larger social structure within globalisation. Perhaps the best indicator of the rise of the proportion of women in public life is found in examining participation in education and the wage-labour force, which I provide in the following section. In the next section I illustrate that regardless of the fact that Indonesian men outnumber women in both sectors, the evidence shows that the percentage of women in education and waged labour has increased every year.

### 2.5 Indonesian women in education and the waged labour force

According to the Constitution of Indonesia 1945 (Undang Undang Dasar 1945) article 31, every citizen has the right to formal education and the government shall establish and implement a national education system, regulated by law. According to the constitution then, there should be no gender differences in school enrolment or educational attainment. In fact there is a gender gap in Indonesia’s schooling at every level of education. However, evidence shows that this gender gap has significantly decreased (Demography, 2012). In 1990 there was 1.6 % gap of schooling between genders in age group 20-39. But in 2010, there was only 0.3% gap of schooling between genders in similar age group.

A number of scholars note that up until 1980s the percentage of females enrolled in formal education in Indonesia was lower than that of males. However, Table 2.1
gives more emphasis on some progress in increasing the rate of Indonesian women’s participation in education.

Table 2.1 Educational Attainment by Gender in Indonesia, 1990 and 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No education (%)</th>
<th>With primary education (%)</th>
<th>With secondary education (%)</th>
<th>With tertiary education (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Asian Demographic Data Sheet 2012: Closing the gender gap in education in Asia (reproduced table) (Demography, 2012)

Table 2.1 illustrates that in 1990 there were 11% Indonesian women from the total population with no education. But in 2010 the percentage of Indonesian women without education decreased to just 2%. Similar progress in Indonesian women’s education also occurs in secondary and tertiary education. The percentage of women with secondary education increased from 26% in 1990 to 51% in 2010. In fact, the percentage of women with tertiary education increased 100% within 20 years. Thus, regardless of the fact that the gender gap in education remains, the rise of the percentage of women’s participation in education cannot be ignored.

There are links between the progress of Indonesian women’s participation in education and its impact on women’s employment avenues. The National Workforce Survey (Sakernas, Survei ketenagakerjaan Nasional) 1986 – 2005 reported on the rise of Indonesian women labour force, both in Indonesia’s cities and provinces. In total (both in cities and provinces) women labour force increased from 26,500,000 in 1986 to 39,600,000 in 2005.
Several studies note that the majority of Indonesian women who work in the public sphere on average earn far less than men. This condition is worsened by limited financial security and the absence of social benefits. According to Sen, there has been a significant shift in women activities in joining the public sphere through formal employment (1998). Sen’s views are supported by Ford’s extensive research on the female labour force, who however has argued although the mainstream ideological view of being a woman remains (Ford and Parker, 2008, p. 11). At the same time, other studies provide evidence that local custom is still a significant reason for women discontinuing education. In some societies in Indonesia, especially in rural areas, girls are forced to drop out of school. For this reason, women from rural areas are generally less educated compared with women from bigger cities (Rosenberg, 2003). Thus they are not as well positioned to engage with modernization and globalization. This is evidence that women’s reality across Indonesia is different, and means that women are required to adjust differently in particular situations.

### 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the socially constructed position, role and expectations of Indonesian women which I suggest has been important in shaping many women’s attitudes, expectations and sense of likely involvement in new media practices such as blogging. Tracing back two important historic periods from two different Indonesian women’s movements, I have illustrated a shift from women’s empowerment under the Indonesian Women’s Movement (Gerwani, GERakan Wanita Indonesia) to women’s re-subordination under Suharto’s ideology of state ibuism. The authoritarian government under the Suharto regime, socially and
politically reconstructed Indonesian women and sought to position them within the
domestic sphere. After Gerwani’s effort to empower Indonesian women in education
and politics was rejected, the state established a new ideology dubbed ‘state ibuism’
by Suryakusuma, that glorified Indonesian women’s main role as good mothers (ibu)
and dutiful and respectable citizens. Additionally, the Indonesian government
established a pervasive system of social institutions to cement and promote their
ideology. For this reason, scholars believe that state ibuism attempted to entrap
women and discourage them from engaging with the public sphere, particularly in
the fields of science and technology which were constructed as ‘men’s business’.

Taking up scholarly arguments that link the mastery of technology in modernization
with education and labor force participation, I have shown that Indonesian women’s
long history of oppression and marginalization in education and waged labour,
provides a context which on one hand allows us to understand their absence in the
establishment of the internet in Indonesia. On the other hand it also reveals the state’s
effort to impose the idea of the ideal Indonesian women was not successful for all
women across Indonesia. Thus regardless of scholarly arguments that state ibuism
tried to establish a strong division between the private and public spheres, where
women are expected to dedicate themselves in the private sphere, this was not
ultimately compelling.

Suzan Brenner’s study of the urban community of Lawean (1998), and Krishna Sen’s
study on Indonesian women workers (1998) show that the process of modernization
within local contexts led to complex negotiation by Indonesian women as they
engaged with the public sphere. More recently, evidence that the separation of public
and private sphere is dynamic was provided by demonstrations, when Indonesian
women brought their domestic problems to public attention by marching in protest
against the raise of basic commodities in 1998. Additionally, a number of young
Indonesian women have brought forward discussions of sexuality, which during the
Old and New Order was a forbidden topic for public discussion. These insights and
studies of women’s agency in the face of constructed subject positions show that
hegemonic structures and positions are always matters of negotiation and lead to ‘…
opening up the possibility of a remaking of gendered reality along new lines (Butler, 2009, p. i).

The discussion of New Order discourses of state ibuism through national programs allowed me to explore how in some communities in Indonesia women have maintained their domestic roles as mothers and wives. Compelled by local cultural expectations and economic constraints, many rural women are required to give up opportunities for schooling. Having outlined traditional attitudes towards women’s participation in the public sphere, I suggest that social institutions such as family and school, especially in rural areas, are two important factors that strengthened the discourses of nationalism and the unitary, patriarchal state of Indonesia promoted during the New Order; discourses which constructed women’s position as dependent on men and focused on the domestic sphere of the home and family.

To pursue these matters further, in the next chapter I will pay attention to scholarly arguments that gender is dynamic and that relationships between new media opportunities and practices and cultural and social expectation are relational and flexible (van Zoonen, 2002; Cockburn, 1992). In the following chapter we will discover from a close examination of women’s blogging practices that many women do not accept that their role is simply domestic and they do engage with the mediated public sphere. In the remaining chapters I examine how women use the internet to travel between the public and private spheres by establishing networks, friendships, and community, and even sometimes their businesses.
3.1 Introduction

My study in this chapter follows scholarly arguments that revisit the claim of women’s technophobia,\(^{69}\) which arguably arise from patriarchal biases in research methodology (Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991; Gilbert et al., 2003b). Taking this into account, applying feminist stand point approach in this study I identify biases within previous research. To put the point another way, feminist stand point approach helps to reconsider the liminal awareness of societal stereotypes within institutions such as family and schools. On account of these identifications, I adopt a different approach in conducting my surveys of blogger attitudes and practices, especially in drawing my sample.

In this chapter I present and discuss results from two surveys on Indonesian women’s engagement with new media.\(^{70}\) The first survey examined Indonesian bloggers’ internet attitudes and the second survey focused on Indonesian bloggers’ blogging activities. My study presents a different result compared with previous mainstream research on the internet attitudes. Moreover I explore another finding, namely that Indonesian women practice blogging in a different manner compared with men, as an essential signpost for the whole argument in this thesis, which I will examine in the next chapters.

I consider the multi layered factors that influence people’s engagement with technology\(^{71}\) (Teo, 2006) and scholarly arguments that point to relationships between technophobic attitudes among women and their social experiences (Little, 1999; Shashaani, 1993; Teo, 2006). Therefore my study will look at Indonesian women’s

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\(^{69}\) Academics refer specifically to computer in addressing the notion of ‘technophobia’ (Barkhuus, 2000, p. 4). Jay (1981, p. 47), for example, point to technology in general when he introduced the concept of ‘computerphobia’ in 1981. He notes ‘computerphobia appears generally in the form of negative attitude toward technology’. As computer based technology has developed, Rosen and Maguire (1990, p. 276) use the notion of technophobia (instead of computerphobia), to describe “anxiety about current or future interactions with computers or computer-related technology.”

\(^{70}\) I conducted these surveys under Ethics Approval Number HE09/336 granted by the University of Wollongong.

\(^{71}\) In their studies, Weil and Rosen, for example, found that technophobia is a global phenomenon, and does not directly relate to sex and thus is not exclusively ‘women’ phenomenon. In fact, in some countries, their studies found technophobia among men (in interview with Bollentin, 1995).
context by focusing on Indonesia’s national political programs that have historically socialised gender roles. The construction of gender roles through varying national programs during Suharto's regime, I argue, has been deeply immersed within the family as the main socialisation agent. Thus, to a very great extent this political arrangement of gender roles have been infused and practiced among Indonesia family members and further, educational institutions.

This chapter has four sections. In the first section I will outline earlier studies that stressed a wide range of indicators of anxiety and fear towards computers and the internet among women (Cockburn, 1985; Faulkner, 2000; Wajcman, 1991). It is acknowledged by scholars that women's fear against technology is socialized by society. Taking up scholarly arguments that point to a relationship between technophobic attitudes among women and their social experiences, I propose to apply feminist stand point theory emphasising systemic oppressions in society (Hartsock, 2003; Wylie, 2009). As feminist scholars believe, patriarchal society constructs false consciousness, mainly about gender roles, to cover its system of oppression in the name of social institutions and ideologies, including within family and schools. In what follows I will identify applications of conventional methodologies and approaches that consistently use stereotypical and unrepresentative samples drawn from formal social institutions such as university, schools and families (Tsai and Lin, 2004; Durndell and Haag, 2002; Jackson et al., 2001; McIlroy et al., 2001; Whitley, 1997).

Therefore it is also necessary introduce the notion of Ibuism, the social construction of womanhood in Indonesia during Suhato’s regime. This review helps readers to understand how this domestification system socially constructs women through the division between public/domestic spheres where the domestic sphere is constructed as Indonesian women’s proper realm.72 Outlining this, I argue the contribution of state Ibuism in discouraging Indonesian women from joining public sphere including from studying science and technology, and the feminisation of the ICT jobs that women hold (Hafkin and Taggart 2001 in Coté, 2008, p. 5).

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72 Eventhough state Ibuism can be seen as Suryakusuma’s critique on the New Order’s political construct toward the position of married women in the country, yet I highlight more on the role of these women and systematic arrangement itself as forms of socialisation of gender role.
In the second section I outline my methodology. Following Jayaratne I employ data from various perspectives (1983). Taking up a feminist standpoint approach, surveys in my study are not intended to simply replicate conventional research. Instead they are designed to eliminate implicit gender bias from previous research that promoted the ideas of women’s technophobia (Turkle, 1984; Brosnan, 1998; van Zoonen, 2002; van Zoonen, 1992). Thus, emphasising bias in social institutions within the Indonesian context, namely family and educational institutions, as I have noted in Chapter 2, I prefer not to draw samples from schools, universities and families as previous research did. Instead I draw samples from groups of Indonesian bloggers, assuming these women have personal interest to engage with new media and not counting their membership within family and/or educational institutions.

In the third section I outline results from my surveys. I used a non-parametric analysis to examine Indonesian bloggers’ attitude towards the internet. Looking especially at gender disparities in attitudes to the internet it shows there is no gender difference in attitudes to the internet amongst Indonesian men and women bloggers. However, the second survey gives a result that confirms previous studies. That is to say, Indonesian men and women bloggers show significantly different interests in writing their blogs. Using a descriptive analysis I present frequencies and percentage of Indonesian bloggers’ activities, and compare my result between genders. In contrast with my results from the first survey, the second survey confirms previous studies that show different interest between male and female Indonesian bloggers.73

I will conclude my findings in the last section by discussing the use of mainstream methods in research which tends to produce results that strengthen ideas about women’s technophobia, notably the internet (Achuonye and Ezekoka, 2011; Gilbert et al., 2003a). The redundancy in research results confirms feminists’ arguments: that mainstream theories come from mainstream epistemology which as a result reinforces mainstream values that devalue women (Harding, 1986; Harding, 1991). Comparing my study with previous research that promotes women’s fear and anxiety towards the internet, my results help us reflect on why Indonesian women have

73This evidence needs further exploration, and I follow up by providing Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging within blogger communities in Chapter 4 and discussions of Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging as individuals in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.
different interests in blogging activities and how they practice blogging, which I will explore in Chapter 5.

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Research on women and the internet

Since the birth of internet in the USA, society characterized the new technology as a male dominated device (e.g. Carriere, 2005). Originally established for military defence purposes, since 1978 the internet and personal computers have been domesticated for social purposes (Weil and Rosen, 1995; Garland and Noyes, 2008), without, however, significantly affecting men’s domination of these technologies and services. In fact, a gender gap in internet use remains, which then has attracted academic curiosity to study gender disparities in computer and internet use. Despite the fact there are an estimated 2.4 billion Internet users all around the world, a study carried out by Intel Corporation and Dalberg Global Development Advisors shows there is still a gender digital divide, particularly in developing nations (Kakar et al., 2012; Hilbert, 2011; Ersoz, 2008).

Earlier studies looking at gender differences in computing showed that men outnumbered women in using the internet, and that man have more expertise in using computers (Brosnan & Lee, 1998; Balka & Smith, 2000; Griffin, 1999). Women, among those who are capable of using the internet, are reported as underskilled compared with men (Barker and Aspray in Cohoon and Aspray, 2006; Kirkup and Keller, 1992). Gender gaps also appear in educational institutions. Publications show women students were less interested in enrolling themselves in computer studies at university (Holdstock, 1998, HASA, 2000, Balka and Smith, 2000). In 2000 only 17% of girls enrolled in computer studies in England (HASA, 2000). Five years later, there was still no significant increase in the percentage of girls’ enrolment in studying IT.

The majority of previous studies in gender disparities in computer and internet use applied survey methods that drew samples from formal institutions such as

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74 In 1980s companies started to use computer to ease human’s work, which to a great extent not only frighten people into losing jobs in limited sense. In addition to that, companies undertook computer skills assessment as an important requirement for employments (Garland and Noves, 2008, p. 563).
universities and schools (Durndell and Haag, 2002; Hargittai and Shafer, 2006; Li and Kirkup, 2007). These studies identified significant gender effects with men tending to have more confidence with their computer and internet applications skills, and being less anxious in dealing with computer and internet applications. In general scholarly findings show men’s domination in techno culture and women’s low participation in online activities (Jackson et al., 2008).

The majority of studies reveal that women’s attitudes towards computers are more negative than men’s (Bebetsos and Antoniou, 2009; Sáinz and López-Sáez, 2010). Further, in a linked finding, women also tend to show great computer anxiety and low control compared with men in using computers (Yaseen, 2013). Some studies have shown that women generally had lower self-efficacy working with computers or the internet (Tsai and Wu, 2006). Further Durndell and Haag (2002) found significant correlations among higher computer self-efficacy, lower computer anxiety, more positive attitudes toward the internet and longer reported use of the internet. Finally, outcomes from several research studies on attitudes show that women are less confident in internet usage (Pew internet and American Life Project, 2005, Donat, et al, 2009).

In addition, other scholarly works suggest that women are still less adept at wins the internet, especially for those living in ‘developing countries’ (see Houdart-Blazy, 1996). According to a recent study conducted by Intel and Dalgram (Kakar et al., 2012), women in developing nations are 23% less likely to access the internet than men. The gap is even larger in South Asian countries (33%), Middle Eastern and Northern African countries (34%), and sub-Saharan African countries (43%). Additionally, in 2012 a study among student in United State found that overall females felt more anxious about using Web 2.0 applications than males (Huang et al., 2013). This study illustrates that regardless of the perception that the Web 2.0 based applications are more user friendly there is still a gender divide in their takeup by users.

In line with this, in the Indonesian context there are a number of studies which provide similar results supporting the mainstream claims of women’s anxiety in
using technology, in particular the internet applications. Drawing his sample from university students, Wahid’s research indicates women’s internet self-efficacy is lower than men’s (Wahid, 2005). In using the internet women in his study tend to use ‘easy’ internet applications such as e-mail, chatting and browsing. Wahid discovered that three quarters of his sample were men (75.86%) and only one quarter were women users (24.14%). Furthermore Wahid describes Indonesian men’s online activities as more varied than women’s. Indonesian men use the internet more for academic browsing, e-mail, online news, and chatting, whilst Indonesian women use the internet mainly for study, e-mail, and chatting. In brief, his findings suggest that Indonesian men have higher technology ability than Indonesian women, whilst the minority of Indonesian women internet users show little confidence in using the internet and thus are less capable in engaging with the internet than men.

Hermana, Farida, and Adrianti (2007) conducted a survey among housewives in Jakarta. Their research showed that house mothers in Jakarta have a low technology adoption rate, especially in computer and internet. For that reason, according to their research these women are likely to become frustrated with computer and internet.

With respect to Indonesian bloggers, in 2009 Edelman Marketing Research Company conducted the biggest survey in terms of the number of respondents, drawing their sample from bloggers during the Indonesia Blogger Fest (Edelman, 2009). Their study looks at Indonesian bloggers blogging activities, including gender disparities in blogging activities. In their result Edelman concluded that Indonesian men are likely to share ‘knowledge’ (“blogging mostly to share knowledge/experience”). In contrast, Indonesian women are more engaged with blogging for their hobby in writing (“Blogging mostly to channel their writing hobby”) (Edelman, 2009, slide #19 point 1).

However, these studies have a number of issues, which can be questioned. Edelman’s report recalls a traditional Western conception of knowledge that claimed knowledge

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75 I believe their research cannot be generalized since they used non probability statistic methods (judgement sampling).
76 Digital presentation of this research can be seen http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xifBjfyhkdA&list=UUUxSXF3yOltDs7LcZcQZe0Q&index=8&feature=plcp

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was masculine thus exclusively belonged to men (Jiang, 2005). Thus, their study shows a limited understanding of the sociology of media use, which points to blogging as a prestigious medium for men, and that women bloggers do not achieve equal recognition in the net (Pedersen and Macafee, 2007; Herring et al., 2004a). Although since the 2000s the number of women bloggers has equaled men blogger, or exceeded the number of men bloggers in several countries, men blogger remain top rank, more popular than women bloggers. A study from Harp and Tremayne (Harp and Tremayne, 2006), for example, illustrates that only 10% of the top bloggers are women. Another problem with Edelman’s research (2009) is that although they researched a particular population sample, the results were generalized to characterize the whole Indonesian population. In fact, the Edelman's study on bloggers looked at only bloggers from Java but drew conclusion about Indonesian bloggers across the nation.

Additionally in their study Hermana, Farida and Adrianti researched a population sample of Indonesian housewives in Jakarta. On one hand their study ignored the fact that the new order’s ideology of ibuism still influences Indonesian women in determining their roles (Budiman, 2011; Rachmah, 2010), which to some extent still disheartens Indonesian women from participating in science and technology (Huyer and Hakin, 2012; Gorvett, 2012). On the other side their conclusion was generalized to characterize the whole of Indonesian housewives. In another way regardless of the fact that during Suharto’s era everyone was subjected to this national ideology, their study distorted possibilities that not every Indonesian accepted it as true and possibly negotiated the ideology of ibuism within their context (Srimulyani, 2012; Rinaldo, 2002). That is, their study marginalized other realms of Indonesian housewives.

On top of all of that, as mentioned above, these studies drew their sample largely from educational institutions, considering a number of scholarly findings that education, especially tertiary education, breaks down gender stereotypes specially in technology (Dusek, 2006). In contrast, a recent study report acknowledges a gender divide, especially in the science, technology and innovation fields, continuously exist all around the world, even in developed countries (Huyer and Hakin, 2012). Furthermore, this study asserts that women’s access to education is not always
followed by support of women’s participation in science and technology, including Information and Technology (IT) (Huyer and Hakin, 2012; see also Hill et al., 2010):

Access to education, participation in S&T and ability to earn income are not automatically connected. Numerous studies have shown that getting more girls into science and technology education at secondary and tertiary levels does not automatically lead to increased numbers of females at higher levels of S&T institutions, or in the S&T/knowledge society workforce (Huyer and Hakin, 2012, p. 3).

Thus, with respect to research in women’s attitude towards technology, drawing samples from family and educational institutions will causes biases in results as they reject to acknowledge that stereotype of gender roles are entrenched in social structures and are preserved by social institutions such as school and family. These institutions suggest adherence to women’s traditional roles, which discourage women from joining ‘male stereotyped areas’ such as technology and science.

3.2.2 Domestication technology or domestic technology

Is technology feminine? It is a slim chance. My study does not follow the strands that believe in the impartiality of technology\(^77\) (Carey, 1992; Feenbeerg, 1991) nor does it agree with the strand that sees technology as socially constructed by innocent society (Ellul, 1991). Nor does it follow the thesis of technology’s autonomy (McLuhan, 1964; Shallis, 1984) which believes technology strongly shapes and controls social institutions. In this section I explore the claim examine that society is not innocent, and that uses of technology reflect particular purposes. In my study, I pay attention to how Indonesian bloggers accepts and uses a particular technology to carry out a particular believed ideology.

I take up Postman’s (1993) re-interpretation of McLuhan’s (McLuhan, 1964) postulate by arguing that the medium does not communicate meaning, but the

\(^{77}\) I refer neutrality of technology to “‘guns don't kill people, people do’, or that a knife can be used to 'cook, kill, or cure.'” (Ali, 2009).
inventors do. That is to say, human inventors embed meaning in new devices. Summing up the key points, Postman argues that technology is non-neutral, but “contains an ideological bias” (1993, p. 16). Giving a similar opinion, Haraway argues that scientists give a distinct (if not subjective) influence to their product (1986). Haraway suggests that the bottom line for feminist scholars is to look critically at technology and see it as a discourse where power interplays. In this case technologies tend to be masculinised, where men dominate every aspect (Haraway, 1991; Kelly, 1987; Cockburn, 1983; Harding, 1991; Berner and Mellstrom, 1997; Green, 2001)

Industrial, commercial, military technologies are masculine in a very historical and material sense. They cannot readily be used in a feminine, nor even a sexless, mode (Cockburn, 1983, p. 17).

Silverstone argues technologies are invented for global purposes, and that the majority of new technologies discourage people from local cultures from taking advantage of them (Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992b). However, he admits that the culture of consumption rearticulates global technology into local cultural practices. That is to say technology commodities have been industrialised and adapted to local settings, shaping globalisation. In this perspective, Silverstone asserts that the family, as the smallest prototype of local culture, becomes the first local institution where global technologies are adjusted for domestic purposes (Orlisworky, 1992) and integrated in daily life in the domestic sphere (Morley, 1986; Silverstone, 1991).

Stressing the domestication of new technology into user-friendly devices, those scholars disregard the fact that power within the families is distributed unequally between genders. Referring to its definition, domestication theory assumes the taming of new technology is a neutral practice. That said, every family member should have the same access to practice and to use new technology, yet they do not. Madden (2008) notices within the family; women do not engage with technologies

78 In this process new technologies and services, unfamiliar, exciting but also threatening, are brought (or not) under control by domestic users (Silverstone, 1993, p. 1).
79 Although Silverstone et al (1993) do not dart particularly on family (in practicing domesticate Technology) but they take a family for a model to describe “local culture”, which from the understanding of domestication has similar character as family.
equally with men. With respect to media technology, scholars assert that home is divided into two major areas: work and leisure areas (Bakardjeva, 2005; Ward, 2006), ‘with kitchens and childcare spaces designated for work, while dens, recreation rooms and lounges are designated for pleasure and freedom’ (Madden, 2008: para 7). According to these scholars, media technologies are located in areas where women do not have regular work, thus to some extent prevent women from having access to these media technologies. In contrast, media telecommunications such as television and computer are very commonly placed in ‘leisure’ areas where men and boys can easily access them.

However, Leung (2005) notes that even though women can access these media technologies, particularly the internet, they can hardly find leisure time with the internet as women’s leisure is more fragmented, blurred with unpaid work in the home (Wajcman, 2008), where women are often seen to be never off-duty. Burke’s (2003) research strongly confirms this argument by stating women feel uncomfortable in using computer and the internet within the domestic sphere and establish that guilty feelings are rooted in beliefs that women’s main task at home is to look after husband, partner, children, and the house. Her study also reveals that women who enjoyed their time accessing the internet or using computer reported compensated for their guilty feelings by giving more time for their family and also restricted their time in consuming or using internet and computer at home (Munusamy and Ismail, 2009). This reflects a condition that women, especially mothers, are culturally shaped to prioritize their domestic roles, and thus spend less time on the internet than men (Gill et al., 2010; Ahrens, 2013): ‘It is usually fairly late at night ... Everything, after everything ...’ (Danielle from Australia in Ahrens, 2013, p. 63).

In brief, domestication technologies to some extent integrate and support segregation in gender roles in families. Various studies emphasise that in using technology within the household, family members display and defer to internalised gender roles (Ahrens, 2013; Ahrens, 2009; Munusamy and Ismail, 2009). Thus, it is critical in

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80. Thus technology that encourages women in maintaining their gender role in family is domestic technology.
understanding the awareness of an unequal power distribution in the family, which tend to create different patterns of technology use in the family: between husband and wife, between children from different sexes (Kennedy, 2006).

Since gender is learned and attributed, as opposed to being a biological trait, one may learn to become feminine or masculine through the socialisation process. Although there are various socialization agents which contribute gender attributes, family plays the primary role in the gender role socialisation process (Kaplan, 1991 and Santrock, 1994). With respect to internet home use, children are immersed in socialization practices through their parents’ behaviour and beliefs towards computer/internet (Swinarski et al., 2010; Vekiri and Chronaki, 2008; Sainz, 2011). Parents’ gender-stereotyped views that are practiced through their home internet use, in general, will reduce girls’ interest in computers and the internet. It is important also to notice that scholars acknowledge that this argument may vary, depending on SSE, race and parents’ education background (Ismail, 2012; Sainz, 2011; Vekiri and Chronaki, 2008). Laying out this argument, it is important to consider the family as a socialisation agent that determines how women perceive the internet.

3.2.3 The internet self-efficacy

Self-efficacy can be understood as one’s self perception of the capability of doing certain tasks (Bandura, 1977) in a wide range of more specific circumstances (Hong, 2006). My first online survey addressed users’ self perception of the capability of doing tasks using internet applications. For this reason, I employed a built-in internet Self Efficacy Scale (henceforth I will write ISE).

ISE is the belief in one’s capability to organize and execute courses of internet actions required to produce specific attainments (Eastin and LaRose, 2000), which is based on Bandura’s self-efficacy theory (1977). In 1995 Compeau and Higgins developed a computer self-efficacy scale that drew on Bandura’s self-efficacy theory, which was then extended by Eastin and LaRose (2000) to assess internet self-efficacy by establishing an ISE scale. Scholars such as Hsu and Huang, argue self-efficacy is a very dynamic construct since it can continuously change across
situations “pending on whether a person has expanded his information or experience” and also pending on the ongoing established internet’s (and also computer’s) tasks.

Relevant to this discussion, studies found that ISE is one of the subscales in the internet attitudes construct. Wu and Tsai (n.d), for example, illustrate that the Internet Attitudes Scale (IAS) has a positive correlation towards ISE. Taking up these scholarly arguments, I decided to apply Internet Attitudes Scale. Additionally, Wu and Tsai also find that internet experience plays a great role in the internet Attitudes scale outcomes. Thus, my study also looks at the internet usage patterns that according to donate represent internet experience variable. Based on these discussions, my study applied three variables for my survey, namely internet Attitude Scale (Tsai et al, 2001), gender and time spent on the internet as predictors (Erdoğan, 2008; Tsai and Wu, 2006; Mahmood, 2010).

Another aspect I look at in this chapter is Indonesian bloggers’ blogging activities. For this aim, I refer my study to previous studies conducted by Edelman (2008) and Witjaksono (2009). That is, I reproduce questions from their studies to build an instrument survey for this study. Questions in both surveys cover a number similar issue, namely: geography, social media platforms use, duration of blogging’ reasons to blog, activities, social media platform authorship/accounts, post themes, blogging applications, Edelman’s surveys focus on gender differences in blogging activities, thus their survey also involves questions such as the influences of marital and parental status for blogging, and success metric (what do they do to monitor their blog activities).

Referring to the theoretical framework, I formulate the following hypotheses to answer my research aims:

**H1**: There are no significant gender differences regarding general attitude toward the internet

**H2**: There are significant differences regarding general internet attitude according to amount of time spent online
3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Methods

I employed two online survey research designs for this study. The first online survey investigates Indonesian bloggers’ internet attitude and the second online survey investigates Indonesian bloggers’ blogging activities. I refer my study on the internet attitude to Tsai's built in instrument of IAS and my study on Indonesians blogging activities to Edelman's and Ndoro Kakung's survey on Indonesian blogging community. Additionally, I will see the difference between male and female blogger blogging activities to examine gender differences in attitudes toward the internet and gender differences in blogging activities among bloggers in Indonesia. In conducting both surveys, I refer to scholars’ suggestions to apply feminist stand point approach to reduce social biases.

3.3.2 Feminist standpoint approach as a framework

As I have examined above, previous surveys drew samples from social institutions such as school and families which suggest adherences to gender stereotypes. Thus this enforces the status quo by muting women research subjects in so many ways (Reinharz and Davidman, 1992; Jayaratne and Stewart, 1991; Du Bois, 1983; Oakley, 1998). In this regard, I suggest employing feminist standpoint theory in conducting surveys on Indonesian women bloggers’ attitude towards the internet in this study. Anchored in struggle against the basic structures and ideologies that marginalise women, feminist standpoint theory works from a different perspective as a platform in conducting social research (Biber, 2006).

Survey methods in positivist approach rely on a deductive logic to make certain of a valid and reliable measurement (Guba, 1992). The end achievement desired from these methods is generalisations so they can be used to predict social phenomena (Neuman, 2003). Considering that women are not single entities, and pointing to power relations in knowledge constructions that exclude women’s knowledge and experience from ‘science’, feminist scholars strongly reject a mainstream positivist approach. They argue that in emphasizing generalization, mainstream science ignores women’s social context, thus rejecting women’s experiences (Harding, 1991; Longino, 1993). However, in viewing the dichotomy between quantitative and
qualitative methods, some feminist scholars argue social reality is not equally valid (Jaggar ans Struuh, 1978, p. xi, xii). It can be understood that there are many versions of social reality. Each social reality is based on shared meanings that constitute and reproduce 'social reality' (see for example May, 2011). These shared meanings, according to feminist scholars potentially involve power discourse. Thus, they potentially contain false consciousness (see for example Foucault, 1984). For this reason, feminist scholars believe feminist study may use various methods focusing on biases in women's social constructions (Harding, 1987; Reinharz, 1992; Jayaratne, 1993).

A number of feminist scholars assert that applying quantitative methods such as surveys enrich women’s studies. Jayaratne (1983), for example, encourages feminist scholars to gain the advantage of quantitative methodology. She argues quantitative methodologies such as surveys provide information that qualitative methods cannot access. Surveys, particularly, introduce ‘simple (through numbers), but powerful’ data about women’s issues to mainstream discussions (Miner-Rubino and Jayaratne, 2007, p. 302-3). In addition to that, these feminist scholars are keen to show that statistics data provide preliminary data (see for example Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1990; Reinharz and Davidman, 1992). They add that results from quantitative research methods can be followed up by applying qualitative methods to understand ‘more complex knowledge of the issues named by survey research’ (Westmarland, 2001, para 26).

According to this, feminist scholars, such as Jayaratne and Steward (1991), argue that research body can be separated between method, epistemology, and methodology81 which give more feminist scholars space to respond quantitative data from feminist perspective instead of applying ‘insensitive quantification’ that exclude women’s experience. However, feminist scholars argue it is important to use the feminist standpoint theory as the prime epistemology (Jayaratne, 1983; Pugh, 1990), not only feminist stand point contributes an impetus to research as a whole in

81 Method may be understood as various techniques in conducting research. Methodology is a strategic procedure to research/study particular issues.
quantitative research (Jayaratne, 1983), but also it play a role to ‘chaperone’ mainstream views within quantitative methods (Pugh, 1990, p. 109).

Taking these arguments into account, I relied on survey methods to examine Indonesian bloggers’ attitude towards internet applications. Additionally, to reduce social biases I apply the feminist stand point approach by considering the historical and political background in Indonesia as I have examined in Chapter 2. Therefore, instead of drawing sample from formal educational institutions and family, I draw my sample from Indonesian blogger communities. For this purpose I draw a purposive sample from Indonesian bloggers as this group has similar interests. Considering the nature of my sample, my study in this chapter looks at data for exploration purposes instead of generalization purposes.

3.3.3 Sample

I draw my sample from a population of Indonesian bloggers that cannot be enumerated due to its anonymity (Andrews et al., 2003; Howard, Rainie, & Jones, 2001). There are several reasons for this condition. First, since 2010 Technorati stop indexing non English blogs. It makes to randomly track Indonesian women blogs is impossible. Second, although there are a few Indonesia blog tracking services, these service track women bloggers who author online shop blogs, which is not the type blog I want to study. For this reason I drew a non-probability sample through a variant of the non-probability sampling strategies. The first strategy invited bloggers to join my surveys by sending emails to bloggers communities’ mailing lists to save research costs and time (Sheehan, 2010, Braunsberger, 2007). Following the map provided by Chandra, a blogger from Kayuh Baimbay, Borneo, I created a list of bloggers communities’ mailing list. At this stage I found that this map is not completely valid. A number of communities' web sites were not accessible.

After I compiled a list of bloggers communities, I sent an email to the administrator of every blogger communities' administrator, asking their favour to post an invitation for members to respond to my online survey. Within these emails, in line with University of Wollongong Human Ethics Research protocols, I included link to my online surveys, participant information sheet and consent forms. I soon discovered
that I had to deal with interpersonal communication issues. Indonesia online communities have very strong ethnic affiliations, and thus in group – out-group issues challenged my survey. The majority of members saw me as an outsider/a stranger, and did not answer my invitation.

Thus I employed a second strategy by sending personal invitation emails to bloggers. I created my own list of email addresses by visiting public-access blogs, which I found from the community web sites. Several bloggers who joined my survey helped me along by forwarding my emails to their friends. By this stage, my sampling technique had morphed into online snowball sampling, using both email and social networking. However, not every personal invitation email returned a reply. For this reason, I applied the third strategy by posting an invitation to join my online survey on my blog, www.tobytall.wordpress.com. In this post, I provided a link to my online participant information sheet and consent form.

During that time, 173 bloggers responded to the first online survey, and 290 bloggers responded to the second online survey. The sample of the first survey included 167 Indonesian bloggers (consisting of 94 women and 68 men bloggers). The sample of the second survey included 290 respondents, (consisting of 118 women and 172 men bloggers). In my survey, I required bloggers must be at least 21 years old to be eligible to join both surveys. Thus, in the first survey, out of the total number of responses received, 167 were selected for data analysis. The other six respondents were younger than 21 years old and thus were disregarded. In the second survey, out of the total number of responses received, 276 were selected for data analysis. The other 14 respondents were younger than 21 years old thus were excluded. The rest of demographic characteristics of the subjects are shown in Table 3.1. However, considering the nature of my sampling strategies, my result in this study cannot be generalized to the entire blogging population.

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82 I discuss about the nature of Indonesian blogger communities in detail in Chapter 8.
83 Within these emails, I attached the participant information sheet and consent form.
3.3.4 Research instruments

I used different questionnaires to collect data for this study. The first questionnaire was used to assess Indonesian bloggers’ internet attitudes and internet usage (see Appendix 1). All of the items are presented in Bahasa Indonesia on online survey, which can be accessed on http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/THN9NYS. I applied a built in internet Attitude Scale I adapted from Tsai’s research (2001). Tsai (2001) divides the internet Attitude Scale into four subscales, namely behaviour, perceived control, affection and perceived usefulness. In total, her internet Attitude Scale contains 18 items, which are presented using a four-scale Likert scale (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree). For every items strongly agree scale scores 4, agree scores 3, disagree scores 2, and strongly disagree scores 1. Items number 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 16 are negative items, therefore I reversed the score.

The second survey was a descriptive study of Indonesian bloggers activities (see Appendix 2). All of the items are presented in Bahasa Indonesia in an online survey, and can be accessed at http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/kegiatanblogIndonesia. I refer to previous studies that I examined in my theoretical section. The second online survey consisted of 5 multiple-choice questions with multiple selection answers, 36 multiple-choice Likert-scale questions, three multiple-choice questions with discrete selection answer, and five open-ended questions.

3.3.5 Data collection and data analysis procedures

Consistent with my aim in this study, in my first survey I attempt to investigate whether there are gender differences in attitudes towards the internet among Indonesian bloggers. However, considering that I drew non-random sample from a population of Indonesian bloggers I apply two statistical tests for non-parametric data, Mann-Whitney and the Kruskal-Wallis test. The Mann-Whitney and the Kruskal-Wallis test allow the comparison of more than two independent groups.

My second survey is a descriptive study about Indonesian bloggers’ activities. For this purpose, I present my result in crosstab tables that contain only descriptive statistics (frequency counts and percentages) and compare between women bloggers and men bloggers.
3.4 Results

3.4.1 Respondents’ profile

Given that my survey involved a number of respondents, Table 3.1 shows that they come from different islands across Indonesia (for detail frequencies across cities please see Appendix 3). The majority of my respondents come from Java (194 respondents), followed by respondents from Sulawesi (23 respondents), Sumatra (22 respondents), Bali (10 respondents) and Kalimantan (9 respondents). Surprisingly, there are 6 respondents who come from Irian Jaya. There are two respondents give no answer to this question. In Chapter 5 I explain that there was no blogger community in Irian Jaya. When I started my field research my study found a Friendster community in Irian Jaya. The fact that there are a number of bloggers from Irian Jaya, which I do not explore in this thesis, brings attention to further studies. I acknowledge that the majority of my respondents are from Java (70.29%). However, compared with previous studies from Indonesia my study has more variety from other islands in Indonesia.

Table 3.1 Frequency of respondents from different islands across Indonesia and overseas countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Islands</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>70.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimantan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulawesi</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumatra</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irian Jaya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madura</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batam</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengkalis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My survey about internet attitude has more female respondents (58 %) compare to male respondents (42 %) (see Table 3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused to answer</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2 Sex Ratio in internet Attitude survey

In contrast, Table 3.3 shows that my survey on blogging activities has fewer female respondents (40.6 %) compared with male respondents (59.4 %). This data does not portray general condition of internet users in Indonesia. In my consent form, I explained my research purpose, which emphasized my research was concerned with Indonesian women bloggers. However, my study has more male respondents compared with female respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>59.4%</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3 Sex Ration in Blogging Activities survey

3.4.2 Blogging activities and the internet attitude

3.4.2.1 The internet attitude

Burke (2003a) argues that accessing the internet in the family requires free time flexibility among the members which in my opinion is distributed unevenly. Furthermore, men have more flexible time to access the internet. Women, in contrast, tend to prioritize their domestic duties before accessing the internet. It has reference to the idea of state ibuism in Indonesia’s contexts, when the New Order government encouraged women to be home makers and idealised a ‘good woman’ as a good wife and mother. This had the effect of discouraging women from joining public affairs
and aspiring to formal education, including in studying technology and science. These circumstances strongly contribute to Indonesian women’s negative attitudes towards the internet.

Table 3.4 Internet online duration per day by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 0 - ≤ 2 hours  | 2         | 4     | 6          | 1.20% | 2.41% | 3.61%
| 2 - ≤ 4 hours  | 25        | 12    | 37         | 15.06%| 7.23% | 22.29%
| 4 - ≤ 6 hours  | 19        | 22    | 41         | 11.45%| 13.25%| 24.70%
| More than 6 hours | 50    | 32    | 82         | 30.12%| 19.28%| 49.40%
| Total          | 96        | 70    | 166        | 57.83%| 42.17%| 100.00%|

The majority of respondents in this study access the internet every day. From 167 respondents, only one respondent skipped the question about the internet usage duration per day. Table 3.4 shows that surprisingly, more women (57.83%) access the internet more than 6 hours every day and only 42.17% men access the internet every day. In contrast, 2.41% men access the internet only for less than two hours every day whilst only a small percentage of women (1.2%) access the internet for less than two hours every day.

Table 3.5 shows that most of the respondents access the internet from the house (88.02%). In contrast, respondents are less likely to access the internet from malls (45.51%). It is evident that regardless of the fact that the internet was invented and developed for military purposes and was established within universities in US, the internet has been ‘tamed’ for domestic purposes and the use of home internet access is more common. This confirms Silverstone’s view of the domestication of technology. In line with this, Table 3.5 also shows that women are likely to access the internet from home (52.69%) compared with any other place such as office (40.72%), café (31/74%), internet cafes (28.74%), and malls (27.54%). So much so, my result suggests that Indonesian women who responded to my study prefer to access the internet in private sphere (home) compared with public sphere such as office, cafés, internet cafes and malls.

84 The rest of respondent do not go online every day.
Table 3.5 Place and type of connection by gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place and Connection</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-speed</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29.34%</td>
<td>17.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dial up</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17.37%</td>
<td>14.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspot</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52.69%</td>
<td>35.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFFICE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-speed</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28.14%</td>
<td>23.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dial up</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspot</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.59%</td>
<td>7.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>40.72%</td>
<td>33.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAFÉ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-speed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dial up</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspot</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30.54%</td>
<td>17.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31.74%</td>
<td>20.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-speed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dial up</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspot</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25.15%</td>
<td>14.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.80%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27.54%</td>
<td>17.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERNET CAFÉ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-speed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17.96%</td>
<td>15.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dial up</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.99%</td>
<td>5.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspot</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
<td>2.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28.74%</td>
<td>24.55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOBILE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high-speed</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17.37%</td>
<td>5.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dial up</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.58%</td>
<td>10.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotspot</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.98%</td>
<td>5.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>39.52%</td>
<td>25.15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*multiple selections, respondents may choose more than one answers

From Table 3.5 men, in contrast are likely to access the internet from home (35.33%) or office (33.33%) but similar to women, they are less interested to access the
internet from malls (17.96%), cafés (20.96%) and internet cafés (24.55%). It is important to note that both women and men also use mobile internet connections (66.67%). Women, in this case, are more likely to use mobile internet (39.52%) compared with men (25.15%). Considering that using mobile internet users can connect themselves to the internet at anytime and anywhere, mobile internet alternates the internet connection for both men and women users. In Chapter 5 and 6, in line with my perspective that the survey data is information to be explored in more depth, I look at the way mobile internet connections enrich women’s engagement with blogging.

3.4.2.2 Gender disparities in the internet attitude

Applying the Mann-Whitney non-parametric test, I compare the internet attitude between genders among Indonesian bloggers. The Mann-Whitney is a non-parametric test. A non-parametric test is used to statistically test not normally distributed data. The Mann-Whitney allows researchers to compare differences between two independent groups, in my study men and women, when the dependent variable is either ordinal or interval/ratio such as the internet attitude scale. Thus, using level of significance of 0.05, I apply the Mann-Whitney test to compare men and women’s scores on the internet attitude scale. However, according to the non-random nature of my data, my results using non-random data in this section cannot be generalised. However, the results in this chapter are followed up ethnographic studies in Chapter 4, Chapter 6, Chapter 7, and Chapter 8.

Table 3.6 Internet Attitude Difference by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Statistics&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Behaviour</th>
<th>Perceived_usefulness</th>
<th>Affection</th>
<th>Perceived_control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mann-Whitney U</td>
<td>3330.000</td>
<td>3305.500</td>
<td>3195.500</td>
<td>3010.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilcoxon W</td>
<td>5745.000</td>
<td>8156.500</td>
<td>8046.500</td>
<td>5425.500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>-.170</td>
<td>-.254</td>
<td>-.618</td>
<td>-1.226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)</td>
<td>.865</td>
<td>.800</td>
<td>.536</td>
<td>.220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Grouping Variable: sex

To compare with several years ago, when people only have limited options in connecting internet: office and internet café (Hill and Sen, 2001, Lim, 1997).

The continuing usage of the 5% level is indicative of another important practical point: it is a feasible level at which to do research work (Bross, 1971)
My results in Table 3.6 show that every sub variable gives significant value (p-value) bigger than 0.05. P-value for behaviour is 0.865, p-value for perceived usefulness is 0.8, p-value for affection is 0.536 and p-value for perceived control is 0.22. This result illustrates that there were no significant differences (every p>0.05) in attitudes toward the internet between men and women bloggers. My finding is different to previous research in internet attitude between sexes, which found there were slight different in internet attitude between sexes.

