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# INDONESIA ANNUAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS 2007 REPORT

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## **DISCLAIMER**

The authors' views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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### List of Acronyms

BPK	State Audit Authority (Badan Pemeriksa Keuangan)
BPS	Statistics Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik)
DPD	Regional Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah)
DPR	People's Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat)
DPRD	Regional People's Representative Council (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah)
KPK	Corruption Eradication Commission (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi)
KPU	National Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum)
KTP	National Identity Card (Kartu Tanda Penduduk)
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NU	Nahdlatul Ulama
PDI-P	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia - Perjuangan)
PKB	National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa)
PKK	Family Welfare Movement (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga)
SES	Socio-Economic Status
TNI	Indonesian Armed Forces (Tentara Nasional Indonesia)

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## INTRODUCTION

The objective of this report is to inform the Indonesian people and interested institutions and organizations about the perceptions, attitudes and aspirations of the Indonesian people on a number of broad themes relating to the development of democratic governance in Indonesia. Some of the major areas with which the report deals are those of public support for democracy; pluralism and tolerance; national and regional parliaments and executives; the justice system, law enforcement agencies and rule of law; local government and decentralization; corruption; and gender equity.

It is hoped that the information in this report will provide not only a snapshot of Indonesians' views on the above issues as of mid-2007, but will also stimulate debate that will give further impetus for reforms assisting the development of democratic processes and improved governance for the people of Indonesia.

The report's analysis is based on a public opinion survey conducted in 16 provinces of Indonesia between 27 May and 8 June 2007. Information for the survey was obtained from a total of 2500 face-to-face interviews in these 16 provinces. The survey methodology was constructed to ensure that the results are representative of the views of the Indonesian people. Field work for the survey was implemented by Polling Center; the survey instrument, analysis and report were developed by Democracy International, in conjunction with Polling Center and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report details the findings from a survey conducted by Democracy International (DI) in Indonesia. The interviews for this survey were conducted between 27 May and 8 June 2007, with a national sample of 2,000 respondents and an over-sample of 500 respondents. The data has been weighted by age, education, and religion to be nationally representative for the adult (17 years +) population. The margin of error for the national sample is plus/minus 2.2%. Throughout this report, data from the 2007 survey is compared to a similar national survey conducted by DI in 2006 and with comparable data from earlier surveys conducted by IFES.

### Attitudes Toward Democracy and Rights, Freedoms and Opportunities

- The percentage of Indonesians that believes that democracy is preferable to any other form of government has declined from 59% in 2006 to 51% in 2007. Only 5% think that non-democratic governance is acceptable in certain situations. However, a higher percentage of Indonesians than in 2006 (30% versus 22% in 2006) say that the form of government in Indonesia does not matter to people like them. Those with a primary or lower level of education are more likely to state that the form of government does not matter to them: 37% with this level of education hold this opinion, equal to the 37% who prefer democracy. Respondents with higher levels of education are more likely to prefer democracy. Lack of concern about the form of government is more widespread in older age groups.
- When asked to indicate what it means to live in a democracy, Indonesians are now more likely than in the 2006 survey to equate living in a democracy with its material benefits. Sixty percent of respondents cite “people feeling secure” as indicating that a country is a democracy, while 48% say this is indicated by “everyone having work” and 42% mention “no official corruption”. In all three of these cases, the percentages of Indonesians mentioning these issues have increased significantly since the 2006 survey. Conversely, the percentages mentioning freedoms such as freedom of choice (46%), freedom to vote (28%), and freedom of speech (28%) have declined since the 2006 survey.
- Indonesians generally believe that their ability to exercise certain rights, freedoms and opportunities has stayed the same or has increased over the last 12 months. More than half believe that they now have better opportunity to have an education (54%), and to exercise freedom of religion (53%). There have also been significant increases in the percentages that say they are better able to exercise freedom of expression and freedom to vote. More Indonesians believe that their ability to obtain a job has become worse than those who believe it has become better: however, the percentage that believes it has become worse has fallen from 51% in the 2006 survey to 42% in this survey.
- There has not been any significant change in pluralistic attitudes since the 2006 survey. Nearly all Indonesians (93%) continue to believe that Pancasila, with its respect for the country’s diversity, is the best basis for Indonesian society, and 94% think that all people should have equal rights in Indonesia. There continue to be conflicting opinions on pluralism in the political sphere. The vast majority of Indonesians (84%) believes that people should have a right to freely express political opinions, even if these are not shared by the majority of Indonesians. However, a majority (58%) agrees that people should act according to the wishes of the majority in their community. Pluralistic attitudes are less in evidence on religious issues: for example only 16% of Indonesians would support a relative marrying someone from another religion.

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## Knowledge of and Opinion on Institutions

