

(Re)Production of Knowledge for Human Resource Building: The Multicultural Dynamics of the Indonesian-language Wikipedia

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Abstract : Access to information is a fundamental requirement for developing quality human resources. One prominent source of such information is Wikipedia, a website which advertises itself as "the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit". This paper, which is based on participatory action, observational, and library research conducted over a period of ten years, describes the multicultural dynamics of the Indonesian-language Wikipedia (WPID) after first situating it within the context of the global Wikimedia movement. Established in 2003, WPID freely (in both the *libre* and *gratis* sense) offers more than 380,000 articles with a wide range of information which can be used for human resources building. Its more than 2,200 active users, originating from varied backgrounds, (re)produce knowledge through several means, including writing original text based on their understandings of existing sources and translating articles which exist on other Wikipedias. This combination of actors, approaches, and content has led to complex interactions between the (primarily Western) culture of the global Wikimedia movement, the mixed cultures of source articles, and the Indonesian/local cultures of the actors. This article argues that WPID has organically negotiated a compromise between these at times conflicting cultural dynamics to create a hybrid source of information.

Keywords: *Crowdsourcing, knowledge production, knowledge reproduction, Wikipedia*

Background

"A wizened old man was called to a company where a boiler was failing. The company had tried everything to fix the problem, without any success. Hearing the manager's pleas, the man took a long look at the tangled contraption and then gave it a sharp, ringing tap. Though the boiler worked perfectly afterwards, the manager was outraged at the invoice he received: \$1 for a tap and \$99 for knowing where to tap." This well-travelled joke illustrates the importance of the ability to access and use knowledge in developing quality human resources. Even if one has the physical ability to do a desired task, one is unable to apply this ability usefully without understanding when, how, and why a task should be done. Knowledge,

and the information from whence it is built, is thus central to human resource building.

Among the most widely used sources of information today is Wikipedia, a crowdsourced website which advertises itself as "the free encyclopedia that anyone can edit" and is available in more than two hundred and fifty languages. It allows readers worldwide to quickly and freely (in both the *libre* and *gratis* sense) access and use information on a wide variety of subjects, ranging from rural tourist attractions to countries, from aldermen to world leaders, from hills to planets. Its ease of access,

availability in numerous languages, and broad coverage has made Wikipedia a popular tool for students, journalists, lecturers, and the general public to use in their search for knowledge; in other words, Wikipedia has become perhaps the foremost source of information used in both human resource building (through knowledge building) and in the (re)production¹ of knowledge (through the dissemination of information from Wikipedia in other media).

Multiple researchers have investigated Wikipedia and related websites. In 2008 alone, studies examined the website's position in the transition from production to "produsage" (Bruns, 2008), its use of crowd-sourcing models (Kittur & Kraut, 2008), and the accuracy of its content (both generally [Rector, 2008] and in medicine [Clason, Polen, Boulos, & Dzenowagis, 2008]). The years since have seen multiple books (including, but not limited to, O'Sullivan, 2009; Reagle, 2010; Leitch, 2014; Tkacz, 2015) and articles (including Allahwalaa, Nadkarnib, & Sebaratnam, 2013; Hachey et al., 2013; Hargittaia & Shawa, 2014; Woodrich, 2014; Lehmann et al., 2015)

focused on Wikipedia or using it as a source, using a multitude of approaches from a plethora of disciplines.

Most of this deluge of academic products examining Wikipedia, however, has focused on the English-language Wikipedia (WPEN), which is the largest and most prominent Wikipedia. This paper attempts to buck that trend by exploring a smaller (but by no means unimportant) Wikipedia, the Indonesian-language Wikipedia (WPID), which as of writing has more than 380,000 articles and over 2,200 active users of various Indonesian and non-Indonesian backgrounds. Recognizing WPID's role in knowledge (re)production in Indonesia, and thus its contribution to the country's human resource development, this paper provides an overview of the Indonesian-language Wikipedia in the context of the global Wikimedia movement, with particular emphasis on the multicultural dynamics of the website. By doing so, it hopes to determine how these dynamics help shape the knowledge (re)production offered by WPID.

