

**UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
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Covering the Period May 1 - October 31, 2001**

**INDONESIA: POLITICAL PARTY DEVELOPMENT &
ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE**

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I. SUMMARY

The past six months were marked by exciting and turbulent times for both Indonesia and IRI in-country programs. With President Wahid's removal and replacement by Vice-President Megawati Sukarnoputri, some degree of political uncertainty ended in Indonesia. President Megawati's first 100 days in office were characterized by relative calm in much of the country, although concrete actions and reforms by her government were tentative and few.

The political unrest of the early summer months forced the cancellation of three IRI seminars scheduled for Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Padang. Yet, despite those cancellations and the chaotic political situation in-country, IRI executed over a dozen party and governance seminars. During this reporting period, IRI focused on training programs for youth and women. The first three conferences in a series of Youth in Politics trainings took place, while a series of Women in Politics trainings, which began in the last reporting period, were completed in all program provinces. In addition, IRI released the results of a public opinion poll conducted in Yogyakarta in April and conducted and released the findings of two other polls, looking at public perception of political parties and office holders, in West Sumatra and Bali.

IRI also conducted its first conference for Acehese legislators during this period. The goal of this conference was to assist the legislators with the implementation of their special autonomy law granted by Indonesia's parliament. It is their hope that this law will eventually resolve the war with separatists in the region.

II. BACKGROUND

IRI's experience in Indonesia has uniquely positioned the Institute to effectively work with Indonesia's political parties and legislatures to build the skills and institutions to address reform and the democratic transition. IRI began working in Indonesia in 1996 on a program funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), in support of small- and medium-sized enterprises. Once student protests brought down President Suharto in May 1998, IRI was able to begin working directly with Indonesia's reformers and fledgling political parties -- an impossibility under the Suharto regime. IRI established a permanent office in Jakarta in October 1998 which served as a major resource for Indonesia's political parties as they prepared for the important June 1999 elections.

In the year leading to elections, IRI focused on two major training initiatives: campaign training and party poll watcher training. In campaign training, IRI focused on six provinces across Indonesia: North Sumatra, DKI Yogyakarta, East Java, South Kalimantan, Bali and South Sulawesi. Poll watcher training gave IRI the opportunity to work with activists from all 27 of Indonesia's provinces and many regency-level activists as well. Through its work, IRI has become a trusted resource for Indonesia's political parties, not only at the national level, but in the provinces as well.

During the Fall of 1999, newly elected provincial legislators faced a number of immediate challenges, including: selecting provincial representatives to the MPR, choosing leaders in local legislatures and establishing internal procedures. At the earliest possible opportunity, IRI initiated its governance training program in an effort to assist provincial legislators through this period. In November and December, IRI conducted initial training sessions for three provincial legislatures -- East Java, South Sulawesi and South Kalimantan -- with the assistance of expert volunteer trainers from the United States. The sessions focused on the roles of legislatures and individual legislators in democratic society, particularly the areas of constituent relations and relations between the executive and legislative branches of government. In South Kalimantan, IRI also had the opportunity to provide training to the parliaments of two regencies. These training sessions were well-received by local legislators and IRI received requests for additional, more specialized training from these provinces. In addition, IRI fielded requests from several other provinces to provide this same introductory training for provincial legislatures and conducted several assessment trips to prepare for implementation. IRI has also had close contact with DPR leadership and newly-elected members through media discussions, survey research, and one-on-one consultations.

The strength of IRI's programming since October 1999 has been to focus attention and resources on two primary objectives, namely governance and political party development (primarily at the provincial and local levels). IRI has a long-term commitment to continue working in Indonesia, with this stated focus, while providing increasingly greater depth of programming in our target provinces. The benefit of the overlap of these two complimentary programs has been expressed to IRI staff by newly-elected legislators at national, provincial, and local levels, many of whom are also political party officials.

III. PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Governance Program

IRI sponsored seven governance programs during this period, with topics including the legislative process, legislative drafting, special autonomy and education. Programs were held in Banjarmasin, Surabaya, Denpasar and Jakarta (for Aceh).

The first governance seminar during this period was a legislative process seminar held during the second week of June. Doreen Williams, IRI's resident program officer for governance, conducted a seminar for Banjarbaru in South Kalimantan for local legislators and executive staff.

While three governance seminars were scheduled in Padang during the week of June 25, they were cancelled due to political tensions at the time. Instead, a two-day governance seminar focusing on the legislative process was conducted for National Awakening Party (PKB) elected officials from East Java at the provincial and kabupaten level in Surabaya, June 27 and 28 respectively, and for elected officials in Denpasar June 29. The primary trainer was Majority Leader of the Virginia House of Delegates, Morgan Griffith. Mr. Griffith drew from his experience as a seasoned Virginia state representative to explain the legislative process to both groups, and prepared written guidelines detailing the importance of Virginia's citizen legislature, the role and responsibilities of a member's staff and the bill drafting process. These guidelines and interaction with the trainer proved extremely valuable to the attendees, providing them with advice on how to internally structure their legislatures to make the legislative process more efficient.