- The vast majority of Indonesians are aware of the executive institutions of their regent/mayor (98%) and their governor (97%). The Peoples Representative Council (DPR) is also recognized by more than nine in ten Indonesians (92%), while a majority is aware of other legislative institutions such as the regency/city People's Representative Council (regency/city DPRD) (79%), the provincial People's Representative Council (provincial DPRD) (72%), and the Regional Representatives Council (DPD) (63%). The Attorney General (63%) and the Supreme Court (62%) are recognized by a majority of Indonesians, but less than three in ten are aware of the Constitutional Court. There has been a decrease in those aware of the National Election Commission (KPU) from a high of 82% in 2005 to 68% in this survey.
- There has been an increase in net satisfaction (% satisfied - % dissatisfied) for most institutions since the 2006 survey. In the 2007 survey, satisfaction is most widespread with the executive positions of the regent/mayor (69%) and the governor (69%). A majority expresses satisfaction in the legislative institutions of the regency/city DPRD and provincial DPRD, as well as the DPD, while 45% express satisfaction with the DPR. The only institutions which suffer from negative net satisfaction ratings (more people dissatisfied than satisfied) are two anti-corruption bodies, the State Audit Authority (BPK) and the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK).
- Compared to the 2006 survey, a higher percentage of Indonesians in the 2007 survey say that the DPR's actions are effective in representing the needs and aspirations of various sub-groups in society. As in the 2006 survey, people are least likely to agree that DPR represents the needs and aspirations of minority religious groups. A majority of Indonesians (62%) believe that the actions of the DPR effectively represent the needs and aspirations of Islamic religious groups, and 55% agree that the DPR represents the aspirations of political parties. A majority also believes that the DPR is effective in representing women's aspirations (55%, up from 45% in 2006). Forty-nine percent agree that the DPR is effective in representing the aspirations of ordinary people (up from 40% in 2006).
- As in the 2006 survey, almost all Indonesians can name their president (97%), but far fewer can name the governor of their province (52%) or their regent or mayor (45%). Fewer than 3% can name one of their representatives in the DPR, DPD, or provincial DPRD, while 10% can name one of their representatives in the regency/city DPRD.
- For each of the local leaders and officials about whom respondents were asked, more respondents expressed high trust than expressed low trust. Trust is most widespread in local religious leaders (80% - up from 72% in 2006). A majority also expresses trust in local traditional leaders and in local government officials. A plurality is not aware of local NGO leaders, leaders from another religion, and judicial officials, but those aware of these leaders, are more likely to express trust than not, and trust is a little more widespread than in the 2006 survey.
- A majority of Indonesians express trust in the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) and in the police, and half or more of Indonesians express trust in television stations, radio stations, and newspapers. While a large plurality remains ambivalent in its attitude towards political

parties – having neither high nor low trust in them, there has been a significant increase since the 2006 survey in the proportion that trusts courts.

- A higher percentage of Indonesians report having attended an event organized by a religious organization in the last 12 months than in the 2006 survey (39% versus 31%). Ten percent report having attended an event organized by a political party, while 19% report having attended an event organized by a non-religious community organization.
- The most commonly paid tax in Indonesia continues to be the land and building tax. Fifty-seven percent report paying this tax, a decline from 62% in the 2006 survey. Taxes on vehicles are paid by 16% of Indonesians. Three percent report paying income taxes, while more than one in three (35%) say that they do not pay any taxes. Sixty-nine percent of those who pay taxes say that the services they receive are at least equivalent to the taxes they pay, while 27% say the services they receive are less than equivalent to the amount of tax they pay.

### Opinions on Decentralization

- The survey data indicates that a large percentage of Indonesians continue to have positive opinions on many aspects of local government in Indonesia. A majority of Indonesians (68%) believe that local government executives are accountable, while 63% agree that local government services are of good quality. There have been significant increases in these two opinions since the 2006 survey. A majority of Indonesians (55%) also say that they have more confidence in their local government than the national government. Half of all Indonesians (50%) believe that they can channel their aspirations to the local government. Even with these positive opinions, there are concerns about certain aspects of local government activities. Almost half (49%) disagree that local government is responsive to their needs, while 44% disagree that they are informed about local government activities.
- The percentage of Indonesians who are satisfied with their local government's handling of their responsibilities has increased since the 2006 survey. In the 2007 survey, 48% of respondents say that they are satisfied with their local government's ability to make and implement laws, compared to 37% in the 2006 survey. The percentage satisfied with local government's budgeting and financial management has increased from 25% in 2006 to 33% in 2007. The percentage satisfied with local government's ability to act honestly has increased from 39% to 47%, and the percentage satisfied with local government's ability to provide services has increased from 46% to 62%.

### Social Issues

- As in 2006, a majority of Indonesians report feeling safer than or as safe as they did one year ago. Nearly four in ten (39%) say that they feel safer than they did one year ago, 49% say they feel as safe as one year ago, and 10% say they feel less safe.
- The percentage of Indonesians who think that religion should play the most important role or an important role in political affairs has increased slightly from 47% in 2004 to 50% in this survey. The percentage of Indonesians who think that religion should not play any part in political affairs or that political considerations should dominate has declined during this period from 50% in 2004 to 37% in this survey. There are strong regional differences on this issue. Sixty-four percent of respondents in Aceh, and 61% in East Java believe that religion

should play an important role in political affairs, while 59% of those in West Kalimantan, 54% in Central Java, and 51% in North Sumatra say that religion should either have no role in politics or that political considerations should dominate.

- Compared to the 2006 survey, fewer Indonesians in the 2007 survey say that they want to live in an area with Sharia law (22% versus 30% in 2006). Thirty-seven percent say that they do not want to live an area with Sharia law, and 45% do not offer an opinion – an increase from 34% in the 2006 survey. As in the 2006 survey, those who would want to live in an area with Sharia law are slightly more likely to cite security-related rather than religious reasons for this opinion. Those who would not want to live in an area with Sharia law cite constitutional, cultural and freedom reasons for this opinion.