Although earlier research that focused on users attitudes towards the internet found significant differences between men and women users, more recent studies in similar areas reveal slight differences between men and women users. This research, furthermore, suggest other factors such as time spent with the internet and early experience with computer that potentially determine differences in attitude towards the internet (Donat et al., 2009; Erdoğan, 2008). Following up recent scholarly arguments, I applied another non-parametric test, the Kruskal Wallis test to see different attitudes towards the internet among Indonesian bloggers by looking at time spent on the internet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Behavior</th>
<th>Perceived_usefulness</th>
<th>Affection</th>
<th>Perceived_control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chi-Square</td>
<td>4.741</td>
<td>16.635</td>
<td>1.673</td>
<td>14.365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Df</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asymp. Sig.</td>
<td>.192</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.643</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Kruskal Wallis Test</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. Grouping Variable: online_duration

The Kruskal Wallis test allows research with non-random sampling to evaluate differences of more than two independent groups. In this study I used the Kruskal Wallis test to compare the internet attitude with four independent groups of time duration in using the internet (0-2 hours, more than 2 hours-4 hours, more than 4 hours – 6 hours, and more than 6 hours).
The significance testing in the Kruskal-Wallis suggested only H value < 0.05 as compared to the critical value of the Chi-Square for the dependent variable perceived usefulness (0.001) and perceived control (0.002). The strong correlation between online duration and the first variable, perceived usefulness, means online duration determines users’ perceptions about the positive impacts of the internet on individuals and society. A sample item of this scale is “The internet makes a great contribution to human life.” The strong correlation between online duration and the second variable, perceived control, means online duration determines users’ confidence about the independent control of the usage of the internet’. A sample item of this scale is “I can use the internet independently, without the assistance of others.” So the longer (hours per day) users use the internet the more they have confidence with the internet applications and features.

3.4.2.3 Blogging activities

Table 3.8 Social Networking Account Ownership*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency Gender</th>
<th>Percentage Gender</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurk</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67.86%</td>
<td>60.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blog</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>99.11%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>95.54%</td>
<td>92.68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendster</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>83.04%</td>
<td>77.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
<td>100.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koprol</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>45.54%</td>
<td>60.37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*multiple selections, respondents may chose more than one answer

Table 3.8 shows Indonesia bloggers’ immense engagement with social media platforms. In this survey, I list six social media platforms. In fact, there are more than six types of social media platforms. These six social media platforms are considered to be the most popular social networking in Indonesia (Lim, 2013). My table presents that all respondents, both men and women, have Facebook accounts (100%). Friendster is an early type of social networking booming in Indonesia in the 1990s, but my table shows only 83.04% of women and 74.44% of male respondents still keep their Friendster accounts. Although some Indonesian experts speculated that blogging will be a temporary interest and will be replaced by newer types of social
networking such as Facebook, Table 3.8 shows the popularity of blogging remains high and shows almost no difference with Facebook. All male respondents author blogs (100%), while 99.11% of female respondents have blog accounts. In Chapter 5 I will examine the role of having multiple social media accounts for Indonesian women bloggers in extending their network.

Table 3.9 shows the variety of blog content. Herring et al. (2004) discuss the hybrid nature of blogs, drawing attention to the fact that a blog’s content is not limited to textual contents such as texts and images. Table 3.9 illustrates that text and image are an important part of both Indonesian women’s and men’s blogs. More men include links in their blog (105) compared with women (60). My descriptive results confirms studies that reveal women bloggers (54.05%) do not post as many links on their blog as men bloggers do (62.13%) (Herring et al., 2004a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Gender Frequency</th>
<th>(f)</th>
<th>Gender Percentage</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>97.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playlist</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>31.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chat box</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>24.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>94.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Links</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>54.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi language plug-in</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics blog plug-in</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>30.63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*multiple selections, respondents may chose more than one answer
My finding in Table 3.9 also demonstrates that women are less interested to know how many visitors they have in a day. From 46.79% of total respondents, only 30.63% of female respondents apply statistics plug-in in their blogs. Men (57.40%), in contrast, are very keen to maintain their blogs by applying web statistics/analytic engines to know the statistics of their blogs’ visitors. My finding confirms scholarly studies that assert men bloggers are more interested in observing visitors activities on their blogs.

The use of multi-language plugins also confirms scholarly findings that women lack interest in their blog’s popularity. Multi language plugins are a form of anticipation for readers who speak different language. By activating this plugin on their weblogs, blog owner potentially increase blog’s readership. Table 3.9 shows that from 12.14% of total respondents that set multi-language plugins on their blogs, only 7.21% of female respondents use this application in their blog. In contrast, there is 15.38% of male respondents use the multi-language plugin on their blogs.

Table 3.10 shows more men bloggers use blogging activities for commercial reason than women bloggers. On the item “Blogging activities is for commercial purpose”, men bloggers’ score is higher (2.46) than the average score (2.31). Women’s score, in contrast, is lower than the average score (2.07). Also, man bloggers show the same tendency to do blogging activities to earn money from home (see on the item “Blogging activities to earn money from home”). Men bloggers score is higher (2.87) than the average score (2.79), whilst women bloggers’ score is lower than the average score (2.67). It means even though there are women who have the same intention as men in making money from their blogs, yet most women do not have interest to make profit from their blog.
Table 3.10 Reason for blogging activities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for blogging activities</th>
<th>Women Score</th>
<th>Men Score</th>
<th>Average Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blogging activities are for self-actualisation</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing experience and tips</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making friends</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building offline and online networking</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To spend the time in positive way</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>3.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogging activities is for commercial purpose</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom in communication by anonymity</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To write personal opinion in positive way</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To continue writing hobby by using new media (weblog)</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>2.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To exchange information while staying at home</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>3.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogging activities to earn money from home</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>2.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*multiple selections, respondents may chose more than one answer on questions using the Likert scale

Surprisingly, my result shows that women’s main interest in blogging does not emphasise sociability purposes, understanding that term broadly in the sense of making friends and networking. Three items: “Sharing experience and tips”, “Making friends”, and “Building offline and online networking” are about using blogging activities for social purposes. Female respondents’ scores for these three items are lower than the average scores. Put another way, male respondents’ scores for these three items are higher than the average. Although there are female respondents who use blogging activities for social purposes, men bloggers show a greater tendency to use blogging activities for social purposes. Women bloggers’ score for sharing experience and tips is 3.27, lower than the average score (3.37). Men bloggers’ score for the same item is higher than the average score, 3.47. For the item “Making friends”, again, women bloggers have lower score (3.27) than the average score (3.37), whilst men bloggers’ score is 3.43. On the third item, “Building offline and online networking” women bloggers’ score is 3.17, compare to the average score of 3.28 and men bloggers’ score of 3.36.
Furthermore, my result does not share arguments with previous scholars’ view that authoring blog gives women the same therapeutic effect as authoring a diary, because women’s score in ‘To exchange information while staying at home’ is higher (3.10) than the average score (3.09). For this reason, in Chapter 4, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7 my study presents evidence that there are a number of Indonesian women who view that authoring blogs offers various advantages, ranging from commercial to advancing their networking.

Is it possible to note that my sample of women bloggers resembles experiences of women’s exclusion from forms of cultural expression (Jagar, 1983)? I have illustrated in Chapter 2 that some Indonesian women at the end of Suharto’s reign made efforts to enter public affairs by authoring novels. It is evident in Table 3.13 that female respondents authoring blog as their practical activities to negotiate a boundaries between public and private, regardless of the fact that women are not interested in blogging for material purposes (see Table 3.13).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.11 Blog posts topic*</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about economy</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>1.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about product/s</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about family and household</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about interest</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.60</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about technology</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about hobby and entertainment</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing about education</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing on miscellaneous topics</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Multiple selections, respondents may chose more than one answer on questions using the Likert scale

Table 3.11 illustrates that man bloggers’ score for “Sharing about economy” is 1.88, higher than the average score (1.71). Women bloggers’ score for the same item is lower than the average score, 1.44. For the item “Sharing about product”, men bloggers have higher score (1.96) than the average (1.84). Women bloggers’ score for this item is lower (1.66) than the average. On the item, “Sharing about
technology” men bloggers’ score is 2.76, compare to the average score of 2.43 and women bloggers’ score of 1.92. Responses to the question on “Sharing about education” showed that men like to write or to share knowledge on education. Their score is 3.44, way higher than women’ score in the same item, 1.91 (compare both to the average score: 2.13).

Women bloggers blog’s contents are likely to be more about family and household, their interests, hobbies and entertainment – in fact: they tend to share or to write about everything. Women bloggers’ score for “Sharing about family and household” is 1.58, higher than the average score (1.33). Men bloggers’ score for the same item is lower than the average score, 1.43. For the item “Sharing about interest”, again, women bloggers have higher score (2.64) than the average (2.62), whilst men bloggers’ score is also lower than the average. On the third item, “Sharing about hobby and entertainment” women bloggers’ score is 2.80, compare to the average score of 2.55 and men bloggers’ score of 2.38. The last item, “Sharing about miscellaneous topics, nothing specific” also gives the result that women tend to have a blog with sporadic if not trivia themes in their writings. For this item, women’ score is 3.38 – higher than the average score: 3.24. Whilst men’ score is lower than the average score: 3.15.

My findings in Table 3.11 confirm previous studies that men bloggers are likely to share on public issues such as economy, product reviews, technology and education. In contrast, women bloggers are likely to share private issues. However, scholarly findings show that women are not single entities. That is to say, even though in general women bloggers tend to take up their daily experiences to write blog posts, but their engagement with blogging is contextual, which I will explore further in Chapter 5, where I present a diversity of Indonesian women’s blog contents.

The following Table 3.12 shows the reasons why people have become inactive or even stopped blogging activities. Comparing both women’s and men’s score with

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87 I used a 6 point Likert Scale format, ranging from 1 (extremely disagree) to 6 (extremely agree) for each question. Each question (item response) then was summed to create a score for a group of items (I applied crosstab method for each question for two groups, man and female). These two groups then being compare with average score.
the average score, Indonesian women bloggers tend to give up their blogging activities because they have become tied up with children. Referring to average score (1.64) Indonesian women bloggers’ score is higher (1.88) compared to average score (1.64). In contrast, Indonesian men bloggers’ have lower score compared to average score (0.98). Marriage becomes another issue, causing women bloggers to stop or to be inactive in blogging activities. Although both men’s and women’s scores are under the average score (1.36) – women score is very close to the average score (1.35), also higher than men’s score (1.02). It shows that women tend to stop or to be inactive in blogging activities after marriage compared with men.

Burke (2003) argues accessing the internet in the family requires free time flexibility among the members which in my opinion is distributed unevenly. As I described in my previous chapter, the ideology of ibuism and housewifization in Indonesia contribute strongly to internet literacy. In my research (Table 3.4.), result show that women bloggers tend to be inactive or to stop their blogging activities because they have to share desktop or laptop with other family members. Women’s score (2.12) is higher than the average score (1.07) and men’s score (1.83). It means compared with men, women are likely to give up their blogging activities because they have to share desktop with other members.

According to Jordan (2003) housewifization distributes times around the house unevenly between men and women. Men have more flexible time, while domestic burdens give women more chaotic time. Referring to gender-related pattern in using technology inside the house (Seiter, 1999, Gray, 1992, Lin, 2001) – I believe Ibuism’s myth that a good woman is as fulltime homemaker foster women to relinquish equal time in sharing family’s computer set.

88 It happens to the distracted (female) viewer in TV studies (see Gray, 1992 and Martison et al, 2002).
### Table 3.12 Reason for being inactive or stopping blogging activities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for being inactive or stopping blogging activities</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blogging is not that cool anymore</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am tied up with my work</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am tied up with my kids</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am married now</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not have adequate internet connection</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>2.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not have personal desktop or laptop</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am enjoying myself more to newest social networking and micro blogging</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>3.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have to share desktop and laptop with other family members</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*multiple selections, respondents may choose more than one answer on questions using the Likert scale

#### 3.5 Conclusion

Applying a methodological approach based on feminist standpoint theory, my study drew samples from Indonesian bloggers instead of from social institutions such as family and schools. Feminist standpoint theory raises our awareness that both the mainstream research methodology and social institution contain social bias. Ideally researchers should acknowledge this in their research strategy to avoid any biases. Feminist standpoint theory foregrounds the issue that society does not open similar opportunity among men and women to access technology and science studies and careers. Thus social institutions such as family and schools tend to promote adherence to women’s domestic roles that discourage them to join public affairs.

Additionally, my study highlights scholarly arguments suggesting that although family tames computer and internet, bringing this military developed technology into the house, computer and internet certainly are not domestic technologies. Computers and the internet show no significance in reinforcing women’s domestic role. Instead of making women involve themselves deeper into domestic job, computers and the internet tend to compete with women’s domestic job.\(^89\) Although some women, 

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\(^89\)Although it is undeniable the net can be a source of information and quick access to all sorts of domestic questions and things.
particularly mothers, tend to prioritize their domestic duties before accessing the internet. As a result, the fact that men spend more time at home with computers and the internet, and show more confidence in internet usage compared to women tends to be interpreted as women’s technophobia or technology anxiety or fear, and is confirmed ‘scientifically’. A number of scholars, however, recognize men’s privilege, both outside and inside the family, in getting a head start on mastery of internet technology, and that it is this that has given men more confidence in using and updating their internet skills (Madden, 2008; Ahrens, 2009).

It is evident in my first survey that gender does not determine users’ attitude towards the internet. Drawing my sample from Indonesian bloggers, my study shows there is no difference in internet ability to use a range of applications among Indonesian bloggers, but displays gender differences in practicing blogging. In contrast, my findings from the second survey on blogging practice confirm previous research that acknowledges gender differences in practicing blogging. That is, men have public themed blogs and women have domestic theme blogs (See Lim, 1997; Blood 2002).

My conclusion argues that mainstream researchers have misread women’s ways in engaging with technology, by reading women’s different ways in using technology as women’s lack in technology efficacy or skill. They annihilate women’s agency in using the technology only because women do not practice technology in the same ways as men do.

My results show different engagement with blogging between male and female respondents. Regardless the fact that the differences are not great, taking up feminist scholars’ views, my study in this chapter becomes a background to conduct deeper studies on Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging that I discuss in remaining chapters.

In Chapter 4 I examine how Indonesian women bloggers face problems within men-dominated blogger communities. Taking up scholarly views that women are not single entities, my study in the next chapter will explore women’s contextual tactics to adjust and to reclaim their autonomy within blogger communities.
4 INDOONESIAN WOMEN BLOGGERS WITHIN BLOGGER COMMUNITIES

4.1 Introduction

My results in Chapter 3 in one respect resonate with studies from scholars such as Hjorth and Kim (Hjorth., 2008; Hjorth and Kim, 2005) and McVeigh (Mcveigh, 2000), who focus on women’s techno-culture in Korea and Japan. Their studies illustrate how women in Korea and Japan customize and re-shape technologies in ways more compatible with women’s daily life. That is to say these women refurbish technology from ‘cold’ technologies’ to ‘warm’ and ‘friendly’ (Hjorth and Kim, 2005, p. 51) to meet their personal needs as women. My results also support scholarly views of blogs as a form of gendered communication where women express themselves (Driscoll, 2008) in that women are encouraged to write on priority topics, or personal topics based on their daily experience and perspective (Somulu, 2007).90

However, in this chapter I will show that Indonesian women have to make adjustment in expressing themselves within Indonesian blogger communities, which are dominated by men. This chapter pays attention to how Indonesian women bloggers within blogger communities reclaim their agency and autonomy by applying contextual tactics.

Attending the first Indonesia Blogger Fest in 2007, it struck me that the majority of Indonesian bloggers were part of particular blogger communities based on shared parochial associations.91 Considering that theoretically the blogosphere is borderless, Indonesian blogger communities recall the pre-existing concepts of ‘community’ and rearticulate traditional parochial structures.92 Additionally, the fact that these communities are dominated and were by and large initiated by men, they potentially

90 Even though some scholars focus their attention to a blog’s function as a digital form of traditional diaries (online diary) (Lejeune, 2000; Lejeune, 2009; Serfaty, 2004), I agree with boyd’s claim that a blog is not limitedly a diary online, as a blog has many functions (boyd, 2006). Thus, according to boyd, a blog is not a genre but a medium. As follows, in the following chapters I will examine Indonesian women bloggers’ engagements with blogs that illustrate various forms of blogs’ roles for Indonesian women bloggers.
91 Readers will recall this from Chapter 5 that all women bloggers in my sample were members of named blogger communities.
92 In following sections I will discuss that in fact during its thirty-two-year-authority, Suharto’s new order consistently attempted to eliminate the sense of this traditional desire of ethnic sentiment.
perpetuate patriarchy and tend to subordinate women members (Turkle, 1996a; Dibbell, 1994).

My discussion in this chapter responds to scholars’ arguments that virtual communities emerging from social media, including blogs, decenter the domination of power relationships (Fuchs, 2011, p. 134-135; Castells in Bell, 2006, p. 66; Castells, 2002, p. 170; boyd, 2006), which my observations suggest is not the case in Indonesian blogger communities(Maltz, 1996; Barzilai-Nahon and Neumann, 2005). In Indonesia, I found that the majority of women bloggers, who are in blogger communities, are members of place-based, patriarchal communities such as the Bali Blogger Community (BBC) and the Aceh Blogger Community (ABC). This phenomenon begs the question: ‘Do blogger communities that are rearticulated from ‘old school hegemonic relations’ have the potential to empower Indonesian women bloggers?’(Blood, 2002; Blood, 2004b; Herring et al., 2004b). Or do they, on the other hand, potentially reproduce other forms of power relationships for Indonesian women bloggers, as argued by scholars such as Nakamura (2002), who believe that cyberspace does not guarantee democratisation.93

In line with scholarly arguments that there is a supplemental or complementary relationship between individuals’ online and offline environments (e.g. Baym, 2000; Nardi, 2005), I will pay attention to Indonesian blogger communities to look carefully at how power disperses around the online/offline sphere. I will examine how regardless their online activities, Indonesian blogger communities tend to continue older power relationships by imitating perpetuate traditional administrative systems, which are strongly attached to the traditional conception of ‘nationality’. Additionally, it is importat examine how Indonesian women bloggers negotiate discourses of power within their host communities. For this purpose I will draw on Bhabha to argue that the power narratives within Indonesian blogger communities are contested and liminal (2004). According to him, the production of power is a precarious process that is an opening for agency, in my study’s case Indonesian women bloggers’ agency. In what follows, I will examine how Indonesian women

93 Other scholars, who exclude the account of race and ethnicity, see cyberspace is a place that can encourage democracy.
bloggers negotiate discourses of power within their host communities to modify the unsecured power of Indonesian male’s domination in blogosphere. Thus it is important to examine the relations between the notions of ‘community’ alongside the notion of ‘nationalism’, which I will outline in the next section.

This chapter has four sections. In the first section I revisit scholarly debates of the dynamic and complex notion of virtual/online community. On one hand, by reviving traditional ideas of community a number of scholars have yet to accept that online communities exist (see e.g. Putnam, 2000; Weinreich, 1997; Ondrejka in Rettberg, 2008a). On the other hand, CMC introduces a new approach to the notion of ‘virtual community’. Several scholars take the view that online community is constructed in a limited way in online environments (Turkle, 1995; Turkle, 2011; Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007), whereas other scholars point to supplemental online/offline interactions within online communities (B. Nardi and Gumbrecht., 2004; Baym, 2000; Wei, 2004). Accordingly, drawing on scholarly discussion of social relationship within the notion of community (Doueihi, 2011; Baym, 1998; Fernback, 1999; Tönnies and Harris, 2001) and how it encompasses the relationship of power (Tönnies and Harris, 2001) I explicate the possible power relations within Indonesian regional blogger communities. I consider the adoption of pre-existing traditional demographical boundaries as markers for online communities and discuss the existence of these groups in terms of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) and Anderson’s concept of imagined community (1983) which together shape a particular power relationship within blogger communities.95

In the second section, I will investigate the discursive construction of blogger communities in Indonesia that is rooted in pre-existing fraternal associations. I illustrate how Indonesian bloggers join a community with consent and therefore consciously give up part of their power (Tönnies, 1988; Tönnies and Harris, 2001). As this is against the sense of independence blogging is believed to offer users, I am interested to see whether Indonesian women bloggers are able to gain power and to

94 According to Doueihi, blogging can reflect a civitas (2011) or a communal practice (Baym, 1998) or a negotiation between both (Fernback, 1999). My theoretical frameworks section will provide detail discussion of the nexus.

95 These forms of collective behaviour are ranging from ethnocentrism to ‘social actions’ (such as blogging workshop, blood donor, and other social actions).
examine Indonesian women bloggers’ efforts to attain freedom and to exercise power.

The third section offers a discussion of Indonesian women bloggers’ participation within these regional bloggers communities. This section firstly suggests that Indonesian blogger communities conform to the argument that the dissemination of power in media culture is circulated between offline and online environments within their host communities (Couldry, 2005). Secondly it suggests that women are subjects of signification processes (Bhabha, 2004). That is, he sees the potency of women to manage strategies in negotiating pre-given naratives in the past and thus recreate their personal narratives (Bhabha, 2004).

Finally, in the last section, I conclude that the inconsistency of the notion of ‘online’ social relationship that has been shown by Indonesian regional blogger communities on one hand demonstrates a practice of banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). On the other hand, it confirms scholarly arguments that the notion of community in cyberspace is negotiable in terms of ‘space’, ‘definition’ and ‘aim’ (see e.g. Fernback, 1999; Bhabha, 2004). That is to say, my study suggests that the power influence media culture and take various forms, in both online and offline environments. It is disruptive, and may perhaps create resistance to the survival of prior social structures and relationships.

4.2 Theoretical framework

4.2.1 Revisiting the concept of community

‘Online community’ is a concept that is still under scholarly debate. It generally involves three different scholarly views. The first view comes from scholars who reject the idea of online community because of the lack of bodily engagement in real environments (Weinreich, 1997). These arguments resemble traditional definitions of community that stress geographically bordered area as a context for people’s face to face interaction (Galpin, 1915).⁹⁶

⁹⁶This traditional view believes only through face to face interaction society can build social network (Bott, 1957) thus experience of shared feeling become something in common to glue people together (Cohen, 1985).
The second view pays attention to the social relationships which emerge from information sharing and collaboration in CMC. Accordingly, virtual community does not promote a continuation between online and offline environments. Instead, it focuses on how virtual community contributes member generated content for members (Jones, 1997). Examples of such virtual communities are email-list forums (Erickson, 1997), chat systems (Reid, 1991), Multi-User Dungeon (MUD) (Turkle, 1995; Turkle, 1996b), web based discussion (Nonis et al., 2000; Swan and Shea, 2005) and newsgroups (Turner and Fisher, 2006; Joyce and Kraut, 2006).

The third view emphasizes ‘online community’ more as intense and deeply engaged computer-mediated communication, where through information exchange members cultivate trust and emotional bonds. As relationships in the online environment strengthen and trust develops, members undertake various personal communications to interact further (Rheingold, 2000; Baym, 2000; Baym, 2002; Nardi., 2010). There is a similarly contested discourse in discussion of blogging as formative of online communities. Scholars such as Ondrejka refute the idea of community development in blogging, pointing to its asynchronous communication character (2007 in Rettberg, 2008a, p. 64). Another view such as Ritter’s, points to a blog’s lack of capacity to establish identities and thus establish ‘community’ (2007). In contrast, some scholars view blogging as formative of online communities by focusing on networks established within blogging based on information sharing through links and comments (Jackson et al., 2007; Blood, 2002; Blood, 2004a; Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007). For this reason, Rettberg (2008a) argues that there is a distributed community within blogging, where locality or territory is almost not an issue.98

Contrary to these arguments, several scholars add that after trust and emotional bonds are shaped, blogging as practice enhances complementary relationships between offline and online circumstances (B. Nardi and Gumbrecht., 2004; Wei,

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97 Fisher and and Durance (2003), for instance, use the terminology of ‘information community’. 98 But it does not mean they become unidentified since a number of technologies examine online activities (Hendler and Golbeck, 2008; Musser et al., 2006). On-site web analytics, for example, provides visitors’ information such as IP address, city, date and time, ISP, operating system, and Web browser. Another technology, web crawler such as Technorati and IssueCrawler can map ‘invisible’ network between blogs—which render signal of community.
2004) and promote the growth of community that goes beyond the online sphere. These debates are particularly pertinent in the case of Indonesian blogger communities.

I have come to know that the majority of blogger communities name their communities according to their pre-existing geographical or administrative regions such as Bali Blogger Community (BBC), Aceh Blogger Community (ABC), and Bogor Blogger Community. Some of them have unique names that are emblematic of pre-existing places, cities and cultural icons. Some examples of this are Wong Kito99 (WK, Palembang), Kayuh Baimbay100 (KB, Banjarmasin), Loenpia101 Semarang (LS), and Anging Mammiri102 (AM, Makassar), which refer to cultural icons that are rooted in local mottos of societies in Palembang, Banjarmasin and Makassar. Names such as Cah Andong103 (CA, Yogyakarta), Bundaran Hotel Indonesia104 (BHI, Jakarta), and Tugu Pahlawan105 (Surabaya) are also emblematic of places and cities.

Just as the names of the communities follow precedents that precede the digital world, so called ‘blogger communities’. It perpetuates traditional administrative systems that relate back to establishment charters or agreements that later members have to fit in with. Potential members are subject to sets of pre-membership regulations, some of which are strongly attached to ‘sense of place’ (see e.g. Jones, 1998; Rheingold, 2000). The Wong Kito blogger community, for instance, requires members to have permanent or at least long-term residence in Palembang. It indicates that Indonesian blogger communities are not aspatial (see e.g. Ludlow, 1996; Turkle, 1995). The Cah Andong and Bundaran Hotel Indonesia blogger communities, for

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99 Wong kito is Palembangese that means ‘our people’ or ‘we, the people of Palembang’. This notion of ‘Wong Kito’ culturally has been used to differ them from other culture or other societies.
100 ‘Kayuh Baimbay’ is a part of Banjarmasin’s (South Kalimantan) local motto: ‘Kayuh baimbay gawi sabumi, haram manyarah waja sampai kaputing’ that means ‘esprit de corps and to fight until the bitter end tabs.’ This saying comes from Sultan Antasari, a local hero from Banjarmasin.
101 Loenpia is an iconic dish from Semarang.
102 Anging Mammiri means the light of breeze’, a historical state of people from Makassar. In the past Makassarnese spent most of their live in the sea as famous sailors and fishers. Thus light breeze is strongly associated with them.
103 Andong is a cultural icon for Yogyakarta. It is a traditional chariot that used to be transportation for local people.
104 The Hotel Indonesia roundabout (Bundaran Hotel Indonesia) is located in front of the legendary Hotel Indonesia.
105 Tugu Pahlawan is a landmark of Surabaya. It is a monument to honour the deceased heroes of Surabaya during the Independence War of 1945-1949.
instance, highly recommend face-to-face meeting before membership. Thus, instead of ‘gradually emerging’ from online interactions, Indonesian blogger communities rearticulate pre-existing concepts of ‘traditional community’. Additionally, this requirement of offline meetings indirectly implies an expectation of territorial closeness. In that respect, Indonesian bloggers’ idea of community leads to the question of whether social relationships within Indonesian regional blogger communities are emergent as a result of reciprocity and interdependence between bloggers (Doueihi, 2011, p. 55), or are mechanical constructions existing in their mind as a result of an imagined community that is rooted in fraternal relationships (Tönnies and Harris, 2001, p. 17).

These two opposed accounts about social relationships within communities bring up the issue of power relationships. Instead of illustrating decreasing asymmetrical power relationships (boyd, 2006), fraternal communities tend to reproduce and to maintain imbalanced power relationships(Tönnies and Harris, 2001; Anderson, 1983).

4.2.2 Banal nationalism within imagined community

As I see it, Indonesian blogger communities tend to continue older power relationships. Thus it is important to examine the relations between the notions of ‘community’ alongside the notion of ‘nationalism’, which I will outline in the next section. According to Anderson, geographical consciousness is a cultural artefact that is rooted in the image of communion, although community ‘members’ will never meet or know their fellow members (Anderson, 1983, p. 5-7). Taking up Benedict Anderson’s argument on imagined community, Billig introduces the term ‘banal nationalism’ to describe everyday ideological practices which are designed to reproduce national identity (1995, p. 6). According to Billig, political power holders

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106 Let alone the fact that several blogger communities require the weekly offline gatherings, which I will explain in the next sections.
107 Wood notes that the rise of new nation involves government’s enforced authority to regularise nation-wide-standardized values/culture/customs(Wood, 1984; Hitchcock, 2005). In this process of standardizing national culture, government will restrain local cultures (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 2006). Thus it briefly explains the discourse of power within the history of nation building. To bear in mind that the concept of online/virtual community is emerged from computer-mediated-communication that decentralise traditional concept of power, Indonesian blogger communities gives us something to think about.
create ‘trivial reminders’ in forms of embodied habits of social life that take place in ‘so many little ways’ that mostly go unnoticed, and thus are not ‘consciously registered as reminding’ (p. 8).

The construction of Indonesia’s nationhood through banal cultural reminders has taken various forms ranging from daily television programs (see for example Kitley, 2003), military programs (e.g. AMD, ABRI Masuk Desa – The military enters the villages), Indonesian language, routine Monday flag ceremonies in state schools, the national days that used to be part of the New Order’s routines and education institutions, singing the national anthem, and museums. These national routines are extended right down, even to children. Two particular ‘national routines’ that I am going to examine in this section are Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) and state ibuism, introduced in Chapter 2.

TMII was part of the former Suharto and his wife, Mrs. Tien’s political plan to promote a sense of nationalism. As an icon of nationhood, TMII displays a unique national culture of a harmonious life within a country with great local ethnic diversity (Hitchcock, 2005, p. 47-50, Zilberg, 2010, p. 555). It represented the state’s attempt to eliminate bonds to prior traditional communities and enable the state to impose new loyalties to the nation through shared attributes and experiences (Billig, 1995).

According to Lim, the state carried out these attempts through repressive control and gave no choice but to practice them to avoid both legal and social punishments. These disciplines are necessary for two reasons. As Indonesia is an archipelagic country, location has historically created a sense of place and affiliation, and thus a

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108 In his book “Banal Nationalism” Billig states that mass media such as newspapers and television are political tools to wave nationhood flags on one hand, and as the unwaved national flags (Billig, 1995, p.42-43).
109 AMD is a civic action program that is shaped from the dual function of Indonesian military. It covers politics and government, thus starting in 1980 under the new Order, Indonesian government involve Indonesian military to improve Indonesia remote’s villages. As part of national program, TVRI continually aired recorded Military’s participation national wide.
110 TMII was built in 1971 by former first lady Tin Suharto. She personally financed this giant project and subsequently opened it for public in 1977. TMII is the brainchild of Ibu Tin who, after having visited Disneyland (Shepherd., 2006.).
111 It promotes national motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”
sentiment of the “insider” and “outsider” (see for example Snow, 2002). For this reason, Indonesia has been afflicted by separatism throughout its history (Gayatri, 2010, Aspinall, 2011). Primordial sentiment rooted in economic inequalities between the central and the periphery (Gayatri, 2010; Vaughn, 2010; Geertz, 1973), and between migrants and local residents, and religious differences have threatened national unity (Bertrand, 2004, p. 91). The Indonesian government’s efforts in building a sense of nationalism through various national icons and discipline illustrates that identity is socially constructed and not fixed (Gillespie, 1995; Snow, 2002; Liebes at al., 1998).

During Suharto’s regime, the state socially constructed Indonesian women as one of the national icons. This ideology creates the belief that Indonesian women’s good citizenship was reflected in their domestic roles (Brenner, 1999) as the family was symbolised as a representative of the nation in smaller scale (Schmidt, 2012). It can be understood that Indonesian women became part of this hegemonic process of nationhood building and have been used as an icon of nationhood (Hatley, 2008, para 5; Blackburn, 1999, p. 190; Blackburn, 2004, p. 99). As discussed in Chapter 2, so-called state ibuism created a political and social construct of women as procreators of the nation, as mothers and educators of children (cited in Siddique, 2002, p. 31). Announcing his role as ‘bapak bangsa’ (father), Suharto privileged fraternal relationships that have no desire for power but for family bonds. Understood within the national discourse, people were believed to join the national community with consent, and thus consciously gave up part of their power, because some people within a community are seen as having more power than others (Tönnies and Harris, 2001, p. 24-27, 28-35).

With regards to Tonnies’ argument on social relationships within community, I consider by joining an Indonesian blogger community, women face a number of problems in having free agency. The fact that the majority of regional blogger communities in Indonesia are administered by men recalls arguments that even though cyberspace is expected to deliver users ‘freedom’, it still leaves a potential space for uneven power discourse. That is, within this male dominated space, instead of gaining more power, women members’ tend to give up part of their power. In the next sections I examine the influence of patriarchal culture within the Indonesian
blogger community which may disadvantage Indonesian women bloggers. However, scholars such as Herring believe that the internet is inherently democratic and gives women more power (2008, para 1) in a way the internet provides applications that fortifies independency which is not determined by gender (see for example Danet, 1998). Paying attention to these factors, in the next section I look at women’s effort to gain power by establishing resistance and taking advantages from blogger communities through their blogging practices.

4.3 Methodology
My study in this chapter is part of my ethnographic research on blogging, which complement to other chapters in this thesis (e.g. Chapter 6). It includes almost four years of participant observation and informal interviews and ten months of formal interviews (October 2009 – February 2010, and July 2012 – November 2012. During four years of observation and informal interviews, I applied for a membership in a number of Indonesia blogger communities. I have become an online formal member of five blogger communities (Batam Blogger Community, Bali Blogger Community, Aceh Blogger Community, Loenpia Semarang, Aning Mammiri). and a lurker of two blogger communities (Komunitas Blogger Bengawan and Wong Kito). I have rejected by Wong Kito blogger community (Palembang) and Cah Andong blogger community (Jogjakarta). The reason of both rejections were similar that did not have a chance to establish ‘social bond’ with them. By being a member, my position as an insider has given me greater access to bloggers and data about blogging. In contrast the fact that my membership application was rejected by a number of blogger communities has restrained me from access to bloggers regardless that I still can access their blogs.

My interactions with members from each blogger community were established in community’s mailing lists, comment feature in blogs and face to face conversation in a number of offline gatherings. In this study I applied the method of observation as systematic attempts to understand the nature of each blogging community. At the same time, I also engaged in hundreds of informal discussions in mostly recorded setting with a diverse range of bloggers including men, women, early adopters and newcomers, founder, administrator, people who blog professionally and those who do so in their free time.
4.4 Indonesian blogger communities as a cultural artefact

4.4.1 The culture

The rising popularity of blogging led to the first Blogger Fest in October 2007 in Jakarta, and I was present there. Alone, I was sitting in an upper row of chairs and it was fascinating and enjoyable to observe how people, who have otherwise interacted in a mediated space, met each other physically and the Blogger Fest accommodated this ‘crossing-over’. The Master of Ceremony introduced these community groups as Blogger Bali, Blogger Bunderan HI, Blogger Angin Mamiri, Blogger Bandung, and so forth. Each group demonstrated a unique collective identity through displays of collective emblems such as community t-shirts and by performing group chants using their local vernacular. It was extremely surprising to see how intimate and familiar they were with each other, given that their relationship had grown from prior exchanges in the blogosphere.

Early definitions of community emphasise a geographically bordered area as the context of people’s face to face interaction, where they can build social networks (Galpin, 1915; Bott, 1957). In contrast to scholars who argue that it is modern communities that dwell in cyberspace, where material space lose its barriers (e.g. McLuhan and Powers, 1989; Castells, 1996), Indonesian blogger communities illustrate an instinctive drive to bring forward the sustaining of “territorial borders” in their minds within the context of ‘modern communities’.

In 2009 Chandra, a blogger from Banjarmasin (South Borneo), listed blogger communities all around Indonesia and noted more than 300 blogger communities across the nation. Chandra’s finding relates to an apparent desire to share a

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112 Minister of Communication and Information, Muhammad Nuh, announced 27 October as the Indonesian Blogger Day.
113 I was not part of any blogger communities back then. I felt isolated, since every one there seemed a part of something: community. It didn’t look like ‘a crowd’; since I could see and feel that on one hand they knew very well to each other. On the other hand they were not part of other ‘crowd’ or ‘group’. To put it in other words, they gave me an illustration of ‘us’ and ‘them’.
114 Implementing the concept of the modern community into Indonesian Blogger Communities largely ignore the basic needs of humans as social beings, as the concept is built upon the notion that people shape communities mainly around institutions and economical practices (Warner and Lunt, 1941; McMillan and Chavis., 1986.).
115 Chandra did this personal project early 2008. When I started my field research late 2008 I found mostly blogger communities’ web site either were all men communities or were inactive.
constructed collective identity among Indonesian bloggers manifest in prerequisite conditions for membership that are required by the majority of blogger communities. The Aceh Blogger Community and the Batam Blogger Community, for example, require their potential members to have at least one active blog account, to join their mailing list\textsuperscript{116} and to place community badges on their blogs. Several blogger communities require additional conditions, which strongly reflect the aim to cultivate a collective identity: applicants must be born/live in the same city/province and/or come from a similar ethnic background.\textsuperscript{117}

Indonesian bloggers are likely to identify themselves as a member of a particular community through their blog posts. SweetRabbit, a female blogger from Bali, during 10 months, posted following the themes on her blog:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blogging</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobby</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 illustrates that 43.75% of SweetRabbit’s total posts within 10 months were about community activities, and only one of the total posts (6.25%) is about family.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{116} Mostly regional blogger communities use various communication channels to establish social relationship within members. They do not only create a web site, where members can place personal post in community’s blog, but also create a group’s mailing list for daily interaction. Additional to that, they also create a group page in Facebook and a group account in Twitter.

\textsuperscript{117} An example of such a restrictive requirement is apparent in Cah Andong Blogger Community and Palembang Blogger Community.
\end{flushleft}
Table 4.2 shows examples of women authors’ nomination of their identity as members of particular blogger communities. From these exchanges it is clear that joining a blogger community has an impact on Indonesian women blog’s posts. The posts do not portray or community sense in a limited sense, they also signal that Indonesian women bloggers become linked up with others and seemingly readily adopt ready-made identities in their posts.

Furthermore, the notion of complete connectivity in blogging activity suggests a strong interplay between cyberspace and physical space (‘real’ life). The Indonesian blogosphere goes beyond even this groundbreaking notion of blogging activity: Indonesian bloggers from a shared ethnic and/or territorial background integrate with the same blogger community and name themselves after their ethnicity or region. Blogging practices in Indonesia have literally and figuratively become an extension of the existing and emerging forms of identity and identification between bloggers and, through a ‘bouncing back’, or ‘derestriction’ between the online and the offline gathering, vice versa.

In 2010 I applied to be a member of Wong Kito (Palembang). Communicating online with the administrator, I was rejected because she considered I did not have a chance
to establish ‘social bond’ with Wong Kito (instant messenger chat on September 30, 2010 with Journalnya Nike). Other blogger communities such as Cah Andong and Bunderan HI communities are considered very exclusive among Indonesian blogger communities. They demand a particular number of offline gatherings before accepting a blogger as their member (personal interview with Escoret, a member of Cah Andong on January 19, 2009). Even more, to illustrate the exclusivity of Cah Andong, membership is not automatically granted after a number of meetings until the sense ‘of trust’ has had time to be established (personal interview with Momon on January 20, 2009).

4.4.2 Communities’ blogs and Wikis

My study finds that every Indonesian blogger community maintains a community blog to give people details of official information about the community. These communities’ blogs are run by administrators. The majority of the administrators are men, usually senior members, or ‘the founding fathers’. Thus, it stands to reason that they initially determined membership requirements. These administrators tend to be people with good technology skills and work in IT companies. From my conversation with several Indonesian male bloggers who are also administrators, their technical skills are needed to solve blog’s technical problems.

To create a sense of community, members are welcomed to author posts about local or community issues in community blogs. Thus, community blogs are set for ‘multiple users’ and personal passwords provided by the administrators. After an offline event, administrators will usually ask who will report and post the event on community’s blog.

In addition, a number of blogger communities such as Cah Andong, Loenpia Semarang, Wong Kito and Aceh Blogger Communities author community Wikis to provide members with information about rituals and traditions within the communities that new member can learn from. Cah Andong, for example, provides

\[\text{118} As an illustration M was sent to the jail after he posted one Indonesia’s celebrity cartoons on his blogs. M gave me clues that these issues are including sensitive news about Indonesian celebrities. \]

\[\text{119 In Chapter 6 I noted that Indonesian men bloggers introduced blogging practice to women. Men’s positions as administrators and moderators, to a great extent support my argument in Chapter 6.} \]
entries that contain community jargon that is commonly used by members. Wong Kito has a similar entry that provides their new members with rules and jargon (such as ‘pecah telok’ (hatching the eggs) in their wiki.

4.4.3 Communities’ mailing lists

My observation reveals that the real sense of community is formed through informal communication on daily basis in communities’ mailing lists (see Figure 4.1, an example of a mailing list’s threads). Mailing lists are a medium to share information (ranging from jobs, vacations, properties, herbal remedies, blog competitions, new technology and gadgets and new movies), to arrange offline gatherings, to play (quiz, and cross words). Mailing lists are the prime media for a blogger to communicate with other members within a community. New members are welcome to join communities’ mailing lists, and introduce themselves by creating one ‘hello’ thread. Some blogger communities such as Tugu Pahlawan Community (Surabaya), Blogger Ngalam (Malang), Bali Blogger Community, Loenpia Semarang, and Wong Kito have a formal template for an introductions thread.120

![Figure 4.1 Anging Mammiri (Makassar) mailing list threads](image)

120 Bali Blogger Community and Wong Kito post a template of introduction thread on official blogs. Loenpia Semarang provides a template of introduction thread as soon as someone send an email to community’s mailing list. Blogger Ngalam and Tugu Pahlawan Community provide a link to download the form on their official blogs.
Wong Kito, the strictest one in this matter, names its introduction thread as a kind of ‘Pecah Telok’ (hatching the egg) ritual, an initiation ceremony which is used to induct newcomers into Wong Kito. Referring to the description on Wong Kito’s wiki and blog, Pecah Telok takes the form of hazing that involves humiliation and subordination. A new member is required to introduce themselves in a mailing list thread in a unique way.

The administrator posted an intimidating suggestion for potential members: ‘Think carefully before you join. Batten down the hatches’ (PIKIR DULU SEBELUM JOIN. SIAPKAN MENTAL). Additionally, it states senior members are entitled to verbally insult and humiliate potential members’ introduction thread as a sign that they are granted a membership (see Figure 4.2).

These odd little rituals relate to my argument in the next section about men bloggers’ domination within communities. The Pecah Telok ritual is strongly associated with masculinity as it is mostly men who set the community rules. Significantly perhaps, this ritual is adapted from traditional wedding rituals, and strengthens ideas of members’ commitment, clan or family association and dependency evident in traditional patriarchal marriage relations throughout the archipelago. Considering theoretical assumptions of ‘borderless’ cyberspace, we can also understand these entry requirements as a way of containing practices and members within an otherwise unordered space (Honeycutt, 2005).
I also found that interactions within mailing lists are likely to be in local dialect, although the use of gaul (slang) language, Indonesian language and English is also common. This is a reason why I can hardly establish a bond with members from the Aceh Blogger Community, Anging Mammiri, and Kayu Baimbay. My ethnic background as a Javanese descendant creates barriers in mingling closely with other members online. In this case my study shows that the informal nature of the vernacular serves to create intimacy between members in communities’ mailing lists.

4.4.4 Kopdar – KOPi DARat: offline gatherings

Another important practice to strengthen social relations within blogger communities is the physical meet and greet known as KOPDAR\(^{121}\) (KOPi DARat, a get together or meeting ‘on land’). When I started my research in 2008, several blogger communities required me to attend kopdar before joining as a member. Figure 4.3, for example, is a screenshot of the Cah Andong community that states ‘you are required to attend face-to-face meeting before becoming a member (yang ingin bergabung diharapkan untuk kopdar terlebih dahulu’). It illustrates that the kopdar not only

\(^{121}\) Kopi refers to the act of confirming the receipt of a message in HT radio contact, while darat refers to land which may relate to ‘landing’.
plays a role in introducing a new member to other members in person\textsuperscript{122} but also has a function to strengthen social bonds and the privilege of being “completely connected” with communities.\textsuperscript{123} Furthermore, it points to the engagement between blogger communities beyond the blog itself.

