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## **INTERNEWS in INDONESIA**

### **FINAL PROJECT REPORT**

#### *An Informed Choice: Building Media Professionalism for the 2004 Elections in Indonesia*

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## BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

For the first time in the country's 59-year history, Indonesians had the opportunity to directly elect their president in 2004. This milestone marked the climax of a long road of democratic reform that gained steady momentum after Indonesia held its most democratic-ever elections in 1999 with only limited preparation. The success of the '99 elections did not guarantee success in 2004, however; since the entire political system was to be overhauled in the intervening years, the success of the new electoral process was as much in doubt as were the eventual winners and losers.

The scope and pace of reform post-1999 was breathtaking, and set the stage for new electoral and governmental systems after the legislative and presidential elections of 2004. The new systems were more democratic, and much more confusing. On April 5, 2004, voters cast ballots to elect representatives of the national and local legislatures, and new Regional Representatives' Councils called the DPD. Each voter in each province would cast four votes (apart from Jakarta where three votes were cast because the capital has no local reGENCY or mayoralty level council); one for the national legislature (DPR), one for the provincial legislature (DPRD I), one for the local council (DPRD II), and one for the DPD. While voters voted directly for DPD candidates, they had less say in party-affiliated votes due to the proportional representation system using a limited open-list process.

The Presidential process, though simpler than the legislative process, still involved precarious alliance-building and, as it turned out, a second round run-off vote to determine the winner.

Establishing this intricate electoral system was just half the battle; informing the electorate on how to participate in this process was a separate but equally important challenge. Voting without understanding the system or the choices to be made is democracy in name only. There was no disputing that the print and broadcast media in Indonesia would play a dominant role in educating voters of their rights, responsibilities, and proper procedures come Election Day; what was uncertain was how to create an educated media in time to in-turn educate the more than 120 million people who would cast their votes on Election Day.

The purpose of the Internews project, *An Informed Choice: Building Media Professionalism for the 2004 Elections in Indonesia*, was to empower the media to provide the knowledge and insight Indonesians needed to make informed decisions about who should represent them in government. Over a 22-month period, Internews conducted a wide variety of training and production programs designed to prepare Indonesia's journalists to engage the electorate in a constructive dialogue about the historic decisions facing them.

Internews has worked with the Indonesian media ever since this media emerged from under the shadow of the Suharto regime in 1999; overnight, journalists who were harassed, censored, and imprisoned, were suddenly free to say whatever they wanted (for a time, even the Ministry of Information was mothballed). The Indonesian media was then given a chance to display just how unskilled and undisciplined it was. Answering a desperate need for help, Internews built the technical and skills capacity

of scores of radio and television stations to accurately reflect the tumultuous change in Indonesia to Indonesians, and so Internews was ideally positioned to prepare the media to cover the largest single day elections (April 5, 2004) and the largest direct one-day presidential elections (July 5 and September 20, 2004) in history, and to inform the electorate about an extremely complicated electoral structure.

It is not Internews policy to attempt to meet these goals alone; *An Informed Choice* teamed Internews with several local and international organizations. These collaborations, with AJI, CETRO, IFES, IMMF, IMLPC, NDI, and IRI, were fruitful, but more partnerships, particularly with Indonesian organizations, were needed to complete such an ambitious media development program. With USAID's support, Internews modified its work plan and deliverables, and reached out to form additional partnerships with Yayasan SET, JRPP, and the regional and national broadcast regulatory bodies of the Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI).

As the Elections of 2004 approached, the question for some remained: Does the media really influence the way a person votes? In answer to that, we can look at two aspects of the 2004 campaigns. First, the USAID-supported voter surveying programs of IFES found again and again that the media was the voter's first and foremost source of information about the elections, political parties, processes and candidates; television was cited most often, with radio and newspapers sharing second place in the voter's list of key sources of information. In a nation as populous and spread out as Indonesia and with political parties still learning how to conduct effective campaigns at a grassroots level, the media became an important communications tool in the 2004 Elections.

The second indicator is the result of the Presidential Election itself. As Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's star rose quickly and steadily in the run-up to the legislative elections, and then shot up exponentially during the campaigns for President, he did not have the powerful political machinery of the established parties, PDIP and GOLKAR, but led a new and little known party, Partai Demokrat. What we heard over and over again from voters was that SBY had the charisma, the gravitas, and the respectability to lead the country. Here was a campaign dominated by the politics of personality, where the image of the party leader could and did overturn the political patronage and backroom politics that dominated previous Indonesian campaigns. In other parts of the world, the media, and particularly the television medium, made personality politics the driving force in who was elected. Personality politics - for better or worse - has now established itself in Indonesia with the election of SBY, thanks in large part to the broadcast media. When the media commands so much prominence in an electoral test, responsible media coverage of such campaigns takes on a heightened importance.

During *An Informed Choice*, Internews implemented the following activities:

Objective 1: Enhanced Media Professionalism in Radio Election Coverage

- 2 5-day Elections Reporting Seminars for New Regional Partner Stations
- 1 5-day Advanced Election Coverage Seminar for Key Regional Stations

- 39 4-day In House Training Seminars on Journalism and Features
- 2 5-day Radio Presenter Seminars

Objective 2: Enhanced Professionalism in Television Election Coverage

- 2 5-day TV Election Reporting Seminars
- 4 Documentary Film Productions through Grants Program
- 3 1-day Election-Actions! Film Festivals with Yayasan SET

Objective 3: Collaboration Programs to Enhance Election Related Communications

- 7 3-day Print Media Workshops for Election Coverage with AJI/Jakarta and 1 wrap-up *lessons learned* seminar
- A Reporter's Guide to the 2004 Elections produced with AJI/Jakarta and CETRO
- Production of 56 weekly radio elections programs with IFES and CETRO;
- 3 3-day Election Coverage Workshops (total of eight simultaneous tracks) with JRPP
- 6 2-day *Communication between Journalists and Politicians* training seminars with IRI
- 5 2-day *Media Relations Training Seminars for Parties and Candidates* with NDI

Objective 4: Election Laws and Regulations Impacting the Media and Public Debate

- 4 1-day seminars with KPI, JRPP and Internews' International Expert
- 4 1-day intensive dialogues between KPI-D, KPI, JRPP and Internews' International Expert

During *An Informed Choice* Internews achieved the following:

1. Number of journalists trained: **743 journalists**
2. Number of radio and TV stations reached with training: **Radio: 68 and TV: 30**
3. Number of broadcasts of Internews *Suara Bangsa* radio features (no. of stations times no. of features): **8,624**
4. Estimated audience for features: **50 million based on geographic areas**
5. Number of KPI(D) members engaged in discussions with CRTC Expert: **18 commissioners (KPI National, KPI-D East Java, KPI-D Bali, KPI-D South Sumatera)**

6. Total TV audience of Elections documentaries (rough estimate of audience size): **141 million viewers based on geographic areas of the Television coverage**
7. Number of people who saw the documentaries at the Election, Action! Film fests: **Over 300 people**
8. Number of VCDs of election documentary films distributed to media, university and NGO communities: **250 copies**
9. Number of libraries stocking the election documentary films: **8 Universities**
10. Number of AJI – CETRO books printed and distributed: **3000 copies**
11. Number of VCDs of CETRO elections presentation distributed: **255 copies**

## **PROGRAM OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES**

### **Objective 1: Enhanced Media Professionalism in Radio Election Coverage**

#### ***Elections Reporting Seminars for New Regional Partner Stations***

Through its work in East Timor, Internews developed a basic “Elections Reporting” curriculum for media outlets. Internews refined this curriculum with input from the Center for Electoral Reform (CETRO), adapted it to Indonesian laws and political dynamics, and modified it as the KPU, KPI and other bodies refined the regulations for the conduct of the elections and for the conduct of the media in covering the votes. This curriculum was then conveyed in seminar format by international elections radio trainers, local journalists, and Internews staff trainers.

Two such seminars were held for 30 news editors and senior journalists from key new regional partner radio stations. Each seminar was attended by roughly 15 participants, to allow the right mix of individualized assistance and group interaction essential to proper learning. These training programs covered the regulations for the 2004 elections (Parliamentary and Presidential), the need for balanced and impartial coverage, political interviewing skills, ethics and applicable libel laws. Election Day coverage and reporting of election results were also covered.

These Election Reporting Seminars were designed to produce a higher quality of reporting of the 2004 elections than would otherwise have been the case. The participants learned to report in a fair and balanced way with a background knowledge of the relevant electoral laws and using techniques that have been tried and tested in elections elsewhere in the world.

The first seminar was launched on August 26, 2003, involving journalists from 15 radio stations in Java, Kalimantan, Aceh, Sumatera and Madura. The seminar was conducted according to interactive training methodology, based on participants' individual experience and needs. The emphasis was on group work, practical assignments and the need to relate all knowledge to the context of the 'real world' – specifically participants' own radio stations.

Three of the key challenges addressed in this seminar were:

- 1) How do we build trust with our listeners so that they become our 'eyes and ears' in the field?
- 2) During an election, how do we balance the need to be responsible and independent with the need to generate income for our station?
- 3) How do we report responsibly on the weaknesses in the electoral system without undermining voter confidence?

This first election coverage seminar provided the training team with major challenges because there was a wide range of experience and expectations within the group;

because there was a huge need to give information about the structure and complex processes of the new election system, it was a challenge to balance this with the equally important need to give specific skills training and – most importantly – a strong awareness of the role of radio in ensuring democratic elections. During the seminar, participants conducted field interviews in the 'real world' with 'ordinary' voters who lived and worked in the environment of the Internews' Jakarta office. They also collaborated in teams to produce voter-education mini dramas (for use in talk shows), and took turns to work each evening to record a 5-minute news bulletin based on the issues and challenges raised daily in the seminar.

Each participant received a comprehensive resource file. This course binder covered issues such as media and democracy-building, balance, how radio can 'cool the fever' during tense election periods, understanding the voter's needs, election news programming, ethical issues (including codes of conduct), interview skills, election talk shows, and planning election coverage on radio. Material was drawn from Indonesian case studies, as well as from other countries in transition to democracy. The rest of the resource file contained elections information, contact lists, schedules, structures and FAQs related specifically to the 2004 Elections in Indonesia.

In addition to the resource file, participants also received copies of three manuals dealing with Indonesian electoral law in more detail. They took all of this material home to share with their colleagues.

Johannesburg-based media trainer, Fiona Lloyd, led the training team. She is a specialist in election reporting training, and has run training programs with Internews Indonesia since 1999. Internews was also fortunate to be joined by Ibu Layla Mirza as Fiona's co-trainer. She was a highly respected journalism teacher at the University of Padjajaran and also the station manager of Radio Mara, in Bandung. Sadly, Ibu Layla passed away in 2004; she is missed by journalists and journalism students throughout Indonesia.

During the seminar, presentations were made by Ibu Smita Notosusanto, Executive Director of the Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO), and by Louis Schramm, Internews' resident media lawyer.

The seminar met with an enthusiastic response from the participants, who welcomed the mix of information, practical work and team collaboration. Among the participants' comments at the conclusion of the course were many about the new skills they acquired. One student said, "It's easy to make a sensational news story, but it's not easy to make a detailed one." Another said, "Having learned new ideas from training I would set my station format much better, so that it can create interesting and dynamic programs for the audience."

The training team was then moved to Makassar for the second seminar, starting September 1<sup>st</sup>, and once again led by Fiona Lloyd. Internews was also fortunate to be joined by Pak Djoko Wahjono Tjahjo, Director of Radio Elbayu in Gresik, who provided invaluable local context for all discussions. And once again, Ibu Smita Notosusanto of CETRO made a crucial presentation on the very complex electoral system for the April and July elections.

The Makassar seminar included 15 radio participants from Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua, Lombok, Ambon, Maluku and Bali. The trainers followed the same curriculum as for the Jakarta seminar, focusing not only on creative ways for journalists to engage the listener in the Elections of 2004, but also ensuring that they were grounded in the principles of accuracy, fairness, and balance in their election coverage.

The journalists identified several key challenges as they prepared to cover the elections. They wanted instruction on how to tell the truth about the election and the weaknesses in the system, without undermining voter confidence in the process. They also wanted to know how to put the voter first, how not to be manipulated by political parties, and how to avoid sensational reporting. As one journalist said, "We need to be down to earth, and mobile!"

There were many highlights of this seminar. There was a good mix of personalities, ages and experiences, and everyone was prepared to work through the night on team assignments. Participants who had already attended Internews training proved to be very much the 'anchors' of the group, in terms of maturity and experience. The trainers found it inspiring to see how they had developed – both as journalists and informal 'trainers'. A 'listen to the listeners' assignment had some surprising results; one team spoke to a group of local fishermen who asked them to return to do voter education because it was the first time they were hearing 'useful' information about the elections. Another group interacted with self-confessed 'golput' students at the local university, and explored the reasons for their apathy.

At the conclusion of the course, the participants learned a great deal about the task they faced on Election Day. "I realize now there are many challenges we face in election journalism coverage, but I enjoyed it," said one participant.

Another remarked that "Through radio we can tell people who feel pessimistic regarding the election that we can make something different now by voting. That's important - voting on Election Day - for the nation and it will affect my life as well."

One participant summed up the goal of the course and the advantage of radio in engaging the public in such a process. "I see now that we really can make a difference, by helping our listeners to feel like they can be part of the election process, even if they are not important or powerful people," he said. "That's really exciting. And I don't think TV or newspapers can do that as well as radio."

### ***Advanced Election Coverage for Key Regional Stations***

Internews believed that the leading radio stations in regional capitals and highly populated areas of the country would play a critical role in the Elections of 2004; these stations would inevitably come under increasing pressure from political parties and local interest groups to skew their coverage in favour of one major party or another during the campaigns. At the same time, dozens of small parties would target these key stations with requests for free airtime and high-profile coverage. The threat of 'envelope journalism' (bribes for coverage) would also be at its height during this time. Internews believed that how these major stations handled these situations would send signals that would affect the radio industry as a whole.

To tackle these issues in a collaborative way, Internews conducted a five-day intensive workshop for the leadership of 14 of the most influential regional radio stations in the country in September 2003. The participants were news directors from PTPN Solo, Prosalina FM Jember, Smart FM stations in Makassar, Banjarmasin and Jakarta, MAS FM Malang, MARA FM Bandung, KISS FM Medan, Bandung News Radio, Trijaya FM stations in Semarang and Jakarta, SPFM and Mercurius in Makassar, ARH Jakarta, and Suara Surabaya FM.

Two international trainers developed and delivered the seminar: Lindy Magoffin is a veteran Australian journalist/trainer living in Jakarta, and Kirsty McIvor is an Australian journalist/trainer living in Bangkok. Magoffin and McIvor designed the course objectives, course agenda, and hand-outs, while Errol Jonathans, Operational Director of Suara Surabaya Media, managed and delivered a substantial part of the seminar and wrote hand-outs for his sessions. Internews' staff trainers also participated. Once again Internews was joined by Smita Notosusanto of CETRO, who provided the elections knowledge base upon which the election management blocks were put in place, one by one.

The seminar's objectives were to develop a 'whole station' approach for coverage of the 2004 elections, to understand the fundamental and wide-ranging changes that were made to the political system post-1999, to reinforce commitment to a code of ethics that would help guide decision-making during the elections, and to have a basic understanding of the media regulations that would inform radio broadcasting during the election campaigns. The trainers helped the news directors develop systems for their newsrooms, to deal with complaints and physical threats, particularly during election campaigns, to develop a marketing strategy for party advertising during the elections, and to develop long and short term plans for implementing election coverage strategies.

Going into the seminar, the trainers learned that the major challenge for the participants would be how their stations should balance their role as information providers with their station's commercial imperatives, also bearing in mind that some of them anticipated violent reactions if minor candidates and parties felt they had not been given an appropriate amount of air time.

The news managers' main concerns going into the seminar included:

- How do we make a good election program which improves voters' understanding, instead of making a program that unexpectedly worsens the situation?
- How should we interpret section 73 of the electoral law, as it states that the media should give equal opportunity to any political party? How can we define this statement? How can we possibly properly conduct a news service with this restriction? How do we manage advertisement time fairly and equally?
- How do we overcome public protest about what we do when they have no idea of the constraints under which we work? The public has no idea nor does it care how we work during an election.
- How can we balance the role of the station as information provider and commercial entity?

Throughout the five days, the trainers endeavoured to address these issues. One of the most popular and instructive group exercises of the week was the production of a mock elections phone-in show. The goal of this exercise was to pose some of the dangers broadcasters face during elections – political supporters can very easily become enraged by what they deem to be biased coverage in favour of rival parties. In fact, one of the participants lived through such a situation in 2000 when listeners stormed her station in protest of what they considered to be a biased phone-in show. The mock exercise was fun, but all involved knew that the threat of conflict was very real.

Participant reaction to the Advanced Election Coverage Seminar was positive. All appreciated the whole station approach to election coverage management espoused by the training team. One participant said the most important thing he learned was “understanding on the Election Law and the possibility of its implementation, because it is difficult to get from media or other form of meeting.”

Another said she learned “things to do when unwanted thing happens, due to psychologically irrational party supporters in Indonesia.”

Yet another appreciated the session on marrying programming and marketing, with inputs from other participants who led the marketing divisions in their stations.

“Having learned new ideas from the training, I will set my station format much better, so that it can create interesting and dynamic programming for the audience,” said another trainee.

“Making the case for management, announcers and reporters to create a better vision and mission for the station's election coverage shows that radio has a noble task during the process of democracy,” said another.

One journalist summed it up nicely when he said he felt it was important to “establish a platform for an event as big as the election, because the election determines the leaders and direction of the country.”

The Advanced Election Seminar was of particular importance to the *An Informed Choice* project because this group of senior journalists formed the focus of Internews' Impact Assessment (Indicators) Study. Internews tracked the progress of the participants of this seminar throughout the elections process, to gauge the impact of Internews training and other types of radio support (See **Impact Assessment Study**, page 67).

### ***In-Station Election Residencies for Improved Election Coverage***

As a key core activity in the overall Elections-support strategy, Internews conducted in-house trainings (IHTs) with 39 of its radio training partners to provide personalized instruction tailored specifically for each station's needs in covering the 2004 elections.

