

# **KEPA**

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**Kepa/Insist Cooperation 1997-2002**

**Fact finding report for evaluation**



KEHITYSYTEISTYÖN PALVELUKESKUS RY  
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# PART I: INTRODUCTION

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## 1. Background

The aim of this fact finding report is to give a description of the cooperation between the Service Centre for Development Cooperation (KEPA) and the Institute for Social Transformation (INSIST) that was started in 1998, and to some extent evaluate this cooperation. The objective set for this report is to build ground for the future cooperation of the two counterparts. As the best way for two organisations to work together is to base the cooperation on openness one should read the critique presented in the report as opportunities to learn from the past and to create new and better ideas for the future.

The report will start with a short note on the methodology. For those interested, I have also added a brief description on Indonesia, the place of the cooperation. Though the readers of this report are most probably well-enough informed of the current situation in Indonesia I think it worthwhile to remind of the extraordinary vastness of socio-economic and political changes that have taken place in the country just before and during the period of cooperation between Kepa and Insist. In planning development projects it is necessary to take into consideration that Indonesia is for the moment – and will be for a long period of time still – a country in transition. The uncertainties that shadow the everyday life of Indonesians inevitably have effect on development projects, and should be discussed in order to minimise the risks and maximise the benefits of the projects. Decentralisation in terms of administration, governance and finances have created a completely new situation that can possibly, and even probably, lead into growing inequality between Indonesian regions. Thus, when Kepa and Insist evaluate and make decisions on what kind of projects will be conducted within the coming years the decisions should take into consideration the particular circumstances in Indonesia for the moment.

The report is divided into three parts. The first part includes three chapters, which all are descriptive and summarise the activities that have taken place under and around Kepa's cooperation with Insist. First I describe briefly the two organisations involved, and bring up the main points of their separate aims and objectives, as well as strategies to gain the goals set. Here I also make some observations concerning the problems the two organisations seem to have by themselves and how these may affect their ability to cooperate. Chapter five summarises the three phases of cooperation between Kepa and Insist. There is the phase of preparatory visits, which took place in 1997-1998, followed by a two six-month periods of collaboration during which the cooperation was launched and preparations for a partnership agreement were made, in 1998-1999. The first actual period of cooperation under a partnership agreement is the still ongoing one, in 2000-2002, and this period will be discussed in the end of the first part. Third section will describe the cooperation in financial terms.

The second part of the report gives a thematic analysis and evaluation of Kepa's experiences in Indonesia. This part is mainly based on the interviews that have been conducted both inside Kepa, and also amongst other people in Finland who have been and are active with Indonesian issues, either in close collaboration with Kepa

and Insist or separately. The themes of this part, which all occupy one individual chapter, have been picked up according to issues that have been raised during the interviews, but they are also the themes that the author of this report herself considers of greatest importance.

The last part of the report is dedicated to summary of major findings and recommendations. Though evaluation of cooperation is presented throughout the report, there will be an overview in here. The report gives recommendations and throws ideas for future cooperation that will hopefully be helpful when Kepa and Insist plan future cooperation projects.

## **2. Methodology**

The methods used for conducting the fact finding work for this report are twofold. First, there is an analysis of documents, publications and other written material concerning the Kepa/Insist cooperation. Second, there are open interviews that have been conducted with people who have in one way or another been involved in the cooperation.

I have gone through the documents concerning Kepa's activities in Indonesia since 1997 when the first preparatory visits to the country were made, until the latest reports in 2002. There are tens of reports, which vary greatly in their form, length and purpose: there are working reports, proposals and agreement texts, as well as travel reports and short studies conducted during the cooperation. In addition to Kepa's internal reporting I have examined the publications that have directly or indirectly resulted from the Kepa/Insist cooperation. The vast majority of these publications are the Information Officer's columns and news stories published at Kepa's website publication and paper publications. I have also gathered some information outside Kepa, but concerning the Finnish-Indonesian development cooperation or other type of activities in Indonesia that include Finnish agencies. This material has been used to provide a wider context for Kepa/Insist cooperation, and to help to estimate how the chosen forms of collaboration relate to other Finnish development programs in Indonesia.

Another kind of information gathered for the report has been attained by interviewing persons who have been involved in the Kepa/Insist cooperation throughout the last five years. The interviews made for the report are 24 in total. Most of the interviews have been conducted by visiting the interviewees in person, few in telephone and some through e-mail. As this report focuses on the Finnish views on this cooperation, and the fact finding has only been conducted in Finland and during a relatively short (three weeks) period of time the interviewees consist of only those persons who have most closely worked on Indonesian issues at Kepa and its member organisations. It could have been possible to make a wider mapping of Kepa/Insist visibility in Finland through a wider survey, but due to lack of time this had to be ignored. This report is suggestive by nature, it presents the variety of points of view that have come up during the interviews and through reading the documents. When the groups of people interviewed is relatively small, at least when compared with Kepa's wide network of member organisations and Finnish civil society actors, it is rather meaningless to state that some opinions would represent majority opinion in Kepa or that others would be only held by minority. The relevance of these points should be decided in Kepa's and Insist's common discussions over the future of the cooperation.

### 3. Indonesia – A Country in Transition

During the time period Keba and Insist have been working together Indonesia has gone through massive political, economic and social changes, the effects of which cannot yet be fully understood. The fall of Asian economic miracles into economic crisis in 1997 forced Indonesia to turn to IMF for help, the last time it had done so was in 1966, in the beginning of Suharto's reign. The economic crisis turned into a multiple one as the international funding did not manage to stabilise the shaken economy – it had become apparent that Suharto's military and thoroughly corrupted regime was unable to mend the damages and push forward the necessary economic reforms – and the extended weakening of Rupiah led into growing unemployment, criminality and social and political unrest. The hardships were furthered by El Niño, the cyclical drought that influences the world weather, due to which in 1997 the forest fires that were the common method of clearing the land for the uses of the plantations got out of hand and led thousands of hectares of Indonesia's forest turned into thick smoke that covered the sky as far as Malaysia and Singapore. In 1998 the “high-performing Asian economy”, as Indonesia has been classified in the early 1990s by the World Bank, had turned in less than twelve months into a country that was dependent on the charity of others and the economy of which had contracted with almost 14% (Thee Kian Wie 2001: 164).

After a flow of violence, targeted mainly against the Chinese population of the country, had swept the streets of Jakarta and other major Indonesian cities leaving over thousand people dead, and street protests against the government became the dominant factor in the everyday life of Indonesians even the most loyal supporters of Suharto started to back down. An interpretation that student protests somehow were the major factor in bringing Suharto down would be rather naive. In fact the resignation of Suharto in May 1998 was a result of a much longer and deeper process of social and political change in Indonesian society.<sup>1</sup> The strengthening civil society – in the forms of more liberal media, non-governmental and religious (Islamic) organisations, as well as trade unions – had been present in Indonesia some ten years earlier, but the violent crackdown of these movements took place in the 1990s. The disagreement over the use of violence and internal power struggles within the regime led into situation that Suharto's inner circle grew smaller and became ever more nepotistic and corrupted. When student movement started to protest openly they had new and powerful supporters. On the other hand Suharto, stumbling from one political pitfall to another had to admit in May 1998 that the number of people loyal to him had diminished so greatly that he was unable to form a cabinet and had to announce his resignation. He appointed the Vice President B J Habibie as his successor, an act that was protested by many but also welcomed as a form of compromise that would hinder the country from falling into pieces. Habibie's term as president lasted less than two years, but he pushed forward some reforms that have had and will have great effects on the lives of Indonesians.

Amongst the most crucial reforms has been the launching of laws on regional autonomy (*otonomi daerah*). Law No. 22/1999 attempts to democratise the local government by giving Indonesian regions relatively free hands on deciding the form of government below the provincial level. Law No. 25/1999 in its turn is designed to shift more fiscal power to local governments, thus making them economically more

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<sup>1</sup> See for example John Sidel's *Macet Total: Logics of Circulation and Accumulation in the Demise of Indonesia's New Order* (Indonesia 66/1998) for a brief description on the late New Order period.

independent from Jakarta. Decentralisation laws have been criticised for being too vaguely formulated and for giving too short preparations period – of only some nineteen months – for the regions to design new governmental and economic structures. This led into growing tensions and intensified power struggles within the regions that in some places have led into open violent conflicts. It has also been pointed out that the economic sovereignty puts Indonesian regions to very unequal positions as some regions like Riau and Kalimantan are very rich in natural resources while others like West and East Nusa Tenggara are very poor and will continue to depend on money flows from the central government. For the latter economic independence can be more of a threat than an ideal situation.

In June 1999 Indonesians participated in the first democratic election – the only earlier such experience had been in 1954 – in which the New Order's three-party system had been replaced by forty-eight political parties rallying for the parliamentary seats. Of these less than a half got into the parliament, and the parties that have had relevance in the Indonesian political life since are limited to only a few: Megawati Sukarnoputri's PDI-P became the biggest party of the country, the former leading party Golkar gaining second place, and these two were accompanied by Islamic parties such as PKB (party with close connections to Nahdatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Muslim organisation), PPP (an Islamic party that was formed through merging all Islamic-oriented parties into one during the New Order), PAN (an intellectualist party led by Amien Rais), PBB and PK (the last two having not so much relevance due to the number of seats but due visible politics and lobbying). As Greg Fealy (2001: 100) has pointed out it can be questioned how well the political parties have succeeded in fulfilling their role as representatives of people and educating and recruiting people for political activities in the society. Most parties have remained elitist and their connections to the voters extremely poor particularly outside big cities and outside Java. It can be assumed that the coming elections in 2004 will show great changes in the political map of Indonesia, and also that the political power struggles will become intensified in the coming two years.