**Figure 4.3 Cah Andong’s requirements for regular offline gathering on the community’s blog**

![Cah Andong’s requirements for regular offline gathering on the community’s blog](image)

Despite early scholarly views that the sense of community within blogs can be traced from blog contents in the form of links and comments, the kopdar tradition illustrates otherwise. Kopdar suggests that blogging practice includes not only online interactions but also face-to-face networked activity, where members cultivate relationships through ‘beer and gear’ (Nardi., 2005). Additionally, it resembles the requirement during the New Order for newcomers moving into a neighbourhood to report to the head of the local neighbourhood organisation (RT and RW).\textsuperscript{124} We

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{122} Offline sociability, or – in another term: “for quality control purpose”
\item \textsuperscript{123} “Links are the social currency of this interaction, allowing webbloggers to be aware of who is reading and commenting on their writings” (Marlow, 2004b).
\item \textsuperscript{124} A similar interrelation between ‘physical’ social structure and its reproduction through blogosphere is also apparent in the proliferation of warnet (Internet Café) in Indonesia. Warnet does not only facilitate online social relationships but also function as places to extend online and offline settings (see for example Lim, 2009; Colchester, 1986). Both cases, in this sense, illustrate that the community formed online both passes and criticizes the notion of economic determinism in ‘modern community’.
\end{itemize}
can understand the requirement of kopdar in the same way: face-to-face meetings institute a system of personal surveillance that requires members, as blogger community ‘citizens’, to report personally to the authority in the blogger community so they can control the verifiability of community members. This requirement, which puts a premium on an individual’s ‘real’ identity as it were, is apparently hostile to the notion that on the web, you can be ‘anyone you like’ (Turkle, 1995).

Figure 4.4 Bundaran Hotel Indonesia’s requirement of offline gathering for new members on the community’s blog

During my research I came to know that several blogger communities had weekly routine offline gatherings, which I would categorize as informal offline gatherings. Usually there were no fixed places to meet. Members set the time and place during their daily interactions in mailing list chat. Cah Andong Blogger Community (Yogyakarta), for instance, has weekly offline gatherings known as JUMINTEN (JUm’at MIdNight TENGuk-tenguk, Bludging on Friday Midnight) (see Figure 4.4). Loenpia.net Blogger Community (Semarang) has a weekly offline gathering

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125 The ruling block established a well-structured social administration system which included, from the lowest level, Neighbourhood Unit (Rukun Tetangga, RT), Community Unit (Rukun Warga, RW), Sub District (Kelurahan) continued up to the highest level such as Regency (Kabupaten) and Province.
programme JAMU, (Jamuan Akhir Minggu, Weekend Feast). Like Loenpia Semarang, the North Sumatra blogger community also has a weekly offline meeting every Friday night. I notice that nowadays these informal offline meeting are increasingly difficult to arrange. The common issues are members’ tight schedules at work and senior members who used to be a driving force in organising kopdar have moved out of the city.

There appears to be a trend for blogger communities to hold routine kopdar that are more formal. These routine meetings have the more formal purpose to empower both members and the public. Anging Mammiri blogger community, for example, initiated a monthly offline gathering, Tudang Sipulung. There is also another offline meeting, known as an ‘unplanned offline gathering’ (kopdar dadakan), to accommodate a visit with bloggers from other communities, a reunion with a member who moved to another city, or to accommodate special events such as public holidays and wedding parties.

**Figure 4.5 Tudang Sipulung, Anging Mammiri’s formal offline gathering**

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126 Tudang Sipulung comes from Makassar language’s vocabulary that means sitting to gather together. Even though AM is a blogger community, but it is not necessary to be AM’s member to attend this event. In these monthly events, AM invites bloggers in Makassar to involve offline discussions for specific topics and to share knowledge. Therefore, information about Tudang Sipulung usually is announced in http://tudangsipulung.angingmammiri.org/ and @paccarita, the official Twitter account of Makassar blogger community.
Figure 4.5 illustrates the formal ambience of Tudang Sipulung. This time, they discussed a topic about Information Technology (IT), Media and Community. This picture shows that the Anging Mammiri community set a stage for key speakers and printed a formal banner to be hung on the stage.

### 4.4.5 Official community’s Twitter and Facebook accounts

In addition to communities’ blogs and Wikis, Indonesian blogger communities also use other social media platforms to communicate with each other, such as Twitter and Facebook. Communication using these social media platforms plays a role to mobilise members on particular occasions. In February 2012, for example, AngingMammiri’s former leader, i-Rara, invited AM members to replace their avatars on twitter with new avatars wearing traditional dresses from Sulawesi. That is to say the use of cross-platform social media illustrates Indonesian blogger communities’ commitment to intensely cultivate online communications between members and thus strengthen social bonds within communities. Furthermore, it also portrays Indonesian bloggers high engagement with media in this media saturated world on daily basis. Finally, the cross platform communication practices open up the possibility for bloggers to establish relationship between communities considering cyberspace is borderless.

Looked at in another way, the representation of community identity by posting avatars in traditional costumes illustrates a very parochial approach. It is as if the mode of identity formation is locked in the New Order trope of diversity in unity. Instead of representing themselves as members of borderless cyberspace; they apparently represent themselves in the ritualised and rather trivial manner of traditional costumes. This confirms my argument that the majority of blogger communities still relate the sense of community to their pre-existing parochial sense.

### 4.4.6 Collectivistic traditions and group cohesiveness

Among other communities, the Aceh Blogger Community is the only Indonesian Blogger Community that owns a secretariat that organises and plans various programmes. One of the programmes executed periodically is the Healthy Internet Campaign and Blogger Training. ABC also organises an online Acehnese language
dictionary to introduce the language to non-Acehnese people and preserve the Acehnese language.

These blogging practices in turn, reflect the local cultural index for particular localities (Hjorth, 2008). Most of the time these localised cultural blogging practices signal the collective identity of each Indonesian blogger community, but more specifically, they also demonstrate situated practices rooted in situated knowledge. Local culture operates to ensure community and/or society participation and sustain networking. From this point of view, I suggest that blogging practices cannot be treated merely as a practice. We can look on these practices as a pervasive cultural artefact that forms a blogging culture. The paradigm in approaching internet users as part of “blogging culture” in Indonesia then shifts from its early definition of blogging practices that assumes users are ‘active’, to internet users as users and producers: produsers (Bruns, 2008). The enthusiasm reflected by each blogger community in Indonesia for fixing societal problems is driven by ‘the vagaries of user-producer interest’ (Bruns, 2008, p. 23). Saying that, my study shows that the social agency of each blogger community exemplified through action-planned social activities, is a result of the interaction among group membership. This membership is shaped through their identification with a collective sense that they share the same ethnicity and/or territory. In this case, the ‘vagaries’ are a result of interaction between the embedding of 30 years of hegemonic ideology in ethnic/territorial identification with networked ‘complete connectedness’. Blogger community members perform the function of ‘produsers’ in line with their identification with an ideologically constructed idea of ‘sub-nationality’.

This gives us a more favourable perspective on blogger communities and their roots. Given my previous suggestion that the communities were an aspect or a manifestation of old intrusive government surveillance practices, the influence of collectivistic traditions that was encouraged under Suharto’s regime can still be seen to enhance and contribute to shaping a sense of community or local solidarity. Thus in general, although blogging culture in Indonesia may reflect a pro-social image of bloggers as agent, practices of solidarity are often limited to neighbourhood associational interactions (see e.g. Lussier and Fish, 2012, p. 74-75). After the first
Indonesia Blogger Fest, a woman blogger from Makassar posted a personal complaint, stating she was disappointed by the decision of the committee which she felt was based on a non-transparent system. Her post also expressed dissatisfaction over the fact that Cah Andong was the blogger community winner which had conducted the most social activities. She introduced an issue of ethnic sentiment by suggesting the victory was due to the board consisting of mostly Javanese; the majority of whom were ‘cronies’ of the Head of the Committee at the moment. Consequently, the blog of this particular Anging Mamiri Blogger Community member became a battlefield over the question of ethnic prejudice. The 2008 Blogger Fest developed into a cold war, projecting the issue of Javanese and non-Javanese bloggers into the blogosphere.

Somebody is green with envy! Should you create an envious blogger community? Your envy is the ruin of Anging Mammiri (AM). I am sure AM sincerely supported Indonesia Blogger Fest. It is not important who won the award. Why would you write a post during your pre menstruation syndrome? (A comment on TP’s blog from Gustro, on November 26th 2008 at 4.30 pm in It’s Teeza’s blog post)

BECAUSE WE ARE NOT COMMUNITIES FROM JAVA AND/OR BALI islands. I think that's the main reason. Once I heard my friends’ stories, those who participated in Blogger Fest 2008 and they felt sorry for coming to that event. Next year you should think twice to participate!(A comment from Aceh Blogger Community on 12 December, 2008 at 1:43 am in It’s Teeza’s blog post)

Despite Turkle’s argument that virtual environments are valuable as places where we can acknowledge our inner diversity (1995), the tensions between blogger communities illustrate that the Indonesia Blogger Fest instead became a channel for imposing ethnic and/or territorial (or any other cultural) markers on cyberspace. Each ethnic/territorially marked blogger community constructed a shared memory integral to every member’s ideal-typical cultural identity – drawing a line between in-group

127 Pesta blogger 2008: So dissapointing! (October, 22 2008). Her blog is already declined. This post is archived at w eb.arc.../20090126024245/http://w w .tee-za.net/?p=222.
and out-group. This suggests that the bloggers easily reinvent a hegemonic ideology of (sub) nationality. As bloggers rearticulate the New Order’s legacy by reconstructing power relationships within their online communities, the tension between bloggers from Java and non-Java is perpetuated. The debate in the Anging Mamiri Blogger Community member’s blog became a site of a primordialistic identity clash in cyberspace.

These structures and expectations, fault-lines or default lines we might say, make it a delicate matter for outsiders without borders who long for person-to-person connections, or are ‘distanced’ from individuating information within the in-group. It is hard to measure, but we may say that Indonesian blogger communities hardly deliver on the inclusive, de-territorialised potential that the internet as a technology opens up to its users.

4.5 Women within communities

4.5.1 Women’s role in Indonesian blogger communities

Only one Indonesian woman has initiated a blogger community. I have described earlier in Chapter 1 and will continue later in Chapter 6 and 7 that before practicing blogging, i-Rara was already familiar with the new media technology at a time when it was still relatively new in Indonesia. To put it another way, i-Rara’s engagement with new media started very early. She was among the first netters in Indonesia, and later became interested in blogging. Thus she had established her personal engagement not only with blogging but also with new media in general earlier than the majority of Indonesian women bloggers. Regardless of this fact, her motivation for blogging has no particular connection to women’s empowerment. Similarly, her motivation in initiating a blogger community in Makassar was similar to Indonesian male bloggers who initiated blogger communities.

i-Rara was the first blogger from Makassar who coined the idea of the first ‘kopdar’, who previously had never met online. During my field research, I came to know that she was also the only woman blogger who initiated kopdar. The other kopdar initiators were men. She described how she felt timid at the first meeting where they introduced themselves to each other using blog names, instead of using their real
names (personal interview on December 15, 2009). My interview with i-Rara illustrates that women blogger’s roles in early 2000s was very passive and minor. During that time, women were very rare initiate or suggest something. They were, instead, good followers. Referring to my interview with Kamar Kecil, proximity and time were factors that restrain women bloggers, especially from outside Java, to join kopdar. In a number of meetings with i-Rara, I observed that she drives her own car and her mother allowed her to stay out until after midnight, which was very rare in Indonesian context.

In contrast, during my field research I came to know that generally, the role of Indonesian women bloggers in bloggers communities is neither overly dominant nor influential. Kamar Kecil, a woman blogger from BBC, for example, admits men bloggers in her community made key decisions such as the location and date of important offline gatherings. On the other hand, women bloggers play domestic roles such as preparing food and snacks during offline gatherings. Another woman blogger who was studying at medical school, Putri Nastiti (October 2009), notes that men bloggers’ dominance is not confined to offline gatherings. She protested against Balinese men bloggers’ criticising women bloggers for publishing women’s-theme posts on the community’s blog. Meanwhile, male Balinese bloggers tend to write posts with the themes of technology and science, consistent with scholarly argument that prestigious blogs feature such topics.

Liza Fathia, a single woman blogger in Aceh, indirectly suggested that men bloggers in ABC make key decisions. In my meeting with ABC, Liza Fathia was the only woman blogger whom meets regularly with men bloggers from ABC and could comfortably and independently mingle in offline gatherings with them. One day Liza Fathia asked another woman, Neng Riza a shy single woman who was preparing her study in Japan, to join her in visiting ABC’s office. NR asked her “Are you coming too? I don’t want to go there alone.” (personal meeting on December 6, 2008) This illustrates that there are cultural barriers which come from Sharia Islam in Aceh that influence women’s role and interactions within the blogger community.
Contrariwise, female bloggers in the Wong Kito blogger community are much more dominant than male bloggers. ItikKecil, a single woman who is working in a non-government organisation in Palembang, explains that due to their role as main bread winners, men have routine schedules to work at the office while women, as home makers have more flexible time to run the community affairs (personal interview with on May 22, 2012).

However, men bloggers’ domination, to some extent, entices some women into power. It causes rivalry between some women bloggers within communities. From several informal conversations with a number of Indonesian women bloggers, the sense of jealousy arises from what they perceive to be ‘unbalanced distribution of power’ among women bloggers who have close and more intense relationships with men bloggers. One woman blogger, Hydelogy reveals that

Neng Ocha used to be very close to men bloggers. When Neng Ocha joined us, I think OkiOka disliked it. It is like Neng Ocha stole her position. But, however, Neng Ocha always show envy if another woman blogger can easily mingle with men bloggers (personal interview on June 25, 2011).

Women bloggers have the opportunity to build more intense social relationship with men bloggers usually through informal kopdar. As I have noted in Chapter 7, several women bloggers find it is hard for them to fit into these informal kopdar. Men bloggers tend to set women-unfriendly times and places for meetings such as night time and distant areas (personal interview with Okioka on January 20, 2010 and Kamar Kecil on December 19, 2009).
4.5.2 Men’s domination and women’s resistance within blogger communities

When I started my field research in 2008 it was not easy to find women members within regional blogger communities.\textsuperscript{128} As I have noted in previous sections and chapters, male bloggers dominate the Indonesian blogosphere.\textsuperscript{129} In a similar manner, blogger communities become men’s stronghold by occupying administrator and moderator positions that grant them special opportunities, especially in power in controlling mechanisms. I interviewed PitoPoenya, a single open minded woman who dresses mostly like a man. She is a very upfront and firm person. She was a former member in Loenpia Semarang then unsubscribed her membership. While smoking, she described her resentment at men’s roles in the community:

Those men, they do whatever they want, sometimes against their own rules. They talk rude, cursing, verbally attacking women. But, when I talk rude and cursing, they threatened banning. Tension escalated as I argued against them, and they banned me for several days. It pissed me off. No way, they were men who created the rules, just because they’re admins. Women cannot speak out, could not talk dirty. I finally unsubscribed myself. I lost nothing. It is useless to join them (personal interview with PitoPoenya on January 14, 2010)

In line with this situation of dominance, in late 2009 there was a dispute between Loenpia Semarang with a woman member, Gudangku. I met Gudangku in several blogger occasions. She is a self-confident single woman who worked in public relations in a hotel in Semarang. She initiated Rotifresh, a monthly event moved by bloggers to encourage the public to take advantage of online interactions. Loenpia Semarang’s administrators were enraged. In their opinion, she trespassed upon their authority and hijacked Loenpia’s best members.

\textsuperscript{129} It confirms my findings in Chapter 1, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 that men had head start thus they introduced blogging to Indonesian women bloggers.
I don’t want to go to Rotifresh. She misused Loenpia’s name as a community. I am sure, if she does take it up, she will fail. She is a success now because she uses our name in her project. She hijacked Loenpia’s members, lured them so they want work with her. She just wants to be popular (personal interview with Escoret on January 3, 2010).

In contrast, Gudangku denies Escoret misused Loenpia’s name for personal benefit. In her opinion it is good for a blogger community to empower the public through social events, such as what Rotifresh offers to the public (personal interview on August 5, 2012). A woman member from Loenpia Semarang commented on the tension between Gudangku and the Loenpia Semarang, by saying Gudangku should have not ignored the Loenpia Semarang’s administrators and instead should have involved them.

The tension and dispute between Gudangku and the administrators in the Loenpia Semarang demonstrate Tönnies’ idea on a patriarchal structure within ‘traditional communities, where men hold the highest authority within the community and create inequality in power distribution between members (Tönnies, 1988; Fuchs, 2011, p. 316-317). At the same time, due to their patriarchal structure, my research on regional bloggers communities in Indonesia refutes Putnam’s argument of civil society (1993). Instead of encouraging self-governing associations that give space for democracy and freedom to members (Putnam, 1993, p. 117-118), regional bloggers communities in Indonesia tend to discourage women members’ participation in public and to tend to limit women’s agency.

To emphasise Escoret’s statement on 'hijacking' the best assets of community, it is interesting to see how several women bloggers cope with the patriarchal environment within blogger communities from another point of view. These women take hold of opportunities from the network within their host communities (perhaps, even - men's social networking’s). Contrariwise, when and if communities provide no benefits, they temporarily detach themselves from communities. That is to say, they use networks on their own judgement for their personal benefit. These pragmatic pursuits of Indonesian women blogger within their community illustrate Bhabha’s idea of ‘a
third place’ or ‘a liminal space’ which refers to ‘interstitial passage between fixed identifications’ that ‘opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy’ (Bhabha, 2004, p. 5). In this perspective, women’s creative intervention within male dominated communities is the evidence cultural constructions such as the idea (and practice) of parochial community are untenable.

Venus-to-Mars, another example, started her ‘career’ as commercial blog writer after men bloggers from her host community, Bunderan Hotel Indonesia, encouraged her to use her potential as a blogger. One man, a board member of one commercial blog, opened up the opportunity for her to write her own column in detik.net:

Two weeks ago, several friends invited me to break the fast. Our chief (kepala suku), as usual, was Pak Budiono Darsono, a.k.a BDI. He works at detiknet.com. Actually, he owns detik.net. In the middle of our casual chatting, someone coined the idea of making ‘Venus’ column’ in detik.net. Paman Tyo, our influential figure, started his column in detik.net already. I am not sure who firstly put forward the idea, BDI or I, suddenly I heard my own voice saying: I will send my article as soon as possible’

This shows that within the blogging practice, as I will show in Chapter 6, blogging practice cannot be considered as purely personal activities nor simply as stress reduction activities. From an extended view, blogging practices can be understood as a networking practice that opens up to professional development and agency. Thus in line with this, in the next section I pay attention to blogging as a networking practice that integrated writing with other social actions, both online and offline.

4.5.3 Indonesian women’s blogs: crossing the borders, from online intimacy to offline civic engagement

In this section I will illustrate how blogging has taken Indonesian women bloggers beyond ‘a blog’ as an online medium, to look at how (new) media encourages its users to establish a sense of community (Jackson et al., 2007; Blood, 2004b;Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007). Here then I pay attention to ways Indonesian women have
taken up and reworked social relationships within their ‘blogging’ in different ways which resembles Indonesia’s communitarian culture exemplified by the saying ‘guyub’ (collective solidarity) (Koentjaraningrat, 1997). Guyub as a traditional value exists in almost every culture in Indonesia. This tradition can be understood as a community sense of solidarity, harmony, collectivism, and synergy. Within the guyub traditional view, personal or individual goals are subordinate to group goals. In general, it illustrates how people in Indonesia see their existence ‘is inherent to his/her participation in a world he/she shares with others, a Mit-welt, i.e. a We-World’ (Hassan, 2004: para 6). Scholars acknowledge this communitarian culture brings about voluntary associations in forms of social action (Kawagoe et al., 1992) that closely links to the scholarly concept of civic engagement enhanced by interpersonal sociability (Lussier and Fish, 2012, p. 74).

Evidence of this theoretical assumption is consistent with my findings on Indonesian women’s blogging as I will examine in Chapter 5. It does not only show that a blog is more than a medium for personal publishing, but also reveals that a blog is a medium to establish and to maintain personal relationships. Through written language, both in posts and comments, Indonesian women maintain intimacy that leads them to reach out to the offline environment. Accordingly, scholars give evidence that from deep and intense interactions online, people tend to seek out each other and further, develop forms of supplemental relationships offline with each other (see e.g. Rheingold, 2000; Baym, 2000; Baym, 2010). In one post Venus-to-Mars told readers that her old friend from the blogosphere took her to a surprise party:

Long story short, they set that scenario. They: my best friends, my family in ngerumpi.com. Mbak Oettie and my sons, they were there too to give me a birthday surprise party that made my heart frozen. I was stunned silence. I had no words to say. I was in silent, holding my tears. There was a birthday cake from Kopiholic and Novel. I got an ashtray as my birthday present from Celo. There was love, sincere and kind - for me. Birthday cake, presents, love. I couldn't ask more. Throughout the night until dawn, I had my amazing blessings. Thank you. I love you all. (Venus-to-Mars)
Venus-to-Mars is a woman blogger from Jakarta. Even though I have not met her yet, I have the impression that she is a very modern woman. She has a very wide network and was the first woman who works in social media industry in Indonesia. A Jakarta based marketing company, InMark Digital, suggested that Venus and another woman blogger from Jakarta, Silly Stupid Life, run and host [www.ngerumpi.com](http://www.ngerumpi.com), a web-2.0-based community that was launched on 26 June 2009. Members in this community, mostly women, have their own accounts and therefore can create and change its content. In this community, Venus-to-Mars and Silly Stupid Life hosted a public discussion on women’s issues such as work, lifestyle, family, health, being single and sex. [www.ngerumpi.com](http://www.ngerumpi.com) does not only cover online discussion. It also has offline gatherings for members, such as ‘Ngerumpi days out’ – an event with several activities ranging from seminars, beauty class, photography workshop, and other programs where people share knowledge and skills.

Compared with women bloggers from Aceh and Kalimantan, in these communities, established by women and with little or no association with place, I found a different dynamic from the blogs of Indonesian women from other parochial blogger communities. Women’s blogs from Jakarta, for instance, are very rich in showing remarkable relationships and intimacies in their engagement with blogging, other bloggers, their communities and other communities.

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130 There are at least five others web 2.0 based community under InMark Digital, namely dagdigdug.com, politikana.com, curipandang.com, salingsilang.com and obrolan langsat. These web 2.0 communities are interrelated to each other, connect members in each community and therefore shape a complex social network. SimplyNgerumpi is linked to other web 2.0 communities, where These two women are trusted to host web 2.0 based community who is addressed for women.


However, there are at least five other web 2.0 based communities under InMark Digital, namely dagdigdug.com, politikana.com, curipandang.com, salingsilang.com and obrolan langsats.com. These web 2.0 communities are interrelated, connect members in each community and therefore shape complex, powerful, social networks, which have encouraged a woman blogger from Semarang to do something similar:

I have never heard about any positive actions in Semarang. I heard heaps of positive events, conducted by bloggers from Jakarta, Bandung, Solo, and Surabaya. As someone that was born in Semarang, I wish bloggers from Semarang can do what they did already (personal interview with Gudangku on August 5, 2012).

For Gudangku (37 years old), offline meetings means establishing social security. To her, at first, an offline meeting is an effort to broaden a social network. As it developed, she was led to an idea of how to mobilise a regional blogging community where she becomes a member and empowers other people by sharing knowledge from the online sphere through an offline gathering. That is to say, she believes that knowledge from the online sphere can be applied in the offline sphere to build financial self-help organisations. She took advantage of her geographical location, Semarang, close to Jakarta, the centre of Indonesia’s media practice. She has cross
memberships, both in the Semarang blogger community and in the Bundaran HI blogger community. Her cross-membership has given her a broad network that plays an important role in both events sponsorships and PR activities:

Most sponsor companies are in Jakarta. That is why it is easier for me to find sponsorships and to promote events (personal interview with Gudangku on August 5, 2012).

Gudangku is a modern figure of a woman in the way that she is very independent, open minded and enthusiastic. She initiated “Rotifresh” an offline forum to empower people in the offline sphere. She involves other members all men, from her regional community and has created a close relationship with these men:

And we keep going.\(^{133}\) We closed our ears, fighting those people who are against us and want us to fail in sharing with others. (Gudangku)\(^{134}\)

**Figure 4.7 One of Rotifresh gatherings in Semarang**

However, Gudangku are now an independent bloggers. She has resolved not to affiliate with one particular blogger community. Rotrifresh, instead of organising itself as a ‘community’, focuses their activities to a social hub without specific attachment to a functional focus (such as ‘member’, ‘administrators’ and ‘leader’). Additionally, Rotifresh does not emphasise a strong territorial bond. Their activities focus on discussion of online activities. Gudangku mobilises a group of volunteers to

\(^{133}\) This sentence contains links to the three men’s accounts, who are her partners in Rotifresh.  
invite the public to come without requiring membership (personal interview with Didut on February 25, 2009).

TikaBanget is another woman blogger from Yogyakarta, Java. Through blogging, she has created a wide social network that has been boosted by offline gatherings:

This year is the fourth of Indonesia Blogger Fest. Yes, its name now is changed into Blogger Fest Plus. That means it invites not only Indonesian bloggers in limited sense, but also everyone that is very active in Indonesia’s online sphere to gather and meet face to face in this event. I met heaps of bloggers today. Offline gathering is not a new for me. I do it every day.135

In 2011 she initiated the ‘Smiles for Indonesia’ social action that invites her bloggers and other social media friends to join her by sending pictures about smiles. Her idea was encouraged by social and natural disasters in Indonesia throughout 2011.

Geblek to TikaBanget (visitor)136: What a brilliant idea, Tik! Let me try to find my pictures in my hard disk, hope will find a grin!

TikaBanget (replying Geblek): That grins, after or before you brushed your teeth? *slap!*

Her invitation resulted in an anthology of pictures of smiling faces that she collected in http://senyumkuindonesiaku.tumblr.com/. Through her post on Prita Mulyasari’s case against a famous hospital in Indonesia, TB mobilized Indonesian bloggers to free Prita Mulyasari and is one of Indonesia’s bloggers who initiated the social action ‘Koin Untuk Prita’ (A coin for Prita).137

137 In 2008 Prita experienced maltreatment from Indonesia's big private international hospital. The hospital disrespected her complain with abuse thus she shared her experience in email to several friends and became a viral email. When the hospital found this email, they took legal action against her. It triggered bloggers to create a social movement ‘A coin for Prita’ to collect money and donate it to pay her court-imposed fine.
Similar to women bloggers from Java, women bloggers from Palembang start their relationship in blogging. Through their close engagement with blogging, they broaden their networks both in online and offline environments.

You are not a real blogger if you don’t meet offline. I feel a lack of something without offline meeting. Additionally, that day was Indonesian blogger’s day. Bloggers from every place in Indonesia met offline at Hotel Harris, Tebet (Journalnya Nike)

Even though authoring a blog has enabled women to establish their social networks both online and offline, being part of community contributes a significant value in expanding women’s networking. Jurnalnya Nike, for example, is a married woman blogger from Palembang. She has two children and is married to a man blogger from Palembang as well. With two other women bloggers she initiated the Mommy’s Blogger Community (see Figure 8.11). Another woman blogger from Palembang, Itikkecil, had a similar experience. After joining WK, together with another blogger from Palembang she is a volunteer in Local Leadership Days, a social action focused on sharing knowledge in Indonesia.
To a certain extent it reinforces Nielsen’s marketing research that mommy bloggers are likely to work independently (Nielsen, 2009). As an additional note, during my research over the period 2008 – 2011, I observed that a number of women bloggers, mostly from Java, unsubscribed their membership from their host blogger community. Having separated themselves from their host communities, they were able to develop their agency in the public sphere in all aspects: socially, politically, and economically. About this, a man blogger notes:

**Didut:** These women are so strange. They don’t admit themselves as part of a community. They say they are independent bloggers. But, there are times they, then, admit they are part of a community.

**Researcher:** Are you saying sometimes they take advantage from communities?

**Didut:** Yes. If there is nothing they can take advantage from communities, they won’t admit themselves as part of it. But, if they know they can get something from community, they will say they are members.

**Researcher:** Why is that?

**Didut:** I don’t know. Today, bloggers are different compared with years ago. Years ago, we helped each other unconditionally. But now, it is different. Profit is what they look for.

(personal interview on July 19, 2012)
In contrast, women bloggers from Bali, although they are intense about sharing through blogging, do not intensely establish their bonds with other women in the offline environment. They indeed are very active in community’s offline gathering, but certainly do not meet other women at personal level in the offline environment.

Kamar Kecil, who works as a journalist in Bali Post, says women bloggers in Bali Blogger Community (BBC) play insignificant roles in engaging with community compared with men bloggers:

Yes, our community held many events, where women were only responsible for domestic roles such as arranging menus and keeping the books. Men bloggers schedule everything including time and place. And they always schedule prior meetings at night times, when we – women bloggers – can hardly to attend. Whereas, women can afford to attend the events, since it is usually during the day (personal interview with Kamar Kecil on December 8, 2009).

When I arranged a time for a meeting with them, Kamar Kecil asked her husband’s advice, who is an influential person in Bali Blogger Community and also a founder of BBC. He suggested we meet in the evening for dinner. There, only several people came – among them, only two women came. Kamar Kecil also took her son with her. We finished after an hour, and it was hard for me to get public transportation. I called a taxi to get back to hotel. I understood at that time why it is difficult for Balinese women bloggers to join informal gatherings since Kamar Kecil told me that men set night time for offline gatherings. In fact, Kamar Kecil with her husband, who is also a blogger are founders of Sloka Institute (http://www.sloka.or.id/), which aims to grow civil journalism in Bali by teaching people how to create and to write a blog. Albeit from her description, her husband plays the bigger role:
We initiated it. But Anton, he is different. Wow. He is very eager. He was the one who browsed on the internet to find blogger in Bali, contacted them one by one and invited them to attend offline meeting. I do not care if I miss one offline gathering. He cannot. He would prefer to miss his work to interview someone, rather than to miss an offline gathering (personal interview with Kamar Kecil on December 8, 2009)

However, as I have noted in chapter five and in earlier sections in this chapter, a number of Indonesian women maintain their blogs for fundamentally commercial reasons through social networking, and for others, blogging practices are much more associated with personal interests, activism and networking in the sense of sociability. These women are not the real ‘blog-trepreneurs’, who deliberately author blogs to gain material benefit. In fact, they do not focus on blogging as a direct way of earning money, but instead keenly focus on cultivating social relationships. As a result, they have high readership and wide social networking in both online and offline environments. As far as their wide network and high readership is concerned, these women’s blogs demonstrate textual differences compared with women bloggers who blog to maintain a personal journal. Their blogs are conversational in the way they address their readers. That is to say authors clearly expect readers and welcome them to comment (Rettberg, 2008a). However, high-profile women bloggers make less of an effort to establish dialogue by replying to visitors’ comments compared with other women bloggers. To put it differently, high-profile women’s blogs show interaction, but not dialogue. Ina Purple, a single blogger woman from Makassar told me that relationships between Indonesian women bloggers have changed:

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138 IssueCrawler has mapped their network. Compared with other bloggers, these high-profile women bloggers have wider network.
Ina Purple: It is different now, the relationship between bloggers. Totally different compared with when everybody started to blog. We were very close online. We visited each other, leaving our comments and received replies. But it is different now. Those bloggers, who are already famous, rarely reply.

Me: Did you like to visit and reply your readers?

Ina Purple: Yes, of course. I did blog walking everyday. I left comments, replied to comments.

(personal interview on December 14, 2009)

As far as their limited efforts to create dialog with their readers is concerned, these high-profile women bloggers have already established wide social networks, both in online and offline environments. They are busy with gatherings in the offline environment, busy at becoming a spoke person and with meeting their ‘fans’, people who start blogging. In other words, it signals that to some extent women’s writing on their blogs is an extension of their practice in the offline environment. These observations confirm scholarly views that the offline and online spheres are best understood as supplemental, not separate.

4.6 Conclusion

Due to Indonesia’s cultural and geographical characteristics, successive Indonesian governments have organised national programs as efforts to actualise a united nation through a project of banal nationalism. Over time the state sought to downplay ethnic sentiment in favour of national union and unity. Despite the national slogan ‘Bhinneka Tunggal Ika’ (Unity in Diversity), which describes the most basic characteristics of Indonesian cultural diversity, Indonesian nationhood, as with many other forms of nationhood, is historically, politically and culturally constructed. Scholars argue, however, that these efforts, instead of producing unity, have had a hegemonic effect and have produced resistances in people’s social and cultural investment in their locality (Boellstrost 2002, Anderson, 1983).

This imposed construction of the nation is evident in the Indonesian blogosphere through the community practices I observed. Although banal nationalism programs are intended to draw the sense of unity among diverse communities, paradoxically
they have reinvented the sense of the local. I discovered that Indonesian blogger communities foreground their sense of the local rather than seeing their communities as part of the global space of flows to use Castell’s phrase (Bertrand, 2004). Therefore I posit that the internet, plays a role in rearticulating the power discourses within Indonesia, assisting in the formation of a discourse of Post Authoritarian nationhood.

Within the national discourse of union and unity, the New Order constructed a dependent position for Indonesian women. Under the ideology of state ibuism (Chapter 2) Indonesian women were constructed to perform the role of mothers of the nation, who devote themselves to the domestic sphere. As I have examined in Chapter 1 and 2, through their subordinate position within the national discourse, Indonesian women developed various trajectories to compensate for their domestic role, stand up to their marginalised position and join public domain. My study reveals that within blogger communities, women bloggers try to gain agency within primordial communities. In a sense, these communities are still attached to traditional values (see Geertz, 1963) that to some extend decetre women from public participation. Although later in chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8, I will show that as individual they are in the different situation.

Referring to my findings, I suggest that in the case of Indonesian blogging culture, it does not refer to a ‘modern community’, one that is shaped by pragmatic institutional and economic practices. The ‘networking’ function provided by blogging rarely transcends the primordialism of communities. I agree with Anderson’s arguments that nationality is shaped by old languages but mediated through new models (1983). Following this argument, concerning Doueihi’s question (2011) whether blogging encourages civitas or polis, I suggest that in the case of Indonesian women bloggers, they reflect a unique transaction between civitas and polis. On one hand they readily establish their identity as members of civitas (communities) but on the other hand, many also develop their identity as members of polis (society) by establishing their own forum or communities. Additionally, these forums and communities do not require memberships which are strongly attached to localities and territories. That is to say, Indonesian women bloggers negotiate around the restrictions of male
dominated communities marked by primordial associations through the performance of flexible identities, gaining their agency from blogging practices.

In the groups which Doueihi calls ‘civitas’ which refers to the Roman model of ‘the association of individuals and their mutual relations, based on forms of reciprocity, recognition and ultimately solidarity among individuals (p. 64) - women are less dependent and less subordinated than they are in the place-based communities, and have more opportunities for their own agentic independence. The banal reminders of nationhood, enhanced by Indonesia’s power holders, encourage the construction of an imagined community in cyberspace. Even though blogger communities are a result of online interactions, parochial Indonesian blogger communities do not reflect the promise of civil society. Unfortunately, we have seen the promise of online interaction contributing to women’s liberation is not the case. The fact that Indonesian blogger communities are built upon fatherhood foundation limits Indonesian women bloggers’ empowerment. In this chapter I have shown that many Indonesian women bloggers seek a way of negotiating their identity that might appear to be opportunistic. That it is because blogging depends on technologies and structures that are still male dominated that Indonesian women, despite their individual competencies, still find it difficult to stake their own territory in a male dominated world. Only a limited number of women bloggers have been able to make it their own.

My chapter shows that through their pragmatic intervention into men’s domination in blogger communities, women attempt to negotiate new opportunities and status through flexible performance of their identity as women. They produce new relationships by giving new meanings to their interactions. These practices relate to Bhabha’s argument that ‘people’ within nationalist discourse create adjustments that lead to personal authority and thus open up opportunity to erase ‘old school’ hegemony (Bhabha, 2004). My study demonstrates there are a number of women who establish trajectories in male dominated communities and develop their own forums and community. Regardless the fact that these women came from areas where the internet is well installed, my study shows that the internet gives women access to power. Additionally, having identified Indonesian women’s bloggers effort to
participate in gaining benefit from blogging confirms De Certeau’s idea of making
do or ways of operating (1984). Regardless of their dependence upon Indonesian
men bloggers, these women conform to men’s rules in order to evade them. In brief,
these women have learned to establish their own ways to engage with blogging.
5 INDONESIAN WOMEN’S BLOGS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I conduct a content analysis to examine Indonesian women’s blog content, including a descriptive element, interactions and connectivity, encouraged by blogging technological applications. In this study I propose scholars’ different view in examining blog content (Herring et al., 2004b; boyd, 2006). Taking up from these scholars I pay attention to blog’s technical applications that are ‘adaptable to multiple purposes of use’ (p. 163). With the advent of Web 2.0, a technology of various web based applications that allows users to produce and share digital information (Anderson, 2007), blogs do not only encourage personal publishing but also present an opportunity to foster social interactions (Marlow, 2004a; Nardi et al., 2004). That is, blog contents have resemblances with women’s activities ranging from record keeping to community sharing, moving from static to interactive media, taking shape from read-only to read/write, and moreover shifting the media from private to public (Bhattacharjya and Ganesh, 2009; Herring et al., 2004b; O’Donnell, 2006). With current blogresearch focusing on firstly, English language blogs and secondly on ‘themes’, my study chose the population of Indonesian women blogs from seven different communities as a means to extend knowledge of blogging beyond an Anglophone view. Additionally, I pay attention to how Indonesian women blogs contents display differences as a result of their particular context.

The remainder of this chapter presents a closer study of Indonesian women’s blog content and illustrates the different modes of publishing that have moved online and been driven by the blogging software as it becomes easier to use. My chapter will present and discuss a content analysis of 34 Indonesian women’s blogs selected from seven different local blogger communities from five different islands across the archipelago. Not surprisingly, perhaps, given the gendered stereotype of women’s lack of facility and ability in using the internet, some scholarly arguments note there are striking differences in the content of men and women bloggers (Herring et al., 2004a; Herring and Paolillo, 2006). Herring and Paolillo (2006), for instance, find that women tend to write diary blogs and men tend to author filter blogs. In this

139 In a way it relates to Takahashi’s study of Japanese women’s engagement with television (2010), which I will examine carefully in Chapter 7.
chapter I investigate this claim and show that Indonesian women have developed their contextual engagement with blogging, as is evident from their blogs contents.

This chapter has four sections. The first section deals with shifts in the definition of a blog, from links to interactions, after the introduction of Web 2.0. That is, early definitions of blog emphasised the presence or absence of links and thus excluded personal journals (Blood, 2002). With the advent of Web 2.0 personal journals can be categorized as blogs because Web 2.0 provides innovative blogging software for authors to interact with readers and further, to expand connectivity. According to Herring, the recent blogging software changes the focus of content analysis, which traditionally has focused on topics or themes of contents (Herring et al., 2005a). To pursue this further, my hypotheses are not formulated to examine Indonesian women’s blogs posts in a limited sense, but will include the interactive character of blogs. Furthermore, I put forward the hypothesis that blogs are not simply characterised by content, but also by interactions and connectivity.

In the second section I outline the methodology of quantitative content analysis used here. I explain my approach in drawing the non-probability sample of content for analysis, and how the analysis has been performed. Using this method, I draw a non-probability sample from 34 Indonesian women’s blogs and identify their engagement with blogging using three main variables: content, interactivity and connectivity.

In the third section I discuss my findings from this content analysis. Paying attention to the differences between the communities I provide a descriptive analysis of Indonesian women’s blogs content emphasising that Indonesian women’s blogging activities do not involve personal journal recording in a limited sense. Moreover, recent blog software facilitates the opportunities for bloggers to interact with their readers and to expand their connectivity. In the last section, I conclude by emphasising the contextual differences between Indonesian women’s blogs across the nation. The diversity of blogging practices and content described in this chapter becomes a pivotal point in my argument in the following chapters that Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging is situated in their daily cultures.
5.2 *Indonesian women’s blog: content, interactivity and connectivity*

Early scholars view blogs as a new mode of computer mediated communication, a distinctive type of webpage, compared with the previous ‘static’ web journal. Blood, for example, largely distinguishes between weblog and online journals by focusing on connectivity: ‘At the time, journals were personal accounts chunked into individual pages – one entry per page, one page per day, as if a paper diary had been transplanted to the web. By contrast, Weblog entries were short, usually containing links to the larger Web and appearing together on one page’ (2004, p. 54). In brief, in her definition, a webpage such as an online journal that does not contain links cannot be categorised as a blog (Blood, 2002).

Early blog content analysis followed this tradition by analysing topics or themes represented in posts (Herring, 2010; Herring et al., 2005a). However, scholars point out that the more recent and advanced blog software allows a blog format that is more interactive and publicly accessible, and it is this definition which has been relied on in this thesis (Dijck, 2004; Lejeune, 2000; Adami, 2008; Herring, 2003). Herring et al., for example, coin the notion of ‘the hybrid nature of blogs’ and claim that blogging technology applications are flexible in accommodating the communicative needs of their users (Herring et al., 2004b, p. 11).

In brief, these scholarly arguments open up a shift of attention in blog content analysis, from a focus on blog entries to users’ generated content. Pursuing this further, my study does not present a content analysis of blog entries in a limited sense (Blinka et al., 2012; Trammell et al., 2006). It relates to content in another way and looks also at non-linguistic features which correspond to users’ generated content.

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140 It is also important to consider that Blood brings up her idea that in the early period of blogging, when only limited people knew how to create blog websites, who defined blog based on their knowledge by emphasising on a link as an important technical character within a blog. Karlsson (2007, p. 5) notes that since the invention of blog software in the late 1990s, authoring a blog has become an easy task and thus it dissipated the division in terms of technical web-authoring ability between a filter blogger and an online journalist as both types apply similar technical forms.

141 Computer enthusiasts initiated blog as link-driven webpage, a combination of links and personal comments activity to update information in reverse chronological order. In line with this, O’Reilly (2005) distinguishes between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0. Based on its static nature, he categorises webpage as a form of Web 1.0. In contrast, following its interactive character, blog is a form of Web 2.0. Based on her observation, Blood saw links becomes the first manifest blog content which characterized the first two blog types: filter blog (with links) and personal blog (with no links) (Blood, 2002).
by examining interactions and connectivity, which is enabled by applications of recent blogging software. These features include comments (Mishne and Glance, 2006; Milioni et al., 2012) and social media cross platforms/cross linking features (Agarwal et al., 2011; Etling et al., 2010; Ting, 2011).

5.2.1 Content

In response to the growing popularity of blogs, new media scholars started to employ content analysis methods to examine blogs (Herring et al., 2004b; 2005a; 2007; 2004a; Papacharissi, 2007). Early studies in blog content analysis focus attention on themes represented in blog entries, such as posts, hyperlinks, comments and multimedia material (video, audio, image). Research on blog content flourished and took in more specific studies across nations, such as a study of Polish blogs (Trammell et al., 2006), a study of Persian blogs (Kelly and Etling, 2008), and a study of Chinese blogs (Zhou, 2009). Blog content analysis also revealed gender differences in blog content, such as the Herring et al. study of journal blogs of predominantly women and teenagers (2004a), Trammell and Keshelashvili’s analysis of posts in Bush and Kerry’s blogs during the 2004 presidential campaign (2005), and Huffaker (2005) and Pedersen and Macafee’s studies of British blogs (2007). Relevant to my research in this chapter, a number of content analysis studies also examined women’s blogs. Ayish’s study, for example, looks at the role played by women’s blogs in the Arab world (2010). McKnight examined the important roles of blogs as a medium for women to write and share their identity formations (2009). And in her study of Dutch and Flemish women’s blogs, Van Doorn outlines gender identity through narratives of ‘everyday life’ (2007).

One scholar who has published widely using content analysis in the analysis of blogs is American researcher Susan Herring (2003) who acknowledges that the predominant type of blogs in the blogosphere is the personal journal blog. According to Herring and related studies, the majority of women and girls are authors of personal journal blogs, where content is mostly personal, even intimate (Cywinska-Milonas, 2003; Herring et al., 2004a; Sorapure, 2003). However, these findings are not new. Lejeune (2000) was the first scholar who examined a new tendency to use webpages for sharing private life journals. Blood (2000) was one of the first to
suggest that the personal journal blog is a characteristic blog genre. She characterises diary weblog content as sharing feelings and thoughts on a daily basis (see also McNeill, 2003; Herring et al., 2004a).