These residencies focused on the impact political campaigns and elections would have on radio stations during the election periods. Internews' trainers addressed the implications of campaign and election coverage for all aspects of a radio station: journalists and editors, on-air presenters and moderators, sales and marketing staff, and station managers.

Station managers needed to understand the rules and regulations guiding their election-related programming, editors needed to set standards for even-handed coverage of competing candidates, and advertising staff needed to be able to differentiate between PSAs and political advertisements, while taking advantage of both opportunities.

Journalists needed to know how to make the story of the elections relevant to their listeners and on-air presenters needed to further hone their skills at facilitating on-air political debates.

Our trainers addressed these issues and many more during these five day on-station diagnostics.

Internews called upon the international trainers who led our Elections Seminars to lead the first six IHTs, with the assistance of our staff trainers.

## *Snapshots of the In-House Training program*

### **Delta FM, Makassar**

Fiona Lloyd kicked off our IHT program at Delta FM in Makassar from September 8 to 12, 2003. Delta was a new training partner for Internews (there were 40 training partners in all), and the station did present some challenges for our IHT team.

Since all Delta Makassar programming is controlled from Jakarta, there was little sense of local identity, and reporters were seldom allowed to gather news from the field. In addition, the trainers were told that a maximum of 20 minutes per day could be allocated to the views and voices of 'ordinary' people. The trainers learned that the station prioritized the use of 'experts' because, they were told, 'ordinary people' were not intelligent enough to warrant greater airtime. Regardless, the Delta staff was very open to new ideas, and was keen to develop their journalistic skills.

To illustrate the benefits of engaging the listener in their election coverage programming, and to counteract the station's use of experts over ordinary people, the trainers had Delta add a new twist to their 'Obrolan Pagi' program. Instead of having 'experts' as guests, they invited two Delta FM listeners to come to the studio and share their thoughts about the 2004 elections. Dr Rini (a doctor in her mid 30's) and Alex (a management consultant in his early 20s), were identified by the team during their telephone listenership survey (one of their training exercises), because they had particularly interesting ideas about election issues. The journalists and trainers created a script for the show (in line with Delta FM's strict formatting regulations), the lines were opened for listener participation during the second half of the hour, and several very lively calls were taken on-air.

The exercise showed the journalists that the voices and opinions of ordinary listeners make great, dynamic radio. The majority of listeners who called in expressed great disappointment and cynicism about the elections; it was important to hear these views. But the challenge remained for Delta FM to take the discussion forward in subsequent talk shows, and to avoid airing only negative contributions. One suggestion from our trainers was to identify listeners who *did* feel optimistic about the new election system (especially the opportunity to elect local candidates for the first time) and to put them face-to-face with a 'Golput' listener.

## **Mercurius FM, Makassar**

Mercurius FM staff displayed a clear focus, great motivation, and a willingness to work many extra hours to make the most of the five-day Elections training from September 15-19. This IHT coincided with the arrival of four new reporters (all women), and the trainers were asked to make this group their special focus – although more senior members of staff also participated. This ‘special focus’ system worked well, and the trainers were impressed by the way in which more experienced Mercurius journalists mentored and supported the newcomers.

During the Mercurius residency, our trainers developed two key election-training tools that were employed in all subsequent trainings:

- *The Election Quiz* was an entertaining way to develop greater awareness about important election rules and details; the Mercurius journalists impressed the trainers with their good basic knowledge about the election (in the initial quiz on Day One, teams correctly answered 60% of the questions). By the end of the week there was a dramatic increase in knowledge: in the 'Grand Finale' of the quiz, all 20 questions were answered correctly. Not all IHT stations started with such a high score, but all did well by the end of the week.
- *The Election Map* was a strategic planning tool which focused on eight key phases of the 2004 Elections, up to (and including) the announcement of results for the DPR/DPRD and DPD votes. For each phase, the Map covered the following areas:
  - I. Key voter education messages;
  - II. News issues and stories;
  - III. Other on-air programming (e.g. talk shows);
  - IV. Off-air events (e.g. suggested meetings with political parties to discuss codes of conduct during the election campaign);
  - V. Internal station preparations and needs (e.g. building skills, collecting resource material);
  - VI. 'Hati-hati' – what are the potential conflict flashpoints during each phase of the election? (e.g. internal party dynamics, voter frustration)

Of all of the impressive qualities of Mercurius, our trainers were particularly impressed with Mercurius FM's news values; participants stressed that the station's listeners need to understand the views of people from other social groups, because 'they are human too, no matter what class they come from.'

## **Radio REKS, Garut**

After leading the Advanced Election Seminar in Jakarta, Lindy Magoffin and Internews staff trainers traveled to Garut to conduct a one-week IHT from October 6-10 with Radio REKS, a station with 500,000 listeners. Magoffin spent a good deal of time discussing ethical issues with the staff of Radio REKS. They discussed the four critical elements of ethical reporting; truth, integrity, fairness and accountability.

The group was asked to think of situations where these four principles have practical application. In response, Inkus, a news reporter, talked at length about the difficulties he experienced dealing with offers of bribes. The elections for Regent were being held at the time of this training and Inkus was offered money for interviews and coverage by pretty much all of the candidates on a daily basis. While he was very aware it would not be right to accept, he said it was also embarrassing to refuse.

Much discussion was focused particularly on elections and the heat that talkback can generate at such times. The group discussed a number of issues that will likely arise, and how the announcers might handle a situation where, for instance, a prominent candidate has been accused of bribery. Questions they asked themselves included:

- Would they put the story to air?
- What checks could they run first?
- Was it an important story for their audience?
- Was it a suitable topic for talk-back?
- How to then deal with angry listeners and listeners who want to make defamatory statements about other candidates?

The group also explored ways to use talk-back during election campaigns to help achieve balanced coverage of candidates and parties. At REKS, during the recent campaign for the Regency, each of the 42 candidates was given a set duration to explain their manifestos at a set time each day.

Although Magoffin was met with enthusiasm and commitment, she left REKS convinced that more basic news training would be very useful.

## Radio ISTANA, Ternate

In December of 2003, Internews staff trainer Denny Herlambang Slamet conducted a solo Elections In-House Training at Istana 101 FM in Ternate, North Maluku. This is a station that was caught in the middle of the religious conflict of 2002; during his visit to the station at that time, Denny found the station had become a temporary home for refugees of the conflict.

Times had certainly changed for Istana by the time Denny returned to the station a year later; as Denny documents in these photos, the station upgraded from a 50-watt transmitter in February 2002 that was positioned on a toilet, to a 500-watt transmitter, more tastefully stationed, one year later.



The training schedule for the week was as follows:

### **Day One, Tuesday December 16<sup>th</sup> 2003**

- First day introduction (The concepts of in-house elections training)
- Compiling problems from participants and what they expect from training.
- Setting training rules and timetables.
- The power of radio (The power of influence on consumers, radio as the most intimate media, etc)
- Comparative studies between radio and other media.
- Why advertising in Radio is relatively cheaper and more effective than other media.
- Interviewing and filling the Basic Radio Baseline data (for Impact Assessment study) with the station manager of Istana Radio.
- Election quiz.

### **Day Two, Wednesday December 17<sup>th</sup> 2003**

- Conducting news meeting in the morning with reporters
- What is Radio Surveying or audience research?
- How to make a simple, cheap but effective radio audience survey
- Making and designing company profile
- Using Cool Edit Pro
- Handling client complaints (during Election campaigns)
- Sales & Marketing Mapping for Election campaigns

### **Day Three, Thursday December 18<sup>th</sup> 2003**

- New Elections system for 2004 campaigns and votes
- The role of Radio in the upcoming 2004 Elections
- Bilangan Pembagi Pemilih (Voter's Dividing Formula) counting simulation
- Presenting skills
- Scriptwriting
- News writing
- Writing news bulletins
- Handling talkshows and listener complaints
- Reporter's Checklist
- Editing and recording using Cool Edit Pro
- Making an elections PSA

### **Day Four, Friday December 19<sup>th</sup> 2003**

- Covering the Election Story
- Structuring the story in Bulletin format
- The Broadcast Law and the Elections
- Evaluation and feedback
- Answering and reviewing final questions
- Certificate ceremony

### **Day Five Saturday, December 20<sup>th</sup> 2003**

- Handling talk shows and complaints - part 2
- Learning Cool Edit Pro - part 2

Of his experience at Istana, Denny writes:



“Like other in-house trainings, the crew needed to perform their regular work and attend the training. However, since this was their first Internews in-house training, they bombarded me with thousands of questions, a situation I found interesting, challenging and adrenalin-raising.”

### **ART FM, Jayapura (May 4-8, 2004)**

Internews trainer Denny went to Jayapura in Papua to kick-off the second phase of radio election in-house training – trainings dealing with coverage after the Legislative Elections of April 5. Located in the growing city of Jayapura in West Papua, ART FM is the leading news station after only four years on the air. When Denny arrived, ART FM had just fired two of their reporters due to the envelope journalism, which is a big problem in the area. The station manager admitted it would be hard to find responsible replacement reporters in his area, but he could not tolerate such irresponsible acts.

One of the newly adopted curriculums for the second phase of Radio Election in-house training was to conduct an informal discussion between the news division of the trainee station and a newly elected local legislator. The plan was to have one or more newly elected parliament members discuss his or her mandate, as an ice-breaker to lead to continuous cooperation between the legislators and the stations in various on-air activities. At ART FM, one local legislator and a local priestess, as community representative, joined a one-hour talk show aired live with listener phone-ins. Dimas Patty, the newly-elected local legislator, said he was committed to handling people's complaints and requests. The priestess, Yemima Krey, said afterwards that having a regular radio show such as this one was a positive way to express people's feelings toward government and legislators' job performance. "Better than conducting demos on the street!" she said.

### **El Bayu FM, Gresik (May 4 – 8, 2004)**

This is the only station that delivers news and information concerning Gresik City. The news team in this city, near Surabaya, is strong, having received quite a lot of training thanks to the owner of the station, Djoko Wahyono, a journalist who assisted Internews with the Elections Training Seminar in Makassar in 2003.

The disadvantage of having a news trainer as your boss, according to the station's announce staff, is that they felt a little bit left out by Pak Djoko because the whole policy of the station was geared towards developing only the news department.

Internews trainer Eric Sasono knew how to deal with this situation. He spontaneously created material on storytelling to cover the needs of the reporters and the announcers, allowing them to work together. The announcers were also given a session on news judgment to allow them to get more information from the reporters in their live-phone-in reports, drawing questions from the reports delivered by the reporters for their own follow-up reports. This exercise went very well; one of the reporters read his report in the studio, and the usually silent announcers plumbed for more information once he had finished what he thought was an exhaustive report.

### **Bharabas, Pekanbaru (May 11-15, 2004)**

The management of Bharabas displayed a very strong commitment to news radio; they strived to perform professionally, even though their skills were lacking. The training, therefore, was focused on some basic understanding of radio concepts and technical skills needed to produce good radio: understanding of radio as media, news judgment, talkshow planning and delivery, and newsroom management. Election topics were explored in depth, and two legislators were invited to the station for a meeting to discuss developing close cooperation on transparency in politics and governance in the area.

The conference between the station and the legislators was a success; the legislators agreed to make available to the public any documents being discussed in the local Parliament. The legislators also agreed to provide contact persons for the station in any debates in the local parliament. This was important since most of the legislators in this region tended to hold such debates behind closed doors.

The in-house residency in Bharabas was a very fruitful one. The participants were very eager to learn something new and the response from the management was very good. Ms. Dhardanela, the owner-manager of the station, was very willing to improve the station's quality both in management and program delivery.

### ***On-Station Features Training***

During the Chief of Party's Impact Assessment mission to visit radio stations during the official campaign period of the Legislative Elections, he discovered that the news operations at these key regional stations were running professionally, and that there was no need for further news gathering instruction. At the same time, the journalists at these stations expressed an interest in learning how to do what the Internews Production Unit does week in and week out - producing longer format features or mini-documentaries. With this in mind, Internews adapted the format of the final nine in-house trainings (to take place with the focus radio stations of the Impact Assessment study) to include a features training element along with the Elections training. Internews' staff trainers teamed up with Internews' production unit journalists to conduct these trainings in tandem. The results were positive.

One of the Features trainings took place at SPFM in Makassar. SPFM103.5 FM has been on the air for 31 years, and bills itself as a Female Radio with music and talk format - its motto, 'Citra Wanita Makassar - The Image of Makassar Women'. Of SPFM's 150 thousand listeners, 80 per cent are women.

The four female trainees worked as both reporters and announcers, and two were new recruits, but this mixed group performed well individually and when working as a team. During the 5 days of training, Pak Ricky Jayakusli, the station manager of SPFM, attended every session, and contributed ideas and his skill within the forum. Internews' trainers felt Pak Ricky's presence inhibited the free speech of the trainees, however, and so they encouraged everyone not to hesitate to speak and share problems in front of their boss. The training went well since everyone was able to stay

focused; management freed them from their daily reporting and announcing tasks for the week.

The participants were given a choice of six story ideas for the feature-making project. Due to time limits and the small size of the group, one topic, 'Parking Women,' (women who manage parking lots, a male profession usually) was chosen as the topic for the team project.

Participants planned the structure for the story, conducted interviews, wrote their own script and recorded the final piece in-studio, all under the supervision of trainer Denny and Ronny Hengst, the Managing Editor of Internews' Radio Production Unit.

As a result of the training, SPFM planned to assign a reporter to produce one feature each week from that point on.

Ricky Jayakusli, the Station Manager of SPFM Makassar said;

I've been participating in various kinds of radio trainings, but I'm really impressed by the Internews radio in-house training in my station. The training was so comprehensively done, detailed and filled with practical exercises. I'm challenged to produce more features as I see the good spirit showed by my staff during the training.

News reporter Mismaya said;

In my spare time, I'm a volunteer in a local rescue team. I'm challenged to produce a good feature telling people about being on a rescue team.

### ***The Challenges of In-House Training***

Veteran radio trainer Fiona Lloyd shared with Internews her thoughts on the challenges of conducting training in the workplace – especially one so hectic as a radio newsroom.

In-house training has specific challenges and needs, she said, and fitting training into busy newsrooms is difficult in any country. Indonesia was no exception.

Given the individual nature of each station, and the daily pressures of live programming, it was not always easy for participants to spend as much time as they would like with trainers. In-house training cannot just involve skills delivery: it must be built on a meaningful needs analysis, and willingness from everyone concerned to be open to change and new ways of doing things.

The training team, therefore, had to be extremely sensitive; they needed to understand – and reflect back – perceived problems and challenges in a way that was respectful and supportive. This is never easy, but when the in-house intervention also involves intensive skills and awareness delivery (as is the case with election training) the task became even more challenging.

As the results of the Impact Assessment Study would reveal, this training program showed immediate results which clearly led to more comprehensive, instructive, and engaging coverage of the 2004 Elections.

*Complete In-house Training Schedule*

Period		Station/City	Lead Trainer
8-Sep-03	12-Sep-03	IHT Election Delta (Makassar)	Fiona Lloyd
15-Sep-03	19-Sep-03	IHT Election Mercurius (Makassar)	Fiona Lloyd
29-Sep-03	3-Oct-03	IHT Election RAL FM (Manado)	Lindy Magoffin
6-Oct-03	10-Oct-03	IHT Election Global FM (Bali)	Kirsty Mcivor
29-Sep-03	3-Oct-03	IHT Election SIPP FM (Padang)	Kirsty Mcivor
6-Oct-03	10-Oct-03	IHT Election REKS FM (Garut)	Lindy Magoffin
20-Oct-03	24-Oct-03	IHT Election Swara Alam (Kendari)	Denny HS
27-Okt-03	31-Oct-03	IHT Election Nebula (Palu)	Denny HS
27-Oct-03	31-Oct-03	IHT Election Bulava (Poso) - held at Nebula FM	Denny HS
3-Nov-03	7-Nov-03	IHT Election Dharma Pala FM (Palembang)	Ester Hutabarat
10-Nov-03	14-Nov-03	IHT Election Gemaya (Balikpapan)	Ester Hutabarat
15-Des-03	19-Des-03	IHT Election Istana (Ternate)	Denny HS
8-Feb-04	9-Feb-04	IHT Election Bandung News Radio (Bandung)	Denny HS
11-Feb-04	15-Feb-04	IHT Election Suara Pelangi (Ambon)	Eric Sasono
17-Feb-04	20-Feb-04	IHT Election Kharisma (Lombok)	Denny HS
23-Feb-04	26-Feb-04	IHT Election DMWS (Kupang)	Denny HS
23-Feb-04	27-Feb-04	IHT Election Swaragama (Jogjakarta)	Ester Hutabarat
1-Mar-04	5-Mar-04	IHT Election Heartline (Bandarlampung)	Ester Hutabarat
8-Mar-04	11-Mar-04	IHT Election Karimata (Pamekasan)	Denny HS
1-Mar-04	5-Mar-04	IHT Election Volare (Pontianak)	Eric Sasono
8-Mar-04	12-Mar-04	IHT Election Kei FM (Batam)	Eric Sasono

Period		Station/City	Lead Trainer
4-May-04	8-May-04	IHT ART FM (Jayapura)	Denny HS
10-May-04	13-May-04	IHT RRI (Sorong)	Denny HS
4-May-04	8-May-04	IHT El Bayu (Gresik)	Eric Sasono
11-May-04	15-May-04	IHT Barabas (Pekanbaru)	Eric Sasono
7-Jun-04	11-Jun-04	IHT SK FM (Kediri)	Denny HS
14-Jun-04	18-Jun-04	IHT Perkasa FM (Tulungagung)	Denny HS
21-Jun-04	25-Jun-04	IHT Q FM (Tasikmalaya)	Denny HS
2-Aug-04	6-Aug-04	IHT Prosalina FM (Jember)	Eric S + Yon Thayrun
3-Aug-04	7-Aug-04	IHT PTPN (Solo)	Denny HS & Anto W
9-Aug-04	13-Aug-04	IHT Trijaya (Semarang)	Denny HS & Anto W
10-Aug-04	14-Aug-04	IHT SMART FM (Palembang)	Eric S + Judi Ramdojo
23-Aug-04	25-Aug-04	IHT ARH FM (Jakarta)	Denny HS + Ifah N
30-Aug-04	3-Sep-04	IHT MAS FM (Malang)	Eric S + Judi Ramdojo
31-Aug-04	4-Sep-04	IHT SPFM (Makassar)	Denny HS & Ronny H
6-Sep-04	10-Sep-04	IHT SMART (Banjarmasin)	Denny HS + Ronny H
7-Sep-04	11-Sep-04	IHT Lite FM (Medan)	Eric S + Yon Thayrun

### ***Radio Presenter Training for Moderators of Live and Interactive Election Programs***

On air discussion and debate at the local level is an essential aspect of the election process. Live interactive radio programs are extremely popular in Indonesia and as such hold great potential for helping communities understand and grapple with the serious issues that surround elections. Internews conducted two 5-day seminars for radio show presenters during the pre-election period to prepare them to tackle the complex issues facing voters in 2004. Since the majority of Internews' current partners already understood the basics of interactive radio programming, these two courses targeted radio moderators and presenters from 24 new regional partner stations.