Governance training, focusing on legislative drafting, took place in Bali for members of the Badung Regency legislature on August 23 and 24. The training was attended by approximately 35 local elected officials, including the Speaker of the DPRD Badung. The first day focused on the legislative process and the process of drafting a bill, and the second day was a workshop during which attendees drafted bills which were thereafter reviewed in front of the entire seminar group. IRI's Doreen Williams and an Indonesian legal scholar conducted the seminar training.

Much of August was spent coordinating a legislative study trip for six female DPR members. The legislative tour was designed to give Indonesia's legislators a better idea of the inner workings of the U.S. democratic system as seen through the U.S. Congress and how it interacts with the other branches of government. In addition, the DPR members were to have met with American women legislators of both political parties. Due to the terrorist attacks of September 11, the study trip was postponed indefinitely. IRI hopes to reschedule the program for 2002.

IRI sponsored a conference for Aceh Province during this period, focusing on special autonomy and direct elections. The conference held September 28 - 30 in Jakarta, drew approximately 33 attendees from the national and local legislatures as well as the academic and NGO community from Aceh.

Throughout the aforementioned period, IRI worked on a legislative directory for the South Kalimantan DPRD which is currently being distributed.

Political Party Development Program

IRI held a total of ten political party training seminars this period. IRI conducted four Women in Politics seminars (bringing to a completion women's training in all seven program provinces), three youth conferences, two coalition building workshops and a seminar on party structure. Despite several cancellations due to provincial unrest, IRI managed to reconfigure its training agenda so that seminars could still be conducted in each of the Institute's seven training provinces (Bali, Central Java, East Java, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, North Sumatra, and West Sumatra).

In early May, IRI conducted two Women in Politics training seminars, in Surabaya and Yogyakarta respectively. Linda Lingle, chairman of the Hawaii Republican Party and former mayor of Maui served as IRI's volunteer trainer for both of these missions. Ms. Lingle discussed women's participation in politics in the United States, including achievements and the impact women have made in the political arena, recruitment strategies and political support organizations for women in the United States. Indonesian trainer Lena Mariana, an activist in the United Development Party (PPP) of Vice-President Hamzah Haz, augmented Lingle's comments with discussion on how women in Indonesia could influence their political party agenda, outlining the challenges and opportunities facing women in Indonesia. A question and answer period permitted both trainers to address individual concerns from the women in attendance. Each seminar was well attended and well received by participants. The Yogyakarta seminar had 39 attendees and the Surabaya seminar attracted 34 attendees.

At the end of May, IRI held a Youth Conference in Yogyakarta. This was the first such program held by IRI in Indonesia. In many of the Institute's program cities in Indonesia, youth affiliated with political parties have reputations for aggression and violence. However, this was not IRI's experience with this first youth conference. One American and two Eastern European volunteers with extensive youth political experience traveled to Indonesia to serve as IRI's trainers for this mission. While all three trainers received high marks, the two female Eastern European trainers were especially well suited to teaching in Indonesia, where similar circumstances and political environments provided a common frame of reference to the seminar attendees. The two-day, multiparty conference covered issues such as youth involvement in advocacy, perception of political youth by the public and media, issue identification, message development and communicating with elected officials. The conference was well attended, drawing 88 attendees from seven major political parties.

In June, Ms. S. Oyun, a distinguished Member of the Mongolian Parliament, traveled to Indonesia to conduct political party development seminars for IRI in Yogyakarta and Surabaya. As the founding member of the democratic Citizen's Will Party in Mongolia, Oyun's experience in party development and coalition building in a transitional society made her well suited for this training. Each seminar was attended by 30 delegates from seven parties.

From July 9 - 13, IRI sponsored two Women in Politics training seminars in Makassar and Denpasar. Both seminars were conducted by Lt. Governor Olene Walker of Utah. As the first female lieutenant governor in her state, a former three-term state representative, and proud grandmother of 25, Lieutenant Governor Walker's background as a trail blazing female politician and family woman made her an excellent trainer in socially conservative Indonesia. During the seminars, Lt. Governor Walker discussed the many challenges she faced as a woman in politics in the United States., and fielded questions in both seminars on ways to balance a family and political career. In addition, she discussed ways in which female lawmakers can make an impact on policy, as well as discussing fund-raising and message development. Both seminars had more than 30 women in attendance. At the conclusion of the seminar, attendees from the National Mandate Party (PAN) requested

assistance drafting a work plan to recruit and train women candidates for the 2004 elections. IRI staff in Jakarta worked on the follow up to this request.