### **Role of Women in Society**

- When asked who usually makes the decisions on a variety of household matters, a majority of Indonesians say that on most matters these are usually joint decisions between the male and female members of the household. A majority make joint decisions on the choice of residence (75%), choice of social occasions to attend (75%), purchase of major household goods (64%), and the education of children (77%). Sixty-three percent say that the female members of the household usually make the decisions on the purchase of food.
- A large majority of respondents agree that women and men have equal opportunities to attend university (87%), access health care (85%), finish a high school education (85%), obtain employment (67%), and obtain credit (63%). Indonesians are split on whether women have greater opportunity than men in controlling the family finances (42%) or whether there are equal opportunities in controlling family finances (43%). A majority believes that there are equal opportunities for women and men in obtaining managerial positions and in influencing government policy, however around three in ten Indonesians believe that men have better opportunities than women in these regards. A majority of Indonesians (61%) believe that men have more opportunity than women to become a community leader, whereas 33% believe that there is equal opportunity for women and men. For all but control of family finances there has not been any significant change in these opinions since the 2006 survey.
- There are no significant differences in the opinions of women and men on these issues.
- Nineteen percent of respondents say that their household has at least one bank account. Of these bank accounts, 63% are in the name of a male member of the household, 20% in the name of a female member, and 16% are jointly held by male and female members.

### **Indonesian Emigrant Workers**

- Only 3% of Indonesians say that they have seriously considered working abroad in the past 12 months, 13% have thought about working abroad but not seriously considered it, and 64% have not thought about working abroad. Men are slightly more likely to have at least thought about working abroad. Those who have not thought about working abroad are more likely to give as primary reasons that they prefer working in Indonesia or want to be close to family, that it is too expensive to look for work abroad, and fear of mistreatment by employers abroad.

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- A majority of Indonesians hold negative views about working abroad. Sixty-five percent think that Indonesians who work abroad are likely to suffer abuse from their employers, and 59% agree that the payments required to find work abroad are too high.
  - The vast majority of respondents (71%) are not aware of any programs being implemented by governments in Indonesia to prevent Indonesians from being forced to work in another country or elsewhere in Indonesia. A majority of urban residents are unaware of these programs, and rural residents are even more likely to be unaware. Amongst those who are aware of these programs, 47% think that these programs are very or somewhat effective, while 36% believe they are not very or not at all effective.

### Opinions on Corruption

- The percentage of Indonesians who think that the Indonesian government's anti-corruption programs are effective has declined from 42% in 2006 to 34% in the 2007 survey. The percentage which thinks these efforts are not effective has increased slightly from 38% to 42%. Ten percent say that they are not aware of any anti-corruption programs, up from 2% in 2006.
- The percentage of Indonesians aware of anti-corruption programs in the courts has also declined slightly from 47% in 2006 to 43% in 2007. The percent not aware rose from 34% to 39%. Among those aware of these efforts, 50% think the programs are effective while 48% think they are not effective.
- Many Indonesians continue to believe that there are institutions and groups attempting to exert inappropriate influence on the decisions of Indonesian courts. Nearly three-quarters (72%) think that government officials attempt to exert such influence on court decisions, followed by 65% who think politicians attempt to exert inappropriate influence on the courts, and 64% who believe the same for business people. Only 24% believe that ordinary people attempt to have inappropriate influence on court decisions. Among those who say that certain actors and institutions attempt to exert inappropriate influence on court decisions, a majority believes that such influence from government officials, politicians, businesspeople, higher courts, and organized crime almost always or usually affects the outcome of the case. In the case of ordinary people, only 37% believe this influence usually or always impacts the outcome of the case.
- A majority of respondents believes that the police and local courts are at least sometimes influenced by outside influences. More respondents than not believe that this is also the case for prosecutors, the Attorney General's office, the Supreme Court, and Constitutional Court.
- Despite the perception of outside influences on judicial institutions, trust in the judicial system is more widespread in the 2007 survey compared to the 2006 survey. Seventy-five percent agree that the judicial system would acquit them if they were wrongly accused of a crime, up from 64% in 2006. Seventy-four percent agree that the judicial system would protect them from unjust treatment by the government, up from 70%, and 69% believe the system is unbiased, up from 64%.

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- There is not much awareness of the prosecutorial service. Less than 1% say they have read or heard much about it, 7% say that they have read or heard something about this institution and 37% percent have read or heard a little about it. A majority either says that they have heard nothing about the prosecutorial service (38%) or don't offer an opinion (17%). Less than 1% in each case says that they have had direct interaction with the prosecutorial service as either a victim of a crime, a witness, or as a person accused of a crime.
  - Those who have heard or read at least a little about the prosecutorial service tend to have positive opinions on some aspects of the institution. A majority agree that prosecutors have good knowledge of the law, respect people of all faiths, act in a professional manner, and treat all people equally. Still, almost half (49%) disagree that prosecutors never accept gifts from people involved in a case, while 29% agree.
  - There has been a slight increase in the proportion of Indonesians reporting paying some specific 'unofficial payments' or bribes for government services that are officially free. Sixty-one percent report having paid for a National Identity Card (KTP) in the last 12 months, up from 56% in 2006. The average amount paid for a KTP has increased from Rp. 19,500 in 2006 to Rp. 20,700. The proportion reporting paying to register a birth has increased from 28% in 2006 to 32%, with the average amount paid increasing from Rp. 43,600 in 2006 to Rp. 54,500. Additionally, nearly one-quarter (24%) say that they made a payment to traffic police without a traffic ticket being issued (compared to 20% in 2006), with the average payment decreasing from Rp. 64,000 in 2006 to Rp. 44,200.