Additionally, according to Lieber (2010) such writing may project personal issues into informal expression of public issues. Here I take up the scholarly view of blog as a form of gendered communication where women express themselves (Driscoll, 2008) and are encouraged to write priority on topics, or personal topics which are based on their daily experience and perspective (Somulu, 2007). Therefore, although topics may originate from personal experience or issues, women bloggers relate or extend the personal to the public sphere. In this respect, women politicize their everyday lives, although it is not what motivates these women to blog, at least not consciously. Taking up these arguments, in this study my content analysis presents the themes of Indonesian women’s blog posts.

Another variable I look at in this study is the use of language in Indonesian women’s blog posts. A number of blog content analysis studies show the important role of language within blog entries (Hale, 2012; Etling et al., 2010; Blinks et al., 2012). Scholarly findings assert informal language in blogs enhances social ties between authors and readers. And indeed my research shows that Indonesian women’s blogs are written in an informal register which we may call ‘hanging out language’ or ‘gaul language’ (in Indonesian ‘bahasa gaul’). I have not found any Indonesian women’s blogs that are written in foreign languages and/or local vernaculars. Thus I will examine informality in language as a factor of social ties in my discussion of interactivity.

Additionally, digital materials such as pictures, audio and video are another important variable in studying blog content (Trammell et al., 2006; Foo, 2009). Baym (2010) argues that mediated communication creates communication insecurities because interlocutors miss cues they get through face-to-face communication. For this reason, they enrich the interaction by utilising digitized multimedia in order to reduce the impoverished environment. According to Daft and

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142 I discuss gaul language in Chapter 8.
Lengel (1984; see also Kim et al., 2010) to present information using a variety of representation, formats enable an interlocutor to make better sense out of the information. Referring to Baym (2010), the presentation of eclectic mixed multimedia has potential to build up online relationships between interlocutors. Multimedia on blogs is a sign of the author’s awareness that their readers need clues to unfold the relationship (McNeill, 2003).

However, considering that the World Wide Web has extremely rich, myriad forms of information, Blood (2002) encourages bloggers to be prudent in using online materials. She stresses not only content objectivity but also copyright ethics. Bloggers, according to her, are responsible for giving source attributions by sharing source links. Therefore, my content analysis study also includes attribution to online material that the Indonesian women bloggers cite in their posts.

5.2.2 Interactivity

Another aspect I examine in my content analysis is interactivity. The advent of Web 2.0 redefines the notion of ‘interactivity’ in expressing social relationships on the blog. Earlier, in outlining the history of blogging, emphasis was placed on the way links were central to blog’s interactivity (Blood, 2002). Web 2.0, however, opened up the technology and facilitated the development and maintenance of networks and social relationships, although that term needs to be handled carefully because ‘some blogs presumably are no more than individual journals with a readership of one’ (Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008, p. 12). For this reason, my content analysis also looks at the variable of ‘interactivity’ to illustrate that despite being characterised by personal thoughts, personal journal blogs do not serve women as a place for self-preservation in a limited sense as they show conversational communication (McKnight, 2009; Somulu, 2007; Karlsson, 2007). Taking up these scholarly arguments, I examine blogs’ conversational communication through nominated audience and comments. There are several aspects I look at in the comment feature, namely engagement between visitors and author, the use of informal language, and requests for new relationships.
Although according to Herring et al. (2004a), a personal journal is characterised by personal thoughts and internal workings; nonetheless a blog does not only serve women as a place for self-presentation. Instead, blog software facilitates its user to interact with readers (see for example Jordan, 2008). Dannen and Pashnyak (2008) claim that hyperlinks and comments are ‘two visible artefacts of the connections between bloggers’ (p. 12), but comments obviously support interactions between authors and readers/readers and readers through readership (Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008, p. 12; Scheidt, 2006, p. 208). In their discussion of social relationship through comments and links, Ali-Hasan and Adamic (2007) assert that comments present more interactive and conversational communication that illustrate direct participation and, in contrast, links illustrate less reciprocal communication.

Even though blogs typically concern personal issues, scholars believe the majority of blog authors address their writing for public reception (McKnight, 2009). Blankenship, for example, suggests blogs offer a different style in addressing audiences (Blankenship, 2007). Blogs challenge the ‘traditional’ conception of audience that is limited by location in the way advanced technologies expand ‘localised’ audiences into ‘dispersed’ audiences (Scheidt, 2006). With respect to blogs, the ‘dispersed audience’ does not necessarily create ‘implied connectivity’ on account of blog’s interactivity. For this reason, regardless of the majority of live journal blogs sharing similar characteristics to the diary, I argue authors do not always address implied audiences. Instead, blog’s interactivity allows intimate relationship between authors and their readers. Briefly, the interactivity of the blog opens up the possibility for authors to address nominated audiences.

143 My argument here relates to scholarly statement that blog is a medium that foster community online and offline which I will discuss in the next chapters.
144 It is important to note that hyperlinks and comments present different sense of interaction (Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007). However, links indicate connection between blogs but not connection between authors and visitors (Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008, p. 12; Scheidt, 2006, p. 208). Provided that, this section I outline blog’s interactivity through comments features, and in the next section I outline connectivity in blog through links and other advanced blog software.
145 In her interview with LeJean Ingrid Merckx asked him whether personal journal blog displays contradictory actions that on one hand it is personal journal, on the other hand it is published on the internet, which is considered a public sphere. LeJean answer by arguing “not any more so than writing words that one hides. In fact, exhibition and interiorization are two sides of the same behaviour that consists of indirect communication” (in McKnight, 2009, p. 2).
Intimate relationships between readers and authors are commonly enhanced on account of comment features (Walker, 2005, p. 45; Karlsson, 2007, p. 138), where interlocutors share personal thoughts and information (Rettberg, 2008b; Rettberg, 2008a; Blood, 2002; Herring et al., 2005b). Sharing may grow into a habitual practice (Baym, 2000) or ritual sharing (Jones, 1995: 19), out of interest and the need for particular information (Castells, 1996; Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008), or sometimes even controversy (Rettberg, 2008a; Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008). Referring to Rheingold (1994), this habitual practice or ritual sharing is not taken for granted and does not develop in a short time, but rather it is cultivated through public discussion over a long period that involves emotion, forming a habitual practice, which may form ‘webs of personal relationships in cyberspace’ (Rheingold, 2000, p. 5). Giordano (2003) uses a notion of ‘friendship formation’ and acknowledges that it is rooted in similarities in interest, concern and opinion. McKenna et al. (2002) endorses Giordano’s opinion that not every similar interest, concern and opinion can foster online friendship formation, rather it strongly depends on the content (see also Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008).

Additionally, Sarfety notes that within the engagement between readers and authors in a blog, ‘familiarity and informality are keysto development’ (2004, p. 63) and that comes from language use (McKenna, 2002). In respect of language use, Baym (2007) acknowledges the use of informal language is the signal of closeness in online interaction. This includes informal language, slang language, local vernacular, and internet slang.

5.2.3 Connectivity

The last aspect I consider in my content analysis of blog posts is connectivity. If the comment feature creates informal, intimate and personal interaction between interlocutors, hyperlinks create ‘instant connections’ (Turow, 2008, p. 3) between ‘recorded ideas that could be retrieved and passed on’ (p. 1). Additionally, Turow asserts that by creating links, authors channel or direct important information to their implied readers. That is, by creating links authors ‘work to privilege certain ideas over others by creating and highlighting certain links and not others’ (p. 4).
In addition, scholars acknowledge that links demonstrate various functions depending on context. Links help authors to address readers’ attention (Tsui, 2008); they also perform a task to associate knowledge (Walejko & Ksiazek, 2010), and a number of scholars point to interactivities that emerge from the association of links (Peng, Tham, & Xiaoming, 1999). Last but not least, links allow authorsto create personalised texts (Deuze, 1999).

Scholars tend to claim that links illustrate interactions between blogs (Herring et al., 2007; Efimova and de Moor, 2005b) that represent similar interests between authors (Dominick, 1999 in Papacharissi, 2007). That is, links embody networked information (Brady, 2005). However, advanced blog software enables author and reader to link information and also redirect their interlocutors to other social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Tumblr. That is, this software enables redirection of potential readers coming to a particular hyperlink on a social media platform to another hyperlink on a blog. Turow shows links also perform an action to increase readership through links connections. The most common blog feature that facilitate users’ need to increase readership is the RSS feed. But the more recent blog features encourage blog authors to expand their readership by offering Twitter, and Facebook. Having discussed all these aspects of the complexity of blog content, here I employ content analysis to examine traditional concerns such as topics and themes, but go beyond the usual focus on ‘manifest content’ (Krippendorf, 2004) to examine the role of blogging applications such as links and social media cross linking in expanding readership and social interactions.

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146 RSS feed is an act initiated by blogs readers to subscribe the most recent posts from blogs that meet their need.
5.2.4 Hypotheses

I conduct a content analysis in this chapter and it will address the following hypotheses:

H1. Women bloggers write topics that relate to their daily context and experience, but to some extent there are similarities because women experience similar issues.

H2. Women’s blog contents show their ability to download and upload digital material such as image, video and audio and thus they are aware of giving source attributions.

H3. Women bloggers establish relationships by explicitly searching for readers, both implied and nominated.

H4. Local vernaculars in the comment feature reflect women’s ways of establishing intimate social relationships with friends from similar ethnic backgrounds.

H5. Comment features show a conversational communication where both author and visitor/readers interact to embrace relationships.

H6. The comment feature is a place to start a new relationship between bloggers.

H7. Advanced blogging software also helps women expand their blogs’ readership through applications such as links, and social media cross linking.

H8. Women do not only establish social relationships within the blogosphere but also they extend and maintain social relationships through face-to-face meetings.

5.3 Methodology

The content analysis method holds that patterned regularity in text based communication, if predictable, means something, which relate social phenomenon (Krippendorff, 2004). This inference results from the logic that the regularity of data leads to prediction. Due to this, quantitative content analysis requires an objective and systematic method to collect data (Riffe et al., 2005). A proper research design indicates a clear and distinct procedure to select data, to draw the sample, and to breakdown the set of textual communication data into content categories and units. At the end, a good research design will be able to answer nominated hypotheses or research questions. Therefore, a qualified quantitative content analysis research design will relate to both research questions and hypotheses. The traditional quantitative content analysis methods use manual tally to count text regularities.
Nowadays, statistical software, for textual analysis – such as NVivo, helps the researcher to find and to count text regularities.

Drawing on Krippendorff’s traditional content analysis method, McMillan (2000) requires two basic steps, namely a theoretically pre-focused measuring (or coding) tool and sampling representativeness, so that research results can be statistically tested for the purpose of generalisation (Herring, 2010, p. 236). To meet these requirements the sample ideally should be random thus traditional content analysis scholars draw on probability sampling techniques. Another consideration of this content analysis is building suggestive sampling.\textsuperscript{147} The content analysis in this chapter undertakes an exploratory study to examine Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging. Therefore, I use a non-random sample and allow coding categories to emerge from data (Herring, 2010, p. 237). With respect to this, my study applies standard descriptive statistics (frequency and percentage).

My content analysis focuses predominantly on the blogs of Indonesian women who currently live in Indonesia. I acknowledge that previous web (including blog) content analysis research draw samples by applying blog services (Trammell et al., 2006; Papacharissi, 2004) and web search engines (Herring et al., 2007; Herring et al., 2005a). However, Herring et al. claim that World Wide Web is not consistently and universally catalogued.\textsuperscript{148} That is, the majority of web search engines only index English-language blogs, and thus ‘random sampling of the blogosphere [is] a practical impossibility’ (Herring et al., 2005a, p. 10). Technorati, for example, the widely used internet search engine, does not register non-English language blogs \url{http://technorati.com/non-english-faq/}, which meant I was not able to draw my sample from web search engines. Due to this, my study does not apply a random sampling method to draw a probability sample. Instead, I apply non-traditional

\textsuperscript{147} Scholars such Tremayne et al. (2006) and De Moore and Efimova (2005a) apply non-traditional content analysis in blog content analysis research. For more detail reading about non-traditional web content analysis please read, for example, Web Content Analysis: Expanding the Paradigm(Herring, 2010)

\textsuperscript{148} Looking upon McMillan’s early studies on webpage, which has been started before the rise of Web 2.0, I agree with Herring (2010) we have to consider the number of personal webpage was still limited during that time. After the rise of Web 2.0, the number of weblog is highly dynamic and becomes more varied in content. It is difficult to apply built-in coding scheme as well as to determine blog’s universe for representativeness purpose (Trammell et al., 2006; Herring, 2010).
method to draw my sample in conducting Indonesian women’s blogs content analysis.

5.3.1 Research population: Indonesian women blogs

I decided to make a list of Indonesian women’s blogs by listing women’s blogs from each blogger communities\(^{149}\) in Indonesia, following the map made by Chandra, a blogger from Banjarmasin, South Borneo (2008).\(^{150}\) This is the similar list I used to invite bloggers to join my survey in Chapter 3. My early investigation found that the majority of blogger communities in Indonesia do not have women members. Considering that my study in this chapter focuses on women bloggers, I make a short version list that contains blogger communities that have women members. Only well-established blogger communities have women members, namely: Aceh Blogger Community (Aceh, Island of Sumatra), Anging Mammi (Makassar, Sulawesi Island), Bali Blogger Community (Island of Bali), Wong Kito (Palembang, Island of Sumatra), Kayu Baimbay (South Borneo), Komunitas Blogger Malang (Ngalam), Tugu Pahlawan Community (Surabaya), Loenpia Semarang (Semarang), Cah Andong (Jogjakarta), Batam Blogger Community (Batam), Bundaran Hotel Indonesia (Jakarta, Island of Java), Bandung Blogger Village (BBV), Komunitas Blogger Bogor (Bdogor), and Flobamorata (FLOres, SumBA, TiMOr, Alor, Lembata) (Nusa Tenggara). Additionally, I discovered that these communities are dominated by male bloggers.

An important characteristic of a well-established blogger community is a good administration in the way that they formally list their members. A number of blogger communities publish their members on their website, such as Bali Blogger Community and Aceh Blogger Community. The rest of them keep the list as confidential records. In order to have the list, I contacted the administrators, who mostly required me to apply for membership first. A number of communities required a number of offline meetings (I discuss this in Chapter 4) and permanent residency in their areas, which I could not complete. For this reason I was able to

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\(^{149}\) I have discussed Indonesia local blogger communities in Chapter 4.

\(^{150}\) His personal project in mapping blogger communities in Indonesia provides my study with more than 300 blogger communities in Indonesia.
obtain lists of members only from the Bali Blogger Community, Loenpia Semarang, Anging Mammiri, Aceh Blogger Community, and Kayu Baimbay.

Considering Indonesia has at least five major islands, thus aiming provide a close representation of Indonesian women bloggers, I selected several A-list women bloggers from the Wong Kito blogger community and Bunderan Hotel Indonesia blogger community\textsuperscript{151}, and followed from blog to blog, from blogrolls and comments, to create a snowball list of women bloggers. To pursue it further, I made a population list of women members from each blogger community by applying the following set of criteria:

1. The blogs were single-authored by Indonesian women
2. The bloggers are based in Indonesia.
3. The blogs were ‘active’, i.e. the blogger had blogged at least four times in the last two consecutive months.
4. The blogger had blogged for at least two months.
5. The blogs are written in majority in Indonesia language.
6. The blogs are owned by Indonesian women at least 21 years old.

As a next step, I decided to cover the five biggest islands in Indonesia, with the exception of Irian Jaya.\textsuperscript{152} Finally I provide a non-probability sample frame,\textsuperscript{153} divided into regions: Wong Kito (Sumatra), Anging Mammiri (Sulawesi), Loenpia Semarang (Java), Kayuh Baimbay (Borneo). Additionally, I also choose Bali Blogger Community (Bali), Aceh Blogger Community (Aceh - Sumatra), and Bundaran Hotel Indonesia (Jakarta – Java) due to their special characteristics.

\textsuperscript{151}Wong Kito and Bunderan Hotel Indonesia blogger communities rejected my application to be a member, thus it restrained me to obtain member lists from these communities.

\textsuperscript{152}When I started my field research November 2009-March 2010 I found there was no blogger community in Irian Jaya. My search found during that time Friendster was still dominated online sociability in Irian Jaya. I also found that Friendster provides its users with ‘publication feature’, and in fact there was a Friendster community in Irian Jaya, but they did not claim their community as a blogger community.

\textsuperscript{153}A sample frame is a list that includes each unit in the population where the sample will be drawn and exclude units that are not in the population.
Even though Bali is only a small island, I chose Bali Blogger Community because, in 2002 Bali had almost 50 internet cafes (Purbo, n.d.).\textsuperscript{154} As the most popular international tourism destination in Indonesia, Bali has become a gate to the outside world, and has a well-established internet infrastructure. Bali shows dynamic online activities, supported by one known blogger community, Bali Blogger Community. Aceh is the only region in Indonesia that applies Sharia law that locates women primarily in the domestic or private sphere (Baden, 1992, p. 13). Nonetheless after the horrific tsunami in 2004 the internet infrastructure became well developed in Aceh, especially in Banda Aceh. Additionally, there are a number of women bloggers as members of Aceh Blogger Community and thus to look at their engagement with the internet provides another view. In similar fashion, my decision to choose DKI Jakarta is based on its characteristic as a metropolitan city where people from various cultural backgrounds live. As the location of the first internet infrastructure and the most excellent internet connection in the country, Jakarta has become the premier place for supporting the engagement with the internet, especially for women.

5.3.2 Data set

It is important to note that this chapter is part of a larger discussion of Indonesian women’s engagement with blogs in their daily lives. In Chapter 4 I look at Indonesian women bloggers within named blogger communities. The discussion in Chapter 4 draws on my ethnographic study and uses data from my interviews with a number of women whose blogs I examine in this chapter. To carry out this larger research objective my aim is to draw a sample of Indonesian women’s blogs within networks. Rettberg (2008a) suggests networks are most visible through links, since basing blog network only upon comments does not represent the actual network. Thus I decided to apply the web crawler engine, IssueCrawler to draw my sample.\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{154} Currently (late 2002), there are 2000+ internet Cafes in Indonesia. About 1489 internet Café is registered at http://www.natnit.net/warnet/. Unfortunately, we will likely to see an unequally distribution of internet Café over Indonesia. More than 50\% of the Indonesian internet café is located in Jakarta & its surrounding areas. About 87\% are located in Jawa Island. While the rest of Indonesia should be pleased with only 200 internet Café, of which, 25\% is located in Bali and a large portion in Sumatera Island (Purbo, n.d.)

\textsuperscript{155} It is predominantly open software that provides a result in form of map networks of blogs. Although the next chapter will discuss women’s networks, at this stage I only take advantage this software to find which blogs are in the network.
IssueCrawler is open software that provides a result in the form of a map of blog networks. IssueCrawler crawls all blogs from the list: what other blogs they link to and what other blogs link to them. The software produces a map of a network with the node size of each blog, according to the aggregate of in links (blogger link onto one certain blog) and out links (certain blog owner link onto other blogs) for any given site.\textsuperscript{156} I chose this method based on the assumption that it would show blogs which have obvious network centrality, which signals networking. Crucially, blogs on the map provided by IssueCrawler have readers, whether these readers left comments or not. With IssueCrawler it is also possible to crawl blogs that are not in the blogger community list and show them as part of the network.\textsuperscript{157}

My next step was dividing women’s blogs according to their blogger communities. At this stage I created a pre list sample of women’s blogs from networks. To refine my sample list I used the following selection criteria:

1. Blogs have been updated at least in one year duration (September 2010 – October 2011).\textsuperscript{158}
2. Blogs show at least two comments in each post.\textsuperscript{159}

I uploaded each list separately into the IssueCrawler program. After the list harvesting process, IssueCrawler provided me with a map of blogging networks. From each map, I created a sample list by selecting non solitary women’s blogs that have both out and in links.

As shown in Table 5.1, at the end of my sampling collection, I had a list of 34 Indonesian women’s blogs from seven blogger communities, 649 posts, and 10,880 comments.

\textsuperscript{156} Another important reason for employing IssueCrawler is the characteristic of blogosphere, which has continuous change. Several women blogger were found on the blogger community member list, but I found they were not active anymore. Issuecrawler helps to identify new member who have not listed on blogger community member list.

\textsuperscript{157} That said, the authors of these blogs do not join the community or the author come from outside community.

\textsuperscript{158} I only pick nine months duration posts (may 2011 – October 2010)

\textsuperscript{159} I require a post with at least has two comments for physical validation of possibly network. As I stated previously IssueCrawler maps ‘invisible’ reader, which visit the blog but did not leave any comment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Blog Names and Authors</th>
<th>Posts</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>Kamar Kecil <a href="http://luhde.nawalapatra.com/">http://luhde.nawalapatra.com/</a></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It’s My Life <a href="http://sweetrabbit.wordpress.com">http://sweetrabbit.wordpress.com</a></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Widari <a href="http://widari.wordpress.com">http://widari.wordpress.com</a></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Best Thing <a href="http://www.saktisoe.blogspot.com/">www.saktisoe.blogspot.com/</a></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>240</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjing Mammiri</td>
<td>AndyHardiyanti <a href="http://www.andyhardiyanti.com/">http://www.andyhardiyanti.com/</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ekspresi Tanpa Batas <a href="http://irhapunya.wordpress.com/">http://irhapunya.wordpress.com/</a></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ina Purple <a href="http://www.inapurple.com">www.inapurple.com</a></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sayap Bidadari <a href="http://savapbidadari.blogspot.com.au/">http://savapbidadari.blogspot.com.au/</a></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thought, Dreams and Emotion <a href="http://www.i-rara.net">www.i-rara.net</a></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ungatawwa <a href="http://www.ungatawwa.wordpress.com">www.ungatawwa.wordpress.com</a></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>392</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>Liza <a href="http://liza-fathia.com">http://liza-fathia.com</a></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gradien 0 <a href="http://adeoktiviyari.blogdetik.com">http://adeoktiviyari.blogdetik.com</a></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It’s Not Blue <a href="http://fidaarfah.blogspot.com.au/">http://fidaarfah.blogspot.com.au/</a></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>217</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,503</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>Itik Kecil <a href="http://www.itikkecil.wordpress.com">www.itikkecil.wordpress.com</a></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indah <a href="http://www.indahonly.wordpress.com">www.indahonly.wordpress.com</a></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nieke <a href="http://nike.rasyid.net/">http://nike.rasyid.net/</a></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jurnal Ma <a href="http://www.mabanget.wordpress.com">www.mabanget.wordpress.com</a></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The 9 Star Lights <a href="http://www.the9starlight.blogspot.com/">www.the9starlight.blogspot.com/</a></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Number of Posts</td>
<td>Number of Comments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>649</td>
<td>10,880</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Loenpia Semarang</strong></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiwik Wae</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oelpha</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tika</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>551</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>887</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</strong></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dita</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simbok Venus</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>534</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladybugfreak</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nona Dita</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerita Eka</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1,769</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>3,875</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kayu Baimbay</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hera</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judulnyanantisaja</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Liew267)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**5.3.3 Data analysis**

My study involves a process designed to categorise data by coding concepts and variables (see Table. 5.2). I generated the coding from previous studies in my theoretical framework and from an emergent process after an initial study of posts and comments, especially in addressing categories for topics. I applied these codes to identify what general topics are addressed in textual and digital content, audiences, identity, interactions in the comment feature, and connectivity by creating hyperlinks.

Coding relied on NVivo software that functions to analyse digital data such as verbal text (words), images, audio and video which have become popular as blog contents.
It is important to note that I was engaged with a number of communities and women bloggers in this study for several months prior to collecting and analysing data. Those contacts helped me become familiar with the nature of interactions that appear within blog communities. After the process of coding, I applied descriptive statistics to interpret my findings.

Table 5.2 Summary of codes and sub codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>topics, digital materials (image, video, audio), copyright literacy,</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interactivity</td>
<td>language, new relationship, comments, audience (implied and nominated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connectivity</td>
<td>links (pingback, trackback), cross platform (Facebook/twitter/other social media), offline meeting.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4 Findings

5.4.1 Indonesian women’s blog contents

A total of 649 posts from 34 blogs were generated from September 2010 to May 2011. Using NVivo 10, I created emerging coding of topics and categorised 10 specific topics that emerge from the total of 649 posts. I classified the posts according to blogger communities. The first hypothesis posits that women bloggers would write on topics that relate to their daily context and experience, but there would be similarities across communities. My finding shows that this hypothesis is correct.

I found similar evidence in each community that women frequently write about their personal reflections of daily experience, feeling and thoughts (Lövheim, 2011), but do not necessarily perpetuate domestic setting through their writing, as has also been noticed by several scholars (Herring, 2000; Funken and Winker, 2002 in Carstensen, 2009, p. 107). However, regardless of their different contextual, cultural and geographical backgrounds, my content analysis of Indonesian women’s blogs across seven different communities shows they tend to address similar topics to present their interest (see Table 4.3).

Within the 649 blog posts from Indonesian women bloggers across seven different communities, I identified 10 topics with the greatest frequency: leisure (20%),
followed by relationship (19%), personal (15%), social (13%), review (9%), community (7%), technology (6%), work (4%), study (4%) and health (3%). However, there are differences in frequency in posts across communities.

Table 5.3 Summary of topics on Indonesian women’s blogs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>BBC N=57</th>
<th>AM N=37</th>
<th>ABC N=217</th>
<th>WK N=186</th>
<th>Loenpia N=40</th>
<th>BHI N=95</th>
<th>KB N=17</th>
<th>Total Post N=649</th>
<th>% Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women in Bali Blogger Community have most posts on health topic (12%) compared other women in other communities. One Balinese woman blogger from my sample is a woman living with HIV/AIDS. She openly discusses it in her posts, which were commented upon by visitors, including other Bali Blogger Community members. Moreover, she was part of a number of public discussions of HIV/AIDS facilitated by Bali Blogger Community.

Women in the Anging Mammiri blogger community make most of their posts on leisure topics (35%). Posts on leisure topics range from opinion, discussion to sharing about travelling, tasting food/restaurants, and local events such as music concerts and product launches. My study found that within the Anging Mammiri
blogger community a number of women bloggers posted similar events and used similar images. That is, posting on blogs is no longer highly individualised (O'Donnell, 2006, p. 10). Instead it illustrates publishing as a communal act within communities.

However, posts on leisure topics are not necessarily published after these women have experienced something ‘new’ and thus feel they need to share it. Posts on leisure topics from women from Aceh Blogger Community (20%), for example, are about traveling destinations in Aceh and local foods from Aceh as part of participating in events to promote Visit Banda Aceh 2011 events. In this sense, their posts illustrate blogging more as a practice of journalism rather than personal journal writing.

In contrast, Indonesian women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay write frequently about the topic of ‘relationship’ (41%). Under the topic of relationship, women address their personal reflections and experience about relationships with family, friends and love life. Despite the public character of blogs, the topic of relationships is typically displayed in an intimate sense. In brief, it reflects that these women use blogs to build conversations with themselves (Efimova and de Moor, 2005b). This finding is in line with another finding that Indonesian women bloggers from the Kayuh Baimbay blogger community have no posts on ‘community’ (0%). Thus this illustrates women in Kayuh Baimbay community use blogs for personal rather than social purposes (O'Donnell, 2006; Herring et al., 2004b).

However, Table 5.3 illustrates that women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia do not follow this pattern with respect to relationship. Only 8% of posts can be clearly coded as relationships because their posts about friends and community intersect as the community members are also close friends.

Table 5.3 illustrates that women bloggers from Aceh write most posts on social topics (16%). Included in social topics are posts about religion, culture, financial and

\[^{160}\text{In Chapter 4, where I have discussed community, my data reveal that it is unlikely for women in Borneo (Kalimantan) to join blogger communities.}\]
environment issues. It is important to note that posts about ‘religion’ are written only by women bloggers from Aceh Blogger Community and are commented on mostly by Aceh Blogger Community members. Relevant with this finding is the fact that Aceh is the only region in Indonesia which applies Sharia Law. Thus it is women bloggers from Aceh who have most posts on ‘religion’ topics. Additionally, I generated my research sample from September 2010 to May 2011, when Aceh was preparing for Visit Banda Aceh 2011. With respect to this, it illustrates that blogging takes a form as participatory journalism (Lasica, 2003; see also, for example Gallacher et al., 2008) in a way that women bloggers from Aceh play active roles and dedicate their posts to promoting local events.

Table 5.3 also shows that Indonesian women bloggers in three communities write a reasonable number of posts on topic ‘review’, namely from the Aceh Blogger community (15%), Wong Kito (17%) and Loenpia Semarang (27%). From my field research, I find that a number of women bloggers from Wong Kito, for example, are members of ‘Goodreads Indonesia’, a book club. One of Goodreads Indonesia’s activities is to review new books.

Table 5.4 Summary of digital content in Indonesian women’s blogs posts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Picture</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Video</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>314%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>117%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>178%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>243%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scholars acknowledge that blog content includes attached digital material such as images, video and audio (Herring and Paolillo, 2006). Advanced blog software helps women publish a variety of material on their blogs. In content analysis bloggers across seven different communities coded 888 images. That is, from a total of 649 posts, Indonesia women bloggers tended to post more than one image in each post (see Table 5.4). In contrast, women bloggers across communities tend to post less audio material. My study coded only 11 video items from the total of 649 posts. That
is, my findings do not fully support my hypothesis in that women’s engagement with blogging does not necessarily involve the use of wide range of digital contents such as videos.

However, as I find in Chapter 6, the different quality of internet infrastructure across the archipelago affects how easy or difficult it is for Indonesian women to post digital material such as pictures and videos. Pictures and videos need more capacity to download, thus they slow down the internet connection on one hand. On the other hand, uploading digital material on posts prevents or deters readers from visiting a blog:

For that reason, this time I will present pictures I have taken today. My apologies to my readers, it will take a bit a while to open my page (Itikkecil, itikkecil dan pulau kemaro, February 16, 2011).

However, the abundant presence of images in Indonesian women’s blog posts does not always involve awareness in providing attribution of images posted on blogs (Blood, 2002). Table 5.5 shows that Indonesian women bloggers in my study have low awareness about citing origin or ownership of sources in their posts. Regardless of the fact the majority of women bloggers use images to illustrate their posts and download them online, from the total of 649 posts; only 18% posts cite their sources.

Table 5.5 Summary of copyright literacy when digital images are posted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Source Attribution</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women bloggers from Loenpia Semarang have the most frequent source attribution compared with women from other communities (65%), followed by women bloggers from Anging Mammiri (32%) and Aceh Blogger Community (28%). In contrast,
women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay have 0% of frequency of source attribution, despite posting 41% of images presented in their posts. In a similar manner, women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia and Wong Kito blogger communities show low awareness to be prudent in using online materials. Despite including 231 images within 95 posts, women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia make only 19% source attribution (18 source attributions). Women bloggers from Wong Kito bloggers community have only 1% source attribution (1 source attribution from 186 total posts).

5.4.2 Comments and interactivity

My third hypothesis states that women bloggers would establish relationships by creating intimate relationship with their readers. Thus instead of treating their readers anonymously these women address their posts to a nominated audience. Table 5.6 illustrates that in general Indonesian women bloggers across different communities in my sample address a number of posts to nominated audiences. To put it another way, Indonesian women bloggers direct a number of posts to readers they have known. That is, regardless of scholarly arguments which point to blog’s non-specific readers (see for example Lejeune, 2009; Scheidt, 2006; McKnight, 2009), my finding supports scholars who acknowledge the fact that blog authors, instead, ‘explicitly search for readers’ (Serfaty, 2004, p. 40-1; see also for example Stern, 1999; Scheidt, 2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Nominated Audience Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.6 also shows that women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay have the most nominated audience in their posts (24%), followed by women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia (15%), Bali Blogger Community (11%), Anging Mammiri (11%), Aceh Blogger Community (11%), Wong Kito (10%) and Loenpia Semarang (10%).

This finding shows that blog authors publish personal messages and publish them to be consumed by their implied/particular audiences within the public area:

‘When will we meet again? Everybody has been busy with their own business. Yei is busy with her students; she has been commuting to Tomohon. This is the same. T2 is running her family business (I miss you, elch4n1, October 25th, 2010).’

Happy birthday, mas Kemal (a link). I love you (Fourteen years old, Venus to Mars, September 10th, 2010)

On the other hand, examining my fourth hypothesis that the intimate relationships between bloggers can be discerned from comment features, Table 5.7 presents the more interactive relationships between women bloggers and their readers in comment features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Comments by authors</th>
<th>Comments by readers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% Comments by authors</th>
<th>% Comments by readers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>3503</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>1407</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>3159</td>
<td>3875</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2667</td>
<td>8213</td>
<td>10880</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scholarly discussions agree that comments show a deeper interaction between blog authors with readers, compared with links (Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007; Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008; Luzón, 2011). Through comment features, interactions between
authors and readers become visible (Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008) and personal (Karlsson, 2007). With respect to this argument, within the comments, I make a further division to distinguish comments by readers from comment replies from authors (see Table 5.10). From a total of 10880 comments, my content analysis study shows that 25% of comments are authors’ replies to their readers’ comments (75%).

It seems then, that authors do not always reply to their readers’ comments. When they do, they do not always reply personally, but instead address a reply to several different comments (see Figure 5.1). I observe that authors tend to reply to close online friends (loyal visitors who frequently leave comments and perhaps have met the authors face to face). In this respect, reply comments show informal interactions and intimacy between interlocutors, which most of the time indicates familiarity that is formed by sustained commentary (Dennen and Pashnyak, 2008).

**Figure 5.1 An example of a multiply comment reply**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>November 27, 2010 3:02 am</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>@indobrad: thank you opa :D mari bergandengan tangan agar silaturahmi antar komunitas blogger tetap ada :)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@dg ipul: hiihihi stalker jangan2 =]*kaburr*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@geblek: thanks jok :D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


@indobrad: thank you opa :D let’s hold hands so that friendly relations between blogger communities keep up

@dg ipul: hiihihi I hope you’re not a stalker *run*

@geblek: thank jok :D

Figure 5.1, for example, shows that i-Rara replied to three comments in one go addressing each visitor using ‘@’. She called @indobrad ‘opa’ (old man) and called @geblek ‘jok’. These ‘nick names’ illustrate not only familiarity but also intimacy between her and her loyal visitors.

However, some scholars indicate that familiarity between interlocutors within comment features can be identified from informal language usages, and this was coded as a way of examining practical efforts to establish personal relationship in comment feature (Baym, 1995; Luzón, 2011; Androutsopoulos, 2006a). The majority of comments contain features of spoken language such as ‘#eh’ ‘argh’ and
emoticons, and Indonesian slang (gaul language). Specifically, interactions are carried out using local vernaculars, which I outline further in a detailed discussion in chapter seven. Table 5.8 illustrates that the interlocutors tend to use local vernaculars in comment features. In Anging Mammiri, for example, no posts (0%) contain local vernaculars. In contrast, 3% of comments are expressed in local vernaculars. My finding support the scholarly arguments that first, women bloggers tend to use informal language in writing their blogs (Murnahan, 2010). Second, comment features is where we see intimacy between interlocutors revealed (Baym, 1995; Luzón, 2011).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Vernaculars</th>
<th>% Vernaculars</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>Post</td>
<td>Comment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, my study also indicates that the comment feature becomes a medium for new visitors to develop a new relationship with a blog’s author (see Table 5.9). The most common convention in starting a new relationship is links exchange. That is, both readers and authors have to add their new friends’ hyperlinks on their blogrolls. With respect to a number of popular bloggers, this convention is not relevant anymore. A reader may add a popular blogger’s link on her/his blogroll, but it is not necessary for popular bloggers to add their visitors’ links to their blogroll.  

---

161 In Chapter 6 I offer a discussion of how blogroll becomes one of social restraints among a number of Indonesian women bloggers in setting their blog public face.
Table 5.9 Summary of possible new relationships on Indonesian women’s blogs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>New Relationship</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.3 Connectivity

In the early era of blogging, links predate connectivity between blogs (Blood, 2002; Efimova and de Moor, 2005b). Links take readers instantly from one webpage to other webpage (Turow, 2008). The more recent blogging software extends the connectivity, especially in readership. Recent blogging software provides users with social media platform links and buttons. That is, they can set a linkage between their blogs and other social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr and Picasa. Basically this software contains hyperlinks that allow authors to send published blog posts to several places. Thus ‘links’ automatically promote the most recent posts by authors.

Table 5.10Summary of links and cross platforms on posts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Frequency links in posts</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Frequency platforms in posts</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>925</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>197</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.10 illustrates that the majority of women in blogger communities use links to connect themselves with other bloggers or webpages. Table 5.10 also indicates that women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia use the most links on their posts.
(31%). These women include links not only to address their readers’ attention by linking posts to a particular webpage (Turow, 2008; Tsui, 2008), but also link posts to friends’ blogs and social media accounts such as Twitter and Facebook (44%). That is, they establish public personalised texts (Deuze, 2003). That isto say Indonesian women bloggers tend to display particular relationships with friends to their readers. As CeritaEka said, she needs to connect her posts to social media platforms because her friends are there, on Twitter. Thus to ‘call their attention’ to her posts, she links her posts to friends’ social media and blogs accounts (personal interview on November 9, 2012). That is, cross platform connections are a way to expand readerships and relationships.

In contrast, women’s posts from Kayuh Baimbay, for example, contain no links (0%), and this suggests that these women only establish interaction through comment features (see Table 5.10). In term of cross platforms use, women bloggers from Bali Blogger Community and Kayuh Baimbay connect themselves using social media accounts less than other women bloggers. Women bloggers from Bali only present 9 (5%) of social media cross platforms from the total social media cross platforms, while women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay only present 1%. During my field research and interaction with women from Bali, I discovered that using other social media platforms is not a popular practice in these places. These women bloggers prefer to strengthen their engagement with blogging through authoring posts and conducting community activities. For these women, authoring a blog is a matter of expressing their opinions, thus ‘It does not really matter whether people read my posts or not’ (personal interview with Kamar Kecil, 15 December 2009).

Table 5.11 Summary of links and cross platforms on comments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Frequency links in comments</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Frequency platform in comments</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>164</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>159</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.11 illustrates mostly the dynamic interaction between authors and readers, not only within comment features, but also in other social media platforms. It shows that women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia receive the most links (50%) and connections through other social media platforms from their readers (35%). In a similar way, women from other communities such Aceh Blogger Community, Wong Kito, and Loenpia Semarang receive a reasonable connection through social media platforms. In my observation, these women are active in Twitter. Thus this finding supports CeritaEka’s statement that women’s engagement with blogging does not occur in a limited sense within their blog. It involves and is expanded by other social media platforms. In contrast, women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay only receive 1% of links on their comment feature and a 1% connection through other social media platforms. This shows that Indonesian women bloggers from Bunderan Hotel Indonesia are well informed about the advantage of links to extend their network.

Additionally, bloggers’ connections do not occur only in the virtual world. Both posts and comments record stories about offline meetings between bloggers (see Table 5.12). Posts and comments of Indonesian women bloggers from Bundaran Hotel Indonesia record the most frequent offline meetings (29%). This has a resemblance with CeritaEka’s statement about connection and relationship - that they realise their engagement with blogging is not limited to their blogs. During my field research I observed that women bloggers from Bundaran Hotel Indonesia do not only gather with their blogger community but instead also gather with other communities.

Table 5.12 Summary of offline meeting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% offline meeting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bali Blogger Community</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anging Mammiri</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh Blogger Community</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wong Kito</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loenpia Semarang</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunderan Hotel Indonesia</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayuh Baimbay</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>187</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

162 I examine the prevailing differences between Indonesian women bloggers from Java and non-Java in Chapter 4, 6, 7 and 8.
which is prompted by their engagement with blogging. This supports scholarly arguments that after a certain period of establishing relationships and connections online, bloggers gain trust and start to establish relationships and connectivity in the real or offline world (Nardi et al., 2004; Rheingold, 2000; McCully et al., 2011). Table 5.12 also illustrates that both posts and comments from Balinese women bloggers record the most offline meetings (27%). This supports my statement in the previous section that these women prefer to strengthen their engagement with blogging through authoring blogs and through interactions and connection in the offline world. In contrast women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay record a lower number of offline meeting in their posts and comments (4%). This is in line with the fact that they also make and receive less connection and interaction through links and cross platforms, as mentioned in the previous section. It also illustrates that they do not establish engagement with blogging due to lack of infrastructure, which I explore in detail in Chapter 6.

5.5 Conclusion

In this analysis of the content of Indonesian women’s blogs, 649 blog posts and over 10,000 comments texts were analysed in terms of content, interactivity and connectivity. The data set was drawn from a non-probability sample of 34 Indonesian women’s blogs across seven different communities. Scholars suggest that non-probability samplings are excellent methods to explore social phenomena, especially in web studies which are relatively new. In this chapter my content analysis draws a non-probability sample, and aims to gather descriptive data about Indonesia women bloggers’ engagement with blogging through posts and comments. Focusing on posts and comments of women’s blog from seven blogger communities, my study finds differences in terms of women’s engagement with blogging. Even though these women tend to write various discussions of local context, my study finds similarities in terms of topics. This result supports my first hypothesis (H1) that women bloggers in my study write topics that relate to their daily context and experience, but to some extent there are similarities because women experience similar issues. In general these women’s blogs tend to discuss relationships, community, personal, social, and leisure topics. They tend to write less about work,
education, review, technology, and health. My content analysis confirms previous research that women bloggers do not write about technology, politics and science.

My study finds that women’s blogs also contain images and videos. This illustrates that the majority of women bloggers have the ability to download and upload digital material. The fact that they upload more images than videos signals the lack of internet connections, which I will examine in Chapter 6. It is important to note that the ability to upload and download digital material does not necessarily indicate women’s awareness of their responsibility to provide attribution of images. It supports the second hypothesis (H2) that Women’s blog contents show their ability to download and upload digital material such as image, video and audio and thus they are aware of giving source attributions.

Noting scholarly studies that claim women tend to author blogs for therapeutic effect by addressing an nominated audience, it is evident that women’s blogs in my study address nominated audiences, especially in posts. It support the third hypothesis (H3) that women bloggers in my study establish relationships by explicitly searching for readers, both implied and nominated. Additionally, my data actually shows some women’s posts address attention to specific people and thus declare their special relationship to them in public and the use vernaculars resemblance the intimacy between women bloggers from similar cultural background, which support the fourth hypothesis (H4) that vernaculars in the comment feature reflect women’s ways of establishing intimate social relationships with friends from similar ethnic backgrounds. Close relationships between interlocutors are obviously presented through the use of local vernaculars in the comment feature.

Accordingly, my data illustrates that a number of women bloggers show intense interactions through comment features, which describe the fifth hypothesis (H5) that comment features show a conversational communication where both author and visitor/readers interact to embrace relationships. However, my study also shows strongly that the comment feature also becomes a place to start a new friendship, even though, these intimate engagements do not occur only within their blogs, but spill over into social media platforms (H6 and H7). The network of relationships
created extends beyond the virtual pages of authors’ blogs, and reaches out to
audiences. Applying advanced blog software, these women display their connections
to other social media platforms such Twitter and Facebook. Moreover, it is evidence
in my study that women bloggers in my study also establish their connection in
offline multi platform social media interactions to face-to-face interactions through
kopi darat (H8).

In general, this content analysis was able to reduce a great volume of texts to
manageable categories. This enabled me to discover that although in a number of
aspects women’s blogs across seven different communities show similarities in
topics, they also have different interests. This study also reveals that blogs do not
only refer to ‘linguistic interactions’, but also shows that most women are engaged in
practices which promote interactions and connectivity to ‘network interactions’
through links, cross platform social media activities, and face to face meetings.
6 INDONESIAN WOMEN’S BLOGS’ FORMS: WOMEN’S INVESTMENT IN TECHNICAL FEATURES

6.1 Introduction

After fleshing out my analysis of the content of Indonesian women’s blogs in the previous chapter, I move on to use an ethnographic approach to look at Indonesian women bloggers’ engagement in a media-rich environment. Recent scholars of media and audience studies have critiqued the limitations of the active/passive audience binary, and have instead proposed a broader range of engagement. Drawing on these critiques, I will identify the diversity of women’s engagement evident in the form and practice of Indonesian women’s blogs.

In this chapter I am looking at the formal features of Indonesian women’s blogs. The form of a blog is understood here as the public face or appearance of the home page of the user’s blog. I will outline that the structure and appearance of the blog is a result of user choices of particular blogging software to obtain a certain public face. Further I will show how blogging software and technical options provides women bloggers with various choices of both blogging software and their blogs’ public face. With respect to a number of Indonesian women bloggers, their choices illustrate compelling reasons to invest something in blogging. Additionally I argue that Indonesian women’s discretion in presenting their blogs’ public face is strongly intertwined with the local context, both cultural and geographical, as well as the ICT infrastructure across the archipelago. I will continue the discussion in the next chapter and will pay attention to Indonesian women’s blog practices in greater detail, using similar assumptions about the paradigm shift in audience and user behaviour discussed in this chapter.

