

INDONESIA: EFFECTIVE ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND PEACEFUL POLITICAL TRANSITIONS

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I. INTRODUCTION

IFES has been engaged in a broad range of election assistance activities since August 1998 to support Indonesia's remarkable emergence as a robust democracy. In its most recent project, IFES provided advice and support to the relevant government bodies responsible for establishing an impartial and effective election administration in Indonesia, promoted transparent electoral and legislative processes and effective participation by citizens, and supported a peaceful transition under an amended constitution. The project was active from April 2003 through September 2005. Activities were based on IFES' on-going observations, assessments, and experience in Indonesia since 1998 and they addressed key objectives in the electoral environment:

- 1) Help appropriate Indonesian organizations build an impartial and effective electoral administration, voter information capacity, and legal frameworks.
- 2) Unofficially inform voters and the public of the election results and verify information from the General Election Commission (KPU).

In close collaboration with Indonesian and international partners, IFES has provided:

- Strategic analysis and advice for electoral and legal reform;
- Technical assistance for drafting of election laws, administrative procedures and implementing regulations;
- Technical advice and assistance to the General Elections Commission (KPU) and subordinate election management bodies on all aspects of election administration, including procedural *best practices*;
- Information, international perspective and creative suggestions for development of electoral systems and voting mechanisms uniquely suited to Indonesia's political and social circumstances;
- Development of a sophisticated Geographic Information Systems (GIS) database and mapping capacity for the KPU, successfully used for delineation of over 2000 electoral districts for Regional Representative Council (DPR) and DPRD elections and for graphic presentation of election results;
- Support for planning and implementation of election official training programs and materials, in cooperation with other international donors;
- Technical advice and assistance in developing systems for dissemination of information and unofficial election results by the KPU, including support for the KPU website;
- Leadership in addressing the need for greater representation of women in Indonesian political party leadership and in election to public offices;
- Assistance in developing and implementing official voter education and information campaigns targeting the general electorate, groups with special needs, and other election stakeholders;
- Establishment and support of a network of Local Community Forums (LCFs) to bring together local NGOs, particularly for voter education seminars and media programs;
- Sponsorship and production of historic candidate debates during presidential and legislative elections;
- Policy focus and analysis on issues of political finance regulation and electoral complaint adjudication; and

- Cooperation with the new Constitutional Court in preparing for and carrying out its responsibilities for resolving election disputes.

This report highlights IFES activities and impact over the course of the electoral and political transition project, from 2003 to 2005. The main focus of the project was the complex electoral events facing Indonesia in 2004. Nationwide elections were conducted on three voting days over a six-month period:

- On 5 April 2004, legislative elections involved voting for three levels of representative assemblies in multi-member electoral districts (DPR-RI, DPRD-Province, and DPRD-Regency/City) and voting for four representatives per province for the new national upper house, the DPD.
- First-ever direct presidential elections were conducted through a two-round majoritarian system: a first round involving five presidential/vice-presidential *candidate pairs* on 5 July 2004, and a second round with the top two candidate pairs on 20 September 2004.

IFES has produced an additional report which examines these events, *2004 Elections in the Republic of Indonesia: Looking Back and Looking Forward – Priorities for Democratic Renewal*. It looks back at Indonesia's general elections of 2004 and draws some conclusions about the performance of the electoral framework, election institutions, and electoral participants. It is an effort to assist key stakeholders in considering needed improvements in the electoral process for 2009 general elections in Indonesia.

II. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION ASSISTANCE

GENERAL ADVICE

In its efforts to help build an impartial and effective electoral administration, IFES provided "best practice" election advice and mentoring services on a day-to-day basis to the KPU at all levels. Much of this resulted in changes for the better in election procedures and in final decrees prepared and issued by the KPU. The advice was provided through regular meetings and broad ranging discussions with the KPU chair, deputy chair and KPU members, and specific discussions with senior KPU Secretariat officials. Major areas of advice related to electoral districting methodologies; review of electoral districts; seat allocations to provinces in the DPR; restructuring of the KPU Secretariat; review and production of the voter register; financial management, including development of 2003 and 2004 KPU budgets, tender procedures and training; logistics and procurement procedures; general and election period security; ballot design and printing; training management and planning; polling station management and layout; improved procedures for voting and vote counting for the legislative and presidential elections; handbook contents and codes of ethics for election observation; and accreditation procedures for election observation

Following the 2004 elections, IFES collaborated with Center for Electoral Reform (CETRO) on roundtable discussions in five cities to evaluate the elections. The results of the evaluations were packaged in a report disseminated to the KPU and other stakeholders concerned with electoral reform, and will provide input into possible electoral reform early in 2006. Topics included the election system, candidate nomination process, logistics, voting, vote counting,

campaign regulations, campaign finance, election supervision, complaint adjudication and law enforcement.

IFES also attended the Election Evaluation National Meeting held by the KPU on Batam Island after the 2004 elections. The meeting was attended by all provincial KPU members, and provided members from each province the opportunity to present their evaluation and recommendations. The main issues brought forward by the provincial KPUs were the logistical problems in the legislative elections and the technical difficulties of voter registration. The sudden policy changes made by the KPU also added to the difficulty of conducting the elections. Other administrative issues highlighted were the dependency upon governors for funding, and the view that KPUD Secretariat staff may be more "loyal" to the provincial government.

In addition to general technical advice and evaluation, the IFES project focused on important aspects of the electoral process and democratic transition in Indonesia. Key elements of IFES' technical assistance project are discussed below.

VOTER REGISTRATION

IFES held regular meetings with the State Statistical Bureau (BPS), which was responsible for processing voter registration applications, reviewing the processes used to compile the national voter register, focusing on data integrity, and advising on register compilation issues such as data scanning and data review procedures. IFES monitored the processing of voter registration field data by BPS and advised BPS and the KPU on strategies for increasing the integrity and comprehensiveness of the voter register, and overcoming potential problems. IFES also acted as the intermediary between the BPS and the KPU on financial and procedural issues.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTING

At the request of the KPU, IFES provided advice to the KPU on principles of electoral districting, and on a large number of alternative methods potentially available under Indonesian law for allocating DPR seats among provinces. IFES presented these alternatives to KPU plenary meetings and to public seminars on seat allocation/districting methodology sponsored by the KPU.

A major form of IFES assistance to the KPU was in the determination and mapping of electoral districts for the DPR, provincial DPRD, and regency/city DPRD. Using software and trainers provided by IFES, ten KPU Secretariat staff were trained in the use of IFES-developed Geographic Information System (GIS) for electoral districting and mapping. KPU staff, under IFES guidance, implemented districting options suggested by KPU members. Using these systems and with IFES advice, the KPU determined boundaries for electoral districts at national, provincial and regency/city levels, in an astonishingly short time, from the period beginning in the middle of July to the end of September 2003. The maps were posted to the KPU website and made available through KPU offices for public comment. As part of this process, IFES provided substantial technical assistance to regional KPUDs at workshops to review draft electoral boundaries for national, provincial and kabupaten/kota (regency/city) electoral districts.