In autumn 1999 President Habibie allowed East Timorese to hold a referendum concerning its future, a decision that was welcomed around the world. But the response of Indonesian military was fierce: after the referendum local paramilitary groups that were supported by Indonesian armed forces massacred thousands of East Timorese and some UN workers and other foreigners, and practically demolished all infrastructure. While the events were unanimously condemned worldwide in Indonesia the response was rather confused. Ever since 1975 occupation Indonesians have been told that East Timor was liberated by Indonesians from the Portuguese, and there was no information about the human rights abuses that had tormented the life of East Timorese for over two decades.

Lobbying and political manipulations raised PKB's leader Abdurrahman Wahid to the highest position in October 1999.<sup>2</sup> Some violent protests followed immediately, but Megawati Sukarnoputri's nomination as Vice President was a compromise that managed the calm down the political atmosphere. Unfortunately not for a long, and Abdurrahman Wahid's presidential period became a messy play of political power struggles, corruption accusations and violence. While Abdurrahman Wahid travelled

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<sup>2</sup> Under the leadership of Amien Rais, who had become the chairman of MPR after the June election, the Islamic parties and Golkar (government party under the New Order, led by Akbar Tanjung) formed a political union called Central Axis (*Poros Tengah*), the aim of which was to prevent Megawati Sukarnoputri's presidency.

broadly abroad in trying to build trust among foreign investors in Indonesia's future development and its serious efforts in struggling against corruption and for economic reforms, his critiques complained that he did not pay enough attention to the internal problems in the country. Ongoing violence in some parts of Indonesia such as the Muslim-Christian violence in the Moluccas and the fighting between the separatists and Indonesian army in Aceh remained unresolved. Despite the fact that Abdurrahman Wahid is a steady supporter of democracy, his sometimes very authoritarian decision-making and his disability to allocate power paralysed his government. It was due to these that his presidency became to an early end in 2001, bringing Megawati Sukarnoputri into the leading position. She is relatively firmly in power for the moment, and Indonesia's tortuous path of reformation has seemed to have smoothed somewhat, but not without setbacks. Important political reforms recently have included the withdrawal of military representation from MPR, and the change of electoral law that allows Indonesians to elect President directly in the future.

During the last few years Indonesia has been a battlefield of various interests. Neoliberalist ideas are dominant in economy in which multinational companies continue to play important role. The cleansing of the country's government and business from KKN, an acronym for corruption, collusion and nepotism, cannot be done in just a few years, considering that Indonesia has had the not too flattering ranking of being the most corrupted country in the world and that corruption is always as much a cultural and social practice as it is an economic issue.<sup>3</sup> During the New Order the administration was built so that the civil servants earned living through corruption and unless they will receive proper salaries in the future it is hard to change the practices. On the other hand, it has been noticed that corruption is common also beyond the state administration and big business, it is very much present in Indonesian civil society institutions, including NGOs. In many regions the court cases are postponed due to the judicial system that is considered to be thoroughly corrupted itself and thus unable to handle the cases in a just way.

Constant violent conflicts have been very disturbingly present in Indonesia throughout the era of *Reformasi*, as the post-Suharto period has been named. The widest and most longstanding conflict has occurred in the Eastern Indonesian islands of Moluccas where since 1999 according to various estimations some five to ten thousand people have died in bloody battles between Christian and Muslim population.<sup>4</sup> Around one third of the population, 700 000 people have fled their homes and sought refuge on other islands. The violence in the Moluccas escalated in May 1999 when Java-based militant Islamic Laskar Jihad organisation sent its troops there. Indonesian army has also been part of the conflict. There have been outbursts of collective violence also elsewhere in Indonesia, in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, Lombok, just to mention a few examples. Violent conflicts have lasted already long in Aceh and West Papua. It is most important to put the recent Indonesian violence into wider perspective, to see that Indonesian archipelago has had a great deal of violence throughout history. The Dutch colonial rule was supported with the use of physical force and violent gangs. After the independence regional protests were silenced with violence, and one of the most horrifying genocide took place in 1965-

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<sup>3</sup> On Indonesian corruption and nepotism, see Saya Shiraishi (1997).

<sup>4</sup> Reports on conflicts in Indonesia can be found at the website of International Crisis Groups ([www.crisisweb.org](http://www.crisisweb.org)). Some reports are published also in Indonesian language.

66 when Suharto took power from Sukarno in a coup during which approximately half million allegedly Communist Indonesians were killed. The New Order also continued to rule with fear, continuous offences of human rights were committed by the Indonesian army and gangster groups that received compensation from the government for terrorising the opponents of the regime. The violence does not disappear with the change of government unless more democratically functioning governance and a stronger civil society is created. In this respect non-governmental organisations are in a very strategic position in providing neutral information on the conflicts and in creating a more democratic and just political system at the grassroots level.

There are also fundamental changes on the map of Indonesia's civil society that need to be taken into account. The number of non-governmental organisations (LSM) has multiplied in a few years since the change of the government gave more space for their functioning. Today the of NGOs in Indonesia is around 14 000 local NGOs and tens of international NGOs. Since the change has been so rapid and there is not much experience in the field it is quite natural that some of these NGOs are better than others, and quite honestly some of them are not at all good. Indonesian civil society has received much more colour from other types of actors as well, particularly religious mostly Islamic organisations have played important role in welfare, education and other social issues. In villages religious institutions are often best collaborators in projects, as has been noted by some NGO activists. On the other hand, Indonesian map of religious orientations has also witnessed the growth of fundamentalist groups that try to take law into their own hands and do not refrain from violence in forcing their ideas through. Bomb blast in Bali in October 2002 was an extremely sad example of this. Such groups form a serious threat to the rising democracy in Indonesia – and elsewhere in the world – as measures targeted against these small groups can be directed at others. Many have raised the question whether the new stricter security laws will diminish the freedom of civil society in the future.

## PART II: DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITIES

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### 4. Background

In this section I will describe briefly the two partners involved in the cooperation and also discuss to some extent the particular conditions that preceded the cooperation between Kepa and Insist. It is important to understand independent goals and strategies of the two organisations, and to see the cooperation in relation to these. I will also discuss some of the problems that have come up during this fact finding mission concerning the organisations and/or their activities. It should be kept in mind that when it comes to Kepa, the observations are based on remarks made by Kepa staff itself or by Kepa's member organisations and are thus self-reflecting, while notions concerning Insist are views that my interviewees or myself have created based on the information there is available about Insist in Finland.

#### 4.1. *Kepa*

Service Centre for Development Cooperation (Kepa) is an ideologically, politically and religiously independent umbrella organisation of Finnish non-governmental organisations that was established in 1985. It has more than two hundred member organisations in Finland, the fields of which cover a wide spectre of Finnish civil society from development aid organisations, cultural societies, educational institutions, missionary organisations to political organisations, trade unions, human rights and environmental organisations. While this wide variety of organisations offers Kepa immense possibilities and know-how it also makes the organisation occasionally rather bureaucratic and slow. Kepa also has a wide network in the South through its partnership contracts with non-governmental organisations in ten countries. Kepa aims at increasing the awareness of global issues in Finnish civil society. It improves Finnish civil society's ability to act by providing facilities and collaborating with Finnish non-governmental organisations. In developing countries Kepa works for strengthening the civil societies by supporting the field activities of its partners and by establishing networks between Finnish and Southern non-governmental organisations. Kepa's major source of funding is Finnish public development aid, of which some ten percent is directed to non-governmental organisations. In 2001 Kepa received 4.54 million euros from the Finnish Foreign Ministry, of which around half is spent on activities in the South.

In the first decade of Kepa's history its activities in the South took place through Volunteer Programme, through which Finnish voluntary workers were posted to non-governmental organisations in developing countries. It turned out, however, that such form of cooperation was not effective and that it was necessary to find alternatives. Kepa's Partnership Programme was developed to build up and maintain more long-lasting relationships with non-governmental organisations in the South and through them to be able to work for sustainable development. It was considered necessary that new partnership agreements would be based on equality rather than the earlier donor-receiver relationship. In an equal partnership both sides have rights and responsibilities, and both should feel that they are giving and receiving sides of the relationship. These debates took place in Kepa in 1996-97, and at that same time it was suggested that Kepa should extend its activities in the South to new countries.

The initiative to include Southeast Asian countries into Kepa's field came particularly from Kepa's member organisations that were concerned on worsening environmental conditions in the region and the role of Finnish forest industry in the escalating exploitation of the tropical rainforests. In 1997 it was decided that a fact finder will be sent to Indonesia to map out possible Indonesian non-governmental organisations for cooperation.

Kepa has listed four central themes for its development policy as follows: the strengthening of democracy, the justice in global economy, the promotion of equality and the eradication of poverty, and sustainable development. For gaining these goals Kepa works within the Finnish society, in the South and also at international forums. The basic assumption in Kepa's activities is that many of the problems are shared by people both in the developing countries and in the so-called industrialised countries and thus also the solutions should be searched for together. Thus, while Kepa has some activities that are primarily directed to Finland their effects are meant to be global. Kepa has three visions of its own role in development political action. First, Kepa is a resource centre that provides information and services related to development policy for its member organisations in Finland and for its partners in the South. Kepa's second role is to influence the political decision making as well as public opinion in its field. Thirdly, Kepa functions as a body of cooperation for its member organisations that promotes their interests in the field of development work in financial and qualitative questions.

In the South Kepa functions through partnership programmes with local NGOs, and often though not always either by setting its own field office in the country or by posting a Finnish information officer or liaison officer to work with a local organisation. In Finland Kepa organises education for activists, publishes journals (*Kumppani*, *Uutiskirje* and *Bulletin*, the last one in English) and maintains a website and mailing lists, as well as offers services for member organisations such as library, meeting rooms and office facilities. Another important activity is lobbying among Finnish political leaders, as well as other important agencies in development policy. Kepa organises some information campaigns, an ongoing one is *Ruoka-aikakampanja* that seeks to raise awareness of Finnish public concerning the issues on hunger, food production, and food security.

