

ABSTRACT

In two decades of post-authoritarian Indonesia, the power relations of NGOs with the state, grassroots communities, donors, and the private sector experienced significant changes. The emergence of a new development agenda, namely democratization combined with neo-liberal economic policies or often known as "good governance", has become the dominant discourse in constructing the identity of workers / staff and NGOs institutions. In the authoritarian era, the discursive formation of NGOs took place in the dominant practice of "activism" or social movements to respond to the failure of the state in development which ignored the rights of citizens. Shifting to the post-authoritarian era, the discursive formation of NGOs took place in the dominance of the practice of "managerialism" as the power and disciplinary practice of the neoliberal discourse for accountability, transparency, efficiency, and effectiveness in the management of development, democracy, and security projects.

Using a Critical Discourse Analysis approach and a Foucaultian conceptual framework, this study will explain the following two issues: first, how the power of the "regime of truth" of neoliberal governmentality in post-authoritarian Indonesia has shaped NGO activists as managerial subjects; and how the subject NGO activists create techniques, tactics, and strategies of resistance (counter-conduct) against the normalizing power of managerialism which reduces grassroots activism of NGOs.

Based on the findings of the experiences of three Indonesian NGOs, this study shows how global cooperation networks, either directly or indirectly, with UN agencies, Bretton Wood Institution, multilateral organizations (OECD), MNCs-TNCs, donor agencies, INGOs, NGOs Forum, NGOs that are consolidated in "good governance" have formed neoliberal governmentality, "managerial subjects" and "entrepreneurial subjects" among workers/staff and NGO institutions. The effect of the normalizing power of "managerialism" in NGOs produces various forms of particular power, resistance (tactical reversal), "the tactical polyvalence of discourse". Particular forms of power productively produce an unstable, changing, and contingent orientation and spectrum of power relations, both in internal NGOs and between NGOs and the state, donors, and grassroots communities.

Keywords: political discourse, grassroots activism, NGOs, neoliberal governmentality, managerialism, post-authoritarian, Indonesia.

ABSTRAK

Dua dekade Indonesia paska otoritarian, relasi kuasa NGOs dengan negara, masyarakat akar rumput, donor, dan sektor privat mengalami perubahan yang signifikan. Munculnya agenda baru pembangunan, yaitu demokratisasi yang dikombinasikan dengan kebijakan ekonomi neo-liberal atau sering dikenal "*good governance*" menjadi diskursus dominan mengonstruksi identitas pekerja/staf dan institusi NGOs. Pada era pemerintahan otoritarian, formasi diskursif NGOs berlangsung dalam dominannya praktik "aktivisme" atau gerakan sosial untuk merespon kegagalan negara dalam pembangunan yang mengabaikan hak-hak warga negara. Bergeser pada era paska otoritarian, formasi diskursif NGOs berlangsung dalam dominannya praktik "managerialisme" sebagai kuasa dan praktik pendisiplinan dari diskursus neoliberal demi akuntabilitas, transparansi, efisiensi, dan efektifitas manajemen proyek-proyek pembangunan, demokrasi, dan keamanan.

Dengan menggunakan pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis dan kerangka konseptual Foucaultian, penelitian ini akan menjelaskan dua hal berikut: pertama, bagaimana proses kuasa "*rezim of truth*" governmentalitas neoliberal di Indonesia paska-otoritarian telah membentuk aktivis NGOs sebagai subyek manajerial; dan bagaimana subjek aktivis NGOs menciptakan teknik, taktik, dan strategi perlawanan (*counter-conduct*) terhadap kuasa manajerialisme yang menormalisir dan mereduksi aktivisme akar rumput NGOs.

Berbasis temuan pengalaman tiga NGOs Indonesia, studi ini menunjukkan bagaimana jejaring kerjasama global secara langsung atau tidak langsung dengan lembaga-lembaga UN, Bretton Wood Institution, organisasi multilateral (OECD), MNCs-TNCs, lembaga donor, INGOs, Forum NGOs, NGOs yang terkonsolidasikan dalam "*good governance*" telah membentuk neoliberal governmentality, "subyek manajerial" dan "subyek entrepreneurial" pada pekerja/staf dan institusi NGOs. Efek kuasa normalisasi "managerialisme" di NGOs memproduksi beragam bentuk kuasa partikular, resistensi (*tactical reversal*), "*the tactical polyvalence of discourse*". Bentuk-bentuk kuasa partikular secara produktif menghasilkan orientasi dan spektrum relasi kuasa yang tidak stabil, berubah-ubah, dan kontinjen, baik di internal institusi NGOs maupun antara NGOs dengan negara, donor, dan masyarakat akar rumput.

Keywords: *diskursus politik, aktivisme akar rumput, NGOs, governmentalitas neoliberal, managerialisme, post-authoritarian, Indonesia.*