In late November 2003 the government created twenty-four new kabupaten/kota. IFES assisted the KPU to rework very quickly the existing electoral districts to determine districts for these twenty-four new kabupaten/kota DPRD, and make consequent adjustments to electoral boundaries in the “parent” kabupaten/kota, and at the provincial and national level, in nineteen affected provinces. By 19 December, final boundaries, maps and descriptions had been produced, with IFES assistance, for 69 national DPR districts, 206 provincial DPRD districts, and 1696 kabupaten/kota DPRD districts – a total of 1971 electoral districts. Submission of political party lists of candidates for these districts was able to begin on 22 December 2003.

This is one of if not the most intensive electoral districting exercises ever successfully undertaken. The final electoral districts determined by the KPU took note of the principles advised by IFES: implementation as far as possible of a *one person/one vote/one value* principle; co-terminus and contiguous districts; and a relatively large average district magnitude within the range allowed by law, facilitating representation of women and minorities.

KPU WEBSITE

IFES spent a considerable amount of time assisting the KPU with its website development. The KPU website (www.kpu.go.id) was a key source of information for the media and the public alike, with the number of “hits” reaching 2 million by late 2004. The website was also designed to make it the primary source of communication to/from the KPU and its regional offices. Feedback received by IFES and the KPU showed that the website was highly regarded by the media and the public for being up to date and providing accurate and comprehensive daily information on the KPU’s activities.

One IFES consultant and one staff member undertook primary roles in the development, maintenance, and updating of the website. IFES provided additional temporary assistance to the KPU to enable it to clear a large backlog of responses to emailed queries to the website from the public before and during the election period. IFES was key in helping to migrate the website from PT Telkom to the KPU’s own server. This migration resulted in more effective website management and better control of website data.

IFES transferred skills and built capacity of KPU staff in website design, updating and management, and handed over control of the website to the KPU in September 2004. Final training, oversight, and advising of KPU staff by IFES was completed in December 2004.

GIS-BASED VOTING RESULTS PROGRAM

IFES created a Voting Results Program using GIS technology that is integrated with the electoral districting software developed for the KPU Secretariat by IFES. The Voting Results Program can be used as an analytical and predictive tool by KPU members and Secretariat staff involved in future re-districting activities. The program enables data input and analysis of election results, on a geographic basis, from Indonesia’s 2004 general election down to the sub-district (kecamatan) level. It includes capacity for comparisons on constant or variable electoral district geography bases to election results at regency/city level and higher from the 1999 general elections, and to sub-district level for future elections.

Using this GIS technology, IFES supported and supervised development of a spatial representation of results from the 5 April 2004 legislative election, and the presidential elections of 5 July and 20 September. The results were launched to the public by the KPU and posted on their website (www.kpugis.kpu.go.id). They also distributed a *2004 Electoral Districts & Election Results* CD-ROM, featuring election results, and a booklet elaborating the meaning of electoral districts and their formation process.

The GIS program permits analysis of legislative election results down to kecamatan level in the form of tabular and spatial data, including maps illustrating relative support in geographic areas for political parties competing in the general elections. The presidential election system permits analyses of results down to the kabupaten level with some comparative analysis capacities. Data was entered for DPR and DPD elections; information on provincial and regency/city DPRD elections was included as it became available from the KPU. The program also allows adjustment of election voting and seat allocation data by party on any district boundaries that can be defined within the districting GIS. Thus, previous elections' votes and seats won can be reworked to produce notional results on current or hypothetical electoral boundaries. Information on 1999 election results revised to 2004 election boundaries was produced for this comparison with IFES assistance.

III. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK

Election Laws: The Ministry of Home Affairs produced draft laws governing political parties, general (legislative) and presidential elections that were submitted to the DPR from mid-2002 until early 2003. Commission Two of the DPR received public inputs early in its deliberation. For each law, a special DPR Pansus (sub-committee) composed of representatives of the political party factions was formed, and ultimately a smaller DPR Panja (working group) negotiated the difficult final issues. Transparency and opportunity for public input declined through these later and more crucial stages of legislative deliberation. Eventually, the DPR approved Law No. 31 of 2002 on Political Parties in November 2002, Law No. 12 of 2003 on General (Legislative) Elections in February 2003, and Law No. 23 of 2003 on the Election of President and Vice President in July 2003.

During the period of this project, IFES advised the Ministry of Home Affairs team dealing with the presidential election law and the DPR Pansus and Panja members reviewing the draft of the law. (IFES provided technical advice for the other laws during its previous projects.) IFES placed special emphasis on articles dealing with campaign finance, which resulted in an improved framework that was included in the legislative election law, and on qualifications to participate in the presidential election, which were relaxed from the initial draft.

IFES provided comparative information and analysis for every stage of legislative drafting whenever Indonesian policy-makers were receptive to such assistance. IFES gave inputs and comprehensive reviews for the draft laws developed by the first (and public) round of working groups, and provided information to advisors to the Ministry of Home Affairs throughout the second (internal) round of drafting. During DPR consideration of the draft laws, IFES encouraged public hearings by Commission Two and offered information and analysis to DPR members of all political party factions. IFES also collaborated with civil

society organizations (CSOs) to focus on particular issues (such as independence of the KPU, political finance regulation, and electoral complaint adjudication) throughout the process of legislative deliberation of the political party and election laws, including sponsoring of seminars and publishing of informational reports.

IFES developed a pocket manual describing in simple terms the electoral framework and procedures for the 2004 legislative elections. It distributed approximately 10,000 copies of the guide mainly through regional CSOs, the KPU and regional commissions, and at IFES-sponsored seminars and workshops. IFES also produced a pamphlet summarizing the election law in simple language for the legislative (4,000 copies) and presidential elections.

Following the 2004 elections, IFES met with DPR Commission Two, KPU, UNDP and others to urge early action to address areas of weakness in the current election law, and clarification of the role and powers of KPU in the conduct of all elections from national to local levels.

Campaign Finance: Since the beginning of its program activities in Indonesia, IFES has strongly encouraged a focus on political finance regulation and public disclosure issues and has comprehensively examined development of the legal framework and implementation practices in this area. IFES produced six *Money and Politics* reports for Indonesia (available at www.ifes.org). The first of these reports, issued in December 1999, reviewed the very modest efforts at regulation and public disclosure of political finance in Indonesia's 1999 legislative elections. The fifth and sixth papers in the series were produced during this project. The fifth offered suggestions for KPU regulations to implement campaign funding provisions in Laws No. 12 and 23 of 2003. The sixth report assessed compliance and the effectiveness of the regulations and their implementation during both legislative and presidential elections in 2004. The papers were widely distributed to parliamentarians, NGOs, KPU, and IFES partner organizations.

