

PD-ABY-480

**THE ASIA FOUNDATION
Quarterly Program Report
Political Transition Grant**

A. GRANT OVERVIEW

Name of Grantee	: The Asia Foundation
Title of Program	: Political Transition Grant
AID Grant Agreement No.	: AOT-A-00-98-00132-00
Period this Report Covers	: May 21, 1999 - 31 December 1999
Amount of this Grant	: \$ 1,975,740
Funds Received this Period	: \$ 0
Expenditures this Period	: \$ 728,049.46
Balance	: \$ 10,479.29

A

TAF 001 Yayasan Pendidikan dan Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (Indonesian Education and Legal Aid Foundation, YPBHI)

Purpose

To further democratization efforts in Indonesia ahead of the 1999 general elections by conducting a series of training and education programs across Sumatra, and to initiate a national dialogue to seek a peaceful resolution to the situation in Aceh.

Activities

1. Three-day workshop for YPBHI members from each of the island's eight provinces to develop a civic education curriculum focussed on the 1999 elections. At the meeting, YPBHI's strategy for voter education programming was also planned in greater detail, including allocation of tasks and a detailed time frame for planned activities.
2. Three basic civic education courses on the elections were held in Bengkulu (October), Lampung, (November), and Medan. Participants in the five day courses came from across Sumatra and included farmers, fishermen, traders, plantation workers, youth and students.
3. Three-day workshop on the 1999 election system was held in Palembang (October).
4. District meetings. A total of 36 district meetings were held across Sumatra. (Originally, YPBHI had proposed to hold village meetings in order to provide rural populations with information about the forthcoming elections and the role that they can play in this process. However, as a result of the workshop in Palembang, it was decided that it would be more appropriate to hold district-level meetings.)
5. National reconciliation for Aceh. Originally it was intended to begin this activity with a round table discussion in Sumatra, to be followed by a national seminar in Jakarta. However, YPBHI subsequently concluded that it would be more strategic to hold the national seminar first, and for the Sumatra meeting to be held as a follow up activity. The one-day national seminar, entitled *National Reconciliation and Regional Autonomy*, was held in Jakarta in December, 1998. The seminar was attended by almost 100 people including NGO and political party activists, representatives of mass organizations, the government, students, artists and journalists, as well as from funding organizations including The Asia Foundation. Two youths, victims of human rights violations in Aceh, were also present at the event. Speakers on national reconciliation issues comprised human rights activists from Aceh, Irian Jaya and East Timor, as well as Glen Wildschut, a South African who worked for three years with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and gave a presentation on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Resource persons to discuss regional autonomy were Mashuri Maschab from the Department of Political Science of Gajah Mada University and Nawir Messi from INDEF.

6. Institutional support.

7. Media campaign. Two information sheets were produced, one on the election system, setting out the pros and cons of the district versus the proportional representation system, and the other providing voter education information.

Analysis

The YPBHI program of activities got off to a very positive start, and the Foundation was impressed by the programs conducted and the materials produced. The Foundation also enjoyed regular communication with senior officials in the organization. However, in late February 1999, the Foundation learned that YPBHI was experiencing some serious internal management problems and also received a claim that some portion of YPBHI's reports to the Foundation may have been fabricated. The Foundation responded by arranging separate meetings with both sides involved in the dispute in order to assess the exact nature and seriousness of the allegations, as well as by requesting clarification regarding a number of deficiencies found in the financial reports submitted by the YPBHI treasurer. The Foundation's Grants Trainer also visited the head office of YPBHI in Bandar Lampung to review the accounting procedures.

From the information gathered, it was evident that there had developed deep mistrust between the YPBHI Chairperson and Treasurer on the one hand, and some members of the YPBHI board on the other. However, after detailed investigation the Foundation found no evidence of financial malfeasance, nor evidence to substantiate allegations that narrative reports were falsified. The Foundation's conclusion was that the programs were, in large part, conducted as planned, although in the later stages of the grant the efficacy of these may have been reduced as a result of poor coordination within YPBHI. As a result of these findings a second grant (USAID but not OTI supported) to the organization was terminated.

TAF 002 Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Legal Aid Foundation, LBH Yogyakarta)

Purpose

To further democratization efforts in Indonesia ahead of the 1999 general elections by conducting a series of activities aimed at encouraging greater civic participation in Yogyakarta and Central Java in the general elections and in the reform debates.

Activities

In order to raise awareness of new legislation issued by the government, LBH Yogyakarta held three related activities in March 1999.

The first activity was a three-day training session from March 3-5, 1999. Forty-one participants, including public figures, farmers, housewives, sex workers, grassroots

religious leaders, legal assistance workers and laborers attended this event. The training session provided participants with in-depth knowledge related to the legislation on political parties, the upcoming election, and the structure and role of the MPR and DPR. This training enabled the participants to better understand the new legislation and compare between the new and the old legislation.

The second activity, held on 17 March 1999, was a one-day workshop on the new legislation. Thirty-six participants representing political party members, academics, journalists, NGO representatives and representatives from other professional organizations participated in the workshop. The prime objective of this workshop was to examine the new legislation and to draw attention to articles in the legislation that run contrary to the principles of human rights and democracy.

The third activity was a regional seminar held on 25 March 1999, which provided follow-up to the results of the March 17 workshop. This seminar focused on how to proceed regarding articles that run contrary to the principles of human rights and democracy. This seminar involved ninety-six participants, including political party activists, academics, NGO leaders, government representatives and journalists.

LBH Yogyakarta also hosted a training session on fair and honest elections on 24-25 April 1999, inviting fifty-five participants including labor representatives, housewives, religious leaders, teachers, traders, sex workers, and representatives for the handicapped. The purpose of the training was to enable participants to provide information within their communities and to their constituents regarding cooperative means to promote and implement a fair and honest election.

In the third week of May, 1999, LBH Yogyakarta conducted a three-day training from May 21-23, 1999 on election implementation and monitoring. This activity was the last activity conducted under this grant. Sixty people from DI Yogyakarta and the eastern regions of Central Java attended this training. Following this training, the participants were able to provide advice to residents of the surrounding areas and participate in the implementation and monitoring of the election.

Analysis:

LBH Yogyakarta conducting the activities funded under this program efficiently. The participants from the three series of events acted as intermediaries to provide information on the new legislation in Yogyakarta and Central Java. It is hoped that positive inputs and feedback resulting from these events will contribute greatly to the debate over the political legislation, which is going to be reviewed again in the year 2000. LBH Yogyakarta has been able to involve high caliber speakers in its events, and its long experience of working with the local media has enabled it to attract significant press coverage of its events.

The trainings conducted by LBH Yogyakarta increased participants' understanding about political and election-related matters. Impact can be seen by the fact that participants in LBH Yogyakarta workshops were in high demand in their local community to respond to questions related to politics and the election. In addition, many of the workshop participants later established networks in their communities to monitor the election.

TAF 003 Lembaga Studi Pers dan Pembangunan (Institute for Media and Development Studies, LSPP)

Purpose

To provide journalists around the country with training on how to report on inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict through a series of training programs for journalists in six cities across the country, the production of printed material and the development of an internet web site featuring information about these issues.

Activities

1. Content analysis for training materials. LSPP conducted a content analysis of 20 national and local media's reporting on inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict in Medan, Jakarta, Solo and Surabaya during May 1998, which was used as material in the training courses.
2. Workshop to develop curriculum. A workshop to the curriculum to be used in the training courses was held in Jakarta in October 1998 and, following further discussions with experts, the curriculum was finalized in December 1998.
3. Web site design and set up. LSPP's website was launched and available for access in December 1998 on <<http://www.lspp.or.id/>>.
4. Journalism training courses. Six courses were held: in Manado (January 1999); Jakarta, Medan, Surabaya and Mataram (February 1999); and Palangkaraya (March 1999).

Altogether 127 print and broadcast journalists participated. A representative of Medica Mondiale (a German NGO established to support female victims of the war in former Yugoslavia), Gabi Mischkowski, acted as one of the resource persons during three of the training programs, giving presentations on the role played by the mass media in former Yugoslavia.

5. Training course in Aceh. As a result of requests from journalists in Aceh, and because some funds remained for this activity, an additional training course was added to the original schedule, which took place in Banda Aceh in May, 1999. This training was

opened up not only to journalists from both print and broadcast media, but also to individuals working for student or NGO media.

6. Translation into Indonesian of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Guide for Journalists*. LSPP translated and printed 4,000 copies of the guidebook originally written and produced in English by the Asian Institute for Development Communications (AIDCOM), an Asia Foundation grantee in Malaysia. Five hundred and fifty copies of the guidebook were distributed directly to radio journalists from Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Kalimantan who participated in a joint BBC-HPPI training course series on election reporting during April and May 1999. An additional 100 copies were made available to Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung for distribution during four radio journalism training courses conducted in Java in April and May 1999. The remaining copies have been made available to broadcast and print media journalists throughout the country, as well as to student media and NGOs.

7. In addition, LSPP also published 2,000 copies each of three books: *Negeri Dalam Kobaran Api: Sebuah Dokumentasi tentang Tragedi Mei 1998* (A Country in Fire: A Documentation on May 1998 Tragedy); *Dari Keseragaman Menuju Keberagaman: Wacana Multikultural Dalam Media* (From Uniformity to Diversity: Multicultural Discourse in Media); *Pemilihan Umum 1999: Demokrasi atau Rebutan Kursi?* (1999 General Election: Democracy or Struggling for Seats?). These first two books were distributed to participants attending the HPPI radio journalism training in 7 cities, as well as to NGOs, print media journalists, college students and other interested individuals. The books are attached in Appendix B.

Analysis

This program constituted the first time that The Asia Foundation had worked together with LSPP, although Foundation staff have known some of the organization's members for some time. The Foundation was impressed with the way in which the organization approached its work, using both their own skills and expertise and also that of well-respected individuals whom the LSPP has sought out to provide input and commentary on both the training curriculum and the media survey.

Even so, at times LSPP was over-ambitious. For example, the mass media content analysis proved to be a more major undertaking than LSPP had initially envisaged in terms of the time and human resources required to conduct the study. As a result, although the end product is a valuable reference tool, it was the synopsis of it that was used as material for the training series.

The training courses were greeted enthusiastically by participants who found them an important opportunity to deepen their often somewhat limited understanding of the complexities of reporting on inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict. LSPP sought to do this through discussions on topics such as *Minority Stereotypes in Indonesia*, and *The Roots of SARA in Indonesia*, as well as on the practicalities of reporting on such issues

and techniques of investigative reporting in this context. The value of providing Indonesian journalists with positive and negative examples of media reporting in other countries of ethnic or religion-related conflict was demonstrated during the LSPP training through the input of German speaker Gabriela Mischkowski during three of the training programs. Participants responded with interest to the information she was able to convey about the manipulation of the media in former Yugoslavia and this led to interesting comparisons between the actual and potential role of the media in Indonesia.

The rising tide of such conflict in Indonesia and the much greater freedom for journalists to write on SARA issues since May 1999 made this project extremely timely, and The Asia Foundation regards this series of courses as having been an important first step in raising awareness of well over 100 journalists from around the country about these very topical issues.

A significant number of training participants expressed the hope that LSPP's training program would be followed up with practical training on reporting on inter-ethnic/faith conflict. The Asia Foundation responded to this request by supporting a series of radio journalism training programs conducted by the Indonesian Broadcast Practitioners' Association (HPPI) in conjunction with trainings from the British Broadcasting Corporation World Service Training Trust, with funding from USAID/OTI (see TAF 39 and 44).

The guidebook for journalists was warmly welcomed by journalists. For example, BBC trainers conducting a UNDP-sponsored training program on election reporting, remarked on the enormous enthusiasm with which the provision of the guidebooks was greeted by participants in their radio journalism training courses. Journalists contacted by The Asia Foundation confirmed that they generally have little in-depth knowledge about human rights issues and also that there is a dearth of written materials on human rights that fit the specific needs of journalists, i.e. concise but relevant to their work, and agreed that similar guidebooks on other themes would also be very welcome. The Foundation followed up on this by providing a separate grant (USAID funded) to LSPP to produce a series of seven guidebooks for journalists on human rights and multi-culturalism.

**TAF 004 Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan Penerbitan Yogya (Yogya
Institute of Research, Education and Publications, LP3Y)**

Purpose

To conduct a series of training programs in five cities across the country to provide 125-150 journalists and editors with the skills to ensure that the public has access to informed and balanced information about issues relating to the 1999 general elections.

Activities

1. Training for Trainers (TOT). The TOT was held in Yogyakarta in October 1998, during which a curriculum for the election reporting training program was drafted.

2. Journalists' training. Five four-day training sessions for newspaper journalists and editors were conducted during November and December 1998: in Yogyakarta for participants from Java and Kalimantan; in Palembang, South Sumatra, for participants from South Sumatra and Lampung, Bengkulu and Jambi; in Medan, North Sumatra, for journalists from Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra and Riau; in Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, for journalists from North Sulawesi, Maluku and Irian Jaya; and Denpasar, Bali, for journalists from Bali, West and East Nusa Tenggara and East Timor.

3. Evaluation of the election reporting training program and book launch. A half-day program was held in February 1999, in Yogyakarta at which four of the experts who acted as resource persons for the training sessions were invited to give their evaluation of the program as well as to analyze election-related reporting in the mass media over the past few months. The event was attended by around 20 students and journalists, including alumni of the training course. The discussion was combined with a book launch for LP3Y's publication *Menuju Masyarakat Kewargaan: Dinamika Politik dan Agenda Pers dalam Pemilu* which contains the materials used during the training program.

4. Seminar and workshop on radio management, held in Yogyakarta in May 1999. Twenty radio owners or senior managers attended the sessions, representing some 100 or so local radio stations in Yogyakarta and Central Java. The seminar/workshop was aimed at encouraging radio owners and senior managers to include more news programs and public service announcements in their programming.

5. Reprinting and distribution of 1,000 copies of *Menuju Masyarakat Kewargaan: Dinamika Politik dan Agenda Pers dalam Pemilu*. In addition to the books having been distributed to journalists taking part in the LP3Y training courses, 650 books were made available to local radio journalists participating in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Himpunan Praktisi Penyiaran Indonesia (HPPPI) training conducted in Sumatra, Java, Sulawesi and Kalimantan in April and May 1999, while 100 copies were provided to the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung for distribution at four radio journalism training courses conducted in Java in April and May 1999.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation is pleased with the quality of the journalism training program carried out by LP3Y which, as anticipated, conducted the program with great professionalism and commitment. Altogether, some 112 journalists and editors from 27 cities around the country received training on election coverage, below the estimate originally made (125-150). This is disappointing in view of the important opportunity that this training represented for journalists ahead of the first multi-party election in decades. The problem was not a matter of lack of interest or effort - each of the courses was

generally oversubscribed - but instead a result of individuals accepted onto the course failing to attend, without giving any forewarning.

This problem was highlighted by the external evaluator of The Asia Foundation's election programs who noted that, although the LP3Y courses were well run, with prominent and interesting speakers and a format that encouraged journalists to think critically about issues and the way the press reports them, senior journalists told LP3Y that heavy workloads and sometimes pressure from editorial staff prevented them from attending. Frequently their positions would be taken by junior journalists who lacked knowledge of and critical engagement on political issues.

The evaluator suggested that new approaches are necessary in order to overcome this problem, possibly focussing on gaining the support of editors and media owners to ensure that journalists can participate in courses and develop their professional skills. The Asia Foundation concurs with this view and, indeed, LP3Y's workshop/seminar on radio management held in May 1999 was an attempt to do this, albeit focusing on radio managers and encouraging them to introduce more news and current affairs, as well as public service, programming into station schedules. The program proved to be a considerable success, with participants showing much greater enthusiasm for providing more air time to current affairs and public service programming than either the Foundation or LP3Y had anticipated. The most significant outcome of the program was an agreement among participants to establish a consortium/working group that will facilitate networking between the radio owners/stations represented in order to exchange information and ideas about public service announcements and political news reporting. A press conference was held in Yogyakarta in May 1999, at which the formation and goals of the consortium/working group were announced.

TAF 005 LBH Merdeka (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Merdeka, Independent Legal Aid Institute)

This program has been canceled as described in previous quarterly reports.

TAF 006 LBH Bali (Bali Legal Aid Institute)

This program has been canceled as described in previous quarterly reports.

Purpose

To assist in efforts to promote media freedom in Indonesia by drafting and submitting recommendations to the national parliament about the proposed changes to legislation on the print and broadcast media.

Activities

1. A series of meetings, attended by media practitioners and academics, to discuss the government's draft press and broadcast laws, and ideas for amendment in order to ensure that the legislation conforms to international standards regarding freedom of expression and information.