The seminars were led by veteran Indonesian radio journalist Nuim Kayath. Pak Nuim has been a very recognizable voice on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's overseas Bahasa Indonesia radio service; Internews was honoured to have him join us for two weeks to work with aspiring "Nuim Kayaths" from across Indonesia. Participants came from 24 radio stations in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Aceh, Papua, North Maluku, Ambon, Bali, Lombok, and Madura to attend the two back-to-back workshops, starting January 19 in Jakarta.

In advance of the seminars for Radio Presenters, we asked the participants to share with us their concerns about covering the April 5 Legislative Elections in their shows:

"I'm worried people might manipulate my talk show program and use it to conduct their hidden election campaign," said one respondent.

"People in my area mostly like to use their muscles than their brain," said another. "I'm worried they may attack the station as a way to express their anger or dissatisfaction due to my talk show."

Poor handling of sensitive topics or difficult callers and guests can lead to misunderstandings that can cause serious problems for broadcasters. Inexperienced broadcasters are easy prey for political or religious agitators looking to incite violence. If elections debate occurs in a constructive and peaceful manner, the journalists who mediate these dialogues must be fully prepared.

Senior presenters and hosts from local stations were taught effective and commercially successful techniques for hosting election-related, live talk shows and designing interactive radio programming. Election-related radio programs to be covered included multi-candidate debates, call-ins featuring two or more candidates responding to constituent questions on their platforms, and talk shows featuring local NGOs advocating on behalf of a platform of importance to their communities.

Course topics included the following:

- Developing and hosting election debates, candidate call-ins and other election-related live formats;
- Understanding the difference between political advertising and public information;
- Managing live in-studio and telephone interviews;

- Maintaining balance and objectivity;
- Managing conflict on-air;
- Hosting on-air panel discussions;
- Maintaining listeners' interest through interactive participation;
- Recognizing defamation and legitimate restrictions (maintaining ethics);
- Using recorded listener opinions to select and balance public input;
- Developing informative and interesting Public Service Announcements that inform voters on their rights and responsibilities.

Pak Nuim quickly discovered that most participants were not adequately acquainted with the Elections of 2004, as evidenced during the quizz conducted by Internews trainers Ester Hutabarat and Denny H. Slamet at the beginning of the week. Most did not know what date and day the parliamentary and presidential elections would be held, and how the vote counting would be conducted. According to Pak Nuim, "Realizing their ignoble ignorance in this matter they really pulled their socks and spent hours during the evening to familiarise themselves with the vote counting procedure which would be very relevant to their position as local radio presenters. And towards the end of the course some of them were as attentive to the election law as some bush lawyers would to a criminal case."

During the training, the participants learned interview preparation and performance techniques, and participated in several mock broadcast events in a portable studio the Internews technical team set up in the hotel's seminar suite. The final group assignment was comprised of a panel discussion - each group of three decided among themselves who should play the role of producer, host, and technician. They were given the names of real commentators to use as their guests, such as Ms Cahaya Rembulan Sinaga, a radio journalist and member of PRSSNI, who they could have in the studio to discuss a subject relevant to the Elections. They were shown how to edit "inserts/actualities" they had gathered during their previous assignments and how to use them to enrich the discussion; they were warned to be prepared to deal with mischievous and at times irrelevant calls.

The central idea of this exercise was to give the presenters a chance to practise how to handle the 'real' situation of a panel discussion involving commentators with contradictory views on an election subject- using a theme of their own choosing (such as whether the so-called 'Golput' group could be condoned or not). Presenters were challenged on how to handle and deal with such a tense situation without offending, yet be able to keep the discussion compelling.

The teams were given several programming options, and had to create an engaging live elections program; an added challenge was that the Internews trainers called into the program's studio phone playing the roles of crank callers and partisan political agitators.

Day Five of the course was the big day when each team performed their 30-minute Special Elections Radio Show. This was the moment to prove themselves as a group and as individuals. Each group created various program segments and packaged them

as Elections magazine shows. They produced vox pops, Election PSA's, mini dramas, features, talkshows – they even produced mock radio commercials. One week after the Presenter Training ended, Internews sent every participant a copy of their final radio piece on a CD (samples included in enclosures of the report).

The results of the training were immediate. After the training Pak Nuim received a very flattering message from Smart FM Palembang manager Alex Burnama, thanking him and Internews for our efforts to upgrade his presenter. “Obviously,” Pak Nuim writes, “Dadang Marhawari's superior at Smart FM Palembang was very pleased with Dadang's performance upon his return to base.”

The participants acknowledged that they had gained much from the seminars. Or as one participant said in the evaluations, "I thought I knew everything there was to know, but alas ...”

Two participants, Mr. Ari Mirza from Q-FM Tasikmalaya and Mr. Asep Barnara from Kharisma Lombok, said the Internews trainers devised the best and simplest ways to deliver the complicated election rules, procedures and dates, in a thorough yet entertaining way.

Other comments included:

- What I thought was right in the world of radio broadcasting and news is almost 50% wrong! With this training I found out what's right.
- This training taught me that as a presenter I always should have the thirst for information. Many thanks!
- I got not only theories but also practical and relevant knowledge for broadcasting capability.
- I gained new knowledge - especially on the election.

After these courses, Internews created a 2004 Elections email discussion list for Internews Election Radio Training alumni; the graduates of all Internews elections training courses were invited to join. The mailing list had 27 active members – editors, reporters and radio hosts in Aceh, Palembang, Pontianak, Semarang, Kendari, Ternate, Bali, Jakarta, Gresik, Madura, Batam, Yogyakarta, and Makassar. They shared their findings from their regions and consulted with Internews trainers regularly. They posted several interesting topics, such as the uncertainty surrounding voter registration in Nangroe Aceh Darusallam, the KPU and KPI joint decree on party air time, and many more.

### ***Radio Stations Exchange Program***

In November 2003, Internews requested a program modification to replace the proposed Radio Stations Exchange program with Election Coverage Training for PRSSNI members in collaboration with the National Election Monitoring Radio Network (JRPP).

This collaborative program was designed by the PRSSNI to enhance the professionalism of regional and local radio stations in providing Indonesian citizens with the news and information they needed to make informed choices, while preparing journalists for their role as public “watchdogs” over the election process.

The report of the collaborative program of Internews and JRPP can be found in the Collaborative Programs Section on page 47.

## **Objective 2: Enhanced Professionalism in Television Election Coverage**

Television is an important source of information for Indonesians, particularly for those in urbanized areas. Once a Jakarta-centric medium, in recent years we have seen regional television growing rapidly in both reach and impact. Given this dramatic growth, Internews augmented its popular and far-reaching Dutch-funded TV training program at PJTV (Program Pelatihan Jurnalistik Televisi) with an elections-focused program targeting local television stations and independent producers.

There were two main Elections television components in *An Informed Choice*:

- 2 five-day Elections seminars for the leadership of regional TV stations; and
- 5 grants to support locally produced TV documentaries on election topics.

Activities in support of this objective began during the pre-election period. The seminars for managing election coverage were conducted in February 2004 to encourage station leadership to get things off on the right foot right from the beginning of the March campaign period. Support for television news documentaries began even earlier, to ensure that the films could be finished in time to be broadcast during the Elections period.

### ***State of the Industry: TV News Content***

A look at the evening news programs on the national networks shows the facelift Indonesian TV news has undergone in the past three years. In this time, we have seen a considerable increase in coverage of news from outside Jakarta. Three years ago the main news programs' coverage was limited to the Jakarta area, obsessed with central government meetings and press conferences. Today on the news you can see stories about people running out of drinking water in central Java, house evictions in Makassar, and local councilors arrested on graft charges in Padang, for a few examples.

Today, story selection is more audience-oriented; it no longer caters to officials and event organizers. Some newsrooms order their story rundowns according to the news value of the stories rather than by story type. For instance, a story about the arrest of a Bali bomber is broadcast ahead of a story about another ASEAN meeting – this is a major breakthrough for Indonesian television.

The political meetings are still covered, but quite a few producers make sure they cover the effect or the impact of the meeting or announcement rather than the meeting itself. For example, if the government organizes a press conference to announce a hike in gas prices, the story reported is the impact of the increase in the gas prices rather than the press conference. The reporters get reactions from the consumers, not the party functionaries. Live reports from the field and live studio guest interviews are now a staple of news programs.

Outside Jakarta, local television has begun to grow and is picking up momentum. The local television association ATVSI, had 18 member stations (all outside Jakarta) one year ago, but now boasts a membership of 28 stations in centers like Riau in Sumatra, Mataram in Lombok, and Manado in North Sulawesi. Unfortunately, with limited resources and access to professional development, the sophistication of Jakarta TV stations will not be replicated in the regions without training assistance from groups like Internews.

For an example of the type of growth and lack of specialized skills we are seeing in the regional television industry, consider John Tumiwa. He has been given the task of setting up two local TV stations in Indonesia. He's the CEO of TV Net, a company that just obtained two TV licenses to broadcast in the city of Bandung and the region of Central Java. TV Net's plan is to create a network of local TV stations throughout Indonesia. John feels that it is the right time to get into the television industry, but admits he has no previous experience in the TV business.

Internews had valid reason to believe that the Jakarta television networks had progressed in terms of skills and ethics to the point that their coverage of the 2004 Elections would reflect their progress on these two fronts. Programs like METRO TV's *Indonesia on the Move*, a thinly veiled promotional vehicle for PDIP, put paid to our theories, but overall, coverage of the campaign by the big networks was reasonably balanced and responsible.

Regional coverage of the Elections, however, was less developed, and thus less predictable. Internews strived to give senior television journalists outside Jakarta the tools to engage their viewers with solid Elections coverage while promoting ways in which they could survive the Elections without succumbing to the lure of political patronage.

### ***Seminars on Managing Election Coverage in Local TV Stations***

Local TV stations stood to take intense political pressure from local governments during the Elections, as most of these stations were set-up with the direct support or licensing permission of local authorities. Regional governments issued local permissions to use frequencies, though this practice is not strictly legal, according to the central government. Local TV station managers were bracing for pressure by governors and their parties, who would consider favorable campaign coverage appropriate "pay back." From February 2 – 13, 2004, Internews conducted two five-day seminars for marketing and newsroom managers from leading television stations from throughout Indonesia.

It was clear that these marketing and newsroom managers were exposed to financial pressures in their work; during PJTV training, Internews learned that most local TV stations decided what events to cover not based on the news-worthiness of stories, but on whether they had been paid to run the story. For example, in one major local TV station more than 70 per cent of the news broadcast in an evening news program was "sponsored". Local companies, government, political parties and NGOs paid TV

stations to cover the events they organized. Clearly such practices seriously compromised the ability of Indonesian citizens to access fair, accurate, and balanced information during campaigns and elections.

Internews addressed the “envelope journalism” syndrome and helped stations develop systems to take advantage of the opportunities that would arise for paid political advertising and PSAs during the elections, while maintaining their editorial integrity and independence.

Each course was comprised of 15 participants, including TV newsroom managers, station managers and sales staff. The trainer for both seminars, Dan David, is a veteran Canadian television journalist with many years of training experience in Canada and abroad, including preparing South African journalists to cover their first free and fair elections in the early nineties.

## **Methodology**

Because television is so widely watched in Indonesia, it stands to reason that this medium would be the battle ground for political parties vying for the most and best airtime for their advertising. It also stands to reason, unfortunately, that some parties would try to influence news coverage to their advantage as well.

The local stations are more vulnerable to party “sponsorship” because they have smaller legitimate advertising bases to call upon, and because they lack the marketing experience they need to go out and pursue ads or to create the kind of programming that will attract advertisers.

In most democratic countries, a free and independent media is considered the oxygen of democracy, allowing the free flow of information from the governing to the governed and vice versa. Whether owners and senior managers at local television news operations in Indonesia fully appreciate the vital role they play in this exchange of information, as a vital part of democracy, was not clear as the seminars approached.

What was certain was that without an understanding or acknowledgment of this essential function, particularly during elections, by ensuring that voters are fully informed about the issues and the electoral process, any election would be seriously compromised as would efforts to strengthen democratic institutions.

To this end, the TV elections workshops were designed to provide the participants with an introduction to the role of the news media in a free society, basic information about the electoral process, and rules and regulations governing broadcasting during an election campaign. The workshops included exercises that were designed to introduce these senior managers to the tasks that either they or their employees should be expected to perform. For example, the participants had to identify their audiences in terms of total population, ethnic composition, religion, average literacy or education levels, average income, ratio of males to females, breakdown by age, and primary sources of income. They also had to associate the major industries or businesses in their broadcast areas with the main sources of income. These exercises then led into a connection between issues (as defined by the research into the

audiences) into questions of whether any of the political parties were addressing the possible concerns of the audience in their platforms.

Once all of the exercises had been completed, including profiles of the various parties and the candidates in their regions, an exploration of innovative programs that might involve voters and candidates, and an examination of sources of alternative funding, the information was compiled into a guide they then took back with them to their stations - something tangible and useful.

## **Curriculum**

The Internews training team developed a curriculum to encourage local TV managers to produce better, more informative, more credible programs to inform people about the elections. There were five main components:

- Provide models for covering elections
- Provide tips on how to deal with political pressure
- Present suggestions on how to increase revenues at local TV stations without compromising the integrity of news programs
- Help TV managers refuse offers from political parties to buy coverage
- Design and schedule special programs for the elections

In a very short period of time, the participants had to absorb an enormous amount of complicated and sometimes confusing information. Regardless, most of the workshop seminars dealt with these basics:

- define the audience
- define the political platforms of the various parties
- prepare profiles on the candidates
- identify the issues
- develop programs that will teach people what they need to know in order to vote.
- design programs to increase audience and, therefore, increase ad revenue.

## Feedback

Most of the participants wrote that they had been struck by how little they knew about the ballots, the problems with voter registration, the anxiety about violence during the election, and what the average voter had to know in order to exercise their vote on Election Day. They credited Smita Notosusanto, of the Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO), for the information and encouragement she provided in these areas during her opening day session (Internews produced a VCD of her seminar and distributed it to television and radio stations outside Jakarta immediately after the seminars [the VCD is included with this report]).

The managers also provided very positive feedback on the sessions led by media law expert Louis Schramm on their legal responsibilities under both the law governing the conduct of elections and the broadcast regulations.

As expected, however, there was some negative feedback given to Ray Wijaya, Chief News Editor at TPI television, who delivered the sessions on “Alternative Funding.” Ray was asked to present the case for open and honest reporting and to dissuade the participants from participating in the corrupt “envelope system.” Some participants considered his sessions “preaching.” Others, in fact the majority of participants, found his personal accounts of resisting bribes and striving to set an example of credible journalism “inspiring.”

Best of all, they came away from the workshops with the results of their own hard work in the form of a step-by-step *guide* to managing election coverage at their local TV station. All agreed that the objectives of the workshop, set by Internews and PJTV, but also by the participants themselves at the beginning of each workshop, were met.

“In a very short period of time, the participants had to absorb an enormous amount of complicated and sometimes confusing information,” Dan David recalled. “For example, the laws governing the conduct of elections were often in conflict with the regulations for broadcasters. In other cases, the laws and regulations bore little recognition to the way the broadcast industry operates in Indonesia. In some cases, the information provided to the participants was outdated as the government agencies responsible for elections and monitoring election coverage enacted amendments while our workshops were underway.”

According to the participants, all of their expectations were met and even exceeded by the workshops. They learned not only how to cover elections but *why* their programs must be done better, more openly and honestly. They learned, or had confirmed, how important their role is in promoting peaceful transformation from one-party rule to multi-party democracy.

## **Election Day Coverage**

All national TV stations' Election Day coverage contained a considerable amount of live reports from around Indonesia. Stations employed the running text device so popular with international news channels like BBC, CNN and Asia News Network, and even though the partial election results, broadcast for weeks while the painstaking process of vote counting dragged on, was tedious, distracting, and not informative as a running tally, by using the news ticker these station's journalists proved that they have started to understand the importance of immediacy in news coverage.

Viewers were fed a steady diet of "sponsored" programming thinly veiled as real current affairs and talkshows; the all-news channel METRO TV was a major offender (*Indonesia on the Move*), but most of the other Jakarta networks also aired programs dedicated to promoting the Presidential campaigns of various figures, without declaring that these programs were paid for by the parties.

For guidance in how to cover future elections, it appears the regional stations still do not have stellar models to emulate with the Jakarta networks. Much work remains to be done.

## ***Documentary Grants for Innovative, Long-Format Election Programs***

Internews anticipated that there would be little attention from the media to long-format television programming for campaign and election issues in 2004. In-depth investigative journalism is the most expensive and the least immediately profitable undertaking for commercial media outlets. It is not surprising, therefore, that although the best media outlets in Indonesia are increasing their coverage of public affairs, economic reality and start-up costs result in programming that skims the surface of issues, but fails to penetrate to reveal the core.