IFES provided technical assistance to the KPU and supported the KPU's partnership with the Indonesian Accountant's Association in development of implementing regulations and guidelines for financial reporting. IFES has sponsored and participated in conferences and workshops in Indonesia that focused on political finance issues. IFES has also collaborated with civil society organizations – particularly Transparency International—Indonesia and Indonesia Corruption Watch – that were actively involved in monitoring political finance reporting and enforcement of political finance regulations.

Revision of the Regional Autonomy Law: IFES provided advice to and monitored the activities of the Pansus of the DPR dealing with the revision of Law 22 of 1999 on Regional Autonomy, specifically in relation to proposed amendments to allow direct elections of regional heads of government – governors, bupati and mayors. IFES provided advice to the Pansus and CSOs, such as CETRO, advocating for issues including the timing of these direct elections, election systems, candidacy, management of election processes, and on the significant gaps in the DPR's draft amendments to the law that needed to be filled, either by additional amendments to the law or implementing regulations. IFES also provided advice on election system and candidacy issues to other organizations advising the government of Indonesia on regional autonomy matters, such as the World Bank. Summaries of discussions at Pansus meetings were provided by IFES to interested parties.

Implementing Regulations: IFES assisted the KPU with the development of major election regulations: providing technical expertise to focus groups on draft regulations on

election campaigning; and assisting the Indonesia Accountants Association (IAI) in drafting campaign finance regulations and reviewing their draft for the KPU. On behalf of the KPU, IFES also held focus group discussions on draft KPU decrees: election campaigns, candidacy, voting procedures, and vote counting procedures. The focus groups included KPU staff, DPR members, CSO activists, and academic experts.

Through advice to KPU members and staff, and the sponsoring of Jakarta and regional districting workshops, IFES successfully influenced KPU policy to adopt sound electoral districting principles – proportionality, inclusiveness, compactness, contiguity, and use of geographic and other features in determining electoral districts. The workshops were supported by IFES-sponsored national media programs publicizing districting issues.

IFES assisted the KPU to develop standards for seat allocation and districting that were in line with international standards.

Recommendations made to the KPU based on IFES' legislative election observations prompted significant improvements in the KPU's regulatory framework for voting, vote counting, and recapitulation for the first and second rounds of the presidential elections.

COMPLAINT ADJUDICATION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

A key factor for legitimacy of elections is the process for adjudicating election complaints and resolving election-related disputes. In the 2004 elections in Indonesia, responsibility for this process was largely borne by two institutions. The first was the newly established but permanent Constitutional Court, whose jurisdiction includes "to resolve disputes involving the results of the general elections."¹ The second institution was a temporary but long-customary system of Election Supervisory Committees (*Panitia Pengawas Pemilihan*), known as Panwas, whose duties included processing of complaints and mediating of disputes.

Panwas: In assisting Panwas, IFES gave substantial input into decrees governing its case management system for processing complaints and violations of electoral laws, its internal administrative sanctions, its final election report formats, and its models for classifying election violations. IFES staff also provided advice on data management processes for cases handled by Panwas; review of its powers, regulations and operating procedures; management of allegations of election campaign violations; interpretation of presidential election campaign regulations; Panwas' role in alleviating money politics; and Supreme Court review of KPU decrees. Panwas developed a training plan with IFES support. IFES worked with Panwas to develop a Panwas Operations Guidebook on election campaign disputes and to distribute 32,000 copies to Panwas members and staff at all levels throughout all provinces of Indonesia. The handbook was much appreciated and was used to provide a framework for the implementation of Panwas duties, including management of election violation cases.

After the 2004 elections, IFES produced a report on Panwas intended for reference in conducting future reforms in electoral complaint adjudication mechanisms and law enforcement. The report was presented to key Panwas members at a workshop in early

¹ See: *Law No. 24 of 2003 on the Constitutional Court*, Article 10(1)(d).

2005. The members discussed the main issues in depth and highlighted areas where reform and improved levels of performance were necessary. The report will be used by CSOs and others in reform discussions regarding election supervision, complaint adjudication mechanisms, and law enforcement.

Seminars on campaign regulations and adjudication of election complaints were conducted in twelve cities (Surabaya, Manado, Makassar, Jayapura, Denpasar, Mataram, Semarang, Bandung, Medan, Pekanbaru, Samarinda, and Palembang) in early 2004. The programs focused on two topics: 1) regulation of campaigning under the law and implementing regulations issued by the KPU; 2) processes and procedures for filing complaints with Panwas under the law and Panwas implementing regulations. Participants in the seminars included local KPUD and Panwas members, CSO activists, organizers of political parties participating in the general elections, legislative candidates, representatives of election observer groups, news media and academics. Apart from increasing knowledge levels, these workshops had a very positive influence on the relationships between KPUD and Panwas members in these regions.

Constitutional Court: In 2004, for the first time in Indonesia's history, political parties and candidates that participated in general elections had the opportunity to challenge the official election results announced by the KPU to the newly formed Constitutional Court. The court undertook extensive preparations to meet this challenging responsibility; as described below, IFES provided substantial assistance in this endeavor.

IFES conducted an internal workshop in February 2004 on "The Role of the Constitutional Court in Resolving Election Result Disputes Through a Transparent Adjudication Process." This workshop helped the court's staff prepare administrative procedures and the case management systems for handling election results disputes.

IFES developed and distributed 2000 copies of a handbook on the Constitutional Court's election result dispute resolution mechanisms and procedures. Copies of the handbook were distributed to political parties, DPD candidates, election monitoring organizations, Panwas, CSOs, government bodies and presidential candidates' campaign teams, giving ample opportunity for contestants to be aware of the procedures for challenging results.

IFES supported the development of computer software and applications for management of cases (election disputes and judicial review) coming before the Constitutional Court. The software and applications permit the tracking and monitoring of the status of cases from the time of submission through to their final disposition. An online case database provided information to the public on election result disputes filed with the court by petitioners.

IFES has also provided continuous general case management and technical election advice to the court's secretariat, through an onsite advisor, including to the court's investigatory teams conducting examinations of disputed ballots in regional locations.

Following an urgent request by the chair of the court to assist the court with its public relations and education activities, IFES provided equipment (fax machine, photocopy machine and computer) to facilitate operations at the press room of the Constitutional Court during the period of election results disputes. Technical advice and public relations support from IFES and its partner, Indo Pacific, contributed to wide public acceptance of the court's determinations on election result challenges. The number of activities undertaken was

- Press conferences 15
- Press releases 60
- News/Articles on CC 2260
- Feature Interviews 8+
- Local Consultative Forums 3 events, 5 radio/TV talk shows, 350 attendees

IV. VOTER INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

PARTNERSHIPS

The overarching goal of the KPU's voter information program, assisted by IFES, was to contribute to the effective organization of a peaceful, democratic and credible election with the highest participation of voters. The key to achieving this was to provide sufficient information to the general public so voters understood the electoral processes, the political institutions involved, balloting and vote counting procedures, and the need and expectation for peaceful, orderly, transparent, fair and democratic elections. The information campaign and materials were designed for an electoral timeline that would most likely involve three elections. Given the massive number of voters to reach with very limited resources, an accurate, effective, and efficient campaign was of paramount importance. The KPU and IFES formed informal partnerships with the media, NGOs and interested private sector organizations to insure common and accurate messages were delivered to the public.