¹ Throughout this paper, the term (re)production is used in recognition of the fact that, although WPID policies require that no original research be included and that articles be written from a neutral point of view (i.e. that all information simply be

reproduced and compiled from multiple sources), in practice both original research and bias can be found and can survive for a lengthy period of time in articles (i.e. new knowledge or perspectives can be produced).

Method

Data collection for this paper was conducted over a period of ten years using a mixed methods approach of participatory action research, observational research, and library research. The researcher registered as a user of WPEN on 29 July 2005 and edited the online encyclopedia on an irregular basis for more six years, until he began a more concerted effort in 2011 to both understand the rules and community of WPEN and to expand his efforts into WPID. In his eleven years of activity as a Wikipedia editor, the researcher has made 124,751 edits to WPEN, 1,619 edits to WPID, and written more than 900 articles. This participatory action research was supported by as many years observing the WPID community in its discussions regarding content and policy, as well as reading pertinent policies and guidelines. Supporting data, particularly that which offered contextual information regarding the global Wikimedia movement, was collected through secondary sources.

Data regarding the dynamics of the Indonesian Wikipedia was then analyzed deductively using critical discourse analysis, drawing conclusions from the pieces of data collected. Particular focus was given to the policy framework in which content is (re)produced, as the formal framework for

knowledge (re)production); the WPID community, as knowledge (re)producers; and the content itself, as information from which knowledge can be built. The results and conclusions of this analysis are here presented descriptively.

The Global Wikimedia Movement

WPID is just part of one of numerous projects and activities within the scope of the global Wikimedia movement. This grassroots movement, which can be traced back to the establishment of WPEN by Jimmy "Jimbo" Wales and Larry Sanger on 15 January 2001, is founded on the principles of free/open knowledge and culture. As such, it has been closely affiliated with the GNU Project (founded by Richard Stallman in 1983) and with Creative Commons (founded by Lawrence Lessig in 2001); all, *nota bene*, were established by Americans who challenged the limitations of (American) copyright law.

Owing to its basis in the principles of free culture, the Wikimedia movement has united persons interested in openness, transparency, and freedom. Frequently, individuals contribute content in a multitude of forms, including text, photographs, policy, and software, to Wikipedia and related projects on a volunteer basis, without

financial remuneration. Contributors include persons from a broad spectrum of backgrounds, from schoolchildren to retired writers, from lawyers to janitors. According to data from the Wikimedia Foundation, a total of 63,250,514 accounts have been registered to edit Wikipedia;² of these almost 200,000 are considered active, defined as making at least one edit every month. Contributors may, but are not required to, be involved with other aspects of the movement, including administration and advocacy.

Though Wikipedia is the oldest and most prominent of the Wikimedia projects, is not the only one. The movement also encompasses a media repository (Wikimedia Commons), a digital library (Wikisource), a dictionary-cum-thesaurus (Wiktionary), a news portal (Wikinews), a quote compilation (Wikiquotes), a travel guide (Wikivoyage), a compendium of courses and learning materials (Wikiversity), a collection of original textbooks (Wikibooks), a taxonomic

catalogue of species (Wikispecies), and a knowledge base (Wikidata). Materials included in the various Wikimedia projects are given Creative Commons copyright licenses—the exact license varies between projects, though CC-BY-SA is most common³—thus allowing the reproduction of content in a variety of media.

Since June 2003, the various Wikimedia projects have been owned and coordinated by the Wikimedia Foundation, a nonprofit organization headquartered in San Francisco. This foundation hosts the websites' servers (in Florida and in Amsterdam), organizes the socialization of Wikimedia projects, sponsors related programs, handles fundraising, develops software, provides a legal body, and performs various other tasks necessary to ensure project success. Within the legal and policy framework of the various projects, it is the Wikimedia Foundation which has the greatest authority, and decisions reached

² This metric is unable, however, to account for individuals having multiple accounts, both in accordance with and contrary to site guidelines. Editors of Wikipedia are allowed to have more than one account in certain situations (for instance, an account may be created for use in public by editors fearing that their main account could be compromised or if they have forgotten/scrambled their password), but sock puppeting (creating accounts to avoid blocks, bans, and other punitive measures or to support oneself in an argument, among other purposes) is forbidden by the WPEN and strongly discouraged by the Indonesian-

language Wikipedia. See Wikipedia:Sock puppetry and Wikipedia:Pengguna siluman.