In response, Internews supported the production of five original television news documentaries, each focusing on a different aspect of the 2004 elections. Internews partnered with Indonesia's foremost film and documentary-oriented NGO – Yayasan Masyarakat Mandiri Film. YMMF brought significant training and production experience to this effort, which matched well with the technical training provided by Internews' television news training unit, PJTV. (The films are included with this report)

The Director of the YMMF, Shanty Harmayn, served as the Executive Producer and primary contact on the project, in collaboration with Horea Salajan, the Director of the PJTV training school, and with Becky Lipscombe, a BBC broadcast journalist who served as Senior Producer on the project. Ms Harmayn and the YMMF provided editorial management, publicity and liaison for the project, while Internews provided technical expertise, facilities and training support as well as additional contacts within the commercial television industry.

Internews launched the documentary grants project in August 2003 with a call for submissions published in *Kompas* newspaper. In November, a selection committee

(including representatives from IFES) chose the best five story ideas of the 38 submissions.

In making their selections, the panelists considered submissions based on the following criteria:

- Significance of topic in relation to the 2004 Elections;
- Local relevance and transferability between areas;
- Originality of angle and approach to the topic chosen;
- Likelihood that proposed program could be realistically produced;
- Quality of the applicant's prior work and experience;
- Workability of project timeline in relation to the election; and
- Soundness and efficiency in detailed budget.

The winners were selected largely on the merit of their story proposals, and so not all of the grantees had prior experience in documentary making. PJTV and YMMF conducted technical and story development-training sessions with each group in December.

During this training, Internews ensured that local and international elections advisors were available to answer questions on the elections. A key addition to this project was Senior Producer Becky Lipscombe. She not only advised the film teams on their story concepts, work plans and writing, she also accompanied the teams on many of their film shoots to help with technical and continuity issues. All stages of the production process were guided (with a light touch): pre-production planning and design, actual shooting and production, as well as post-production editing and mixing. In this way, training was consistently tied to the practicalities of making the proposed documentaries a reality.

The documentaries were produced using the latest generation of professional low budget acquisition and editing equipment: JVC's JY-DV301E mini DV cameras for filming and Avid Xpress DV Pro for editing.

## **The Films**

Five films went into production:

*Nonetheless I Punch (Sing Penting Nyoblos)*, by filmmaker Masrur Jamaludin.

In this film, three women working in Brinjarharjo Market, Yogyakarta, bring us their unique views of the elections. Uneducated women, working as laborers, reveal what the elections mean to them, and offer insights into how they make their decisions.

Political parties compete to win their support, offering cash, t-shirts and promises. By Election Day all have made their decisions. Three members of Indonesia's most marginalized sector of society may be confused about the political process, but their votes are worth the same as anyone else's, whether they choose to use them or not.

What does a democratic election mean to those who feel their lives are getting harder with each passing year, and who struggle to see what difference their past votes have made? The filmmakers followed the three women as they struggled to make sense of a complicated election process.

***Tengku's Politics (Politik Tengku)***, by filmmaker Nur Raihan. Hopes for free and fair elections in Aceh were dimmed by the prospect of holding them under martial law. While some areas were considered safe by the time the elections came around, many others were not. This film followed the efforts of an *ulama* – Tengku Baihaqi - to win a seat in the DPRD. Campaigning was difficult; many candidates were frightened of campaigning openly, afraid of becoming a target for those who wanted to disrupt the election process. The filmmakers journeyed with the *ulama* as he tried to spread his campaign message and pleaded with the people of Aceh to go to the polls.

***Acang-Obeth's Politics (Politik Acang-Obeth)***, by filmmaker Tanyo Bangun. After several years of ethnic and religious conflict, Ambon entered 2004 at peace. The conflict had subsided, and the two communities were rebuilding their lives. But as campaigning started, there was concern that the elections might revive tensions, and reopen old wounds. The filmmakers followed one candidate who hoped to play a part in reconciling Ambon's divided communities. Junaedi, a Muslim, stood as a candidate for PDI-P, which is seen in Ambon as a predominantly Christian party. This film examined his attempts to appeal to voters from across the religious divide. The filmmakers returned to Ambon shortly after the election to update the story, as fighting flared once again in this troubled province.

***Time to Spread a Dream (Saat Menebar Mimpi)***, by filmmaker Syaiful Halim. Bambang Warih Koesoema was a candidate for the DPD in Jakarta. The former Golkar man was already an experienced politician, having been a member of the DPR until his recall in 1995. But this time he was campaigning on his own, recruiting volunteers and devising his campaign strategy. The filmmakers followed Bambang throughout the campaign, capturing his high moments - talking to ordinary people in slums and kampungs - and the low points – his exhaustion and frustration as the campaign proceeded. The film also tackled the issue of the DPD itself, that is, how will this new institution work? And can it really have an impact on how politics is conducted in Indonesia? Critics interviewed in the film suggested that while the initial idea behind the DPD was good, the reality could prove to be disappointing.

***I Want to Have a President:*** A profile of two rival party faithful as they prepare to campaign for their choice for President leading to the July elections. Unfortunately, despite the Executive and Senior Producers' best efforts, ***I Want to Have a President*** could not be completed. This film team had trouble focussing their concept into a tellable story, and after several attempts to help this team solve their many technical and scriptwriting difficulties, it was resolved that this team would not complete their film

and would receive a portion of their grant only, to cover time spent. The filmmakers and Internews parted ways on good terms due to artistic differences.

The teams (one director, one cameraperson, and one editor) made several trips to their filming locations and were particularly busy during the official campaign period starting on March 11. The team telling the story of women porters in Yogyakarta followed the women as the political parties campaigned in their markets. The parties tended to campaign quite strongly in the market area, so there were plenty of opportunities for interaction between the campaigners and the porters. The women had received some prior voter education, so they had strong opinions about the campaigning they had seen, and about money politics. In Aceh, the filmmakers faced several challenges while focusing on the campaign of an *ulama* in the Pantan Labu area. When the filmmakers arrived there at the start of the campaigning, election preparations were in complete disarray - even the candidates didn't appear to know how they were supposed to cast their votes. Subsequently, things became more dramatic as tensions increased in the area. The film team came across a dead body while they were filming; with the body were a distraught wife and mother - the filmmakers were told that the victim was a GAM member tortured and killed by the military. On another occasion the filmmakers found a grenade near a civilian's house. These filmmakers had a harrowing time - at times it was too dangerous to stay in Pantan Labu so they returned to Lhokseumawe - but they tried to keep filming throughout. They spent Election Day in Pantan Labu, and returned again at the end of April, when the voting results came out.

In *Election in Ambon*, the story of an election campaign in a troubled land took an unexpected turn when the violence of April 25 broke out - the filming schedule was extended to allow the filmmakers to document this horrifying development.

### **Election-Action! Film Festivals and TV Broadcasts**

Once the four documentaries were completed to everyone's satisfaction, Internews secured major Network broadcast deals for the films, at no cost, with METRO TV. The broadcast times were Tuesday, July 6th through Friday, July 9<sup>th</sup>, one film per day, at 13:30h. The films were also broadcast on Q Channel.

Internews was able to create yet another series of viewing opportunities for these documentaries by teaming with Yayasan SET to organize the Election-Action! Film Festivals. In a variety of cities, Internews and SET joined forces to put on one-day festivals to highlight the Election films; in each city, two SET elections films were screened, and two Internews films were shown. At each festival, Internews sent one of the filmmakers so that he or she would be present to answer questions about the film after the showing. The first festival took place in Padang on June 17. The third in a series of four film festivals with Yayasan SET was held in Bali, where the response was enthusiastic. Other film fests took place in Yogyakarta and Makassar, in July and August. The Internews-sponsored documentary, *Nonetheless I Punch*, the film about women porters in Yogyakarta and how they were trying to make sense of a very complicated elections process, was voted the best film at each festival.

These festivals provided an ideal opportunity for Indonesians to look back at their historic Election year, but also, through discussions, to explore what these momentous occasions would mean for them as they face the daunting task of turning a successful election process into a successful democratic society.

During the week prior to the second round of the Presidential Elections on September 20, the Elections Documentaries were broadcast on seven local TV stations throughout the country: Sri Junjungan TV, TVRI Sumatra Barat, Lombok TV, Gorontalo TV, Riau TV, Batam TV, and Makassar TV. Viewer call-in response to these films was very positive.

Also, on September 18, the four films received a Jakarta screening at the regular film series, *ScreenDocs*, hosted by YMMF, Internews' partner in the Elections Documentary project.

In addition, Internews was honoured to have the four films featured at Jiffest (the Jakarta International Film Festival) in December 2004.

YMMF, through their event called *ScreenDocs! On Campus*, not only screened the films for student audiences but also donated copies of the films to the permanent collections of the Libraries at the following universities:

- Tarumanegara University in Jakarta, Faculty of Design and Art, screening on September 29, 2004
- Tarumanegara University, Faculty of Law, on September 29, 2004
- Tarumanegara University, FISIP, on September 30, 2004
- Pelita Harapan University, on October 5, 2004
- University of Indonesia, FISIP on October 5, 2004
- University of Indonesia, Faculty of Law, on October 6, 2004
- Paramadina University on October 7, 2004
- Indonusa Esa Unggul University on October 21, 2004

The filmmakers found the entire experience to be a rewarding one.

“It’s a great experience for me to get involved on that project,” said Masrur Jamaluddin, the Director of *Nonetheless I Punch (Sing Penting Nyoblos)*. “I think it’s a good idea to document Indonesian Election 2004 in audio visual, so we can share that moment with the next generation or with other nations. We all learned many things in the process of making a documentary film.”

Jamal had kind words for the managers of the *Documentary Grants for Innovative, Long-Format Election Programs*:

I’d also like to thank all the mentors in Internews and Indocs (YMMF); they are all great people and very expert in their field. From them I learn many things, especially in documentary film production. I also thank them for their caring and patience in hard times. I wish to work together with them in next project.

### **Objective 3: Collaborative Programs to Enhance Election-Related Communications**

Another main objective of the Internews election program was to increase the quality and quantity of election-related materials available to assist the Indonesian public in making informed choices during the elections. In the Collaborative Programs Component, Internews capitalized on partner NGOs' election programs to broadly enhance elections-related communications. Activities under this objective spanned all major media – radio, television and print – while also reaching out to political parties, candidates and local NGOs to increase their ability to get their issues and platforms out to the voters. The following activities were implemented in support of this objective:

- 7 three-day election coverage workshops for print media with AJI Jakarta plus one wrap-up lessons-learned seminar;
- A Reporter's Resource Guide to the 2004 Elections produced with AJI and CETRO.
- Production of 56 weekly radio elections programs with IFES and CETRO;
- 3 election coverage workshops (consisting of eight simultaneous tracks that reached 159 participants from stations in West, DIY and Central Java) for radio journalists conducted by the JRPP, a PRSSNI elections working group
- 6 two-day joint workshops for local media and political activists with IRI;
- 5 two-day media relations courses for political party representatives with NDI;

#### ***Print Media Workshops for Election Coverage with AJI***

The quality of political coverage in Indonesian print media tends to undercut expectations despite the fact, or perhaps due to the fact, that it is such a politically charged society. Many Indonesian journalists see political stories as “easy” because they draw little distinction between objective political reporting and the expression of their own political opinions. Few reporters do the kind of research needed to provide real insight into Indonesian political events and the dynamics that really drive them.

This component was designed to increase print journalists' ability to cover the 2004 elections fairly and accurately. Although the KPU and Panwaslu were charged with socializing the 2004 general election system to the public, they proved to be unable to deliver on many fronts. NGOs and the press, as independent elements, played critical roles in socializing the general election.

From September 2003 to May 2004, AJI Jakarta, in cooperation with AJI offices in other major centers, implemented seven 3-day Election Print Journalism Workshops. Held in Medan, Palembang, Denpasar, Makassar, Surabaya, Solo and one 3-day and a 5-day “lessons learned” seminar in Jakarta, the workshops brought speakers from groups like Transparency International Indonesia, the local General Election Supervisory Committee (Panwaslu), local universities, legal aid institutions, senior journalists, IFES, and the General Election Supervisory Independent Committee (KIPP).

AJI Jakarta provided essential training on effective political reporting. While based on the fundamental standards for professional journalism, this training focused intensively on practical skills to be used during campaign and election periods. The training was designed to help reporters get more valuable information from political candidates and parties, especially regarding their policy positions and vision for the future. It also addressed how to effectively use such information from different parties and sources to provide accurate and informative political analysis, and ways to clearly and effectively convey this information to their readerships and audiences.

Experts on corruption and politics, and Election candidates were brought in to share their thoughts on the Elections and were grilled by the participants as if at an actual press conference. Training participants engaged in peer critiques, and were required to provide evaluations of the seminars and trainers.

The workshops were designed to address the following issues;

- Understanding of the 2004 general election system and mechanisms.
- Understanding concerning the local and national political situation in the general election period.
- Guidelines to identify the crucial issues that should be covered and concentrated on during the general election.
- Investigative techniques to track down the cash flow of political parties' campaigns.
- Journalism techniques to cover the general election, including ethical and legal aspects.
- Defining a code of conduct/guidelines for covering the 2004 general election.

During the workshops, participants conducted group discussions and simulations on the new election system. From these exercises they learned how to vote and count votes, and then realized that if only the KPU and Panwaslu conveyed the message about the new mechanism and system to the public the job would not be completed by voting time.

One journalist/participant commented that “In my village here in Bali, a political party told that grouping some districts into one district will give better benefit to the small parties. Today I learned that the more districts there are the more chances for small parties to get seats in the Parliament. The truth is people out there could be

easily misled by bad information during the campaign.” Another journalist commented that “Before this training, I didn’t care so much on the election system and women’s representation, which, of course, is why lots of singers and actresses joined political party now. Here, now I got clear picture that I must urge these women candidates to get high rank in the candidacy list, to ensure that the 30% women representative quota in candidacy also occurs all the way to the Parliament.”

By January 2004, AJI Jakarta had implemented all seven 3-day Election Print Journalism Workshops throughout the country. These seminars were very successful in stimulating debate and creating a sense of responsibility among the journalist participants to cover the Elections thoroughly and responsibly. But how were these seminars reflected in what happened during the March campaign and the April Election? With funds remaining from the subgrant, AJI held a post mortem seminar in Jakarta from May 20 to 24 that brought together selected participants from the seven pre-election seminars to discuss their election experiences. They discussed the lessons they learned from their coverage of the campaign, Voting Day, and the vote tabulation process. This wrap-up seminar provided a valuable wrap-up to the AJI project, and all participants reported that they valued the session as an opportunity for them to learn about how the Legislative Elections were conducted in other parts of the country, and also to discuss plans and strategies for covering the upcoming Presidential Elections.

The following is the summary of the concerns of the journalists who attended AJI Election seminars about the 2004 Elections. These points became the topics of discussion for the seminar, where solutions and media coverage strategies to support such solutions were discussed. Three issues were covered by the journalists in each of their regions while covering the Elections in April: election violations, election implementation and special cases.

	Election Violation	Implementation Practice	Special Case
<b>MEDAN</b>			
1. Syawaluddin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ To stole the campaign start</li> <li>◆ Children involved at the campaign</li> <li>◆ Slowness of vote counting</li> <li>◆ Vote box is take away home</li> <li>◆ Vote buying</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Weakness socialization</li> <li>◆ KPU act amateur</li> <li>◆ Mass mobilization at the campaign</li> <li>◆ Less of socialization</li> <li>◆ Act slow of the Controller committee</li> <li>◆ ignore party platform and vision</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The quality of election implementation is far from ideal</li> </ul>
2. Mohammad Agus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ To stole the campaign start</li> <li>◆ Delay in logistic</li> <li>◆ Money politics</li> <li>◆ Manipulation of vote amount</li> <li>◆ Slowness of vote counting</li> <li>◆ Information access is closed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Media policy that tendency the interest of certain party</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The quality of this political event need to be increased</li> </ul>
3. Nurleli	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Manipulation of vote amount</li> <li>◆ Mistake of vote counting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Less of knowledge about the implementation of the Election</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Concentration of vote counting at every lever is still ignored</li> </ul>
4. Yennizar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Violation of the schedule and the location of campaign</li> <li>◆ Deviation of KPU's fund (1,7 milliard)</li> <li>◆ Delay in Logistic and and often get accidentally exchanged</li> <li>◆ Chaos inv vote counting</li> <li>◆ Double voter card</li> <li>◆ Money politics at vote counting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ KPUD / Controller Committee no dare to act discipline</li> <li>◆ Less in election socialization</li> <li>◆ Journalist is ignored</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Many case in violation has gave a picture : lack of understanding or seriousness in implementation</li> <li>◆ The possibility of officer changes PPK/PPS (new recruitment)</li> </ul>
<b>PALEMBANG</b>			
5. Arif Ardyansah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Thousands of people not yet registered as voter</li> <li>◆ Lots of violation has not been follow up by the authorized party</li> <li>◆ Blocked in logistic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Voter is categorized by group, religion, ethnic and patronage</li> <li>◆ Unready ness implementer in every round of Election</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Chaos threaten at the coming Presidential Election if the readiness of implementer is not improved</li> </ul>
6. Saron P. Sasmito	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Chaos in vote counting</li> <li>◆ Chaos in Logistic</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Mental trouble of Legislative Candidate caused by their fail</li> <li>◆ The program of Legislative Candidate is never clear</li> <li>◆ Election system is not ideal</li> <li>◆ Society apathy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆</li> </ul>
<b>MAKASSAR</b>			
7. Musdalifah Fachri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Logistic still chaos</li> <li>◆ Vote counting not transparent</li> <li>◆ Money politics</li> <li>◆ Delay of vote counting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ 20% of voter not punch</li> <li>◆ Unready ness implementer</li> <li>◆ Many suspicious of dishonest</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Improvement of Election's implementer skill at every level is needed</li> </ul>