Broadcast media has the largest communications reach in Indonesia. IFES organized workshops in seven provinces during the period of December 2003 to March 2004 to provide KPUD members and their public relations staff with information on public relations, concepts and tips for working with the media. The workshops, attended by 255 staff, also covered basic principles of setting up a local KPUD media center. The workshops were organized together with the national KPU media center and the Public Relations Society of Indonesia. Informal briefings were also held for editors of newspapers and magazines. In addition, IFES assisted the KPU with arranging public and media appearances by KPU members, conducting press briefings, and simplifying access to election information

As a result of these activities, all television stations included voter information about the elections in existing and new programs. Messages were conveyed through talk shows, public affairs programming, news casts, social dramas, wayang and specialized media such as MTV and radio stations targeting select audiences (e.g., youth and women).

IFES-PRODUCED PROGRAMS

IFES used its regular media programs to support voter information and education activities.

- *Dialektika Demokrasi* was a weekly radio program aired live nationally from the press room of the DPR Building every Friday by RRI Pro3 FM. It was produced with the Bureau of Public Relations of DPR-RI, Koordinatoriat Wartawan DPR (Association of Journalists of DPR), and RRI. The focus of the program revolved around the elections—the election law, implementation and conduct of the political parties, candidates, KPU, Panwas, and the Constitutional Court. The audience of journalists and callers were able discuss these issues with the DPR members present at the

show, plus other non-DPR representatives such as NGOs, political experts, and academicians. A total of 53 programs were produced during the period of August 2003 through December 2004.

- *Dinamika Suara Rakyat* was also an interactive live talk show aired nationally on every other Tuesday by RRI Pro3 FM and relayed live by TV SWARA. The program originally was dedicated to socialize MPR activities but later converted for DPD activities. It was produced in coordination with the News and Inter-institution Relationship Department, MPR and RRI. Guest speakers were usually DPD/MPR members, political experts, or academicians. A total of 27 shows were produced during the period August 2003 through December 2004. These programs discussed election related activities such as the DPD, Regional Autonomy and also the Direct Election of Regional Head (pilkada).
- *KPU Menuju Pemilu 2004* began in May 2003 as a weekly national radio program on RRI Pro3 FM and continued through August 2004. The program socialized the activities of the KPU, Panwaslu, and other election related institutions involved in the 2004 elections. A total of 46 shows were produced during that period covering all stages of the elections.
- Five special KPU talk shows were produced in September 2004, prior to the second round presidential election.
- To support the voter information program directed to first time voters and youth, IFES initiated a new bi-weekly national radio program, *Election, Live from Campus*. Produced in cooperation with RRI and selected universities, the program featured a town hall meeting format, live from campuses, rotating among universities in Jakarta and other nearby cities. The programs encouraged student participation in the election as part of their democratic rights. A total of ten shows were produced prior to the presidential election. Speakers were political observers, representatives of political parties, journalists, KPU members and NGOs. The town hall meeting format enabled students in the audience to question the speakers.
- *MK Show*, was designed to socialize and inform the public about the activities and progress of MK (*Mahkamah Konstitusi* or Constitutional Court), as an independent state institution, mostly in settling election disputes or other common government-related problems. Thirteen shows were produced.

LOCAL VOTER INFORMATION WORKSHOPS

IFES provided local voter information and education support for provincial and regency/city KPUDs by facilitating 188 voter information workshops in 17 provinces: Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Riau, Banten, West Java, DI Yogyakarta, Central Java, East Java, East Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua. IFES worked with the Local Consultative Forums (LCFs) in the regions to organize the workshops, on behalf of regional KPUDs. The LCFs consulted with the KPUDs to gain their endorsement of workshop topics, speakers, and contents.

Topics covered the legislative and presidential elections and other related issues. Widespread local and regional media coverage including radio, TV and print were arranged

for each event. Apart from the information imparted to the community by the broadcast of these events, there were over 4,865 participants who could disseminate information gathered at these events to their local communities.

There were notable positive outcomes from this voter information program. Participants were surveyed and most found the program “very” or “somewhat” helpful for them to understand the information relating to 2004 elections. In addition, they were willing to transfer the information they received from the program to other people in their community or organization. This transfer process ensured that the program reached its targeted population beyond the audience attending the workshops.

POLITICAL DEBATES AND CANDIDATE DIALOGUES

Legislative Elections: IFES provided support for six political debate programs, the first such programs in Indonesia, which were conducted by the KPU during the period 27 March through 1 April 2004. Each program was 90 minutes and featured four different political parties. The programs were broadcast live on SWARA and Q TV channels and live on RRI nationally with delayed broadcast on TVRI nationally. The programs were produced in a neutral venue, the ballroom of the InterContinental MidPlaza Hotel in Jakarta, with a live audience. The format of the program provided a controlled environment that gave a degree of comfort to the party representatives so that each would have an equal opportunity to present their views. The format also provided for a moderator and three journalists. The party representatives drew numbers to determine their order for seating and presentations. The journalists also drew numbers to determine their order for asking questions. The audience had an opportunity to submit written questions which were selected at random and asked by the moderator.

The feedback from viewers and political parties was good. The debates were seen by the political parties as an opportunity to present their views on the issues and platforms of their parties to a national audience. The viewers welcomed the opportunity to see and hear the parties give a more comprehensive presentation of their issues and platforms. The success of the program series reinforced the impartiality of the KPU and enhanced its image while providing credibility to the debates.

Presidential Election, First Round: The success of the KPU-sponsored debates for the political parties prior to the legislative elections provided the foundation for the conduct of a historic series of debates/dialogues for presidential candidates. The objectives were to offer all candidates – both presidential and vice presidential – an opportunity to use mass media in a neutral venue, sponsored by a publicly recognized and respected non-partisan organization (KPU) to inform and educate the public and potential voters of their vision, work plans and platforms for the future of Indonesia.

The candidates were offered the opportunity to participate as a team. Because of the number of candidates in the first round, two debates were scheduled—30 June and 1 July 2004. One debate had three candidate teams (president/vice president) and the other debate featured the remaining candidates. Selection of the candidates for each debate was determined in a public drawing by candidate representatives. A non-partisan moderator was selected by the KPU to keep the discussions within the agreed formats. A panel of experts, selected by the KPU, questioned the candidates. It was agreed that the candidates could ask a question of another candidate as a follow-up to the response given by a candidate. Time

limits for opening and closing statements and questions and responses were agreed to by the representatives of the candidates. TVRI and private television stations broadcast the program nationwide.

Presidential Election, Second Round: Following the success of the first round presidential/vice-presidential debates, IFES and UNDP jointly assisted KPU to conduct the second-round debates scheduled for 14, 15, and 16 September 2004. IFES supported the production and organization and UNDP funded the venue and hotel-related expenses.