Lieutenant Governor Walker conducted a third training in Banjarmasin on the topic of political communication for the South Kalimantan leadership of PAN. She drew upon her experience in Republican Party platform work at the state and national levels during her discussion on communicating the party's platform. She showed how the Utah platform was downsized from a 15-page single-spaced document to a one page pamphlet for the voters. She also discussed working with elected officials and gave the attendees a list of "Do's & Don'ts" for working with elected officials, which staff translated into Bahasa Indonesia prior to the seminar. This list will be used in future IRI training in Indonesia. The training was attended by 35 of PAN's provincial party leadership.

IRI suspended training for several weeks in July while the political situation remained uncertain.

Following Megawati's ascendancy to the presidency, IRI began conducting party training seminars again. IRI's in-country staff conducted all training seminars in Indonesia from the end of July to late August.

IRI staff conducted a Women in Politics training seminar in Surabaya on August 15, as a follow up to earlier training. Women from five political parties and local NGOs attended, forming a "Women's Caucus" chapter in the province at the conclusion of training. The attendees were most concerned with local issues, the process of dealing with those issues, and how and whom to contact with questions/complaints.

IRI's resident program director, Tom Garrett, conducted multi-party training on party structure and organization in Medan, North Sumatra, on August 28. The program which examined coalitions and political party structure drew 47 attendees from eight political parties. As Indonesian democratic parties are often less democratic internally than their rhetoric and messages suggest, IRI's training focused on means of opening up party leadership to women and youth, as well as recruitment of new party members. Training in Medan analyzed the U.S. Republican and Democratic Parties' system of precinct meetings, selection of leaders from the grassroots upwards, and the U.S. Republican Party rule that chairman and co-chairman positions must balance by gender. The training also focused on coalition building.

After a month without any incidents, IRI decided the situation was safe enough for international trainers to travel to Indonesia. IRI recruited three youth trainers for a September Youth Conference in West Sumatra. The trainers for the conference were Czech national, David Ryc, and Americans Scott Stewart and Ryan Omer. Each trainer had substantial experience in youth politics. Stewart is chairman of America's largest youth political organization, the College Republicans, and Ryc is chairman of his country's Young Conservatives movement. Conference discussion topics ranged from perceptions of political youth and youth involvement in politics to advocacy, message

development and communicating with elected officials. The conference drew 56 attendees from six parties, including a number of women.

The events of September 11 grounded Scott Stewart and Ryan Orner in Singapore for almost a week on their way home to the United States. David Ryc made it safely back to Prague as scheduled. Another youth conference planned for September 14 was cancelled.

Due to the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, IRI suspended programming in Indonesia for much of September. On September 28, IRI's three expatriate staff members departed Jakarta due to security concerns and the IRI office in Jakarta was closed for several days while enhanced security measures were installed. The IRI office reopened on October 8.

IRI began training again in late October. A youth conference was held October 20 and 21 in Banjarmasin. IRI staff member Dicky Dooradi was joined by prominent political pundit Andi Mallarengang and political scientist Syamsin Haris as trainers. The program agenda was the same as in other youth conferences.

Electorate Analysis and Outreach

IRI's Yogyakarta survey was completed the week of May 14 and sent to U.S. trainer Paul Fallon, who had been in the country the previous month, for analysis. Though the quality control check indicated minor problems with a few of the 510 interviews, 500 provided accurate results, which were presented on June 13 to a gathering of political party leaders and legislators. The media was not allowed to attend the gathering or to receive the data distributed by IRI. IRI conducted a similar public opinion poll in Bali at the end of June, and poll results were presented to 36 legislators and political party leaders on July 31 in Denpasar. IRI later conducted a third poll in West Sumatra, results of which were released on September 10 to a gathering of political party leaders and local elected officials in Padang.

One of the most interesting poll findings was in Yogyakarta, on the island of Java. For more than a year, Islamic activists affiliated with various Muslim political parties have taken local administration of justice into their own hands, closing down, through force or violence, establishments they saw as objectionable to their religion, such as discos, pool halls and suspected brothels. This street justice escalated in the first half of 2001 and many Islamic parties felt they were operating with the tacit approval of the majority Muslim population of Yogyakarta. However, in a poll put into the field in Yogyakarta earlier this year, one of IRI's poll questions asked provincial residents, "Do you favor or oppose the actions known as street justice taken by certain groups of people that take the administration of justice into their own hands?" Seventy percent of the poll respondents opposed such behavior, while only 23.1 percent were in favor of it.

At IRI's presentation of poll data to a briefing of political party leaders and local elected officials, many representatives of the Islamic parties challenged this finding, clearly surprised at the large number of citizens opposed to street justice. They were unable to impeach the validity of IRI's poll

and, privately, some expressed their intention to rein in such actions by political party members. The second half of the year has seen a clear decrease in such street justice.