This chapter presents an ethnographic study of Indonesian women’s blog forms in the convergent media world (Couldry, 2004b:119; Takahashi, 2010:27; Bird, 2003:5), which aligns with recent scholarly ideas of media use embedded in everyday culture (Takahashi, 2010: 30-31; Hjorth, 2008: 9, 73-74; Couldry, 2004b:119). Additionally, taking into account the advent of Web 2.0, I suggest that this technology has been conducive to interactions through blogging and has ushered in the ‘produser’, a term coined by Bruns (2006:5) to signal the increased complexity of audiences as both producers and consumers. This new vision of the audience
closely links to Doeueihi’s notion of anthology (2011, p. 31) and to Herring et.al’s notion of the *hybrid nature* of blogs (2004, p. 11).

The term ‘anthology’ is introduced by the French historian Milad Doueihi (2011), and points to personalized authorship. It proposes views of authorship and intentionality that not only identifies the changing roles between readers and authors, but also pinpoints a possibility of a personalized and autonomous model of authorship (Doueihi, 2011:31-34). The concept of anthology aligns with Donald Norman’s concept of perceived affordances (1988; 1998) that describes users’ discretion about the various perceived and actual technical options that they can possibly utilize from an object (Norman, 1998:9; see also Hutchby, 2001; Heskett, 2005), and depends, in part, on users’ social contexts (Norman, 1988:219). 163

Although many studies define blog form by referring to genre studies which focus on content, my definition of blog form refers to the technical interface, which includes blogging software and technical options in presenting a blog’s public face (boyd, 2006: para 17; Herring et al., 2004b). Thus this chapter looks at various blogging software selections and modifications of form in Indonesian women’s blogs that help us understand a blog’s hybrid nature as multimodal elements (Herring, 2004). While a blog’s hybrid nature offers a wide range of features, here I will examine the technical features and choices that enable personalized authoring (Doueihi, 2011), yet at the same time convey a message that this selection is not limitless and instead depends on authors’ contexts (Norman, 1988).

This chapter contains three sections. In the first section I outline the theoretical framework. I discuss paradigm shifts in the idea of the audience from the notion of audience as passive media consumers to the notion of audience as active media users within the context of media engagement in a media saturated world. 164 I relate this

163 As opposed to Norman’s use of his term, Gibson the possible action in using affordance is independent of the individual’s ability to perceive things (in McGrenere and Ho, 2000). The use of affordance, according to Gibson, does not depend on culture, prior knowledge or experience and expectation of individual.

164 I also refer my discussion in Chapter 7 and 8 to my theoretical perspective I examine in this chapter. Thus there is continuity between this chapter, Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 in a way that they focus on the idea that media engagement is anchored in every day contexts.
discussion to the concept of anthology, which involves users’ control and discretion over the application of technical features. The second section presents an illustration of Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging that does not involve personal publishing. It holds on to the notion of content creator, emphasizing women’s technical and practical control over their social connectivity. In the last section I conclude that Indonesian women’s blog forms are tied to media practices that are fundamentally anchored in culture. Relevant here is Couldry’s comment about media engagement with society: ‘Media represent other practices and so have direct consequences for how those practices are defined and ordered.’ (2004b:123). Drawing on these arguments, my study will show that the distinctive form of Indonesian women’s blogs reflectstheir authors’ autonomy and that at the same time the form depends on different levels of media engagement in specific cultural contexts (Takahashi, 2010:37; Silverstone, 1990:88, 179; Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992a:4; Silverstone and Hirsch, 1992b).

6.2 Theoretical Perspective

6.2.1 The paradigm shifts

This section recalls the shifts in communication studies paradigms that have examined a wide range of relationships between media and users, from the subtle to the overt. The Oxford Dictionary of English (2010) defines a user as a person who uses or operates something. To start this section, I will use this neutral term - ‘user’, albeit in the discussion of the paradigm shift, I will use a more specific term to refer to the context of theoretical assumptions of the relationship between media and ‘users’.

From the 1920s until the late 1970s communication scholars tended to assume that the media exerted a strong influence over its users. This started with the assumption that users passively receive, or were ‘injected’ with information from the media. The idea of a passive audience was strengthened after the Colombia Broadcasting Radio

165 Following scholarly arguments the supplemental relationship between online and offline spheres, in this chapter and in the next chapter I also illustrates that the connectivity online has potential to encourage the connectivity in the real world.

166 I refer ‘the paradigm’ as the theoretical point of view, supported by scholarly assumptions.

167 I would prefer the term ‘user’: “a person who uses or operates something” (2010)
system aired *The War of the Worlds*, a radio drama, in 1938, and inadvertently sparked a chaotic panic.\(^{168}\)

By the mid-1940s, however, these assumptions of a passive audience were called into question. Through survey and content analysis studies, communications scholars acknowledged that media content was not the only factor in shaping media effects. Lazarsfeld et al. introduced the concept of selective exposure, signalling that the media does not have full power over the audience and that the audience is not totally passive (1948:166). Instead media content is disseminated through a variety of influences, which affect the way the audience makes sense of information (Blumler and Katz, 1974: 15-17).\(^{169}\)

In the mid-1970s the television industry in America was fundamentally transformed when communication satellites were introduced. This meant that the three main national broadcast networks became a system of multichannel television (Medoff and Kaye, 2011: 72; see also Mullen, 2008). With this change to multichannel television the audience were made more aware of their options and therefore able to seek out a media source that best fulfilled their needs. Building on the knowledge of users’ ways of using media, Blumler and Katz elaborated the theoretical assumption of what became known as the ‘uses and gratification’ approach to audience studies. The approach emphasised that active users have many motives for using media to satisfy given needs (Blumler and Katz, 1974 15-17, 235). This functionalist assumption challenged the idea that users have no agency or conscience in using media and are passively under the media’s control.

The theoretical approaches that largely focused on media texts and ignored audiences were criticised by scholars who preferred an interpretive approach to the consumption of broadcast texts. Scholars in The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCS) in Birmingham, England, argued that the uses and gratification

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\(^{168}\) An important note here is this theoretical assumption grew in the early development of media such magazine, news, film, radio and television. There were not many options available for people to observe to distribute various occurrences in society.

\(^{169}\) An important note here research findings showed face to face communication plays important roles in selective exposure.
approach tends to see the individual as a single unit (Morley, 1992: 16) and decentres media use from the social context (Morley, 1992: 48; see also Couldry, 2004b). Focusing his study on social class, Stuart Hall (the head of CCCS) introduced the decoding/encoding approach in 1980s. In laying out his ideas, Hall proposed an approach to audience research that has come to be known as reception studies (Hall, 1980). Reception studies acknowledges that all media content is inscribed with what Hall called a ‘preferred meaning’ which is not automatically accepted or rejected by the audience (Louw, 2001: 206). Hall sees the audience as active but struggling meaning-makers, who ascribe meaning to media content, structured by their social class. That is to say, Hall emphasizes that audiences create their own meaning from texts, influenced by their own history which included their class position. Thus he asserts that meaning is a production of the engagement of the audience with the text. However, criticising Hall’s argument, Nightingale (1996) notices that he fails ‘to anticipate the fluidity, variability, breadth, or scope of the discursive engagements people encounter as part of the contemporary metropolitan experience’ (p. 41).

However, in their study of the Nationwide audience which examined the implications of Hall’s model, David Morley and Charlotte Brunsdon reconsider Hall’s view, pointing to the fact that the audience’s engagement with meaning production from media content is more complicated than might be assumed from just their social class, and instead should be examined within the individual’s positioning in different discursive formations’ (1999, p. 108). Their findings showed that reception is not tied in any straightforward way to class origins. The emergence of a multi set of technologies, for example – strongly influenced viewing style (1992: 228, 230, 233).According to Morley’s study, television viewing is not isolated anymore and instead competes with other ‘multi set households’ that ‘have profound implications for the potential development of domestic life’ (Morley, 1992: 199). That is to say that media consumption is not fixed and isolated, but contextualised.

Additionally, in 1959 Edward Hall introduced two types of cultural difference in time orientation: polychromatic orientation and monochromatic orientation (1973). Drawing on Hall’s concepts of time orientation, Jennifer Bryce (1987) finds that television viewing habits in the family depends on the family’s organisation of time.
Her study reveals that television viewing activities in the family are not fixed, and instead is involved in multitasking activities. Bryce writes: ‘The sequencing of viewing, its place in the mesh of family activities, reflects a choice, an organisation, a negotiation process which very little is known about’ (1987: 123).

The association between those two factors was carefully explored by Silverstone in his study of television in everyday life. He identified that television watching is not simply passive media consumption. The emergence of multi-technologies communication devices drive users to carry out two or more activities at the same time while using media. From another view, users’ contexts require them to consume media unmindfully. In brief, Silverstone’s study shows that watching is not a solitary act, but a very complex activity that is integrated into individuals’ daily practices and discourse (1990: 133).

Drawing on the studies by Silverstone on television and everyday life (1990), Takahashi argues that the relationship between the audience and media use cannot be universally predicted. She takes up the Japanese communication tradition of Joho Kodo and compares it with Western definitions of communication. Paying attention to the differences, she emphasises that Joho Kodo embraces a broader range of communicative behaviour. Furthermore Takahashi argues that audience engagement with media happens in the context of convergence in everyday life. Her theoretical assumptions uphold the importance of recognising ways of doing things (Foucault, 1977; Certeau, 1984; Bourdieu, 1995) and she points out that Joho Kodo aims to examine the complexity of ‘person to person communication and the interaction between people and things (mono) such as computers, faxes, CDs, diaries, and photos’ (Takahashi, 2010, p.25). Her study also emphasizes that Joho Kodo is not limited to activities of consuming media texts but also covers the complexity of media engagement in the context of a variety of daily activities, such as information-seeking, gathering, storing, transmitting and processing behaviour (Takahashi, 2010: 25). Taking up her argument from Joho Kodo, Takahashi strongly suggests that the

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170 A Japanese equivalent of the term ‘communication’ did not exist in Japanese before it was imported from English. The concept of komyuniikeishon (communication) in Japanese is understood as being broader than the Western sense of communication. Joho Kodo includes information behaviour which does not involve communication to a second party, for example, making a photocopy or writing a diary (Takahashi, 2010: 256-26).
relationship between the audience and the media should be understood in a complex integrated context: the gamut of relational context, between media/audience, audience/their own feelings, audience/audience, and audience/surroundings, and how media interweaves in everyday lives must all be taken into consideration.

However, even though Takahashi develops her argument from her understanding of the uses and gratification approach, her contribution fills narrative gaps by taking ways of doing things in everyday life into account, instead of focusing on the solitary relationship between media and individual as a single entity. It is important to note here that Takahashi’s ideas bring awareness of the convergent media world, which according to Abercrombie and Longhurst potentially creates a diffused audience\textsuperscript{171} (1998:68). This diffused audience is fully engaged with media, both as an audience and as performers (1998: 75), and offers the concept of active media users.

Addressing the audience’s engagement with the media, Takahashi’s study brings the active audience up to the present by bringing to light the idea that media practices are not the same everywhere, but are highly contextualised and depend on particular social contexts in every particular social situation.

The coming of the internet underwrites and extends the paradigm shift in understanding audiences described above. The internet initiated an interactive communicative experience in using media through networks. As discussed in Chapter 1, the potential was initiated in the 1960s as an American military project, and enabled computer networks that were interconnected to each other by satellites, wireless, fibre-optic cables and wires (Creeber and Martin, 2008: 14; Flew, 2008: 5-7). However, interactive communication did not become significantly apparent until 1993, when Marc Andreessen developed the hypertext-based web browser. This enabled one web site to link to other web sites, and formed what is known as the World Wide Web (Flew, 2008: 6-12). In the early stage of the World Wide Web development, the internet was predominantly still-image and text-based, rather than

\textsuperscript{171} I would say the diffused audience is a provoking concept in a way people are “so deeply infused into everyday life is performance that we are unaware of it in ourselves or in others” (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998:73) and leads into narcissism (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 75) or having “phantom limb” (Turkle, 2011: 26).
video-image based. In the early 2000s, O'Reilly introduced a new concept of the web, known as Web 2.0 (2005).

The essential difference between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0 is the characteristic of 'content creators'. As far as Web 1.0 is concerned, only people with computing or IT skills could take advantage of Web 1.0 features as content producers (see for example Rheingold, 2000). That is to say the vast majority of Web 1.0 users simply acted as consumers of content. Web 2.0 offers numerous technological aids that permit users with relatively minimal skills to exert technological leverage as content creators. In this regard, everybody can participate in content sharing and creation, which according to some scholars at least, leads to global community building. Furthermore, Web 2.0 recalls Abercrombie and Longhurst's idea of a diffused audience, and opens up the possibilities for users to be producers at the same time (see e.g. Bruns, 2008, Hjorth, 2008). It makes the Internet a space with 'a range of new [...] architectures of participation' (O'Reilly, 2005, Gane and Beer, 2008: 72). This development has prompted scholars to look again at the critical question of the relationship between media and audience, continuing the critical questioning of media-audience relations that has been going on since the 1940s.

However, I would say that blogging is a medium of communication and a historically iconic practice where the concept of the active and passive audience is entirely inappropriate. The practice of blogging includes producing and sharing digital content as well as maintaining/establishing networks. It displaces the concept of passive/active audience with that of user’s engagement. My chapter, therefore, follows scholarly argument which decentres media text from a (passive) audience by focusing on what Indonesian women bloggers do in relation to media across a whole range of situations and contexts. Yet, while I follow Takahashi’s suggestion to study user engagement in a rich media environment, I am fully aware of differences between Japanese culture and Indonesia culture, including geography and ICT infrastructure.
6.2.2 The hybrid nature of a blog: blog’s formal form

Several scholars describe and discuss the notion of ‘blog’ in varying, often conflicting ways (boyd, 2006: para 19; May, 2010: para 2; Puschmann, 2009b: 56). Numerous influential studies of blogs and blogging have focussed on blog content (Blood, 2002; Krishnamurthy, 2002; boyd, 2006). Scholars frequently use the term form to draw attention to the variety of blog content such as ‘diary blog’, ‘political blog’ and ‘educational blog’ (boyd, 2006: para 19; Puschmann, 2011: 2).

In line with this, to understand the basic nature of blogs, Herring et al.’s study points to what they claim as ‘the hybrid nature of blogs’. Observing fast-changing new online media technologies, Herring et al recognize that since 1999 blogging software and technical features (blog forms) has extended over time (2010). They highlight the dynamic establishment of blog form in posts, links, comments, images, presence of a search feature, advertisements, the presence of calendars, archives and badges (Herring et al., 2004b: 4, 5, 7; Herring et al., 2005a). Thus regardless of the assumption that in general a blog can be classified based on its content, Herring et al. identify an emerging rich mix of structural characteristics in outlining the blog form (Herring et al., 2004b: 2, 10; Herring et al., 2005a). To shed some light on their definition of the structural/formal features of blogs, Herring and colleagues suggest that blogs have a flexible hybrid nature such that a blog ‘constitutes a hybrid genre that draws from multiple sources, including other Internet genres (2004b, p. 2; see also Giltrow and Stein, 2009, p. 36). Due to this nature, users can modify a blog’s structural features (henceforth be referred to blog forms) according to their communication needs, and produce a wide range of blog structural formations (Herring, et al: 2004: para 17).

Their description of blog form resembles Puschmann’s characterisation of a blog’s technical presentation that involves posts, reverse chronological entries, title, date, author information, archive, blogroll, comments, use of hyperlinks, use of standard small icons, often functioning as hypertext links, which represent the blogger’s affiliation with a product—such as blogging software—or group of users (Herring, et al., 2004:5)

172 Small icons, often functioning as hypertext links, which represent the blogger’s affiliation with a product—such as blogging software—or group of users (Herring, et al., 2004:5)

173 Similar to Herring et.al, Puschmann categorises ‘blog prototype’ to three different aspects, that is technical aspect, linguistic aspect and contextual aspect (2009, p. 58-59).
blogging software (2009, p. 58).\textsuperscript{174} Giltrow and Stein identify these technical features with devices that promote self-publishing functions (Puschman in Giltrow and Stein, 2009, p. 15). That is, there is an association between ‘blogging software’ and ‘blog form’ that points to the way a blogger can perform particular types of interactions and activities that support their engagement with blogging. A blogger may apply particular blogging applications to set up publicly accessible features of their blog such as columns, banners, badges, links, and images. That is, a blogger’s choices give impact to her blog form. However, several scholars indicate that unfortunately, blog form remains a largely unexplored topic (Giltrow and Stein, 2009; Devitt, 2009). Drawing on the scholarly discussion outlined above, in this chapter I pay attention to women’s blog forms in the Indonesian context.

It is important to note that the discussion of the flexible, hybrid nature of blogs in Herring et al.’s study does not pay attention to users’ engagement with the daily context and overlooks the idea that technical applications do not exist in a vacuum, but are instead mutually interconnected with users’ social and cultural contexts (see Van House, 2004: 18; Zimmer, 2005: 8). To put it differently, regardless the fact that in an ideal manner a blog’s technical features offer unlimited features, modification and combinations, that, however, is not always the case in Indonesian women’s blogs. To pursue this further, I will take up scholarly views that blog structural features are tied to users’ autonomy in authorship, which in turn are anchored in users’ cultural contexts (Rettberg, 2008: 7; Doueihi, 2011: 61). In what follows, I draw on the work of Donald Norman on ‘perceived affordance’ to examine the claim that to some extent the hybrid nature of blogs depends on social contexts and therefore opens up the possibility of limitations (1988; 1999).\textsuperscript{175}

\textsuperscript{174} Puschmann uses the notion of ‘blog prototype’ to describe general characteristics of a blog and categorises it in three different aspect, namely technical aspect, linguistic aspect and contextual aspect (2009, p. 58-59).

\textsuperscript{175} Donald Norman’s work on perceived affordance is a refinement from James Gibson’s theory of affordances (Gibson, 1977). Gibson initiated an approach to interactions between users and objects as actions of possibilities that has to become known as the theory of affordances (1977). In his view, the relationship is independent from human’s experience, knowledge culture and perception. In his view, the relationship is independent from human’s experience, knowledge culture and perception. In 1988 Don Norman extended Gibson’s approach by offering the concept of perceived affordances to the design of everyday artefacts (Norman, 1988).
In 1988 Don Norman extended Gibson’s approach by offering the concept of ‘perceived affordance’ to the design of everyday artefacts (Norman, 1988). According to Norman, an ‘affordance’ is the perceived and actual property which enables particular types of interactions and activities (Norman, 1988; Norman, 1993). In brief, drawing from Norman’s view, blogging software can be categorised as ‘perceived affordance’. That is, blogging software helps a blogger to design their blog’s public face.

Furthermore, expanding Gibson’s idea, Norman offers two important points. First a ‘thing’ is not limited to a physical object, but also applies to technological instruments in virtual environments. Second, the relationship between the human and the properties of the ‘thing’ does not only depend on the human’s ability, but most importantly depends on physical, logical and cultural constraints (Norman, 1999; see also Norman, 1988: 219). Even though Norman’s work is built on the design of everyday things, his fundamental theoretical assumption has been taken up by studies in human and computer interaction, as a strategy to take account of virtual aspects of communication using media (Whittaker, 2003; Gaver, 1991). And therefore, the concept of perceived affordance is valuable in explaining the relationship between the hybrid nature of blogs with anthology practices.

Bear in mind that a blog author has discretion in choosing technical features for their blog according to their communication needs (Doueihi, 2011: 31-34). However, scholars argue that the flexibility of personalised authorship is limited by personal taste and technological contexts (Myers, 2010: 3; Doueihi, 2011: 34; Benkler, 2006). Bandwidth is another issue that limits the flexibility of personalised authorship. Benkler agrees with this, acknowledging that information production within the internet era heavily depends on ‘common infrastructure’ (p. 23). A similar argument comes from Daft and Lengel (1984) who suggest that one of the blind spots in the

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176 Gibson initiated an approach to describe interactions between users and objects as actions of possibilities that has to become known as the theory of affordances (1977). In his view, the relationship is independent from human’s experience, knowledge, culture, and perception.  
177 As opposed to Norman’s opinion in using everyday things, Gibson argues that the possible action in using affordance is independent to the individual’s ability to perceive things (in McGrenere and Ho, 2000). The use of affordance, according to Gibson, does not depend on the culture, prior knowledge or experience and individual’s expectations.
interaction between users and technology applications in Computer Mediated Communication is data transferring, which involves not only bandwidth but also media characteristics (Walther and Parks, 2002). The need for proper bandwidth to transfer certain media in CMC indicates that the hybrid nature of blog features strongly depends on technological infrastructure and that that is also determined by social contexts (Kim, 2003; Galletta and Zhang, 2006). My study will show that Indonesia is a good site to show that the hybrid nature of blogs depends on users’ daily contexts. In other words, the political and geographical context in Indonesia is likely to be expressed in different selections of technological features.

In following sections I will pay attention to blogging applications and blog forms. In particular I will look at Indonesian women bloggers’ choices in blogging applications and their blogs’ forms, focusing on differences between paid hosting blogs with paid domain names, and free hosting blogs. Pursuing it further, I will show despite the fact of cultural diversity across the nation, the internet is a paradoxical phenomenon, especially in Indonesian women’s context. On one side, people are becoming more familiar with the commencement of the internet and believe people are networked. On the other side there is an infrastructure gap between, for instance, urban and rural areas. My study will show that due to this paradox women need to adapt their engagement with blogging.

6.3 Methodology

My study stems from ethnographic research on blogging, including almost four years of participant observation and informal interviews and ten months of formal interviews (October 2009 – February 2010, and July 2012 – November 2012). Most of my interviews during October 2009 – February 2010 took place in face-to-face circumstances in six different areas (Bali, Makassar, Aceh, Jakarta, Jogjakarta and Semarang). I carried out most of my discussion during July 2012 – November 2012 through email and instant messaging. During four years of observation and informal interviews, I have become an online formal member of five blogger communities (Batam Blogger Community, Bali Blogger Community, Aceh Blogger Community, Multimedia such as video, sound and pictures needs ample information transfer whilst numeric data and words allow little information transfer (Nardi, 2005, Ramirez and Burgoon, 2004).
Loenpia Semarang, Anging Mammiri), and a lurker of two blogger communities (Komunitas Blogger Bengawan and Wong Kito).

My primary research subjects in this study are mostly women whose blogs I discussed in Chapter 5. I replace a number of women bloggers from Kayuh Baimbay whose blogs were no longer updated with another woman blogger who just started authoring a blog. I interviewed each for an extended period in a formal, recorded session in a natural setting. Additionally I engaged in hundreds of informal discussions in mostly recorded setting with a diverse range of bloggers including men, women, early adopters and newcomers, founder, administrator, people who blog professionally and those who do so in their free time.

I have been engaged with Indonesian women blogs long before studying them, but I started to apply for membership in blogger communities in September 2009. By being a member, my position as an insider has given me greater access to bloggers and data about blogging. In contrast the fact that my membership application was rejected by a number of blogger communities has restrained me from access to bloggers regardless that I still can access their blogs.

6.4 The form of Indonesian women’s blogs

My study finds that Indonesian women’s blogs do not have a uniform character. Indonesian women’s blogs are reasonably varied across four different islands (Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra, Bali), which reflects users’ discretion in choosing both blogging applications and blog forms. I will show that a number of decisions are made due to the limitation of internet connections in local areas. These observations affirm scholarly arguments that digital authorship relies upon available infrastructure.
There are several characteristic formal features of Indonesian women’s blogs evident in blogs published in Java, Kalimantan, Sumatra, and Bali. They include columns (Doueihi, 2011: 60-61, Rettberg, 2008: 7-10),\textsuperscript{179} badges, images, comments allowed, links, advertisements, search functions, calendar, and guest book (Herring et al., 2004b: 4, 5, 7). However, in my study I found three significant differences in the formal features of blogs across the study area. Key differences include hosting methods, the integration of cross social media platforms, connectivity issues - geographical and political constraints, and blog awards which I understand as a form of declaring intimacy online. I will discuss each of these differences in turn.

6.4.1 Hosting methods and why they matter

The first significant variation within Indonesian women’s blogs is hosting methods. As an illustration, Table 6.1 lists briefly differences between paid blog hosting and free blog hosting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free hosting blogs\textsuperscript{180}</th>
<th>Paid hosting blogs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Limited features\textsuperscript{181}</td>
<td>Unlimited features (depends on the cost)\textsuperscript{184}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited storage</td>
<td>Unlimited storage (depends on the cost)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed domain names\textsuperscript{182}</td>
<td>Unique domain names\textsuperscript{185}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default template\textsuperscript{183}</td>
<td>Flexible, rich template</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{179} It also includes two or more vertical columns, where the posts will sit in the centre column (Rettberg, 2008: 8, Tobias, 2005: para 5) and the side columns (also known as sidebars) sit other features such as author’s profile, blogroll, posts archive, badges, advertisement, a calendar, and an archive of old posts (Papacharissi, 2004, Rettberg, 2008:8, Doueihi, 2011: 60, Herring et al., 2004: 4,5,7).
\textsuperscript{180} According to Topsitesblog.com, there are, at least, five most popular free blog hosting websites, namely Blogger.com, Wordpress.com, Livejournal.com, Blog.com and Tumblr.com.
\textsuperscript{181} Free blog providers that offer free hosting with limited features and storage.
\textsuperscript{182} Typically, blogs under free provision have fixed domains, although users always can create the first part of a URL. For example a URL such as \url{http://ladybugfreak.wordpress.com/} can be recognized as a free blog account under Wordpress.com as the blog’s hosts.
\textsuperscript{183} All free blog providers offer standard built-in applications options, which are known as the default template (Rettberg, 2008: 7-8). By modifying features setting in the default template, users can display favourable structural features. Unfortunately, free blog providers offer limited features or applications. Alternatively, users may take up paid blog hosting.
\textsuperscript{184} Paid blog hosting provides authors with more control over features and storage.
\textsuperscript{185} Typical paid blog hosting provides users with unique domain names. For example from URLs such as \url{http://venus-to-mars.com/} and \url{http://nike.rasyid.net/} we can see that users pay for the hosting of their blogs.
The majority of Indonesian women bloggers from Java choose paid hosting blogs that provide dynamic looking technical presentations. By choosing paid hosting, Indonesian women bloggers are afforded more opportunities to present distinctive layouts compared with those who choose free hosting blogs.

Take Tikabanget (married, 32) a woman blogger from Yogyakarta, for example. She subscribes to a paid hosting blog service, attracted by its unlimited formal features. To her, the limited blog features available from free blog providers are uninteresting, while under a paid hosting she can put together distinctive blog features.

I have decided to have paid hosting blog as free hosting blog only provide me with limited features. Additionally, paid hosting is cool and prestige [sic].’(personal interview with Tikabanget on August 6, 2012)

Figure 6.1 foregrounds Tikabanget’s blog home page showing a dynamic horizontal sliding panel in the centre of the page, which is also known as a continuous carousel. There are three columns under the continuous carousel where she puts the recent posts archive, a list of recent comments and a list of the recent tweets from Tikabanget’s Twitter account.

Figure 6.1 A fashionable web design from Tikabanget’s blog
A woman blogger from Jakarta, Gudangku (37 years old, single), gives similar reasons for paying for hosting for their blog:

I decided to choose a paid hosting blog because I was thinking it was cool and prestige. I thought choosing free hosting blog is too mainstream. Thus, because I am not well-inform according to technical skill in setting a blog, I paid a service from a web designer to modify my blog’s features. I don’t mind to pay for his service as long as my blog present a cool and interesting look (personal interview with Gudangku on August 5, 2012)

Figure 6.2 is a clip from Gudangku’s home page showing a flexible columns setting feature. The upper part of the blog consists of two columns. The bottom part consists of four columns. The most recent post sits in the centre of the two columns section. The sidebar on the right contains a list of four recent posts. The four-column part below contains a list of blog categories. It has three pages, which are the home page (My Place, ‘Rumahnya’), the profile page (About Me, ‘Tentangnya’) and another page (Photo Archive, ‘Gudang Foto’) which links to another blog which focuses on photography.

**Figure 6.2 A web design of Gudangku’s blog with dynamic columns**
‘Prestige’ and ‘having a fashionable blog’ appear to be the main motives for choosing paid hosting blogs. Considering the importance of blogs’ vivid public face, I draw on Papacharissi’s view that web authors use a variety of features to perform themselves (2002: 654). That is, related to her point, presenting a vivid public face is a form of self-promotion for a number of women bloggers who author paid hosting blogs.

Relevant to my argument above is a statement from Neng-Ocha, a woman blogger from Semarang who also works as a web designer. She explains why it is important for a blogger to have a unique domain name:

> Basically it is not about having a vivid blog presentation per se. By paying a domain to get a hosting, you can claim a unique name for your blog. A unique name for a blog acts as branding. That is to say, you make your blog as a brand. People easily remember it because it is unique thus it is exclusively yours. Everybody use wordpress.com, it is too massive. A unique blog name represents yourself as a blogger (personal interview with Neng-Ocha on November 24, 2009).

That is to say, choosing paid hosting blogs is not just a tactical step in assembling an outstanding or attractive blog form. In addition to that, claiming a unique name by paying for a domain apparently helps women gain a prestigious profile in the blogosphere. That is to say, these tactical moves signify not only an effort to achieve exclusivity and integrity but also demonstrate a particular undertaking with the expectation of a worthwhile result from blog forms. CeritaEka, a female blogger from Jakarta (32 years old, married), emphasises the importance of having ‘dotcom’ for her URL:

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186 Dotcom is a terminology that is used among Indonesian bloggers to describe paid hosting blogs’ URLs in general.
Despite its flexible rich features, it is prestige to host your blog yourself. I have paid for having dotcom. That is to say, I do not blog under someone else’s host. Having a dot com blog means web search engine, such Google, can easily index my blog for it has a short URL. For example, 
\url{http://ceritaeka.com/2012/04/17/istana-maimun/} will be far more easily indexed than \url{http://ceritaeka.wordpress.com/2012/04/17/istana-maimun/} which has a longer URL. It is true that web search engines use complex algorithms in indexing a webpage and therefore it is very possible a free hosting blog is more exposed compared with mine. But you should be very famous. Basically, having a paid hosting blog places it one step ahead to be indexed by web search engine because it has a shorter URL.(personal interview with CeritaEka on September 5, 2012)

CeritaEka’s statement broadens Papacharissi’s (2002) view that interactivity and vividness of a homepage render a favourable outcome in attracting visitors in limited sense. More importantly in Indonesian women’s case, paying for hosting as an effort to apply particular blogging software to obtain a certain public face illustrates an investment in blogging by getting a better chance of being indexed by search engines. CeritaEka admits that getting easily indexed by web search engine opens up opportunities for her: ‘agents asked me to visit their events and to write a review on my blog. So far two organisations asked me to become a speaker to motivate people to blog’ (personal interview with CeritaEka, September 8, 2012). In line with CeritaEka, a woman blogger from Jakarta, Venus-to-Mars, highlights her rational motive in authoring a paid hosting blog:

‘Having paid hosting blog shows my real intention to do blogging. In fact, everyone acknowledges, that blogging is a great power. At least, for me personally, it became the beginning of all the accomplishments I achieved today. New knowledge, new jobs, new science, and almost every good thing I am having now are coming from blogging (personal interview with Venus-to-Mars on September 4, 2012)
Venus-to-Mars and CeritaEka’s illustrations remind us that in the context of Indonesian women who have paid hosting blogs, ‘a cool and prestigious looking blog’ does not relate to a blog’s stylish appearance in a limited sense. Instead, it reflects women’s compulsion to engage deeply with blogging by getting particular advantages from it. In my study I discovered that for bloggers who choose paid bloghosting, engaging with blogging is not limited to writing posts and establishing online networking. Their engagement with blogging covers various activities such as expanding their social network, joining blogging contests, writing product event reports, and becoming a spokesperson for a particular product. To some extent, it confirms Papacharissi’s conclusion in her study that blogs’ features can be understood as an authors’ personal marker to attract visitors (Papacharissi, 2002). To put it in other words, paid hosting blogs provide a unique domain name as a personal brand (a mark indicating identity) that become an important feature that gives a quality of being prominent via a web search engine. It follows, therefore, that Indonesian women bloggers’ decision to have unique URLs reflects their awareness that paying a domain is important to make their blog noticeable by web search engines, which in turn have important role in widening opportunities for users to obtain advantages from their engagement with blogging.

Take for example NonaDita, a famous single woman blogger from Bogor. With respect to her popularity, she emphasises blogging has given her advantages through knowledge sharing:

Sharing knowledge is my passion. I don’t want to make my blog as a cash machine. Being a teacher and to teach other people through blogging, for me, is also a passion (personal interview with Nona Dita on November 6, 2012)
In 2008 NonaDita won the ‘I Love Mobile Blogging’ blog contest, and started to take blogging seriously afterwards. Therefore, in her case, taking advantage from ‘blogging for profit’ does not relate automatically to ‘making money’ as another woman blogger from Kalimantan (Borneo) emphasises:

The majority of my female friends have a pessimistic opinion about blogging, that they cannot earn money from this activity – which to me reflects their narrow mindedness about blogging. Blogging offers us more advantages than money (private interview with Honeylizious on March 19, 2012).

NonaDita and Venus-to-Mars are not the only women bloggers who choose paid hosting blogs and seek advantages from their blogs’ technical presentations. NonaDita and others pay for supporting services and software to give a special look and ease of accessing their blogs. JurnalnyaNike, a woman blogger from Palembang, also chose a paid hosting blog:

I am aware that blogging and being a blogger is an option. I choose to be a blogger. What did I get from blogging? I get many things such as friends, boyfriends, bestfriends, family, skill, gadgets, and money (from ‘Selamat Hari Blogger Nasional, http://nike.rasyid.net/2011/10/selamat-hari-blogger.html, retrieved November, 26 2011)

However, personal investment in blogging is not always the issue in choosing to pay for blog hosting services. Another advantage in authoring paid hosting blogs is security. Sofyan, a web designer explained to me

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187 Dita went blog writing competitions and won many awards that involved trainings and workshops inside and outside Indonesia. Take one example when she won Microsoft Bloggership Award in 2008, which was aimed to provide opportunities for young Indonesian bloggers to broaden experience, knowledge, and improve their ability in responding social issues within communities in Indonesia. In 2010 she won the category of the best Indonesian blog and therefore received The BOBs award from Deutsche Welle. In July 2010, she had the opportunity to join the program International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) in the United States and learned about applications in new media in the U.S.
Having free hosting blogs means you have no control whatsoever regarding what happens with your blog, especially its content. Since you don’t own the server that your blog is hosted on, there is always the possibility that it could be deleted or could be also corrupted without any explanation at all. There is really no way to back up your full blog with free web hosts either. If something happens where all your content is deleted, there’s a good chance you’ll never get it back. Paid hosting provides users with back up (personal interview, January 19, 2009).

However, in contrast to the majority of women bloggers from Java who prefer to choose paid hosting, my study finds a different view among the majority of women bloggers from other islands and places such as Aceh, Kalimantan and Palembang. These women have different approaches and values about blogging (and blog forms). That is, instead of valuing the slick appearance and form of their blogs, they prefer to author a blog with a more standard public face. Instead, they author free hosting blogs that provide standard static features. A free hosting blog is characterised by static columns. The bigger column displays the posts, starting from the most recent post on the top of the column. The smaller column consists of a blogroll (some bloggers split the list of women friends’ blogs from men friends’ blogs), a calendar, a lists of old posts, a list of recent comments, a list of the most visited posts, a list of post categories, a shout box, a box of the blog’s followers (most display followers’ avatars), cross platform media follower buttons, a list of recent tweets, a visitor statistics count box, a box of visitor live reports, tickers, and badges.

While the majority of women bloggers from Java choose particular blogging software to obtain certain blog forms as an indication of their investment in blogs, in my study women bloggers from outer Java have different views. With FindingNova, for example, it is important to keep her free hosting blog as she joins blogspot.com community, a community where all members are users of free blog hosting blogspot.com.
I am still happy with my free hosting blog. I join a community of blogspot.com users. We all have free hosting blogs under blogspot.com. If I authored a paid hosting blog, what would be my community? Could it be a community of paid hosting blogs? Hahahaha that is not funny. Maybe, someday I would try it, having a paid hosting blog. Not sure (personal interview with FindingNova on August, 5 2012).

In this case, FindingNova’s choice to maintain a free hosting blog strongly relates to Paparachissi’s view that user’ choices of blogging applications and blog forms are part of users’ performance of themselves. In this case, FindingNova’s choice is part of her performance as a member of a particular community.

Another woman blogger from Aceh, IhanSunrise, utters another reason, which relates to the fact that blogging is personalized authorship and technical features are options:

I dislike complicated features. I prefer clean and simple features for my blog that give a ‘tidy’ impression for my visitors. I was thinking to buy a hosting for my blog. But what is the point since I do not need complex features for my blog (personal interview with IhanSunrise on December 5, 2009)

A woman blogger from Palembang, ItikKecil, who has a free hosting blog gives another consideration that refers to her blog’s ‘safety’ rather than appearance:

Actually, I already bought a domain – my own blog itikkecil.com. But I have not yet had time to move [the content] there. The main reason is, to me, moving out is always hassle. To modify a blog’s technical features and appearance is tiring, and I am not well-informed in term of blogging applications. Additionally, I do not have an urgent reason to move to my blog’s contents in Wordpress.com to the new hosting. I think it is still safe to keep my blog in Wordpress. Perhaps, when I feel Wordpress in unsafe and ask too much attention, I will move to my new domain (personal interview with ItikKecil on August 5, 2012)
Needless to say, sometimes external factors are most important, and the privileges offered by unique URLs are not a significant issue. As has been mentioned by Honeylizious, a woman blogger from Kalimantan:

Provincial wireless connection is intolerably bad. How could we expect to author a full featured blog? (personal interview on March 20, 2012)

Honeylizious confirms that for some Indonesian women bloggers paid hosting is not an option as it would not work. Her view reflects infrastructure, not values about relationships and communication. Additionally, it is evidence that Papacharissi’s view that interactivity and vividness of a homepage render a favourable outcome in attracting visitors (2002) is not always automatically the case, since the compatibility of connections between users becomes an issue. Relevant here too is Hjorth’s question in her paper “Being mobile: in between the real and the reel”. Hjorth asks ‘But beyond the hype of industry rhetoric and users being ‘prosumers’ (consumers plus producers) what is the reality for users?’ (2006, abstract). That is in the Indonesian case, interactivity is simultaneously oriented around bandwidth, availability and connectivity (Goggin, 2008).

Therefore it follows that selected blog features are consequences of privilege and limitations. As I illustrate above, the majority of women bloggers from Java obtain a magazine look for their blog by paying a hosting. But, at the same time they still have a concern about the ‘connection gap’ between regions. That is they are aware enough to make their blog’s public face easily accessed by visitors from other places with poor connections. This relates to my critique for Paparachissi (2002) and Herring (2004b) that only see in creating a blog, with the advanced of blogging software, they can set a public face as vivid as they want. I prefer to take up Hjorth (2006) and Goggin (2008) who argue it all comes back to users’ reality – in my case, in term of connections and infrastructure. That is to say, there are several external factors that limit Indonesian women bloggers from taking advantage of the hybrid nature of blogs. In this case they have limited options to modify blogs’ features.
6.4.2 Replacing blogroll: cross social media platforms integration

I have noted in Chapter Four that blogs emerged as an innovative media for sharing information, and that early scholars on blogging focused on links and contents. In the early era of blogging, besides indicating social acknowledgement, links were the only sign of connectivity between bloggers (Blood, 2000; Blood, 2004b). A link is a tool for bloggers which enables them find other authors with similar interests (Marlow, 2004b, p. 3; Blood, 2004b, para 4-5). However, in the late 1990s, two companies, www.blogger.com and www.pitas.com introduced new blogging software namely ‘comment’ and ‘blogroll’. According to Blood, the innovations of comment and blogroll functions introduced higher interactivity compared with the previous blog form of links.

It illustrates that the early blog’s affordances offered authors only limited functions in sharing information through publishing blog’s contents and links. During that time, blog forms allowed users a limited range of interactions - namely reading, following and reposting the links. My content analysis in Chapter 5 illustratesthat blogging software allowed authors to ‘invite’ readers to participate in publishing and adding to blog content through the comment feature, blogroll, pingback, trackback, and social media cross platforms buttons. In brief, the more recent blogging software helped users to set up blog forms that signify interactivity and openness to sharing.

For this reason, scholars agree that the innovation in blogging software epitomises a highly interactive platform or space of interaction (Adamic and Glance, 2005 cited in Weltevrede and Helmond, 2012: para 3; Koop and Jansen, 2009: 158; Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007).

However, with the commencement of the more recent blogging software, I find blogrolls are not popular anymore for women bloggers from Java:

Blogroll is so last decade, hihi.. Years ago, when I started doing blogging, everyone put a blogroll on their sidebar. Now, I rarely see blogrolls on my friends’ side bar. In fact, most good blogs will be published in reader like Google Reader (personal interview with Venus-to-Mars on September 4, 2012)
In her blog, Venus-to-Mars replaced the blogroll feature with the Google Reader feature. *Google Reader* is a web application technology to streamline subscribed blog contents and aggregate them into one specific location so blog subscribers can consume updated information when they are ready. Scholars have argued that a blogroll is a feature which displays the favoured links of an author, placed on the sidebars side on their blog. But updates are not automatically available for the author. Instead authors must constantly manually check updates. In contrast, the new feature, Google Reader, provides an automatic update for an author’s favorable links.

In addition to the fact that a blogroll is considered old fashioned, another thing that reduces the popularity of the blogroll function is social constraints that affect a blogger’s freedom in managing the form of her blog. With respect to the social nature of the blogroll that requests reciprocity, some bloggers fail to notice the fact that every blog has different qualities. As some bloggers place favoured blogs in their links, there is a degree of expectancy that the link will be reciprocated.

To put everybody’s blog ruin my blog appearance, it would be a long list. I think I would receive complaints if I made it shorter because they would not find their blogs on my blogroll. I know it and it would irritate me (personal interview with CeritaEka on September 5, 2012)

Indeed, some women bloggers see the option to activate blogroll features as a distressing responsibility:

It happened before; several friends put my blog’s URL on their blogroll because they liked my blog. Then they demanded me to do the same regardless of the fact that I did not like their blog. So to me this is a practical solution to avoid a conflict. I do not need a blogroll (personal interview with TikaBanget on August 6, 2012)

Like TikaBanget and Venus-to-Mars, CeritaEka decided to replace her ‘blogroll’ function with other blog forms. The more recent blogging software offers various forms that cover the blogroll’s function with more advanced additional functions.
Blog forms such as social media platforms buttons, RSS button, and Google Reader not only reflect authors’ awareness of being producers and of being networked (Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007: para 16; Marlow, 2004b: 3), but moreover they illustrate Norman’s concept of perceived affordances (1988; 1998). These women bloggers express their discretion over technical options by replacing the blogroll function with other possible forms to obtain their goal. Thus for them a blogroll represents networks of readership rather than community building. We may conclude, then, that a blogroll does no longer necessarily encourage social bonds, and that blogrolls are not identical with intimate relationships (Efimova, 2005: para 27; Efimova and de Moor, 2005a: para 12). Indeed, for Adamic and Ali-Hasan, a blogroll is more a matter of ‘idolatry’ of A-List bloggers, and points to uneven power relationships within the Indonesian blogosphere.

Another reason to de-activate the blogroll feature is the internet connection issue. CeritaEka, a woman blogger from Jakarta, takes care to make sure that formal features of her blog facilitate smooth communication. She deactivated her blogroll out of concern for disadvantaging her readers, especially those who do not have a similar connection quality:

> By activating blogroll, it means you display links on your blog. That causes slow loading for your homepage. Potential readers usually get frustrated and probably will close my blog (personal interview with CeritaEka on September 2012).

Given these points, some women bloggers prefer to activate other features which redirect blogs to other social media platforms to strengthen and develop connectivity. The most common way of moving away from blogroll problems is to provide links to Twitter and Facebook. Both are cross platform social media features.

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188 Around 2008, blogging software offers several technical features to link a blog to other social media. There are tools in forms of ‘buttons’ that can be activated on blog, therefore a blog’s readers can ‘reblog’, display or ‘re-tweet’ a post into twitter/facebook/blog accounts. A blog author also can activate a technical feature that automatically will publish a recent post into her/his twitter/facebook accounts. Another innovative feature is to activate a live feed of author’s tweeter line on her/his blog. This feature automatically re-directs most recent blog postings to reading list.