8. Hadawiah	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Stealing in start time of campaign</li> <li>◆ Election's implementer is not complete</li> <li>◆ Addition and decrease of vote</li> <li>◆ Dispute of vote result</li> <li>◆ Money politics</li> <li>◆ Using state facility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Less of Socialization</li> <li>◆ Mistake in punching is high</li> <li>◆ Suspicious of Election's participants are high</li> <li>◆ Election' regulation not yet used properly</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Electricity is turn off on the day of Election</li> <li>◆ Election's implementer is not ready yet at many level</li> </ul>
9. Andi Hajramurni	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Delay in logistic</li> <li>◆ Dispute in vote counting</li> <li>◆ Violation happen up to 500 cases</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Manipulation assumption /trick election of KPUD</li> <li>◆ Officer of KPPS/PPS not yet understand their duty and weak of socialization</li> <li>◆ Happen many times to recounting the voter</li> <li>◆ Unrealistic campaign</li> <li>◆ Lots of traditional voter</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Skill of Election's implementer is not maximum</li> </ul>
<b>DENPASAR</b>			
10. Luh De Suriyani	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Violation of giving things/promise while campaign</li> <li>◆ Terror to society (damaging and bombardier) by election participants</li> <li>◆ Disable voter and old person are not registered</li> <li>◆ Using of duplicate certificate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Journalist is more concern to the attitude of participants then to campaign material</li> <li>◆ The need of political education for journalists</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Lack of election socialization to journalists</li> </ul>
11. Anton Muhajir	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Money politics packaged by scholarship</li> <li>◆ Traffic violation during the campaign</li> <li>◆ Stuck in logistic distribution</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Controller Committee and KPU no have no dare to act discipline to the big party</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The role of implementer and controller should be more firm</li> </ul>
<b>SURABAYA</b>			
12. Bibin Bintariadi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Display installation before the campaign period</li> <li>◆ Legislative candidate is using duplicate certificate</li> <li>◆ The using of Election's fund is not clear</li> <li>◆ The possibility of collusion between Government and certain party</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Conflict between KPUD and Controller Committee caused by different perception about Bill no. 12/ 2003</li> <li>◆ Lack of socialization</li> <li>◆ Always keep in the matter of fund of KPUD and the Controller Committee</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Conflict between implementer and the controller</li> </ul>
13. Syaiful A. Solichin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Explanation of campaign fund is not transparent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Minus of appreciation to the officer of KPPS, PPS and PPK</li> <li>◆ The objective of observer is questioned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Access of fund using is still closed</li> </ul>
14. Mahbub Djunaidy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The using of duplicate certificate by Legislative candidate</li> <li>◆ 7000 of voter not yet registered</li> <li>◆ Chaos in logistic</li> <li>◆ Vote counting is not accurate</li> <li>◆ Dispute in vote counting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The honesty of KPUD is questioned</li> <li>◆ Society culture influence the condition of social/politic</li> <li>◆ Mass clash happen because of interest clash</li> <li>◆ Unorganized at the verification</li> <li>◆ Re-punch at 9 TPS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Need the knowledge of duty and authority of implementer and controller</li> </ul>

SOLO			
15. Sugeng Pranyoto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Child involved in campaign</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Election participants has no vision for children</li> <li>◆ Confused of KPUD for the delay result</li> </ul>	
16. Susana Rita	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Using of duplicate certificate and health letter</li> <li>◆ Thousands of voter not yet registered</li> <li>◆ Chaos in implementing P4B</li> <li>◆ Chaos in logistic and its distribution</li> <li>◆ Money politics</li> <li>◆ Slowness in vote counting</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ High competitive between Legislative candidate</li> <li>◆ Vote taking by certain party</li> <li>◆ Integrity and independency of Controller Committee or even KPUD is highly doubt</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Need certain mechanism that able to form quality Legislative candidate</li> </ul>
JAKARTA			
17. Erwin Kustiman	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Chaos in implementing P4B</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Campaign still using conventional pole</li> <li>◆ Apathy of voter is appear</li> <li>◆ Controller Committee has no 'teeth'</li> <li>◆ Vote missing is high</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ 567 administration violation, 8 crimes and 4 disputes</li> <li>◆ There is no ratio of election</li> </ul>
18. Ahmad Lutfi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Indication of fund's deviation of KPUD</li> <li>◆ Violation of code ethic of Election</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Skills of KPUD are still questioned</li> <li>◆ The management of KPUD's organization</li> <li>◆ The amount of punch mistake is high</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Need to have firm independency and KPUD integrity</li> </ul>
19. Ulin Ni'am Yusron	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Indication of authority and fund violation of KPU</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Bad tender of vote paper</li> <li>◆ There is no population database</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Weakness in controlling KPU</li> </ul>

The workshop dates and locations were:

Medan	September 19 – 21, 2003
Palembang	September 26 – 28, 2003
Denpasar	October 3 – 5, 2003
Makassar	October 10 – 12, 2003
Surabaya	December 12 – 14, 2003
Surakarta	December 19 – 21, 2003
Jakarta	January 16 – 18, 2004
Jakarta	May 20 – 24, 2004

These workshops were attended by over 220 journalists; what surprised AJI was that the workshops were attended by not only print journalists, but television and radio journalists as well. Women comprised 23 per cent of the attendants.

## ***Producing a Reporter's Guidebook to the Elections with AJI and CETRO***

As a means of spreading the impact of the media and elections program, Internews worked with print media experts from AJI/Jakarta and elections experts from the Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO) to facilitate the preparation of a Reporter's Guidebook to the Elections. This guidebook, launched at a public event on November 20<sup>th</sup>, includes the basics of good journalism, concepts for fair election coverage, and a comprehensive description of the election system. AJI produced 3,000 copies of the book for distribution to print, radio and TV journalists in Jakarta and the regions.

The following is an excerpt from the *Reporter's Guidebook to the Elections*;

### **Chapter III. 5 Practical Steps in Covering the Election**

#### **1. Do Not Take Positions with any One Party, Keep Your Independence**

Journalists can play two roles. On one side journalists can play the important role in supporting the success of the election as a legal facility replacing corrupt Government or confirming a government that has the people's support. At the same time, journalists can also give political education to the electorate to participate actively, starting from campaign, to election, to controlling parliament or choosing leaders.

#### **2. Plan Your Coverage**

From the beginning, explain to the reader; what are your media rules of covering the election story. For example, how will your media cover the campaign and why. This is to anticipate complaints of unfair media by putting your media's position in covering campaign news up front.

Political Education. Have a program for the political education of the people. Media has the responsibility to explain principals and technicalities on how to vote carefully, and explain the election results (such as a new parliament, power separation, or government transparency).

#### **3. Obey the Signs (for Field Reporters)**

Unless it is really substantial and documented, do not cover and report stories connected to demands by one candidate to another, because, during the campaign period, the table of the news editor will overflow with endless examples of the same story. And there will be demands from other politicians to maximize their media exposure as well. Reporters cannot be used as tools of a politician's individual war.

#### **4. Keep Safe During Coverage**

Understand your rights. It is very important to know about the rules of journalist's rights, press freedom, and government responsibility to protect press. At the same time, it is also important to learn the rules connected with conflict areas, stressful situations or security disturbances. This knowledge will benefit you to oppose official acts that forbid you to cover the story or take the picture, or chase you away from certain places that you are actually allowed you to enter.

**5. If You Become a Victim, Have Advocacy**

If there is violence (during the election/campaign), please follow these steps to ensure proper advocacy can be conducted:

- Verification
- Writing Alert
- Investigation
- Publication
- Demonstration or Lobby
- Prosecute to court (litigate)
- Documentation

**Chapter IV. Take Example from Neighbor's Experience**

Therefore, never forget, that the task of the journalist is as a connector of one event to the reader, listener and audience, not as an obstacle. Press coverage is not limited to candidates and the electorate. Press coverage needs to become the bridge connecting them.

### ***Election Coverage Training for PRSSNI Members in Collaboration with the National Election Monitoring Radio Network (JRPP)***

A new addition to the Internews work plan was the cooperation with Jaringan Radio Pemantau Pemilu (The Election Monitoring Radio Network/JRPP). This collaborative program was designed by the PRSSNI to enhance the professionalism of regional and local radio stations in providing Indonesian citizens with the news and information they needed to make informed choices, while preparing journalists for their role as public “watchdogs” over the election process.

The trainings targeted Java and Bali regional radio stations, in order to reach the greatest concentration of radio listeners in the country. The aim of this collaborative program was to empower radio stations and their listeners in these regions to participate and guard the process of the 2004 Elections. The training was designed to enable radio journalists to have better knowledge, understanding and awareness of the elections so that they could serve their listeners’ needs comprehensively and professionally.

The trainings’ expressed goals were to:

- Enhance stations’ roles in providing and spreading election news,
- Stimulate thinking about providing voter education programs,
- Teach how to provide balanced, fair and accurate information about political parties,
- Enhance public awareness through radio to monitor the election process in order to create honest and just Elections in 2004.

The four JRPP trainers involved were veteran Indonesian radio trainers from PRSSNI: Zainal A. Suryokusumo, Djoko Wahjono, Cahaya DR Sinaga and K. Candi Sinaga. Also participating were an election expert from CETRO, and local PRSSNI members as co-trainers and organizers.

The lead trainers and local trainers conducted the training side-by-side. Two trainers led each session, to guide and teach the participants to understand their freedoms and limitations under the law and under the codes of the journalistic profession, and to discuss thoroughly the following materials:

- Understanding the election system and mechanism
- Understanding the role and position of the radio in society
- The role and strength of radio in the 2004 Elections
- Legal consequences of 2004 Election coverage
- Understanding codes of conduct
- Local identification of problems that might arise during the 2004 Elections
- The standard of election reporting
- The need for balanced and impartial coverage

- The ethics and applicable libel laws
- Election coverage and political interviewing techniques
- Election result reposting techniques
- Guidelines on programming, marketing, technical, office (management) and external relations.
- The role of independent media in promoting transparent political processes and the accountability of elected officials.

The JRPP conducted 3 seminars in Bandung, Semarang and Yogyakarta, from December 2003 to January 2004, consisting of eight simultaneous tracks that reached 159 participants in Bandung for West Java stations, Semarang for Central Java stations, and Yogyakarta for DIY stations. After attending the Internews/JRPP seminars, the journalists were aware that the elections must be monitored closely and the media must play its role to empower the public to actively participate in the 2004 Elections. One of the participants (who initially refused to attend the training because he did not want to be “forced” to create election programs) said at the end of the workshop:

I’ve been through many General Elections as a non-voter partisan (Golput). I didn’t regret that since I was apathetic to see my country ruled by the Government. But from this training I learned that by doing so it will only benefit the big ‘dominant’ parties. I’ll spread my knowledge through my radio station and I can guarantee you that I’ll get minimum 500 voters of ex non-voters partisan to vote this year. To reach our dream for a better future for our country.

He thanked the trainers who, he said, opened his mind toward the election and democratization of our country.

Another participant said:

We are very happy! Now we understand better that entertainment stations could also play a key role in the public! And we must play that role. Thank you to all the trainers, for opening our mind and deepening our understanding to be more active in playing our role and our responsibility to ensure the process of democratization happens in our country.

One seminar participant, from a non-news station, was impressed by the diverse approach the trainers took to covering an election:

Now I have proof that non-news stations also could play the role in voter education and other educational format in radio. Other formats also could play the role to educate people through their own programs, such as local songs and poetry. He thanked the trainers who, he said, had opened his mind toward the elections and the democratization of his country.

Another participant remarked that it was very important for journalists to receive this kind of training; it helped them to understand the role and power of radio with the public. During the sessions, some participants raised their concerns about the legal protection of the journalists if they were attacked by political party followers. The trainers made it clear throughout that journalists should always place their own safety above “getting the story” – no story, the trainers stressed, was worth losing your life.

The workshops were attended by 159 participants ranging from journalists, to presenters, to news managers and to station managers. In total, 28% of participants were female.

### ***Producing National Elections Radio Programs with IFES & CETRO***

In collaboration with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and the Indonesian NGO CETRO, Internews capitalized on its four years’ experience in producing exciting radio programs to disseminate critical information on campaign and election issues. Internews and its partners produced 56 weekly radio election programs during *An Informed Choice*.

Internews transformed its popular weekly current affairs program *Suara Bangsaku*, “Voice of My Nation”, into an elections-focused feature during the course of the election cycle. These 7-minute radio features were distributed weekly to the Internews network of radio station partners – 154 in all, representing a total estimated audience of 50 million Indonesians. This partner network reaches 28 of Indonesia’s 33 provinces.

In preparation for this change, Internews first surveyed these partner radio stations, and learned that nearly 90% of them wanted to hear weekly programs that focused exclusively on issues related to the political campaigns and election process. This was particularly true with stations out in the regions. Roughly half of the stations also confirmed that they use these programs, and the associated interactive toolkits, as the basis for their own live local interactive programs.

The purpose of this election- focused radio program was threefold:

- Provide Indonesians with an easily accessible source of news and information regarding the election system, campaign issues, party positions, voting procedures, and election results.
- Serve as a model and example of strong, feature-length, in-depth programming for independent radio stations throughout the archipelago, encouraging stations to produce their own local news and information programs.
- Spark on-air discussions at the local level, encouraging local candidates, political activists, election authorities, and the listening public, to more thoroughly consider and discuss each story’s local implications and context.

To ensure that these programs addressed the most important campaign and election issues, Internews teamed with local and international election specialists from the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and the Indonesian election NGO, CETRO. This outside expertise kept the information and timing of these stories fresh and relevant.

To better ensure that these programs effected change in the communities reached, Internews sent each out with an interactive radio toolkit included. Roughly half of Internews partner stations use our radio programs as the basis for follow-on studio and phone-in discussions. Toolkits consist of a sample radio phone-in program, recommendations of local experts and officials to have as studio guests or contacts for live telephone interviews, numerous “devil’s advocate” questions to raise, and advice on how to handle tricky issues and difficult callers. These innovative programs aimed to educate and motivate voters to become more actively involved in public dialog of policy issues, and to explain the political, economic and social issues being debated nationally and in their immediate area.

Our Production Unit reporters searched high and low for good stories about the 2004 Elections; they visited places where election violence was a concern, where people had not heard about the Elections of 2004, and places where the voters were too intimidated to even talk about the elections.

Reporter Agus Wijananto (Anto) traveled to Kerinci Regency in Jambi in September 2003, where he discovered that some political party leaders were prepared to protest in the event that they were unable to become legislative members even if they received the most votes (which was a distinct possibility with the candidate priority listing system). Voters in the flood-sensitive Kerinci Regency admitted they were more concerned about the threat of flooding from February to April than the election itself. They believed the politicians would ignore their plight if flooding occurred during the election campaign.

In December Anto traveled to Tanggamus Regency in Lampung Province to some isolated villages with no electricity. For the people living there, the election was little more than a rumour; they only knew there *would* be an election, but admitted they did not understand the format or schedule of the elections at all. There was no newspaper there, and only very fortunate villagers were able to watch television once in a while at a neighbour’s home.

Reporter Yon Thayrun was invited to a conference in Kuala Lumpur, and used the occasion to visit Indonesians in Malaysia who would vote from abroad. Yon planned to interview Acehnese people living in KL, and did not anticipate problems as he is Acehnese. He went to Plaza Safwan in Chow Kit area, Kuala Lumpur, a well-known place for Acehnese to gather. But, Yon says, “no Acehnese people, who at that time enjoyed having coffee, tarik tea and having lunch, wanted to talk to me.....For them, a Jakartan, whoever he/she is, is suspicious.” Yon did not get his story.

Yon traveled to Medan in February 2004 to cover the North Sumatra University’s ban on all political party campaigning on university premises. The policy was in fact not fully understood by university students, but they agreed that the “campus is not the place for the campaign; it’s the place to study.”

In February 2004 we produced a feature on how the election campaign was being waged in the media. This program reminded people to keep on guard against political parties and campaign spokesmen using their own media as their campaign tools, and to be aware that wealthy parties can buy more airtime than they have been allocated. Our reporters looked into the legal sanctions, and what actions the KPI could take against mischievous parties. Listeners were invited to use their right to report fraudulent campaigning in the media.

One very practical feature from the reporters was a story on the right way to punch the ballot on voting day. This was aired across the nation just before the week of April 5, and was important, especially in places where just five days before Election Day people still did not understand how to punch the ballot, had not seen facsimiles of the ballot paper, and did not understand the function of the voter card.

On a brighter note, Internews journalists found that people overall seemed to feel they had more freedom to determine their choices. They were not swayed by intimidation by others, but were deciding according to their own beliefs. Parties such as PKS and Partai Demokrat were the main beneficiaries of this new individual freedom of thought. People's enthusiasm to join in the election was great; our reporters saw that, from the start, people were eager to punch the ballot even though they did not fully understand the election stages.

After the April Legislative Elections, the programs shifted their focus to the processing of election returns, seating of the new legislative bodies and formation of a new Indonesian government. The programs served to inform the public about the role of legislatures, increased the transparency of these institutions and their processes, involved the public in the issues of their regions, and created an awareness of issues that were being discussed in other districts. Most importantly, the programs demonstrated that elected officials should be accountable for their actions. Considerable attention was paid to revisiting party platforms and political promises compared to legislative action.

Naturally, the features then shifted to the upcoming Presidential Elections on July 5. This marked a historic event for Indonesians because they were able to choose their President directly for the first time. Since this was a "first", there were many questions to answer about the process of voting, about how the Presidential campaign would be conducted, and how voters should decide on the best person to lead their country for the next five years. Internews' experienced radio reporters offered a comprehensive look at the issues and provided a reflection of the mood of the nation as it prepared to vote on its future course.

Among the programs produced between the April elections and July 5 (Election Day) was a feature exploring peoples' fears of having a President with a military background. Another program, titled "Presidential Candidate Debates, Are They Necessary?" looked at the debate concept, which would turn out to be the main opportunity to contrast and compare Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates. The feature entitled "Presidential Candidates' Vision and Mission," was an investigation of the new system adopted for the President once elected. Differing from the past, anyone who was chosen as the President would not need to use State Policy Guidelines (GBHN) as the guidelines to manage the country. Our reporter asked:

*What will become of the President's ideology to build this country? and: Does this new system enable the President to lead this country by his/her own will?*

### ***Station feedback on Suara Bangsaku programs***

#### **Radio Hikmah, Ternate, North Maluku**

Alwi Sagaf, manager of production partner Radio Hikmah in Ternate, told Internews that his station led with our election story, and then called in local experts to discuss further the issues raised in the Internews feature. This is an example of the exact goal of the Suara Bangsaku election features - to stimulate debate at the local level, giving the programs an expanded reach and significance wherever they are played.