2. Production of alternative draft laws on the print and broadcast media.

3. Meetings with the Ministers of Justice and Information, DPR factions and DPR Commission I. The proposed alternative legislation was discussed with the relevant ministers and was also submitted to each of the five factions represented in the parliament ahead of the relevant parliamentary debates. Recommendations were also made to each of the factions in the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) with respect to suggested amendments to the MPR Decision on Human Rights.

Analysis

The goal of influencing the DPR and MPR to incorporate changes to the draft press law and to incorporate relevant articles into the MPR Decision on Human Rights was always anticipated to be a difficult one given the fact that for over three decades civil society has had no opportunity to provide input into the legislative decision-making process. Even so, SPS was indeed partially successful, and as a result of their initiative two chapters and six articles put forward by SPS were incorporated into the MPR Decision on Human Rights and several improvements were made to the government-sponsored media legislation.

SPS' position as a government-acknowledged institution placed the organization in a good position for lobbying of this kind, and the Foundation was pleased with the relative success that was made to date in influencing legislative change.

The Foundation regards the process of changing the culture of a top-down approach to legislative and other decision-making as a long-term one and one that will require on-going pressure from civil society in order to effect this. The Foundation was therefore pleased to have been able to support an early initiative in this regard and plans to continue support for programs focusing on policy level changes initiated and/or supported by organizations representing civil society.

SPS has proved to be a highly motivated and effective facilitator of this program, drawing together key media organizations as well as media experts to draft the alternative legislation and, furthermore facilitating the creation of the MPPI. Masyarakat Pers dan Penyiaran Indonesia (MPPI), an umbrella grouping bringing together representatives from print and broadcast media organizations including SPS (which acts as coordinator for such activities), PWI, PRSSNI, private television stations and media analysts and practitioners. This is a notable achievement, given that it represents the first time that media practitioners, owners and experts from both print and broadcast media have come together in a single organization that can rightly claim to represent the mass media. This fact ensured that the drafts produced in the name of MPPI and the discussions with policy makers carried considerable weight.

TAF 008 LBH Yogya & LBH Apik, Voter Education Workshop

Purpose

The purpose of the conference was to assist the NGO community to determine appropriate roles for NGO involvement in non-partisan voter education, and to examine ways that NGOs could coordinate their voter education activities.

Activities

In an effort to build NGO capacity and encourage NGO coordination, The Asia Foundation helped two of its grantees develop a National NGO Voter Education Conference. The conference was held in Yogyakarta in November 1998, and was attended by approximately 100 individuals representing 60 organizations from throughout the country. This was the first workshop of its kind, and the fact that it was held relatively early in the election timeline was extremely helpful in promoting early interest in voter education activities among civil society organizations, ensuring that voter education campaigns were begun as soon as possible, and helping to ensure coordination among NGOs from the outset. To ensure that the conference was broadly representative of Indonesian civil society, The Asia Foundation helped prepare an invitation list for the conference that included a variety of secular and religious organizations from all areas of the country.

To help make sure that the conference was as effective as possible in meeting the needs of the NGO community, The Asia Foundation provided technical assistance for the development of the meeting agenda, and some informational materials. During the conference, The Asia Foundation's Election Advisor, Tim Meisburger, conducted two educational sessions, one on the meaning of non-partisan voter education, and the second on how to organize a comprehensive voter education campaign.

During the meeting participants agreed to develop a common agenda for voter education, and began the process by identifying some key informational needs of Indonesian voters.

Participants also agreed to form a national network for voter education, to coordinate their activities, and share information and voter education materials.

One NGO was elected (after a vigorous campaign) to act as a clearinghouse and focal point for voter education information. The Asia Foundation has since worked closely with the NGO, LKiS, in this project (see reports for TAF 022 and TAF 035).

Analysis

By helping NGOs develop comprehensive voter education strategies, this project significantly reduced the resources required to effectively educate the entire voting population. By sharing information, materials were improved, gaps in coverage identified and filled, and duplication avoided. Encouraging the development of standardized and modular voter education projects helped ensure that voters everywhere had access to at least the minimum information they required to be effective participants in the election process (two nationwide Asia Foundation supported voter education programs, the National Clearinghouse for Voter Education and the *Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat* (JPPR) derived from this voter education workshop). Standardized programs also helped reassure donors that their resources were effectively utilized.

Goenawan Mohamed, the editor of Tempo magazine, and several other participants remarked that attendance and interest in this conference was greater than for any other they had attended. For the first time in the history of Indonesia, representatives from various Muslim and Christian mass-based organizations sat down with representatives of NGOs from all over the country and developed a common plan of action to prepare voters for the 1999 election. This event had implications far beyond its immediate positive impact on the voter education process. Friendships made and the network established at this conference will continue long after the election, and have a lasting impact on the development of civil society and the process of democratization in Indonesia. As examples, the National Clearinghouse for Voter Education has continued, post-election, with a civic education initiative.

TAF 009 Forensics Training: Physicians for Human Rights and the National Human Rights Commission

Purpose

To assist in efforts to investigate human rights abuses in Aceh, Irian Jaya and East Timor through support for a forensics training program conducted by Physicians for Human Rights for members of the National Human Rights Commission as well as NGO representatives.

Activities

From November 17-19, 1998, a forensics training program was held in Jakarta, led by two forensics experts representing Physicians for Human Rights, Dr. William Haglund

and Dr. Nisam Peerwani. The participants included members and staff of the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM), as well as government representatives (from the Attorney General's office, the Ministry of Justice, and the police), the Forensics Department of the University of Indonesia, and NGO representatives from Jakarta, East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya.

The Jakarta training was followed by a four day trip to Aceh, during which practical training was provided to participants, in the form of a sample exhumation of a suspected mass grave site.

Analysis

Participants found the theoretical element of the training, conducted in Jakarta, both informative and highly relevant to their own work. However, greatest praise was saved for the practical training program in Aceh, which all participants confirmed to have been extremely valuable and to have constituted an important follow up to the theoretical aspect of the program. The fact that the two trainers were highly professional and at the same time accommodative of the varying skills and knowledge of the participants, was one of the keys to the success of this program.

The forensics training conducted through this program was the first of its kind to have been conducted in Indonesia, and the practical training in Aceh can serve as an important precedent with respect to future investigations into human rights abuses by Komnas HAM.

The Foundation was delighted at the positive way the program was received by all participants who encouraged the Foundation to undertake additional training and other activities to complement this program.

As a direct follow up to the OTI/PTG funded training program referred to above, the Foundation - with funding from USAID - supported three other programs. The first of these was a five week visit to the United States by the Head of the Forensic Science Faculty, University of Indonesia, Dr. Budi Sampoerna, who was also one of the participants in the Komnas HAM-Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) training in November 1998. The visit, which included attendance at the American Academy of Forensic Sciences annual meeting in Orlando, Florida, followed by a one-month internship at the Office of the Tarrant County Chief Medical Examiner in Fort Worth, Texas under the tutelage of one of the PHR trainers. Dr. Budi was subsequently involved in the Indonesian KPP HAM investigation of human rights abuses in East Timor.

The Foundation also provided funding to enable two Indonesian doctors to participate a major forensics project in Cyprus, run by Physicians for Human Rights, to exhume and examine over two hundred skeletons.

The other forensics-related program supported by the Foundation was a one-day seminar on *Clinical Forensic Procedures for the Victims of Violence*, held in Jakarta in August for medical professionals, including police forensic scientists, Komnas HAM and staff of relevant government ministries.

The objectives of the activities was to provide an opportunity for forensic doctors to increase their knowledge and experience of conducting investigations into human rights violations; to have direct experience of learning best practices; and to meet counterparts in the profession, both domestically and abroad. These experiences are aimed at suggesting ways in which the involvement of the forensic science profession in Indonesia in investigations into human rights abuses can be further enhanced and coordinated.

The Asia Foundation believes that each of these initiatives have been of assistance in supporting the long-term aim of developing a country-wide network of forensic scientists who will play a greater role in the future in providing medical expertise in the context of the investigation of human rights violations. The Foundation therefore intends to continue its discussions about how best to realize this goal with the University of Indonesia in the coming months.

TAF 010 Survey Research Center (SRI), Voter Education Survey

Purpose

To promote free and democratic elections in Indonesia by conducting a baseline survey of voter knowledge to provide critical information to Indonesian NGOs and others working on voter education campaigns in preparation for the 1999 elections.

Activities

In November 1998, during the first phase of this project, Charney Research (a research firm in New York specializing in election surveys) developed a draft questionnaire. Following development of the draft, fifteen in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted in the Jakarta area to refine the questionnaire. The in-depth interviews were conducted with both urban and rural voters, with a slight bias towards the less educated and less advantaged, under the assumption that they would have the greatest need for voter education. The refined questionnaire was then pre-tested to ensure the questions were well understood, and that respondents would answer them. In order to provide useful information to donors and NGOs as soon as possible, the results of the qualitative interviews formed the basis of an interim report that was distributed in early December.

Implementation of the second, quantitative, phase of the survey began in December, and almost all 2,589 interviews were completed by the end of January 1999. The last few, completed in early February, were from Ambon, and were delayed because of the unrest then wracking that city. The survey was the first of its kind ever conducted using a truly random national sample. The national sample consisted of 1,204 interviews, which were

supplemented by 1,389 additional interviews in selected areas to allow regional interpretation of the survey results.

Questionnaires were translated and data compiled in Jakarta by AC Nielsen (the implementing firm), and then sent for analysis to New York. Early results were received in Jakarta in mid-February, were edited, and immediately sent for translation into Indonesian. By February 25 the English version of the report was complete, but the decision was made to release both English and Indonesian versions simultaneously. The Foundation made this decision in order not to aggravate sensitivities amongst many Indonesian organizations related to foreign involvement in Indonesia's election.

Report releases were held in Washington, DC, and Jakarta in early March, and program consultant Craig Charney also spoke about the survey at a Council on Foreign Relations event that same month. The Asia Foundation's Indonesia Representative, Douglas Ramage, presented survey findings to members of Indonesia's National Election Commission and at an American Chamber of Commerce/Castle Group event. Foundation staff also presented results of the survey to a meeting of the Young Presidents Organization in Jakarta on April 15, 1999.

The final report is in two main sections. The first describes the survey methodology and the results of the national sample, while the second is focused on differences between regions. The survey was printed in both English and Indonesian. The English version was released through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and both English and Indonesian versions were posted both on The Asia Foundation's and the National Clearinghouse for Voter Education's websites. The English language version was posted on the UNDP's website. The survey also received considerable press coverage in the Indonesian and international media.

Analysis

News of the survey spread rapidly by word of mouth, and The Asia Foundation received many requests for the study from donors, NGOs and journalists. Interest was also expressed by the Team of Eleven (the precursor to the National Election Committee), who used the study to inform the development of the government's voter education campaign.

The survey clearly identified priority target groups, at both the national and regional level, and lists the media most effective in reaching them. It also clearly identified needs for civic and voter education among different socio-economic groups, and by region. Taken together, these findings had tremendous impact on the development and implementation of voter education in Indonesia.

As already mentioned, the National Election Commission used the results in the development of their comprehensive national voter education campaign. NGOs at the national level, such as the members of the *Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat*

(JPPR) used the survey in planning and coordinating their activities, while regional NGOs accessed the information through the Clearinghouse (which registered over 3,000 "hits" on its website), and thus were able to tailor their programs to specific regional needs. Donors used the survey to ensure that the projects they fund are effective contributions to voter education. By clearly identifying areas of greatest need, the survey likely significantly reduced the total resources required for voter education, benefitting both donors and NGOs. Policymakers worldwide used the report to gain a better understanding of the current situation in Indonesia.

The survey provided an effective baseline against which USAID and other donors could evaluate the effectiveness of their projects. It also benefitted NGOs in their evaluations. While other surveys were conducted, The Asia Foundation's survey was released well in advance of others, thus providing critical information in a timely fashion to organizations that had little or no prior experience in conducting voter education programs.

TAF 011 Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Purpose

To enhance civil-military relations and thereby facilitate a smooth negotiation process between the military and civil society regarding the military's role in Indonesia.

Activities

1. Joint research project, *Military and Civilian Thinking on the Problem of Indonesia's Transition to Democracy*. (See Appendix C for copy of the book *Hubungan Sipil-Militer dan Transisi Demokrasi di Indonesia: Persepsi Sipil dan Militer* which is the product of the research project.)
2. Workshop on Conflict Resolution. This took place in May, 1999, at Lemhannas.
3. Seminar on Civil-Military Relations and Democratic Transition in Indonesia. The seminar was held in May 1999 and attended by 150-175 participants including students, NGO activists, academics, former ambassadors, members of parliament, political party activists, business people and active and retired high-ranking military officers. During the first half of the seminar, the preliminary results of the research (see point 1., above) were presented by the researchers, and the second half of the day was given over to a more general public discussion of the role of the military in democratic transition. Three of the speakers were high ranking military officers, Lt. Gen. Agum Gumelar, Lt. Gen. Agus Widjojo and Maj. Gen. Agus Wirahadikusuma.
4. One day seminar entitled *The Role of the Military in the General Elections: The Thai Experience*, at which the speaker was General (rtd) Saiyud Kerphol, former Supreme Commander of the Royal Thai Armed Forces, and Senior Advisor to the Thai National Election Committee and Deputy President of the Poll Watch Foundation. The seminar

was held in April 1999 in Jakarta and attended by over 80 people. Participants included representatives from Lemhannas, Wanhankamnas, SESKO-TNI, UNFREL, KIPP and student representatives, as well as journalists and academics.

Analysis

The research project resulted in good quality papers on civilian and military perceptions of the armed forces current and future role in Indonesia, despite a number of obstacles encountered in the course of the project. These included the Chief of Staff of the Air Force refusing to give permission to participate in the study to the air force officer CSIS originally identified, which meant that an alternate researcher had to be identified. This points to a continuing lack of coordination, as well as a lack of common understanding and viewpoint, among the armed forces, as two of the other military officers not only received written permission directly from General Wiranto, but they obtained a *surat perintah* from the General to participate in the program, in itself a very positive sign.

CSIS also encountered some problems in dealing with Lemhannas with respect to the workshop on conflict resolution, but again demonstrated its staff's professionalism by successfully overcoming these, although it has meant that some aspects of the program had to be altered. Initially, CSIS had planned to invite two foreign speakers to the workshop (military officers from Thailand or the Philippines), but Lemhannas stated that they would have to undergo 'screening', a process which would likely be lengthy and may create additional problems. CSIS and The Asia Foundation agreed that, in the light of this, the proposal to include foreign speakers be dropped. Lemhannas has also insisted the inclusion in the workshop of senior military officers, even though CSIS had intended to focus instead on middle-ranking officers. Resistance by CSIS to this proposal almost led to the cancellation of the workshop, but a compromise was finally reached whereby four military speakers (mainly from Lemhannas) were added, bringing the total number of speakers to 12. Lemhannas also insisted on moderators coming not only from CSIS but also from Lemhannas, to which CSIS has agreed with the proviso that honoraria for the Lemhannas moderators be paid for by Lemhannas itself.

The problems related to the project as a whole highlights a major problem in Indonesia, and one that CSIS was seeking to address through this program: the lack of interaction between the military and civil society during the period of New Order government has created a strong feeling of mutual suspicion and thereby inhibited the development of an arena in which they can discuss issues of mutual interest and concern.

The May 1999 seminar was one means through which CSIS addressed this issue, and it did so with considerable success. Originally planned as a two day meeting, the seminar was conducted in one day because CSIS argued that the high rank of some of those attending would make it unlikely that they could commit to being present for two full days. The seminar was indeed very well attended, no doubt in large part due to the impressive range of senior military and civilian figures as speakers. The presence of three high ranking officers as speakers was a significant breakthrough, representing the first

occasion on which these three generals have spoken at the same forum on such an important, yet sensitive, issue. Furthermore, all three generals praised the seminar as important, and General Agum encouraged CSIS to organize similar events in the future in order to facilitate more dialogues between the military and civilians. This is particularly noteworthy given that two speakers, Munir and Rizal Panggabean, were highly critical of the military's role, doubting its seriousness in reforming itself and suggesting that the military should withdraw swiftly from politics. Despite this, General Agus Wijaya, Commander of SESKO-TNI, thanked Rizal Panggabean, the most outspoken civilian speaker, and promised to invite him to future events at SESKO-TNI.