Due to its role as an umbrella organisation Kepa does not do grassroots development work itself, but facilitates and assists the activities of its partners and member organisations. In many such countries where Finnish development aid organisations have worked for already long, Kepa's major activity is to assist these organisations with their work. On the other hand, in such regions as Southeast Asia Finnish non-governmental organisations have not been very active, and the reasons for Kepa to start partnership programmes there are rather different. As mentioned above, the need to monitor the activities of Finnish enterprises was a major reason to start cooperation in Indonesia and in Thailand. Another, related issue has been the radical social and political changes in Southeast Asian countries, and the exceptionally visible role of multinational companies in their economies. Southeast Asian non-governmental organisations have also been very active in discussing the effect of globalisation and it has been felt that Kepa and Finnish civil society organisations could benefit from these debates.

Ever since the late 1990s Kepa has been undergoing an organisational reform, Kepa's own *Reformasi* period. Nowadays it is a team organisation, each team taking

care of its particular tasks and collaborating directly with Finnish workers and partner organisations in the South. There are educational and publication teams that do not need much clarification. Policy advocacy team organises campaigns and takes care much of the lobbying. Network team organises events and other programmes together with member organisations. Resource team focuses on research and develops Kepa's future development policy. South team consists of Programme Officers who take care of Kepa's country programmes. In addition to these there are teams for administrative tasks. Kepa's gradual and somewhat slow move towards new organisational structure is a cause of frustration for both Kepa's own staff members and its member organisations. According to many, continuous change has had negative effect on working processes and perhaps also on working atmosphere. For example there are less clear procedures for handling a proposal that comes from member organisations or from the field offices. Teams are not always aware of each others activities. This ambiguity has apparently affected Kepa's Indonesia programme as well. It is absolutely necessary in the future to develop efficient ways to communicate between various teams.

#### **4.2. *Insist***

Institute for Social Transformation (Insist) was established in 1997 in Yogyakarta, Central Java. It is a non-profit NGO that receives regular funding from Kepa, and has received project-based funding from such donors as Ford Foundation, Hivos, Novib and Oxfam. Insist "specializes in strengthening civil society by developing the capacity of non-governmental and other civil society organizations including socio-religious organizations and community leaders" (Insist brochure). It sees that only a strong civil society can create alternative ways to work for sustainable development and democratisation. Insist has a few fulltime workers but a wide majority of its activities is based on voluntary work and projects. Its activities can be divided into three: training programmes, publishing, and research. In the following I will describe these briefly. Since there is not much information on Insist at Kepa's Helsinki office – a fact that has been brought up by several interviewees during the fact finding work in Finland – the image drawn here may be incomplete.

In terms of training Insist offers tailor-made programmes for customers that often come from NGO community.<sup>5</sup> However, Insist has also developed an educational programme that is organised fully by the organisation itself. This programme, which also receives funding from Kepa, is called *Involvement* (Indonesian Volunteer for Social Movement) that was started in 1998 and organised its first educational programme one year later. By 2002 four classes have started the one-year programme. Involvement programme aims at increasing the number of civil society actors, and by doing this strengthen the Indonesian civil society that has become very weak during the thirty-two years dictatorial rule of Suharto's regime. For each course some 20-30 participants are recruited among university students, non-governmental organisations and other sectors of civil society.

The programme starts with a two-month period spent at the educational centre in Yogyakarta where students take part in class activities. During this period students follow lectures on development theories and social analysis as well as on gender,

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<sup>5</sup> According to Insist brochure the exemplary programmes offered for such training are as follows: 'Development Theories for Field Workers and Educators', 'Critical Education and Training for Trainers', 'Integrating Gender Perspectives into Development Projects', 'Strategic Planning for NGOs', and 'Advocacy for NGOs and Social Organisation'.

environmental issues and human rights. As the method used is participatory (apparently based on educational methods developed by Paolo Freire), the students are encouraged throughout the educational period to transform theoretical knowledge into action. Visits to local NGOs, evaluations based on those visits or on participants' own work experiences in NGOs, and group discussions are an integral part of the programme. Practical skills on how to work as a facilitator as well as research skills are also rehearsed. The longest part of the Involvement training students spend on a field trip. Before the education starts Insist has mapped out non-governmental organisations that can receive Involvement students to conduct their fieldwork. These organisations are located all over Indonesia. During the nine and a half month period at field students take actively part in the advocacy work, do research and training. Thus, they can immediately put their newly acquired knowledge into practice. Insist monitors the field activities, and after the fieldwork the students will still gather in Yogyakarta for a two week period during which they will compare and evaluate their experiences. In 2003 Involvement programme will be decentralised, and five Involvement schools will be established around Indonesia (Moluccas, West Kalimantan, North Sumatra, Bali and Maumere).

Considering that one of the weakest points in Indonesian civil society organisations is the lack of information and analytical skills that would help the organisation to locate its own activities within a larger social framework, the Involvement programme has a very important task at hand. The participatory method that has been chosen for the programme is also apt to strengthen democracy both within the NGO community (which unlike sometimes assumed is not democratic by nature but by hard work) and later on also in the communities with which the participants of Involvement programme will function. It is very recommendable that Kepa will continue to fund Involvement programme in the future. As both Kepa and Insist are offering training for civil society actors it would also be profitable for both organisations to compare their programmes and practices and to see if some closer forms of collaboration could be developed in the future. There has been exchange of information already but it has not led into further contacts. Kepa's training team was also not convinced that the goals of their training programmes would match as Kepa's own training focuses on teaching very practical skills for NGO activists while Insist has more political objectives. I would recommend that Kepa's Information Officer in Yogyakarta actively follows the class activities and also otherwise participates in the programme. It would also be good to have information on the results of Involvement programme available at Kepa's Helsinki office. It would be interesting to know for example how the students who have participated in the programme a few years back have used their skills and experiences after that.

There is another training programme in Insist called *Fellowship* that is targeted for more experienced NGO activists and aims at strengthening their theoretical knowledge and ability to analyse experiences they have gathered during their working career. This is done through studying theories and also through processing their experiences in textual form. A board of advisors, consisting of scholars and NGO activists, will supervise the participants, and the products of their work will be published by Insistpress in books or articles. First five students started in 1999, and in 2001 there were nine of them, their research titles varying from Islamic fundamentalism to peasant rights and indigenous peoples movement. Unfortunately there is not much information about the Fellowship programme available in Helsinki, but perhaps in the future more collaboration could be developed around Fellowship.

Insist also runs a publishing house, Insistpress. It publishes books, some ten books annually, on environmental issues, globalisation, democracy, agriculture, peasants' rights as well as the rights of indigenous peoples.<sup>6</sup> With the financial help from Kepa it publishes four times a year a journal *Wacana* (edition of 2000-3000 copies) that is sold at bookstores, universities and to NGOs. In 2000 it had 150 subscribers, many of which were libraries. This journal discusses the issues concerning Indonesian civil society. Each volume is built around one theme such as 'globalisation and peasants' rights', 'violence and social transition', or 'human rights'. The journal is published in Indonesian language, but each article has a short English summary. In the proposal of *Wacana* it is stated that the aim of the journal is to distribute a variety of ideas and theoretical approaches that can be used for building up a democratic society. The journal is said to publish both academic and popular writings, but at least the two volumes I have observed consisted by and large of articles by foreign and Indonesian academics: professors, university docents and academic researchers. In addition to these there were writing by Insist staff. While I agree fully that such journals as *Wacana* are more than welcome to the unfortunately narrow field of Indonesian publications I cannot help wondering whether *Wacana* manages to reach its assumed audience, the NGO and other civil society activists? Unlike Involvement programme that systematically transforms theoretical knowledge into practice *Wacana* articles appear to remain rather distant and academic. Having said this, I am happy to add that there are also very positive comments on *Wacana* from its readers not only in Indonesia but also in East Timor.<sup>7</sup> The question above should of course be directed to the editorial body of *Wacana*, and does not concern the cooperation between Kepa and Insist directly. However, the issue of blurring the boundaries between academic research and NGO activism is of importance not only in Indonesia but also in Finland, and thus it might form a suitable topic for discussion, particularly so if both Kepa and Insist will direct their activities towards research in the future.

There is however another problem that from my point of view should be discussed concerning the publications in general. It has turned out during the interviews that only a couple of the more than twenty persons interviewed had ever read *Wacana* or any publication by Insistpress. Furthermore, they did not have any idea what kind of publications they would be. Many said that it would be interesting to know whether for example *Wacana* had published articles that would be useful for their own work. The problem is of course the language – hardly anyone speaks or reads Indonesian in Finland. While it is unrealistic to expect full translations of all *Wacana* articles it should still be somehow possible to distribute the ideas presented there, for example by sending the English summaries of each volume to Kepa's mailing list. Then, if there turns out to be an article of particular interest it could be discussed whether it could be translated, or perhaps published in a Finnish journal. More efforts could be

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<sup>6</sup> I have not seen a full list of Insistpress publications, it is recommendable to have one available at Kepa's Helsinki office/library. Neither could I find any link to their website at Kepa's webpages, even though there was information that Insistpress has one. The titles I have seen so far show, however, that Insistpress publishes books by well-known Indonesian scholars, but also translates major works in social sciences into Indonesian, also such academic bestsellers as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. Needless to say, during Suharto's time such works were not available in Indonesia, and furthermore poor knowledge of foreign languages restricts Indonesians from reading them in original language.

<sup>7</sup> This has also been mentioned in Roem Topatimasang's travel report to Finland in 2000 in which he mentions that there has been a survey among the readers of *Wacana*. Short summaries of this kind of surveys would be useful to increase Kepa's knowledge about Insist activities.

put on advertising Insistpress publications in Kepa and through its networks. While the group of Indonesian-speakers in Finland is still small it is growing, and consists of people who are interested in the very issues Insist discusses and may be interested in purchasing the publications. As it seems to be that Kepa sees its future role more and more to be related to research and information production it should be in its interests to actively enlarge the body of literature produced by the people from the South that is available in Finland.