The questions and panelists for each dialogue were linked to a specific subject. Three moderators (one for each day) and twenty-four panelists were selected by the KPU from throughout Indonesia. Each panelist was considered an expert in his or her respective field. The moderators and panelists were approved by the campaign teams. The duration of each program was 120 minutes, divided into two segments. Both pairs, Megawati Soekarnoputri and Hasyim Muzadi, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla, appeared every day for one hour taking turns in a sequence determined by drawing.

The debates were broadcast live on TVRI and RRI with a “clean feed” offered at no cost to any station willing to broadcast the series. Metro TV, TV7, ANTV, SWARA, Q Channel, Radio Elshinta, and KB Namlapanha carried the programs live.

The format allowed each candidate team three minutes to make opening remarks. The sequence for the candidates was pre-determined by drawing lots before the program. The presidential candidate shared his/her time with the vice presidential candidate. After opening remarks, the experts had an opportunity to question the candidates. Each candidate had 4.5 minutes to respond to questions from every panelist. Each candidate pair had 2.5 minutes for closing remarks.

The debate series had a wide audience in Indonesia and was a tribute to the growing transparency and information outreach practiced by the KPU and Indonesian politicians, in part supported by IFES programs and technical advice.

MEDIA MONITORING

An integral part of voter information and education activities required research and monitoring of what organizations were doing in the media so the KPU would be able to direct its limited resources where needed. IFES monitored information placed by the KPU, Panwas, political parties, political candidates, and other organizations between the period of January and September 2004. The data on political party and candidate advertising enabled the KPU, Panwas, Indonesia Corruption Watch, and Transparency International/Indonesia to have comprehensive information on media placements by parties and candidates, so they could judge whether legal restrictions on campaign advertising had been breached. It also enabled the KPU and other organizations to determine whether their voter information advertising was broadcast in accordance with the schedules they contracted.

Monitoring reports showed the KPU spent almost 90 billion IDR to place advertisements related to 2004 elections in television, radio, and print media throughout Indonesia. Television was the dominant medium for mass media activities as all surveys show that more than 80% of the people say television is their main source of information.

VOTER TRACKING SURVEYS

In order to conduct a cost effective voter information media campaign as complex and diverse as needed for the multiple elections in Indonesia, it is essential that those responsible for managing the campaign know the public's opinion and knowledge of the subject, as well as the impact of the media activities. To that end, tracking surveys were conducted between December 2003 and September 2004 with a total of 18 waves, designed to provide a degree of accuracy within +/- 2% to +/- 2.75% at a 95% confidence level. The surveys also tracked voting intentions of the electorate and evaluations of issues related to the legislative and presidential elections.

Following accurate IFES survey predictions of legislative election results, these surveys attracted significant attention from local and international media, international observer missions, embassies, business associations, and civil society organizations. IFES provided regular briefings to these groups after the survey firm, the Polling Center, conducted press conferences to publicize each survey's results. Results were published on the KPU website to provide accurate information in a transparent manner.

IFES tracking surveys followed the KPU's *socialization* program for voter information. Only 47% of the survey respondents in December 2003 were aware of the KPU messages. But it had increased significantly, as high as 72%, in an early September 2004 survey.

Similarly, in the December 2003 survey, only 42% of the voting age population was aware that there would be legislative elections for DPR, DPRD Regency/City, and DPD. This awareness increased to 90% in a late March 2004 survey, one week prior to the 5 April legislative elections. The public's awareness of the legislative election date was 47% in December, and increased to 75% in a late February/early March 2004 survey.

On the voting process, only 13% of the voting age population in December knew that the most appropriate method to vote in the legislative elections (special for DPR/DPRD elections) was to punch one party and one candidate from the same party. The percentage increased as high as 64% in late March. Those who believed that the proper method was to punch one political party only decreased significantly from 64% in December 2003 to 23% in a late March 2004 survey. For the DPD election, the awareness recorded was quite high from the beginning, 52% in December 2003, to 84% in late March 2004.

On the presidential election topic, the awareness of when the presidential election would be conducted increased significantly from 16% in December 2003 to 95% in late June 2004. The most significant increase was between late March (45%) and early April 2004 (70%); 19% knew about the presidential election but could not name the correct date.

Awareness of the voting process for the presidential election was quite high from the first time the related question was asked. The early June 2004 survey showed 61% of the voting age population were aware that the correct method was to punch the picture of the preferred president and/or vice president candidate. Two weeks prior to the 5 July presidential election round, 67% were aware of the correct method of punching the ballot. In an early September 2004 survey, 84% were aware of the correct method to punch the ballot for the second-round election.

Some people knew how the winner of the first round of the presidential election would be determined and what would be done if there was no winner. However, the awareness was not as high as other subjects socialized by the KPU. In the July 2004 survey, 44% were aware of the correct method to determine the winner for the 5 July first-round presidential election. This was an increase from 38% in the early June 2004 survey.

It was clear that the KPU voter information program was most effective as the surveys showed an increase in knowledge after each wave of campaign information was received by the public.

V. TRAINING PROGRAMS

LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

One of the biggest logistical challenges for Indonesia's general elections in 2004 – and a clear indicator of their complexity – was the need to appoint and train over four million election officials to implement three stages of national elections under new election systems and procedures. For the election period itself, temporary election management bodies were appointed at the sub-district level (over 25,000 election officials), village level (over 200,000 election officials), and polling station level (nearly four million election officials in more than 580,000 polling stations [plus almost one million security guards for polling stations]). The task of appointing and training these huge numbers of election officials was squeezed into a short time frame.

The focus of IFES' electoral training efforts for the April 2004 nationwide legislative elections was the implementation of training programs at the provincial, city/regency, sub-district, and village level. IFES also supported the design and implementation efforts for poll worker training.

Regular meetings were held with the election training group which assisted the KPU. The group was composed of IFES, the UNDP, the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC), the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the KPU. IFES played a key role in developing concept papers and budgets for KPU training needs and met regularly with the KPU member responsible for training (Pak Hamid), and senior KPU Secretariat staff with responsibilities in training.

IFES' major training projects with the KPU included the design and implementation of

- Election Operations I training programs in Planning and Logistics,
- Election Operations II training programs for sub-district election committees, and
- Election Operations II training programs for village election committees.

The Election Operations I training programs conducted in January 2004 were aimed at training provincial and regency/city level KPU Secretariat staff in planning and logistics. IFES took primary responsibility for the training of staff in planning skills. A training of trainers (TOT) was conducted for staff from 31 different provinces. The TOT trained 24 trainers in planning and 27 KPU staff in logistics. Those trainers in turn trained over 800 Secretariat staff from the 416 city/regency KPUs in the two skill areas.