Among those present as participants were Aisyah Amini of the DPR (PPP), Daniel S. Lev, Lt. Gen. (rtd.) Hasnan Habib, Ambassador Sabam Siagian, Maj. Gen. Slamet Supriadi (Deputy Assistant to the Commander in Chief for Intelligence Affairs), and several lieutenant colonels and colonels from the TNI headquarters, many of whom contributed to what proved to be an unusually frank and open debate between civilians and military officials about the past, present and future role of the armed forces.

The seminar provided an unprecedented opportunity for military officials to hear directly how civilians perceive the role of the military, not only during the New Order but also in the context of the military's current efforts to redefine its political role. Particularly notable was the preparedness of senior military officers to listen to candid criticism of the military's role in politics, especially since it is such a controversial subject is still being hotly debated within the military establishment.

CSIS and The Asia Foundation will continue discussions to assess the best way to develop further the positive dialog that this seminar generated between military and civilian experts. The seminar itself suggested that the military is inclined to engage in such dialog, even though it may prove more strategic to continue with less politically sensitive topics initially, until such time as both sides feel more comfortable with such discussions, after which more sensitive topics can be introduced without raising suspicions from within the military of the true agenda of the dialogue.

The one day seminar on *The Role of the Military in the General Elections: The Thai Experience* was organized by CSIS at the request of the Foundation, in order to take advantage of a visit to Indonesia of the former chief of the Thai armed forces who has, since his retirement, founded an election monitoring known as PollWatch. It proved to be a good opportunity for Indonesian military officers to exchange views with a very senior Thai military officer but also provided a venue at which military officers and civilians engaged in frank discussion of the military's past and future role in politics in Indonesia.

TAF 012 Yayasan Lontar

Purpose

To increase publicity and public awareness of voter education information by promoting a nation-wide series of voter education performances accompanied by a photographic exhibition and press conference in Jakarta.

Activities

For this project, the Lontar Foundation employed a team of three anthropologists and ethnomusicologists to organize over 200 voter education performances across the country in 19 different locations. This three-person team assisted in selecting areas where knowledge of voter rights and the voting process was low and designing appropriate programs for each region in consultation with local artists.

The performances were certainly entertaining to the target audience and received excellent media coverage (a schedule of performances and compilation of all press reports is attached). The Lontar Foundation estimates, perhaps a little too generously, that approximately 800,000 people, many from remote and less advantaged groups, attended the various performances. Furthermore, private television stations SCTV, TPI and ANTV aired video segments of these performances on June 5, 6, and 7.

The performances were accompanied by the production and distribution of 26,500 copies of two different voter education posters, which were sent to every province and distributed to over sixty other NGOs conducting voter education programs.

The Lontar Foundation drew further attention to this innovative voter education initiative by conducting a photographic exhibition at Mall Taman Anggrek in Jakarta that displayed 200 photographs depicting these performances. Written descriptions both in Bahasa Indonesia and local dialects accompanied each picture. The purpose of this event was not only to provide voter education information in and around Jakarta through an accessible artistic medium, but also to increase publicity through electronic and printed media. Over 40 members of the press attended the press conference, which received coverage on local television news stations. Photographs from this exhibit were also used in exhibitions in Denpasar and Pontianak in September and October.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation is satisfied with the success of the Lontar Foundation's integrated voter education campaign program using various traditional performances, print materials such as posters, brochures, T-shirts, and production of films for local television.

A question of concern involves the extent to which these polished performances addressed issues of voter education. Asia Foundation staff were unable to witness any of the performances – the result of poor communication between the Foundation and the Lontar Foundation concerning the performance schedule. However, The Asia Foundation

has learned from subsequent interviews that while Lontar Foundation staff discussed voter education content with performers, these performers were granted freedom to include such information at their discretion. Some did so effectively; others did not. In future programs of this sort, it will be important to establish better guidelines regarding information that should be conveyed through the performances, while still allowing a high degree of artistic freedom.

The exhibition of 200 pictures taken from these events and the accompanying press conference reinforced efforts to publicize voter education information, especially to those in and around Jakarta.

While the Lontar Foundation's programs were creative in terms of blending familiar and popular entertainment with voter education, The Asia Foundation was not satisfied with one poster that was widely distributed. The poster, intended to accompany the overall voter education campaign, depicted not only stereotypical – and derogatory – depictions of several ethnic groups within Indonesia, but also a bull, a symbol that might have been construed as partisan, since it is the symbol of several political parties, including Megawati's PDI-Perjuangan party.

Lontar did, however, produce a follow-up poster (depicting conversations at a polling station with the caption "*Pilihanku Kesejahteranku*") with extensive Asia Foundation assistance in terms of content and presentation, in order to avoid the mistakes of the first poster.

**TAF 013 Centre for Inter-Cultural Studies and Conflict Resolution
(CISCORE)**

Purpose

The purpose of this program, Interfaith Relations and Conflict Resolution, is to strengthen interfaith and inter-ethnic relations in the wake of the outbreak of violence in Indonesia over the past two years, particularly in the Solo area following the riots there in May 1998.

Activities

CISCORE's first activity, a workshop on inter-faith and inter-ethnic conflict resolution was conducted on January 28, 1999. The workshop, which was attended by Asia Foundation Program Officer, Hana Satriyo, and USAID Program Manager, Gartini Isa, discussed theological, philosophical, political and legal perspectives of inter-faith and inter-ethnic conflict, and the potential for resolving inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts in Indonesia. CISCORE invited a number speakers such as Budhy Munawar Rahman of Paramadina; TH Sumartana of Interfidei; Dr. J. Kristiadi of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS); Hotma Sitompul from Solidaritas Nusa

Bangsa; Mohammad Sobary of LIPI (Indonesian Institute of Sciences) and Darmanto Jatman of Diponegoro University.

Based of the workshop, CISCORE then developed and published a manual on advocacy for inter-ethnic and inter-faith conflict resolution (See Appendix D). The manual was completed in July, 1999, and 2,000 copies have been distributed to NGOs throughout the country. The first two parts of the manual discuss issues of inter-ethnic and inter-faith conflict such as the role of religion and politics, and provide historical information on where conflicts have taken place. The third part contains modules of conflict resolution and advocacy campaigns that can be used as models by NGOs, local communities, community organizations and especially youth organizations.

CISCORE has also conducted nine radio programs in cooperation with radio PTPN Rasitania 100.2 FM, a popular radio station in the Solo area. Radio programs broadcast by PTPN can also be received in cities such as Semarang, Tawangmangu, Magelang, Kelaten, Wonogiri, Sragen, Salatiga, Boyolali, Ungaran, Karanganyar and Yogyakarta area.

The first two *dialogues on air* programs were broadcasted on 22 and 29 April 1999 and focussed on inter-faith conflict resolution. The first dialogue addressed conflicts driven by religious fanaticism, while the second dialogue addressed on conflict between different schools of thought within a religion. In both two-hour long dialogues, three speakers and a moderator discussed the potential for conflict prevention and conflict resolution. During the last 30 minutes of the program, the public was encouraged to phone the radio station with questions or comments.

The third and fourth *dialogues on air* programs were broadcast on May 6 and 13, 1999, and specifically targeted women. The dialogues were incorporated into the morning program of "Women On-Line," a popular women's program on PTPN Rasitania. Both dialogues focussed on women and violence that occurs in inter-ethnic and inter-faith conflict, in which women often become the victims. The dialogues highlighted inter-ethnic and inter-faith relations in the neighbourhood and how women can participate to prevent violence in their neighbourhood.

The fifth radio program was conducted on May 13, 1999, broadcast live from the radio's auditorium. The format of the program was a talk show between four guest speakers and a radio presenter. The audience also joined in the discussion. The main topic of the discussion was on inter-ethnic and inter-faith dialogue in Solo. The four guest speakers were Mohamad Sobary, a researcher from LIPI, Haksu Tjhie Tjai Ing, a prominent Confucian leader in Solo, Father Mardi Widayat, a Catholic priest from Surakarta, and Reverent Mungky A. Sasmita, a Christian priest from Solo.

In addition, CISCORE conducted monthly radio talk show programs between July and October 1999. The main topic was conflict management and reconciliation efforts that

might be started in the Solo area. In one of the talk-shows, CISCORE received phone calls from victims of Solo's May 1998 riot and the talk-show also discussed the possibility of witness and victim protection programs for those victims and witnesses who would like to come forward and make their case through legal measures.

With regards to the print media articles, a series of articles written by members of CISCORE have been published in the following national and local newspapers: *Solopos*, *Suara Merdeka*, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Wawasan*. Those newspapers also reported on the January workshop, with *Solopos* and *Wawasan* printing very detailed reports over two and four consecutive days, respectively.

Analysis

CISCORE's radio program has contributed to public debate regarding the deterioration of ethnic and religious harmony in Indonesia in general and in the Solo area in particular. Many callers suggested the need for a regular radio program on inter-ethnic and inter-faith dialogue, as there are limited venues available for this kind of discussion. It was not until around a year ago that civil society organizations, such as CISCORE, began to work in the area of inter-ethnic and inter-faith relations. Prior to that, discussions of these subjects were considered taboo because it was considered a SARA issue.

The CISCORE radio dialogues that highlighted women's perspectives and opinions can be seen as an attempt to incorporate a gender dimension that in most cases is absent from discussions over inter-faith and inter-ethnic relations. Women who participated in the discussion via telephone stressed the urgent need to strengthen inter-ethnic and inter-faith cooperation in Solo especially at the neighbourhood level through activities that can embrace both Javanese and Chinese Indonesians. Even though participants had difficulties in identifying and suggesting the kinds of common activities that can be done, the high numbers of calls signifies the importance of including women in the discussions of such crucial issues in civil society development.

The manual for inter-ethnic and inter-faith conflict resolution has been warmly welcomed by most NGO activists. NGOs contacted by The Asia Foundation have confirmed that they have little knowledge about conflict resolution and most of them said that CISCORE's manual is the first conflict resolution manual available in Indonesian on inter-ethnic and inter-faith. For example, the manual was used as one source of training materials during a conflict management training conducted by The British Council in Yogyakarta, in November 1999. The Foundation is now discussing with CISCORE the possibility to produce a second edition of the manual.

CISCORE's print media program has sparked numerous letters to the editor responding to CISCORE's articles. These letters, both positive and negative, demonstrate the success of CISCORE in triggering healthy public debate over this issue.

CISCORE had decided to cancel both their out-door and in-door wayang performance as initially planned (discussed in the previous report.) The cancellation was mainly due to increased political tension in Solo, with riots in Solo in October and November, 1999. Even though the scale is smaller than the May 1998 riots, CISCORE considered that having a large wayang performance will not be the most effective conflict resolution mechanism for Solo at the moment. Instead, resources were channelled into an additional four radio programs instead of the wayang performance.

Overall CISCORE's programs were well planned and well received by various religious and ethnic communities in Solo. The Asia Foundation is pleased with the work of CISCORE, and is now working on planning a follow-up program with CISCORE. CISCORE has proposed to continue their radio program, especially given the strong public response to the existing programs. In addition, since CISCORE has established itself as an NGO that works on conflict resolution in Central Java, CISCORE has been asked to conduct training for other NGOs on conflict resolution measures. In the near future, CISCORE intends to start a course of conflict resolution training for NGOs which will provide the NGO community in Central Java with a basic understanding of conflict resolution and inter-ethnic and inter-faith cooperation.

TAF 014 Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia (PMII, the Indonesian Moslem Student Movement)

Purpose

To strengthen civil society through promoting public awareness, open debate, and critical perspectives on the packet of political legislation before the MPR-(People's Consultative Council).

Activities

PMII conducted a one-day public debate on 12 December 1998 in Jakarta, in which representatives from three major political parties and two social/political analysts presented perspectives on the then pending packet of political legislation, followed by an open debate and question/answer session with an audience of 250 people, primarily Muslim students. Participants discussed issues such as advantages and disadvantages of the proportional vs. district electoral system, role of Golkar in the upcoming elections, composition of parliament, the role of the military, and other election-related issues.

Analysis

This event was the first cooperative effort between The Asia Foundation and PMII, a potentially very influential student group and one of the most politically active elements of the Nahdlatul Ulama. This public debate provided an audience of primarily Muslim students, most of whom are actively involved in demonstrations and the student 'reformasi' movement in general, with a chance to grapple with the substance of political change they were demanding, rather than purely shout slogans in the street. It also

provided them with an opportunity to debate and dialogue directly with official party representatives. The event itself went smoothly, with the only minor drawback being the inability of some of the promised speakers to attend. The event did not achieve PMII's (and the Foundation's) ultimate goal of creating a set of demands to be conveyed to the legislature, due to the lack of consensus arrived at. They did achieve their medium-range goal however, of creating a space for ordinary people, activists and students to debate the issues usually reserved only for elite politicians. The packet of legislation when passed ultimately did not reflect all of the student demands, such as employment of the district system in the elections, and the revoking of the military's dual function; however some demands, such as the revoking of UU74 which limited election participation to three parties, were passed. There was not as much media coverage as we had hoped for, but the audience was enthusiastic and overall the debate was successful in promoting dialogue.

As a result of this success, PMII became an active member of the JPPR (People's Voter Education Network) and the Foundation's voter education program. PMII served as coordinator of provincial-level voter education activities in North Sumatra and Sulawesi, and was involved in producing and distributing voter education materials such as leaflets, stickers and booklets, and in producing radio talk-shows and ads. While the Foundation does not have a currently ongoing program with PMII, we continue to maintain close relations with them, and we regard them as a potential future partner. PMII is a strategic group to work with as not only do PMII alumni frequently occupy positions of political leadership in later years, but while students they are highly politicized and influential at the 'mass movement' level.

TAF 015 KOPRI-PMII (Women's Corps of the Indonesian Muslim Student Movement)

Purpose

To strengthen civil society through promoting public awareness, open debate, and critical perspectives on the issue of whether women can serve in positions of leadership, specifically as the President of Indonesia.

Activity

A one-day public debate was held in Jakarta on 28 November 1998, in which leaders from various political parties as well as activists and both Christian and Muslim religious leaders debated the question of whether a woman can be President of Indonesia, before an audience of Muslim students, activists, and campus groups.

Analysis

This activity was designed to counter directly the declaration by the KUI (Congress of Muslims) in October 1998 that the President of Indonesia should be a male Muslim. The public interest in this question was evidenced during this one-day debate in that over 500 people attended, 150% of the expected turn-out. In spite of logistical difficulties of

overcrowding and heat caused by this unexpectedly large audience, the primarily student/activist crowd was highly engaged in this debate, and a productive dialogue took place. While no ultimate consensus was achieved, even among the speakers, the prevalent view was definitely in favor of allowing women to be national leaders. There was good media coverage of the event, which was important not only for exposing this issue, but also for allowing some very strident expressions in favor of women's political participation to be heard nation-wide. This issue was raised again when it became clear that Megawati Soekarnoputri was a front-runner in the elections, and the issue of a woman president became highly politicized. Results of the Foundation-sponsored AC Neilson survey showed that a majority of Indonesians surveyed had no problem with the idea of a woman president, however for religious and partisan reasons, the Islamic leaders in Indonesia launched a strong opposition campaign. At this point KOPRI and other Foundation grantees mobilized, issuing statements to the press, participation in demonstrations, etc. to try to keep the principle of female leadership from being manipulated for political reasons.

As with the previously discussed grantee, KOPRI became an active member of JPPR and the Foundation's Voter Education program. They served as provincial-level coordinators of voter education activities in Aceh and Kalimantan, and also helped to produce and distribute above-mentioned voter education materials. The Foundation is currently in the process of working with KOPRI to design a program of political education and mobilization for young generation Muslim women aimed at fostering increased political participation among this strategic group. KOPRI is unique in that they are devout Muslim activists and at the same time university educated and for the most part feminist-oriented. They are thus an ideal organization to promote political participation among Muslim women. We look forward to working with them further in the future.

TAF 016 PARIBA

Purpose

To stimulate public debate on the political legislation then being considered in the House of Representatives and publish a book on political laws resulting from public seminars carried out in 8 cities in Indonesia for distribution to voters to provide information on the process through which the draft laws were turned into political legislation. By bringing the debate outside the parliament, PARIBA tried to expand the role for civil society in influencing the legislative drafting process.

Activities

Public seminars on the political laws were held in eight cities across the country in order to assess public opinion and garner public input regarding the draft legislation. Individuals involved in producing the draft legislation (from the Academy of Sciences/LIPI, Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Consortium for Legislative Reform) were present in each of the seminars, which were conducted in Jakarta, Bandung,

Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Ujung Pandang, Medan, Mataram, and Samarinda.