189 Considering the previous interview, the notion if connectivity doesn’t necessarily cause social bonds
Authors’ home pages typically display sharing buttons to Twitter and Facebook accounts, Facebook’s ‘like’ button, Twitter and Facebook ‘follower’ buttons, and Twitter’s real time news feed. Users’ interest in applying these social media platforms feature does not only clarify the notion of the hybrid nature of blogs, it also signifies women bloggers’ practical control over their connectivity. This practical control involves how they keep establishing relationships without losing their integrity in blogging, and in creating favourable conditions for readers. Thus in brief these women bloggers take advantage of the hybrid nature of blogs to establish their engagement with blogging. This engagement with blogging includes women’s efforts in making themselves visible online, and thus we can emphasise that blogging does not just involve writing, reading and commenting in a limited sense. Indeed, blogging opens up the potential for all sorts of social connections online:

My Twitter and Facebook buttons signify my presence in online world, in a sense; they will tell my readers, that they can ‘meet’ me and my writings on my blog. But, I also have Facebook and Twitter accounts. You can interact with me on Twitter and Facebook. You also can chat with me there. Why I told you it signifies my existence? I know my friends are there, then so I will be. Therefore when they discuss an interesting topic, then there I will be – and perhaps I would join the conversation and discussion. I call that my state of being present. I hope I am not wrong haha (personal interview with TikaBanget on August 5, 2012)

My interview with TikaBanget illustrates that innovations in web authoring tools such as social media platform buttons play an important role in Indonesian women’s blogging. Besides authoring a blog, it also enables women ‘to access, publish and propagate issues, opinions and experiences from their own perspectives’ (Radloff, 2005, p. 85). By activating Twitter and Facebook buttons on their blogs, Indonesian women’s blogs from the island of Java demonstrate complex interconnections using

190 Sharing buttons to Twitter and Facebook features allow visitors to share a blog post onto their Twitter and Facebook account. Facebook’s like button feature allow visitors to ‘click’ Facebook’s like button and therefore a live report will redirect to their Facebook account, reporting visitors like a certain blog post. Facebook and Twitter follower buttons invite visitor to add a blog author as Twitter and Facebook friends. Twitter’s real time news automatically redirects Twitter updates on blog.
cross platforms tools. That is to say what happens in Twitter and Facebook often inspires blog posts, written into more detailed opinions, discussions or jokes. Blog posts may also be redirected into Facebook and Twitter accounts, which sometimes leads into another discussion in Twitter and Facebook. Friends retweet blog posts on Twitter and repost or share it on Facebook. Authors write a post, including links to friends’ Twitter and/or Facebook accounts, showing a close and intimate relationship. From News feeds on Twitter, authors write a discussion and initiate social campaigns or social movements; inviting unknown people on Twitter and Facebook to join them. Taking this point further, interaction in ‘cross platform’ media means ‘being visible’ in public. That is to say, applying these technical features on their blogs not only strengthens users’ engagement with blogging, but it also fortifies their connectivity in the online sphere, thus strengthening the involvement with social networking that they have initiated in blogging. We might say then, that a number of technical features in blogging foster a wider social network:

I do not activate the Facebook and Twitter buttons. I just activate the tweetmeme button; to show how many times people tweet and retweet an entry in my blog. Some friends put their link Twitter and Facebook. Perhaps it allows the reader to connect with other social media accounts (personal interview with Venus-to-Mars on September 5, 2012).

As far as Indonesian women bloggers from Java are concerned, the recent technical web authoring tools such as social media cross platforms buttons pasted on their

191 Noting the popularity of Twitter and Facebook features in Javanese women’s blogs, it is important to take into account that even with the poor internet infrastructure and the low number of internet subscribers as discussed above, Indonesian Facebook users (men and women) are the third most numerous users in the world after United State and India with total number of users 43,060,360 (Yung-Hui, 2012: para 2). In addition to Facebook, in 2011 Indonesia is home to the sixth largest number of Twitter users worldwide (JakartaGlobe, April, 10 2012). The highest Twitter traffics come from big cities in Indonesia, majority in the Island of Java such as Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Semarang (Lim, 2011: 7). 87% Tweets in Indonesia are sent from mobile phones (Kemp, 2011). Unfortunately low-cost feature mobile phones only can access social networking major such as Facebook and Twitter (Aulakh, 2011). Indonesia’s telecommunication companies, for example, offer a package of SMS and unlimited access to certain social media, mainly Facebook and Twitter (BMI, 2012). Regardless of the higher number of Twitter and Facebook users, 87% Tweets in Indonesia are sent from mobile phone (Kemp, 2011) and 90% Indonesia’s Facebook user access the web from mobile telephone (Nielsen Research, 2011)
home pages are more significant ways to increase readership and to develop social bonds than the blogroll feature, that is claimed by scholars serve a function to establish online community (Blood, December 2004). The new tools help Indonesian women bloggers from Java build their state of being ‘present’, by ‘being public’ and if it is possible, ‘to be popular’.

6.4.3 Connectivity issues: geographical and political constraints

I have illustrated in previous discussion that women bloggers from Java are able to harness the advanced features of their blogs to create maximum social connectivity, while for the majority of women bloggers from other islands, in contrast, the quality of internet connection remains a major concern. As I have noted in Table 5.1 the majority of bloggers from outside Java author free hosting blogs with limited storage and features.

My blog is very simple. I learnt how to blog only recently. But I can’t learn complex things yet since I don’t have internet connection and in average internet connection in Pidie is not good. Oh, but I have already signed up for internet connection with Speedy provider. They will install next week (personal interview with SitiAgustin on December 4, 2009)

In other words, both rich data transfer and access to blogs need a well-established internet connection, and infrastructure plays an important role. As the largest archipelagic country in the world,\textsuperscript{192} with the third largest population in the world,\textsuperscript{193} to cover the nation with cable connection network infrastructure is very expensive.

\textsuperscript{192} Indonesia extends 3,977 miles and has 17,508 islands across a land area of 1.9 million km\textsuperscript{2} and a sea area of 7.9 million km\textsuperscript{2}. The five biggest islands are Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Irian Jaya (New Guinea)

\textsuperscript{193} Indonesia’s total population in 2011 was 237,641,326 people (BPS, 2011) with 36\% internet penetration and 2\% PC penetration (International, 2012a: 20)
Thus only Bali and Java have extensive cable connection networks. Even so, this cable connection is not distributed evenly across Bali and Java (House, 2011). In addition to that, the cable connection cost is very expensive.\textsuperscript{194}

In Chapter 1 I illustrated the dial up internet connection monopoly using fixed land line connection provided by PT Telkom. This type of connection is the prevailing internet connection for rural/remote sites or small cities. Regardless of its long term domination, PT Telkom, as a public telecommunication corporation still cannot deliver a fixed land line communication network to people across the nation. In fact, in 2010 there were only 15.8 telephone lines per 100 people (BMI, 2012). Like many others in provincial areas, Siti only subscribed to Speedy – an internet connection product from PT TELKOM, as her internet provider works by dial up connection and does not even guarantee a consistent connection. I was accompanied by another blogger from Aceh to interview Siti. He responded to her comment about Speedy by laughing and said: ‘Hahaha it does not mean you will happy. Speedy sucks. Sometimes it goes damn slow, another time just turned off automatically without notice’ (personal interview with Maimoon on December 5, 2002).

Given that illustration, here I draw attention to the fact that even those who have fixed land line telephone connections face problems with bandwidth and the high price of dial up internet connection.\textsuperscript{195} By the same token, internet users with no fixed dial up connection are also struggling with mobile network connections that offer quality as bad as fixed dial up connection:

\begin{itemize}
\item A private unlimited broadband internet connection currently cost 550,000 - 1,000,000 Indonesia rupiah (55 AUD – 100 AUD) per month (Hadi, 2011: para 5-6) and is limited to in the Island of Java’s big cities only (House, 2011). For a price list of limited broadband internet connections please visit http://m4zakiy.blogspot.com.au/2012/03/perbandingan-tarif-paket-internet.html. To put this in perspective, the average monthly per capita income among the poorest segments of the population is 200,000 Indonesia rupiah (20 AUD) (BPS cited in House, 2011) and in Jakarta the minimum wage for workers is about 1.1million Indonesia rupiah (around 110 AUD) per month (Kompas cited in House, 2011).
\item For the maximum speed of 56Kbps, post paid dial-up Telkom connection costs 165 Indonesia rupiah per minute (House, 2011) and of pre-paid dial-up Telkom connection costs 300 Indonesia rupiah per minute (Telkom, 2009:12). The total estimation for post paid unlimited internet use per month is 7,128,000 to 12,960,000 Indonesia rupiah (712.8 to 1,296 AUD). With a speed of 56Kbps, the process of uploading and downloading big amount of data will be time consuming and therefore quite expensive, or even useless in the case of a failed connection.
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{194} A private unlimited broadband internet connection currently cost 550,000 - 1,000,000 Indonesia rupiah (55 AUD – 100 AUD) per month (Hadi, 2011: para 5-6) and is limited to in the Island of Java’s big cities only (House, 2011). For a price list of limited broadband internet connections please visit http://m4zakiy.blogspot.com.au/2012/03/perbandingan-tarif-paket-internet.html. To put this in perspective, the average monthly per capita income among the poorest segments of the population is 200,000 Indonesia rupiah (20 AUD) (BPS cited in House, 2011) and in Jakarta the minimum wage for workers is about 1.1million Indonesia rupiah (around 110 AUD) per month (Kompas cited in House, 2011).

\textsuperscript{195} For the maximum speed of 56Kbps, post paid dial-up Telkom connection costs 165 Indonesia rupiah per minute (House, 2011) and of pre-paid dial-up Telkom connection costs 300 Indonesia rupiah per minute (Telkom, 2009:12). The total estimation for post paid unlimited internet use per month is 7,128,000 to 12,960,000 Indonesia rupiah (712.8 to 1,296 AUD). With a speed of 56Kbps, the process of uploading and downloading big amount of data will be time consuming and therefore quite expensive, or even useless in the case of a failed connection.
Not to mention that many rural areas are untouched by internet connections. How could one wish for the internet connection, in fact many areas still are not covered by mobile network operators. We must build antenna just to get a mobile signal. Provincial wireless connection is intolerably bad. How could we expect to author a full featured blog? (personal interview with Honeylizious on March 20, 2012) 

The Government is considering several solutions to remedy Internet connection problems across Indonesia, such as wireless connections and Internet cafe’s. Unfortunately, both solutions are facing problems owing to Indonesia’s new decentralization policy based on laws no. 22/1999 and no. 25/1999.196 Under these laws the Government handed over a number of domestic affairs to the local authorities. With respect to telecommunication regulations, several provincial governments involve network providers, service providers, and telecommunication network companies (Purwati, 2000: para 7-8). Local governments see in the telecommunications business an opportunity to increase income by levying additional taxes and user charges. On account of these regulations private communication companies cannot develop a local wireless Internet infrastructure, which is why people in rural areas are often deprived of sufficiently cheap Internet connections.

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196 Indonesian government under former President Habibie introduced a radical idea of a decentralisation system that gives local government in Indonesia the autonomy (Aspinall, 2003: 3-4). Indonesia started to implement decentralisation system law in January 2001. After a long centralized dominated system under Suharto’s regime, the national guidelines for the implementation has been uncleared, especially in telecommunication regulations. Related to the law No. 22/1999 Indonesia government does not give local governments a full authority to organize local telecommunication infrastructure (Purwati, 2000: para 6). To this respect, national’s telecommunication regulation must follow international conventions, which implementations cover nationwide. However, under the telecommunication regulation No. 36/1999 Indonesian government abolishes monopolistic practices in telecommunication.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Regulations</th>
<th>Laws</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buleleng, Bali</td>
<td>Retribution fee/month/BTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DKI Jakarta</td>
<td>Retribution fee/month/BTS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pontianak and East Java</td>
<td>BTS development limitation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Retribution fee</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Building permit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deli Serdang and Purbalingga</td>
<td>Recommendation for (radio) frequency licence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denpasar, Bali</td>
<td>Local authority fee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Denpasar, Bali</td>
<td>Local authority fee</td>
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Source: Indonesian Association Cellular Telecommunication, 2005

Table 6.2 illustrates that a number of local governments in Indonesia such as Buleleng (Bali), DKI Jakarta, Pontianak and East Java apply monthly retribution fees for each Base Trans Station (BTS). Local governments in Pontianak and East Java also require private communication companies to provide BTS building permits, regardless of the fact that they also limit BTS development in their areas. Local governments in Deli, Serdang and Purbalingga ask reference letters of frequency license from private communication companies. Only one local government, Denpasar Bali, requires a local authority fee. To a certain degree, the non-standardized high cost of telecommunication fees discourage private communication companies to develop wireless internet infrastructure in local areas and leave Indonesian people in rural areas isolated from sufficient cheap internet connections.

The rent-seeking activities of local authorities contribute to a digital divide in the outer provinces of Indonesia. The digital divide and cramping of entrepreneurial activities by local service providers together affect the form of women’s blogs, and as we shall see in the next chapter, their blogging practices.

### 6.4.4 Blog awards: declaring intimacy online

In examining the formal features of Indonesian women’s blogs, I found women bloggers from Aceh nurture their social bonds with visitors by bestowing awards. These awards take the form of badges or images and are a distinctive formal feature.

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197 Based on Indonesia's Telecommunications Act number 36 of 1999 telecommunications network providers are required to be licensed to own and/or operate a telecommunications network (Telkom, 2009, p. 43)
of blogs in Aceh. Bloggers present an award to other bloggers by creating a post, and let readers know the reason for giving away an award.

The idea of blog awards adds to other blog forms such as links and comments. We might say that they potentially strengthen relationships by publicly showing relationships and intimacy. In my study, I found women bloggers from Aceh harness their social bonds with visitors by bestowing awards. Bloggers present an award to other bloggers by creating a post, informing others of the reason for presenting an award. That is, the award given in blogging is a public, mutual activity, Bloggers nominate other bloggers to receive awards and announce them in their blog posts. (see Figure 6.3).

Blog Awards are constructed in a way that requires authors to articulate relationships or friendships with other blog authors.

I do not know who started the idea of blog’s award. But to respect people who gave awards to me, there is an unwritten rule in blogging that you have to follow up their requests. It can be questions you have to answer and then publish them in a post. It can be a request to pass the award to your favourite bloggers. Things like that (personal interview with Neng Riza on December 4, 2009).
Despite scholarly arguments that formal features of blogs such as links and comments illustrate a conversational form in a blog, my findings show that blog awards also illustrate similar functions in the way they include conversational blog form wrapped in answering requests from award givers. Awards do not only sustain readership, blog awards also grow the circle of friends in the blogosphere. Therefore, even though awards basically reflect recognition use links, they play a great role as a tool to hold conversations on blog that ‘without links and trackbacks posts across weblogs lose their ‘physical’ connection even when they are connected to each other logically’ (Efimova and de Moor, 2005a: para 65). The interconnection between cross media platforms, blogrolls and conversation points out the importance of conversation practices on blogs which I will discuss in the next chapter.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter takes up Herring et al.’s idea of the theoretical discussion of the hybrid nature of blogs. Herring et al. assert that shaped by multimodal elements, blogs offer a wide range of technical features that meet the communicative needs of users (Herring, et al: 2004: para 17). However, regardless of this hybrid nature, blog technical features are not limitless, but instead depend on authors’ context and even values (Norman, 1988). In my study, it is evident that women bloggers across seven different communities present different public faces. The majority of Indonesian women bloggers in Java in my sample, for example, choose to author ‘magazine look’ blogs, and thus pay for blog hosting. In contrast, the majority of women bloggers from other regions set basic features to create blogs’ public faces, and thus use free blog hosting.

My study shows that these distinctions are mostly not influenced by economic factors. Instead, due to the lack of the internet infrastructure, presenting blogs’ public face is complicated by the quality of the internet connection. This indicates that a blog's technical features are anchored contextually. However, despite my intention to see differences between regions across the nation, my study finds striking differences between Indonesian women’s blogs from Java and outer Java, in presenting their blogs’ public face that can be obviously noticed from types of hosting and women’s choice of technical features.
Indonesian women’s blogs forms from Java indicate ‘I blog therefore I am’ by employing blogging software to a particular undertaking with certain expectations of their engagement in blogging. That is, blog forms of Indonesian women’s blogs in Java illustrate their choices of actual technical options in order to gain possibilities from various activities relating to blogging practices. These choices do not always reflect choices that take the best possible advantage of the hybrid nature of blogs. Instead, aware of the infrastructure gap in Indonesia, these women show a quality of choosing blog forms to invite readers’ participation. In this regard, this evidence lays emphasis on a relationship between authority and engagement, that focus on women’s choice of blog form to change roles between readers and authors (Doueihi, 2011). This evidence also puts stress on women’s decisions in choosing blog forms to open up both authors and readers’ opportunities to produce and to consume. These women choose a public face of their blog and make it a suitable place for interactions.

However, these choices are supported by well-established infrastructure, which does not fit with other women’s reality. In contrast with Indonesian women from Java, women from outer Java express ‘an old school’ approach, in the way blog forms are utilized to embrace intimacy in friendship. Distanced from large metropolitan centres and services, they are not only disadvantaged by inadequate infrastructure but also miss out on many potential activities invested in blogging.

My study in Indonesian women’s blogs from different regional communities shows strong engagement between Indonesian women, media and daily context. Taking up Couldry’s idea that media uses are anchored in cultural practices (Couldry, 2004b), my research shows that applying universal assumptions about technology is likely to lead one astray in the case of Indonesian women’s blog form – and practices as we will see in detail in the following chapter. In my research, Indonesia’s political and geographical circumstances shape the form of Indonesian women’s blogs. These forms are tied to Indonesia’s economy, geography and policies.
7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I examined an extended notion of blog form and stressed that the public face of women’s blogs was related to their choices, interests and values, the affordances available and the varying technical infrastructure established across the archipelago. I argued that the rich, hybrid form of their blogs was associated with Indonesian women bloggers’ geographical situation and their social context. In brief, my study of Indonesian women’s blogs directed attention to Indonesian women’s agency as ‘produsers’ in setting up their blogs in ways that were influenced by local internet infrastructure as well as their daily life and culture, and suited their skills, financial position and discretion in shaping the technical features of their blogs.

My discussion in this chapter is a continuation of the previous chapter. Here I build on the idea of users’ engagement with media, and set aside simplistic ideas of media relations in terms of producers doing things to audiences, and audiences as active or passive consumers. The emphasis on media not as texts or structures of production for consumption, but practices, foregrounds the way media, in this case blogging, is complexly integrated with a variety of media, cultural and social activities and practices. My content analysis in Chapter 5 shows that the majority of Indonesian women blogs’ draw on women’s daily context. Indonesian women’s blogging practices resonate with their daily lives as women. Based on an ethnographic study of Indonesian women bloggers, I look carefully at how Indonesian women build their blogging practices through engagement with media in their daily culture.

This chapter has three sections. In the first section I lay out my theoretical arguments. I outline the notion of the extended audience (Couldry, 2005) that argues that advanced technology and the changes in social/spatial media shifts the experience of being media users. The advances of technology, including blogging software and the internet have shaped users’ engagement with blogging in daily culture (Takahashi, 2010), where private media consumption is always already a

198 My findings support Lim’s preliminary findings majority of Indonesian women bloggers tend to tell personal stories, which relate to women’s related issues (Lyons, 2007).
199 My research subjects are Indonesian women blogger that are mapped by IssueCrawler (see chapter four).
form of public connection through complex social interactions and is affected by a range of interrelated factors (Couldry and Inés Langer, 2005). I also will outline how this public connection moves women bloggers to a wider participation in society and communities.

The second section is a discussion of how Indonesian women’s engagement with blogs grows out of personal media use to conversations, discussions, and even friendships online and beyond. To put it another way, Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging demonstrates a notion of the diffused audience, when blogging places women in a continuous line, both as audience and performers (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). It brings together many other events and relationships in their life. To that end, I will look at the role of Web 2.0 in the development of the repertoires of Indonesian women’s blogging practices in everyday life. Therefore I will consider the blog’s one-to-many communication form and broaden Takahashi’s views of ‘information behaviour’ in the whole spectrum of media users’ context (Couldry, 2005). Referring to this, I will demonstrate that blogging as a practice by Indonesian women begins as personal publishing (Herring et al., 2007; Pedersen, 2010), but then leadswomen to public participation (see e.g. O'Reilly, 2005; Coates, 2003; Goossen, 2008).

Finally, in the last section, I conclude my study with an argument that Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging takes place in lively collaborations, bound by their daily media consumption and public connections informed by complexities of daily cultures.

7.2 **Theoretical perspective: blog as practice**

Herring et al. (2010) offer a valuable insight into the hybrid nature of blogs, emphasising that authors have options and various blog forms open to them according to the unlimited affordances blogging software provides them. This insight opens up the idea of unlimited freedom for flexible personalized authorship. However, their discussion of the hybrid nature of blog decentres users from their daily context. Although neither Couldry (2004) nor Takahashi (2010) discuss blogging, drawing on their work we might say that the hybrid nature of blogs is not a
feature of the blog form as such, but an outcome of users’ complex engagement with blogging in everyday culture.

Another relevant point from Takahashi for this study is that she conceives of users’ engagement with media by taking a close look at how users gratify their needs by using a convergence of various digital media to establish and maintain personal communication and to construct their identity. In the case of the expanded sense of communication signified in the Japanese expression ‘Joho Kodo,’ interaction between people and media covers a variety of communicative behaviours, ranging from “information seeking, gathering, storing, transmitting and processing” (Takahashi, 2010: 25).

However, though Takahashi’s insights are valuable, they are limited in that they do not fully cover the range of Indonesian women’s engagement with new media. A useful supplementary concept is that of the diffused audience, as outlined by Abercrombie and Longhurst’s study (1998: 73). Within this notion, they suggest audience and performer sit in a continuous line. Under these circumstances everybody is constantly a viewer and at the same time being watched (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998: 75). Couldry’s critique of their studies extends the notion of ‘diffused audience’ (Couldry, 2005). By emphasising advances in technology, he acknowledges the convergent media world creates less distinct demarcation between the ‘social role of ‘audience’ (as receiver of media content) from the role of the media industry’ (p. 193). Audiences are able to create an infinite series of contacts with media in one form or another (p.187), and become cultural producers by using the acquisition of various skills (p. 192). This engagement, according to Couldry, is the foundation of the distinctive experience of being an audience (p. 184).

200 The advent of mobile connections and internet makes Couldry’s point especially relevant to bloggers, as we have seen that many women use their mobile phones, wherever they are, to post and comment.
In a sense, in Takahashi’s study the concept of *produser*, a term coined by Axel Bruns (2008: para 4) need to be appraised. Considering her study focuses on television in the context of interpersonal communication, it does not discuss the content creator in Japanese society’s engagement with media. My study focuses on Indonesian women’s blogging and opens up an opportunity for discussions on content creator practises to a greater extent than is possible when focused on television and interpersonal communication. Nevertheless, her studyforegrounds the idea that a media saturated world has provoked a wider repertoire of user practices such as generating content, making friends, managing time and so on as well as consuming content. In light of these arguments, my chapter will look firstly at Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging in everyday life by examining various women’s daily situations and routines. Secondly I will look further at how blogging as a practice instead of creating a ‘protective cocoon’ extends beyond the medium and interpersonal interaction. My study will demonstrate how Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging shows a sense of agency and empowerment.

Additionally, my study offers an alternative definition of blogging, emphasising the practical participatory communication practices which will be examined by looking at the ‘leave a reply’ activities in the comment feature. Early scholarly studies on blogs argued that blogging practices are strongly tied to text (Schmidt, 2007: para 14) and focused their studies of blogging practices on blog content (Morrison, 2008; Efimova and de Moor, 2005a; Schmidt, 2007). Rebecca Blood, a veteran blogger and scholar in blog studies, has noted that blogging practice highly values individuals’ expressions (Blood, 2000). Noting that blog technology provides a comment feature, she suggests interactions between bloggers are highly visible (Blood, 2004b). Inspired by this line of research, scholars started to take into account conversational

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201 In his book, Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life, and Beyond: From Production to Produsage (2008) Axel Burns explains the reason Toffler’s concept of ‘prosumer’ is outdated, particularly in the era of Web 2.0 According to Burns, the notion of ‘prosumer is lack of contribution to creation (p. 11-12) and therefore this notion does not fit well with the character of Web 2.0 that encourage the idea of content creator (p. 13-14).

202 Under this notion, Indonesian women’s engagement with media in media convergent world introduce to range of activities besides blogging. To point another way, Indonesian women’s engagement with media in media convergent world involve range of activities. Indonesian women do not only ‘consume’ media, but also ‘create’, ‘make friends’, to build arguments, to manage their time (between being a mother and a worker, for example), and to establish their social networks, both online and offline. I do not mind to change ‘repertoire’ to ‘collection’ but I prefer to use ‘repertoire’
relationship in blog comments as practice. This perspective takes the view that blog content implies communication and self-representation, while comment signifies interactions of the whole blogosphere (Schmidt, 2007: para 9, para 14; Herring, 2010: 9). Therefore they suggest that leaving out comments from discussion will impoverish our understanding of blogs as practice (e.g. Ali-Hasan and Adamic, 2007; Gumbrecht, 2004; Schmidt, 2007). Instead, paying attention to interactions enabled by comment features will demonstrate intimacy and social participation by visualising online circles of friendships in a form of communal reading (Baym, 2007: 16) that is indicated through writing and reading (Blood, 2004b: 55; Nardi et al., 2004: para 18; Baym, 2010: 16). To put it differently, comment features bridge the gap between absence and presence (Milne, 2003: para 6) as well as weaken the division between the private and the public sphere (Chartier, 2001 in Rettberg, 2008a, p. 40).

Jetto (2010), however, suggests that interactions in blog’s comments signal bigger communities (p. 70). Through personal writing of personal opinion, experience and knowledge, an author can influence their readers. A number of bloggers become great referees for readers, who cultivate enthusiastic devotee readers (Wei, 2004). Thus blogging grows as a circle of knowledge and trust and empowers its participants to access or to share power to a certain extent. In this relational construction between bloggers, trust, knowledge, and material assets are not the main reasons for practicing blogging, and therefore are less important for those involved. Bourdieu describes this relational construction as a cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998), where human productivity is drawn from a social network and based on active participation between friends (Turner, 2000: p. 2, 280) in sharing ideas, culture, beliefs (Fukuyama, 1995; Fukuyama, 2001; Bourdieu, 1998). Drawing on these insights from the literature, in the next section my aim is to illustrate how Indonesian women bloggers build their blogging practice that grows out of their personal publishing and extend it as an integral and inherent dimension of social relationships that enables some of them to access and also share power.

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203 Milne’s argument bears a resemblance to Nardi et al.’s argument that establishment of social relationship on blog strongly depends on written language.
7.3 Indonesian women’s blog as practice: the development of repertoires

7.3.1 Blogging and access

In chapter three my survey data showed that Indonesian women bloggers access the internet from various places, namely home, office, cafés, malls, internet cafés, and even using mobile connections. They mostly use high-speed internet connections and the majority access the Internet from home. I have also noted in chapter five that the establishment of Internet connection in Indonesia is not even in every region due to the centralisation system of national development and geographical contexts. These factors not only influence Indonesian women blogs’ forms as I have noted in chapter five but also affect their engagement with blogging. IrhaPunya, a single woman who works as a civil servant, experienced a huge difference between internet access in a big city, Makassar and in a regional area (kabupaten), Sinjai.

I did blogging regularly. It was when I lived in Makassar. After I worked for government (PNS, Pegawai Negeri Sipil), I was relocated to Sinjai (a remote province area in South Sulawesi), I almost stop blogging. The connection is so poor. When I go back home in Makassar, sometimes I update my post, although usually my drafts ended in saved box (laughing) (personal interview with IrhaPunya on December 18, 2009)

SitiAgustine and Liza Fathia, two woman bloggers from Aceh, face similar problems with their internet connection. They acknowledge the different quality of internet connection in municipality (kota) and in regional areas (kabupaten) (personal interview on December 4, 2009).

Me Is it easy to get internet connection in Pidie? Is it as easy as in Banda Aceh?
SA It is easy now. Ummm wait…it is easy in the city, but not in the suburb. It is easy here at office. But I found it is hard to get smooth internet connection at home. It takes ages for loading. I am using XL at home; it is with an internet stick modem.

Me And what is your office’s internet provider?
SA Speedy.
As I have noted in my previous chapter, many coffee shops and restaurants in Indonesia provide free hotspots for customers. From my observation I noticed that free hotspot or Wi-Fi malls and cafés are two favourite places for most Indonesian bloggers, both men and women, to gather offline. Attending an offline meeting, both formal and informal offline meetings, the majority of bloggers bring their laptops and everyone will be busy with their laptop, spending time online.

Figure 7.1 Offline gathering with laptops in a café (researcher document)

I have observed that this has become the habit in every blogger community, such as Loenpia Semarang and Anging Mammiri, which has invited complaints from several bloggers who believe offline gathering is a medium to ‘free’ them from online relationships. One blogger community coordinator from Loenpia Semarang coined a provocative idea of "gerakan kopdar tanpa lektop" (offline gathering without laptop movement) to restrict bloggers who spend their time online in the offline gathering. The administrator created a Facebook account to spread the idea (http://www.facebook.com/gerakan.kopdartanpalektop). This signifies that spending time online in offline gatherings is a common thing between Indonesian bloggers, reinforcing Couldry and Takahashi’s ideas that media engagement can be understood as integral and integrated with other social and cultural practices. It also suggests that media practices are not simply mixed into daily life but are negotiated and fitted into other social practices.

204 In Chapter 4 have I examined the offline gathering among Indonesian women in detail. It includes both formal and informal offline gathering and their functions for Indonesian blogger communities.
For several women bloggers, cafés or coffee shops with free Wi-Fi are their favourite places to do their blogging activities as the café offers a way of negotiating internet expenses.²⁰⁵ Three women bloggers from Makassar invited me to join them, taking advantage of a free connection at a café in Makassar. We spent almost three hours there, but following their advice, I ordered only one mug of coffee:

We are ‘fakir bandwidth’ (a netter that has inadequate internet connection). Therefore I love to go to cafes that offer free hotspot. I usually buy a mug of coffee and that’s it. I will stay hours there to update my blog, to browse (laughing) (personal interview with i-Rara on December 20, 2009)

Then another woman blogger replied:

Sometimes I thought, “When they will kick me or us out from the café. We only bought one item with minimum price, but stayed there ages (laughing) (personal interview with Baidoeri on December 20, 2009)

However, personal circumstances and normative values also impact on the way blogging is integrated into women’s lives and the way they engage with blogging. Regardless of the free service in cafes, several Indonesian women bloggers reported that they are reluctant to go to coffee shops with free Wi-Fi, as it does not fit expectations of women’s behaviour in the public sphere:

Yes, most coffee shops provide free hotspot. Hmmm but I better not (smiling). I prefer to go to internet café. Coffee shops are packed with men (personal interview with Neng Riza on December 5, 2009)

²⁰⁵ In Chapter 3 I have found that cafés and malls are the third favourite place for Indonesian women bloggers after home and office.
Access and quality of service can affect blogging practices, sometimes pushing private sphere, personal authoring practices into the public sphere and merging them almost seamlessly with everyday social practices. At the same time, individuals’ engagement with new media technologies is also affected by a range of less tangible practices and expectations, suggesting that blogging practices are shaped as much by social, financial and cultural considerations as by more technical considerations.

7.3.2 Blogging: torn between two loves

My blogging population includes single women and mothers. Consequently I will pay attention to the domestic context as it relates to Indonesian women’s stereotypical roles. Scholars such as Silverstone and Morley introduce the concept of ‘domestic time’, suggesting that media engagement takes place in a specific context. A number of studies in media engagement and everyday life reveal that in the family context (micro level), media such as television and radio have shaped ‘family time and family space’ (Silverstone, 1994: 100; Morley, 1992: 70; Takahashi, 2010: 94). Regardless of a power structure that has developed within the notion of ‘media consumption’ in the family context, the research outlines an idea of ‘domestic time’

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206 I choose ‘mothers’ instead of ‘married’ for two reasons. First reason is because one of my research subjects is a single mother. Secondly, in Chapter 3 my results show the reason women walked away from blogging is their ‘family’, not ‘their husband’. My study, later, will reveals that having children is the significant factor in Indonesian women’s life.

207 Detail description is in Chapter 2.
where women in the family ‘construct’ their own mode of viewing/consuming with respect to their ‘domestic role’. Morley (1992) uses the concept of polychronic viewing that describes a ‘feminine’ mode of viewing (unplanned viewing, concurrent activities, and sporadic attention) (p. 251). In their view, female television viewers practise polychronic viewing that provides both pleasure and distraction. To put it differently, relevant to this argument, it appears that women can hardly build deep engagement with media.

In contrast, Takahashi’s studies reveals that several women deeply engage with media as a compensation for the limitations of their domestic roles (2010: 91, 104). Trying to reach out to another reality away from home and family, these women build parasocial interactions with television as an effort to avoid ‘the lack of life’. To put it differently, media such as television and radio indirectly help women to connect with the outside world by constantly consuming media and creating a deep engagement with television. This is not the case in blogging as practice.

My survey in chapter three found that Indonesian women bloggers tend to stop or reduce their blogging practice after they marry or have children. That is to say, my survey found Indonesian women bloggers prioritize their family above their blogging practice. However my ethnographic research demonstrates the relationship between Indonesian women, family and blogging is not constant and instead is in flux, depending on Indonesian women’s personal situation. Malahayati, for example, a full time working woman blogger from Aceh, reduced her blogging practice after her return to Indonesia, ‘I have to look after my extended family. I have my parents in laws staying with us. Even though they help us to look after our children when we work, still I have to prepare many things for many people in this house’ (personal interview December 5, 2009). I interviewed her shortly after she came back from Japan, following her husband who did a doctoral program. Months after my interview, I found she had abandoned her blog.
Me: I found you stop blogging
M: Yes.
Me: Why?
M: I hardly can find time to blog now. I am very busy with my family. But I access Facebook everyday. It is easier for me to access it, so when I want to write something, I will write it as a note on Facebook.
Me: But it means only your friends on Facebook will read your post
M: It doesn’t matter as long as I can still write something and publish it.
(personal interview with Malahayati on December 5, 2009)

A married woman blogger from Makassar who was expecting her first child, Unga Tawwa, reduced her blogging practice after she gave birth. I met her for an interview when she was pregnant, when she told me she might stop her blogging practice:

Now, I still a little bit can go online. But I am not sure after I give birth later. I think I could no longer go online as much as I can now. I must be very busy looking after my new born baby (personal interview with Unga Tawwa on December 15, 2009)

Unga Tawwa and Malahayati show that some Indonesian women bloggers prioritize their role as mothers and thus give us a picture about Indonesian women’s social role within the family. After working women get married, their main responsibility is not looking after family in limited sense. Instead, their social status as working mothers or wives creates a double burden of paid work and the bulk of household chores:

Well … when we were in Japan, I still had time to go online most of the time. Every time my husband was going to University and I sent my children to day care, I went online. But as soon as we went back to Indonesia, I could not do it anymore. Oh well, I think I can - but very, very rarely. Especially here in Aceh, my mum and dad live with us. After I come home from work, lots of house works wait for me, let alone the fact that I still have to take care of the children (personal interview with Malahayati on December 5, 2009).
Even though, another woman, SweetRabbit, a Balinese married woman blogger without children, tries to multitask at work while she is away from the ‘engagement’ with house and housework. It proves to be difficult:

I rarely update my blog now. I cannot do it at home (her husband is smiling when he heard it). So I tried to write it during office hour at work. In the middle of my writing, I had to do another thing. When it finished, I continued writing my blog and another work came. Then I lost my mood to write. I forgot everything was in my mind. Many times, I started all over again. But similar things happened and after three days I experienced the same, I deleted my post from draft box (personal interview with SweetRabbit December 8, 2009).

In their studies on television Morley and Silverstone found that women are distracted viewers. Their domestic role and expectations pushed them towards a polychromatic viewing style that is rooted in their multi-tasking activities in looking after families and viewing television. My study demonstrates that Indonesian women can hardly be distracted bloggers as blogging requires concentration and attention. Nieke Easy, for example, a married woman from Riau with an 18 months toddler told me:

Before I married, I used to update my blog at internet cafes or at my office during office hour. Now, after I get married, I always do it at home. Well, I disliked doing my blogging in a crowd. I need quiet time to write my blog so I can write words and sentences correctly. Thus in one year I've very rarely update it because it was the busiest year of my life. It was after I gave birth to Alif. Now, usually when I have time I'll update the blog between break times or before my bedtime when my son and my husband are sleeping (personal interview with Nieke Easy on April 8, 2012).

Silly Stupid Life, another example, is a woman from the middle class from Jakarta who has access to considerable material wealth. She can afford domestic help and is able to spend many hours in front of her computer at home. This invited a protest from her husband:
Seeing the 'alarm' signals such as forgetting to eat, forget to complete the report and the work in the world of 'normal' other, T (my hubby) started to remind me to manage my time proportionally. Many times he complained and said that blogging should remain a hobby. My work and other daily affairs should remain my top priorities. T also 'accused' that I've become a 'blog addict'.

Nieke Easy, a woman blogger from Riau used to work. She is married to a general practitioner and had to move to another region. She resigned from her job and decided to work at home, without having to give up her role as a mother. Regardless of the flexible time that is being offered from her job, Nieke Easy admits that working at home as ‘a mommy blogger’ is not as easy as it looks.

I need time to adjust after I stopped working two years ago. To be disciplined is a must, especially to manage my time. To work at home and to look after my family at the same time is not an easy thing.

Despite the difficulties of combining domestic duties with blogging as reported by the informants above, several women bloggers in my study strengthen scholarly ideas that there are mothers who have not stopped or even reduced their blogging after they had children. Raising an autistic girl, Silly Stupid Life admits to starting a blog only because blogging piqued her curiosity about the new medium. As she got more involved on blogging, she started to see an opportunity that blogging should be considered in distributing emergency aid and thus initiated the nonprofit Blood for Life organization. Venus-to-Mars is another woman blogger from Jakarta who is a single parent of two teenagers. Starting as ‘an ordinary blogger’ she now looks on her job as an online worker as her main job. These women see that blogging practices give them wider access to social and economic empowerment. Although they take seriously the idea of getting something from blogging, these women told me they had a similar struggle in managing polychronic time in blogging as women in Silvestone’s and Morley’s studies. Regardless of this fact, these women choose to

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209 http://nieke.keritikentang.com/2012/05/31/the-hectic-may/
continue their engagement with blogging for reasons I will examine in the next section.

My study reveals that being single gives a relatively favorable position to Indonesian women bloggers. To a greater extent than married Indonesian bloggers, single Indonesian women bloggers such as i-Rara (Makassar), Georgetterox (Jakarta) and Neng-Ocha (Semarang) can engage in blogging undisturbed. Single women bloggers have the privilege of ‘me time’, whether inside or outside their home as long as they have access to the internet. I-Rara, for example, takes her laptop everywhere she goes. During breaks she mostly goes online to blog, using her mobile internet modem stick and taking advantage of free Wi-Fi in cafes or public space. Even though she uses a smartphone, she found it is uncomfortable to write on. She sent me a picture, when she was at a waiting room in the airport to say that she has moved from her smartphone to her laptop:

**Figure 7.3 Blogging practice at the airport (researcher’s document)**

@DekTitut ah, blackberry is limited. It is difficult to edit [her writing]. By the way I have moved here (attached her picture), more comfortable for me to type :p pic.twitter.com/Q2cLQXYA
Nieke Easy gives me a similar opinion about ‘blogging using smartphone’:

I have never used smartphone writing my blog posts. It is too complicated (laughing). Perhaps because I dislike staring at the incredible small screen too long. Well, I write posts using my tablet, but only when I am writing a short post that needs a short time to write. Or, to post pictures that do not need editing. My reason is similar. I avoid complicated typing (laughing). That is also the reason I will reject a request to write live blogging from an event in a crowded place (laughing) (personal interview with Nieke Easy on August 4, 2012).

Regardless of illustrating the discomfort in using smartphones to write posts on their blog, these women turn smartphone to good account in doing blog walking:

Blog walking is a different thing. I do it using my tablet. It is similar like when I read daily news or e-book. It is merely reading that I can do everywhere. No problem (personal interview with Nieke Easy on August 5, 2012).

Another woman blogger, Neng Ocha from Semarang, acknowledges smartphones makes writing posts while being mobile possible. However, she has a different opinion, pointing to other more interesting online activities being offered by smartphone:

Blogging using a smartphone? I have never done that. In fact, I have already installed all applications in all my smartphones (laughing very loud). Honestly, I want to write a post using my smartphone when I am away or when I am waiting for a meeting. I want it. But I think many times I forget it because, when I go online using my smartphone, I am more into checking my twitter account. It is more fun to do it using my smartphone. But, hmm writing a post? I don’t think so (laughing) (personal interview with Neng Ocha on August 10, 2012).
Georgetterox, however, prefers to write her posts using her smartphone:

> It is really up to me, when to blog. Sometimes I write my posts during [the time] I am waiting for my patients, or during my class – when I am sleepy, or when I am waiting my order in restaurants. 75% of my posts – I wrote them using my smartphone (personal interview with Georgetterox on June 20, 2012).

In contrast to these single women bloggers, single women blogger in rural and remote areas, such as Irhapunya and Siti Agustine, experience many barriers to receiving the benefits of Internet services. Thus, trying to maintain their blog is a huge frustration as they have to deal with a poor internet infrastructure (personal interview with Irhapunya on December 18, 2009).

That is, being a single blogger and/or women without children does not necessarily have more privilege in engaging with blogging. In brief, having time for blogging and social status do not guarantee Indonesian women to maintain their blogs.

However, two bloggers from Jakarta, Venus-to-Mars and V and Ndoro Kakung, a male famous top blogger in Java, are now planning to initiate a casual work event ([http://wiki.workatjelly.com/w/page/12752597/FrontPage](http://wiki.workatjelly.com/w/page/12752597/FrontPage)). It is a place that brings together home workers, freelancers, small business owners and entrepreneurs that mostly started from blogging:

> Talking about its aims, NdoroKakung and I agree, that our goal is to have fun, nothing serious. There is also no agenda. We come, get together, working on our own laptop, chatting. Go ahead. At least, this kind of offline gathering is very good for expanding our networking, making new friends. Hopefully, when we meet other people in special work environment – it will become a brainstorming that comes out with fresh ideas. Hopefully it will reboot our mind and brain. It is a refreshing, or whatever its name, in order to take a break from boredom due to work and co-workers. That’s it.
This idea, even though is very novel, signifies an awareness that intensive blogging practice will somehow isolate Indonesian bloggers from the social world. To put it differently, it seems that blogging practices do not impact on space in the way TV does. In his study, Silverstone describes the role of a television set for a family. During the time when television was booming, television served the role of keeping family members together. In contrast, Takahashi’s studies (2010) give signals that that role for TV in Japanese families has been fading due to multi set communication technology and multi-channel television programs. Her study starts to picture ‘individual’ style of television watching where children have their own television sets in their bedrooms. In line with Takahashi’s view, the idea ‘the work at jelly’ illustrates, in contrast with consuming television programs, blogging is a practice that involve both personal (writing) and communal (networking) practices. Additionally, in blogging practices, both activities are interwoven. As a mother of a new born baby, Nieke Easy, for example, has decided to resign for her job to become a professional blog writer who works from home (personal interview on April 8, 2012).

My study shows not only that blogging is a different media compared with television. Moreover, I demonstrate that blogging practice has created a different engagement with Indonesian women. Blogging provides options for women to access, for example, economic power from the house. Instead of providing a one-sided relationship with media from parasocial interaction, blogging gives women access to public and to social networking. My next section illustrates how blogging practice plays a significant role in some Indonesian blogger’s lives. It will illustrate that blogging practice does not necessarily give Indonesian women instant access to economic power, but empowers them to gain autonomy through participating in the social world.

7.3.3 I blog therefore I am

In chapter three I noted that being indexed by an internet search engine is very important to Indonesian men bloggers. In contrast blogging is important to Indonesian women bloggers in different ways. When they started blogging, they have different aims from being indexed by internet search engines. IhanSunrise (Aceh),
for instance, explains that blogging is a space where she has the freedom to articulate her opinion.

No, I don’t care whether I have readers or not. I am happy when I found comments for my posts. But I did not find even a comment, it does not matter. I love writing anyway. For me it is a place for my opinion. Now blogging has become a necessity for me (personal interview with IhanSunrise on December 5, 2009).