The Election Operations II training programs conducted in March 2004 were aimed at training one person from each sub-district election committee and a targeted sample of village-level election committee members in each province of the country on their election roles and responsibilities. IFES took primary responsibility for designing and producing the training program and materials. A thirty-minute video was written and produced and a copy was sent to each regency/city KPU. A forty-page manual was written and published and 236,000 manuals printed, one for each sub-district and each village-level election committee member. In late February fifty-two trainers were trained. Using the IFES-designed training materials, the Election Operations II trainers ran more than 300 classes and over 10,000 election officials attended the training sessions. Ninety percent of the sub-district election committee training classes were conducted as planned. Village level election committee training was not as successful as slightly over 40% of the planned classes were conducted. This was due to a delay in the transfer of funds for village-level training from the national KPU. However, when the classes were conducted, they tended to have more participants than the targeted thirty per class, averaging over fifty participants per session.

The design and production of training materials for the sub-district and village level committees was a major effort. The production of materials was delayed because of the slow KPU approval process, a holdup with the graphic artist (for the training manual), and a delay in the editing of the training video. IFES received support from UNDP for the distribution of the training manuals through underwriting the costs for distribution.

Training of poll workers was achieved through a three-pronged approach. A KPPS training video and training manual were developed. The lead responsibility for these efforts rested with the UNDP, with IFES supporting the development of materials through review and suggested revisions. A cadre of ten training advisors was trained during a four-day TOT to provide technical assistance to nine provinces struggling to provide training in the face of their multiple obligations. These training advisors assisted provinces in developing training plans for PPK (sub-district level), PPS (village level) and KPPS (polling station) members, in some cases conducted training themselves, and monitored training and the delivery of training materials.

While the challenges of coordinating nationwide training programs were many, the accomplishments of the various training programs were also notable. IFES was able to design and deliver training products and programs that trained people at all levels of election administration. IFES manuals and VCDs were distributed throughout the country and were used as training and reference tools.

In order to improve training for the presidential elections and beyond, the partners involved in the training effort held a training review meeting in April 2004 to ensure the lessons from the legislative elections were recorded and remembered.

Training Programs Completed During January – March 2004

Program	Numbers Trained
Election Operations I TOT	24 trainers 27 provincial KPU Secretariat staff

Election Operations I – Planning	350 kabupaten/kota KPU Sekretariat staff
Election Operations I – Logistics	350 kabupaten/kota KPU Sekretariat staff
Election Operations II – TOT	52 trainers
Election Operations II – PPK (sub-district)	4,900 PPK members trained 25,550 manuals distributed (to each member) 500 VCDs distributed (one to each provincial and regency/city KPU)
Election Operations II – PPS (village)	7,500 PPS members trained (approximate) 210,000 manuals distributed to each member

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ROUNDS

The overall goal of IFES Indonesia training assistance during the first round of the presidential election was to assist provincial KPUs in gaining the capacity to design, plan, and manage adult-learning training programs for temporary election officials in their provinces. IFES placed a senior Indonesian training advisor for a two-month period in each of its six target provinces needing support, to assist with developing plans for training PPK, PPS and KPPS officials and monitoring their implementation. Each training advisor was teamed with a specified provincial KPU official to facilitate knowledge transfer. Before being assigned, the training advisors and their provincial KPU counterparts attended a three-day training session in Jakarta, to brief them on the program and allow them time to make preliminary plans for training PPK, PPS and KPPS members in their provinces. IFES also provided limited financial support for provincial-level training workshops for regency/city KPU members involved as trainers in the PPK/PPS/KPPS training program, and for the printing of training materials in these provinces. An example of this is IFES' production of a *Presidential Election Training Handbook* for use in the provinces in which it had placed training advisors. Implementation of the program was regularly monitored through field visits by IFES' Jakarta-based training staff.

At the request of the KPU, training for both election rounds focused on specific voting and counting procedures, particularly the completion of voting station records, count recording, and subsequent count amalgamation processes at PPS and PPK levels – activities in which there were widespread apparent deficiencies at the 5 April legislative elections. IFES had targeted facilitating the training of at least one member from at least 90% of the PPK, PPS and KPPS in the six provinces in which it was assisting the provincial KPUs. In most provinces this was achieved. In Central Kalimantan, logistical/transportation difficulties prevented the target being achieved, and there was insufficient time and funding for workshops to achieve this goal in West Java. Difficulties in relationships with the South Sulawesi provincial KPU also limited the effectiveness of the program in that province.

The late approval for the program by the KPU, and consequent time limitations, meant that training class size was higher than ideal. However the program's impact, particularly on improvements in completion of polling station and other count records, was noted by the provincial KPUs. The training advisors' presence was also of assistance to the provincial KPUs. As there is no official in the provincial KPU structure specifically responsible for polling

staff training, the training advisors in the six provinces provided a training focus and a planning, coordination and monitoring capacity that otherwise would have been absent.

For the second round, IFES and the KPU targeted five provinces that required specific assistance (Kabupatens Nias and South Nias in North Sumatra, Mentawai Island in West Sumatra, Kabupatens Indramayu and Sukabumi in West Java, Kabupaten Kuala Kapuas in Central Kalimantan, and Gorontalo as a new province). IFES placed a senior Indonesian training advisor in each of its five target provinces for one month to develop skills to train PPK, PPS and KPPS officials, and then to monitor implementation. Each training advisor was again teamed with a nominated provincial KPU official, to facilitate knowledge transfer and to ensure buy in from the relevant KPU.

During the training debrief workshop held on 25 September 2004, the KPU commented that its training activities could not have taken place without the professional role, hard work, and financial support of IFES.

VI. UNOFFICIAL RESULTS REPORTING

UNDP and IFES jointly supported KPU in conducting the National Tally Center or Tabulasi Nasional Pemilu (TNP) for both rounds of the presidential elections. The TNP venue was at Borobudur Hotel Jakarta and AAJ Komunika was engaged as the event management/IT contractor. The TNP for the first round of the presidential election was held from 4 to 15 July 2004. Two discussions per day were held at 1:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. There were 5-6 prominent speakers at each discussion ranging from politicians, polling agencies, members of the presidential success teams, CSOs, and political, social, gender and economy observers and academics. The discussions were hosted and moderated by members of the KPU and attended by between 50 and 300 visitors depending on the interest in the topic. Daily press releases on the election results, IT updates, and a daily TNP newsletter were provided in Bahasa Indonesia and English. Both domestic and foreign media showed their enthusiasm for the facilities and agenda. There were between 69 and 189 journalists visiting the TNP for the first-round presidential election each day.

The TNP for the second-round presidential election was held from 19 to 25 September 2004. KPU asked to increase its role in the management of the TNP and reduce the AAJ activities to just the preparatory work on the venue and equipment. Discussions were scheduled twice a week but did not always take place due to unavailability of the speakers. About 20 to 50 people attended the discussions.

UNDP supported the results tally center for the legislative elections in April. IFES, with USAID's approval, reserved its funds to support the TNP in the presidential elections.