#### **Radio Paduka FM, Purwokerto, Central Java**

*Suara Bangsaku* is good, and the interactive supplement program for listeners is in a good order, this station reported. Paduka FM listeners are very enthusiastic to listen to election programs produced by Internews Indonesia. But listeners feel that the duration of 7 minutes should be extended to 10 minutes, so listeners will receive more information. Approaching the Elections, the most needed information for Paduka FM listeners is political education for beginner voters, so they will not look at elections as a party arena, as a parade and a place to show force, but as a political education arena.

#### **Radio Iguana 102.6 FM, Tanjung Pinang, Riau**

Iguana Radio listeners' feedback to Suara Bangsaku of Internews Indonesia program was positive. They felt the 7 – 7.5 minute program is too short; they suggest this program be extended. Tanjung Pinang society is very much looking forward to listen to programs on the socialization of the election implementation, they said, which they feel still has not been done enough here. Moreover, listeners suggest Internews Indonesia cover more news from various places which are seldom covered by mass media. (NOTE: Internews reporters traveled regularly, and produced election items from Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Sumatra, throughout Java, and even Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia).

#### **Radio Prima FM, Kebumen, Jawa Tengah**

Programs presented by Internews Indonesia, especially *Suara Bangsaku*, is very interesting to Prima Radio listeners. But it is a short program and so it is not in-depth and incisive enough. Is there any possibility that this program could be extended to 10 minutes, so a topic can be discussed further?

#### **Radio Swara Media Setranada, Balikpapan**

The *Suara Bangsaku* program of Internews Indonesia is good, and response from our listeners is good too. Actually, topics presented would be more varied if Internews

Indonesia sent reporters to our region. There are many interesting stories that can be covered by Internews Indonesia from Balikpapan.

### **Smart FM Makassar**

Smart FM Makassar Radio thinks *Suara Bangsaku* by Internews Indonesia is good, but they think the interactive program tools do not give any benefit. They prefer Internews Indonesia to work closely with their reporter to cover and make features in Makassar, especially on the potential of regional resources. (NOTE: in response to requests like this one, Internews offered features production training at stations that displayed the skills and the interest to produce their own longer-format programs)

### **Radio BG FM Indramayu**

*Suara Bangsaku* Program is very good, and we are glad to broadcast it to our listeners. If possible, please make coverage on the Presidential Election for people, especially for those teenagers who do not really know much about the Presidential Election. The hopes of this nation lay in the future of the young.

### **Radio Melody FM. Dumai, Riau**

The *Suara Bangsaku* program, which discussed the 2004 Elections, was really good. In fact this program improved listeners' knowledge. Although some of the topics sometimes were not relevant to listeners in our town, but in general it gave more knowledge to people. From several topics covered, the most important was the story about providing information on how to punch the ballot paper in voting locations, because people feel that the local election commission almost never socialized these matters in the districts. It is better that *Suara Bangsaku* of Internews Indonesia gives more information on the rules (how to punch the ballot paper in the future), for the second round of Presidential Elections in September 2004.

### **Madina Sora Sore, Mandailing Natal, North Sumatra**

*Suara Bangsaku* program was very good at giving lots of information on the Presidential Elections and problems behind the election itself. Most people are afraid to talk about politics, but people always wait for *Suara Bangsaku* program, especially facing the second round of Presidential Elections in September 2004.

### **Radio CBS, Riau.**

Radio CBS Riau considers *Suara Bangsaku* program to be a good program, especially when discussing the candidates' vision and mission, and also Presidential candidates' election promises. This program asked listeners to become more critical of their promises during the Presidential campaign and question what they delivered during campaign when they are elected later. The *Suara Bangsaku* program makes people

conscious that people have the right to question promises delivered during Presidential campaigns.

### **Radio Raci, Mojokerto**

Raci FM considered Suara Bangsaku program as a place to improve listeners' knowledge and people's reaction to the Elections. Suara Bangsaku seldom highlighted money politic problems or questioned the honor of election organizer groups (which is very low), as Suara Bangsaku was a positive program.

### ***Features training, A Collaboration of Training and Production Units***

Starting in August, after Internews had more than fulfilled its quota of elections-related features under this Cooperative Agreement, we visited the most advanced training partners with a training duo of one staff trainer and one staff reporter, to teach the radio journalists how to produce their own short features about the elections. We provided this training specifically at the request of the partner stations. These special IHTs were conducted at Proselina FM in Jember, PTPN in Solo, Trijaya in Semarang, SMART FM in Palembang, and ARH FM in Jakarta, in August. At the end of each 5-day course, the journalists at each station had produced their own 7-minute features, and can now continue to produce their own feature programming (See In-House Training, page 21.)

### ***Communications between Journalists and Politicians: Collaboration with the International Republican Institute***

The 2004 elections represented the first opportunity for many of Indonesia's new radio stations and younger journalists to attempt to engage local politicians during an electoral season. To help establish the "rules of the game" between regional journalists and politicians, IRI and Internews co-sponsored a series of six 2-day seminars to teach basic skills of and structures for interaction between local reporters, politicians and party leaders from IRI target provinces during political campaigns and the immediate post-election period. An International Elections Radio Trainer, working together with three local trainers, provided Internews' portion of this training.

The co-sponsored seminars were split into two parts:

1. separate morning sessions where Internews provided training tailored to journalists and IRI provided training tailored to political party leaders; and
2. joint afternoon sessions that brought the journalists and party leaders together to apply what they'd learned in carefully constructed role-playing scenarios.

Each day's activities covered a different aspect of political communication and reporting. This included:

- Understanding the ground rules of how politicians and party press officers should work with and handle the press, and conversely how reporters should approach and engage candidates and press secretaries.
- How politicians can get their messages out, and how to stay on message during interviews or media events. For journalists, focus on creating balanced, impartial reports and on how to spot and cut through political “spin.”
- Focusing on major political events, the political group learns how to set-up, publicize and run an effective press conference. Journalists learn how to be active participants in such events, gathering more information than what is presented. Reporters learn how to effectively bring up other topics and stories during events, while press officers learn how to respond to surprises while staying on message.

Daily role-play exercises explored and covered a full range of media settings. The courses started with the making of press releases and their proper use in media coverage. All participants got considerable practice either interviewing real politicians or being interviewed by real reporters. Talk shows, round-table and panel discussions, and doorstep interviews were all simulated. This culminated on Day Two with the staging and video shooting of a mock press conference. Throughout these exercises, both sides were mentored and assisted by IRI and Internews trainers.

Both Internews and IRI had existing training curricula and materials in Bahasa Indonesia for these workshops, which were held in each of IRI’s six program provinces (East Java, Yogyakarta, Bali, North Sumatra, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi, with participants from Aceh joining the North Sumatra workshop in Medan). Approximately 15 journalists and 15 political party activists participated in each two-day workshop. Journalists were drawn from leading local media outlets in the respective target provinces. At IRI’s request, the training focused on the seven largest parties, specifically PDI-P, Golkar, PPP, PKB, PAN, PKS and Demokrat.

The schedule:

Surabaya	May 18 – 19, 2004
Yogyakarta	May 26 – 27, 2004
Denpasar	July 29 – 30, 2004
Makassar	August 2 – 3, 2004
Medan	August 10 – 11, 2004
Banjarmasin	September 7 – 8, 2004

The seminars were led by international media and elections trainers; Internews was represented by senior Australian journalist and trainer Lindy Magoffin for seminars in Surabaya, Yogyakarta, and Medan, and by senior British journalist and trainer Imelda Reynolds in Denpasar, Banjarmasin and Makassar, who delivered sessions on the importance of communication for politicians and for the public, on how journalists can have professional dealings with legislators, on the ethical framework that both sides (legislator and journalist) should adhere to (subjects included envelope journalism, the concept of *off the record*, balance and fairness etc), and discussion of

the various forms of political communication, including press conferences and news releases.

The legislators were introduced to basic communications techniques and the requirements of the media. The journalists were trained in political reporting. The overall aim of these gatherings was to foster a professional relationship between the two - one not undermined by cynicism and mistrust.

For journalists, elections can generate very complex ethical questions. That is why they need ethical guidelines, or codes, to guide them through potentially dangerous situations. An ethical code is a form of self-regulation, agreed upon by members of a profession themselves. It is a set of moral values and principles which members agree to follow in their work.

One example of an ethical question facing the journalists, particularly during an election period, is the issue of “envelope journalism”. The journalist participants were asked to consider and discuss the following scenario:

You are covering an election rally and one of the candidates gives you an envelope containing money. The candidate says this money is to reimburse your transport costs. You try to explain that your station does not allow you to accept gifts of this nature. The candidate looks surprised: “But I’m not offering you a bribe,” he says, “and I’m not expecting you to give me any favours in return. My party believes that the media plays a vital role in the election process, and we just want to help you to do your job.” Is it OK to accept the money? (Most answered that to accept that money would jeopardize their perceived objectivity).

The politicians were given the opportunity to practise their skills being interviewed before a television camera, while the journalists gained practice in deciphering the news content of government press releases. Both sides were brought together for sessions designed to explore why each side distrusts the other, and what can be done to alleviate that lack of trust. Ice-breaker exercises were not only fun, but served to break down the traditional barriers between journalists and politicians. The grand finale of the training seminar engaged all participants in a mock press conference exercise where the journalists were asked to research and prepare for a news conference on a fictional environmental catastrophe, while the politicians were tasked with preparing to play their parts in dealing with the emergency. After each group completed their press conference, the Internews TV technical trainer played back each press conference on video, while the instructors offered helpful critiques.

Our trainers made some interesting observations during the training. On Day One the legislators and reporters swapped roles for the one-on-one interviews with very interesting results. It was clear to the trainers after this exercise that already the Indonesian media was much the same as its western counterparts, in that both sides seem to believe that political interviewing should be aggressive interviewing. There ensued a great deal of discussion about adversarial interviewing, its pitfalls and the alternatives.

The groups were also very aware that news releases often offer only a part of a story. They were led through an exercise where they had to work out how to get behind the information as presented in a news release and find a more complete version of events.

For the news conference exercise, both journalists and legislators resumed their usual roles. The trainers helped each of the groups and all of the participants participated in the critique. It was a very valuable experience. The legislators were generally transparent and positive in their planning for the news conference. The reporters, on the other hand, did not take advantage of the opportunities they were given to extract more information about prior knowledge which may have helped avert the disaster.

Both the journalists and the legislators found the seminars to be invaluable for their work, and they especially appreciated the chance to interact with people they were wary of beforehand.

In their feedback surveys, participants commented on the most important lessons they had learned. Among them were:

- The importance of mutual commitment between journalists and politicians and that both parties have responsibility to the public.
- It's important to build cooperation with journalists/ mass media because the issue we're working on can be made understandable to the public
- I realize that journalists also need positive interaction with politicians, not only seeing the negative side of them.
- We will not give envelopes to journalists - will not involve money so the relationship between politicians and journalists stays on good terms.
- Understanding each other's profession between politicians and press.

In addition to skill building for both sets of participants, the politicians and journalists also benefited from establishing working relationships. Journalists developed better contacts with key political figures in their area, and a greater comfort level both in approaching them for comments and pushing them to provide genuine responses. Politicians similarly strengthened their ties to local media, and will have a better sense of how to effectively get their message out to the public through the media. Strengthening relationships and lines of communications between these two groups will be of great importance to local campaign and election coverage in 2005 and beyond.

### ***Media Relations Training for Parties and Candidates: Collaboration with the National Democratic Institute***

Internews collaborated with NDI on a series of five two-day training seminars designed to increase the ability of candidates to effectively engage the news media. These seminars were modeled on the successful November 2002 pilot project in which one local expatriate TV professional, one Indonesian freelance trainer and one PJTV staff trainer worked with a group of four parliamentarians from three major

national political parties (PAN, PKB and PPP) in a one-day intensive course on how to openly and effectively engage the media.

The purpose of this training was to increase the interest and ability of Indonesian political representatives to effectively communicate their ideas to the public through the media. The training first increased participant awareness of the power of media appearances for public figures. It then built their understanding of what the media wants and needs from them as newsmakers. Finally, the course gave trainees practical tips and skills for how to present themselves and their ideas effectively when interviewed. The intention was not to teach politicians how to spin facts, but instead focused on how to make their message newsworthy, how to effectively convey that message to the audience and how to build clear information-sharing relationships with reporters.

These Course topics included:

- The role of journalists in political processes and democracy building;
- Understanding journalists and what they need from candidates;
- Getting information into the media via press releases, conferences and statements;
- Making use of live and interactive media programming;
- What to do when a journalist approaches you for a ‘doorstop’ interview;
- Interviewing ‘dos and don’ts’;
- How to come across clearly on radio and television;
- Presentation tips on clothing, body language, posture;
- Words, phrases and gestures to avoid;
- Avoiding and handling mistakes; and,
- Preparation for difficult questions and handling surprises.

As with all Internews training, the course balanced theoretical discussions with intensive practical skills training. A significant amount of time was devoted to practice sessions on camera, professional critiques and Q&A sessions with participants. Participants saw their own performances on camera following live exercises. Trainers provided detailed critiques of each performance and individualized tips for improvement.

Videos using real footage from interviews and public appearances illustrated key points from the course. For instance, clips showing examples of how a situation, question or opportunity was poorly handled was followed by examples of how others have dealt effectively with the same situation. This allowed trainers to quickly and clearly show the reasoning behind the ‘dos and don’ts’ part of the course. A VCD copy of the participants’ mock press conference, in which each participant played a role, was given to each participant as a means to refresh their grasp of key points and disseminate those skills to their colleagues.

All training was held in Jakarta, though many of the legislators came from points beyond. The first of five seminars, in August 2005, involved National DPR members of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS); the second, in September, involved the National DPR members of the National Awakening Party (PKB), the third, in October, involved Provincial DPRD (Jakarta) members from Partai Demokrat, the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). The fourth, in October, involved National DPR members of the National Mandate Party (PAN), and the final workshop, also in October, involved National DPR members of PAN, PKS, Partai Demokrat, and the Indonesian Democracy Party for Struggle (PDI-P).

The objectives of these workshops were to help elected government legislators to achieve a broad understanding of how the media operates, to increase awareness of the importance of effective communication, and give them practical skills to help them in their media appearances, including;

- focusing on a message and how to communicate it
- recognizing a good story
- writing a news release
- interviewing skills
- planning and preparing for a news conference
- managing an appearance on talk-back radio

Internews and NDI trainers also helped these politicians to develop a better understanding of the professional relationship that should exist between legislator and reporter, and understand the importance of an overall communications strategy to effective governance. In many cases, the legislators seemed wary (and sometimes even hostile) regarding the media. One participant held the view that the media was more intent on ‘humiliating’, tearing down reputations and finding ‘controversy’ than concentrating on serious issues.

These views were discussed at length when dealing with the different media. The participants were encouraged to see the differences, not just between the different types of media but to see and understand the different versions of the same medium. They were encouraged to see opportunities for reaching many audiences through an intelligent use of, for example, serious broadsheets versus lifestyle magazines or radio news programs versus talk-back shows.

Several assignments and simulations were recreated at the Internews training facility to put the participants in very realistic media situations, to see how they would perform and to give them tips on how to improve their performance in the types of media interaction they can expect to experience. These included mock press conferences that were taped on camera and played back and critiqued. There was also a mock radio talkshow, with the politicians taking turns playing roles of guest, friendly caller, and antagonistic caller – all in good fun, this exercise prepared legislators for difficult ‘live’ situations, and the trainers helped the participants deal with the problems they would face as they dealt with their constituents via the media.

Internews trainers also worked with the legislators on how to write media releases – very few had had any experience with this effective communications tool.

Overall, Internews found that most participants understood well that they must develop a more thorough understanding of the media and learn how to become more professional communicators. Unfortunately, the legislators we worked with had an almost universally negative attitude to the media, believing it was only interested in scandal and controversy.

The participants struggled with the concept of political messaging. As a result, often their ‘messages’/statements on important issues were vague and relied on generalizations rather than a party position and a clearly set-out course of action.

The workshops also included an exercise called ‘doorstopping’; reporters often surprise politicians by sticking a microphone in their face and asking for a comment on the hot topic of the day. At Internews, a trainer would pose as the reporter, and as the trainees entered the building one morning, lights and cameras would switch on, and the unwary party member would be “assaulted” with questions. The answers were taped and critiqued by the media expert trainers.

The doorstep exercise was a particular success. On Day One the participants were introduced to the notion of a communications strategy and the importance of always knowing what’s happening and being prepared for questions. For every seminar there was a ‘hot’ topic to question them about, anything from the performance of Indonesian athletes at the Summer Olympics in Greece, to the refusal of the out-going President Megawati to concede defeat and the threat by PAN members to withdraw from the coalition with SBY if he proceeded with the appointment of a pro IMF official to the Ministry of Finance. They were also questioned about the decision of the House Speaker *not* to accept a new Volvo.

Invariably the legislators made the same mistake in the doorstep exercise; they stood for too long and even if they started with a good, strong, short message, would give the reporters more information than was needed and more than the legislators could ever support with facts. Very few of the participants understood the notion that with some preparation and understanding they could control many interview situations. The doorstep exercise was particularly useful for demonstrating that short, well prepared answers can ready public officials for many situations and that the interview only has to go as long as the interviewee chooses.

These seminars high-lighted the lack of attachment in Indonesia to party-politics in that the participants generally saw themselves as making individual statements and did not see the consequences of their statements at a party political level. The participants at each seminar talked about having to pay reporters to publish their stories. There was an unwillingness to take a stand on this issue, although there was a clear understanding, reinforced by the trainers, that envelope journalism is bad for government and bad for journalism.