³ The CC-BY-SA (Creative Commons Attribution Share-Alike) license allows the reproduction of content with two conditions: the source of the content must be attributed, and the content must be reproduced or utilized under a similar license. Wikinews uses a CC-BY license, which does not require that content be reproduced or utilized under a similar license. Wikidata uses a CC0 License, which allows reuse without determining any conditions to be met.

within project communities cannot override decrees from the Wikimedia Foundation. For instance, the Wikimedia Foundation's ruling that almost all photographs of living people are not covered by their Exemption Doctrine Policy—and thus photographs of living people cannot generally be used under a claim of fair use—applies to all Wikimedia projects without exception ("Resolution:Licensing policy").

At the regional level, Wikimedia chapters, which are legally independent from the Wikimedia Foundation, handle offline activities and provide outreach. Chapters may cover specific areas of one country (such as Wikimedia DC, which handles the area around Washington DC) or entire countries (such as Wikimedia UK, which handles activities in the United Kingdom). Chapters' activities include organizing regional conferences, conducting outreach, and coordinating global events. Activities held by chapters include GLAM (Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums) projects, in which chapters build working relations with cultural institutions and promote the open dissemination (such as donation) of

information; the related Wiki(p/m)edian in Residence project, in which Wikipedia/Wikimedia contributors are placed in institutions to coverage of that institution; and editing training sessions at universities and schools.

In Indonesia, outreach and offline activities are coordinated by Wikimedia Indonesia. This sixty-member chapter, established in 2008, is not limited to coordinating activities related to WPID, but also supports Wikipedias written in multiple regional languages—including Acehnese, Banjar, Banyumasan, Buginese, Javanese, Minangkabau, Sundanese—as well as other Indonesian (regional)-language projects and assists local communities in establishing Wikipedias in their own languages.⁴ Its projects have included the Papat Limpad competition, aimed at stimulating contributions to the Javanese-language Wikipedia; a joint effort with the Lontar Foundation to write and/or expand articles on Indonesian literature; and the Karja Project, which focused on digitizing public domain Javanese texts (Woodrich, 2015). Wikimedia Indonesia's day-to-day efforts are overseen

⁴ Before a specific language Wikipedia can be formally established, it must first go through an incubation process to determine its sustainability and conformance with specific criteria (language

base, recognition, etc.). Wikipedias in regional Indonesian languages which are currently in incubation include the Balinese-language Wikipedia, the Madurese-language Wikipedia, and the Batak Toba-language Wikipedia.

by a board of directors, consisting of a chair, general secretary, treasurer, and their deputies. This board is under the supervision of a three-member board of trustees and its actions must conform with the chapter's Articles of Association.⁵

Overview of the Indonesian-Language Wikipedia

Policies and guidelines

Policies and guidelines on WPID are derived from the core principles of Wikipedia, as codified in the Pancapilar—a translation of the Five Pillars first codified on WPEN on 4 May 2005. Each of these pillars, which respectively state that (1) Wikipedia is an encyclopedia, (2) Wikipedia is written from a neutral point of view, (3) Wikipedia is free content that anyone can use, edit, and distribute, (4) Editors should treat each other with respect and civility, and (5) Wikipedia has no firm rules, are explained point-by-point on WPID, rather than as single paragraphs as in the original source. Specific points in these pillars differ slightly. The WPID explanation that "Wikipedia is an encyclopedia", for instance, incorporates the statement that no original research is

permitted, and that accuracy is paramount; both points are included with "Wikipedia is written from a neutral point of view" on WPEN.

Numerous similar differences can be found by comparing WPID policies and the WPEN policies from which they were (frequently) translated. Comparison of the simplified rule lists for these Wikipedias (at Wikipedia:Aturan yang disederhanakan and Wikipedia:Simplified ruleset, respectively), for instance, indicates a tendency for WPID to take a firmer approach to content. WPID requires that editors add reliable sources immediately when adding information by using the term *harus* ("must"), whereas WPEN formally only recommends that sources be included ("should").⁶ On WPID, this summary emphasizes its requirement for contributors wishing to add information to include references by subsequently stating that persons intending to remove information need not provide references (i.e. no sources which state that the new information is incorrect are needed). On WPEN, the summary only notes that the onus for including a reference is borne by the

⁵ Available in Indonesian at http://wikimedia.or.id/wiki/Anggaran_Dasar

⁶ In practice, however, the WPEN community expects reliable sources to be included

immediately. This is particularly true for information added to articles which are already of higher quality (such as Featured and Good Articles).

contributor who wishes to include specific information.