The third area of Insist activities is that of research, and this is the part there is least information about in Helsinki. While Fellowship is part of Insist's training it is also apparently closely linked to research. The draft for future cooperation (period 2003-2005) between Kepa and Insist includes a plan to start publishing 'position papers' that would present the result of small research projects on currently important issues concerning civil society and social movements, democratisation and globalisation, gender and others.

## **5. Phases of Co-operation**

This section gives a chronological account of Kepa's activities in Indonesia since 1997 when the first fact finding mission was sent to search for possible partner for cooperation. Again I will make some comments throughout the description about the various phases of cooperation.

It is perhaps useful to make a note at this point that Kepa's entrance in Indonesia has also been remarkable in respect to Finnish development work in Indonesia as a whole. As Indonesia is not one of the partner countries for Finnish development aid<sup>8</sup>, the governmental development aid from Finland to Indonesia has been channelled mainly through Finnish Embassy in Jakarta that gives funding to individual projects according to applications that have been received from Indonesian and/or Finnish organisations. In year 2002 Finnish Embassy in Jakarta has allocated € 280 000 for various projects of Indonesian civil society organisations, around the themes of human rights, good governance, environmental protection and poverty relief. Furthermore, Finland donates money to UNDP-run programme in Indonesia. In addition to the governmental development aid there have been a small number of Finnish non-governmental organisations that have conducted projects in Indonesia, often in collaboration with Indonesian NGOs. One such group are missionary organisations that often run educational and health programmes. Another important type of NGOs that have had interest in Indonesia, or more generally Southeast Asia, have been environmental organisations. A third group of Finnish NGOs active in Indonesia has been working with human rights issues. Many of all these organisations are actually Kepa's member organisations, and the initiative to look for an Indonesian partner came from them. Kepa and many other Finnish non-governmental organisations receive funding from the Finnish Foreign Ministry that directs 10-15% of its development aid money to non-governmental organisations (in 2001 11.4% or 38.7 million euros).

In the 1990s there appeared a growing interest in Southeast Asian region in Finland. Finnish companies were searching for new business opportunities and were intrigued by the news on Asian tigers and profits that could be collected in the region. Natural

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<sup>8</sup> The partner countries that have received development aid from Finland are Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mosambique, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Peru, Zambia, Tanzania and Vietnam (Suomen Kehitysyhteistyö 2001: 39).

wealth such as rain forests looked promising for Finnish forest industry and Finnish government was very helpful in smoothing the way for Finnish companies in Asia. At the same time, however, Finnish non-governmental organisations observed their gaze and started to raise questions about the effects such business enterprises might have on Southeast Asian people and their environment. They also brought up the question whether it was not irresponsible of Finland to do business with governments that were responsible for repeated human rights assaults. In order to raise these questions it was necessary to search cooperation with Asian organisations with similar interests. First visit to Southeast Asia was conducted in 1996 when Marko Ulvila visited four countries in the region (Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and Indonesia) in order to estimate the possibilities to find ways Kepa could start cooperating with Southeast Asian NGOs. This visit led into starting cooperation with PER and TERRA in Thailand and to a decision that Kepa should make further inquiries concerning the situation in Indonesia. For this purpose Kepa made two fact finding missions to the country. First took place in 1997 and the second one in early 1998.

### ***5.1. Preliminary Visits to Indonesia by Kepa, 1997-1998***

The first fact finding mission was conducted by Anu Lounela in 1997. During this visit Jakarta and Yogyakarta were visited, and representatives of NGOs in the two cities were interviewed in order to map out the variety of Indonesian non-governmental organisations and find a possible partner for Kepa. The first report stresses environmental questions, and particularly the role of Finnish forest industry in exploiting Indonesian rain forests. Visits to Sumatra and Kalimantan were also part of the plan, but due to unstable political situation during the 1997 parliamentary election these visits had to be postponed. In Jakarta the NGOs interviewed were the following: Skephi, Walhi (Indonesian environmental organisation, the representative of the Friends of Earth in Indonesia), Konphalindo represented environmental organisations, and Solidaritas Perempuan and Kalyanamitra representing women's organisations. In Yogyakarta discussions were held with a British-based NGO Oxfam, through which the possibility of starting a cooperation with a newly-established NGO Insist appeared. In February 1998 a short visit to The Netherlands and to Great Britain was made, during which Dutch (Novib, Hivos) and British (Oxfam) organisations that have activities in Indonesia were interviewed.

A follow-up mission in Indonesia was considered necessary and that was conducted by Anu Lounela and Päivi Ahonen in March 1998. During a two-week visit meetings were held with Oxfam, Insist, Walhi, the three of which were considered to be possible host organisations for Kepa's liaison officer in Indonesia. Additional talks were held with VSO (a British organisation the main activity of which is to place international volunteers at Indonesian educational institutions) and UNDP (United Nations Development Program). Finnish Embassy in Jakarta was also consulted, mainly concerning the practical matters such as working permits and visas. The purpose of the visit was to collect more information on possible partners for Kepa in Indonesia, and also to find out the best way to start activities in Indonesia. The Asian crisis and political instability of the country that during the time still was under Suharto's dictatorial regime, which was known to be repressive towards any activities of both local and international non-governmental organisations that might have political aspirations, were factors that also needed to be examined.

The recommendation of the fact finders was to begin further negotiations with Insist, as the organisation was a local initiative – as against such foreign organisation as Oxfam – and it was politically neutral. The fact finders suggested that Kepa would place a liaison officer in Insist for a six-month period in 1998. Walhi was seen as possibly risky partner for Kepa as it had become rather outspoken and ended up blacklisted by the Indonesian government. Oxfam had also expressed that it was not interested in acting as host organisation for Kepa, and recommended that Kepa would look for a local host organisation. Perhaps a good indicator of the huge difference between the political environment of NGOs in Indonesia in 1998 and now is that during the interview with Oxfam Kepa's fact finders were recommended not to mention "the support to the civil society or advocacy work to enhance the level of human rights, even if the local NGOs badly need support in these areas" (Looking at Indonesia 1998: 4).

Even though there are mixed memories about the preparatory visits to Indonesia among Kepa staff and its member organisations, mainly concerning the NGOs picked for interviews and the quality of the reports, there is a commonly shared satisfaction that Insist was chosen as a partner.

### ***5.2. First Phase of Cooperation, 1998-1999***

Based on the fact finding reports Kepa's Board made the decision in May 1998 to start cooperation with Insist. It was stressed that Insist as an organisation fitted well with the newly formulated policy guidelines and working methods of Kepa, and that it also fulfilled the criteria set for a partner organisation. Because the political situation in Indonesia during that time was extremely unstable, the period of collaboration was decided to be limited to six months, after which the circumstances would be evaluated. The first period of cooperation lasted from September 15, 1998 until March 20, 1999. The tasks of the Finnish worker during that period were the following:

- \* strengthen the cooperation between Kepa and Insist, and help the two organisations to learn to know each other
- \* to prepare a need assessment study concerning Indonesian NGO projects on Java, Sumatra and Kalimantan, and to inquire their interest to cooperate with Finnish NGOs
- \* to inform Finnish NGOs on environmental and human rights issues in Indonesia
- \* to explore the possibilities of cooperation between Kepa and Insist around the educational programme and publishing
- \* to organise a meeting between the representatives of Kepa and Insist in Yogyakarta during which the results of the need assessment study and prospects of further cooperation will be negotiated

Anu Lounela was recruited to work for Kepa in Indonesia for this period. She conducted a need assessment study together with her Indonesian counterpart. As part of the need assessment study a closer study was conducted on situation in Riau and West Kalimantan, both of which were visited. The results of the study were published by Kepa under the title *Development in Indonesia: Some Regional and National NGOs in Indonesian Democratization Process* (Kepa's Reports 19/1999).

The report has been particularly warmly welcomed by the Finnish environmental organisations such as Maan Ystävät (Friends of Earth in Finland) and environmental activists. They have remarked that the information received through the report and also directly from Kepa's worker in Indonesia was of great help in their campaign that aimed at raising a public discussion in Finland concerning the activities of Finnish forest industry – particularly that of UPM Kymmene – in Southeast Asia and their effects on the environment and the living conditions of the local population. The campaign was very successful and led in its part to UPM Kymmene's withdrawal from Riau and also to changes in attitude of Finnish government concerning the relation between the promotion of Finnish business interests and the development aid. The positive experiences gained from this indicate that it might be useful to develop the tasks of Finnish information officer in Indonesia towards research and analysis (see section 10).

In addition to the need assessment study Kepa's worker built the Kepa desk at Insist office in Yogyakarta, took part in Insist's programmes and wrote articles to Kepa's publications. In the beginning of March 1999 three representatives from Kepa's Helsinki office, Executive director Folke Sundman, a member of the Board Kalle Sysikasi and programme officer Päivi Ahonen visited Yogyakarta. They participated in a seminar that Insist had organised on "The Role of NGOs in Transition of Indonesia: Local Governance and the Natural Resources Management". The topic of the seminar was very relevant during the time as Indonesian government was preparing the laws on regional autonomy (which were signed only a couple of months later). Together with fifteen NGOs participating in the seminar Insist prepared a press release expressing their disappointment to the political reforms made by the Indonesian government and that they were against the planned laws on regional autonomy. This shows that Insist had adjusted its policy and was aiming at influencing the political decision-making in Indonesia's new political environment. In a sense, it became closer to Kepa's vision of being an important actor also in the political sphere in its home country.