Much time was devoted over the two-day workshop to explain that a position on an issue had to be more than just a statement acknowledging a problem but also a statement pointing the way forward. This is a fundamental issue and one that will develop as the parliamentary process itself matures.

The comments from the participants were revealing indeed. Going into the seminars, many were skeptical of the media and its perceived 'gotcha' mentality. It should be noted that not all felt this way; one participant remarked that the media was 'a very important tool' for the legislators and another expressed a desire to see the media become a 'partner'.

Participants felt the most important skills they learned were:

- On-camera interview, because I need it very much on how to give a good interview
- Media interviewing technique, because as a legislator I will face journalists often
- Writing news releases, because generally it's more difficult to write than to speak.
- Joining a talkshow, because we can directly get in touch with the constituents/audience
- The ability to communicate better, because I usually communicate with the media without knowing what's right and what's wrong

Their most important new understanding was:

- Talking/connecting with the press is very important, because so far I don't really enjoy being exposed by the press.
- That journalists are working partners
- Pitching newsworthy stories, because I often don't understand which stories are appropriate for the common people in Indonesia which is the largest part of the population (73%)
- Bridging, stalling, 'phrase flagging' etc.
- That what we give is not merely personal opinion but Party's opinion
- That as a legislator we have to have the ability to communicate what's important for the people

The legislators mentioned how they intended to apply the training:

- I will begin making good planning in giving information in my capacity as a legislator
- I will try to gather journalists at least once a week
- I will appoint a special communication assistant who will help me as a legislator
- I will now have confidence to face the media, writing for the media, etc.

They noted what more could be done to help them:

- More training, because it's very good for legislators so they're not surprised in facing the media
- This training should be attended by all members of DPR RI and their expert staff

One enterprising legislator used the Internews/NDI seminar to help write and then release a statement to her local media during the course. In the release, she asked Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono to include a representative from her area in his new cabinet.

## **Objective 4: Election Laws and Regulations Impacting the Media and Public Debate**

The final objective of the Internews election program was to ensure that media-related election laws and regulations were understood by local media outlets and government officials, so that these media could continue to inform Indonesian citizens throughout the election process. Internews was to support this objective by providing legal guidance and counsel to media outlets and political parties regarding their work under both the national election law and the current and new media laws. This component was designed to ensure that media-related election laws and regulations were understood by local media outlets and government officials, so that these media could continue to inform Indonesians throughout the election process.

In order to make the Internews collaboration with the PRSSNI/JRPP possible, funds from this Component were shifted to fund the JRPP seminars, making this Component smaller.

Internews then began a dialogue with the newly formed Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), the body charged with composing the detailed regulations to accompany the new Broadcast Law, to see where our contributions could best be offered.

Internews Indonesia was well-positioned to provide assistance to the KPI. Internews and other local and international NGOs played active roles in informing the process of creating the Broadcast Law; our work on this eventually led to the creation of the Indonesia Media Law & Policy Center (IMLPC). However, the KPI was formed amidst not inconsiderable opposition from the private broadcast industry, a group that has enjoyed unfettered freedom since 1998, and is loath to relinquish any of it to a regulatory body such as the KPI. In this sensitive environment, the KPI was progressing carefully, and asked for Internews' assistance to move forward.

Internews and the KPI, with the help of key members of the JRPP, organized a series of expert consultations and public seminars designed to both help the KPI to develop sound broadcast media regulations with which to implement the Broadcast Law, and to bring the KPI, KPIDs, and the media together in order to create an understanding of their roles and responsibilities.

Internews brought Canadian media relations expert Monica Auer (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, CRTC) to Indonesia from June 7 to 15 2004, for one-on-one consultations with the KPI and with KPIDs in four cities – Palembang, Surabaya, Jakarta and Denpasar. The main activities of this program to assist the KPI and KPIDs were to:

- Provide an international regulations advisor to work with KPI on the guidelines they were drafting to implement the Broadcast Law, with a focus on regulations for media coverage of the elections and political party access to the media during campaigns,

- Support 3 regional seminars to allow the KPIDs, the local media, and concerned citizens to establish an understanding of the KPI's role and responsibilities, the ramifications of the Broadcast Law for the radio and television stations in each region, and the impact of this new legislation on the listener and viewer.

These activities were quite similar to the activities proposed in the original Cooperative Agreement, which set out to “ensure that media-related election laws and regulations are understood by local media outlets and government officials, so that these media may continue to inform Indonesian citizens throughout the election process.” By assisting the KPI directly and by bringing the KPI (national and regional) together with the media and other key stakeholders, Internews achieved this goal as set out in the original document.

In June of 2004, the international media regulations expert advised the 9-member national KPI on the following issues as they determined the guidelines that would inform the Broadcast Law:

- Elections coverage and political party advertising regulations: The April 5 campaign gave the KPI a taste of the problems that come up between broadcasters and political parties in the competition for airtime and for news coverage. The KPI came out with a decree banning party sponsorship of programs, but a more comprehensive set of regulations was required for what promised to be a very hotly contested media-focused Presidential Election on July 5, with an equally heated run-off on September 20<sup>th</sup>. The international consultant and the KPI looked at models for regulating political content during elections, with a view to exerting a stronger presence in the coming campaigns.
- Other areas of KPI concern included media ownership regulations and rules regarding the limits to foreign content and the stimulation of local program production.

The three KPID seminars gathered local broadcasting industries, journalists, NGO personnel, local governments, and the KPID members together in a seminar that allowed the KPID to introduce its mission and mandate, to hear the concerns of the media, and to work out a common understanding of how the two sides should interact.

The JRPP (Election Monitoring Radio Network) organized the seminars (Palembang, Surabaya and Bali, plus a smaller session with media executives in Jakarta supported by the Canadian Embassy in Jakarta) with in-kind support from Internews and in coordination with the KPIDs. The Indonesian Media Law and Policy Center (IMLPC) was asked to participate in each seminar by providing a speaker on Indonesian media regulation issues – IMLPC participated in two of the four seminars.

Ms Auer found the national KPI to be very inquisitive. Her first session with the nine members of the national board ran from 2 pm to midnight on June 7. She found that they were greatly concerned with how they would implement their authority to regulate the media, and asked for details of how this was done in Canada. They were also concerned about quotas for local (non-Jakarta) content and for limits on the amount of foreign programming to allow on the airwaves – this is a major Canadian

concern as well, situated as it is next door to the massive American television and radio markets.

At the first regional session, in Palembang on June 9, the 60 participants at the general KPID session (at which national KPI members were participants) were very concerned about controls on pornography on television – they were unhappy with some of the more lewd programming currently airing on Jakarta networks, and wanted to know how the KPI would keep this under control. During the private session Ms Auer held with the KPID-South Sumatra, the discussion focused on guidelines for revoking broadcast licenses, the transfer of media ownership, and establishing and enforcing program content and program standards.

In Surabaya on June 11, the session with KPID, KPI, the IMLPC (represented by Hinca Panjaitan) and local broadcasters, exposed a dangerous conflict of understanding between the KPI and East Java's KPID; the KPID disputed the KPI's claim that the national body would decide which media in the region would receive new licenses and which established media would have their licenses renewed. The KPID felt strongly that only they were in a position to make these decisions in their region, while the national KPI maintained that while the KPID would be able to make licensing recommendations, it would be the KPI that makes the final decisions. This was hotly debated, and highlighted the fact that the KPI had yet to effectively communicate with its regional counterparts on the division of responsibilities and authority between the national KPI and its regional counterparts. As more and more KPIDs are formed, this type of discussion must be held early on to avoid misunderstandings.

In Bali, 60 KPID, KPI, and local broadcasters and concerned citizens gathered on June 14 to hear Monica Auer discuss the workings of the CRTC as a starting point for a comparative discussion of the independence of the CRTC from Government (as compared to the KPI's apparent subordination to the Government of Indonesia), and moved on to a discussion of how Canada allocates radio frequencies, and more discussion on ways in which to ensure that local programming (outside of Jakarta) could be encouraged and protected in the Broadcast Law's regulations.

In her final report, Auer observed that the regulations drafted by the national KPI left much to be desired. She identified several conflicting principles in the Guidelines, including a conflict where the KPI both ensured the independence of the media and yet stated that media must work to strengthen national integrity and religious faith. You can't keep the media free *and* force it to meet national and religious aims, she said.

Auer foresaw major problems regarding the independence of the KPI itself, a body that was intended to be completely independent of Government influence. According to the Broadcast Law, Auer reported, the Government of Indonesia, and not the KPI, will actually control and regulate the nation's broadcasters, quoting the Law when it states that "licenses....will be granted by the State through the KPI." The State also controls spectrum allocation, Auer said, and has final say on which broadcasters get licenses. The KPI simply gives recommendations on these matters, but the Government decides. She decried the inclusion of criminal sanctions in the Broadcast Law, and was alarmed that the power to impose such sanctions rests not with the KPI,

but with civilian state officials. In her opinion, the draft regulations read like they were not drafted by the KPI Board, but by the Government. Her words prophesied the power struggle that was to come in July, when the Government wrestled control of broadcast regulation out of the KPI's hands in a controversial Constitutional Court decision, and then proceeded to write its own set of broadcast regulations for the KPI to enforce.

Auer also was concerned that KPI commissioner terms are shorter than the length of a television station license, meaning that a station's owners never have to face the same KPI twice – this puts the KPI at a disadvantage as they lose corporate memory of a station's conduct. There is no appeals mechanism for broadcasters who are denied a license or are charged with a violation of the Law – Auer wondered if there were other laws that covered such appeals processes, and if so, why they were not referred to in the Broadcast Law.

Another potential area of conflict, according to Auer, is over jurisdiction between the national KPI and the regional bodies. The relationship between the KPI and the KPIDs is not clearly defined in the Law, she wrote, even though the Law suggests that the KPI has authority over the KPIDs. This will lead to conflict, Auer warned, just like we saw during the session at which she took part in Surabaya. The KPIDs will challenge the KPI's right to set program and licensing standards, she wrote, and nowhere does the Broadcast Law specify the responsibilities of the KPIDs.

Regarding regulations on the ownership of media, Auer felt the language in the Law and Regulations was dangerously vague. The Law states that the concentration of media ownership is discouraged, and 'limited', but nowhere is it made clear what is meant by these terms. Since criminal charges could apply to media concentration violations, this could be problematic. It is also unclear who will enforce the criminal penalties; Auer wondered if the Broadcast Law is subject only to Constitutional Law or is it subject also to other subordinate legislation.

Auer concluded that the whole time frame for implementation of the Broadcast Law was unrealistic. For instance, all radio broadcasters were to fall into line with the legislation within five months of her consultation (by the end of 2004). She wondered how this was possible, considering the fact that the KPIDs were far from established across the country and that there was still little awareness among the broadcasters of what the new regulations were. She foresaw great conflicts between the KPI and all of the regional KPIDs over division of authority. She felt the national KPI staff of 20 was woefully inadequate to the huge task it had set for itself (the CRTC has a staff of 600 to fulfill a significantly more modest workload). She felt the Government's direct involvement in licensing and the imposition of sanctions would jeopardize the independence and therefore the legitimacy of the KPI (it should be noted that Auer wrote her report before Kominfo launched its campaign to supersede the KPI – no doubt Auer would be even more concerned in light of the Government's successful maneuvers for control of broadcast legislation).

Auer warned of a difficult transition period to come, and urged that the dialogue among broadcasters, KPI and KPIDs not only be continued, but stepped up and expanded.

## PROJECT MONITORING AND EVALUATION

### Project Monitoring Routine

It was paramount for the long-term effectiveness of the Internews election-related programs that accurate stock be taken of the impact and lessons learned from each course and activity. Internews therefore incorporated program monitoring at every step of the way.

- Each training course was preceded by on-site research into local conditions and media practices. This gave the trainers a clear picture of the more relevant dynamics for the group and helped them to better target course activities and quickly encourage strong working relationships between participants.
- During the course itself, daily feedback was gathered and used by the trainers to make immediate adjustments to further target and enrich the course.
- Immediately following training, the trainers made a complete report on the course and the performance of each participant. This included an assessment of their potential as future local trainers or local resource persons.
- Information was also gathered from participants and Internews local contacts regarding both the course and local conditions in general. Methods for gathering this information included focus groups, interviews with training alumni and additional on-site research.

Closely monitoring program activities during an election program is particularly important as all activities are so time-sensitive that adjustments to improve implementation must be made swiftly and accurately to ensure the maximum overall impact of each activity.

### Impact Assessment Study

Furthermore, after discussions with the Democracy and Governance division of USAID, Internews agreed to design and undertake a study that would produce clear indicators of the effectiveness of the *An Informed Choice* project. As a result, Internews created a methodology for evaluating the effectiveness specifically of Internews Indonesia's Radio Training and Production during the Cooperative Agreement.

The main goals for the broadcast components of the project were:

- To enhance the professionalism of regional and local radio and television stations in providing Indonesian citizens with the news and information they needed to become better informed voters, while fulfilling their role as public "watchdogs" over the process;

- To increase the quality and quantity of election-related programs available to assist the Indonesian public in making informed choices during the elections; and
- To ensure that media-related election laws and regulations were understood by local media outlets and government officials, so that these media could continue to inform Indonesian citizens throughout the election process.

The limitations Internews faced in attempting to measure the impact of this project were significant. They included:

- ✓ No media monitoring and evaluation budget
- ✓ Poor or no audience surveying in radio industry
- ✓ High number of radio stations spread throughout 3,000 km stretch of islands
- ✓ Television training component is very small, does not allow for meaningful impact assessment

### **Contact Opportunities**

*An Informed Choice* provided several face-to-face contact opportunities with Internews partner radio stations:

- 3 Elections training seminars (2 beginner, 1 advanced for managers)
- 39 In House Trainings for 39 stations (by local trainers, accompanied by international trainers for 4 of them).
- 2 presenter (talk show) trainings
- Monitoring and Evaluation trips by Chief of Party

The strategy we adopted took all of these factors into account. We decided, at the outset, that the television component of this project (which consisted of two seminars and a documentary production competition), was too small to fit into this schema. All regular M&E methods, such as trainer and trainee evaluations, were applied to the television trainings.

## **Strategy**

The focus of the Impact Assessment strategy was a select group of radio stations with which we had the most contact during the period of the project. These eight stations were considered to be senior Internews training partners, and as such they were suitable subjects for the study, as we hoped to gauge how these stations changed over the years as a result of our contact with them. These stations sent their managers to Internews' Advanced Election Coverage seminar in September 2003; since these were the people who would then decide how their stations would operate during the upcoming election campaigns, it seemed fitting to study their progress as a result of our training programs. Several of these stations also sent staff to Internews' Presenter training in January 2004, and most are Production partners, meaning they received Internews' weekly features on environment, health, and the 2004 elections. All of these stations would also receive In-house Training (where our staff trainers spend one week in an intensive skills and election knowledge training course), to be scheduled soon after the first round of the Presidential Elections of July 2004. Internews Chief of Party Wayne Sharpe visited each of these stations during the official campaign period of the 2004 legislative elections to conduct the study.

The Performance Monitoring structure and schedule was:

- September 03: Advanced Elections Training Seminar for senior Internews training partner stations (expectations of managers recorded prior to course)
- January 04: Radio Presenter training for participants from radios throughout Indonesia (including several study focus stations)
- March 04: Internews Chief of Party visits each focus station during election campaign to gather data, observe operation, interview staff and listeners
- March 04: Radio specific questions included in IFES tracking surveys to indicate citizens' reliance on radio for election information
- April 04: Interim Performance Monitoring draft report submitted to USAID
- May 04: Critique session and report on election programming gathered from focus radio stations during the official campaign period
- June 04: Second round of Radio specific questions included in IFES tracking surveys to indicate citizens' reliance on radio for election information
- July 04: In-House Trainings at each focus station (combined with data collection on station performance during Presidential elections)
- November 04: Final Performance Monitoring report submitted

### **Baseline Data Collection**

For comparison purposes, at the outset of the Project, Internews collected baseline data from each focus radio station. By doing this, we were able to determine what kinds of elections programming and preparation had been done at the stations before our elections coverage training began; this allowed us to measure change and improvements at the stations as our training program progressed.

Also, in advance of the Advanced Elections Training Seminar, we surveyed the station managers participating in the seminar, to determine their needs and expectations from the Internews project, to allow us to follow up with them after the trainings to judge their satisfaction with the Internews program.

Armed with this data, Internews' Chief of Party, Wayne Sharpe, made monitoring and evaluation visits to each subject station during the official campaign period for the April 5 Legislative Elections. Sharpe observed the stations' news teams in action, and interviewed key station personnel and station listeners to gauge the quality and absorption rate of their elections coverage. He was also able during these visits to compare the stations' election coverage plans prior to Internews' involvement, with the actual campaign coverage, inspired by Internews' many interactions with the stations.

### **Prosalina FM, Jember**

The following excerpt of the Impact Assessment Study describes the Chief of Party's assessment of Prosalina FM radio in Jember, East Java, and this station's coverage of the April 5 Legislative Elections:

#### **Station Background**

Prosalina is an information and music station catering to the lower and lower-middle class market; their mix of Dangdut and hard news challenges the adage that less educated people don't want to know what is going on in their community and beyond

#### **Manager's Expectations of the Advanced Seminar:**

Hasto, Prosalina's station manager, attended Internews' Advanced Election Coverage seminar. In his questionnaire answers about what he hoped to get out of the advanced seminar, Hasto kept it short and sweet: "New knowledge in facing the Election and the implementation in radio." He was not disappointed.

He responded to the training session on codes of conduct for elections by drafting one for his own station. He adopted some of the new ideas put forward in the marketing module of the Seminar, but told us that the situation in Jember turned out to be different from what he expected. He had imagined that radio would be the natural place for parties to turn for their campaign advertising, but only 3 parties bought time on Prosalina, despite a concerted lobby by PRSSNI for more party ads. There was a similar lack of interest in the KPI-regulated 5 minutes of free party time.