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## METHODOLOGY

This survey was implemented through face-to-face interviews conducted between 27 May and 8 June 2007, using a structured questionnaire, with a total national sample of 2,000 interviews in 16 provinces of Indonesia. The provinces were selected to represent the views of all Indonesians within a specified margin of error. The provinces were: Aceh, North Sumatra, Kepulauan Riau, South Sumatra, DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, East Nusa Tenggara, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, South East Sulawesi, Maluku and Papua.

After the national sample was developed, a further 500 over-sample interviews were allocated, to allow for more reliable analysis of opinions and attitudes. In this report, these over-sample interviews have not been used when discussing nationally representative data from the national sample. The data from the over-sample interviews is included when discussing differences between various provinces in Indonesia.

After the selection of provinces, a multi-stage probability sampling methodology was used to select sampling points, with 10-20 interviews conducted at each sampling point. At the first stage, *kotamadya* and *kabupaten* were selected in each province through systematic sampling to ensure that interviews were allocated according to population proportion. In the second stage, systematic sampling was again use to select *kecamatan* and *kelurahan* within the sampled *kotamadya* and *kabupaten*. The next two stages utilize simple random sampling to select neighborhood administrative units (*rukun warga*), and within those units, the actual communities (*rukun tetangga*) where the interviews were conducted.

The selection of households was conducted using a random-walk method, starting from a randomly selected point in the sampled community. In the final stage, individual respondents within a household were selected though the use of a Kish grid. The sample design included provision for at least two call-backs to interview the selected respondent if he or she was not home at the time of the first contact with the household. The sample design also provided for the replacement of the sampled individual by a similar method if he or she could not be located for an interview during the time that the interviewers were in the community, or if he or she refused to be interviewed. Nationally, 9.8% of the initially chosen respondents had to be replaced. There were no significant problems reported during fieldwork.

Based on the national sample size of 2000, the survey's margin of error is estimated to be plus or minus 2.2% at a 95% confidence level.

## DEMOGRAPHICS

For the national sample of 2000 persons, 61% of total respondents were from rural areas and 39% from urban areas. These percentages are commensurate with the profile of the Indonesian population by area status (Statistics Indonesia (BPS): Indonesian Population Census, 2000).

The gender breakdown of the sample shows that 50% of respondents are male and 50% are female. This is commensurate with the profile of the Indonesian population by gender (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000).

The achieved national sample for the survey was slightly disproportionate in terms of age, religion and education groups, and was thus weighted by age, religion and education to reflect the appropriate age, religion and education proportions in the Indonesian population. The unweighted and weighted frequencies are provided below.

### Proportion of respondents based on age

(Base: Total respondents (n=2000))

Age Range (in years)	Unweighted Frequency	Weighted Frequency
17 but less than 25	20.4%	28.7%
25-34	31.4%	24.9%
35-44	24.6%	20.1%
45-54	16.3%	12.6%
55 or older	7.3%	13.7%

### Proportion of respondents based on religion

(Base: Total respondents (n=2000))

Religion	Unweighted Frequency	Weighted Frequency
Muslim	82.7%	87.9%
Christian	16.0%	9.0%
Other	1.3%	3.0%

### Proportion of respondents based on education

(Base: Total respondents (n=2000))

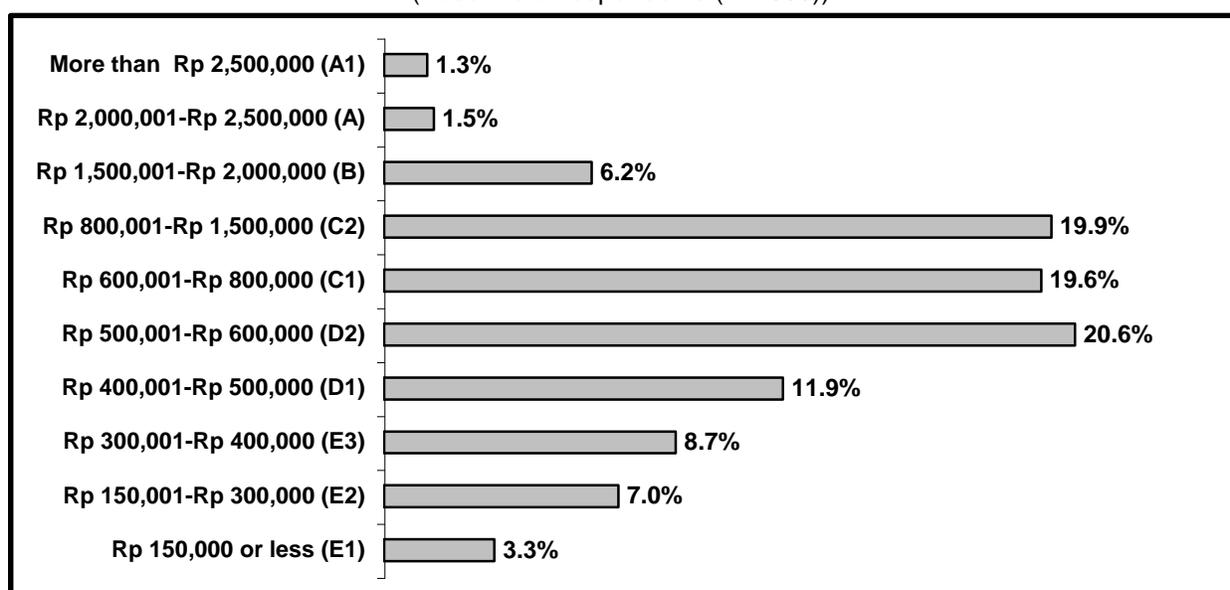
Level of Education	Unweighted Frequency	Weighted Frequency
Never	2.1%	2.6%
Elementary	38.8%	39.2%
Secondary	54.5%	54.3%
Higher	4.6%	3.9%

Respondents were categorized by socio-economic status (SES) based on routine monthly household expenditures. Routine household expenditures are expenditures by respondents for

food and drink, transportation costs, school fees, etc., but do not include expenses for purchases of electronic/luxury goods, house installments or savings.