Two-day negotiations were also held between Kepa and Insist during the visit. During these negotiations it was found that both sides were satisfied with the cooperation so far but that the period had been too short. It was considered necessary to prolong the preparatory period with another six months, as the need assessment study had not been completed as yet. It was agreed nevertheless that from year 2000 onwards a longer (2-3 years) cooperation period would be started. To prepare a more established cooperation between Kepa and Insist it was considered necessary to explore three possible ways of cooperation: Kepa's participation in Insist's programmes in the form of funding and otherwise, the development of political dialogue, and the possibility of placing Kepa's development worker in Insist. Part of the preparations was also the visit to Finland by Insist's Board member (and the Head of Oxfam's Yogyakarta office) Rizal Malik. He met NGO activists, Kepa's staff, and participated in WTO meeting and Maailma Kylässä-festival during the four-day visit to Helsinki.

A second preparatory period lasted five months, from June 1<sup>st</sup> until October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1999. During this period the main task of Kepa's worker was to study the three themes mentioned above, and to prepare a cooperation plan for Kepa and Insist. She also participated in Insist's programmes and continued to contribute to Kepa's publications. She was preparing an edited volume together with Insist's Roem

Topatimasang on the position of indigenous peoples in Indonesia. In August 1999, as part of Sadankomitea's East Timor activities Kepa's worker helped to organise training for some ten Finnish activists who were travelling to East Timor to observe the referendum concerning East Timor's possible separation from Indonesia.

The preparatory period for Kepa's and Insist's cooperation was exceptionally long when compared to Kepa's partnership programmes in other countries. It was apparently also somewhat frustrating for Insist that felt that they could not plan their future programmes without a certainty of the continuation of Kepa's funding (*Raportti: selvitystyö Indonesiassa 1998-1999*, Anu Lounela). Partly the delays were due to the political changes in Indonesia during that time, but it seems that during the latter six months of preparatory work the cooperation was already functioning very much in the way it has continued since. It could be asked whether the second preparatory period was necessary at all?

### ***5.3. Second Phase of Co-operation, 2000-2002***

The cooperation between Kepa and Insist moved to another stage in the beginning of 2000 as a partnership agreement was signed by the two organisations. The period of partnership agreement has been January 1, 2000 – December 31, 2002, and thus is still continuing. The general objectives of this cooperation have been threefold. First, it has aimed at "strengthening the development of democracy, civil society and local communities in Indonesia". Second, the exchange of information, experiences and knowledge between the Indonesian and Finnish civil societies has been seen as an important field of activity. The third goal of the cooperation between Kepa and Insist has been to monitor the activities of Finnish and multinational companies and financial institutions as well as Finland's bilateral development cooperation. The two partners have had their own responsibilities during the three years of cooperation which are as follows:

**KEPA:**

- 1) supports Insist's activities financially with a total amount of € 119 413
- 2) supports Insist in its information and advocacy work with a placement of a Finnish information officer in Insist, the costs of which are covered totally by Kepa. The estimated costs of information officer for the three-year period are € 85 188

**INSIST:**

- 1) conducts its work according to a working plan
- 2) provides Finnish information officer with facilities
- 3) budgetary responsibility concerning Kepa's financial aid
- 4) annual reporting on both activities and budget, including possible changes

After a recruiting process in June 2000 during which less than ten candidates were examined Anu Lounela was chosen as Kepa's information officer in Insist. She left for Indonesia only in the end of October 2000, but organised Indonesia activities at Kepa's Helsinki office before that time. At Kepa's Helsinki office the programme officer under whose responsibility Indonesia programme was, changed when Aija Taskinen replaced Päivi Ahonen.

It is no use to give a detailed account of the activities during the cooperation period. Instead, I will give a summary on them, mainly based on Information Officer's work reports, which she has send to Kepa in every three months. This of course means that the information here is biased towards Information Officer's tasks, but as a matter of fact the Kepa-Insist cooperation as a whole has also similar bias. This will be discussed in more detail in section 8 below. From the reports it appears that most of the working time of Kepa's Information Officer has been spent on publications, for writing news and articles to Kepa's own publications almost weekly and for assisting the publication of Wacana in Insist. Other activities that are frequently brought up is participation in various meetings and seminars, administrative tasks (accounting, residence permit), and taking care of visitors. There has been little collaboration with Finnish NGOs, though it could be that it most often consists of exchanging information through email and is not mentioned. This has been the impression I have received from Finnish NGO activists who are satisfied with the help they have received from Kepa's Information Officer in Indonesia.

Unlike planned in the beginning, Involvement programme has not needed much attention from the Finnish Information Officer and she has only followed its class activities in the beginning of each course and the evaluation periods in the end. Since third Involvement programme that started in September 2001 Involvement training is not run by Insist staff anymore, but by the Involvement alumnae that manages and organises the training independently. Insist staff will give lectures but only interferes with the management if help is considered necessary. There is unfortunately no detailed information on the activities in Insist as a whole, but only some concerning the Involvement training and Wacana journal. Many of the persons interviewed in Helsinki considered Involvement as Insist's major activity, and perhaps it is so. It would be beneficial for planning the future cooperation to find out more of other Insist activities, like its tailor-made educational programmes and particularly research. Related to this, Insist has apparently started to develop further its second educational programme, Fellowship. I will discuss research more in detail in section 10.

There have been four visits between Kepa and Insist during the three-year period of cooperation. In May 2000 Insist Board member Roem Topatimasang visited Helsinki for twelve days as part of staff exchange. He had several discussions with Kepa staff members, told them about Insist and learned himself about Kepa, as well as held discussions concerning the agreement between Kepa and Insist that during the time had not yet been signed. Part of the visit was the public discussion on the book on nature resources and local communities in Indonesia, edited by Anu Lounela and Roem Topatimasang. Mr Topatimasang also gave a paper in a seminar on 'Security in Southeast Asia', organised by Sadankomitea. He also met with representatives of Finnish government and some journalists. In March 2001 Kepa's information unit sent one of its team members Ilona Niinikangas for a two weeks visit to Insist. She got familiar with the work of Insist, particularly Insistpress, and discussed the role of Kepa's Information Officer as correspondent. She also met some local NGOs. The trip produced several stories for Kepa's publications. In September that year Director of Insist Mansour Fakih from Insist was in Finland for one week, visiting Helsinki to meet Kepa's staff and Jyväskylä where he participated in seminar on agriculture and neoliberalism. And finally in May 2002 Kepa's Programme Director Ville Luukkanen from Kepa visited Insist shortly. Comments I have heard and read about the visits both from the visitors themselves and those whom they have met have been

very positive, and more staff exchange or other type of visits – particularly ones that include seminars – should be considered to be included in the future cooperation. These do not need to happen on a regular basis, but they should also not be ignored as visits offer great opportunities to widen the network and to give and receive direct feedback on the cooperation.

The communication between Kepa's Helsinki office and Insist's office in Yogyakarta has not always worked ideally. This has led into situation that sometimes suggestions have been left in an open air, and messages have not been responded. There has also not been enough feedback. This can be very frustrating and lead into a situation where no more innovative proposals are made. For the field office and to a certain extent also for the Programme Officer at Helsinki office Kepa's new team structure has led to confusion; it is not always clear under whose responsibility this or that task or plan would be, and to whom project proposals could be presented. There is a fear that suggestions end up at wrong person's desk, and stay there. The situation may improve through time, but it should also be taken care of that the procedures are clear enough, particularly so if in the future Kepa will move from country programmes towards a more thematic approach which might further obscure the procedures.

Another issue that has become apparent when reading through the documents on the cooperation is that there are not many evaluations included into the communication between Kepa and Insist that would reflect on what has been done rather than just state whether the plan was fulfilled. Indeed, I was surprised to hear that Kepa does not have general rules on reporting during the period of cooperation except for financial matters. The quarterly reports sent to Programme Officer in Helsinki by Information Officer in Yogyakarta has totally been based on mutual agreement between them. Yet, these reports tell most of what has been going on in the field and to which direction the cooperation has moved. I would encourage the continuation of such practice in the future. Reports are not, unlike some think, nasty tasks through which bosses check upon the staff, but they can be excellent channel for communication, and an opportunity to see one's own work from a perspective. They should of course not be too time-consuming but writing a report four times a year hardly will be so.

## **6. Financial Cooperation**

Kepa has directed funding for the cooperation between Kepa and Insist on the basis of the budgets presented for each period. The funding is divided into two, one covering the costs of the Finnish worker in Indonesia and the other part consisting of institutional and specifically defined support for Insist.

During the first six-month period of cooperation in 1998 the total amount of money allocated to the cooperation was FIM 199 200,- of which FIM 50 000,- (Rp 25 800 000,-) was directed to the publishing of Wacana journal and the rest (FIM 149 200,-) for the costs of the Finnish worker and the costs arising from conducting the need assessment study (including the salary of an Indonesian counterpart hired for the study).

There is some confusion concerning the budgetary periods during the first phase of cooperation, and thus the documents I had at hand do not show directly how much money Kepa allocated for the second six-month period. For example there is not

information about the costs of the Information officer during this time. There is nevertheless information from Insist that in 1999 it received money from Kepa for Involvement programme Rp. 78 764 626.75 (in July 1999) and for Wacana journal Rp. 76 123 984.50 (in April 1999). In addition to this FIM 27 101 was reserved for organising the seminar and workshop in March 1999 in Yogyakarta, which covered travel and accommodation expenses of the participants as well as costs of facilitators. Despite the lack of information available for the report Kepa's Programme Officer assured that there had been no failures in financial matters, rather the problems have been due to misunderstandings concerning the budgetary periods.