Some WPID policies and guidelines differ significantly from WPEN ones. For instance, the criteria for WPID's featured article process—that is, the process which selects articles to be presented as the best of WPID on the website's main page—specifies that articles which have too many red links (links to articles which have not yet been written) cannot be selected. This criterion is enforced in the selection process by users, and thus contributors hoping to have an article selected must either write articles to "turn the red links blue" or avoid linking to any articles which have not been written. The articles they write may not be overly short, either, as articles deemed insufficient for their subjects may be tagged with the "Kembangkan" (Develop) template and deleted within two weeks. Both of these differences suggest a more formal emphasis on ensuring that WPID entries appear complete; this, it would appear, is intended to allow WPID to come across as a more valid source of information.

As noted above, in 2007 the Wikimedia Foundation ruled that almost all photographs of living people are not covered by the Wikipedia's Exemption Doctrine Policy—and thus photographs of living people cannot generally be used under a claim of fair use (i.e. that usage of copyrighted material is allowed in limited circumstances without acquiring permission from the holders of rights over the material). Although formal WPID policy recognizes this resolution (see "Wikipedia:Penggunaan media nonbebas"), fair-use images of living people have remained common on WPID, and many such images have been uploaded even after the passing of the Wikimedia Foundation resolution. Fair use images of Meriam Bellina and Vina Panduwinata, for example, were uploaded in 2014 and 2015, respectively. Although some inquiries into deleting specific fair use images have been followed by action, especially when free replacements have been offered,⁷ there has been no mass campaign to delete fair use images.

The updating of WPID policies and guidelines is done less regularly than on

⁷ Over the course of this study, the researcher has contributed freely licensed photographs of public figures such as Tamara Geraldine, Iman Budhi Santosa, Sitok Srengenge, Evi Idawati, and Dian HP. These images replaced fair use images which

were subsequently deleted by an administrator of the Indonesian Wikipedia. Public domain images of actors and actresses active in the 1950s, such as Mieke Wijaya, A. Hamid Arief, and Indriati Iskak, have also been contributed to replace fair-use images.

WPEN. For instance, although a Wikimedia Foundation board resolution stipulating that the license for Wikipedia text would be migrated from the GNU Free Documentation License to CC-BY-SA 3.0 was passed in May 2009, the Pancapilar, copyright, and simplified ruleset pages of WPID have continued to use the older license—despite the fact that the footer of each page shows the correct license. Combined with the general *laissez-faire* attitude towards fair use images of living people mentioned above, this is suggestive of a general lack of interest in copyright issues; however, it WPID's relative lack of volunteers should also be recognized.

Editor Base

WPID was established in 2003. Though its first article was written by an unregistered user, WPID's pioneer is considered to be Revo Arka Giri Soekatno (born 1970), an Ambon-born Javanese man who has spent much of his life (since the mid-1980s) in the Netherlands. In an interview with *Kompas* (Sodikin, 2006), Revo stated that he first became interested in writing Wikipedia articles when he was searching for

information on the Guanches of the Canary Island and found that coverage was severely lacking. After learning that anyone could edit the website, he began to write (including in Indonesian and in Javanese), eventually becoming the first administrator of WPID. He and other like-minded individuals had written 2,810 entries by 2004 (Sholihin, 2004), growing to more than 45,000 by the end of 2006 (Sodikin, 2006).