As shown in Figure A below, 51.5% of the respondents are from the low socio-economic classes, levels D & E (household routine expenditures per month less than or equal to Rp 600,000); 39.2% are from the middle socio-economic class, level C (Rp 600,001 to Rp 1,500,000); and 9.0% are from the high socio-economic class, levels A & B (routine monthly expenditures Rp 1,500,001 or more). Analysis in this report treats respondents from SES classes E and D as being of 'lower' socio-economic status, and those from classes C and above as being of 'higher' socio-economic status.

**Figure A: Proportion of respondents based on socio-economic status (SES) class**  
(Base: Total respondents (n=2000))

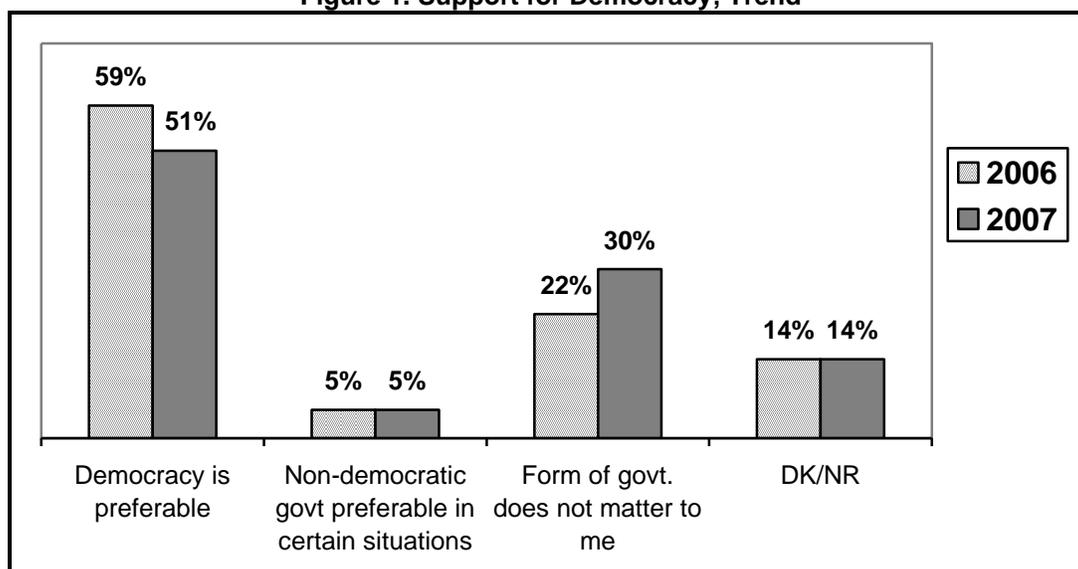


## I. ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY, RIGHTS, FREEDOMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

### Majority of Indonesians Support Democratic System

The data from this survey shows that while a majority of Indonesians believe that democracy is a preferable system of governance to any other system, support for democracy as the preferable system has declined over the past year. At the same time, there has been an increase in those for whom the form of government in Indonesia does not matter (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Support for Democracy, Trend



*"Please tell me which statement is closest to your own opinion." (n = 2000)*

In this year's survey, 51% of Indonesians say that democracy is preferable to any other form of government. This percentage has declined from the 59% who held this opinion in the 2006 survey. This decline has been accompanied by a commensurate increase in the percentage of Indonesians for whom the form of government does not matter. Thirty percent hold this opinion in the 2007 survey, an increase from 22% in 2006.

The attitude that the form of government does not matter is more widespread amongst respondents with lower levels of education. Thirty-seven percent of respondents with an elementary school or lower level of education say that the form of government does not matter, while 37% say that democracy is preferable. This is significantly different from the pattern in the 2006 survey, when 46% of those with an elementary education or lower preferred democracy while 30% said that the form of government does not matter to them. Indifference to the form of government has also increased among those with a secondary education or higher, from 17% in 2006 to 24% in this survey.

The data also indicates that indifference toward the system of government increases with age. Among those 34 years old or younger, 57% state that democracy is their preferred system while 26% do not think the form of government matters. Amongst those over 45 years old, 39% state that democracy is preferable, while 37% say that the form of government does not matter.