Approximately 150 people attended each of the seminars. While by no means meant to be statistically accurate, Pariba did conduct informal polls at each meeting to determine the public's views on issues including the questions of district vs. proportional system, the military's presence in the MPR, and whether the current DPR is viewed to be representative of the people. The project culminated in a hearing conducted at the end of the program in which Pariba presented the results to the members of the DPR. While the seminars held by Pariba had only limited, if any, influence of the legislative drafting process, they did succeed in their main goal of encouraging public debate on the legislation.

In addition, PARIBA published and printed one thousand copies of a book on the results of the public seminars to educate voters on the process through which the draft laws became legislation, and about the content of the legislation. For example, the book includes informative information about the safeguards included in the new electoral laws-- independent election commission, election monitoring, finger dipping, etc. The book provided a full version of the political legislation as an appendix. One member of the drafters from the Ministry of Home Affairs, Dr. Andi Mallarangeng, provides an introduction to the book. One thousand copies of the book have been distributed free to the participants of the seminars.

Analysis

Parliament has, over the last three decades, played a largely passive role and is widely accepted as having failed in its task to act as a conduit for the interest of the civil society. The way in which parliament handled the passing of the three political bills was seen as an indication of its better receptivity -- though not fully receptive -- to the will of the electorate. With the many issues flying around the country around the time the legislation was being considered by the House, not enough interest was given to this extremely significant aspect of the election (i.e. the legislation). Concerned members of society, however, applauded Pariba's effort to put the process through which the drafts were turned into legislation in the forefront of their agenda.

Feedback gathered from the participants regarding the books is very positive. Participants found the book to be useful and suggested that more copies of this book be distributed to voters as it contains useful information about new electoral laws, the independent election commission, and election monitoring. Pariba has produced more copies of this book as a result of various requests from NGOs, university students, and young professionals. Dr. Andi Mallarangeng commented that the books are very useful materials by which to reevaluate the current political legislation.

While the OTI grant to Pariba was completed in the last reporting period, The Asia Foundation continues its support to Pariba through its Democracy and Civil Society Program to enable Pariba to conduct a program related to regional autonomy.

TAF 017-canceled

TAF 018 Asian Network for Free Elections, ANFREL

Purpose

To raise awareness of the importance of well-written election laws in ensuring a fair election and a peaceful transition of power, and to stimulate debate on aspects of the current Indonesian election laws.

Activities

Nine Asian election law experts, from Nepal, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cambodia, Japan, Indonesia, Bangladesh, South Korea, and Burma, were invited by the Asian Network for Free Elections to participate in a Comparative Study on Asian Election Laws. Each of the participants was asked to prepare a paper analyzing their countries' election laws. The papers were presented during the first two days of a three-day conference held on December 17 – 19, 1998. Because of Indonesia's upcoming election, and because its election laws were currently being revised, Jakarta was chosen as the site of the conference.

KIPP, the Independent Committee for Election Monitoring – a member of ANFREL – was co-sponsor and host of the conference. On the third day of the conference Dr. Andi Mallarangeng, a member of the Team of Seven assigned to develop Indonesia's election law, presented a paper describing Indonesia's current draft law. Following his presentation, each of the foreign election experts compared and contrasted the Indonesian draft law with the election systems of their own countries, identifying potential problem areas, and suggesting possible improvements.

Following the conference, there was a press briefing at which participants presented a statement containing their recommendation. A more in-depth report was sent to the Chairman of the Parliament, and copied to the Office of the President, Office of the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, and to heads of political parties.

The papers presented during the meeting were compiled into a book on Asian Election Laws and Practices, one thousand copies of which were distributed in Indonesia and across Asia through ANFREL affiliates.

Analysis

The conference was well attended by representatives from Indonesian NGOs, from the government, and from political parties. Those attending became more aware of the potential pitfalls inherent in election laws. Recent events in Cambodia, where a poorly written election law came close to causing civil war, provided a graphic example.

There was great interest in the presence of election experts from Asia. Up to the time of the ANFREL conference, most election experts visiting Indonesia have been from the more established Western democracies. Most of the Indonesians present felt that the experience of other countries in the region provided a closer parallel to their current situation. Many friendships and relationships were established during the meeting that should strengthen the growth of regional networks devoted to democratization and good governance.

The conference was also successful in raising the profile of the debate on the content of the election laws. Both print and broadcast journalist were present during the entire conference, and the conference itself, and the press statement received considerable coverage in both broadcast and print media.

TAF 019 and 029 Litbang Departmen Agama (Research Wing of the Department of Religion)

Purpose

To facilitate cooperation and coordination of efforts on the part of women's NGOs to promote the political participation of women in the 1999 elections, and beyond, in Indonesia.

Activities

The grant TAF 029 was a direct result of grant TAF 019, in which the Department of Religion held a one-day coordinating meeting of women's NGOs. The result of that meeting was the formation of the Forum Kajian Agama dan Gender, FKAG (Forum for the Study of Religion and Gender) within the Department of Religion. The primary activity of this Forum was to hold bi-weekly meetings of women's organizations to discuss issues related to the promotion of women's participation in politics, with special emphasis given to the upcoming elections. These meetings spanned 5 months, from 7 April- 25 August, and involved representatives from religious-based as well as activist-oriented women's organizations, in an effort to create a sense of solidarity among these groups in working together towards women's political participation.

Analysis

Approximately half-way through this program, we realized that these meetings were not providing the kind of dialogue and bridge-building between the Muslim-based women's organizations and the activist/feminist oriented women's organizations that was one of the original purposes of the meetings. Rather, up to half of the participants of these meetings are male researchers from within the Department of Religion itself, and the rest are representatives from Muslim women's organizations, with little to no presence of the activist/feminist groups. Asia Foundation Program Officers discussed this with the FKAG leaders, which resulted in a greater effort at bridge-building by the organizers, which in turn improved the final results. By the end of the meetings the presence by the

'feminist' organizations had increased, and the group was able to agree upon several points of action that it wished to take together. Furthermore, a concrete cooperative project between FKAG and Solidaritas Perempuan, described in TAF 038, was a direct output of these meetings.

An additional by-product of this whole process, however, was that the senior researchers and policy-makers at the Department of Religion were exposed (often for the first time) to concepts of gender-equality and women's political roles. Many of these officials hold very conservative and discriminative views of women's roles, and these discussions served to dislodge or undermine from within a central source of opposition to the growing gender-awareness among certain circles also within the Department of Religion. The Department of Religion has a great deal of influence over religious, especially Muslim, stances on things such as women's roles, marriage law, religious education, etc. Thus the emergence of strong advocacy for more egalitarian women's roles from within the Department was an important and highly welcome development.

TAF 020 Lembaga Studi Pers dan Pembangunan (Institute for Media and Development Studies, LSPP)

Purpose

The purpose of the project was to conduct a communication needs assessment of the 60 NGOs and mass organizations around the country that had indicated their interest in conducting voter education programs through their participation in the National Voter Education Workshop held in Yogyakarta. A database was to be prepared that would assist donors and NGOs in identifying potential gaps in communication coverage that could adversely effect the coordination and implementation of effective voter education programs.

Activities

Through this project LSPP compiled an extensive database of NGO contact details, their sectoral interests and geographic reach, and their communication capacities. The information was collected by phone or fax where possible, and by mail or through in person visits where necessary. As an illustration of the dearth of effective communication facilities, many of the questionnaires they sent by post were not returned, and may never have been received.

In addition to the 60 NGOs that attended the Yogyakarta meeting, LSPP was able to conduct, under this grant, two regional assessments of Sulawesi and Sumatra as well. They were also able to begin the process of identifying regional information focal points, to facilitate the flow of election information to NGOs in their area.

Analysis

LSPSP eventually provided The Asia Foundation with the database of NGO contact details, but this information arrived too late to be of great use, since the Foundation, in the absence of information from LSPSP, had begun the process of identifying suitable NGOs to perform as “focal points”.

The Asia Foundation also had to adapt its thinking about this project mid-stream. One of the original intentions of this project was to survey the communication capabilities of NGOs to determine which NGOs might be best suited to act as a “focal point” for providing voter education information in their areas. However, as it became apparent that few NGOs had even basic communication abilities, the Foundation deemed it more appropriate to provide NGO partners with communication equipment – in particular computer and modem – directly.

Several recommendations made by LSPSP regarding appropriate NGO partners were ultimately incorporated into the Foundation’s overall election program, but the impact of this project fell short of original expectations due to delays in LSPSP’s research and information compilation, and a necessary change in the project’s original goals.

TAF 021 Serikat Penerbit Surat kabar (SPS, Newspaper Publishers’ Association)

See description under TAF 007.

TAF 022 LKIS Clearing House Yogyakarta

Purpose

To facilitate cooperation and coordination between NGOs conducting voter education. This project is considered crucial in light of the fact that a large number of NGOs are involved in various voter education programs. This project aims to minimize duplication of efforts in the production of voter education materials by ensuring that all NGOs have access to materials developed by other organizations. By sharing materials, development costs have been reduced and more resources have been available for production and dissemination.

Activities

LKIS Yogyakarta hosted a two-day workshop in November 1998 that was attended by representatives from 68 NGOs from across Indonesia (see TAF 008). The result of this workshop was the establishment of the National Clearinghouse as a resource center to provide and disseminate information nationwide on voter education programs and activities. In order to effectively run this program, a Clearinghouse website (www.Indonesianvoter.net) was set up at LKiS and 21 focal points were established

across Indonesia. This website serves as a tool of communication among NGOs to share ideas and strategies, and to exchange information about their activities. The 21 focal points serve as resource centers within their operating areas to provide voter education materials and information to the local NGO community. These focal points maintained close contact with the National Clearinghouse in Yogyakarta – the coordinator for the focal points – to supply information that can be accessed by other resources centers.

LKiS also produced a monthly newsletter, *Suara*. These newsletters were not only sent to Clearinghouse members but also to NGOs that do not have Internet access. LKiS produced 10,000 copies overall of seven editions of *Suara*, which have been distributed throughout the country (copies of all seven editions are attached as Appendix E). The topics discussed in the newsletter range from voter education to monitoring activities.

Over the course of this program, LKiS also produced approximately 27,000 posters, 20,000 books, 3,000 leaflets and 5,000 stickers on a variety of issues pertaining to the elections. Materials focused on extolling the free, fair, honest and just nature of these elections, encouraging women's political participation, and providing a list – adapted from information printed in *Kompas* newspaper – of each party (including the party symbol) contesting the election.

In order to promote the role and the benefit of the National Clearinghouse to voters, an exhibition of voter education materials developed by the Clearinghouse's members, members of the People's Voter Education Network, and other NGOs was held by LKiS in April 1999. This two-day exhibition attracted over 2000 visitors from Yogyakarta and surrounding areas. Several innovative programs were included, such as voter education talk shows, election clinics providing information to visitors about election monitoring, and various voter education games to attract students and first-time voters to learn about and actively participate in the election.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation is very pleased with LKiS' ability to manage and develop this project. Clearinghouse members have been able to reach a consensus on the vision, the mission, division of work, activity coordination and information distribution of voter education programs, thereby minimizing duplication.

Establishment of the National Clearinghouse at LKiS to centrally coordinate activities and information sharing contributed greatly to the success of voter education programs in Indonesia. In the short-term, the Clearinghouse has encouraged nationwide collaboration and increased communication among NGOs. The Clearinghouse achieved a membership of 191 organizations (a list of these organizations is attached in Appendix E).

LKiS has managed to provide comprehensive and up to date voter education information through its website. Many individuals and organizations have accessed this website and used the information to develop voter education programs in Indonesia. For example, the

voter education research surveys conducted by AC Nielsen can be accessed on this website, and have been thus far been accessed by 3,314 people across Indonesia.

Organizations and individuals including radio stations, journalists, election monitors, university student bodies, political parties, and voter education organizations have requested copies of the magazine *Suara* from LKiS. Due to increased demand, LKiS produced 2,000 copies of the twenty-page fifth, sixth and seventh editions (up from 1,000 copies of a twelve-page edition previously). Due to a lack of access to and familiarity with the internet by many NGOs, and media and student organizations across the country, there was substantial demand for printed materials from LKiS. Asia Foundation funding and LKiS staff were increased to accommodate these demands to the extent possible.

LKiS was successful in encouraging journalists, other NGO representatives, election monitors, and broadcasters to actively cooperate on voter education programs. Its success can be measured as follows:

1. Large numbers of the target audience of voters, especially students and election monitors, visited LKiS Yogyakarta requesting information on voter education.
2. LKiS received a large number of requests for voter education materials and information via telephone and Internet from various NGOs, election monitors, journalists, and members of political parties.
3. LKiS was requested to participate in other exhibitions by the local government.
4. Voter education materials collected and developed by the clearinghouse were reproduced by other NGOs using their own funding.
5. LKiS' newsletter "Suara" reached a nationwide audience – 12 radio stations, 2000 monitors, 100 journalists at 13 branches, and 179 NGOs.

By promoting the voter education clearinghouse and its website to voters and intermediaries, countless voters from all over Indonesia accessed the LKiS website to get information on voter education or benefitted from NGO access and distribution of materials. The Asia Foundation has attached selected correspondence received by LKiS in Appendix E.

In summary, LKiS has efficiently and effectively managed a comprehensive and nationwide voter education program. Reflecting The Asia Foundation's confidence in LKiS to continue such projects and LKiS' own enthusiasm to continue with civic education, the Foundation supported, on conclusion of this project, the CivicNet at LKiS (see TAF 035).

TAF 023 Gelombang

Purpose

To encourage non-violent participation by voters in Yogyakarta and Central Java in the June 1999 general elections through a radio campaign on local stations in Yogyakarta and Central Java.

Activities

1. Production of two radio campaigns. A total of 14 stations in Yogyakarta and Central Java broadcast the radio campaigns between two and four times a day.
2. Production of interactive radio dialogs. The weekly dialogs on a variety of election related topics were broadcast live on three local private radio stations in Yogyakarta. Speakers for the dialogs included Dr. Muhammad Mafud from UII, Dr. Mari Astuti the head of the Women's Study Center at UGM, UGM Sociology lecturer Dr. Heru Nugroho, Dr. Cornelis Lay from the Political Science Department of UGM, and Wisnu from KIPP.
3. Three-day workshop for local radio journalists. The workshop was held in Yogyakarta in March 1999, and was attended by 24 journalists and program managers from radio stations in Yogyakarta and Central Java. The workshop explored issues relating to democracy, human rights, politics and gender.

Analysis

Gelombang is a recently formed organization, and this was the first time that The Asia Foundation had supported it. With respect to the radio campaigns and the interactive dialogs, Gelombang performed well, and indeed exceeded the targets set for the activities conducted. (A total of 14 stations participated in the radio campaigns, far more than the four originally planned, while three stations aired the interactive dialogs, rather than just the one station originally agreed.)

With respect to the workshop, the Foundation believes that Gelombang was too ambitious in choosing such a broad range of issues to be addressed in the space of just a few days (human rights, democracy, gender issues), a point Gelombang recognized and acknowledged. Even so, participants felt that the topics chosen were particularly relevant to their work. Many of them acknowledged in their evaluation of the workshop that prior to the training they had little prior knowledge of the issues discussed and that the program was therefore helpful in giving them a deeper understanding and new perspective on these issues. They noted in particular the awareness they had developed as a result of the workshop of the importance of integrating gender issues into radio programming. The relevance of the topics discussed was evidenced by the active engagement in discussions by the majority of participants. Gelombang selected respected and well known speakers - such as Dr. Heru Nugroho, Dr. Cornelius Lay and Dr. Muhammad Mahfudz - and participants felt that they provided useful input into the discussions.

A notable success of the workshop was the agreement among the participants to establish a network which would develop ideas and programs related to the themes discussed at the workshop. The first practical output of this was the agreement of a number of additional stations to air the radio campaigns (see above).

TAF 024 Yayasan Hapsari

Purpose

To establish a coordinating network among NGOs conducting voter education programs in Sumatra. The workshop was part of a series of voter education workshops conducted throughout the country, as a follow up activity of the National Voter Education Workshop conducted in Yogyakarta. The workshop was also designed to emphasize some crucial issues in voter education such as the issue of non-partisanship, common messages to be conveyed to voters, as well as strategic media to be used.

Activity

The workshop, which took place in Pekanbaru from January 4-6, 1999, was attended by 57 individuals from 30 NGOs across Sumatra. While the first day of the workshop was dedicated to discussing general voter education issues, for example possible voter education messages and strategies, the second was used to discuss the importance of coordinating efforts. For the latter, Sarekat Petani Sumatra Utara (Farmers Union for Sumatra Utara) was elected to be the focal point for the whole of Sumatra. SPSU acted as the center of communication between Sumatran NGOs and the National Clearinghouse.