Revo is far from an outlier in WPID. Many of the online encyclopedia's early adopters were young, urban individuals with a background in foreign languages, in working with international organizations, or even of studying outside of Indonesia. Sholihin (2004), for instance, refers to a Surabaya-based editor named Bambang Priantono as working as an English-language tutor, and Siska Doviana, a founder of Wikimedia Indonesia and the chapter's chair from 2011 to 2015, worked with the US Embassy and USAID in Jakarta. These young students and professionals were able to use their existing understanding of communications technology, including coding,⁸ to more effectively write articles on

⁸ Wikipedia and other wiki-based websites have historically used a simplified form of HTML known as wiki markup. As such, a familiarity with HTML and coding is highly beneficial for contributors. Although a WYSIWYG text editor (the VisualEditor) has been available since 2013,

its adoption has been extremely limited; according to statistics from the Wikimedia Foundation ("Hourly edits, visual editor vs wikitext (%)"), VisualEditor edits consistently represent less than five percent of all hourly edits made to WPEN (no data is presently available for WPID).

a range of subjects (discussed in further detail below). This is not to say, however, that no other demographic was represented; for example, Prasetyo, a founder of Wikimedia Indonesia and editor since 2006, is a retired Indonesian Army Major General (with a background in signals technology and communications).

As of 2016, WPID has over 2,200 active users of various Indonesian and non-Indonesian backgrounds. Recent editor demographics have included younger students educated exclusively in Indonesia. These include elementary, junior high, and senior high school students (though the exact number of these contributors is not recorded; users' inclusion of personal information is purely voluntary) as well as university students. It is this latter group has been targeted by most Wikimedia Indonesia outreach programs, including Papat Limpad, Bebaskan Pengetahuan, Sabanda, and

Sundapedia, which are conducted in partnership with universities determined by considered to have an interest in each project's specific goals.⁹ Even with these changes to the website's demographics, however, many editors continue to come from an urban background.

Content

As of July 2016, WPID has more than 380,000 articles. (Re)production of information through WPID articles tends to follow one of four distinct approaches, either alone or in combination with others. Articles may be written entirely based on existing reliable sources, translated from another Wikipedia (frequently WPEN), written based on the contributor's own knowledge, or copied (in whole or are in part) from a non-free source. These approaches to (re)production can be classified as follows:

	Allowed by WPID Policy	Not allowed by WPID Policy
New content	Written from reliable sources	Written based on contributor's own knowledge
Existing content	Translated from another Wikipedia article	Copied from a non-free source

⁹ The Papat Limpad program, for instance, was dedicated to increasing activity on the Javanese-language Wikipedia and expanding the use of Javanese as a written language. As such, the 2011 edition worked in collaboration with the State University of Semarang and the 2012 edition worked in collaboration with the PGRI Teacher's

College (Semarang), Diponegoro University (Semarang), Gadjah Mada University (Yogyakarta), the University of Indonesia (Jakarta), the State University of Semarang, and the State University of Yogyakarta. All of these institutions have programs to train students to become Javanese language educators.

In the first quadrant is an approach to knowledge (re)production which allows new content—not information, as the information is taken from elsewhere and paraphrased—to be created directly by WPID contributors. Contributors using this approach read various sources on specific subjects, and then summarize and paraphrase these sources to produce new content. This new content, despite WPID's aspirations for becoming a website with a neutral point of view, must necessarily involve the inclusion of the contributors' own biases (based in their cultural values), both because the contributors are actively selecting which content should be introduced to the article and which content should be left excluded (for example, by excising information deemed not pertinent or even inappropriate) and also determining the phrasing of the material. The medium itself requires a pro-rational, pro-scientific bias, owing to its policies based in verifiability and the use of written sources. The paraphrasing approach is both accepted and expected on WPID.

A second approach, which is also accepted on WPID, is the translating of content from another language Wikipedia into Indonesian. Wikipedias which have larger communities than WPID, such as

WPEN, often have articles (Featured Articles, for example), which can be readily and freely translated into Indonesian to ensure a high quality articles on different subjects. This is common even with articles on Indonesia; numerous featured articles on WPID, including those on Sudirman and Amir Hamzah, were first written in English. Such an approach to content (re)production necessitates the inclusion of the (mostly unrecognized) biases of the original contributor(s), albeit in a modified form. Though translators of articles do not necessarily decide which content from the original sources should be included, they are able to determine what elements of the source article should be maintained and what should be excised. As with paraphrasing, translation allows contributors to determine their own diction, and thus allows cultural value-based biases to be propagated.