During the period of partnership agreement between Kepa and Insist (2000-2002) the budget has been as follows (in euros):

Year 2000

1. Institutional support:	
publications	15 137
training	16 819
2. Staff Exchange	6 727
3. Information Officer	<u>19 510</u>
TOTAL	58 193

Year 2001

1. Institutional support:	
publications	16 819
training	23 546
2. Information Officer	<u>30 106</u>
TOTAL	70 471

Year 2002

1. Institutional Support:	
publications	16 819
training	23 546
2. Information Officer	<u>35 572</u>
TOTAL	75 937

Thus, the total institutional support from Kepa to Insist has been € 119 413 during the three-year period, and the costs of Kepa's Information Officer during the same time have amounted to € 85 188. Kepa's financial aid to Insist has been directed to the publication and education departments so that around 60% of the funds have been budgeted to the two training programmes of Insist (Involvement and Fellowship) and the remaining 40% has been reserved for the publication of Wacana journal. In practice an increasing amount of the funding has been used for the educational programmes as the publications department has needed less funding than was estimated (in the financial year 2001-2002 Insist informed that only 19% of the funding went to publication).

I wonder whether it would be better in the future agreement to define Kepa's funding to Insist fully institutional, instead of targeting it to 'publications' and 'training' as has been done in the present agreement. Are these conditions necessary? Considering that there has been no problems in budgetary matters until now and also that in Helsinki there seems to be full trust that Insist's activities are worth the funding, such specifications do not seem essential. If working plans, budgets and reports are

dutifully provided any specified budgetary restrictions seem artificial. Purely institutionally given funding would also give Insist freer hands in allocating the money for the activities that need it most. Both Involvement and Wacana are programmes that are planned to become financially independent in the future, and when this happens the money should be available for other purposes.

## **PART III: THEMATIC EVALUATION OF KEPA'S EXPERIENCES IN INDONESIA**

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Sections of this part evaluate the cooperation between Kepa and Insist thematically. This part reflects the ideas that have come up during the interviews with Kepa's staff members, representatives of Finnish NGOs, and some other actors who have interest in Indonesia (Finnish government, academic researchers). Based on more than twenty interviews I have made a synthesis of ideas and opinions, and thus it should be stressed that the statements below are my own interpretations.

### **7. Were the Objectives Fulfilled?**

As said above, the partnership agreement sets three general objectives for the cooperation. It aims at strengthening the democratisation and civil society in Indonesia, supporting information flows between Finnish and Indonesian civil society organisations, and monitoring the activities of Finnish and multinational companies and financial institutions in Indonesia as well as Finland's bilateral development cooperation. Kepa's input has been to provide financial assistance to Insist and to place Information Officer in Indonesia. Insist has agreed to run its programmes according to plans, to provide facilities for Finnish Information Officer, and to give financial reports to Kepa annually. Both partners have clearly fulfilled the responsibilities set for them in the partnership agreement.

Kepa's and Insist's activities during the last three years have also agreed with the general objectives set for the cooperation. To take the 'monitoring' objective first: UPM Kymmene campaign by environmental organisations in Finland received necessary support from Kepa's information officer in Indonesia. Though most of this activity took place before the current agreement its long-lasting effects have been visible in the change of attitudes in Finland. Concerning the second objective it can be said that Kepa's Information Officer has improved the flow of information from Indonesia to Finland in the form of news and by providing help for Finnish NGOs. Kepa has actually been pioneer in this respect as before there was hardly any information on Indonesia available in Finnish language in Finland. Whether the information flow from Finland to Indonesia has been growing respectively will most probably be answered in the fact finding report conducted in Indonesia. The first objective also focuses on Insist's activities in Indonesia, and will better be answered there.

I would however criticise the objectives set for the cooperation. All three objectives are extremely general and generality makes it almost impossible to monitor them. How does one actually measure whether the development of democracy, civil society and local communities in Indonesia has strengthened, particularly so within such a short time span as three years? The process towards democratisation in Indonesia has without a doubt reinforced during the last few years, and hopefully – even probably – the cooperation of Kepa and Insist has added something to it, but democratisation is such a complex and multidimensional process of social transformations that it is quite meaningless to try to estimate what effect any particular event or programme has had on it. Strengthening the processes of democratisation and Indonesian civil society are good principles for the cooperation between Kepa and Insist, but there

should be more specifically defined goals as well. There should be strategic or operational objectives for the time period of the agreement, which could in something like “during the next three years three studies will be conducted in collaboration between Kepa and Insist”, or “with Kepa’s active assistance Involvement will be made independently functioning programme by 2005” These here are not suggestions but just imaginary examples, the objectives should be developed together in thorough discussions between Kepa and Insist.

I think that the lack of more specific objectives is the reason why many interviewees felt that Kepa has not had a clear programme in Indonesia, that there are no clear targets for which one should work. A couple of the interviewees even stated that there is no real justification for Kepa to have programme in Indonesia, that the partnership with Insist has not been beneficial to Kepa (as it should be, according to the idea of Partnership). They were of the opinion that Kepa should focus its resources to those countries where there is wider base of Finnish NGOs and where it already has established programmes. In the beginning the monitoring of Finnish forest industry was a clearly defined task, but during the last two years or so that has faded away. In some other partnership countries Kepa has a clear mission to assist Finnish non-governmental organisations, and this takes most of the time. But in Indonesia there are few Finnish NGOs, and the purpose for Kepa to find a partner in Indonesia was to have independent and perhaps experimental programmes. But such experiments have not realised so far. The first three years could be thought as a period during which the cooperation between Kepa and Insist has been launched, but now it is about the time to make the cooperation more focused and develop it further. In the following sections I will discuss some central parts of the cooperation so far and also possibilities for future cooperation.

Many saw that Kepa’s major role in the future should lay in producing and distributing information for Finnish organisations and for its partners in the South. This would also mean that Kepa would direct its activities more towards producing social analyses. If this will be it, then it should be defined what particular kind of information should be produced/distributed for Indonesian and Finnish actors. It has for example been suggested that as Southeast Asia forms an important forum for issues related to globalisation, both due to a large number of multinational companies in there and also due to local NGOs’ active role in the debates over the effects of globalisation, there should be more stress put on this topic in the future. Globalisation is a topic of interest for both Kepa and Insist, and it is currently also a hot topic in Indonesia. Another issue that was brought up several times during the interviews was that the South-South cooperation has not received enough attention so far, though the participation of Indonesian and Thai representatives in the preparations of the Asian Social Forum together with Kepa’s Indian partner Lokayan is a good start. As Insist has also expressed its interest in the South-South cooperation this point should be given more attention in the future. Some have hesitated whether it would be possible to find suitable partners for such cooperation, but this can only be found out by trying. To compare and suggest possible partners for cooperation is clearly a task for Kepa’s Helsinki office rather than to those working in the field offices.

## 8. The Role of Information Officer

It is apparent that in addition to financial help from Kepa to Insist the major form of cooperation has been the work of Kepa's Information Officer posted in Insist. Information Officer has been the most important link between the two organisations and also her reports have been the major channel through which information about Insist and about Indonesia has reached Finland. Both Kepa's staff and Finnish NGO activists have been rather pleased with the input of present Information Officer, she has been characterised as industrious, friendly and possessing a good knowledge of Indonesian society, language and culture. On the other hand there was much criticism on the one-sidedness of the action so far. The Information Officer herself seems quite satisfied with the period she has worked in Insist, though says that it has been a laborious undertaking.

The major points of criticism concern the job description and how it has been fulfilled. The Information Officer works both for Insist and for Kepa, but here I will only discuss her tasks towards Kepa (for the Insist part there is not much information except that she has participated in editing Wacana, done translations and taken part in planning but the results of these tasks cannot be evaluated from Finland). The job description tells that the Information Officer:

- 1) follows the discussion on the political situation and on development policy in Indonesia and provides information to Finnish audience on these themes, of particular importance are issues related to civil society, local communities and environment, international financial institutions and multilateral and Finnish enterprises
- 2) takes part in Insist activities
- 3) intermediates contacts and support activities of Kepa's member organisations in Indonesia
- 4) takes part in Kepa's planning work concerning activities in Indonesia.

While all these areas have been covered somehow many if not most of the interviewees stated that far too much attention has been put to publications. The Information Officer's work in Indonesia has for most part focused on writing articles to Kepa's publications. Kepa's publications department is very satisfied with her input but other departments and member organisations feel that there are other activities that should also be developed. They feel that the kind of popular information that has been produced for Kumppani and Uutiskirje does not offer any substantial information that they could use in their own work. The stories have been interesting but remained light and unanalytical. Many actually confessed that they hardly ever read them.

Most interviews brought up that Kepa's Information Officer should focus on producing more analytical information on Indonesia, its socio-political changes, and the state of the civil society there. This aim sets a number of restrictions and conditions to the tasks of the Information Officer in the coming years. The production of social analyses is very time-consuming and it will be impossible to continue the flow of popular articles to Kepa's publications if the stress is put on analysis. It should also be made clear which themes and topics have priority. This may be problematic as wishes are as many as there are actors in Kepa (and Insist of course). Environmental organisations lack information on the state of environment in

Indonesia, and also information on the effects of industry and loggings on local conditions. There is also interest in finding out more about the effects of globalisation in Southeast Asia, on political and economic conditions there. Some suggest that Kepa should actively work to increase information on Islam in Finland in order to decrease the stereotypical ideas distributed by media, and that Indonesia would be an excellent country for this purpose. There should also be information on human rights situation. Without a doubt one person cannot fulfil all the needs and it also depends on his/her own capabilities and interests which topics will be covered. Some indeed complained that the evaluation discussion should have happened before and not after the recruitment. Last but not least a balance should be found between the needs of Insist and Kepa in how much work load each organisation puts on the Information Officer.

There was a clear consensus among the interviewees that while the Information Officer should also in the future help Finnish NGOs in finding contacts in Indonesia for them and finding information that is difficult to find in Finland. It was also clear that there is a limit to the help NGOs should ask for, that the Information Officer does not need to function as a Travel Agent or Hostel for Finnish activists. An overload of requests will hardly be a problem in the near future considering the small amount of Finnish NGOs in Indonesia. So far there has apparently not been too many demands from Kepa's teams either as the collaboration outside South team and publications has been rather minimum.