Analysis

Workshops such as described above were extremely useful to facilitate communication among NGOs. Voter Education efforts, more than civic education programs, require more intricate planning in the order to ensure maximum effectiveness of resources used. Though most of the NGOs in Sumatra realize the importance of communication and coordination, the workshop allowed them to meet and to decide a common platform through which the coordination is to be done. In the long run, as related by some participants, this network will ensure better communication among NGOs in their common effort to serve the communities.

**TAF 025 Pusat Penelitian IAIN Jakarta (Research Center for the State
Institute for Islamic Studies, Jakarta)**

Purpose

To compile data on agenda and platforms of Islamic political parties to be used in national voter education and civic education efforts.

Activities

This grant supported a research project into the political platforms of the 42 Islamic parties which emerged after the collapse of the New Order, carried out by Arskal Salim, a senior researcher at the Research Center for the State Institute for Islamic Studies. From January 1999 through September 1999, Salim conducted extensive survey research, interviewing representatives from each of the 42 Islamic parties in order to ascertain their parties' views on the relationship between Islam and the state. In June, preliminary results from this research was compiled into a voter-education booklet, focusing only on the 20 parties participating in the elections, in order to educate Indonesian voters as to the varying party platforms and agendas of these 20 Islamic parties. Through the voter education program, this booklet was duplicated and distributed to Muslim schools, pesantren, Muslim NGOs, and of course the media, throughout the country. After the elections Salim began the second stage of the research, which involved conducting in-depth interviews with leaders of the top 10 parties. These interviews were analyzed qualitatively and presented along with the original quantitative survey results in a full-length research report.

Analysis

The preliminary results of the research showed that a surprising number of the 42 Islamic parties which formed after Suharto stepped down did in fact want to see Islam established as a primary element of the state. 54% said that Islam should be the basis of the state. However, when the results were refined to only reflect the 20 parties participating in the elections, only 4 of the parties expressed this view. This finding supports analysis made by political observers that while there has been a sprouting of vocal and visible 'hard-line' Islamic groups since the New Order, these groups do not have a large mass-base, as reflected in the fact that they were not able to fulfill requirements for participation in the elections. Furthermore, these results show that while the majority reject an outright declaration of an "Islamic state" in Indonesia, most of the parties want to see varying degrees of influence of Islamic values, teachings, morals, etc. in the political system. The second phase of the research confirmed this conclusion, and through interviews the main leaders of the top ten parties elaborated that the main issue to them is not the establishment of a formal Islamic state, but rather the rejection of a purely "secular" nation. In other words, they want a state based on religious ideals, preferably Islamic ideals, in which the interests of the Muslim majority are accommodated. Some examples of what this means to them include the notion that the President must be a Muslim, and that percentages in parliament should reflect a Muslim majority. Also there was fairly strong consensus against the possibility of a woman President. Finally, a theme that was repeated was that *principles* of the *syari'ah* (Muslim law) be viewed as determinative input into the Indonesian legal system. This, they specified, should relate to primarily moral issues, such as corruption, prostitution, gambling, etc.

The usefulness of this research is multi-faceted. As a voter education tool it allowed voters to make an informed choice among the variety of Islamic parties competing in the elections. In addition to the survey results, the booklet produced by Salim includes

profiles of each of the parties, and a list of each party's answers to key questions in the survey, such as "Does the next President have to be a man?", and "Is the Pancasila the appropriate foundation of the state?" etc. Thus voters were able to compare responses of the 20 Islamic parties to key issues—a tool which heretofore has not been available to them. Secondly, the research provides an important, though preliminary, picture of the political vision of varying forms of Islam in Indonesia post-Suharto. It reveals that the majority of political Islam does not view an Islamic state as the ideal political system in Indonesia, though they do wish to see more Islamic influence on state institutions. This conclusion, that "political Islam" is vocal but not majority opinion, was further born out by the results of the election, in which the more 'hardline' Islamic parties did not make it into the top five. In the context of current sectarian violence and attempts by certain Islamic groups to play the "religion card", it is important to keep in mind that most of Indonesia's political groups, parties, and institutions are committed, in varying degrees, to a moderate, pluralistic expression of Islam. The elaborations in this research, however, help to point out particular groupings and individuals which could be targeted for future programming in the area of Islam and civil society-building.

TAF 026 Solidaritas Perempuan (Women's Solidarity for Human Rights)

Purpose

The purpose of this program is to identify the presence, or absence, of gender perspectives in political parties' programs and platforms, and to encourage political parties to accommodate women's political concerns within their parties' political debate.

Activity

Prior to the "Political Dialogue of Women and Political Parties," which was held in Jakarta on February 25, 1999, Solidaritas Perempuan conducted a series of steering committee meetings to determine terms of reference and methodology for the dialogue. From the meetings, it was decided that the dialogue would follow the form of a talk show, which would allow free-flowing discussions among and between political parties representatives, discussant and participants.

The six political party representatives that participated in the dialogue were: Prof. Dr. Dawam Rahardjo of Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN); Sofrenita of Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB); Noviantika Nasution of Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan (PDI-Perjuangan); Drs. Ekky Sjahrudin of Partai Golongan Karya (GOLKAR); Drs. Khofifah Indar P. of Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB); and Mrs. Mahfudoh of Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PBB).

Dialogue was divided into two sessions, with three political parties in each session explaining their party's platform and their women's programs. Issues that were debated in each session were: the May 1998 riots; the future existence of the State Ministry of Women Affairs; the need to increase the number of women at the leadership level of state

bureaucracy; the possibility to have a woman president; the state's responsibility to provide public facilities such as accessible and affordable day-care-centres; and the issue of violence against women. Vivid debates occurred as party representatives discussed their programs and platforms regarding women. Criticisms were voiced by participants regarding parties which were considered to be gender blind.

High interest in the dialogue is evident in the fact that there were 255 participants, rather than the 150 participants anticipated by Solidaritas Perempuan. The dialogue received good media coverage, as two daily newspapers, several new weekly tabloids, two radio stations and two TV stations reported the activity.

Analysis

As the dialogue on "women and political parties" was intended also to explore political parties' understanding of women's political perspectives and interests, it was evident that some political parties have not paid sufficient attention to women's and gender issues in today's Indonesian society. In arranging this event, Solidaritas Perempuan has made a successful move in advocating and encouraging a common and widespread understanding of the importance of gender equality as a precondition for a democratic society. In response, all political party representatives at the dialogue stated their commitment to incorporate gender issues and gender perspectives into their political parties' programs and platforms.

The success of this first talk-show style political dialogue between women and political parties has triggered a series of the same kind of political dialogues around Indonesia. Solidaritas Perempuan, working in conjunction with a network of women's organizations, has since conducted similar activities in Surabaya, Lampung, Padang, Medan and Banda Aceh.

Despite some logistical problems arising from the fact that the event was overattended, the Foundation was impressed with how the event was prepared by Solidaritas Perempuan in terms of the dialogue's terms of reference and guidelines for moderators and discussants. Moreover, Solidaritas Perempuan also required all political parties to send senior level representatives that have a say in the parties' central board and participate in party decision making. All of the party representatives confirmed to that requirement, and this demonstrate that even though some political parties are still lacking gender sensitivity, they too realize the growing importance of women issues in Indonesia's new political life.

TAF 027 Alliance 3

Purpose

To facilitate a Voter Education Workshop for NGOs in Kalimantan to develop a network, coordinate voter education activities, and share ideas and strategies to encourage voters in this province to participate in voting and in the monitoring of the election.

Activities

The workshop, conducted by Alliance 3 on March 2-5, 1999 in Samarinda, was the fourth in a series of regional workshops in Indonesia. Ninety-two representatives from various NGOs, labor organizations, youth organizations and traditional communities from three provinces in Kalimantan attended these events. Topics focusing on the election process, monitoring, and election violations were discussed during these workshops. Open dialogues among the representatives and the facilitators were used to encourage a two-way communication to answer the participants' queries, and at the same time to receive feedback. The sharing of experiences in conducting voter education and the mapping of the voter education operating areas in the province were also covered in this workshop.

Action plans of comprehensive voter education programs were developed by groups of NGOs in each province, by traditional communities and by labor representatives. Apart from these activities, various groups of university students from the three provinces, such as HMI Samarinda, PMII, Sema STANT, FORKAM, Tajuk 9, HMI Tenggara, and GMKI Samarinda participated in voter education activities within their surrounding areas. Each of these organizations used direct and indirect methods such as discussion, seminars, door-to-door visits, radio programs, stickers, brochures, advertisements, mobile movies, announcements from mosques, and banners. The selection of media and methods used by each organization reflects the needs of each area.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation is pleased with the result of the workshops conducted by Alliance 3 that involved many of the NGOs and other organizations that have developed voter education programs in Kalimantan. These workshops comprehensively coordinated grass-roots voter education activities. Judging from the mapping of voter education activities stated on their action plans, millions of voters were reached through their programs since these were targeted at a variety of groups. The focal points set up in each province gave each of these organizations access to the national clearinghouse in Yogyakarta, enabling the NGOs in Kalimantan to use the materials produced by other organizations outside Kalimantan.

Purpose

To facilitate coordination among NGOs in Irian Jaya to promote free and democratic elections by coordinating voter education activities, creating networks in 3 regions within Irian Jaya, and sharing ideas and strategies to deal with issues related to human rights and reporting of violations.

Activities

Els-HAM IRJA held a two-day workshop in Jayapura on 22 - 24 March 1999, which was attended by thirty participants from various NGOs representing thirteen districts in Irian Jaya. This event was the fifth series of regional workshops held in the effort to create a national voter education network in Indonesia. This two-day workshop focused on the election laws, the development of a voter education network, results of The Asia Foundation supported voter education survey, and how to monitor and report human rights violations.

The first session of the workshop discussed several matters relating to administration of the upcoming election. It also addressed efforts to build networks and to coordinate voter education activities within the three regions in Irian Jaya and how voter education information sharing could be addressed at the national level. On the first day, participants managed to agree on the mapping of voter education area activities, material distribution, and estimated the costs needed for further proposed voter education program activities in Irian Jaya. On the second day, participants discussed human rights and the reporting of violations. Each participant was given a standard human rights violation reporting form based on an internationally accepted format that allows individuals to record violations and feed information into regional, national and international databases.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation found this workshop to be very productive. It showed that Els-HAM IRJA has extensive experience and capability to host such an event and to deliver a similar, larger scale project in the future. Furthermore, Els-HAM IRJA's staff was committed and motivated. Another factor that impressed The Asia Foundation was Els-HAM's ability to work closely with other NGOs and church organizations, whose involvement is key in achieving long-term voter education program objectives. The involvement of these organizations will encourage future such programs and facilitate the dissemination of information to a broad range of voters. The following outcomes of the workshops had a broad impact on the evolution of human rights and voter and civic education in Irian Jaya – both in the short- and long-term: The participants (from 13 districts in Irian Jaya) familiarized themselves with the election laws, and shared this knowledge and voter education information to people in their surrounding areas. Voter education networks were formed in three regions, namely Jayapura, Biak Numfor, and Sorong, for the coordination of voter education activities for the election and dissemination of this information.

Els-HAM IRJA received further funding from The Asia Foundation to conduct voter education activities throughout Irian Jaya utilizing the participants and the networks established from the workshops.

TAF 030 Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy

Purpose

The purpose of this program is to increase the awareness of women, especially those in rural and suburb areas, of their rights in the election process through short education spots broadcast on four television stations.

Activities

The voters' education spots were broadcasted between May 1 and May 16, 1999 on four TV stations: RCTI, SCTV, TPI and ANTV. Each TV station broadcast 7- 8 spots/day with the total number of 505 spots within the period of 16 days. (See Appendix I for TV PSA).

Women's Coalition was working together with an advertising company in designing the story-board for the short education spots. Three story-boards were broadcast. The first pictured women of various backgrounds making an appeal to other Indonesian women to vote for parties that defends and supports women's rights and interests. One story showed two women factory workers during their lunch break discussing the low salary for women workers compared to their male counterparts. Another showed a group of women migrant workers at the airport pointing out a newspaper article on an abused fellow migrant worker. The last showed two rural women in the field talking about the need to have women leaders who pay attention to rural women's problems.

The second story-board showed a husband and a wife entering a polling station. They were then approached by the husband's friend who asked which political party the wife was going to vote for. The husband explained that his wife has her own choice of political party and he cannot force his wife to vote for the same political party as himself. The wife confirmed his statement by saying that she has her own choice and she will choose a political party that defends and supports women's rights and interests.

The third story-board highlighted the theme of violence against women. Like the first story-board, this spot also pictured women of various backgrounds, all of whom were victims of violence. The stories were of: an abused wife being comforted in a crisis center; a victim of work-place harassment seeking advice from a friend; and a pregnant women seeking refuge at a friend's house during social unrest. They all made an appeal to political parties to protect them from violence and an appeal to other women to choose political parties that defend and support women's rights and interests.

Analysis

The Foundation supported this program in light of the fact that while women comprise 57% of voters, there were only a few voter education programs targeted at women. Further, the Foundation was concerned about the tendency for Indonesian women to vote based on their husband's political views. Koalisi Perempuan's second story-board clearly addresses this issue, noting that women can and should make their own informed decision about whom to vote for without any pressure from their husband.

As the Foundation only supported the spot's placement on media outlets for 16 days, Women's Coalition received support from UNDP to continue the spots for the remaining three week period up until election day. Therefore, the voter education spot announcements were broadcasted continually on four TV stations for over five weeks. According to the Foundation's post-election survey conducted by AC Nielsen in July 1999, 55 % of the Indonesian public saw the Koalisi Perempuan television PSAs. Despite difficulties in getting prime time coverage for the PSAs, the survey has shown that Koalisi Perempuan's strategy to use TV as the medium for their message, and to place the PSAs during prime time, was effective in reaching their target audience of lower-income, rural and sub-urban communities.

The Asia Foundation's July survey also suggests that there has been a positive change in the public's view regarding women's political participation, with 70% agreeing that women should be as active as men in politics, up from 61 % in January. The figure suggests that people were exposed to voter education programs such as that conducted by Koalisi Perempuan, and have actually changed their views regarding this issue.

Both figures are very important and will be used for future strategic programming on women's political participation in Indonesia. Koalisi Perempuan will address this issue in the next year through both mass-based broad civic education and policy recommendations.

The only criticism for this program was that the dialogue in the spots was too fast and sometimes difficult to understand. According to Koalisi Perempuan, this was because they wanted to convey as much information as possible in the 30 second spots.

TAF 031 Yayasan HAPSARI

Purpose

To provide voter education information by increasing village women's awareness of their voting rights and actively encouraging them to participate in the June 1999 election through radio programs and a sticker campaign.

Activities

Hapsari has produced 10 radio broadcast jingles emphasizing the importance of a woman's right to vote in the general election. Ten radio stations in North Sumatra broadcast these jingles 1,200 times. To encourage more women to listen to the jingles and participate in the program, Hapsari also included voter education quiz prizes for 100 winners as part of the radio broadcasts. These programs educated disadvantaged women in rural areas in North Sumatra in particular.

In order to reinforce the messages of the radio programs and to reach a wider audience, Hapsari created and produced 4,000 stickers that were posted in public places such as markets, health centers and on public transportation. (Samples of the sticker and radio quiz produced by Hapsari are attached in Appendix J).

Analysis

Based on the survey conducted by AC Nielsen, radio is the most effective medium to reach disadvantaged groups of voters, especially women in rural areas, and to disseminate voter education information. This project played a significant role in providing voter education information to women in rural areas in North Sumatra who have little access to television and printed media.

In terms of program implementation, Hapsari's programs were very cost effective and efficient. Hapsari successfully negotiated airtime to increase the broadcasts to 1,200 times from the 300 that was originally planned, and Hapsari also ended up producing 4,000 stickers, twice as many as previously planned. The positive response from radio listeners was evidenced by the fact that 102 letters and 6 calls requesting information were received by Hapsari after the programs were broadcast.

TAF 032**AC Nielsen****Purpose**

To conduct a qualitative research study design in order to assist in the development of proactive strategies to promote a peaceful election in Indonesia.

Activities

Sixteen focus group discussions with voters and eight in-depth interviews with opinion leaders were successfully conducted by AC Nielsen in early May 1999. These activities were carried out in urban and rural areas of Jakarta and Surabaya. Young males of lower socio-economic status, rural voters and middle and higher income male and female voters were interviewed and were presented with various scenarios such as "What if your chosen political party did not win the election? How would you feel, and how would you express your feelings?", and "What if the date of election was postponed by a week or ten days because the mechanics were not in place?" The objective of the survey was to identify

key issues and areas of concern where proactive intervention might minimize the possibility of social unrest and ethnic tension.