The remaining two approaches are not allowed by WPID policy. This does not, however, mean that they are not practiced. Many contributors, especially first-time ones, (re)produce information based on their own knowledge, without giving any specific references which can be consulted to verify what is written. This approach subverts the imposed requirement for using written

sources; a contributor using this approach might, after all, only write what he or she has heard or experienced personally. However, contributors writing content based on their own knowledge also have a greater possibility for explicitly introducing their own biases, either deliberately or through the processes described above. Though text showing more prominent biases may be redacted or edited by other contributors, it is also possible for such text to remain on WPID.

The last approach discussed here is copying, either in whole or in part, content from existing non-free sources,¹⁰ including encyclopedias, catalogues, websites, and blogs. Content written in a language other than Indonesian may be translated, though this is less common than copied articles originally being written in Indonesian. Copying can be attributed to a lack of knowledge of copyright law—a lack of recognition that the content being copied is protected by law, for instance—a belief that such copying is not problematic, or even to

protests against copyright law. All possibilities suggest a lack of interest or even disrespect for copyright law, a Western concept introduced to Indonesia by the Dutch during the colonial period. Contributors' agency here is, however, only partial. By copying text from existing sources, contributors are also reproducing the biases present in those sources. The WPID entry for the film *Laki-Laki Tak Bernama* (1969), for example, copies the plot summary presented in JB Kristanto's *Katalog Film Indonesia* (2007, p. 74), and thus includes Kristanto's biases: "Many characters are presented and each is given sufficient background, but the story being told is unclear".¹¹

In terms of coverage, WPID has numerous entries on global subjects, including 15,745 categorized as related to the United States,¹² 7,289 categorized as related to Malaysia, and 6,967 categorized as related to Great Britain. However, the vast majority of entries—108,780 articles, or a full third of all WPID articles—are categorized as relating to Indonesia. This includes articles

¹⁰ Copying content from a free source, such as an encyclopedia for which the copyright has expired, is allowed, and was common during the early years of WPEN. However, owing to a lack of such resources written in Indonesian, copying content from free sources (aside from Wikipedia) has been rare. The majority of content on WPID copied from non-Wikipedia sources comes from copyrighted sources.

¹¹ Original: "Banyak tokoh muncul dan masing-masing diberi latar belakang secukupnya, tapi apa yang ingin diceritakan tidak jelas."

¹² All figures counted automatically with the PetScan tool on 1 August 2016. See <https://petscan.wmflabs.org/>

on every city (*kota*) and district (*kabupaten*) in the country, as well 6,775 articles relating to subdistricts (*kecamatan*) and 52,859 articles relating to villages (*kelurahan*). This also includes more than 5,600 Indonesian people, including actors, singers, politicians, criminals, soldiers, athletes, etc.

Among WPID's featured content, a greater proportion of content related to Indonesia can likewise be seen. Of WPID's 326 featured articles (Artikel Pilihan), defined as the best articles on WPID (as determined by its community),¹³ 103 are categorized as related to Indonesia. These include numerous articles on Indonesian literature (including the poetry collection *Boeah Rindoe* and the novel *Atheis*), cinema (including the lost film *Terang Boelan* and the Citra Award-winning ?), religious sites (including the Great Mosque of Ganting and the Gedono Convent in Semarang Regency), history (including the 1740 massacre of ethnic Chinese in Batavia and the Padri Wars), and figures (including singers such as Chrisye, academics such as Soedjatmoko, soldiers such as Prabowo Subianto, writers such as Andjar Asmara, and filmmakers such as Djadoeg Djajakusuma). Featured images

on WPID, which are selected by vote, frequently depict Indonesia, though the whole world can be represented.

Multi-Cultural Dynamics on the Indonesian-language Wikipedia

WPID, as an heir of WPEN and its policies, has American and European cultural values embedded within its cultural sphere through its policies and even underlying concepts and principles. WPID and its policies are based in free culture, a movement which originated in the United States; scientific rationalism, verifiability, neutrality, and the supremacy of the written word, all of which were widely embraced in Indonesia during the colonial period and touted as hallmarks of a Western modernity; and the concept of an encyclopedia, which has been traced back to ancient Greece and Rome despite worldwide developments and contributions. The technology which makes WPID possible is likewise not of indigenous Indonesian origin; computers, the internet, HTML coding, etc. were all pioneered in the United States and Europe. Importantly, however, almost all of these cultural imports had both been shaped through their

¹³ The determination of featured article status involves a discussion among at least three members of the community and a vote. Unlike the

featured article process on WPEN, this does not generally involve a detailed review of nominated articles' prose.

interactions with non-European/American cultures and found wide acceptance among the Indonesian populace by the time WPID was established.