It has remained unclear to me why Kepa's Information Officer conducted a study for the Finnish Embassy in Jakarta concerning their projects. For this a leave from Kepa's work was taken. I would have two points of criticism concerning such undertaking. First, if the Information Officer's work load was already heavy on what grounds additional work from outside agency could be taken without disturbing Kepa's own activities? Second, as a new organisation in Indonesia Kepa should be more sensitive towards the rather negative attitudes Indonesian NGOs hold towards state administration. Kepa's close linkages to Finnish state through funding already forms a burden for the organisation's credibility, not only in Indonesia but also in Finland. While a Finnish organisation working in a foreign country of course should have good contact with Finnish Embassy for practical reasons it would be worth thinking also how any additional contacts may affect its relation to its local partners. Finnish Embassy in Jakarta has been very positive with close working relations with Kepa's Information Officer and said that they have received a lot of help for selecting suitable projects to be funded. They also hope that there would be more contacts with Kepa's Helsinki office in this respect in the future as they see that Kepa's objectives are very similar to theirs. It should be discussed what kind of cooperation with the Finnish Embassy is beneficial to Kepa and its Indonesian partner.

## **9. Public Relations and Media**

As the publications have been the major forum in which Kepa's Indonesia activities have been visible in Finland I found it necessary to take a look at its contents. In order to get an idea what kind of stories have been published on Indonesia in Kepa's publications I have gone through the ones that could be found through internet search. Of the more than eighty articles I came across (some were published both in English and in Finnish or they appeared several times) more than a

half were written by Kepa's Information Officer. A brief thematic examination tells that the biggest group of articles covered major news events in Indonesia (around twenty articles), mostly Indonesian political events and outbursts of collective violence in the country. Activities of Insist were described in eight stories, and as many articles discussed Indonesian NGOs more generally. Forestry also occupied some eight stories, most of which were published in the early years of Kepa's Indonesia activities and were written by environmental activists rather than the Information Officer. Other issues were about gender, Islam, indigenous peoples, land rights, workers' rights and also the Bali conference (preparatory conference before Johannesburg). Thus, the scale has been indeed wide, but the stress has often laid on the news of the day.

There seems to be aims at publication team that are quite contradictory to the wishes of Kepa's other teams and also to Kepa's member organisations. Publication team has been really active towards field officers – and this is something they should be praised for – and kept frequent contact also with Yogyakarta. They wish to receive as broad selection of articles about all possible themes to make Kumppani magazine and Uutiskirje more interesting to the readers. And the figures show that Kepa's website is becoming more and more popular and that readers of Kepa's publications find them interesting. While doing its good work, however, publication team manages to distract Information Officer from other work tasks, as s/he may need to do hours of preparatory work for writing about a topic that does not belong to his/her expertise or the fields defined in the job description. It is fine of course if it does not disturb other activities, and if it will be decided that also in the future Kepa's Information Officer in Indonesia mainly works as a correspondent. But considering the opinions in other teams and Finnish NGOs this does not seem to be what is expected. I wonder whether it would be possible in the future to publish also articles by Indonesian writers in Kepa's publications.

I also enquired whether it was considered necessary to widen Kepa's media activities by approaching public media, particularly Finnish newspapers and radio/television. Most saw this dropping outside Kepa's scale of activities, and did not consider it problematic that the readership of Kepa's publications inevitably is very limited (Uutiskirje has a circulation of 1500, and Kumppani of 8000). A few remarked that there are some journalists who are interested in Southeast Asia and it could be useful to keep them in mind if need occurs.

## **10. Towards Research?**

It has without a doubt become apparent by now that research is the direction Kepa should have in the future. There were very few (but still some) who did not consider it necessary at all. But there are differing opinions of what kind of research should be produced.

It needs to be made clear that the kind of research Kepa is assumed to produce should be very different from academic research produced in universities. It was stressed all over again that Kepa should not become a research institute. Instead, Kepa should produce analytical information on topics that are of importance to civil society actors in Finland and in Indonesia. The needs of Kepa's member organisations and partners should have the priority when the decisions on research projects are made. Analysing data from the field is very time-consuming and it would be of great help for organisations to have someone to do it for them. What it

also needed is deep and focused descriptions on Indonesian society. This is particularly important during this time Indonesia is going through vast social and political transformations and many things are changing fast. As mentioned above there are contradictory wishes about the topics that should be covered, but most seemed to find information on development policy, international trade, and the effects of globalisation important.

While Kepa's Information Officer will need to have skills for social/political analysis in the future s/he does not need to produce all the analyses him/herself. The role of the Information Officer can be more of a coordinator than a researcher. As Insist has also announced that its future orientation will be towards research there appears a good opportunity to develop cooperation further. Contacts with academic researchers should also be developed, and the few of them with whom I discussed had positive attitude towards such collaboration. Kepa could also be active in the field of popularising academic studies, a task that universities fulfil very poorly.

Even though there have been only a few visits and seminars during Kepa's and Insist's cooperation so far, these have been received in positive terms. In the future seminars and visits could be related to ongoing research projects. This will need additional funding from Kepa, but on the other hand if the research themes handle such matters as globalisation and social/political changes they will be of interest to a much wider audience in Finland than just those interested in Indonesia. And when organised in Indonesia they will offer a good opportunity to bring researchers and civil society activists from various countries there and thus widen the perspective of Indonesians in these matters. These should also be taken as a chance to develop South-South cooperation.

## **11. The Forest Question**

When Kepa made the decision to look for non-governmental organisations in Southeast Asia as partners one of its main aims was to take up the question of the exploitation of rainforests in the region by international companies, among those Finnish forest industry. It was argued that as (during the time) forest industry was the major forum of global economy that Finnish companies played a role, it would be highly relevant topic through which the effects of global free-market economy could be brought into public discussion in Finland. During that time Finnish environmental organisations also received worrying news from their Indonesian counterparts concerning the escalating speed tropical forest was destroyed in Indonesia, particularly on the islands of Sumatra and Borneo. The biggest Finnish forestry company UPM Kymmene's cooperation the Indonesian-Singaporean company April in Riau was introduced to the Finnish public as a prime example of Finland's successful forest industry and was supported by the Finnish authorities. Finnish environmental organisations decided to start a campaign, focusing particularly on this case that had had massive negative effects on the lives of local populations in Riau and Sumatra's rain forest.

For this campaign it was necessary to obtain information about the local situation in Riau. Kepa's fact finding mission to Indonesia took place at the time, and the fact finder collected information also for the environmental organisations.<sup>9</sup> This grassroots level information was especially important as until then there was no data

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<sup>9</sup> For this, see Anu Lounela "Development in Indonesia: Some Regional and National NGOs in Indonesian Democratization Process" (1999).

available about the conditions Finnish forest companies worked in Southeast Asia, and the environmental activists who were part of the campaign were very thankful for Kepa's role in providing the information. This is not a place to give detailed account on the campaign, but that much must be said that it was rather unique and very successful. It was unique because it managed to bring down the myth of the exceptionally skilful and professional Finnish forest industry that was merely helping developing countries in taking care of their forests. It pointed out that Finnish businesses could be as damaging and as exploitative as any other, and that there were other aspects important to Finnish image abroad than just trade. The campaign was successful as the negative public attention played a role in UPM Kymmene's decision to withdraw from Riau and concentrate its Asia activities to China. The UPM Kymmene-April case also showed that non-governmental organisations and Kepa as an umbrella organisation are able to influence the actions of Finnish corporations and especially the trade and development policies of the Finnish government.

The campaign took place during the last years of the 1990s, which was the preparatory period for the cooperation between Kepa and Insist. The monitoring of "the activities of Finnish and multinational companies and financial institutions as well as Finland's bilateral cooperation" was mentioned as one of the objectives of the cooperation. However, during the three-year-period this activity has become less visible. This is partly due to relatively low level of activity there is in Indonesian business since the beginning of the monetary crisis in 1997 and the years of political, social and economic instability that have followed. Many multinational companies have frozen their investments to Indonesia, and generally speaking in all business the profile has been low. It is not dead, however, and something has also been done among the NGO campaigns, though in a much smaller scale than the UPM Kymmene campaign. As part of international campaigning Suomen Luonnonsuojeluliitto organised in 2002 an information campaign concerning the garden furniture made out of tropical, often Indonesian wood that has become popular among the Finnish consumers in recent years. For this campaign information was received also from Kepa's Information Officer in Indonesia.

It is alarming that there turns out to be a false impression among the Finnish public – and this includes Kepa and NGO folk – that since UPM Kymmene withdrew from Riaupulp there would be no Finnish companies in Indonesia left to be monitored. Environmental organisations in Finland reminded repeatedly during the interviews that while UPM Kymmene did give up its Indonesian factories it continues to function in China. Furthermore, the raw material for the UPM Kymmene's Chinese factories is imported from Riau. Thus, the Finnish forest industry continues to be involved in the very same activity of cutting the rain forest on Sumatra. It is also necessary to keep in mind that other Finnish forest company Stora-Enso, which has never be seen as problematic as UPM Kymmene, has retained its plantations in Kalimantan, and that Finnish machinery is still widely used and sold in Indonesia. Environmental organisations and also academic researchers in Indonesia have expressed serious concern recently about the negative effects the decentralisation may have on the exploitation of natural resources. Under the regional autonomy the state control over the natural resources diminishes and in several regions, for example Kalimantan, this has led to radical increases in logging that is made under small concessions that can be regulated within regencies, and also illegally. There is

also indication that as Sumatra's forest will soon be totally destroyed the activity will move to West Papua. This region should thus be monitored carefully in the future.