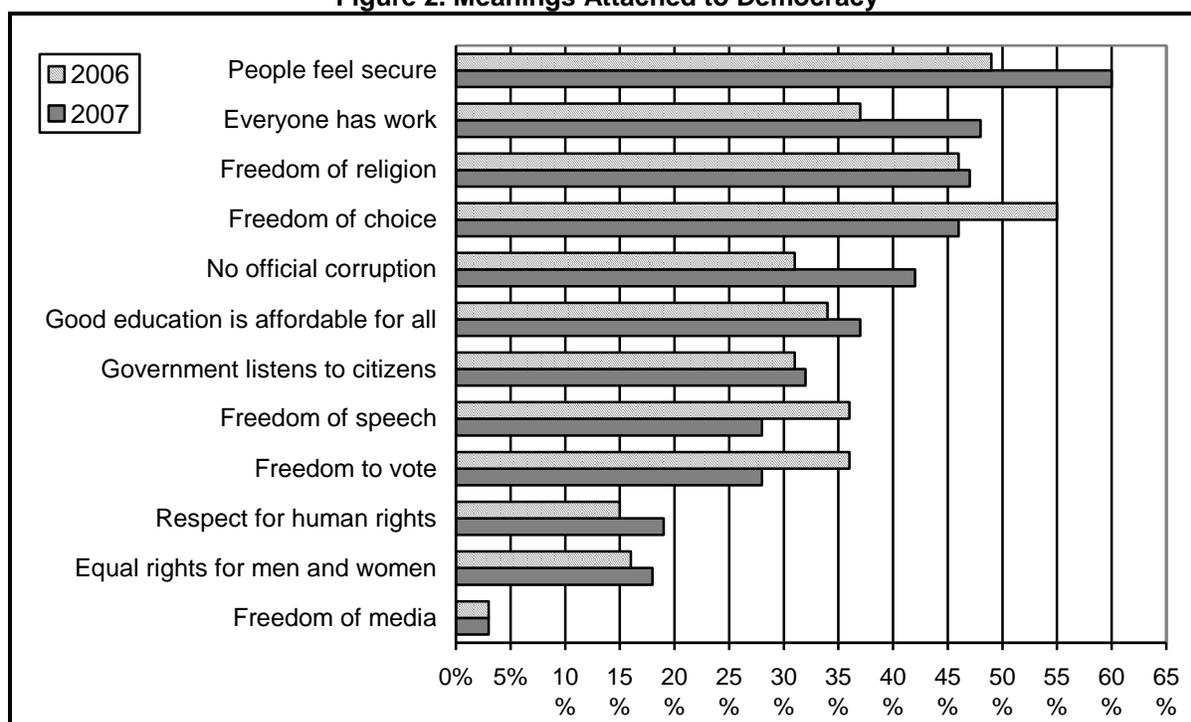
The proportion of respondents who state that the form of government does not matter is significantly higher than the national proportion in the provinces of West Kalimantan (64%), Kepulauan Riau (44%) and South Sumatra (41%). In addition to those to whom the form of government does not matter, large proportions of respondents had no opinion on this issue in Papua (33% no opinion, 18% form of government does not matter) and North Sumatra (28% and 25% respectively). These proportions in North Sumatra are significantly higher than in the 2006 survey.

### Materialistic Conceptions of Democracy More Widespread

This survey seeks to determine whether the majority support for democracy as a system of government indicates that many Indonesians value the rights and freedoms generally associated with democracies, by asking respondents to indicate what they think it means for a country to be a democracy. The responses indicate that for many Indonesians, the presumed material benefits of democracy hold greater weight than the rights and freedoms associated with democracy.

Respondents were given twelve statements and asked to pick up to five that indicated to them that a country is a democracy. The statements given to the respondents consisted of eight central precepts of democratic systems (freedom of choice, religion, speech, media, and vote, as well as respect for human rights, equal rights for men and women, and a government that listens to its people) and four statements of tangible social goods (everyone has work, no official corruption, people feel secure, a good education is affordable for all). Figure 2 provides data from the 2006 and 2007 surveys on the percentage of Indonesians that selected each of these statements.

**Figure 2. Meanings Attached to Democracy**



*"Listed on this card are several statements. Please pick any statement or statements – up to a maximum of five statements – that in your opinion indicate a country is a democracy." (n = 2000)*

Analysis of the data in Figure 2 indicates that in the 2007 survey material benefits are more likely to be associated with democracy than they were in the 2006 survey. Sixty percent of respondents cite people feeling secure as indicating that a country is a democracy, while 48% say that democracy is indicated by everyone having work. Forty-two percent list no official corruption as an indicator that a country is a democracy. In all three cases, the percentage of Indonesians mentioning these items has increased significantly since the 2006 survey.

The percentages of Indonesians citing many basic freedoms and rights as being indicative of a democracy have decreased since the 2006 survey. The percentage citing freedom of choice has decreased from 55% in 2006 to 46% in 2007, and for both freedom of speech and freedom to vote the percentage has dropped from 36% to 28%. The percentage mentioning freedom of religion has stayed relatively consistent from 2006 (46%) to 2007 (47%). While those citing respect for human rights or equal rights for men and women have increased a little since the 2006 survey, fewer than one in five Indonesians choose these basic democratic values. As in 2006, freedom of media is mentioned by only 3% of respondents.

In general, respondents in the two lowest SES classes (E and D) are more likely to choose materialistic conceptions of democracy than respondents in the higher SES classes (A, B, and C), while at the same time being less likely to choose freedoms and rights.