In a corresponding manner, Kamar Kecil (Bali) highlights ‘sharing’ on top of everything in her blogging practice:

I have never had intention to make my blog as other people’s references. If I want, I write every day but I do not want to post all my writings but I only post my best opinion. My writing is mostly about women’s issues. Everytime I had women’s cases (at work), for example women and reproduction – then I posted my writings. My interests are in women’s health and reproduction and marginalized groups. The majority of bloggers in Bali Blogger Community dislike people who blog for money. They will be marginalized in our community. We greatly appreciate people who blog to share knowledge and opinion, not for making money. I know not many people read my blog, because of the way I write. I am very outspoken, very loud (laughing). I believe people think “Her writing is very cold”. I don’t care (laughing) (personal interview with Kamar Kecil on December 7, 2009).

Several early new media scholars believed that a blog is a liberating space for its user. That is to say, a blog’s author does not need the approval from a publisher to make her voice heard in the public sphere. This is what Siti Agustine, a woman blogger from Aceh, acknowledges.

I like to write. But none of newspapers have published them (laughing). Oh, no. No. They published one in ‘letters from readers’ (laughing). So when I knew about blogging, I was very happy. I write and publish my writing at anytime (personal interview on December 4, 2009).
Regardless of blog’s ‘user friendly’ character, several women bloggers show that a blog in some ways continues the practice of traditional diary writing (Lejeune, 2000; O'Sullivan, 2005). That is to say that initially they used blog as a medium to save them from oblivion. IhanSunrise and Neng Riza, are two woman bloggers from Aceh who had kept diaries since they were children. As she has noted before, as a journalist, Neng Riza posted her published articles on her blog. Nevertheless she also writes poetry and her ‘diary’ on her blog. Similar to IhanSunrise—Neng Riza, for instance, told me that for her a blog is another medium to continue her ‘conventional’ diary (personal interview on December 5, 2009):

Neng Riza: Since I was in elementary school, I wrote diaries, heaps of diaries. I wrote in a book. When it was full, I bought another book and continued my diary writing. I still keep them until today. I like to re-read my old diaries. But my writings were hidden.

Me: So, you wrote secrets?

Neng Riza: Not always. I wrote poetry and stories. But they were hidden. When my friend introduced me to blog, I felt I found another media where I can keep my diary. Other people can read them.

Me: Hmm aren’t you afraid?

Neng Riza: Why?

Me: Hmm but here in Aceh, with sharia Islam – don’t you think women cannot talk about anything?

Neng Riza: True. I have another blog. A place I can write anything. Last time when Aceh’s government started to plan stoning and whipping law – I wrote something. And yes, it is hard. I do not dare to use my real name.

Scholars acknowledge that blog is a form of ‘modern’ diary that has opened up a new experience of self-publishing for Indonesian women bloggers. Neng Riza’s statement (as well as other women bloggers such as Liza Fathia), serve to show that blogs offer a silver lining. That is to say a blog becomes a space where Indonesian women have
strength to state opinions on ‘sensitive issues’ that previously were ‘taboos’ (Gregg, 2006: 152). 210

Unexpectedly, blogging not only embraces ‘women’s writing,’ but blogging’s character of one-to-many communication has also brought forward knowledge that blogging potentially creates and maintains relationships. As an illustration, Liza Fahia, a blogger from Aceh who was studying at medical school in Banda Aceh, started blogging with no expectation but to try a new trend of blogging as a result of her online activities prior to blogging:

I went to internet café for Friendster. Friendster was booming at that time. I met a friend online, who encouraged me to blog. I wrote everything and did not do editing. My blog was full with my writing. It was so boring. He taught me how to write. My writing started to become fancy and short and tidy. I started to have visitors. It made me happy. And I started to become addicted.

Related to Liza Fathia, Neng Ocha, a woman blogger from Semarang stressed the ‘social network’ that developed from her blogging practice:

Because of my blog, I know many friends that are also bloggers. They come from different communities and cities. Everytime I travelled, I was not worried. I know that I have friends everywhere that will help me. In fact, I always stayed in their place (laughing). That is a benefit from blogging also. Moreover, because I know many people – it opens others possibilities, including to broaden my job networks. I like to make my own blog themes. My friends saw it and asked me to help them – then now, I become a professional. What I am now, started from blogging (personal interview with Neng Ocha on November 25, 2009)

Scholars such as Herring et al (2005b), Nardi (2004) and Baym (2010) acknowledge blog’s one-to-many-communication character and its features such as links and

210 In her study on women’s blog, Melissa Gregg finds that blogs is a solace. It is a place that “offer a safe and fairly anonymous forum in which issues of concern and potential threat can be raised and discussed without fear” (2006: 152)
comments that encourage community building. “Friends are urging friends” (Nardi, 2004). Regardless of the fact that some women nowadays make money from blogging (Nielsen, 2009), I found evidence that the majority of Indonesian women bloggers started creating job networks initially, by creating a social network. Even though there may be woman bloggers such as Neng Ocha who have created other blog accounts for entrepreneurial purposes, the majority of women bloggers in my study have never imagined that blogging is able to take them from ‘making friends’ to ‘making money’.

In a flash back, what I am now – I started if from an amateur blog on blogspot.com. It contained trash. My posts had no quality. It was in 2006 or late 2005. It was a personal journal that I really enjoy, because regardless of its contents, it purely contained my daily activities, what I did today, what I cooked today, where I went today, whom I met today. Blog, as it is rooted, is a web log, diary published on the web. I started my blogging without a theme, with no tendency, with no other desire than to write whatever I wanted to write. During my journey, without any expectation or plans, I started to read other blogs. Then I made friends—in the real sense, in the real world—with the owners of these other blogs. Even until today, my blog does not have certain topics. I don’t know whether I am a specialized blogger in A or B. It is only blogging. Hang on. Only blogging? I don’t think so. In fact, everyone acknowledges, that the blog is a great power. At least, for me personally, it became the beginning of all the accomplishments I achieved today. New knowledge, new jobs, new skill, almost all the good things I got for the blog. (Venus-to-Mars)

Indonesian women bloggers such as Venus-to-Mars started their entrepreneurial blogging on the basis of their writing and publishing skills. Tika Banget a married woman from Jogjakarta who was expecting a baby, for example, told me that despite a number of companies offered to write articles to promote their products on her blog, she only chooses products that suit her moral judgement.\(^{211}\) Nieke Easy,

\(^{211}\) She refuses, for example, promoting cigarette.
another example, considers blogging played an important role in her recent job as a freelancer online:

I had a job, once, that I like. Somebody visited my blog and read my posts about my son. This person then offered me a freelance job to write posts on their client’s blog – a professional company that is engaged with children (personal interview with Nieke Easy on April 8, 2012)

Nevertheless, Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging will not necessarily turn them into online entrepreneurs. Georgeterorox, a single woman working as a general practitioner from Jakarta, for example, told me she had a chance to continue her specialist study in medical school because during the interview she mentioned that she authors a blog. According to her, her examiners saw that her blog may help promote health issues in Indonesia. The prospect was exciting, and Georgeterorox told me that would prefer to be known as a blogger rather than a general practitioner:

Now and in the future, I prefer to become known as a blogger rather than a GP. And yes, that is what I will do in the future after I finish my specialized study, I want to write obstetrics and gynaecology in a form of a blog (personal interview with Georgeterorox on June 20, 2012).

The diversity and complexity of Indonesian women bloggers’ engagement with blogging reveals that blogging practices signify an idea of bloggers’ agency. Drawing on Waldrop (1992), I suggest that through blogging, Indonesian women bloggers have situated themselves “into larger structures through the clash of mutual accommodation and rivalry … At each level new emergent structures would form and engage in new emergent behaviour.” (p. 88). Despite early studies of Indonesian women’s blogs that often emphasised their domestic and women related focus (e.g. Edelman, 2009; Lim, 2007), it is obvious from my findings that a number of Indonesian women’s blogs have taken them into a much wider social and even political sphere.
7.3.4 The expression of agency: beyond the medium

Here I take up Giddens theory of structuration that human activities at micro level and social structure (or macro level) are related. In his view, social structure is a repetition of individuals’ ways of doing things which reproduces social structure in various forms. To put it differently, - regardless of their blogs’ content, Indonesian women’s blogging signifies a wider discourse. For women, blogs are not only helpful for breaking their isolation (Gregg, 2006: 153), but furthermore, blogs and blogging is a space where audience and performer sit in a continuous line (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998) in a way that blogging co-acts to empower other women to actively engage with media (Lull, 2002: 158). Irha Punya, recalled her remarkable experience in reading a special blog, owned by an Indonesian woman:

Bunda Zidan. That was the reason why I was interested to author a blog using a blog provider, blogspot.com. It was because I read Bunda Zidan's blog. I did blogging on Friendster. I had no intention to create an account on blogspot, or Wordpress. I was browsing Google, when I found Bunda Zidan's blog. She authored a few different blogs. There was a blog that contains recipes; there were other blogs that contain her daily stories. Last time I read the news that she passed away. I finally read her posts, from the beginning until her last post. I cried. Well, from there I started writing a blog. Great indeed she was. I adore her. She was an amazing mother, she had a perfect family. She was a clever woman. She initially could not cook, but then she turned into a great cook and her blog encouraged other people to become great cooks too. When I read her blog, as if I could taste what she cooked or as if I was there in Singapore. I cried reading her writings. This woman is very skilful in HTML language programing. Her blog has a great theme; at the time I was still learning how to create a blog. Her blog had complete technical features. I always wonder how she could do that. How could she manage her time in the middle of everything? (personal interview with Irha Punya on December 18, 2009)

Irha Punya’s first engagement with blogs illustrates being actively engaged with blog involves cultural hybridity (Lull, 2002: 157), that is when users take charge of
‘knowledge’ or ‘value’ they consume from resources to create or re-create themselves in various ways (Lull, 2002: 158; Takahashi, 2010: 37). Here is another excellent example of this practice at work. Jurnalnya Nike, actively encourages ‘mommy bloggers’ from Palembang to write more. With excellent technology skills, Jurnalnya Nike coins the idea of mommy bloggers’ home page:

Initially, I met Mbak Mira at Asean Blogger Conference in Bali last November 2011. I also met Mbak Indah Juli for the first time. And that’s it. We are all mothers, and we started to talk about our children. It gave an idea for Mbak Mira to initiate a Facebook group. She named it ‘Kumpulan Emak-emak Blogger’ (Mommy Bloggers Group – MBG). She also added me as a member. To be honest, lately I am actually not interested in Facebook, so I ignore numbers of notifications, both groups’ notifications and profile’s notifications. Apparently I saw MBG members are already quite a lot and active. They share stories, share their writings and they give comments to each other. Yes, we, mothers, are easy to get close to each other. Seeing this situation, I had an idea whether MBG should have a place, where these mothers can post their writings about mothers’ stuffs? I share my idea with Mbak Mira, who apparently welcomed my idea. So, in a very short time, I created a web, www.emak2blogger.web.id I do not say that MBG is a newborn community. It is not. MBG is a part of mothers’ world that needs to be supported. These mothers should have a place where they can write to share information such as parenting, carer, recipes or anything else that relates to mother’s world.

It gives an illustration that these women bloggers, who are married, encourage other women within their community to articulate domestic issues in the public sphere. Additionally, my study also shows that the act of authoring blogs is related to women’s sense of agency, which may become very influential. As well as ‘daily life’ topics, women bloggers such as Silly Stupid Life, also speak out about ‘domestic issues’ in her blog.

Starting from pouring out the heart about her discomfort every time she heard her friends’ sayings: ‘jangan kayak orang autis dong!’ (Do not behave like an autistic!),
SSL wrote a posting about her hard life of having an autistic girl.\textsuperscript{212} She described her ups and downs in looking after her, and how at the end she found how amazing her autistic daughter is. She concludes that people with autism are a blessing and special, and that is improper to crack a joke using ‘autistic’. Then she created a social campaign: “Stop Using Word ”AUTISM” in our daily Jokes”. Shortly after she posted on her blog, the Indonesian blogosphere, Facebook and Twitter were flooded by supportive comments, posts, and invitations to join the campaign. Indonesian bloggers, both men and women started to place a banner for this campaign.

\textbf{Figure 7.4 Stop Using Word Autism’s banner, initiated by SillyStupidLife}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image7.4.png}
\caption{Stop Using Word Autism’s banner, initiated by SillyStupidLife}
\end{figure}

Considering that several Indonesian women blogger have engaged in more activist, high profile topics than others has given rise to the notion of ‘celebrity bloggers’: bloggers that have inspired other bloggers – SSL has been mentioned by other bloggers as one of Indonesia’s celebrity bloggers. SSL created another project, Blood For Life, to encourage people to contact an ‘alternative’ organization beside Indonesia’s Red Cross to seek help for blood donor. She started this project from her blog but now she uses other social media platforms to communicate with people.

I started Blood for Life from my blog. I’ve been a blogger for a while but I usually blogged about silly things. But I began to write about this issue and my intention was to create a movement to help solve it. I received lots of positive responses from my subscribers and they were willing to help, so I set up a mailing list to make it easier to spread the word.\textsuperscript{213}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{212} \url{http://www.newsilly.com/2011/09/18/kenapa-sih-gak-boleh-becanda-pakai-kata-autis-lu/}
\end{flushright}
As a matter of fact, agency is not only the privilege of ‘celebrity bloggers’. Indonesian women bloggers who stated simply ‘I am only a blogger, but not a celebrity blogger’ indicate agency too. Take Ika Widari (Bali), who through her upfront and honest posts on her blog has encouraged people to treat people with HIV with respect:

Finally, several news people contacted me, asking whether I would let them interview me to make me their reference in HIV issues. A number of unknown people also contacted me. Oh, they are my friends now. But they came after they read my blog. They gave me calls on phone, and poured out their heart how they feel lonely, being expelled from society because they have HIV/AIDS. Several contacted me for information about HIV/AIDS. They asked me questions that are related to HIV/AIDS, where to find the medicine, for example (personal interview on December 9, 2009)

Similar to Ika Widary, Kamar Kecil also shared her daily stories that invite her women readers to step out from their silence:

After I married, I found that I can hardly get orgasm. As a woman, I felt uncomfortable to say it honesty to my husband. So I wrote my discomfort in a post. It surprised me, when lots of women readers, out of nowhere left their comments – told me that they experience similar discomfort (laughing) Oh, well. I thought it was only me, awkwardly felt that way. When I was worried after I chose a birth control device, I wrote a post. Again, many women readers left comments. They shared their experience with me and with other readers. Amazing! (personal interview with Kamar Kecil on December 7, 2009)

Indonesian women blogger’s agency shows that writing blogs have taken them beyond a blog as a medium. That is to say, they create relationships as a result of what they write on their blogs.
7.4 Conclusion

It is a fact that Indonesian women were left behind when Indonesian men started to develop internet infrastructure in Indonesia. Unfortunately, studies in Indonesia’s ICT retain these assumptions in reporting Indonesian women’s engagement with ICT and the potential of Indonesian women’s bloggers. My discussion of findings in chapter three noted that there is no difference in attitude and aptitude toward both computer and the internet between Indonesian men and women. But it is true that they show interest in different activities. The same chapter revealed that the main reason for women to stop blogging was associated with domestic sphere issues, if I can put it that way, even though in this chapter I have shown how the domestic sphere is also the public sphere as women take charge of their domestic circumstances and propel their interests and concerns into the mediated public sphere through blogging.

This chapter has confirmed how some women decided to keep working after they gave birth and chose to reduce their blogging practice due to their double burden as paid workers and mothers. After giving birth, some Indonesian women prefer to give up their job and decided to keep blogging to gain capital from it. Choosing this option, they can have flexible time to manage their role as mothers but at the same time can maintain a sense of their autonomy, although my study highlights this option is challenging in practice and that it needs tactical time and space management.

My study reveals that on one hand blogging as practice cannot be regarded as a distracted engagement in the way television viewing can be for many busy women viewers. It demonstrates that Indonesian women cannot multi task and blog at the same time - they have to choose one over the other. Looked at another way, blogging practice does not lead to one-sided engagement, such as the parasocial relationships that Japanese women built with television in Takahashi’s study. We can say that Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging creates ‘real’ relationships with society and reality, even if they blog from home. This highlights the status of bloggers as users and produsers, and the differences in media practices where audiences can be understood as active agents, rather than consumers, even if
consumption is understood to include active, interpretative interactions between media texts and viewers. The active, agentic produser we have discovered among Indonesian women bloggers is typically engaged in far more than interpretative activities.

Despite being bound in, ‘family’ is a place that has inspired these women in authoring blogs. My study indicates that Indonesian women bloggers started their blogging by writing blogs focused on women’s everyday life circumstances and domestic topics. Even so, they have shown that they are able to reach out the public sphere not only through self-publishing, but moreover from their role as active participants in developing their capacity to engage in local common affairs. These practices prompted me to revisit the conventional idea of public-private partnership. What many women’s blogging practices have shown is that many ‘domestic issues’ are basically ‘public issues’. This also signals that through their blogging practice, these women have become agents who support or resist particular social practices and values. In short, their engagement with blogging brings us to the realisation that blogging is not a private practice. Instead, blogging as practice connects Indonesian women bloggers with wider social contexts by social networking that they build via comment features. Their practice can be understood as a form of cultural capital that locates shared power within social networking through knowledge, values and idea sharing.

Thus my study signals that within the notion of diffused audience there is a space to discuss the dynamics of power relations. According to Abercrombie and Longhurst the concept of the diffused audience has weakened boundaries between producer and consumer, and therefore questions of domination become less central (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). In this context of this research, their claim must be examined carefully. By drawing on Couldry’s critique of their argument, my next chapter will look at language interactions and suggest that domination by unequal power relations remains circulating in media culture.
8 INDONESIAN WOMEN’S BLOGS: LANGUAGE

8.1 Introduction
In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 I demonstrated how Indonesian women bloggers build their blogging practices and the varied form of their blogs. Drawing on scholarly arguments that users’ engagement with media is anchored in daily culture, my study revisits not only the relationship between audience and performance, but also the notion of public-private partnership. In their engagement with blogging within their contextual backgrounds, Indonesian women develop and maintain their relationships with the wider social environment. In this chapter I will look specifically at the hegemonic discourse that has been produced from language interactions in Indonesian women’s blogs. For that purpose, I will take my study a little bit further by exploring written language use as cultural practice in Indonesian women’s blogs. Considering the nature of Indonesia as a multilingual society, I focus on language to look at how ‘media influence’ circulates through language practices in Indonesian women’s blogs and opens up space for a hegemonic struggle through language interactions.

This chapter has three sections. The first section is a discussion of my theoretical arguments. It emphasises the notion of ‘dispersed audience’ (Couldry, 2005), and focuses on the problem of power within the notion of the diffused audience (see Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). Admitting that the advances in technology and changes in social/spatial media shift the experience of being media users, Couldry argues that in a media convergent world, power has circulated within media culture. His argument is that ‘media influence’ circulates through language practices. Accordingly, I will take into account the nature of Indonesia as a multilingual, heterogeneous society that opens up space for hegemonic struggle through language interactions.
In the second section, I will illustrate that written language interactions in Indonesian women’s blogs use a highly codified language. Codeswitching and codemixing on one hand play a key role in negotiating relationships in the way that they are used to cross boundaries and make alliances (Rampton, 1995; Gee, 2012; Fairclough, 2010), and on the other hand language is a subject of hegemonic struggle (Gramsci et al., 1972) that has the potential to include or exclude members of a group (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991; Heller, 2006; Patrick, 2003).

Finally, in the last section, I will conclude that the colloquial style in Indonesian women’s blogs demonstrates blogging as practice represents a dialogue based on negotiation of the kind that is embedded within everyday culture. That is to say, on one hand blogging plays a significant role to develop relationships and to express agency, where through language interactions bloggers overcome communication tensions in intercultural communication contexts (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998: 78-80). On the other hand, language interactions become ‘the object of power struggles, forms of appropriation, oppression, and resistance in particular societies’ (Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998, p. 92).

8.2 Theoretical perspective

8.2.1 Extended audience vs diffused audience

In their book *Audiences: A Sociological Theory of Performance and Imagination*, Abercrombie and Longhurst put forward the concept of the diffused audience that points to the nexus between spectacles and performances. They argue in a media saturated world, ‘everyone becomes an audience all the time’ (1998: p. 83). People significantly increase their media consumption and become heavily attached to certain programmes or stars (p. 138). According to Abercrombie and Longhurst, the audience’s attachment with certain programs or stars is ‘leaked out into everyday life’ (p. 75). Using ‘referential knowledge’ they obtain from media, audiences use

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214 It is important to note that I was thinking Indonesian, as the national language, would dominate Indonesian women’s blog posts. Unfortunately, I was not completely correct. Instead, Indonesian women’s blogs use highly codified language, which is mixed from various bits of languages: Indonesian slang, local vernaculars, foreign languages (English and Arabic), and Indonesian. This highly codified language style has become known as ‘hanging out language’ or ‘hanging out slang’ (gaul language), that I outline in my theoretical framework in this chapter.

215 This argument is related to Chapter 4 on Indonesian blogger communities.
their new knowledge and skills in their daily life practices (Thrift, 2008: p. 128) and become trivial producers (Sandvoss, 2005: p. 97). On that account, Abercrombie and Longhurst claim that producers have lost authority over the audience by stating ‘media institutions do not interpose between performer and audience’ (p. 75) and therefore, suggests that ‘audience research in the age of the ’diffused audience’ should focus much less on power’ (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998 in Couldry, 2005: p. 194).

In response to Abercrombie and Longhurst, Couldry crucially questions whether advanced technologies have changed power and social relationships of the ‘audience-cum-producer’ (p. 219), or whether advanced technologies have modified power and social relationships in media culture. Shedding light on Abercrombie and Longhurst’s illustration on fans, Couldry argues that the symbolic power of the media has not been reduced, and instead has circulated within the media culture (Couldry, 2005). As I noted in Chapter 5 and 6, according to Couldry, in an era of the complexity of media, people create media rituals to describe society’s high engagements with media. That is to say, a media saturated world ‘relocates’ the audience from ‘the sitting room’ to ‘a variety of social contexts’. Therefore, media power cannot be considered direct and massive, instead it is dispersed in the ‘whole spectrum of talk, action and thought that draws on media,’ and is varied, and depends on people’s engagement with media (p. 196).

With regards to Couldry’s arguments, this chapter will demonstrate that in a media saturated world, where users are also producers, blogging involves the production and transmission of symbolic power through the written language used (and interactions). For that purpose, I will look at the language interactions in Indonesian women blogs which circulate symbolic power through the language practices. To put it differently, it will cover how ‘dispersed audiences’ practice language that they have adopted from the media to create content using another media.

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216 Studies in fandom, for example, argue the notion of diffused audience. Mostly it examines audience involvements with media, ranging from spectacles on one hand and trivial producers on the other hand that grows out of the ongoing use of media consumption in everyday life contexts.
Accordingly, I have derived an idea from Milne, that the use of written language in mediated communication provides an opportunity for disclosure (Milne, 2010: 71-72). Milne’s views resonate with scholars who argue that written language in blogs has a significant role in adjusting relationships with other people (Myers, 2010, p. 4; see also Schmidt, 2007). People who are unknown to one another can now read the same text and start personal connections with other people, which opens the possibility of the development of intimacy and trust at various levels (Baym, 2010: 16-17), as well as the potential for community building (Nardi, 2005; Stefanone and Jang, 2007; Lomborg, 2009).

It is important to note that these scholars refer to English as the lingua franca in the internet. In fact, Indonesian women’s blogs demonstrate that English is not everyone’s lingua franca, and McLelland and Goggin (2009) have challenged the idea of the English language internet as normative, arguing that the internet has developed differently in different language settings, for example Japan.

Indonesians use a style of mixed language in blogging that demonstrates a different colloquial style that is neither formal Indonesian nor local vernacular. This contemporary colloquial style has become known as bahasa gaul\(^{217}\) (henceforth gaul language) (e.g. Smith-Hefner, 2007; Sneddon, 2003; Chambert-Loir, April 1984). Gaul language is a mixture of local vernaculars, slang, foreign languages and Indonesia language.\(^{218}\)

\(^{217}\) It is important to take a note that several scholars use the term bahasa prokem (prokem language) instead of using the term bahasa gaul (gaul language). There are two different scholarly definitions of prokem language. The first definition states prokem language is the language of sociability that is introduced by mass media programs and has been embraced by Indonesian youth (Chambert-Loir, April 1984: 106). Second definition relates prokem language to Jakarta’s youth culture that is rooted from a secret criminal language (Slone, 2003: 45). Another view of the language of sociability in Indonesia emerged in 1990s. It was introduced by an actress Debby Sahertian, who wrote and published The Gaul Language Dictionary (Kamu’s Bahasa Gaul) (Boellstorff, 2004: 263).

\(^{218}\) Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) as the national language is the official language. ‘Bahasa Indonesia’ is the compulsory subject in formal education institutions (from primary to secondary levels). However, there are 300 vernaculars languages and dialects, which are still used by Indonesian people from various ethnic backgrounds to communicate in local community. According to Kean (2003) these local vernaculars are the first language for their speakers, whilst Indonesia language is being portrayed to its speaker as a markedly second and subsequent language (p. 504). People use Indonesia language in formal public domain such as national education institutions, government institutions, national media and in business (Nababan, 1991: 118).
Scholars acknowledge gaul language has mostly been derived from Jakartan language (Smith-Hefner, 2007: 186; see also Sneddon, 2003). According to scholarly arguments, people speak gaul language for several reasons. By speaking gaul language they identify with the middle-class elite and modern lifestyle, which portrays an upwardly mobile, trendy, and sophisticated urban lifestyle (Smith-Hefner, 2007, p. 193; see also for example Chambert-Loir, April 1984, p. 184; GOEBEL, 2007, p. 511). Another reason is that the gaul language removes distance between interlocutors, giving more intimate nuances in relationships (Chambert-Loir, 1984: 116). To put it differently, gaul language gives more soul to the impersonal rigid standard Indonesian, and reappropriates words that are rooted in local vernaculars which are considered rustic, bumpkinish, backward (‘kampungan’) and ‘medok’ (heavily accented) (Smith-Heffner, 2007: 184-186).

8.2.2 Gaul language: a language of sociability

Linguists have pointed to the way multilingual societies practice code mixing (e.g. Eastman, 1992). This is when one speaker uses more than one linguistic code within one sentence in one communication event (Androutsopoulos, 2013; Eastman, 1992), and without effort (Isurin et al., 2009: ix), depending on the particular purposes and the particular social settings (Bamgbose in Ugot, 2008: 28). Following these arguments, I will take into account that Indonesian women are not atomistic entities, considering they are from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. However, scholars in sociolinguistic studies acknowledge that people in multilanguage societies establish mixed language in an effort to expand relationships with people from different linguistic systems in order to develop or create alliances.

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219 It relates to a fact that blog is an informal medium and therefore tends to embrace informal relationship between authors and visitors.

220 Re-appropriate is a term I have derived from several studies in language as a form of counter culture (Wong, 2005; Godrej, 2011; Cravetto, 2007; Ott and Herman, 2003). Ott and Herman (2003, p. 250) see language reflects an ideological flexibility, where society ‘repackage’ language to embrace transgressive subculture (Ott and Herman, 2003, p. 250; Pennycook, 2010, p. 58).

221 It relates to Danet and Herring’s (2003) idea that CMC is multilingual sphere where is conducive for language interactions such as codewising and codemixing. It also relates to scholarship that indicates a tendency of the emergence of non-English language in the Internet (see e.g. Heckman and Schmidt, 2000). In 2003 CyberAtlas, for example, noted that two third world’s Internet users speak their native language (Danet & Herring, 2003). It shows the recent awareness that although Internet is a global phenomenon, yet the practice is pretty much culturally localized - resonated from, especially, language use (Goggin & McLellan, 2009). Although early scholarships in CMC argues that the cyberspace is a borderless place, but online users basically live in the real world, with certain social context, which will be elicited through the language use.
(Rampton, 1998; Hewitt, 1989). Drawing upon this scholarly argument, I will illustrate that Indonesian women’s blogging is a discourse, where Indonesian women from a variety of ethnic backgrounds deploy gaul language to cross boundaries and to develop interethnic relationships. That is to say I will argue that gaul language used in blogging opens up relationships and helps interlocutors to cultivate intimacy in a nation with various ethnic backgrounds and different languages.

8.2.3 Language interactions: hegemonic struggle

However, regardless of scholars’ arguments that mixed language opens up interactions between cultures and therefore help interlocutors from different ethnicities to make alliances, other scholars indicate that mixed language is a subject of hegemonic struggle as a response to power relations, that are rooted in a system of language standardisation (see Keane, 2003; Blackledge, 2000; Woolard, 1995). In this thesis I provide evidence that gaul has assumed a hegemonic status as the language of choice among bloggers. When I drew my sampling in Chapter 5, IssueCrawler provided me with women’s blogs which are 100% written in gaul language. It does not mean there are no blogs that are written in Indonesian vernacularsor English. From my study, I found blogs that are written in local vernaculars and English have low readership, and thus do not establish wide networks.

In Indonesia, gaul language was born among youths in Indonesia, as a reaction against the standard language, both Indonesian language and English (Chambert-Loir, April 1984). It expresses youth’s identity as ‘cool and modern’ by replacing words from the Indonesian language which were considered worn out and old fashioned (p. 106). It relates to Keane’s idea that contemporary Indonesian language reflects a form of domination that shows struggles of identity creation (Keane, 2003).

Chambert-Loir (1984) notes Indonesian youth have taken vocabularies from various sources, mostly from other regional languages (especially Betawinese, Javanese and

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222 In Indonesia context, it was only in the making of a ‘nation’ (see Bourdieu, 1991) that in 1928 the nationalists declared Indonesia language as the language of unity within a multicultural society, pushed aside other languages before Indonesia language. Bourdieu notes that a situation of language standardization creates a dominant hegemony that leave speakers of non-standardized or unofficial language as subject of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1995, Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991).
Sundanese), as well as foreign languages (especially English), pop novels, pop movies and prokem language (a language of criminals and street kids) (see also Smith-Hefner, 2007). In addition to that, youth also create and re-code words in gaul vocabularies. Gaul language of the 1970s continues to grow. In the 1990s gaul language has enriched its form by appropriating gay language (Boellstorff, 2004). According to Boellstorff, in the twilight of Suharto’s regime, Indonesia’s television programs started intensely to promote gaul language to the audience. Additionally under Suharto’s education plans Indonesian language is the main language in all primary schools in the country and thus erased vernacular study from Indonesian schools’ curriculum since 1980 (Errington, 1998, p. 423). The struggles against language homogenisation emerged in the later years of Suharto’s regime when since 1994 the Indonesian government implemented a local content curriculum policy (Istyarini, 1997: 115). Under the national policy, a school’s curriculum is tailored according to local contexts and included studies on local vernaculars.

However, while more recent scholars in sociolinguistics consider languages are free from ideology and thus are equal (Blackledge, 2000: 27), scholars in social discourse acknowledge language as a practice is always subject to relations of power, where a system of hegemony always emerges (Woolard, 1995; Fairclough, 1995). A typical relationship of power emerges from a language standardisation system that excludes non-official languages from official language, and thus creates a system of domination (Fairclough, 2001: p. 57).

To return to blogging, my study reveals that gaul language dominates Indonesian women’s blogs, regardless of its position as non-official language.223 Apparently, gaul language is often associated with Jakartan (e.g Smith-Hefner, 2007). Looking at the resemblance between gaul language and Jakartan, it is important to take into account Jakarta’s political and economic position as the capital city of Indonesia.

223 My sampling method in content analysis already indicates that both local vernaculars and English are not popular options among Indonesian women bloggers. A web crawler I used to draw my sample, IssueCrawler, exclude Indonesian women’s blogs that are written both in local vernaculars or English in mapping process. This implies that blogs that are written in local vernaculars and/or English have low readership thus do not develop readers networking. Therefore Indonesian women bloggers are not inclined to write their blogs in local vernaculars and English. This pinpoints the idea that the preference of using language strongly relates to network or community building and shows a subordinate role of local vernaculars in Indonesian blogosphere.
Thus, Jakarta envisions capital accumulation; its political–cultural aspect stresses a cosmopolitan ethos and identity in the city as a dominant discourse. Due to this position, Jakarta has become the centre of a media industry that also introduces and popularizes gaul language (Sneddon, 2003: 164). In addition to that, during the former President Suharto’s regime, the wealthy and prosperous middle-class elite emerged in Jakarta and embraced a certain culture and lifestyle that was considered modern, thus set the model for others. These middle-class elites were also the first to adopt media expressions of gaul language, and circulate them through everyday speech (Smith-Hefner, 2007: 193, see also Chambert-Loir, April 1984: 116, GOEBEL, 2007: 511). To put it differently, bahasa gaul’s close relationship with Jakarta; gave power to gaul language and positioned it as a dominant discourse without having to be the official language. Gaul is mostly a spoken language. A number of gaul language expressions have been popularised from writing. Lupus (a novel) and HAI (a teen magazine in 1980s) used abundant gaul language and these expressions were picked up by teenage readers. In the history of gaul language, blogs are not the first instance of gaul language being written.

Taking gaul language practice in Indonesian women’s blog into account, I will illustrate in the section that follows that through language interactions Indonesian women’s blogs become a space of negotiation of power discourses (Bhabha, 1990 and 1996). I will show that in blogging, the ‘comment’ feature enables interlocutors to develop relationships (Ali-Hasan, 2007, Baym, 2007; Nardi, 2004). My study will demonstrate further that language use in blogs represents a discourse of negotiation (Godrej, 2011). That is to say, on one hand, gaul language practice demonstrates domination in the way interlocutors from mainstream discourse include and exclude others. On the other hand my study will also reveal the possibilities of alternatives to the dominant discourse that emerge through language interactions (Bourdieu, 1991).

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224 Fairclough explains the relationship between language and mass media, that according to him illustrate the hidden power of media that involve how mass media is designed for mass audience (2001, p.49).
225 In the next section I examine that bloggers who write their blogs in vernaculars do not establish network and receive zero comments on their blogs.
8.3 Language interactions in blogging: a space of negotiation

8.3.1 Gaul language: crossing boundaries and domination

Reading Indonesian women’s blogs at a first glance, it appears that Indonesian women’s blogs are written in ‘Indonesian’, the national language of Indonesia. In fact, they are dominated by gaul language that is a bricolage, a mix of regional vernacular expressions (e.g. yo wis - Javanese, gebetan - Betawi, ribet – Betawi, lay - Batakinese),\(^{226}\) English and other foreign languages (e.g. btw, oemji, plis, ya owoh),\(^{227}\) and slang\(^{228}\) (jadul - JAmAn DULu, temenny, tau, termeh-k-mehek, heboh, unyu- unyu, galaw ga, ngetik, dilanjutin) (jadul, heboh, galau, unyu-unyu) (see Table 8.1).\(^{229}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gaul Language</th>
<th>Original language</th>
<th>Translated as</th>
<th>Popularized by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oemji</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>O My God</td>
<td>TV entertainment programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plis</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Please</td>
<td>TV entertainment programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya owoh</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Ya Allah</td>
<td>TV entertainment programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo wes</td>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>OK</td>
<td>TV entertainment programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caio</td>
<td>Taiwanese</td>
<td>Chin up!</td>
<td>Movie serials Meteor Garden from Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puk puk</td>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>Patting</td>
<td>Local community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gebetan</td>
<td>Betawinese</td>
<td>Crush</td>
<td>Debby Sahertian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lay</td>
<td>Batakinese</td>
<td>Mate</td>
<td>Driver assistants in public transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inga</td>
<td>Makassar</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>TV campaign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akika</td>
<td>Transvestites grup</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Debby Sahertian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonyok</td>
<td>Betawinese</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>Movie, Ali Topan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokap</td>
<td>Betawinese</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Movie, Ali Topan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyokap</td>
<td>Betawinese</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Novel, Lupus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gokil</td>
<td>Betawinese</td>
<td>Crazy, lunatic</td>
<td>Novel, Lupus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unyu-unyu</td>
<td>Teenagers culture</td>
<td>Cute</td>
<td>Anak Alay (teens community)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cmungudth</td>
<td>Teenager culture</td>
<td>Chin up!</td>
<td>Anak Alay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jadul</td>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Old fashion</td>
<td>TV entertainment program</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{226}\) Yow is (Javanese) = fine, gebetan (Betawi) = crush, ribet (Betawi) = complicated

\(^{227}\) Btw = by the way, oemji (OMG) = oh my God, plis = please, ya owoh (ya Allah) = oh my God (Arabian)

\(^{228}\) The written code-mixing in gaul language on Indonesian women’s blogs includes informal particles (‘kek’, and ‘lah’), eliminating one or more letters from particulars words (‘tau instead of ‘tahu, bawa instead of membawa, aja instead of saja, nyampe instead of sampai), informal pronouns (‘gw’ that is an abbreviation from ‘gue’ and ‘lo’ as an abbreviation from elu/elo).

\(^{229}\) Jadul (JAmAn DULu) = old fashioned, heboh = hectic, galau = moody, unyu-unyu = cute
Gaul language is ubiquitous in blogging. Regardless of the fact that several social media platforms are set up in Indonesian as their operational language, Indonesian women bloggers use gaul language to appropriate English vocabulary in different technologies today (including devices, applications, and platforms) such as folbek (follow back), klik (click), komen (comment), kopas (copy and paste), skrinsut (screenshot), TKP or tekape (link), nomensyen (no mention), and cekidot (check it out).

Considering blog’s one-to-many-communication character, where an author may have readers from other ethnic backgrounds, Indonesian women bloggers evidently believe that their readers will be able to understand what they write in their blogs. Scholars of gaul language acknowledge that this colloquial language removes formalities and therefore spurs intimacy between interlocutors. It fits with informal characters of blog as a medium, and thus has become a common practice in the Indonesian blogosphere, even for Indonesian bloggers who live outside of Java. From a detailed review of postings across my nine blogger groups, I discovered that without blogger community badges and local vernaculars used readers can hardly recognize cultural identities in Indonesian women’s blogs from the language used.

Atau klu telat minta tlg orang rumah puterin sedikit jarum jamnya biar mundur beberapa menit..tapi.. gak bagus, ribet dan sama sekali gak efektif !! percuma, sia-sia, buang2 tenaga soalnya sang atta selalu mencocokkan jam ‘bersama’ dengan jam pribadinya hahahah dan siaapa jugaa yang mau manjat2 buat ngotak-ngatik tuh jam.

Or, when I came late perhaps could ask my family to turn back the clock for several minutes. But, that is not a good idea, complicated and absolutely useless. My dad always checks our clock hahahaha, and who would bother to climb the chair to re-set the clock? (a post from UngaTawwa – Anging Mammiri, Makassar)
In view of the evidence, it reveals to me that, firstly, there is a linguistic overlap between ‘real life’ and the Indonesian blogosphere where gaul language as a common practice (Sneddon, 2003: 186; Smith-Hefner, 2007: 106; Paauw, 2009:6). My study of language practices in blogging shows that gaul language has become a dominant language in Indonesian women’s blogs and perhaps across the Indonesian blogosphere. It is not necessarily the case that, for example, a woman blogger who writes ‘yo wis’ or ‘nyeleneh’ in her blog comes from Java or is ethnically Javanese. ‘Yo wis’ is jargon popularized in 2000s by an Indonesia’s television talk show ‘Ceriwis’ hosted by Indy Barenda and Indra Bekti, neither of whom are Javanese.

Another gaul expression introduced by Indonesia’s television is ‘termehek-mehhek’, the title of one reality show in early 2000s.

In similar manner, Indonesia’s television introduced ‘nyeleneh’, a word that was booming during the time of former president Gus Dur in the early 2000s.

In the Indonesian context, it is significant that a great number of gaul’s vocabularies have been popularized by traditional media such as television, radio or even novels. ‘Cuek’ and ‘imut’, for instance, are two words that have been popularized by
‘Lupus’, a short story written by Hilman Hariwidjaya for the teen magazine, HAI in 1986. A great numbers of gaulwords in Indonesian women’s blogs are not created by Indonesian bloggers.

Dan karakter Kaoru hampir sama dengan YUI yang tomboy, cuek, tapi imut
And Kaoru’s character is almost similar to Yui, who is boyish, cool but cute
(a post on Gradien 0, Aceh)

As Chambert-Loir notes ‘gaulwords ‘are not words invented because they are thought not yet to exist in Indonesian. Rather the words are intended to duplicate already existing words. In fact, they are often invented on the basis of existent words.’ (April 1984). Surprisingly, few words in contemporary Indonesia’s gaul language are invented. Kepo, for example, is ‘a new’ word that became a trend in 2011. It is rooted in Indonesian Cantonese Chinese’s word ‘kaypoh’. In the online context, ‘kepo’ describes a stalking attitude by lurking on someone else’s unprotected social media accounts. There is no clear reference to how this word was invented.

silakan tanya kepada teman-teman saya. Saya tidak pernah bertanya – baca :
kepo – dengan yang orang yang digosipkan tersebut.

You can check it to my friends. I never ask – read: kepo – about a person that becomes a subject in a particular gossip (post on Itikkecil, Palembang)

In the light of scholarly argument that people in multilingual societies tend to speak a mixed language to open relationships with people from different ethnicities (vernacular) backgrounds (Rampton, 1995; Rampton, 1999), I find that gaul language used in Indonesian women’s blogs encourages visitors to speak in the same colloquial style. The following quotes come from a visitor of a woman’s blog from Makassar. This visitor, in fact, comes from Medan (South Sumatra).

Upon his study in early 1980’s. His original notion for ‘gaul language’ is rooted from ‘bahasa prokem’, borrowed from the world of Indonesia’s ganks or/and criminals (para 15, see also Hefner 2007). But later, Chamber-Loir examined the development of this language of Indonesia’s youth where the recent gaul vocabulary are also valorised from media such as radio. In 1990s, additionally, Deby Sahertian, a famous Indonesian actress popularized new gaul vocabularies that have been borrowed from the world of Indonesia’s transvestites.

230 It is important to note that Chambert-Loir did his study in early 1980’s. His original notion for ‘gaul language’ is rooted from ‘bahasa prokem’, borrowed from the world of Indonesia’s ganks or/and criminals (para 15, see also Hefner 2007). But later, Chamber-Loir examined the development of this language of Indonesia’s youth where the recent gaul vocabulary are also valorised from media such as radio. In 1990s, additionally, Deby Sahertian, a famous Indonesian actress popularized new gaul vocabularies that have been borrowed from the world of Indonesia’s transvestites.
Miss, this movie is indeed very good. I watched it several times. I also downloaded its soundtrack. Both movie and soundtrack are good. I think its soundtrack is a good inspiration for writing blog. I also want to go to Thailand because of this movie. I used to love Korean movies, now I am crazy about Thai movies. It absolutely rocks! If I had money, I would go there, to Thailand. I want to breathe Thailand’s breeze (comment on a post on i-Rara, Makassar).

Another example is a comment from a visitor from Bandung (West Java) on a woman’s blog from Palembang. She used the most recent style in the gaul language that has become known as ‘bahasa alay’ (alay language). Alay language is a recent variant in gaul language. Alay, Anak LAYangan,\(^{231}\) is an emerging pop culture in Indonesia. It has been introduced by street children that hang out around Blok M, South Jakarta through their activities in texting using mobile phones, writing status and comments on Facebook, and updating Twitter status (Kartajaya, 2010). Although as a social phenomenon, alay culture spans a wide array of cultural practices, such as music, clothes, oral language and writing, alay culture has been adopted in blogging practice:

\[\text{ManK ia gto Lee Min Ho opLas? tP gpp dEy ianK pNtinG dy gNtenG ... tP mNurUt aQ dy cOcOk' zA tuH mA Son Ye Jin,dy cAntiK kQ!! d'tMbah cRita'a bGus bgEd cKuo mNguRas aiR mAta..}\]

\[\text{Is it true that Lee Min Ho have plastic surgery? I don’t care, since he remains beautiful. In my opinion, his match is Son Ye Jin. She is pretty! Plus,}\]

\(^{231}\)Anak layangan literally means the kids of the kites, as an illustration that these children mostly spend their time on the street.
the story’s plot is so romantic, made my eyes full of tears (comment on a post on Jurnalnya Nike, Palembang)

This is evidence that people cross ethnic boundaries by communicating with each other in blog comment features using gaul language. To put it another way, interlocutors on blogs, both authors and visitors, use written gaul language to communicate with each other. It comes from awareness of one-to-many communication form of blog that visitors may come from various ethnic and vernacular backgrounds as has been noted by a woman blogger from Aceh:

I use gaul language in my blog. It is only written language anyway, no problems. I use written gaul language in giving my comments or even replying SMS. A blog is in the public sphere, and I have general readers, not limited only readers from Aceh. So, why does it matter, to use gaul language? (personal interview with Finding Nova, on August 8, 2012)

A similar opinion as to why she uses gaul language comes from a woman blogger from Palembang:

That is because a number of Wongkito members are also members of other communities (personal interview with Itikkecil on August 6, 2012).