Hasto took the election coverage strategy to heart and made it his own back at the station. It was the Advanced Seminar that prompted Hasto to broaden his coverage by bringing in more reporters; it was due to the planning sessions that he made a point of obtaining the KPU schedule of deadlines and activities, and the Seminar convinced him that balance was not easy to achieve in a 24-party election, but essential nonetheless. Covering the active parties was easy, he said, particularly in Jember where the KPU was vigilant about cracking down on parties that did not obey the campaign schedule (the KPU had stopped a PAN rally dead in its tracks the previous week for gathering without authorization, and the PKPB, undeterred by schedule restrictions, held a rally in an illegal location on a day they were not on the campaign list). Hasto demonstrated his determination to be fair across the board in his election coverage at the morning story meeting we attended; at the meeting one reporter remarked that the small parties did not warrant their attention, and Hasto countered that in fact these parties must be covered even if it means extra work for the team.

Hasto and his news manager, Honest, held sessions with the news staff to share the election procedures data provided by CETRO and Internews trainers during the Seminar. Much of this information the station turned into PSAs and announcer messages – PSAs were another new idea for Hasto.

For Hasto, the problem with planning, for election coverage and in general, is that there is so little time in daily radio to set aside for short and long-term planning. This unfortunate fact of the industry, coupled with the KPU and KPI's lethargy in getting decisions made and out to the industry, hampered his ability to make a whole station strategy for the campaign. This seemed like harsh self-criticism to us, since what we witnessed at Proselina was a far reaching system to cover not only the city of Jember, but the surrounding districts as well – an ambitious and laudable strategy.

### ***Programming:***

At the morning story meeting, a busy day of campaign coverage was gearing up. There was word of a problem with phony voter registration cards, word of a large number of spoiled ballots in Jember, and the KPU and KPUD had to be interviewed for comment on these matters. Golkar and PDIP supporters had been stealing each others' flags and banners, a Panwaslu no-no, and several parties were holding rallies this day (PKB, PBB, Golkar, PDIP and BPP) and the news team was aware that tensions between some of these parties held the potential for conflict.

A rare but welcome sight was seen in the Proselina story meeting – reporters were contributing their *own* ideas to the story meeting. This countered the predominantly top-down approach of most of the newsrooms we visited. One reporter wanted to follow the story of a dispute over the rates the KPU was willing to pay people to fold the ballots, while another reporter told of the unusually high number of unregistered voters in his neighbourhood and wondered how widespread this condition was. It was refreshing to see reporters using their own initiative, honing their news radar rather than depending on the managers to dictate what the news should be. (NOTE: Eric, Internews trainer and my interpreter for this station visit, shared with the crew the news that in *KOMPAS* that day it was reported that the KPU had raised the pay for ballot folders to what they had asked for (20 Rupiah per ballot).

We followed reporter Daoud to the KPU offices to cover the voter registration card and spoiled ballot stories. At KPU, we noticed a lot of familiar faces moving about, only to realize that Proselina staff was swarming the KPU/Panwaslu offices on this day. In fact, one of the Proselina staff, the news editor Honest, was actually a member of Panwaslu – because journalists are seen, by and large, to be independent, they are recruited to join bodies like the KPU and Panwaslu – the most energetic and thorough campaign activity watchdog on the KPU was a Jember print journalist). Other Proselina reporters were following other stories with the KPU, confirming rally locations, etc., but it was impressive to see so many Proselina people working the elections beat.

As we learned later, it went even further than that; Evi, the presenter who joined Internews January Presenter training, interviewed the regional head of the KPU that morning on her talk show. She asked him about the raise in the pay for ballot folders, and the KPU head said he had not heard anything about that.

Daoud interviewed a KPU member about the spoiled ballots issue and learned that there was a large reserve of good ballots. We then followed a KPU/Panwaslu team as they raced to meet a PKS party demonstration down the main street of Jember. The PKS had a permit to protest the recent killing of the Hamas leader by Israeli forces; what they did not have was a permit to campaign for their party, and PKS banners and flags were on prominent display in the parade. The KPU did not shut down the demonstration/rally; but we followed the KPU team to their next appointment, a warehouse where a truckload of DPD ballots had just arrived from Jakarta for unloading, and while someone looked for the key to the warehouse, the KPU/Panwaslu team had a long debate about how to sanction the PKS for their display.

While at this site, Daoud phoned in to the station to do a live-to-air report on the spoiled ballot situation, and said that he was at the warehouse where a huge shipment of DPD ballots had just arrived, and he planned to watch as the KPU inspected these ballots for damage or errors. From here we raced back to KPU where Daoud had hoped to interview the KPU chief (who had earlier appeared live on Proselina) in hopes of getting his comment on the PKS demo/rally. He was not in the office.

Later in the day we intercepted a PKB rally, again an illegal motorcade winding through the city, and Daoud phoned in a live report on our way back to the station, but committed a cardinal sin for a reporter – his phone battery died halfway through his report. In general, I found only one instance where a reporter tested his recording equipment before going out to the field, and I did not witness one sound check in an interview situation. Working without a fully-charged phone is simply a more blatant example of the general lack of professional care exhibited by the journalists I shadowed, and proves that preparation and equipment testing are lessons often taught but seldom learned.

Back at the station, an embarrassed Daoud set to work packaging stories about the PAN rally censure, a voter registration card the KPU showed to him naming the owner as “Orang Gila”, and repurposing his ballot and PKS stories for the 9 pm nightly Election round-up program. Daoud’s average workday is 12 to 14 hours – there is no question about commitment at Proselina, or any of the stations in this study.

Daoud's output combined with the work of the other 7 reporters and 10 stringers adds up to a very impressive day of election coverage. We do see some place for further coordinating the efforts of all of these reporters – were so many Proselina people needed at the KPU in the morning, and did they know that the KPU chief would be on the air while they were at the KPU headquarters? Perhaps the talkshow host could have asked the questions they wanted KPU to answer, instead of having three or more people clamoring for a personal interview.

When the KPU chief claimed to have no knowledge of the settlement to the ballot folding dispute, I would have liked the news staff to try to confirm the *KOMPAS* report mentioned to them by our trainer, by calling KPU in Jakarta or *KOMPAS*, or at least visiting the KPU website to locate the media release. No effort was made to follow through on the confusion between national and regional KPU, which in itself was a very good story.

All in all, though, an impressive news day.

For her part, Evi, the talkshow host/reporter who attended the Presenter training in January, said she learned how to prepare an interactive dialogue, how to contact resource people (guests), how to prepare questions for her interviews, the proper job descriptions of the producer, host and gatekeeper (Proselina does not use gatekeepers, which concerns Evi- even though she reads the rules of the show before each program, she did recently have a caller come on the line to shout "Vote for PKI and everything will be O.K.!"). She learned how to handle guests better, how to build self-control, and how never to be afraid to ask any question of anyone. In a nation known for its reverence of authority, this is the hardest skill of all to learn.

**Features:**

Proselina is a big fan of the Internews features. They say the stories follow high journalistic standards, are balanced and clear. Hasto told us that once his announcer was concerned about the content of an elections feature that focused on the state of Indonesia's Islamist parties, feeling it would incite hostility. Hasto listened carefully to the piece, and concluded that the piece was well-balanced and that there was no reason for anyone to be critical of it, and put it to air. Proselina would like to make their own features, and requested training in this.

**Listener Survey:**

We arrived in Jember just in time to witness an impressive gathering of Proselina listeners at a local restaurant. Around fifty people from Jember and surrounding sub-districts had answered a call by Proselina FM to help them cover the 2004 elections. Proselina has a fulltime, permanent crew of 7 reporters, and brought on 10 more stringers for the campaign, but wanted to make sure that nothing of consequence was missed. Proselina's plan was to involve the citizens in calling the station if they heard of anything of note that the station's reporters could follow up. This group of 50 would really come into play on April 5 and throughout the vote counting process.

Radio is such a community force in Jember, there is even a Proselina radio listeners club. This club comments on programming, on air and off, and takes an active role in the radio. The owners of Proselina encourage this listener participation – they organized this election coverage meeting and were conducting an orientation for the volunteers when we arrived.

We conducted interviews with 5 Proselina listeners. Yuni has listened for the past 5 years and says Proselina is the voice of the people – it is down to Earth and the news is accurate.

Ayun, a listener for 8 years, says Proselina covers the local news where other local stations tend to read national and international stories ripped from the papers, and ignore the local scene. Lukman, a 7 year fan and founder of the local radio listeners group, says Pros is the only station that watchdogs the local government's progress, and that its news is "actual, sharp, and trustworthy."

Chairul says Pros encourages everyday people to speak out about their problems, and Martono likes it that the station management is responsive to listeners' suggestions for changes, new programs, stories, etc.

Regarding the election coverage at Pros, Yuni appreciates the efforts Proselina makes to balance its reports. For example, in a recent story about the PPP violating the election rules, Pros made a point of contacting the head of the party for official reaction to the charges. Ayun says the election programming is incorporated into the regular news cycle and always comes from reporters in the field as opposed to boring script reads – and they use sound grabs constantly, which is more exciting for the listener.

Lukman said the station's voter education programming was helpful, and the talkshow featured several election observer and management groups that were informative and entertaining. He added that other stations are copying the Pros talkshow format. Chairul said that the main difference between radio coverage of this election over that of the 1999 election is that this time, the listener is learning, through the radio (phone-in shows, PSAs, interviews), how to make good choices on Election Day. In 1999 they heard nothing of substance about the parties or candidates, but this time it was different.

Martono said that Pros served its listeners well throughout the entire elections process, from the voter registration process, KPU progress, pre-campaign and campaign, and he appreciated Pros.' continuous pleas for a peaceful election.

Yuni says the greatest improvement he has heard on the air is the increase in information programming. It now starts at 5:30 am. He also said he enjoys the Internews feature service of items on health, environment, and current affairs (elections in 03/04). Ayun says the station is much more interactive than it used to be – she hears many more voices from the community on the air than she did a few years ago.

Chairul has noticed that Proselina stays with stories, especially the unsolved problems in their society that demand continuous examination. Martono observed that back in 1996, Proselina was a station that tried to calm people by playing nice music. Now, it is a station that makes people listen to each other, and think about what they have to say.

## **Impact Assessment Study Conclusions**

The Impact Assessment study provides a comprehensive indication of cause and effect, or how Internews training was transformed into increased and improved election programming that benefited Indonesia's citizens as they exercised their rights on Election Day.

Internews did not intend the Impact Assessment study to be viewed as an assessment of Internews' overall election training and awareness programming; *An Informed Choice* was a large and multi-faceted media development program that also included television training and video documentary production, book publication (in partnership with the Alliance of Independent Journalists), assistance to the nation's new broadcast regulatory body, the Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia (KPI), and support to the Jaringan Radio Pemantau Pemilu (JRPP) to conduct their own series of election coverage training seminars for radio personnel.

Based upon the data collected between August 2003 and August 2004, indications are strong that Internews' election coverage training had a profound effect upon the type and quality of our partner stations' information programming. Internews training prompted radio stations to plan extensive and in-depth election news and voter education programming in many different forms, including PSAs, talkshows, live on-the-scene reports, party profiles, and election news round-ups. Listeners to these focus stations relied upon these stations for their local and regional news, and relied upon these stations not only for news of the election campaign, but also for news about election preparations, policies, and the basic details about how to vote, where to vote, and when to vote. Internews weekly radio features are well respected, but as these stations mature, their desire to rely less and less on national programming from Jakarta increases, in response to audience demand for local content. All stations, however, wish Internews to continue to help them to capably serve their audiences with professional and engaging information. The IFES survey data confirmed that radio plays a major role in informing citizens about elections in Indonesia.

It is of paramount importance that the information people receive from radio is timely, accurate, balanced, and engaging. These were the goals of *An Informed Choice*. The data collected during the conduct of this Impact Assessment study indicated clearly that the Internews goals were met.

## **OTHER ACTIVITIES DURING THE COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT PERIOD**

### **Menteng Pangkalan**

Since October 2002, the Radio Production Unit has assisted Common Ground Indonesia to produce their weekly conflict resolution radio drama titled “Menteng Pangkalan”. Internews teams are deeply involved in the production process from recording, mixing, editing, duplication and distribution. During this grant period CGI used Internews facilities to produce and distribute 324 episodes to 36 Internews radio partners and 115 68H partners.

### **Radio Jurnal Perempuan**

Internews has been assisting Radio Jurnal Perempuan by doing the post production of their radio programs, such as mixing, mastering and duplicating the radio programs onto CD, since August 2003 to October 2004. Radio Jurnal Perempuan is responsible for the program material, tapes and CDs, as well as for distribution to their network of radio partners.

### **Multi-Media Training**

Internews held Multi-Media Training for the Save the Children, UK field staff in June 2004 and November 2004; this included training in Digital Camera operation, Computer Publication Layout operation, and Video Camera use. The training was attended by 23 field staff of SCUK from Ambon, Kupang and Kalimantan.

### **Project INFORM – An Environmental Radio Program**

Internews received support from Project INFORM, a consortium of environmental NGOs led by Conservation International from August 1, 2003 to March 31, 2004. Under the Project INFORM grant, Internews produced 45 weekly environmental radio programs, 4 PSAs and 1 in-depth radio program (dealing with Election candidates’ Green Platforms), distributed to 154 partner stations of Internews.

## CONCLUSIONS OF AN INFORMED CHOICE

The April Legislative Elections were a pleasant surprise to all who strived to ensure they were free, fair, and peaceful. Political parties, for the most part, did not partake in inciting crowds to violence, and the administrative glitches, while important, were understandable considering Indonesia was holding the biggest and most complex single-day elections ever held anywhere in the world.

According to the editors of the *Van Zorge Report on Indonesia*, the results clearly showed that the public knew who the major players were, and went to the polls intent on making their dissatisfaction with government known. The editors point out the irony that the party that probably spent the most money on the vote, GOLKAR, gained the least in the April 5 campaign.

“There seemed to be genuine desire to seek ‘cleaner’ options, and to be liberated from the grime of political power,” Van Zorge’s editors wrote in April 2004. “It is encouraging to see voters seriously take into consideration the performance of the government over the past five years. ....It is even more encouraging to find that hard work and advocacy at the grassroots level are still the hallmarks for electoral success.”

Writing about the Presidential Elections of July 5 and September 20 2004, Indonesia historian Theodore Friend was greatly impressed that Indonesia, in holding the largest direct, one-day presidential election in history, produced a voting public (141 million votes cast) that was 25 per cent larger than in the United States, even though Indonesia has a population just 75 % that of the U.S.

“This was not only a decisive election, but also a free, fair, and peaceful one,” Friend wrote in October 2004. “Indonesian post-electoral bliss is all the more astounding given the short time – six years – since Suharto was overthrown. Recently the parliament amended the constitution to open presidential elections directly to the people. *Wide* open. A very narrow margin might in the future give rise to tension, bitterness, or worse. But for the present, Indonesia is moving smoothly into the ranks of large democratic nations; and is doing so with a system more direct than the Americans.”

The electorate, it would appear, was fairly well informed by Voting Day. Spoiled ballot totals were higher than was hoped, and yet the results show that issues triumphed over money and cronyism. The media played two key roles in the success of the 2004 elections; informing the electorate about the intricacies of an elaborate voting system, and informing the electorate about what the candidates stood for in their bids to represent them in Government. If it was solely the amount of media coverage that determined the winner in such a contest, then the rich parties would have won hands down. But they did not win; at the legislative level their power suffered serious erosion, and at the Presidential level, a “dark horse” took a shocking 61 per cent of the vote.

If quantity of media coverage did not make the difference, it could be argued that quality of media coverage did. In Internews' Monitoring and Evaluation and Impact Assessment research of *An Informed Choice*, the results were clear; the journalists grasped the meaning of their role in this democratic test, and the need to accurately inform their audiences of the great opportunity, and responsibility, inherent in free and fair elections.

This report attempts to summarize an ambitious project designed to work with the media in their efforts to reflect the political processes of the largest single day election and largest direct one-day presidential elections in history. The results, of the elections, and of *An Informed Choice: Building Media Professionalism for the 2004 Elections in Indonesia*, were gratifying for all who worked so hard to play a part in the continuing path to democracy for Indonesia.

## ENCLOSURES

The enclosed audio-visual, audio, and print samples were chosen to accompany this written report in providing a complete view of the Internews *An Informed Choice* project. They are:

**1. Documenting the Vote: Indonesian Filmmakers and the 2004 Elections**

This DVD contains the four Elections Documentary Films produced under Objective 2: Enhanced Professionalism in Television Elections Coverage (with English subtitles)

**2. Elections Seminar with Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO)**

In February 2004, Internews requested assistance from CETRO to inform the participants of the *Seminars on Managing Election Coverage in Local TV Stations* (Objective 2) about the procedures and intricacies of the 2004 Elections. Internews taped Smita Notosusanto's presentation and distributed it to TV and radio stations throughout Indonesia so that many more journalists could benefit from this seminar.

**3. NDI-Internews Media Relations Training promotional film**

The idea of this short film was to distribute it to all DPR members to encourage them to attend the *Media Relations Training for Parties and Candidates: Collaboration with the National Democratic Institute* (Objective 3: Collaborative Programs to Enhance Election Related Communications). Internews taped the NDI-Internews sessions, and included testimonials from the trainees who felt better informed and ready to share information with the media after attending the training. (with English subtitles)

**4. Reporter's Guidebook to the Elections with AJI and CETRO**

This book was designed to provide journalists across the country with the complete information on the new election system - its weaknesses and strengths; the voting process; potential election infringements; other countries' election experiences; and tips and tricks for the journalists to use to expand their coverage of election issues. (Objective 3)

**5. Samples of the *Suara Bangsaku* radio features**

The Radio Production Unit dedicated its current affairs radio feature program, *Suara Bangsaku*, wholly to cover issues related to the 2004 Elections. Here are four samples of the feature program. (Objective 3)

**6. Radio Presenter Training for Moderators of Live and Interactive Election Programs - Sample Final Assignments**

In these training seminars, the trainees were required to produce mock live Elections radio programs complete with studio guests, listener phone-ins, and PSAs. These productions constituted the "final exam" for the journalists. Here are four sample programs made by the trainees. (Objective 1)