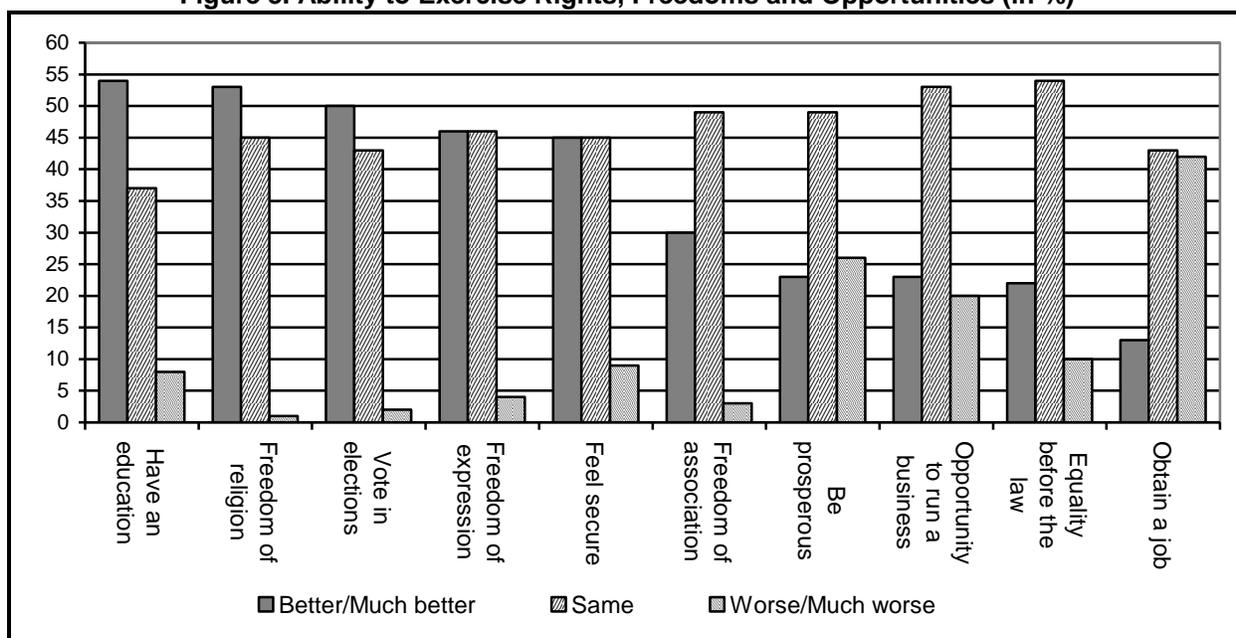
Emphasis on socio-economic matters, and the perception that a democratic system may not ensure positive results in this sphere, is also reflected in the meanings of democracy chosen by those for whom the form of government does not matter. These respondents are more likely to say that democracy means that people feel secure (64%) and that everyone has work (55%) than those who prefer democracy as a system of governance. Conversely, those for whom the form of government does not matter are less likely to mention freedoms such as freedom of speech, voting, and choice than those who prefer democracy. The ability of a democratic system to deliver on socio-economic concerns may be an important consideration in turning indifference into enthusiasm for democracy among these respondents.

### **Rights, Freedoms and Opportunities**

Respondents were also asked to evaluate their ability to exercise various rights, freedoms and opportunities in comparison to their ability to exercise these one year ago. In most cases, Indonesians believe that their ability to exercise these rights, freedoms and opportunities has stayed the same or become better during this period (Figure 3). In all cases, there has been an increase since the 2006 survey in the percentage which states that they are better able to exercise these rights, freedoms and opportunities compared to one year ago.

The findings from this year's survey seem to indicate that unemployment continues to be a serious concern for Indonesians. There has, however, been a positive trend since 2006 in respondents' perceptions of their ability to obtain a job. More Indonesians than not still believe that their ability to obtain a job is worse rather than better than one year ago (42% versus 13%), with a negative net rating of 28 percentage points. This is an improvement over the 2006 survey, where 51% felt their ability to obtain a job was worse than 12 months before and the negative net rating was 40 percentage points. Attitudes on this issue are fairly consistent throughout all age groups, and are more likely to be negative among those with a secondary or higher education. There are some significant regional variations: while a majority of residents of West Java (67%), DKI Jakarta (57%) and North Sumatra (54%) believe their ability to obtain a job has worsened, almost half of Papuan residents (46%) believe it has improved.

Figure 3. Ability to Exercise Rights, Freedoms and Opportunities (in %)



*"In your opinion, compared to 12 months ago, do you believe your ability to exercise the following rights .....is now much better, better, the same, worse, or much worse?" (n = 2000)*

Despite the generally negative assessment of their ability to obtain a job, Indonesians are split on whether their ability to be prosperous has become better or worse over the past year. Slightly more than a quarter of Indonesians (26%) believe that their ability to be prosperous is worse than 12 months ago, compared to 23% who believe it is better. Nearly half (49%) believe that their ability to be prosperous has remained the same as twelve months ago.

A majority (54%) believes that their ability to obtain an education is better than a year ago. A majority (53%) also believes that their ability to exercise freedom of religion is better than one year ago, a significant increase on those who held this view in the 2006 survey (41%).

There has been increase since the 2006 survey in the percentage of Indonesians who believe that their ability to exercise freedom of expression has become better over the past year, from 40% in 2006 to 46% in the 2007 survey. Indonesians are now more likely than in 2006 to say that their ability to feel secure is better than a year ago. In 2006, 38% expressed this opinion while 45% express this opinion in the 2007 survey. The percentage of Indonesians who perceive that their ability to exercise their right to equality before the law is better than 12 months ago has increased from 15% in the 2006 survey to 22% in the 2007 survey.