The use of gaul language to replace Indonesian language give us pause for thought; why instead of using the national language, Indonesian women bloggers prefer to use gaul language. Therefore, spontaneously, I gave links of several blogs’ posts, written in proper and good Indonesian language to Indonesian women bloggers who use gaul language on their blog:

(Laughing) Oh my god, that is so yesterday! (Laughing) Why do they write using proper and good Indonesian language? Weird! (personal interview with Bunda Malik Jakarta on October 28, 2011)
Wow. I cannot understand. Oh, crap! They write a long post using that language? It looks like an old novel! (personal interview with EmYou Semarang on November 1, 2011)

My sampling method in content analysis already indicates that both local vernaculars and English are not popular options among Indonesian women bloggers. IssueCrawler, the web crawler I used to draw my sample excluded Indonesian women’s blogs written either in local vernaculars or English in the mapping process. It is important to note that IssueCrawler will only provide a network of blogs that are well connected. That is, these blogs show conversations across the blogosphere that are indicates from the significant numbers of in links and out links (well interlinked). Thus, IssueCrawler will exclude Indonesian women’s blogs which are not well connected from the network. In other words, these blogs have a low readership thus are being excluded from networking. During my study, I found a few number of Indonesian women’s blogs which are written in local vernaculars. Even though their blogs posts discuss important issues (such as women’s health issues and cultures), I found these blogs receive no comments, which indicates zero readership. This pinpoints the idea that the preference of using language strongly relates to readership thus network or community building. Furthermore, it indicates the subordinate status of local vernaculars in the Indonesian blogosphere. Language practices in Indonesian women’s blogs suggest that blogging is simultaneously local and more national. Local in the sense of offline networking, and national in the sense that gaul is used to reach out to non-local readers. I did not find even one blog where local vernaculars were the main language mapped by IssueCrawler. That is, these blogs do not have a network, proved by a zero comment received as I browsed them.

Kamar Kecil, a woman blogger from Bali, told me her intention to start writing blog posts in the Balinese vernacular. But very few posts in her blog are written in the Balinese vernacular, and even lately I found her blog still uses Indonesian232 and gaulanguage. It illustrates that scholars’ claim concerning the depreciation of local vernaculars and Bahasa Indonesia in the real life (Kurniasih and Kurniawan, 2011:232). She is working in a local Balinese newspaper as a contributor. Besides writing personal journal, she also posts her articles in the newspaper on her blog. Thus, several posts are written in Indonesian.

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22; Zein, 29 January 2011) also happens in Indonesia’s blogosphere. Addressing their imagined readers, Indonesian women’s blog posts create similar imagined readers in their mind: a modern, cosmopolitan online middle class. These imagined readers speak gaul language universally. In the comment features, however, Indonesian women bloggers interact with readers at both the public and personal level and try to negotiate in between by practicing codeswitching.

However, Bourdieu notes that domination in language signifies a cultural arrogance that ignores ‘unpopular’cultures and thus tends to create misrecognition of homogenisation (1990, p. 126). That is a condition where interlocutors fail to recognize language varieties. As a result of its geographical and political situation, Indonesia is a country where most people use at least two languages (local vernaculars and Indonesian). According to that, I find evidence that when non-Java women bloggers respond to visitors, they are sensitive to visitors’ origin/ethnic identity, and tend to signal that by using appropriate pronouns (Figure 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3).

Figure 8.1 A comment feature on Easy’s blog, Palembang

53. cholit | September 18th, 2010 at 11:42
budaya nenek moyang harus di lastari kan,. wkwklik
hahahhah.. ga lagi lagi doh
54. Asrul | September 18th, 2010 at 13:09
Soalnya dulu khan belum ada Swalayan, untung aja ada Toilet , coba kalo gak ada
gimana tuh mbak...hehehehe [senyum mode: on]
terpaks a sembunyi dibalik meja kasir dulu bang hehehe

54 Asrul (visitor): In ancient time there were no supermarkets, but fortunately there were toilets. Could you imagine if we didn’t have toilet, Miss? Hehehehe [smile mode: on]
Easy (author): Then we would have had to duck down behind the cash desk wouldn’t we mate, (laughs) hehehe.
Figure 8.2 A comment on Finding Nova’s blog, Aceh

Tukang colong (visitor): Damn. No one in Bali informed me about this.

Nova Miladyarti (author): ^tukang colong: every community has their own event, Mister 😊

Figure 8.3 A comment on It’s Blue’s blog, Aceh

It’s Blue (Author): Would be useful, Pakde. My kids love it too ‘Wow, Mum. Somebody gave you a book?’

This evidence demonstrates sensitivity in the recognition of readers’ language that they are from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. In Figure 8.1 Easy (Palembang) used ‘Bang’ to address Asrul (a blogger from Jakarta). Bang is a personal pronoun in Jakarta dialect for ‘mate’. In similar manner Figure 8.2 shows that Finding Nova from Aceh addressed Tukang Colong (a blogger from Bali) with Balinese personal pronoun ‘Bli’ (Mister), while in Figure 8.3 It’s Blue from Aceh addressed her visitor from Yogyakarta, Java with a Javanese personal pronoun, ‘Pakde’ (Sir). With respect to these non-Javanese women bloggers, their replies show an effort to create intimate relationship with their visitors.
In contrast, I do not find in Javanese women’s blogs the same recognition of others’
different linguistic and or ethnic background.

Felicia Putri from Yogyakarta commented on Finding Nova (from Aceh):

_Ngalahan_ banget :) LOL Lucu emang nyeritain murid2 :p

_He is an easy person :)_ LOL stories about students are hilarious indeed :p

Bara Akbar from Jakarta commented on Jurnalnya Nike (from Palembang):

Thks Gan … sip bgt tuh tutorialnya pas lagi butuh pas ada. _nderek nyontek nggih_ Gan.

_Thank you for your great tutorial. I read it exactly when I need it. I will copy it._

Shafiqah Adia Treest from Jakarta commented on Baby Blue 87 (from Banjarmasin):

^_^ _alon2 asal klakon_ y … hehe …

^_^ _Slowly but sure, right? Hehe …_

The comments I provide above illustrate how bloggers from Java ignore the signs of
regionalism. Although they are aware that the bloggers whose blogs they visited are
from particular ethnic backgrounds (from community badge they publish on their
blogs), they nevertheless left comments in Javanese vernacular (‘ngalahan’, ‘nderek
nyontek nggih’, and ‘alon2 asal klakon’). There is no guarantee that these women
bloggers understand what their visitors talk about. Therefore, these visitors illustrate
‘arrogance’ and ‘ignorance’ towards clues of ethnicity backgrounds such as badges
on their blogs. Additionally the original posts are written in gaul language, not in
vernacular. According to Bourdieu (1991) this illustrates the reproduction of existing
power relations rooted in an ethnocentric sense of ‘arrogance’ or ‘ignorance,’
reproduced in the form of language practice and relates to Anderson’s notion of a
form of language domination linked to language hegemony in linguistic practice (see
also Keane, 2003).
8.3.2 Resistance to gaul language

However, I have noted that there is a striking difference in the language style and register of Aceh women’s blogs. I have observed that Indonesian women bloggers from Aceh show a preference for using standard Indonesian over gaul language and local vernaculars. Predominantly, women’s blogs from Aceh are expressed in ‘good and correct’ Indonesian (bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar), which is usually perceived as ‘the language used by the government’ (Baker, 1996) and usually used in scientific writings and in talk to elderly people (Harimukti in Rulistia, 2009). Related to this, women’s blogs from Aceh show a rigid, normative, formal, standard and distanced writing style that adheres to the level of standard Indonesian in literary works (Toha-Sarumpaet in Djenar, 2012). Their writings are very esoteric, and not only formal but long and circuitously poetic. Consider Aceh_6, a woman blogger from Aceh. Her posts use poetic words in long sentences. She uses numerous instances of figurative language that I do not find in women’s blogs from other regions.

Selalu ada kebahagiaan yang menelusup diam-diam… Malam yang kuingat sepanjang lalu selalu memutar mozaik-mozaik lama… Malam yang menjadi bisu dan kosong

There is always a joy that secretly infiltrates. I recall there were nights that kept playing pieces of old mosaics. They were nights that incarnated into silence and emptiness.

Even though without exception, women authors from Aceh also use gaul language, it is less dominant compared with the use of the use and proper Indonesian. A woman blogger from Aceh explained to me that people in Aceh have a low-preference for using gaul language

We have our own sociability language that is totally different compared to ‘Jakartans’. If we speak ‘Jakartans’ gaul language, people will laugh at us. It is something uncommon here (personal interview with Liza-Fathia on December 3, 2009).
With regard to the highly local style of women’s blogs from Aceh, it is important to bring to light the role of Aceh’s community of writers (Forum Lingkar Pena, FLP cabang Aceh).\textsuperscript{233} Despite the fact that there are several FLP branches in Indonesia, during my field research I found only Aceh’s FLP that scheduled weekly meeting for its members. The majority of members who have an intense engagement with FLP’s activities hope that their blog writing will be published. The FLP founder was a woman from Medan, whose father was Acehnese. FLP encourages writers, especially women, to produce quality writing. Thus it facilitates writing workshops and opens up possibilities for publishing. According to Riza, a woman blogger from Aceh, women bloggers from Aceh are very eager to publish their blog content. For this reason a number of women bloggers from Aceh join FLP to improve their writing (personal interview with Riza on December 4, 2009).

When I was there, I joined two meetings where women bloggers discussed the use of the correct ways to use figurative language in writing. Members read their blog posts to get comments from the forum. FLP encourages its members to use standard Indonesian, thus it is an essential practice to Indonesian women bloggers from Aceh.

\textbf{Figure 8.4 A meeting in Forum Lingkar Pena, Aceh (personal documentation)}

\textsuperscript{233} In 1997 an Indonesian young female author, Helvy Tiana Rosa, established a forum for Indonesian writers/authors that has become known as Forum Lingkar Pena.
Lisa Fahia told me they were inspired after a number of women bloggers from Aceh published their blogs and hit the market. In that respect, women bloggers from Aceh take authoring blogs seriously. Their participation in FLN is also linked to the success of Beby Hayanti Dewi, the first woman blogger from Aceh who published her blog in a book, *Diary Dodol Seorang Isteri* (A Wife's Silly Diary - Dewi, 2008). Even though her books got onto the bestseller list, she is considered as an improper role model for women bloggers from Aceh:

I think we do not refer ourselves to her (style of writing). She is good, her books are best sellers. But, her writing style is too Jakartanish (personal interview with Mala on December 3, 2009).

The number of blogs that have become books and movies illustrate media intertextuality in the way a written text in blogs may be re-published in the form of books, or even movies. That is texts (in this case blogs’ posts) do not only have a presence in the cyberspace, but they turn into complex messages and practices as is pointed by scholars like Couldry (see for example Couldry, 2004a)

### 8.3.1 Codeswitching: a negotiation between the use of gaul language and vernaculars.

Bhabha argument’s that mixed language forms are a space of negotiation of discourses is relevant in terms of Indonesian women’s blogs. That is to say, in spite of gaul language’s domination in Indonesian women’s blogs, comment features become a ‘third space’, where intercultural communication, or communication between different cultures becomes a norm rather than an exception and enables other positions to emerge (Bhabha, 2004). That is, instead of seeing the use of gaul language by bloggers from outer Java regions as a domination, the fact that they also communicate in local vernacular and English describes a negotiation in tactical linguistic practices which may be used to widen readership.

With respect to the use of codemixing and codeswitching, language practice plays a great role in maintaining and developing intimate relationships between authors and visitors in blogging. On one level, gaul language develops and maintains
relationships with visitors from different ethnic backgrounds who do not speak similar local vernaculars. On the other hand, switching from gaul language to local vernaculars shows intimacy with visitors from similar ethnic backgrounds who speak similar local vernaculars. That is to say, both visitors and authors are aware that a blog is a form of one-to-many communication with a diverse audience, indicating that blogging as practice is embedded in Indonesia’s multi ethnic culture.

The following figures 8.5 and 8.6 present flexible interactions between the author and visitors and show how relationships are maintained using codeswitching. The author practices code-switching, both in Indonesian and Acehenese. From this figure, it is clear that the blog author uses gaul language to reply to visitors who are likely to come from outside Aceh and do not speak Acehnese. She switches language to Acehnese in replying to a visitor who left a comment in Acehnese. Through comment interactions, the conversational codeswitching in Aceh pinpoints ethnic sentiment identity. It challenges theoretical arguments that state that gender, age and race are invisible in computer-mediated communication. The fact that a blog author receives comments using vernaculars and then replies in similar language reveals their identity as a member of a particular ethnic community, as in Indonesia people recognize someone from a particular ethnic group through vernacular use (Nakamura, 2002: xv-xvi, 144). In this case, interlocutors do not show any intention to disguise themselves, nor to decentre or disregard other ethnicities. Interactions using code-switching are practiced in public, thus visitors both from similar cultural backgrounds and different cultural backgrounds are able to see authors’ activities in replying using different types of language. That is to say, code-switching opens up more possibilities to interact and thus to establish intimate relationship , both with similar and different ethnicities (Androuatsopoulos, 2006b).
Aulia (visitor, in Indonesian): Moreover if you travel to Matang. It saves your money, very economic.

Fadli Idris (visitor, in Acehnese): Mata is a city that can give you a headache. Gurugok is the best, you find nothing.

Liza-Fathia (author, switched between Indonesian and Acehnese): Pardon? What is Mata? Matahari (sun) or Matahati (heart) or mata-mata (spy)? Ahai, Haji Fadh, your comment is confusing.

Pozan (visitor, in Indonesian): Mata is for Matang, I think. To give a bad name for Matang is very difficult. Exactly like what Mr. Abu Fadli, even could not spell it properly. Matang is very famous with sate, but other foods are also good.
Liza-Fathia (author, in Indonesian): True. True. I love Matang’s sate. Happily I take the offer if someone treats me for Matang’s sate.

Fadli (visitor, switched between Indonesian and Acehnese): Matang’s sate today is not as good as before was. Its big name remains. Gurugok’s sate is the best now (and also Gurugok’s youths)

Another example is Figure 8.6 that shows conversational codeswitching is not only practiced by authors, but also by visitors. Visitors that are aware of similarities in ethnic background, try to create intimacy by communicating using similar local vernaculars. In this sense, the comment feature becomes a place that displays personal and ethnic relationships and intimacy. As I have noted in Chapter 5, comment feature signals different levels of intimacy. Comments become a domain to either start a new relationship, or to maintain or show intimate relationships. In this case, the use of similar local vernaculars has a function to maintain or show visitors’ intimate relationship with authors.

Figure 8.6 Comments on Gudangku’s blog, Semarang
si_enthon9 (visitor, in Javanese): I didn’t see the capta. It is too low. I lost my previous comment.

Sisca (visitor, in gaul language): True. We should write nice status then tag pictures so we promote Indonesian tourism.

Gudangku (author – replying Sisca, in gaul language) Yes. True. Have you done that? (and replying to si_enthon9, in Javanese): It’s easy. Re-write your comment, tweeps!

Figure 8.6 illustrates how Gudangku (@wiwikwae, author) practices codeswitching in replying two visitors who speak different languages. In replying to sisca who commented in gaul language, Gudangku (@wiwikwae) used gaul language. While in replying tosi_enthon9 who commented in Javanese, she switched into Javanese. Thus, the comment feature does not ascribe evidence of readership in a limited sense, as I outlined in Chapter 6 in a way I emphasise the comment feature as a technical application. Moreover, the comment feature enhances sociability between interlocutors through prolonged readership (see e.g Løvheim, 2011; Puschmann, 2009a). In Indonesian women’s blog cases, the comment feature records intimate interactions between interlocutors that can be observed and recalled/accessed as long as the blogs are active. Additionally, through code switching within the comment feature, the public can identify and distinguish between in groups and out groups,

At the same time, as I showed in the previous section, the comment feature is a stepping stone to manage relationships and to negotiate social acceptance among a large group of potential readers (Bortree, 2005: 25), and I have shown that language use is a significant factor in negotiating social relationships.

8.4 Conclusion

My previous chapter demonstrated blogging practices signals users’ autonomy as producers. The advanced technology encourages Indonesian women bloggers to build their practices in daily contexts. However, in this chapter, drawing on Couldry’s arguments of the extended audience, I illustrate how power has circulated
in media culture through language interactions, which in the case of Indonesian women’s blogs is exemplified in the way gaul language dominates blog posts and is used as a way of reaching out to an eclectic mix of readers. Thus, rather than proclaiming that they are from a particular ethnic group as I illustrate in Chapter 4, authors hold back from using vernaculars or the formal Indonesian language. The relationship of power does not appear as direct and massive as the early hypodermic needle model of media effects or power would suggest. It does not reveal audiences simply mimicking media institutions productions. Instead, my study shows the wider power relations within media culture in Indonesia. The fact that the majority of Indonesian women bloggers re-appropriate gaul language that has been popularized by ‘traditional media’ such as television, magazines, radio, movies and novels shows attachment to the media saturated world and an ability to resist, and where appropriate, negotiate what appear to be hegemonic discourses, in the interests of building audiences and maintaining culturally sensitive relationships with readers and visitors.

The popularity of gaul language among bloggers may be linked to Anderson’s argument about language domination. Writing many years ago, Anderson stated that the Javanese as the dominant ethnic group in Indonesia plays a significant role in Indonesian politics (Anderson, 1966). One is the obvious fact that the former President Suharto, as a prominent, strong figure was himself Javanese. Through his authoritarian regime, Suharto saw himself as a Javanese king. As part of my explanation of hegemony construction under Suharto’s regime, I examined how Suharto reconstructed Indonesia as an imagined Javanese kingdom by layering strong Javanese cultural traditions over policies, regulations and national planning. Suharto’s imagination developed a hegemonic discourse and practice that nurtured the supremacy of Javanese culture, including Javanese language.

My study shows that Indonesian women bloggers consider gaul language as a lingua franca. That is to say gaul language is useful for establishing interactions between Indonesian bloggers and their visitors who come from different ethnic backgrounds. Although the majority of Indonesian women bloggers write their posts for imagined readers who all understand and speak gaul language, my study shows there is
negotiation to alter gaul language. It reveals that within the ‘united’ blogosphere under one lingua franca, Indonesian women bloggers are aware of different ethnic groups, and that encourages them to build a demarcation between in-groups and out-groups through language practices. When authors interact using local vernaculars with visitors from similar ethnic backgrounds, it excludes those who come from different ethnic backgrounds and do not share the language vernacular. But language interactions using gaul language bind visitors and author in a similar group: gaul society, that is marked as modern, and cool and mobile. Thus, instead buying into established hegemonic linguistic relations, I suggest Indonesian women’s blogs use language tactically to negotiate, and more rarely directly resist hegemonies inscribed in spoken and written forms of ‘standard Indonesian’.
Conclusions and Recommendations

Taking up my core argument from Michel de Certeau’s The Practice of Everyday Life, this thesis aimed to investigate how Indonesian women engage with blogging in a media saturated world. De Certeau’s work has helped me figure out how Indonesian women apply pragmatic tactics in order to subvert the disciplining powers on their everyday lives. According to his idea, the wide variety of women’s engagement with blogging explains how Indonesian women ‘by an art of being in-between’, draw unexpected results from their situations (de Certeau, 1988 p. 30).

My thesis suggests that the relationships between women and new media, here, particularly, blogs, are never simple, limited or fixed. Even though women were excluded from the establishment and development of the internet, it does not necessarily mean that women’s engagement with blogging has been or is simply as consumers who are powerless or passive. In their engagement with blogging, women also make out by poaching blogging in their own contexts and reconstruct blogging for their own social, economic, political and cultural benefit. However, at the same time, women’s engagement with blogging is situated in media culture, where power is circulated in various forms. My statement here suggests we cannot simplistically assume that the internet is a liberating medium which has the potential to shift the balance of power away from the media and toward sovereign individuals. Relevant here is my discussion of Indonesian women bloggers within blogger communities (Chapter 4), public faces of Indonesian women’s blogs (Chapter 5), women blogging practices (Chapter 6), and language in Indonesian women’s blogs (Chapter 7).

Looking at Indonesian women, Chapter 1 draws attention to their absence in building the internet infrastructure. This clearly was evidence of what third wave feminists in the 1990s described as the limits of women’s access to the public sphere. In chapter one I suggest that in the establishment of the internet, Indonesian women from all domains were excluded. Their exclusion was a reflection of the lack of Indonesian women’s participation in formal education, as their identity, ideologically constructed and idealised as ‘homemakers’, effectively took them out of schooling and tertiary education. I have also shown that the Indonesian government limited
women's participation in tertiary education even further, this time materially, by prioritizing men to receive scholarships – especially for overseas study. The fact that the Indonesian government prioritised men to receive scholarships reflected the marginalised position of power of Indonesian women in national policy and planning, including education. Dominated by men, the Indonesian government represented the masculine political power that bestowed a privilege on men. Thus men were prioritised in government, the labour force and educational institutions. In the early phase of the establishment of the internet in Indonesia women were reticent about engaging with the internet, something that was constructed as a men’s area.

According to my research questions outlined in the Introduction, about how Indonesian women engage with new media, I found that even though women’s early engagement with the internet was inauspicious, I discovered that women were able to insert themselves into the opportunities presented by the emerging technology. In the last part of my Chapter 1 I illustrate this point in a brief snapshot of early blogging activities in Indonesia in the late 1999s. With the advances in blogging applications at that time, there were a few women who authored ‘a communal blog’ msnceletukers. Although msnceletukers was still dominated by men bloggers, yet Indonesian women bloggers soon found their feet and kept up with male bloggers as I show in the rest of my thesis.

In Chapter 2 I filled in the background of the circumstances described in Chapter 1. In the historical process of refining a national ideology when the internet in Indonesia and internationally was under development, the New Order government created an ideology of state ibuism. This ideology aimed to domesticate Indonesian women and construct their main roles as home makers and supporters of their husbands. Through various systematic national programs, the Indonesian government discouraged Indonesian women from joining in public affairs except in more or less prescribed roles.

My arguments in this chapter are in line with the evidence presented in Chapter 1. However, in this chapter I developed the argument and showed that Indonesian women made efforts to join public affairs in various ways. These efforts were
magnified after Suharto's fall in 1998, and were fortified by globalization. The most important development was women bloggers’ efforts to join in public affairs through online publication. These women, through their writings, not surprisingly brought up domestic issues for public discussion, but in so doing encouraged a wider audience to erase the artificial and historical distinction between the public and private sphere.

In this case, the internet and its applications are relevant. Being perceived as a means or platform for liberation, the Internet has a potential to enhance freedom and power for individuals and social groups. However, the discourse of the internet has excluded women, especially women from developing countries. International studies on internet self-efficacy, and studies on similar topics in Indonesia provided similar results. These studies represented women as less sophisticated in engaging with Internet applications. In my study I critiqued these accounts, and found that the stereotypical representation of women as lacking efficacy was rooted in research methods which do not pay attention to the fact that social institutions such as family and universities play a critical role in cultivating and socialising women in conformity with expectations of their domestic roles.

Thus my studies prompted me to employ a different perspective in drawing my sample for my survey on the Internet usage and blogging activities. Instead of drawing my sample from family and educational institutions, I drew the sample from blogger communities. Comparing women with men by emphasising their attitude toward the internet and activities in blogging, my research discovered that women and men have similar sophistication in using Internet applications. I was able to show that it is not gender that contributes to differences in users’ attitudes toward the internet. Instead, long duration of prior experience in using the internet is a potential variable in determining users’ self-confidence in engaging with the internet.

It was obvious, however, that each gender displays differences in engaging with blogging. My study found that women are likely to post their interests, which are based on their daily experiences as women. Despite this fact, these women find new ways of discussing domestic affairs in the public sphere. My conclusion argues that mainstream research misreads women’s ways of engaging with technology, by
reading women’s different ways of using technology as a lack in technological skills. They annihilate women’s agency in benefiting from technology simply because women’s engagement with blogging veered away from men’s engagement with blogging.

Chapter 3 opened up a discussion of a different style of Indonesian women with blogging compared with their male counterparts. Therefore, having knowledge that the majority of women in my study join male-dominated blogger communities, in Chapter 4 I looked at Indonesian women bloggers as they are situated within blogger communities. In this chapter I examined a number of definitions of community and concluded that within the Indonesian blogger communities we can see that these definitions are not fixed. Instead, drawing on Bhabha, I argued that community is a complex notion. In this chapter I looked firstly at blogger communities that address themselves to modernity. The sense of modernity in their practice in building blogger community is rooted in the idea of online based activities (blogging). As mentioned earlier, the Indonesian government attempted to create immanent subjects within a range of social and literary narratives of nationhood, by invoking forms of banal nationalism such as state ibuisim (Chapter 2), national language (Chapter 8), national days and museums (Chapter 4). However, my study found that these blogger communities re-form and re-articulate their local identities in a wide range of activities within communities that build strong group cohesiveness. Thus it is evident that the idea of nationess (in Bhaba’s term) is a social construction which is not fixed and ultimately has to compete with the strong sense of the local.

In Chapter 5 I start to look how as individuals these women bloggers exercise their authority in their engagement with blogging. In this chapter I applied content analysis to look carefully at Indonesian women’s blog contents. Starting from scholarly arguments that blogs are a hybrid medium, my content analysis in this chapter moved from a focus on textual content to explore the dynamic of blog content. For this purpose, instead of using a traditional approach in content analysis that needs a set of rigid and patterned methods, my study covers ‘a broad range of content’. Using this approach my results were consistent with boyd’s view that blog content is ‘the intersection of people, technology and practices’ (2011, p. 39).
Drawing a sample for content analysis is always challenging, particularly when investigating online media forms where, by the very nature of the medium, content is always changing and ramifying through the logic of hyperlinks. My research showed that most mainstream search engines only list English language blogs, and thus systematically exclude a large volume of non-English language content and activities from consideration. I developed a way around the hegemonic bias of English language software and concerns by drawing a non-probability sample that gave me possibilities to explore the dynamic of blog contents. Thus, using this method I was able to show that Indonesian women’s blog contents records women’s daily affairs. Their blogs reference leisure, relationships, personal issues, social affairs, community affairs, technology, work, education and health. Indonesian women’s blogs, understood in this enriched form, turn out to be rich texts, or richly articulated publications which show that women’s blogging is about engagement with people, groups and community and is not just a way of putting ideas or thoughts online.

Additionally my study presents evidence of nominated audiences in the way these women address a number of posts to specific friends. Writing blogs is not simply an activity which allows women to gain therapeutic effects by reaching out to an anonymous audience (Lejeune, 2009; McKnight, 2009). My research has shown that through blogging women establish intimate relationships and proclaim them in public. Thus with respect to intimate relationships, the comment feature in blogging provides the obvious evidence of interlocutors’ interactions. Through these interactions, womenbloggers unconsciously mark who the outsiders are and who the insiders are within their community. That is, code switching in the comment feature does not only help women to broaden their relationships but also sustain their identity and sense of locality.

In contrast with scholarly argument that blogs are a form of digital diary, in Chapter 5 I presented evidence that Indonesian women’s blogs contents reflect the creation and the establishment of social networking. In this study I showed that recent blogging applications include cross platform social media that enable both authors and visitors to connect blog contents to other social media platforms, expanding readerships and thus networking.
Moving from my discussion of Indonesian blog contents, in Chapter 6 I discussed the formal characteristics of Indonesian women’s blogs. Well known studies define blog form by linking it to genre studies which focus on content. Realising from the investigation into content that blogs are hybrid publications, it became clear that to do justice to the inherent hybridity and dynamic character of blogs, a comprehensive discussion of blog form would have to go beyond simplistic descriptions of blogs as analogues of diaries or online columns. The starting point in Chapter 6 was the presence of technical interface (boyd, 2006, Herring 2010), which I came to call the public face of Indonesian women’s blogs. Focusing on their online presence and potential led me to explore the technical interface of blogs, and discover how the public face of blogs was itself an outcome of a complex mix of factors.

The public face of Indonesian women’s blogs includes URLs, blogrolls, social media buttons, links, and awards. Thus, in this chapter I discuss a range of choices made by Indonesian women authors which make it clear that they are very aware of the hybrid nature of their blogs and shape their blogs to enable personalized authoring (Herring, 2010; Doueihi, 2011).

My study finds the type of discretion Indonesian women bloggers use in their blog applications varies according to their cultural and geographical circumstances. The findings demonstrate significant differences in the public faces of blogs authored by Indonesian women bloggers from Java and from outside Java. Java, as the place where the Internet was first established has a better internet infrastructure and industry compared with any other places in Indonesia. Outside Java, the lack of good internet connection is one of the major issues which affect women’s discretion in their use of blog applications. Another aspect that influences women’s discretion in their use of blog applications is cultural context. A number of these women bloggers still view a blog as a medium for personal publications.

In contrast, especially in Java, there are women who recognize that as a new medium, blogging has much potential besides personal publication. These women show their awareness that by intensifying readerships they can expand connectivity and networks. Paying for blog hosting that offers richer and more flexible
applications, they harness blogging applications to maximise readerships, networking and connectivity. As a result, these women gain more opportunities and have greater agencies.

I discovered that it is hard for women bloggers from outside Java to make similar investments in their blogging practices. Unfortunately internet infrastructure at the regional level in Indonesia is unreliable. The majority of people rely on costly dial up internet connections. Thus, for women living in province/district/rural areas, practicing blogging is not as easy as paying for hosting or a domain name. For this reason, the majority of Indonesian women bloggers from outside Java are not well-positioned to benefit from the commercial and social potential of blogging practice.

In contrast to Herring et al.’s (2004) point about the flexibility afforded by the hybrid nature of blog applications, my study shows that these women’s choices in presenting the public face of their blogs are limited. My illustration of Indonesian women’s discretion about their blogs’ public face is in line with Norman’s argument that users’ selection of affordances depends on context (Norman, 1988). That is, the notion of the hybrid nature of blogs depends on the internet infrastructure and cultural circumstances and strongly relates to the idea of personalised authorship. My study shows that Indonesian women have established contextualised ways of communicating within the notion of personalised authorship. Regardless of different internet infrastructure and culture, Indonesian women, both from Java and outside Java, utilise blogging applications based on their existing conditions.

My study also shows the different levels of women’s engagement with blogging in specific cultural contexts (Takahashi, 2010, Silverstone, 1990). Recent scholars of media and audience studies have critiqued the limitation of the active/passive binary in understanding the public’s engagement with media, and have instead proposed a broader range of media engagement. Drawing on these critiques, and applying an ethnographic approach, I explored how Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging can be understood as an ongoing process of transactions between media consumption and user-directed connecting activities. Using an ethnographic approach in understanding women bloggers from six different provinces in
Indonesia, my study was able to show that the complexity of users’ media engagement is embedded in everyday life cultures (2010).

I came to understand that Indonesian women’s engagement with blogging often developed from personal media use to civic engagement, reinforcing the idea that contemporary audiences are users, and must be understood as both audience and performers. Understanding the public-private dynamic of Indonesian women’s blogging led me to broaden Takahashi’s idea of ‘information behaviour’ to embrace a whole spectrum of media users’ activities. This whole spectrum, in fact, while still linked to the domestic sphere, connects Indonesian women bloggers to the public sphere. My study illustrates that the majority of Indonesian women bloggers initiated their blogging practices by propelling domestic issues into the public sphere through blog posts (see Chapter 5). I learned that even though a number of women bloggers discontinue their blogging practices after their marriage (see Chapter 3), there are also a number of married Indonesian women bloggers who, in contrast, choose to be full time bloggers and gain capital from blogging. This reflects that the liberating nature of the new media provides the flexibility to work from home and thus to reach out the public sphere.

I described this flexibility as neither easy nor simple. From women bloggers who are mothers in my study, my study identifies that these women still juggle their domestic roles but at the same time can maintain a sense of their autonomy. However, a number of women take advantage of new technology such as tablets and smart phones to practice mobile blogging. In these cases, these women cannot rely on distracted engagement (as in Takahashi’s study), but instead need to have ‘real time’ relationships with society and reality, even if they blog from home. Takahashi’s study illustrated that Japanese women are active and critically aware in engaging with television. However, the nature of television itself is not interactive in the way we understand that term in a new media context. Blogs are highly interactive, and position users as both consumer and producer (produser). Thus distracted engagement with blogging is less possible. Additionally, my study demonstrates that by blogging domestic issues from their daily experience, these women establish active roles as social agents and engage in local affairs. In brief, blogging can be
understood as a rich and complex practice that expands personal writing into contextualised public participation.

I have argued in this thesis that Indonesian women were historically excluded from the development of internet infrastructure. Perhaps not surprisingly, my research has shown that women have been able to exploit the software of new media – understood here in the sense of technical affordances, but also understood as the software of language within every user’s reach, to create opportunities for publication and social engagement that has proved a wonderfully creative, subtle and powerful platform.

However, my study also acknowledges that while media do not obviously and vividly have power over audiences’ everyday lives, yet ‘across social life as a whole, a huge number of activities involving everyone (including those who are not ‘in power’) contribute to sustaining particular power relations (Couldry, 2005b, p. 194). My study is evidence of the fact that power is still circulated in media culture through symbolic forms. With respect to Indonesian women’s blogs – these symbolic forms are manifested in language practices. My study shows that English is not the lingua franca of the Internet in the case of Indonesian women’s blogs. Instead, dominated by the use of gaul language, Indonesian women’s blogs represent themselves as modern, global, up-to-date, accessible and compatible with readers from various local vernacular backgrounds.

Growing as an official language of Indonesian women’s blogs, the domination of gaul language can be understood as a resistance against the formal Indonesian language or English language or local vernaculars. However, we should note that gaul language was popularized by the ‘traditional media’ and was strongly articulated by bloggers from Java. I argue that this brings forward the important role of Java as the centre of politics, economy, technology and media industry as well as the centre of the growth of gaul language and the internet.

Through this struggle that is framed in language use within Indonesian women’s blogs, I also explore the dynamic of code mixing and code switching in blog posts and comments. In a number of cases, I found that Indonesian women are able to
extend their relationship with other bloggers by flexible use, mixing and switching between gaul language, Indonesian language, and local vernaculars. The Comment feature becomes a stage where Indonesian women bloggers play various roles by using different languages to extend their relationship with bloggers across Indonesia, yet at the same time, the sense of in-group and out-group is maintained through code switching.

In her powerful article ‘Gender and Power in Online Communication’ (2001), Susan Herring wondered ‘what are the effects of millions of girls and women entering what was, until very recently, a predominantly male domain?’ Her question became the springboard for exploring Indonesian women who have been historically excluded from close engagement with new media technologies. Considering Indonesian women's historical, political and cultural backgrounds that I illustrated in Chapter 1 and 2, in chapter 4 I illustrated that Indonesian women bloggers negotiate their position within male-dominated communities and build their engagement with the new media. Through various strategies, these women improvise in practicing blogging to undermine their domination within the Indonesian blogosphere. Thus my study shows, in line with Bhabha’s argument, that within discourses of power, there is always a liminal space where subordinates are able to negotiate power distribution. Additionally my study resonates with de Certeau's view that Indonesian women bloggers employ tactical trajectories based on their experience of daily life to re-construct or re-shape domination into something that they can deal with (1987). In brief, these women take up values from the master’s tool in a dominating situation and use it to create circumstances where they gain by blogging.

However, considering that the notion of women is also not fixed and single, my study does not cover women bloggers in every region in Indonesia. There are several factors that prevented me from drawing a sample from every region in Indonesia. The strong vision of in-group and out-group became an issue as a number of blogger communities saw me as the outsider. What I learned from their reaction was that my approach was embedded in my ‘mainstream’ assumption that to research online activities and online communities, distance and space is not an issue. In fact my study showed that the engagement with new media (and the Internet) is not limited to
the online sphere at all, but must recognise continuous transactions between the online and offline world. In Indonesia, there is a rich and historically conditioned interplay between the local and the national, (and the global, although as I have shown, Indonesian women bloggers tend to engage more at the local and national levels, rather than the global). My research has shown that it is important to note that in some contexts ‘identity’ is a crucial factor in researching online activities, as the online is shot through with the textures of the offline.

My research has shown that old forms of ideology and media had the potential to hold Indonesian women in a framework of old discourses of power, but women’s interest in blogging, and their interest in forming extended communities enabled them to wriggle out from under hegemonic expectations and throw a new network of possibilities over existing networks that have the potential to bring Indonesian women into a constructive engagement with the public sphere. As I see it, blogging and related forms of social media will strengthen women’s interventions in the public sphere, and bring women’s voices directly and emphatically into local, regional and national affairs.
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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

INDONESIAN BLOGGERS’ INTERNET ATTITUDES AND USAGE

X  Tick to indicate that you consent to participate

No. questionnaire ……..

This question is about your online activities. Please cross your response


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surf the web for fun</td>
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<tr>
<td>Use a search engine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take a virtual tour on certain web</td>
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<tr>
<td>Send emails</td>
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<tr>
<td>Receive emails</td>
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<tr>
<td>Share files</td>
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<tr>
<td>Microblogging (twitter, plurk, kronlogger)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social networking (facebook, flickr, Friendster)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Create blog</td>
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<tr>
<td>Update blog</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blogwalking</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watch video</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Listen audio</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Download video</td>
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<td>Download audio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Play online games</td>
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<tr>
<td>Download games</td>
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<tr>
<td>Get info on hobbies</td>
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<td>Get info on travel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Get info on jobs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Get info on household stuffs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Get info on products</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buy products</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Buy/make travel reservation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Instant messaging (skype, YM, MSN, meebo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Webcam messaging</td>
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<tr>
<td>Read online news</td>
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<tr>
<td>Look up phone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Look up address</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Look up person</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visit a government website</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research for school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research for training</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research for job</td>
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<td>Do online gambling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do online pornography</td>
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<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sell things in certain community online</td>
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<td>Buy things from certain community online</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other, please specify below</td>
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<tr>
<td>Search for data</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**This question is about your computer attitude. Please cross your response.**

1: extremely agreed 2: very agreed 3: somewhat agreed
4: somewhat disagreed 5: very disagreed 6: extremely disagreed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I enjoy doing things on a computer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I am tired of using a computer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I will be able to get a good job if I learn how to use a computer.</td>
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<td>I concentrate on a computer when I use one.</td>
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<td>I enjoy computer games very much.</td>
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<td>I would work harder if I could use computers more often.</td>
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<td>I know that computers give me opportunities to learn many new things.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I can learn many things when I use a computer.</td>
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<td>I enjoy lessons on the computer.</td>
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<td>I believe that it is very important for me to learn how to use a computer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel comfortable working with a computer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I get a sinking feeling when I think of trying to use a computer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I think that it takes a long time to finish when I use a computer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Computers do not scare me at all.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Working with a computer makes me nervous.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Using a computer is very frustrating.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I will do as little work with computers as possible.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Computers are difficult to use.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I can learn more from books than from a computer.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
This question is about your internet attitude. Please cross your response.
1: extremely agreed 2: very agreed 3: somewhat agreed
4: somewhat disagreed 5: very disagreed 6: extremely disagreed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Internet can allow me to do more interesting and imaginative work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internet enlarges my scope</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internet makes a great contribution to human life</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internet helps me acquire relevant information I need</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internet makes society more advanced</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I hesitate to use the Internet in case I look stupid</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If given the opportunity to use the Internet I am afraid that I might damage it in some way</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Internet makes me feel uncomfortable</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel bored toward using the Internet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When using the Internet, I am not quite confident about what I am doing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I could probably teach myself most of the things I need to know about the Internet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need an experienced person nearby when I use the Internet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I get problems using the Internet, I can usually solve them one way or the other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not need someone to tell me the best way to use the Internet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can use the Internet independently, without the assistance of others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I only use the Internet at schools when told to</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I use the Internet regularly throughout school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I spend much time on using the Internet</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This question is about your internet self efficacy. Please cross your response.
1: extremely agreed 2: very agreed 3: somewhat agreed
4: somewhat disagreed 5: very disagreed 6: extremely disagreed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident working on a personal computer (microcomputer)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident getting the software up and running</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident entering and saving data (numbers or words) into a file</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident escaping/exiting from a program or software</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident choosing a data file to view on a monitor screen</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident handling a floppy disk correctly</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident making selections from an onscreen menu</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident using a printer to make a “hard copy” of my work</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident copying a disk</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel confident coping an individual file</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel confident adding and deleting information to and from a data file</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel confident moving the cursor around the monitor screen</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident using the computer to write a letter or essay</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident storing software correctly</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident getting rid of files when they are no longer needed</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident organizing and managing files</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident using the user’s guide when help is needed</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident understanding terms/words relating to computer hardware</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident understanding terms/words relating to computer software</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident learning to use a variety of programs (software)</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident learning advanced skills within a specific program (software)</td>
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<tr>
<td>I feel confident using the computer to analyze number data</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident writing simple programs for the computer</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident describing the function of computer hardware (keyboard, monitor, disk drives, processing unit)</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident understanding the three stages of data processing: input, processing, output</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident getting help for problems in the computer system</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident explaining why a program (software) will or will not run on</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident using the computer to organize information</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident troubleshooting computer problems</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident logging onto a mainframe computer system</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident working on a mainframe computer</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel confident logging off the mainframe computer system</td>
<td>6 5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* * * computing skills and Internet experience (Lai, 2008) and Computer self efficacy (Durndell at al, 1999)
3. When do you online?
   a. More than an hour during a typical day’s session
   b. About an hour
   c. Up to one hour
4. Frequency of logging on
   a. Daily
   b. Several times/day
   c. 1-5 times/week
   d. Every few weeks or less
5. Place of log on
   a. From home
   b. From office
   c. From internet cafe
   d. From mobile internet
6. Type of connection
   a. High-speed at work
   b. High-speed at home
   c. Dial-up at work
   d. Dial-up at home
   e. Mobile
   f. Don’t know what kind of access is used at work
7. Sex
   a. Male
   b. Female
8. Age ..... 
9. Education
   a. no high school diploma
   b. high school
   c. some college
   d. college grad or graduate degree
10. Annual household income
    a. < Rp. 1.000.000
    b. Rp. 1.000.000 – < Rp. 3.000.000
    c. Rp. 3.000.000 – < Rp. 5.000.000
    d. Rp. 5.000.000 – Rp. 10.000.000
    e. > Rp. 10.000.000
11. Marital status
    a. Married
    b. Not married
12. Parental status
    a. Parent
    b. Non Parent
APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIR 2

INDONESIA BLOGGERS ACTIVITY

Gender : F/M
Age :
Marital status :
Number of children :
Family : Nuclear/Extended
Residential :
Education :

Social networks accounts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social networks</th>
<th>Ownership</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blog</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koprol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Else ….</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For how long have you been blogging:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 6 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – less than 12 months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 5 years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reason for having more than one blog (✓)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for having more than one blog (✓)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I write different themes in each blogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am bored with my old blog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privacy reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Else ….</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Do you (√)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Use free blog providers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use free blog providers but pay additional fee for additional service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use paid hosting blog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Social media update: how often do you update your social media

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Media</th>
<th>I update every:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koprol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Else ....</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Device I use for my social media activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Media</th>
<th>Technology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koprol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Else ....</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Your blog contents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Game</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online messaging</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### What theme do you write on your blogs (multiple selections)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parenting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traveling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culinary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronic products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality and religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship and community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour and sight seeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer software</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carrier</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Why do you stop blogging? (multiple selection)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not interesting anymore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy at office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busy with children at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am married now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My internet connection is very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t have any device to do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more into other social media like Facebook and Twitter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX 3

**FREQUENCY OF RESPONDENTS’ HOMETOWN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tangerang</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Palu</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakanbaru</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bekasi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samarinda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bangkalan</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jayapura</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Medan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Denpasar</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ambon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Batam</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanjung pinang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Atambua</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banjarbaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Badung</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semarang</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Aceh</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salatiga</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ponorogo</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surakarta/solo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sinjai</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kairo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maumere</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Palembang</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Palopo</td>
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<td>Karawang</td>
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<td>Sukabumi</td>
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<td>Bogor</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sragen</td>
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<td>Balikpapan</td>
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<td>Pontianak</td>
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<td>Makassar</td>
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<td>Yaman</td>
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<td>Nabire</td>
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<td>Kendari</td>
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<td>Manado</td>
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