Due to these developments it seems very important that when the second partnership agreement between Kepa and Insist is formulated the monitoring of the activities of Finnish and multinational companies in Indonesia should be a highly important point of discussion. Though environmental issues have not been the focus of activities in the cooperation between Kepa and Insist during the last couple of years, it is clear that they have not grown less important. Environmental issues and democracy are interdependent as only a strong civil society and democratic decision-making processes can guarantee that people have a say in matters concerning their own living environment. And NGOs have an important task in providing people – both in the South and in the North – with information concerning the state of environment and the activities of big business as well as legislative measures that affect the environment.

It is recommendable that Kepa and Insist would discuss, together with both Finnish and Indonesian environmental organisations, the best strategies to approach these latest developments that threaten the state of environment in Indonesia and also elsewhere in Asia. It should also be discussed how Kepa's activities will relate to those of Finnwatch that has recently started its work. Finnish environmental organisations have their own contacts with Indonesian NGOs, but they see that Kepa has been and should continue to be an important source of information on political and social developments in Indonesia and also on environmental issues. They are somewhat concerned that Kepa's partner Insist does not have environmental issues in its agenda, though it needs to be said that they were generally satisfied with the organisation in its other fields of activity. Rather than trying to artificially add environmental issues on their agenda alternative partners could be explored in this respect. First of all, however, it should be decided what kind of monitoring would be most profitable for Finnish NGOs? Should it be finding supportive information for each campaign, or should it be more permanent type of activity? Should the role of Kepa's information officer in the future be that of a coordinator or would it be better that Kepa would direct funding to some Indonesian NGO or even an individual researcher to do the monitoring?

## **12. Human Rights**

Another group of Finnish NGOs that have been active in Indonesia are those concerned on human rights. Organisations such as Sadankomitea (100 Committee) and KIOS have received support from Kepa's Helsinki office and Kepa's Information Officer in Yogyakarta both financially and in terms of information support. In addition to these Amnesty International's Helsinki office also has Indonesia as one of the regions it follows intensively. There will be activities around human rights in Indonesia in the future, for example Sadankomitea is planning a seminar together with European and Indonesian NGOs on Indonesia's conflict areas for summer 2003. It should be discussed what role Kepa will have in the future in the area of human rights and whether the theme should be part of Kepa's and Insist's cooperation agreement. So far, Insist has participated in human rights education in the Moluccas that is one of the conflict areas of Indonesia, and it will be of interest to know whether human rights issues will be one of its priority topics in the coming years.

Considering that human rights situation has not improved in Indonesia during the post-Suharto era, and that in some parts of the country it has apparently grown even worse, it should be considered as a very important topic. At the same time the possible risks that are included in taking up this topic should also be openly discussed. Human rights situation in West Papua and in Aceh has worsened alarmingly according to both human rights activists and academic researchers. NGO activists have been harassed, captured, tortured and also murdered repeatedly in these regions, and at least in West Papua it seems that the regional autonomy (or Megawati's presidency with its growing Nationalism, according to some) has made the situation even worse. It should be noticed that in West Papua like many other parts of Indonesia human rights assaults are closely related to business interests of local, national and international actors who often are well connected with the armed forces (business interest includes for example logging, see forest section above). West Papua is seemingly becoming a topic through which Indonesian politicians can flag their Nationalist aspirations and paint threatening images about the national disintegration as the political parties prepare themselves for the 2004 election. For Papuans this may mean more violence. Due to the long-lasting conflict the social system in Aceh has nearly collapsed; there are no judges, doctors, teachers present as civil servants have fled from the province. Finnish organisations are planning to focus their activities to these regions in the future. Kepa's Information Officer is preparing a report on the state of civil society in those two regions for the moment (when it will be ready and what it includes is not clear). It should be discussed what kind of a role Kepa (and Insist) will take in the future.

### **13. Kepa's Indonesia Activities in Finland**

A problem that has been brought up by many is the scarcity of Indonesia activities and activists in Finland. This means both in Kepa's Helsinki office and more wider in Finnish civil society. Until now the activities have concentrated around the periods Kepa's Information Officer has been in Helsinki, during these periods there have been language courses and Indonesia-related meetings. Based on these activities an Indonesia Society has been formed, but its level of activity has also remained relatively low until now. Kepa's Helsinki office has only one person working directly with Indonesia, the Programme Officer who at the same time has two other country programmes under her supervision. The workload of Programme Officers is too high for the moment, but hopefully in the beginning of next year the hiring of one extra person will ease their pressure and leave some time also for developing the cooperation in the future. At the same time, it remains unclear how their tasks will be changed in the organisational reformation.

A suggestion that has been made for increasing Indonesia activity in Helsinki is the formation of Indonesia work group. This receives both support and resistance among the people interviewed. It is apparent that something needs to be done to get more people involved in Indonesia cooperation. Those who hesitate are afraid that a work group would be too bureaucratic and that it might be impossible to bring the incoherent expectations and interests of various actors together. If such group would be formed it should be based on voluntary work. Some say that there simply are not enough people who are interested in Indonesia, but then again it is clear that most activist groups are not born by chance but through organised action. Perhaps Kepa should also encourage people to act. There are people in Finland who are interested in Indonesia and there are even a number of Indonesians living permanently in

Finland. How could these people be drawn together to act? Once again, if Kepa would have a clearer picture of what its own aims are in Indonesia within the coming years it might be easier to get people involved.

## **PART IV: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

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Here I will summarise the major findings that have come up during the writing of this report, and what I consider to be important points of discussion when Kepa and Insist plan their future cooperation and also questions to be pondered within each organisation.

Kepa's interest towards Indonesia, and more generally Southeast Asia, grew up from two reasons in the latter part of the 1990s. First, there was an internal need in Kepa to find new ways to act in the South that would better fit into the idea of Kepa as resource centre for its member organisations and as an influential actor within development political issues in Finland. Second, Kepa's member organisations brought up the need to monitor Finnish forest industry's activities in Southeast Asia, and to raise public discussion on its role in environmental problems of the region. After an extended preparatory period Kepa decided to sign a partnership agreement with Insist, an Indonesian organisation that like Kepa had educational role and interests in policy advocacy. Kepa's presence in Indonesia has coincided with massive socio-economic and political changes of the country, and this has coloured the cooperation to a certain extent as well. The collapse of Suharto's dictatorial regime and the rapid increase of civil society actors since then have made apparent the need to strengthen the Indonesian civil society and democratisation of the country.

It can be concluded that in general terms the first years of cooperation between Kepa and Insist have had positive effects on the relation between the NGOs in the two countries, and has managed to raise the level of information on Indonesian society in Finland. Kepa has also had a remarkable input in monitoring the activity of Finnish companies in Indonesia. Both parties have fulfilled the responsibilities set for them in the agreement. In financial terms the cooperation has functioned as planned. The goals that were set for the partnership have been satisfactorily reached though it must be remarked that the generality of the objectives set for the cooperation limits the possibilities to evaluate the activities. In the future there should be more clearly announced goals set for the period of the agreement. This would help all those involved to focus their own activities accordingly and it would also make it easier to justify Kepa's Indonesia programme.

The major problem in the cooperation has been the lack of information, in Helsinki office this means that there is not much information available about Kepa's Indonesian partner Insist. Kepa's staff in Finland feel that Insist has remained distant while they feel that they would like to know more about its activities and that there would be more possibilities for cooperation. The situation could be improved by more efficient reporting on ongoing activities on both sides and by taking better advantage of Kepa's mailing lists and website in spreading information. It is also felt that there should be more direct contacts between Insist and Kepa in Helsinki, that until now information flow has too much limited to contacts with Kepa's Information Officer. Kepa's own problems – bureaucratic approaches and procedures and unclear organisational structure – have been seen as part of the problem. Kepa's prolonged reorganisation scheme is considered to be problematic among Kepa's staff and its member organisations and there seems to be a danger that if the reorganisation will

still continue much longer, it threatens to become an internal determining factor in Kepa's field programmes. As one person I interviewed phrased it, 'the best thing Kepa could do is to stop reorganising'.

Most of those who have been interviewed for this report hold that it has been useful to post Kepa's Information Officer in Insist office in Yogyakarta. It has increased information on Indonesia that is available in Finland, and Kepa's member organisations as well as Finnish Embassy in Jakarta have expressed their gratitude for the assistance they have received from the Information Officer. It has been easier to make contacts with Indonesian civil society actors when there is a Finnish person working closely with Indonesian NGOs. On the other hand, the work of Information Officer is seen to have focused too much on publications while the needs of Finnish civil society actors have laid on receiving more analytical information. There is an apparent need in the future to develop the work of Information Officer towards the direction of research. At the same time, however, it should be guaranteed that the publication team of Kepa will not suffer from the changes. Information Officer should also continue assisting Finnish and Indonesian NGOs in their work.

As the two parties of the cooperation have turned out to be fitting partners for each other, the next three years of cooperation between Kepa and Insist should focus on the intensification of the partnership. This should happen by raising the amount of activities in Helsinki and by giving a better focus for the activities in Indonesia. Kepa's support for Insist's training programme and publishing should be continued also in the future to the extent that Insist considers it necessary. There is however a shared interest in social analysis, and it should be discussed how it can best be developed. Apparent themes that raise interest in Finland are globalisation, international trade and issues related to development policy. Furthermore, there are specific topics that Finnish NGOs working with Indonesian ones find important: environmental issues and human rights. As an umbrella organisation for Finnish NGOs Kepa should have an active role in supporting them in their work. I do not see that themes suggested for analysis are necessarily incompatible. Global trade is one of the main reasons why Indonesian forest is disappearing, and those profiting from such business are often the ones who commit human rights assaults. One way to tackle the problem is to give local population better means to fight for their rights i.e. to strengthen the civil society. The major point of discussion should then be what exactly would be the best input Kepa and Insist together could offer to both Indonesian, Finnish and international civil society in this respect, and what are the parts that would best be done in collaboration with third parties.

# ANNEXES

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## PERSONS INTERVIEWED

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