VII. PILKADA ELECTIONS

IFES provided advice to and monitored the activities of the KPU and KPUDs, specifically in relation to implementation of direct elections of regional heads of government (pilkada) – governors, bupati (of kabupaten), and mayors (of kota). IFES also provided advice to KPU, KPUDs, and interested civil society organizations, such as CETRO, on matters including the timing of these direct elections, election systems, candidacy, and management of election processes. Views within the KPU on the role of the commission in these elections continued

to be divided, with the chairman seeking a clearer legal mandate for the supervisory role briefly mentioned in the law, while some members favored a more proactive stance. The outcome of a Constitutional Court case brought by a number of civil society election monitoring bodies, and a second case brought by a group of KPUDs which was anticipated would clarify matters, did not produce significant change.

PILKADA JOB GUIDE

IFES provided a sub-award to CETRO to produce a manual to assist the KPUDs in the preparations for pilkada elections. The guide, *Buku Pedoman Kerja KPUD dalam Melaksanakan Pilkada 2005*, was developed to ensure proper standards of election administration are met throughout the country for the conduct of pilkada elections. It detailed critical aspects that the KPUDs needed to consider in running the local elections. It included aspects such as financial and human resource management, voter information, voter registration, candidate registration, campaigning, poll worker training, logistics, voting and counting, disputes resolution, security, and a simple election planning timeline. CETRO distributed over 1800 KPUD job guides to KPUDs, Panwas, and civil society organizations in thirty-three provinces.

Limited time and lack of funds placed the KPUDs in a vulnerable position. The availability of a guide that presents best practices in conducting elections where time is limited significantly aided the KPUDs. KPUD members were asked their overall evaluation of the guide during training workshops. 94% of participants found the guide a useful or very useful tool for assisting them in conducting pilkada.

WORKSHOPS WITH KPUDS

As part of its sub-award with CETRO, IFES supported a series of workshops for KPUDs on pilkada management. Two workshops were conducted using the job guide as the foundation for discussion. The first was a national-level workshop during which the draft of the job guide was reviewed by, and deliberated with, provincial level KPUD representatives. This workshop, held on 30 to 31 May 2005, was attended by KPUDs from fifteen provinces. Participating KPUDs had the opportunity to share information, concerns, and updates on one another's pilkada administration strategic plans. In addition, the national level review workshop enabled CETRO to gather input from the KPUDs which would be valuable in refining the content of the job guide.

The second workshop was designed for district and town KPUDs which were to hold pilkada elections beginning in the last week of June. During these socialization workshops, the revised job guide was shared with participating KPUD representatives. As in the case of the national-level review workshop, the district and town KPUD events resulted in a valuable information and experience-sharing opportunity for the participants.

ACEH

In June 2005, IFES experts evaluated the current situation in Aceh regarding the Independent Election Commission's (KIP) ability and needs in conducting pilkada elections, given the special conditions there. Observations were gathered through meetings with concerned stakeholders, including the KIP, Aceh NGO Forum and other CSOs, the government agency regulating Aceh's reconstruction and recovery program (Badan

Pelaksana Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi Aceh and Nias, or BAPEL), and other donors. IFES identified a number of areas in which KIP required immediate assistance. Among them, IFES was informed of KIP's pressing need for assistance in preparing a number of regulations on the implementation of the pilkada.

In joint collaboration with the International Republican Institute (IRI), IFES worked to rapidly mobilize an expert team to provide this technical assistance to KIP. Together, the IFES/IRI team provided assistance to the KIP in drafting seventeen regulations, and in verifying that there were no areas within the newly drafted regulations which conflicted with existing policies.

In August to September 2005, IFES reviewed the decrees approved by KIP with the intention of revising the KPUD Job Guide for Aceh pilkada. IFES considered the change in circumstances brought about by the peace agreement and memorandum of understanding signed on 15 August 2005 between the government of Indonesia and the GAM rebel movement which brought an end to the armed insurrection in the province. It was determined that the job guide could not be revised for Aceh with any degree of confidence as to its accuracy or relevance at this time, pending:

- resolution of legal differences between the Aceh DPRD and Ministry of Home Affairs in Jakarta; and
- further consideration of important aspects of the electoral process in Aceh affected by both the aftermath of the December 2004 tsunami and the peace agreement.

Disarmament and resettlement issues would also have an important impact on the ability of KIP to move forward with preparations for pilkada elections. The anticipated date for Aceh pilkada elections slipped, first from October to December and then to April 2006.

VOTER INFORMATION AND EDUCATION

IFES worked with the KPUD Samarinda to plan and conduct a voter education program including a televised debate among the candidates in the pilkada elections. In addition, three TV and radio talk shows were broadcast locally on the KPUD's readiness to conduct the election, the voting and counting process, and election irregularities and solutions. This marked the first time a debate with the candidates was held and broadcast live in the pilkada elections. It inspired the Bandung KPUD to follow suit with debates with bupati candidates which were broadcast live by two local private television stations and three private radio stations. Seven newspapers covered the event.

IFES and a local contractor, PT Jaring Data Interaktif (JDI), devised a voter education and media plan to support nine of the remaining pilkada elections, for mayors and bupati, all scheduled to be held by the end of November. Total IFES/JDI production support for the pilkada elections included thirty customized television and radio interactive talk shows of one hour each, and two live television and radio candidate debates in Samarinda and Bandung as noted above. TV and radio spots were customized for each local election with text and audio including voting participation, voting peacefully, tolerating other's opinions, counting of votes, and determining and respecting the winners.

OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF PILKADA

Following on from the legislative and presidential elections of 2004, direct pilkada elections represent a significant step in the development of democratic institutions across the country. Various problems were recorded by local and international observers during the early rounds of pilkada conducted in June and July 2005, and these were in many cases also identified by KPUDs and Panwas. Key issues which were indicated as causing concern were:

- Voter registration list – problems usually emerged only on polling day, or at the declaration of the result, and led to both protest on the streets and legal battles in the courts;
- Candidate verification and “premature” campaigning – difficulties in securing KPUD verification of candidature, and campaign activity in advance of such verification
- Pre-election administration – difficulties included logistical shortcomings and internal conflicts within the KPUD membership;
- Election day – ranged from concerns over low turnout of voters to the refusal of candidate agents to sign the vote count certificate and the unexplained presence of extra ballots in the box;
- Election results – generally problems here were generated by the refusal of losing candidates and their supporters to accept the announced result because of their perception of unfairness or bias on the part of the election officials; and,
- Election violence - generally took the form of rioting to protest announced results or administrative decisions by KPUDs.

However, given the lack of any effective coordination or oversight of the work of KPUDs from a superior level, the late and inadequate funding of many KPUD electoral and Panwas monitoring activities, the limited experience of many appointed members of both bodies, the lack of voter education about the pilkada, and the relatively short history of open and competitive elections in Indonesia, the execution and outcome of pilkada can be considered satisfactory. The danger lies in regarding the achievement of a pass mark as the point at which attention may safely be turned to other matters. This is not the case with the responsible Indonesian institutions, particularly the DPR and KPU, which have moved forward with consideration of next steps to consolidate and improve the legal framework, systems and procedures for the future.