AC Nielsen staff presented the major findings of this survey to USAID and Asia Foundation staff on May 12, 1999.

Analysis

This survey involved qualitative methods only, and was designed to give a clearer sense of some of the “thinking behind the thinking” that emerged in the first Asia Foundation supported survey. The Foundation considered it important to use qualitative and quantitative studies together – therefore, this survey was not a stand-alone to provide useful information for voter education programs, but also to complement the quantitative Indonesian Voter Survey (see TAF 010).

Those surveyed overwhelmingly blamed the Suharto government and Golkar for the economic crisis and there was considerable anger towards these institutions; there was also an indication that anti-Chinese sentiment would persist for some time. In addition, interviewees feared that violence might occur during the campaign period. However, they believed that the election would be free and fair at least up to the district level and that monitoring organizations would be able to effectively keep the election clean.

The results of this research were made available to various organizations such as NGOs, donors, and the public to provide information on which to build proactive strategies to promote a peaceful election in Indonesia. Reactions to the survey were mixed, from questioning the methodology and considering the information gathered too sensitive for broad release, to welcoming the findings and incorporating them into program planning. (See Appendix K for a copy of the report).

TAF 033

FMPA – Production of Standardized Monitoring Materials

Purpose

To produce and distribute a standard manual and reporting form for monitoring the June 7 elections.

Activities

The Asia Foundation supplied 150,000 Bahasa Indonesia language monitoring materials directly to the provincial coordinators of the *Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu* (KIPP), 200,000 to Forum Rektor’s provincial coordinators, and 30,000 to *Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia* (SBSI) in Jakarta. The manual was also used by Jaringan Pendidikan pemilu Rakyat (JPPR), but those copies were funded separately.

The manual was written and compiled by The Asia Foundation’s Election Advisor Tim Meisburger. However, The Asia Foundation encouraged each organization to

“personalize” the standardized materials by adding a new cover page with their logo or additional sections. An English language version of the materials was also developed to facilitate links between international and national monitors (one thousand copies of this manual were printed). This English version of the manual was supplied to numerous international monitoring organizations, including the United Nations, the Carter Center, International Republican Institute, the Asian Network for Free Elections (ANFREL), and the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS).

Analysis

This grant provided for production of the monitoring manuals used by KIPP, Forum Rektor and SBSI on election day (although Asia Foundation staff noticed, on monitoring trips prior to the election, that several local KIPP branches had supplemental locally produced monitoring manuals). The monitoring manual contained comprehensive information that had not previously been produced and widely distributed by any other organization in Indonesia. Only Forum Rektor of the three domestic election monitoring organizations (EMOs) mentioned above had developed their own manual and reporting forms, but they nonetheless benefitted from the more comprehensive information contained in the Foundation’s monitoring manual.

While The Asia Foundation offered to supply the Bahasa Indonesia language manual to Unfrel’s provincial coordinators, Unfrel’s Jakarta coordinator declined the offer. A comprehensive and standardized monitoring manual to be used by all domestic monitoring organizations proved to be an elusive goal, predominantly as a result of a difference of opinion amongst the EMOs about the content of the monitors’ reporting forms and a sense of propriety over individually established channels for compiling monitors’ reports. (The manual is attached in Appendix L).

TAF 034 Serikat Penerbit Surat kabar (SPS, Newspaper Publishers’ Association)

Purpose

To assist in efforts to promote media freedom in Indonesia by holding meetings with relevant government representatives and by publicizing the draft print and broadcast media bills created as a result of two previous USAID/PTG grants (TAF 007 and TAF 021), and thereby place public pressure on parliament to endorse them.

Activities

The program was canceled before it got underway. The reason for this was that, upon more in-depth discussions with SPS the Foundation concluded that SPS had the financial capacity to conduct the program without external assistance.

Purpose

To create a clearinghouse for the production and documentation of civic education materials that will be distributed to individuals, organizations, and networks of non-governmental organizations.

Activities

CivicNet emerged as a follow-on project to the LKiS-administered National Voter Education Clearinghouse (see TAF 022). CivicNet facilitated and promoted cooperation between organizations for the purpose of maximizing outreach and minimizing duplication of materials. Materials were received and distributed by e-mail whenever possible and were accessible from CivicNet's website address: www.indonesiancivic.net. This email network had several distinctions from the other major civil-society related network "Jaringnet": 1) a section, including Q&A forum, essay series, and 'browsing room' on civil society from a religious, specifically Muslim, perspective—which builds upon LKiS' longstanding experience in that field; 2) abstracts and excerpts from seminal works on civil society; 3) "Parliament Member Watch"—a grassroots internet watchdog organization; 4) a section on the "founding fathers'" writings on the formation of the Indonesian nation. Under this grant, from August - December 1999, CivicNet received civic education materials from all organizations involved in civic education programs, documented these materials for the purpose of reference, and then distributed them both to an electronic subscriber list and by mail. Furthermore, in addition to serving as a site of information, CivicNet has served an important coordinating function for the civic education and training sessions held by participants.

In addition, LKiS has, to date, produced and distributed 10,000 copies each of five books: *Mengasah Naluri Publik* (Sharpening the Public's Intuition), *Memahami Nalar Politik dan Advokasi Hak-hak Perempuan* (Understanding Political Logic of Women's Rights Advocacy); *Menjadi Politisi Ekstra Parleментар* (Becoming an Extra-Parliamentary Politician); and *Pendidikan Politik bagi Warga Negara* (Citizens' Political Education), and *Belajar Civic Education dari Amerika* (Lessons of Civic Education from the United States). These books have been distributed to 190 NGO members of the clearinghouse, 25 student senates, 20 private radio stations that have organized programs on civic education and to 350 alumni of the Asia Foundation supported Islam and Civil Society trainings. (A copy of each of the books is attached in Appendix M).

Analysis

The functional transition from the National Clearing House for Voter Education (CH-PPS) to the Clearinghouse for Civic Education (Civic.Net) has resulted in an increased number of organizations using the network. Specifically, participation in the network has increased from 190 to 211 organizations, in addition to 25 college student senates, 20 radio stations, 350 alumni of Islam and Civil Society training programs, and 110 PMII (Movement of Indonesian Islamic Students) branches in Indonesia.

Despite the lack of time that LKiS possessed to implement its task as Clearinghouse, LKiS managed to implement extensive programs, such as designing a civic education website, establishing a clearinghouse infrastructure, purchasing 95 books on civic education for its focal points and producing five civic education booklets, as well as distributing them to organizations in the network. The website designed by LKiS contains issues on democracy, human rights, traditional community's rights, children's rights, gender, labor, agrarian affairs, environment, consumers' rights and other current issues. To enrich the content of its Clearinghouse Civic.Net website, LKiS selected 250 books on various issues related to civic education to be summarized and put in the website. So far, they have provided 120 synopses of those books that can be accessed the website, written by 15 senior university writers.

In the Foundation's view, LKiS has successfully established an effective network among CivicNet's participating organizations, and provided organizations with information regarding civic education. Furthermore, many organizations that have not joined the network have come to LKiS to request civic education materials. Even some political parties based in Yogya requested the Clearinghouse to be involved in training for their cadres. The wider impact that has resulted from the establishment of the Clearinghouse is that awareness among NGO activists, university students and extra-parliamentary activists on the importance of civic education for citizens has increased significantly. Since August 1999, LKiS has received 60 letters requesting information and materials on civic education.

TAF 036 YAMMANS

Purpose

The purpose of this program is to strengthen interfaith and inter-ethnic relations in the wake of the outbreak of violence in Indonesia over the past two years, particularly in the Ambon Maluku area following riots there between October 1998 and the present time.

Activities/Analysis

Despite extensive efforts on the part of both The Asia Foundation and YAMMANS, described below, this program was eventually cancelled due to the situation in the Ambon area. A number of factors contributed to the difficulty in carrying out this program. *First*, two weeks after The Asia Foundation received approval from USAID/PTG, the head of YAMMANS, Mr. M. Hidayat, became a victim of the Ambon violence—his house was burned as a result of riots in July, 1999. He took refuge in Madura for several months, and only returned to Ambon in December 1999. *Second*, with Hidayat out of the picture, choosing a new leader for YAMMANS proved to be difficult. Muslim and Christian members of the organization could not agree on someone they considered to be impartial until October 1999, when they finally decided upon Mr. Mochtar Towwe. *Third*, the continuing unstable situation in Ambon made it difficult for even the seasoned

journalists involved in YAMMANS to cross the religious borderlines to gather balanced information.

On several occasions, The Asia Foundation tried to facilitate matters related to YAMMANS and this program, including meetings in August 1999 and again in October 1999. However, it became clear that the general situation in Ambon, the restricted mobility of YAMMANS activities, and the internal problems within YAMMANS related to selecting a director and board members made it impossible to begin program implementation. Finally, in the last week of December, Mochtar Towee, the newly selected head of YAMMANS, contacted The Asia Foundation and informed the Foundation that YAMMANS had finally resolved their problems, and that they would be ready to begin a small radio program in February 2000. However, at that point it was too late to support YAMMANS under the Foundation's OTI/PTG grant. Nonetheless, we do feel that the program, which focuses on balanced media reporting, is particularly important given the fact that much of the reporting in and regarding Ambon is impartial. Thus, we hope to be able to support YAMMANS through other funding sources.

TAF 037 ANFREL

Purpose

To support the participation of a coalition of Asian NGOs in observing and reporting on preparations and execution of the UN-sponsored direct consultation in East Timor in August 1999.

Activities

This project was not approved by USAID/OTI. However it was subsequently funded using the Foundation's own funding.

TAF 038 Litbang Departmen Agama (Research Wing of the Department of Religion)

Purpose

To support the production, publication, and distribution of 6 "pocketbooks" on women in Islam throughout 25 provinces in Indonesia.

Activities

This grant activity is a direct result of TAF 019 and TAF 029, described above. One of the results of the Forum for the Study of Religion and Gender's (FKAG) bi-weekly meetings was a growing solidarity between FKAG and Solidaritas Perempuan, a 'secular' feminist organization. These two groups decided to work together to produce 9000 copies each of 6 small, inexpensive "pocketbooks" dealing with a variety of issues of women's roles within Islam. They thus produced the following 6 titles: "Raising Children in an Islamic Family", "Women's Nature According to Islam", "Division of

Labor in an Islamic Home”, “Islamic Views on Polygamy”, “Women as the Head of a Household”, and “Overcoming Domestic Violence” (These “pocketbooks” are attached in Appendix N). While the titles are fairly general, the content of each book contained strong arguments for equal gender roles and progressive views on women within the household. 9000 copies of these books were distributed for inexpensive sale in popular bookstores in major cities in Indonesia.

Analysis

These books were designed to combat the proliferation of cheap, highly discriminatory literature on women in Islam that dominates most bookstores. With attractive covers and inexpensive prices, the books were aimed at mass consumption. It is too soon to evaluate results of sales, as the books were just launched in late December, however judging from the content and appearance of the books, the Foundation feels that they will be an effective tool for influencing public opinion. Written in everyday language and taking an Islamic perspective, these books strongly promote women’s rights within the domestic realm. The launching of the books was also impressive. The involvement of Solidaritas Perempuan meant that it was a high-profile event, with several celebrities and public figures present, mixing with the FKAG coterie of veiled Muslim women. Ibu Sinta Nuriyah Wahid, the First Lady of Indonesia, delivered the keynote address, along with Asia Foundation Representative Douglas Ramage. The Foundation views this activity as a success, not only because of the high quality of the tangible output produced, but also because this partnership between FKAG and Solidaritas Perempuan represents precisely the kind of bridge-building and solidarity forging purpose that originated the Foundation’s program with Litbang Departemen Agama in the first place. Solidaritas Perempuan activists, while originally somewhat hesitant to work closely with the Muslim dominated FKAG, acknowledged that it was their lack of knowledge about Islamic teachings which obstructed the success of their work at the grassroots, because ultimately the women they were targeting would not move beyond the teachings from their religious leaders. By working together, the Muslim activists in FKAG and the feminists from Solidaritas Perempuan were able to create a tool to combat discriminatory teachings while maintaining Islamic credibility. The Foundation is currently working with FKAG to develop a similar set of publications this time dealing with the role of women in the public sphere, especially focusing on raising women’s political participation.

TAF 039 and 044 Himpunan Praktisi Penyiaran Indonesia (HPPI, Indonesian Broadcast Practitioners’ Association)

Purpose

To increase the capacity of broadcast journalists to report responsibly on inter-ethnic, inter-faith and communal conflict.

Activities

The project consisted of 7 five-day training sessions for a maximum of 50 participants per training comprising primarily radio, but also television, journalists, conducted from October-December 1999. Training sessions were conducted in Medan (for journalists from Aceh and North Sumatra); Pontianak (for journalists from West Kalimantan); Denpasar (for journalists from Bali and Lombok); Ujung Pandang (for journalists from North, South and South East Sulawesi, Maluku and Irian Jaya); Surabaya (for journalists from East Java); Semarang (for journalists from Central Java and Yogyakarta); and Jakarta (for national television and radio journalists). An additional training venue, Ambon, was originally scheduled as part of the series. However, The Asia Foundation, HPPI and the BBC World Service Training Trust agreed that the tenuous environment in Ambon was not conducive to organizing a media training there.

HPPI coordinated the project through its branches in each of the seven training locations and was responsible for selecting participants and managing logistical arrangements. The British Broadcasting Corporation's World Service Training Trust (BBC WSTT) provided the trainers. Two teams were used for the training, one for the first four training sessions, and another team for the final three weeks of training. Each of the two three-person training teams were made up of an Indonesian journalist from the Indonesian Section of the BBC World Service, and a journalist with extensive experience of conflict reporting (one in Northern Ireland and the other in Afghanistan and Chechnya). Continuity was provided by the team leader, who combined both experience of conflict reporting (including the Iran/Iraq war) and of training Indonesian journalists, and who led the entire training program.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation's opinion that conflict reporting training was of considerable relevance to radio journalists throughout the country, was confirmed by the feedback received from the training, with participants generally being very enthusiastic about the quality and content of the training program provided. The Foundation had anticipated that the BBC trainers would provide high quality training, and this was confirmed during Foundation staff visits to three of the seven training sessions: in Semarang, Bali and Makassar. It was pleasing to see also that the BBC trainers adapted the training agenda in each city according to the participants' skill levels and interests, which further added to the value of the program

Each participant was required, at the conclusion of the training program, to complete an evaluation about the training programs and the trainers. Overall, these evaluations reveal that, as a result of the training, participants are now more confident that they can produce suitable news programs, produce accurate information in an objective way, and maintain journalistic independence. The evaluations also reveal that participants considered the BBC trainers to have led the trainings in a clear and competent manner, but also that much more training is needed - the vast majority of participants noted the need for a range

of further training programs, in particular including on basic radio journalism techniques such as interview techniques, and the production of despatches, packages etc.

As a relatively new organization (established in 1998), HPPI did a good job of organizing such a comprehensive and widespread training series. However, while the program administrator, Ratih Perwitasari, did yeoman work in arranging logistics and financial accounting, not enough was done by the local HPPI branch offices to ensure that the criteria for participation in the training (for example, from a radio station broadcasting news, or interested in doing so; a certain level of journalism experience, etc.) were met. This caused some minor problems in terms of having to accommodate different interests and skill levels, but the BBC and HPPI did what they could to deal with this.

This, and other journalism training programs, confirm the Foundation's view that there remains a tremendous need for further training programs for both print and broadcast media journalists, on both theme-based issues such as conflict reporting, and on basic journalism skills, such as radio production and programming.

TAF 040 KIPP-DA Palu

Purpose

To provide civic education to 3,500 people in Central Sulawesi.

Activities

This project consisted of a series of 50 half-day civic education trainings, each for approximately 60-70 people. From September 4 – October 1, 1999, twenty trainings were conducted in Donggala kabupaten for a total of 1,370 people. From October 18 – 27, fifteen trainings were conducted in Buol Toli-Toli kabupaten for a total of 1,004 people, and from November 10 – 22, fifteen trainings were conducted in Poso kabupaten for 999 people. The target audience was local farmers, but also included other interested individuals who had participated in past voter education training.

Each training session was participatory and drew on materials developed and produced by KIPP-DA Sulawesi Tengah in cooperation with Civic.Net in Yogyakarta (see PTG Project Number TAF 0035). The following themes were addressed at each of the trainings: the relationship between the government and the people under democracy; democracy and human rights; organizing and advocating on behalf of farmers' interests; and organizational issues appropriate for advocacy, such as developing mission statements and fund raising for NGOs.