In June, American pollster Whit Ayres traveled to Indonesia for IRI to conduct a seminar entitled "The Uses and Applications of Public Opinion Polling" for political party leaders in West Sumatra and Bali. The attendees, mainly provincial party leaders, supported the value of polling but expressed dismay at its high cost. They were pleased to learn that IRI would be conducting a poll in the province and that the results would be made available on a nonpartisan basis. While in Indonesia, Mr. Ayres also helped IRI draft the questionnaire for both the Bali and West Sumatra surveys.

In June, IRI went to the field with its poll for Bali. In July, its findings were presented to DPRD members and political party leaders in Bali, and they will be incorporated into future training in the province, for both political parties and legislators.

In August, IRI conducted a province-wide poll in the socially conservative province of West Sumatra. IRI released the findings of the West Sumatra poll in September before 26 provincial party leaders. A question unique to this poll and the region concerned the so-called "Law on Social Pathology," which forbids women from being outside their home from 10:00 p.m. until 4:00 a.m. unless accompanied by a male member of their family. The apparent purpose of the law was to protect women from "predatory males." In West Sumatra, 38.9 percent of those polled "strongly agreed" with this law, while 45.8 percent "agreed" with it.

Another interesting finding in IRI polls is that voter bias in favor of male candidates and officeholders is strong, presenting obstacles for Indonesian women who wish to enter politics. This finding is true in most regions of the country, despite the existence of President Megawati as a would-be role model. IRI uses this and other data in training women political party activists who wish to be candidates in future elections.

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Governance

IRI's Governance program regained its momentum after a slow 2000. Coordinating seven programs this period, IRI's Resident Program Officer for Governance revived the program and demonstrated IRI's resolve to be of as much assistance as possible to the provincial governments as they take on their new budget and legislative responsibilities. This period saw an increase in training requests from provincial leaders, with legislative training remaining the most requested activity. IRI will do its best to fulfill all training requests. IRI believes that the increase in the training requests this period proves that provincial leaders trust IRI, believe the Institute's programs could positively benefit them, and feel comfortable working with the Institute's international staff.

A number of tragic events in-country and in the United States forced IRI to cancel four programs this period due to security matters and safety concerns. IRI plans to reschedule the canceled events early in the new year.

Lastly, throughout this period's training seminars and meetings with party leaders and legislators, IRI promoted the merits of adopting a national bicameral legislature. As of the close of this period, legislators indicated that there was a high probability that Indonesia would eventually adopt the bicameral model.

Political Party Development

This was a groundbreaking period for IRI Indonesia. IRI's Resident Program Director in Indonesia slightly altered the programs' focus from general political party training to include two political groups often overshadowed: women and youth.

IRI programs in all training regions had high participation rates and enthusiastic audiences in this period. In addition, the superb array of international expert trainers sent to Indonesia by the Institute's trainer office in Washington this period certainly strengthened the Institute's reputation with the Indonesian political parties.

Electoral Analysis and Outreach

IRI conducted two polls and presented three polls (one poll was put into the field last reporting period) to provincial leaders and regional party members this period. These polls have proven to be invaluable to both IRI and the regional political parties. The results of these polls have given IRI a clear idea of what the people in the polled region think of political parties and those areas in which they think political parties and their provincial leaders could use improvement. The polls stand to serve as a "report card" of sorts for provincial leaders by clearly illustrating both their achievements and shortcomings. Provincial leaders in all provinces polled expressed their appreciation to IRI for fielding and funding the surveys. IRI plans to incorporate the findings of the three surveys into future training seminars in the polled regions and plans to field a fourth poll in South Kalimantan in November.

V. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

IRI plans to reschedule governance and party seminars that were canceled this period, including a youth conference in Bali, a legislative drafting program in Padang, and budget training in Surabaya. IRI also hopes to reschedule the DPR Women's Legislative Study Tour to Washington canceled due to the events of September 11. In addition, IRI plans to put a poll into the field in South Kalimantan and release a legislative directory for the province in early November. IRI plans to publish similar legislative directories in other program provinces in the coming year.

In regard to new programming, IRI plans to integrate its CEPPS funded local autonomy program (LAP) into its general governance program as LAP funding comes to a close. IRI plans to hold more governance seminars for Aceh DPR and DPRD members and in the immediate future has planned

an education reform and legislative drafting conference for Aceh DPR and DPRD members in November.

Additionally, IRI may make some changes to its current program provinces. IRI plans to formalize its Aceh program and possibly add additional provinces, such as West Java and Irian Jaya. In order to make these additions, some current program provinces may be dropped. Finally, IRI plans to submit a comprehensive three-year proposal to USAID in early 2002.