It is thus unsurprising that the earliest adapters of Wikipedia in Indonesia tended to have backgrounds and language skills, and/or be in occupations, which granted them regular access to non-Indonesian perspectives and sources of information. These early adapters also tended to have educational and professional backgrounds fields which prioritized the use of computer technology (i.e. communications) and/or rational, scientific ways of thinking. Though these early adapters were not, one could argue, as close to traditional Indonesian cultures as rural inhabitants, it should be noted that they did not have a solely Western cultural background. The early adapters of WPID came from various ethnic groups in Indonesia and thus were influenced by a number of different cultural backgrounds. Though more recent adapters of WPID tend to have a somewhat different background, the possession of a hybrid identity remains a hallmark of WPID contributors.

The hybridity of the cultural dynamics behind the establishment of WPID has organically affected its policies and the process through which knowledge is

(re)produced. The official ruleset of WPID remains steeped in Western cultural influences as a result of both resolutions from the central Wikimedia Foundation and of the ruleset itself generally being translated from WPEN. As such, it contains elements which are otherwise uncommon in an Indonesian context, such as the suggestion that rules may be ignored if necessary and a strict emphasis on avoiding copyright violations. However, the WPID ruleset nevertheless emphasizes different aspects of the contributing process. This study has shown, for instance, that WPID puts a greater (formal) burden of proof on contributors and prioritizes the appearance of completeness by requiring the inclusion of references, setting minimum standards for article length, and providing incentives to reduce the number of redlinks. Issues of copyright, meanwhile, seem to fall by the wayside as written WPID policy becomes increasingly distanced from actual WPID practice.

The content of WPID likewise reflects a hybridity emerging from the cultural dynamics in play. Formal processes for writing WPID content prioritize rational, scientific, and neutral (objective) approaches, requiring both the observation of copyright restrictions and the inclusion of references to written sources; oral sources, which are

central to the (re)production of knowledge in many traditional Indonesian cultures,¹⁴ are ignored. However, in practice these processes are undermined, consciously and unconsciously, by editors through their selection of information, choice of diction, and even decision to contribute content based on their own experiences or copy content from other websites. This undermining allows specific biases, based on contributors' cultural backgrounds and personal views, to be inserted into articles. Though these biases may be blatant (as with the copied Kristanto summary cited above) or subtle (the inclusion of SAW following the name of Muhammad, which indicates a content is written from a Muslim perspective) and thus shape the knowledge (re)production process.

Conclusion

The Indonesian-language Wikipedia (WPID), as part of the global Wikimedia movement, is built on the principles of free and open knowledge and culture, principles which are—in this manifestation—drawn primarily from American and European reactions their specific situations. WPID is

also subject to general policies determined by the Wikimedia Foundation, an organization located outside of Indonesia and staffed predominantly by persons of an American or European cultural background. However, WPID editors are predominantly from a (regional) Indonesian cultural background, though admittedly a hybridized one owing to their tendency to be residents of urban areas who are oriented towards modern technology. The content of WPID itself, likewise, is a combination of Western cultural biases and approaches with both Indonesian and non-Indonesian perspectives. WPID has thus organically negotiated a compromise between at times conflicting cultural dynamics to create a hybrid source of information.

The hybridity of the information (re)production process thus influences the information being provided by allowing biases and values to be (consciously or unconsciously) conveyed together with factual information. As such, WPID's position as a hybrid source of information has the potential to influence the knowledge-building processes of (re)users, including

¹⁴ Although several Indonesian cultures—including the Malays, Javanese, Balinese, and Buginese—have known writing for centuries, before the twentieth century literacy rates were very low.

Most common people could not read or write, and as such written knowledge (such as that contained in the Javanese *babad* or the Malay *hikayat*) had to be reproduced orally by having the manuscript read aloud.

students and journalists. This research project has not, however, endeavored to explore the extent to which this potential influence is realized and understood by (re)users, nor the role of WPEN, as a more complete reference, in (re)users' knowledge building. As such, further research is still required to better understand WPID's actual effect on human resource building.

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