The objective of the project was to empower individuals in Central Sulawesi, and in particular the farming community, by increasing political awareness and exploring means for public participation. These meetings provided a forum for the exchange of views and concerns regarding issues of greatest concern within the community.

Analysis

Participants in the trainings were very active and enthusiastic. Through these trainings, it was revealed that in areas from which participants came there were always cases of violations of civic rights by the local government, and one of the conclusions reached by the participants was that there was a need for the formation of an organization to act as a mediator between farmers in Sulawesi and the local government, to advocate on behalf of farmers including through the formulation of policy recommendations to government.

In response to this, KIPP-DA Palu, in coordination with the National Farmers' Union (Serikat Tani Nasional, STN), conducted a four-day workshop for farmers, attended by 48 farmers alumni from the previous civic education training, on November 28 - December 1, 1999. As a result of this meeting, an organization was established for farmers in Central Sulawesi which will act as an affiliate of STN and which has already begun a dialog with DPRD TK I in Central Sulawesi (See details in attached media clippings in Appendix O).

The Asia Foundation is very pleased with the capability of KIPP-DA Palu in coordinating such an extensive series of meetings for farmers in Central Sulawesi, especially given that it was originally envisaged that they would carry out the trainings in conjunction with Foundation grantees YBH Bantaya, JPPR and Radio Station Nebula Nada. However, these organizations' own programs of activities meant that they were not able to participate as fully as envisaged at the outset. As a result of the civic education training conducted by KIPP-DA Palu, local citizens, particularly farmers gained a greater understanding of their political rights and the importance of engaging in political matters.

TAF 041 MADIA (Society for Inter-Faith Dialogue)

Purpose

The purpose of this program is to strengthen interfaith relations in Indonesia and promote religious tolerance.

Activities

The Asia Foundation supported Madia to conduct two inter-faith dialogues. The first dialogue was held on 18 September 1999 in Bandung, in cooperation with the Muthahari Foundation, headed by Djalaludin Rachmat, a prominent Muslim scholar in Bandung. The workshop was attended by 127 participants. There were 42 religious organizations and NGOs participating in the event. The event was also attended by government officials, member of DPRD and political party activists.

The dialogue started with a panel discussion and was then followed by focus group discussion. The panel discussion focussed on the post-election situation in Indonesia and its implications for inter-faith relations. MADIA invited Dr. Mochtar Pabottingi from the Indonesian Institute for Sciences (LIPI) and Prof. Dr. Ahmad Tafsir, M.A. from the State

Institute for Islamic Study in Bandung (IAIN Sunan Gunung Jati) as speakers. Six discussants explored further the implications of the post-election situation for inter-faith relations in Bandung and West Java area. The discussants were: Dr. M. Abdurrahman from PERSIS; Rm. Abukasman, OSC from Bandung Diocese (Keuskupan Agung Bandung); Pdt. Krisna L. Suryadi from Pasundan Church; I Nyoman Tika from Parisada Hindu Dharma; Ir. Gotok Hianwijaya from Confucius Council of Indonesia; and Kusrini from traditional Sundanese faith.

During the focus group discussion, the 127 participants were divided into five groups to discuss: the role of religious organizations; the role and importance of religious leaders; the role of government and military; the role of education institutions, both secular and religious schools; and local customs (*adat*). The dialogue concluded that there are three dominant problems/issues with regards to inter-faith relations in Bandung and West Java: excessive intervention from the government and military in religious affairs; the co-optation of religious leaders by political forces and their insensitivity to other religions; and discrimination against un-recognized religions. Finally, almost all participants agreed that there is an urgent need to create or facilitate communication forums for inter-faith dialogue in Bandung and West Java, since such venue do not yet exist.

In Medan, MADIA conducted a two-day workshop on 13-14 November 1999. MADIA organized the second dialogue with Inter-Faith Dialogue Foundation (FDA) in Medan. The workshop had smaller number of participants than in Bandung—31. Most of them were community and religious leaders, as well as representatives of religious youth organizations from Muslim, Protestant, Catholics and Hindu communities. The Asia Foundation's Program Assistant, Grace Bintang, attended the dialogue.

During the workshop, participants identified three main local problems in Medan that contribute to inter-faith tensions: gambling, prejudices, and the use of religions for political purposes. MADIA and FDA invited two speakers, Dr. Nur Ahmad Fadhil Lubis from the State Institute of Islamic Studies North Sumatra and Prof. Dr. Bungaran Antonius Simanjuntak, lecturer of Sociology and Anthropology at Medan State University, who provided background analyses of the potential for conflict in North Sumatra. Four discussants: Tommy Tantowi (Buddhist); Ahmad Rivai Harahap (Muslim); Pdt. Einar Sitompul (Protestant) and Rm Y. Harun Yuwono (Catholic) were invited to respond from the perspectives of their particular religions.

On the final day of the workshop, participants formulated an action plan for a joint program to develop better inter-faith relations in Medan. Since gambling was identified as the main source of social problem in Medan, this issue will be used as the entry point for joint program among participants. Dialogue participants, through their organizations, will start an anti-gambling campaign. Participants will also inform each other of any religious event which can be used to show inter-faith tolerance to broader target groups, not just their own constituents, but also citizens of Medan in general.

At the end of each workshop, MADIA asked participants to evaluate the workshop. In both cases, participants were satisfied with the workshop and found the discussions to be relevant and useful. However, there were some complaints regarding the effectiveness of facilitators and the lack of punctuality.

Analysis

From the outset of this program, the Foundation tried to emphasize the importance of going beyond dialogue for the sake of dialogue." MADIA managed to show that one method to improve society's capability to solve inter-faith conflict is by providing events where different groups, especially local religious and community leaders, could meet and discuss each other's concerns.

The dialogue in Bandung was the first ever joint program between MADIA and the Muthahari Foundation. For Bandung itself, the dialogue was the first inter-faith event of this kind. There were a number of intra-faith discussions and seminars on pluralism. However, most of them did not invite participants from other faiths. MADIA and Muthahari have successfully invited groups from various religious groups, not just the five formal religions, but also other faiths such as Confucius and traditional Sundanese faith.

The rich inter-faith and inter-cultural combination in Medan, with large numbers of Chinese, Indians, Javanese, and a wide variety of religions (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and traditional faiths) made it an ideal location for the dialogue. By talking about a common concerns, participants developed confidence and trust to work with people from other faiths. The use of gambling issues as an entry point in an inter-faith dialogue also showed MADIA's ability to use different kinds of approaches to conduct inter-faith dialogues.

As an organization, MADIA faces problems associated with its Board of Trustees. Specifically, because the Board is made up of high profile individuals who are extremely busy, they rarely have time to meet and talk about MADIA's future program. Instead, MADIA's executive members (Amanda Suharnoko, Chandra (MATAKIN), Trisno Sutanto, Martin Sinaga, Romo Ismartono and Jerry Sumampow) provide overall direction and make programming decisions. The organization tends to be slow to act, but once they do commit to a project, they do a good job.

The Asia Foundation intends to continue to work with MADIA through the Democracy and Civil Society grant from USAID. In preparation for that, we are working to strengthen MADIA's organizational capacity through financial training for MADIA's accountant and treasurer. We are also in the process of working with MADIA to design a one-year program, which will include follow-up programs in Bandung and Medan to help establish an inter-faith communication forum in each of these areas.

TAF 042 FMPA – The Asia Foundation Election Program Evaluation

Purpose

To conduct an evaluation of The Asia Foundation's election program activities undertaken during the period October 1, 1998 – September 30, 1999.

Activities

With funding from the OTI/PTG grant and the DCS grant, the Foundation undertook an external evaluation of its election programs. It assessed the extent to which project goals and objectives related to the June 7, 1999 election were met, and measured qualitatively and quantitatively the impact of the activities conducted under the election program. The following priority areas of focus guided the evaluation: Program Objectives, Lessons Learned, Implementation and Non-partisanship. The evaluator, Greg Fealy, assessed the impact of the Foundation's election programming on the electoral process, with particular reference to the Foundation's relationships with Indonesian NGOs, and its support for voter education and election monitoring.

In preparing this comprehensive program evaluation, Greg Fealy conducted twenty-eight interviews and reviewed over thirty-five documentary sources during November and early December, 1999.

Analysis

This evaluation concurred that The Asia Foundation's election program did achieve most of its objectives, and that the most effective part of its program was the voter education component (despite numerous delays in the distribution of materials). The evaluation confirms that the election program was conducted in a largely non-partisan manner and that the Foundation's facilitating of the program was good, save for the suggestion that elements of the Foundation's financial and administrative reporting requirements need more thorough explanation to our Indonesian partners. The voter education surveys (see TAF 010 and TAF 032) and the National Clearinghouse for Voter Education (see TAF 022), were considered laudable initiatives.

The evaluation reaffirmed that the decision of the *Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat* (JPPR) to engage in election monitoring was controversial within the donor community, but that such criticisms were tempered somewhat by the contribution of the JPPR's monitoring program. Dr. Fealy also noted the lost opportunities resulting from the JPPR's lack of media strategy and, in turn, profile.

This thorough external evaluation of The Asia Foundation's election program – the largest Asia Foundation program to date – will guide The Asia Foundation in its ongoing post-election programs and in its relationships with election program grantees in the future. It is also hoped that this evaluation will provide USAID with valuable information for its future support in Indonesia and for election programs in general. To

this end, results of the evaluation were presented by Dr. Fealy at USAID on December 10, 1999.

TAF 043 JPPR Monitoring of the Selection of Representatives to the DPRD I

Purpose

To monitor and report on the selection process of the regional representatives to the MPR.

Activities

To help ensure that the selection of the MPR Regional Representatives was fair and reflected the will of the people, the JPPR network in 26 provinces carefully monitored the selection process at the DPRD-1 level by filling in a detailed questionnaire and returning it to JPPR headquarters in Jakarta. The data collected through the questionnaires was analyzed by the representatives of JPPR organization to determine if the selection process was fair and democratic.

Analysis

At very short notice, and on the recommendation of OTI staff, the JPPR conducted this monitoring program as scheduled.

Prior to conducting monitoring of the process of regional representatives selection, JPPR conducted a national press conference on September 8, 1999 (see attached press release in Appendix Q) to inform the public of its intention to monitor the selection of parliament representatives in 26 provinces. In addition to conducting a national press conference, JPPR in Riau, Bengkulu, Lampung, West Java, West and East Kalimantan, West Nusa Tenggara, Central and North Sulawesi, and Maluku branches sent press releases to local media to inform the public that they would conduct monitoring of the parliament member selection process and to encourage the public to actively participate in monitoring the selection.

Overall, JPPR found the process of DPRD-1 selection in the 26 provinces was fair and democratic. Journalists and local community were allowed to see the whole election process. Only in a few areas, such as Jambi and Jakarta, were journalists and the local community allowed only to observe the plenary meetings. In Yogyakarta, only those with formal letters from their institutions were allowed to observe. In most provinces, the military did not interfere in the process of selection. In Central Kalimantan, South and Southeast Sulawesi, Riau, Bengkulu, and West Sumatra, the observers noted that the military still wanted to include their representatives in the election. The overall monitoring showed the process of election ran quite fairly, and was publicized by local media, TV, radio and newspapers. In all 26 provinces, the media also reported the selection process in a non-partisan way. The JPPR observers also noted that there were still indications of money politics in some areas, though these were difficult to prove.

Unfortunately JPPR was not able to provide The Asia Foundation with the compilation/summary of the questionnaires as expected and they have not conducted a press conference to release the overall results of their monitoring.

TAF 045

Lembaga Studi Pers dan Pembangunan (Institute for Media and Development Studies, LSPP)

Purpose

To increase the capacity of journalists in Aceh to report on human rights abuses in the province.

Activities

A seven-day training program was conducted to provide skills training to eighteen broadcast and print media journalists on how to report issues relating to human rights in Aceh.

Analysis

The number of journalists attending the program was well below the estimate originally made for the training, 35, which was disappointing. The Asia Foundation had anticipated that journalists from Aceh might find it difficult to make time to attend a long training program, and therefore encouraged LSPP to reduce the period of training from the eight days they originally planned, to four full days. Even so, this did not overcome the problem cited by a number of media invited to send participants: namely, that their limited number of journalists could not be spared from their regular reporting duties. While this would likely continually be a problem for some media, with hindsight LSPP acknowledged that the fact that the program was conducted just a week before the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) anniversary in early December is likely to have compounded the problem.

One of the Foundation's key rationales for supporting this initiative was a recognition of the important role journalists can play in publicizing human rights issues in Aceh, yet the concurrent relative lack of awareness among journalists about human rights. The importance of the training was confirmed, as it quickly became apparent that the participants indeed had a very low level of understanding of basic human rights issues. Before this could be addressed, however, LSPP first had to gain the trust of the participants, some of whom were concerned that the training might have a hidden political agenda. This suspicion highlights the way in which almost all aspects of life in Aceh have been politicized, and increased the relevance of the training as a means of making journalists better informed about human rights and thereby more competent to counter manipulation of human rights issues for political ends.

Although the training only reached a very modest number of participants, the Foundation believes that it was an important first step in raising awareness among journalists in Aceh

of basic human rights issues. One of the direct outputs from the program is a guidebook for journalists on reporting in conflict areas, produced by LSPP. Also, as a result of this training, a group of journalists in Aceh established the Committee to Protect Journalists, the goal of which is to protect journalists from intimidation and violence from both the military and the Free Aceh Movement.

TAF 046 Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (AJI, Alliance of Independent Journalists)

Purpose

To provide support for transport and accommodation costs for participants to attend the 3rd *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen* (AJI, Alliance of Independent Journalists) Congress held in Surabaya in December 1999.

Activities

AJI organized a Congress in Surabaya from December 3-5 1999 to pursue its objective to develop into a nationally recognized professional journalists' organization in order to press for freedom of the media and freedom of expression and association. This Congress was AJI's third, and first since restrictions on independent media were eased. As a consequence, it was the first AJI Congress to be conducted openly. The Congress itself discussed the achievements of AJI over the last two years (since the last Congress), elected a new Executive Council, and determined the organization's course of action for the coming two-year period.

Analysis

The 3rd AJI Congress was an historical event for those who have been involved in, or followed closely, AJI's development since its inception in 1994 in the wake of the government bans on three weeklies, being the first Congress that could be organized without fear of government interference. The political changes since the previous Congress has meant that AJI's role has altered significantly, and this Congress was seen as an opportunity at which to confirm the direction the organization will take over the next two years and to agree on the steps needed to do so. All but one AJI branch and one AJI bureau were represented at the Congress, which was attended by over 100 participants, most of them actively engaging in discussions. Asia Foundation Senior Program Officer Tessa Piper attended as an observer.

Issues that it was agreed should be the focus of AJI attention included: improving the working conditions of journalists, and playing more of a mediating role in disputes between journalists and employers. At the same time, core areas of AJI's previous work, including journalists' training, publications, and campaigning on freedom of information and expression, were still deemed to be important.

AJI currently boasts a membership of 625, a dramatic increase from the Soeharto period when only about 60 journalists were officially members of the organization due to the threat of job losses and sanctions made against AJI members by the government and the then only government-recognized journalists' association, the PWI. As the AJI National Secretary wryly commented, the "AJI-phobia" of the past has now turned into "AJI-mania". This, and the many requests for recognition of AJI branches and bureau in the regions, have created their own challenges, as AJI seeks to establish clear criteria for membership and representation, while at the same time encouraging a decentralization of its operations. The discussion on membership concluded with agreement that the focus should be on consolidation of membership as opposed to membership expansion.

Criticisms from members present focused on AJI's Jakarta-centered approach – in that both funds and activities derive from the center – and a sense that AJI has become too "foreign-oriented" at the expense of greater attention to issues of greater local concern. Members acknowledged that they were still reliant on AJI Jakarta for much of the Alliance's fundraising, but wanted greater leeway in the regions for developing and implementing activities. A concern was also raised that AJI remains primarily a print media association, despite its claim and intention to represent all media.

Altogether, the Congress was successful in reaching agreement on future broad directions for the organization.

TAF 047

KIPP

Purpose

To support the development, production and distribution of a common curriculum for programs to monitor the national and regional legislatures.

Activities

The Independent Election Monitoring Committee, KIPP, conducted a workshop to determine an appropriate methodology for monitoring the national and regional parliaments. The two-day workshop was conducted from November 19-20, 1999 in Kawasan Puncak and was attended by 40 invited participants from a variety of NGOs and political parties (seven political party representatives attended in all). Asia Foundation Assistant Program Officer Roberto Hutabarat also attended the workshop.

KIPP sought input from its seven regional office heads and representatives from other NGOs to develop a curriculum, which is being distributed nationwide and disseminated through CivicNet based in Yogyakarta (see PTG Project Number TAF 035).