VIII. OTHER KEY ACTIVITIES

WOMEN’S PROGRAMS

In conjunction with local NGO partner *Gerakan Pemberdayaan Suara Perempuan* (GPSP) or (Women’s Movement for Indonesia), IFES held a series of regional workshops to further develop understanding of the impact of Indonesian political laws on women’s representation and women’s participation in political and electoral processes. The workshops included speakers from provincial KPUDs and GPSP. IFES also arranged for media coverage by TV and radio talk shows to support the dissemination of information from the workshops. In two regions, Papua and Central Java, the workshops were held in conjunction with the voter information programs organized by IFES and LCFs.

Workshops During January – March 2004

Workshop	Regions	Targets	Period	Speakers
Electoral Districts and Implications for Women's Representation Radio talk show	East Kalimantan: Kota Samarinda Kota Balikpapan Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara	Woman candidates, political party leaders, election-related NGOs, CSOs	4 to 6 Feb	KPUD, GPSP
Electoral Districts and Implications for Women's Representation Radio talk show	Papua: Kabupaten Sentani Kota Jayapura	Woman candidates, political party leaders, election-related NGOs, CSOs	26 to 28 Feb	KPUD, GPSP
Women and Elections: Strategies to Increase Women's Representation Radio talk show	Central Java: Kota Semarang Kabupaten Kendal Kabupaten Batang	Woman candidates, political party leaders, election-related NGOs, CSOs	10 to 12 Mar	KPUD, GPSP
Women and Elections: Strategies to Increase Women's Representation	West Java: Kota Bandung Kabupaten Sukabumi Kota Bekasi	Woman candidates, political party leaders, election-related NGOs, CSOs	26 to 30 Mar	KPUD, GPSP

IFES also assisted GPSP, a group of more than 70 organizations led by CETRO and KPPI (Caucus of Women in Political Parties), with technical advice and information on issues related to methods of increasing women's level of participation in representative institutions. Prior to the elections, the group aimed to raise money to support women candidates.

In cooperation with the Ministry of Women Empowerment (KPP), IFES produced a public service announcement (PSA) on how to cast a vote. The PSA was aired between March 11 and 4 April 2004 using the KPP's PSA slots at three TV stations (TPI, SCTV and ANTV).

An IFES expert provided technical advice on election system issues for the February 2004 International IDEA training program for women candidates for the DPD.

Following the 5 April legislative elections, IFES maintained a steady flow of public information on the performance of women candidates for the DPR and DPD. Information publicly provided included the results of research on successful women candidates for the DPR and DPD, percentages of votes for women candidates for the DPD, women re-elected to the DPR at the 2004 election, and women's representation percentages at national level by province, party, and in comparison to 1999 election results. IFES presented preliminary results of this research at a GPSP seminar in late April 2004. IFES also provided regular gender-based analysis of the data from its tracking surveys.

IFES was actively involved in developing the framework for a series of capacity-building workshops that KPP and the DPR Secretariat planned to organize for the newly elected women in DPR in August 2004.

DISABLED COMMUNITY

IFES provided ongoing support and assistance to the Committee for Citizens with Disabilities – Access to Election 2004 (CCD-AE). IFES worked closely with CCD-AE to draft submissions to UNDP for funding for Braille templates for visually impaired voters, and for ongoing secretariat running costs. It also actively encouraged and supported CCD-AE in its bid to promote fairness and equality issues with the KPU, especially in the KPU's drafting of its Decree on Voting and Vote Counting. CCD-AE organized two IFES-sponsored workshops preceding the legislative elections, on disability issues for political parties and voter education issues for trainers from the hearing impaired community.

ELECTION INFORMATION DISTRIBUTION

During the 2004 elections IFES was the primary provider of election information in English to all other election-oriented organizations in Indonesia, including embassies, international observer organizations, the UNDP's International Observer Resource Centre (IORC), and many other organizations and researchers around the world. IFES translated and widely distributed all political laws, KPU decrees and instructions, Panwas decrees, presidential and Ministry of Justice decrees, circulars, draft decrees, regulations in lieu of law, and final government regulations. IFES also distributed regular updates and analyses and gave briefings on critical information relating to KPU decisions, the KPU's preparations for the legislative and presidential elections, the legal framework for the 2004 elections, and IFES tracking survey results to over 150 organizations such as embassies, donors, political parties, the IORC, the media, universities, and business organizations. Most of this information was also posted on the IFES website, www.ifes.org.

IFES produced and distributed over two thousand copies of the election and political party laws to DPRDs, regional KPUs, CSOs, the media, and the IRI to use in political party training, and for public information and education.

MAPPING FOR CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATIVES

Using the GPS information system provided by IFES to KPU, IFES prepared, produced, and delivered a series of maps showing DPR membership by province, constituency, and party for use by DPR and provincial authorities. The large, colorful, constituency maps, the first such in Indonesia, are now hanging in the DPR building.

IX. CONCLUSION

International attention to Indonesia's ongoing need for democratic development is to some extent undermined by the very success of Indonesia's 2004 election process and by intervening events. The major focus of the international community has moved on to elections in newly emerging democracies or crisis spots. Democracy is already becoming normal in Indonesia: local elections (voting for executives at the provincial and regency/city levels) began in mid-2005 across the archipelago and are ongoing, while a stable (but still politically dynamic) atmosphere suffuses Indonesia's national politics. A peace agreement was reached in the long-troubled province of Aceh. And, of course, Indonesia has endured

the devastating tsunami in northwest Sumatra in December 2004, as well as terrorist threats and violence, since the 2004 general elections.

With regard to political reform in Indonesia, IFES notes that the success of the 2004 general elections in the country should encourage an immediate, but measured effort at review, revision, and restructuring. The legacy of the 2004 elections and the present political environment in Indonesia do not warrant radical revision to Indonesia's electoral system, institutions, or processes. At the same time, Indonesia's political elements and civil society (and international supporters) should be wary of the constant potential for backsliding in crucial areas of election policy and administration – especially as to the independence of election officials and transparency of political processes.

Thus, IFES offers this report in order to provide some perspective on the accomplishments of the 2004 legislative and presidential elections in Indonesia and to stimulate discussion about democratic renewal in advance of the 2009 elections. As always, policy decisions about the key issues addressed in this report are the responsibility and prerogative of Indonesian policy-makers, whom must answer to the citizens of Indonesia. IFES, along with its many international and Indonesian partners, stands ready to assist and facilitate that decision-making process as may be requested.

X. ATTACHMENTS

Financial Status Report (short form)

To obtain copies of the report, please contact the F. Clifton White Resource Center:

F. Clifton White Resource Center
IFES
1101 15th Street, NW
Fifth Floor
Washington, DC 20005
202.828.8507, Telephone
202.452.0804, Fax
www.ifes.org