Analysis

KIPP began the workshop by distributing concept papers and copies of new regulations concerning MPR-DPR-DPRD – which proved useful for providing information about parliamentary function and what is required to monitor parliaments – to participants.

Issues raised during the first day of discussion included: how should people be encouraged to participate in monitoring work? Does attention to the performance of legislatures through regular opinion pieces in local media provide sufficient monitoring of local legislatures? Assuming they should, *how* should people be organized as watchdogs for such monitoring programs? Through discussion, it was agreed that monitoring was required for three of the main functions of the legislatures: control, representation, and drafting of legislation.

With hopes high for new legislatures comprised of more representative and accountable bodies of legislators, there is an unprecedented opportunity and a pressing need for programs to promote legislative accountability. With the strong legislative gains made in the past elections by parties previously not widely represented in parliament, the newly formed legislatures are composed of many representatives who have little experience. Monitoring of these new legislatures will therefore be very important. Furthermore, at the local levels citizens have little understanding of the function of local government institutions, and almost no experience in 'using' these institutions for the public good.

With so many organizations currently interested in conducting legislative watch programs in Indonesia, there is a need to co-ordinate efforts at this initial stage, or at a minimum to encourage standardization. This was therefore a timely project and one whose end product - the module - should be of benefit not only to KIPP branches, but also to other NGOs involved in parliamentary monitoring.

Input from political parties who attended the workshop (PKB, PAN, PK and PBB) were felt to be helpful in formulating the strategy and methodology of monitoring, and the Foundation is pleased with the practical focus of the module. The module emphasizes qualitative aspects of monitoring, namely performance of legislative institutions; parliamentary competence in legal drafting; personal attitudes of parliament members, in terms of their commitment to function as true people's representatives; and day to day observation that can be done by monitoring meetings conducted by parliament. On the other hand, the module also emphasizes the quantitative aspects of monitoring, such as measuring how many legal drafts are able to be produced by the parliament in each semester. Other important tools for monitoring parliament are included as well, such as basic knowledge about parliament including: parliament's tasks and responsibilities; the background of parliamentary monitoring; what to monitor; skills to monitor parliament. Also included in the module is a code of conduct for observers, as well as monitoring forms for parliamentary observers.

TAF 048 Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI)

Purpose

The purpose of this workshop is to enable various groups in Indonesia that are working on intergroup dialogue and cooperation to share strategies for alleviating, if not resolving, intergroup tensions in Indonesia.

Activity

In preparation for the Inter-Group Relations workshop, a Steering Committee was formed consisting of representatives of organizations working in the area of intergroup relations: the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), GANDI, Paramadina, GEMARI, MADIA, National Commission for Human Rights and Solidaritas Nusa Bangsa. The Asia Foundation is also an active member of the committee. The Steering Committee provided intellectual input into the issue paper; facilitated sessions at the workshop; and formulated the final policy recommendations and workshop report.

YLBHI served as the secretariat and organizer of the Steering Committee. Prior to the workshop, YLBHI distributed to workshop participants an issue paper on intergroup relations which was developed by the Steering Committee. The issue paper incorporated issues that influence intergroup relations, points for discussions during the workshop and the terms of reference. YLBHI also distributed a survey to the participants regarding their views on intergroup relations in Indonesia. The results of this survey were then used as the starting point for the working group discussions.

The workshop was conducted on November 24 - 27, 1999 in Puncak, West Java. The workshop was attended by 45 participants, representing 35 religious organizations and NGOs that are concerned about the deterioration of inter-group relations in Indonesia. Asia Foundation Program Officer, Hana Satriyo, attended the workshop. A military general from National Defense Council also attended the first day of the workshop.

The workshop began with presentations from five speakers. The first speaker, Thamrin Amal Tomagola, sociologist at the University of Indonesia and coordinator of the Indonesian Institute of Reconciliation and Peace (LERAI), spoke about inter-group relations from a sociological perspective and used Maluku as a case study. The second speaker, Danziel Potgieter, a member of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Committee, presented an overview of the South African approach to nation building and reconciliation. The third speaker was Lisa Ting from the Australian-Indonesia Legal Development Foundation who discussed legal developments in Australia on inter-group relations. The fourth speaker was Thung Ju Lan, a researcher from Indonesian Institute of Sciences who provided a historical perspective on inter-group relations in Indonesia. The last speaker was Frans Hendra Winata, a prominent lawyer who presented a paper on legal perspectives on inter-group relations.

Workshop participants were then divided into three working groups focussing on conflict, discrimination and government policy. The second and the third day of the workshop was used for each working group to conduct in-depth discussion over each issue area. Then each working group presented their findings, ideas and opinions in the plenary session. At the end of the workshop, participants drafted action plans and joint statements on inter-group relations in Indonesia.

Analysis

The Asia Foundation is pleased with YLBHI's work in organizing the workshop. Sessions in the workshop were conceptually well-crafted. The first session provided participants a comparative perspective of interventions that have been used around the world in developing good inter-group relations. The second session focussed on the legal and historical perspective, and provided background information on inter-group relations in Indonesia that formed the basis for the break-out discussions sessions.

Participants of the workshop have expressed satisfaction in the evaluation session that the workshop has provided enough time and opportunity for each of them to contribute and voice their concern on the issue. Some religious groups, such as Bahai Indonesia and Kaharingan, expressed their appreciation for being invited to the workshop, since for decades their very existence was denied by the government's policy on recognition of five religions in Indonesia.

By using concurrent working groups, the workshop organizers ensured that all participants had ample opportunity to share their views. One down-side of the workshop was lack of punctuality, but this was mainly due to the enthusiasm of the participants (discussions went until midnight!).

The Asia Foundation considers the workshop to be a successful endeavour in creating a new alliance of inter-faith NGOs to launch a national campaign regarding this crucial issue. The 35 organizations that participate in the workshop have since created the Indonesian Commission on Anti Discrimination (KADI). In early January, the Commission issued a press release on the state of inter-group relations in Indonesia. The press conference was conducted in YLBHI's office and was reported in some national newspapers.

TAF 049 eLSIM

Purpose

To support a training for print journalists on gender and reporting in Makassar in November 1999.

Activities

eLSIM organized a training on gender and reporting for 28 journalists in Makassar. The training program, held November 27-30, 1999, involved the participation of 28 print journalists (16 women and 12 men) from all four provinces in Sulawesi, as well as representatives from Ambon and Jayapura. The training consisted of presentations, group work, and simulated assignments.

The goal of the training was to encourage greater understanding of gender related issues amongst journalists with the intention of reducing gender bias in reporting. In conducting the training, eLSIM used materials produced by eLSIM's own Media Watch team and – on the Foundation's suggestion – materials published by LP3Y in Yogyakarta concerning gender and the mass media.

Analysis:

This was the first time that the Foundation had supported a program conducted by eLSIM and, in general, the Foundation was pleased with the commitment and enthusiasm for the program shown by eLSIM staff, and the high quality of the speakers invited to attend. However, the Foundation would like to have seen the training providing more time for practical application of the input provided. This would have served to respond to the comments often expressed to Foundation staff by journalists, that journalists prefer hands-on learning to the more lecture/open discussion style that predominated during this training. Appropriately structured, it would also enable the trainers to assess the progress of the training as it went along, and alter the focus or speed accordingly.

The importance of the training was highlighted by the fact that it was oversubscribed, with a total of 36 journalists applying to participate. The Foundation therefore intends to continue discussions with eLSIM and other potential partners about the possibility of conducting further journalism training on gender issues.

Attachment

- Appendix A:** Financial Report for Grant No. AOT-A-98-00132-00
- Appendix B:** TAF 003, LSPP: books:
Negeri Dalam Kobaran Api: Sebuah Dokumentasi tentang Tragedi Mei 1998; Dari Keseragaman Menuju Keberagaman: wacana Multikultural Dalam Media; Pemilihan Umum 1999: Demokrasi atau Rebutan Kursi?
- Appendix C:** TAF 011, CSIS: a book: *Hubungan Sipil Militer dan Transisi Demokrasi di Indonesia, Persepsi Sipil dan Militer.*
- Appendix D:** TAF 013, CISCORE: a book: *Manual Advokasi: Resolusi Konflik*, newspaper clippings.
- Appendix E:** TAF 022, LKiS: List of participating NGOs, correspondence from partners, complete editions of *Suara*.
- Appendix F:** TAF 025, IAIN: newspaper clippings.
- Appendix G:** TAF 026, Solidaritas Perempuan: newspaper clippings.
- Appendix H:** TAF 029, Litbang Departemen Agama: newspaper clippings.
- Appendix I:** TAF 030, Indonesia Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy: TV Public Service Announcements (PSA) to increase awareness on voting rights among women in rural and suburban areas, newspaper clippings.
- Appendix J:** TAF 031, Yayasan Hapsari: a sticker on women's rights in the election and a sample of radio quiz to encourage women's participation in the election.
- Appendix K:** TAF 032, AC Nielsen: copy of the report: "*Research for the Development of Proactive Strategies to Ensure the "Good Conduct" of the Indonesian Elections 1999*".
- Appendix L:** TAF 033, publication of election monitoring manuals: copies of the KIPP, JPPR, Forum Rektor, SBSI, and English language election monitoring manuals.
- Appendix M:** TAF 035, LKiS: 5 booklets produced by LKiS:
Pendidikan Politik Bagi Warga Negara: Tawaran Operasional dan Kerangka Kerja; Advokasi Hak-hak Perempuan; Membela Hak Mewujudkan Perubahan Mengasah Naluri Publik Memahami Nalar Politik; Menjadi Politisi Ekstra Parlementer; Belajar Civic Education dari Amerika.

Appendix N: TAF 038, Litbang Departement Agama: 6 pocketbooks on women:
“Pandangan Islam Tentang Poligami, Pengasuhan Anak dalam Keluarga Islam, Ikhtiar Mengatasi Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga: Belajar dari Kehidupan Rasulullah SAW, Kodrat Perempuan dalam Islam, Perempuan sebagai Kepala Rumah Tangga, Pembagian Kerja Rumah Tangga dalam Islam”.

Appendix O: TAF 040, KIPP-DA Palu: press coverage on KIPP-DA Palu activities.

Appendix P: TAF 041, MADIA: newspaper clippings.

Appendix Q: TAF 043, JPPR: press coverage, list of MPR members.

Appendix R: TAF 046, AJI: newspaper clippings.

Appendix S: TAF 048, YLBHI: newspaper clippings.

Appendix A:

Financial Report for Grant No. AOT-A-98-00132-00

Grantee Progress Report: Financial Report

GRANTEE NAME:

The Asia Foundation

GRANT NO.

AOT-A-00-98-00132-00

REPORTING DATE:

February 4, 2000

FISCAL YEAR:

1999/2000

CURRENCY: US\$ or Rp

REPORT PERIOD

05/21/1999

TO

(Circle one)

12/31/1999

Tracking No.	Grantee	USAID Approved Amount (A)	Previously reported	Actual for this Period	Total Actual to Date (B)	Balance (A) minus (B)
001	Indonesian Legal Aid & Education Fdn (YPBHI)	50,000.00	42,000.00	(8,589.00)	33,411.00	16,589.00
002	Yogyakarta Legal Aid Inst (LBH Yogyakarta)	9,000.00	8,969.00	0.00	8,969.00	31.00
003	Institute for Media and Dev Studies (LSPP)	70,000.00	65,009.40	3,545.31	68,554.71	1,445.29
004	Inst for Res, Educ & Publ Yogya (LP3 Yogya)	73,000.00	71,264.00	(1,546.00)	69,718.00	3,282.00
005	CANCELLED					
006	Bali Legal Aid Institute - Capitalize	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
007	Indonesian Newspaper Publisher Assoc. (SPS)	5,800.00	5,658.00	0.00	5,658.00	142.00
008	Yogyakarta Legal Aid Inst (LBH Yogyakarta) & Indo Women's Assoc for Justice (LBH APIK)	18,500.00	20,277.00	(2,101.00)	18,176.00	324.00
009	Forensics Training/Komnas HAM	40,000.00	39,822.32	0.00	39,822.32	177.68
010	AC Nielsen/Chamey	69,000.00	73,398.57	0.00	73,398.57	(4,398.57)
011	Center for Strategic and Intl Studies (CSIS)	41,000.00	30,475.00	0.00	30,475.00	10,525.00
012	Lontar Foundation	204,906.00	204,517.00	0.00	204,517.00	389.00
013	CISCORE	20,000.00	19,399.00	391.00	19,790.00	210.00
014	Movement of Indo Muslim Students (PMII)	3,050.00	2,527.00	0.00	2,527.00	523.00
015	Girls' Scouts Movement of Indonesian Muslim Students (KOPRI-PMII)	3,380.00	3,339.00	0.00	3,339.00	41.00
016	PARIBA	31,500.00	34,339.00	0.00	34,339.00	(2,839.00)
017	CANCELLED					0.00
018	ANFREL	20,400.00	20,432.48	0.00	20,432.48	(32.48)
019	Litbang Departemen Agama	2,650.00	2,616.00	0.00	2,616.00	34.00
020	LSPP	5,000.00	3,039.00	0.00	3,039.00	1,961.00
021	SPS	15,500.00	16,091.00	0.00	16,091.00	(591.00)
022	LKIS	38,500.00	33,641.73	(1,925.00)	31,716.73	6,783.27
023	Gelombang	10,000.00	9,143.00	(254.00)	8,889.00	1,111.00
024	Yayasan HAPSARI	9,500.00	8,284.00	0.00	8,284.00	1,216.00
025	Pusat Penelitian IAIN Jakarta	3,330.00	2,643.00	1,001.00	3,644.00	(314.00)
026	Solidaritas Perempuan	3,650.00	3,096.00	0.00	3,096.00	554.00
027	ALIANSI 3	9,500.00	8,026.00	0.00	8,026.00	1,474.00
028	ELS-HAM, Irian Jaya	8,000.00	6,927.00	(192.00)	6,735.00	1,265.00
029	Litbang Departemen Agama	7,900.00	3,603.00	4,247.00	7,850.00	50.00
030	Koalisi Perempuan	51,800.00	49,183.00	212.00	49,395.00	2,405.00
031	HAPSARI	22,750.00	23,469.00	(787.00)	22,682.00	68.00
032	AC/Nielsen	20,000.00	22,544.00	0.00	22,544.00	(2,544.00)
033	Election Monitoring Manuals	155,000.00	0.00	169,338.00	169,338.00	(14,338.00)
034	SPS (CANCELLED)				0.00	0.00
035	LKIS	52,000.00	0.00	40,255.00	40,255.00	11,745.00
036	Yayasan Maluku Manise (YAMMANS) CANCELLED				0.00	0.00
037	ANFREL (CANCELLED)				0.00	0.00
038	Litbang Departemen Agama (in cooperation with Solidaritas Perempuan)	40,000.00	0.00	30,060.00	30,060.00	9,940.00
039	HPPI (Assoc. of Indonesian Broadcast Practitioners)	75,000.00	0.00	70,583.00	70,583.00	4,417.00
040	KIPP DA Sulawesi Tengah	18,000.00	0.00	15,405.00	15,405.00	2,595.00
041	MADIA	11,000.00	0.00	7,774.00	7,774.00	3,226.00
042	Evaluation Election Program	5,000.00	0.00	5,000.00	5,000.00	0.00
043	LAKPESDAM	7,100.00	0.00	7,287.00	7,287.00	(187.00)
044	HPPI	20,000.00	0.00	17,146.00	17,146.00	2,854.00
045	LSPP	17,000.00	0.00	13,397.00	13,397.00	3,603.00
046	Aliansi Jurnal Independen (Alliance of Independent Journalists)	11,000.00	0.00	8,564.00	8,564.00	2,436.00
047	KIPP (Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu)	10,000.00	0.00	9,501.00	9,501.00	499.00
048	YLBHI (Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation)	8,000.00	0.00	6,522.00	6,522.00	1,478.00
049	eLSIM (Lembaga Studi Informasi dan Media Massa)	8,000.00	0.00	7,754.00	7,754.00	246.00
	Total Grants *	1,195,000.00	833,732.50	402,588.31	1,236,320.81	(41,320.81)
	Program Service Costs	409,467.00	181,558.75	153,701.18	335,259.93	74,207.07
	Indirect Costs	371,273.63	221,921.00	171,759.97	393,680.97	(22,407.34)
	GRAND TOTAL	1,975,741.00	1,237,212.25	728,049.46	1,965,261.71	10,479.29
	Non-USAID Contributions		57,055.00	156,202.00	213,257.00	

* From USAID original budget

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