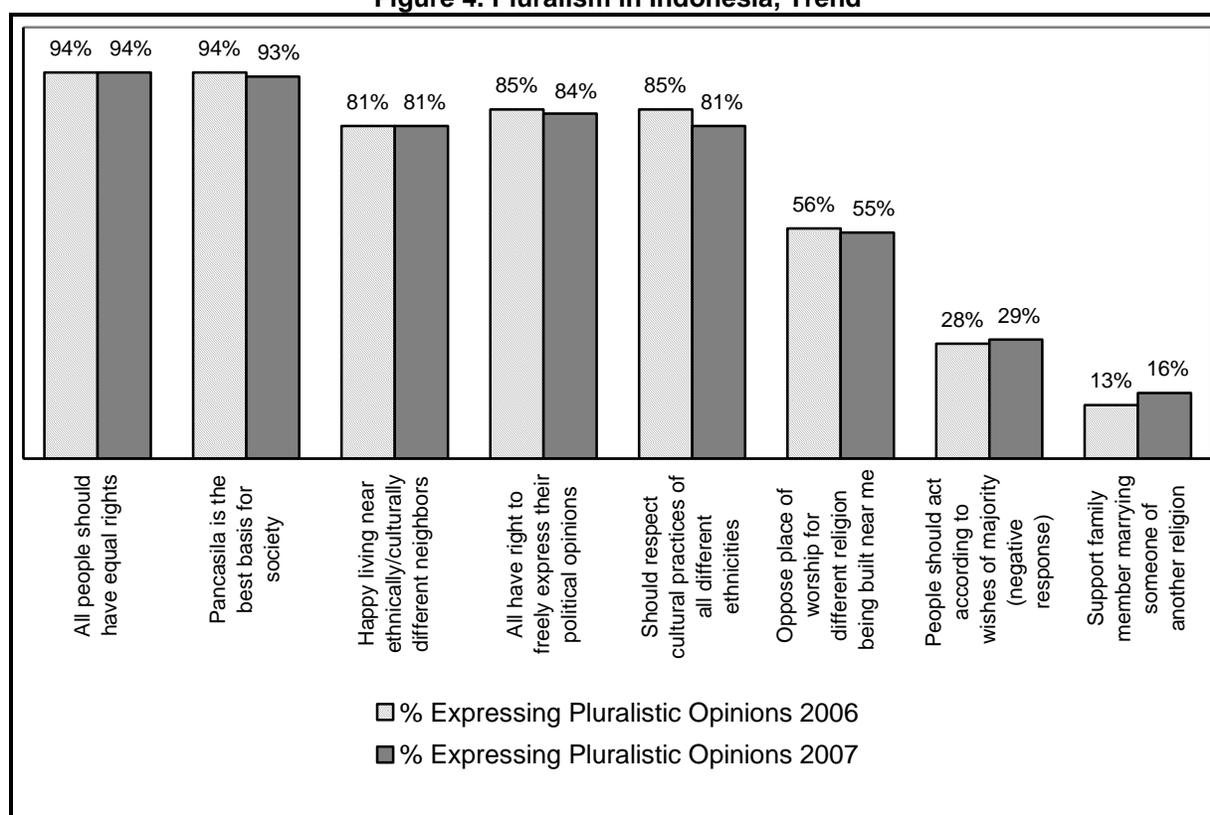
There has been a significant change in the views of Papuan residents compared to the 2006 survey. In the 2006 survey, on all of the above issues except freedom of religion, over 50% of Papuan respondents believed that their ability to exercise the right, freedom or opportunity had become worse over the last 12 months. In the 2007 survey, for each of these issues, there is a substantial plurality of Papuan residents who believe their ability to exercise the right, freedom or opportunity has become better over those who believe it has become worse. In Aceh, the strong improvement in the ability to exercise these rights, freedoms and opportunities expressed in the 2006 survey has not been repeated in 2007. However, the improvements of 2006 have been largely maintained or continued, with few or very few Aceh residents believing that their

ability to exercise any of these rights, freedoms or opportunities has become worse over the last 12 months.

## Pluralism

One critical element in the respect for rights and freedoms in a democratic society is the population's acceptance of the political, social, and cultural diversity that may exist in that society. This is especially the case for Indonesia, given the immense diversity of the peoples that form the Indonesian population. Key findings from the 2006 survey were that the vast majority of the Indonesian population is accepting of the cultural and ethnic diversity that characterizes their country and respects differences in political opinions, though there are fewer willing to embrace religious diversity. These findings are replicated in the 2007 survey. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with statements that reflect key principles of pluralistic behavior. Data is presented below in Figure 4.

**Figure 4. Pluralism in Indonesia, Trend**



*"In your opinion, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?" (n = 2000)*

The data in Figure 4 indicates that the percentage of Indonesians expressing pluralistic opinions on a variety of issues has changed little from the 2006 to 2007 surveys. More than nine in ten continue to agree that Pancasila is the best basis for society in Indonesia and that all Indonesians should enjoy equal rights. More than eight in ten also continue to agree with cultural aspects of pluralism, as 81% in this survey agree that they would be happy living in culturally diverse neighborhoods and a similar percentage agrees that the cultural practices of different ethnicities should be respected.

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More than eight in ten also agree that all Indonesians have a right to freely express their political opinions. This finding, combined with opinions on Pancasila and equal rights, suggests that most Indonesians respect political diversity. However, less than three in ten Indonesians (29%) disagree that people should act according to the wishes of the majority, while a majority (54%) agrees with this sentiment. This seems to suggest that while many Indonesians respect political diversity, they still think that the majority should be followed.

While Indonesians are widely willing to accept cultural and political diversity, fewer are willing to embrace diversity in the religious realm. When compared to opinions on most of the questions related to cultural or political diversity, opinions on religious diversity tend to reflect a relatively less pluralistic attitude among Indonesians. A majority of Indonesians (55%) continues to say that they would not oppose a place of worship for a religion other than theirs being built close to their residence. There is, however, evidence of less widespread tolerance of inter-marriage between people of different faiths. The 2007 survey data shows that only 16% of Indonesians would support a relative marrying someone from another faith. Forty-seven percent would oppose this while a large percentage (37%) do not give a response. Support for inter-marriage is lower among Muslims (14%) than among Christians (36%) or people of other faiths (23%).

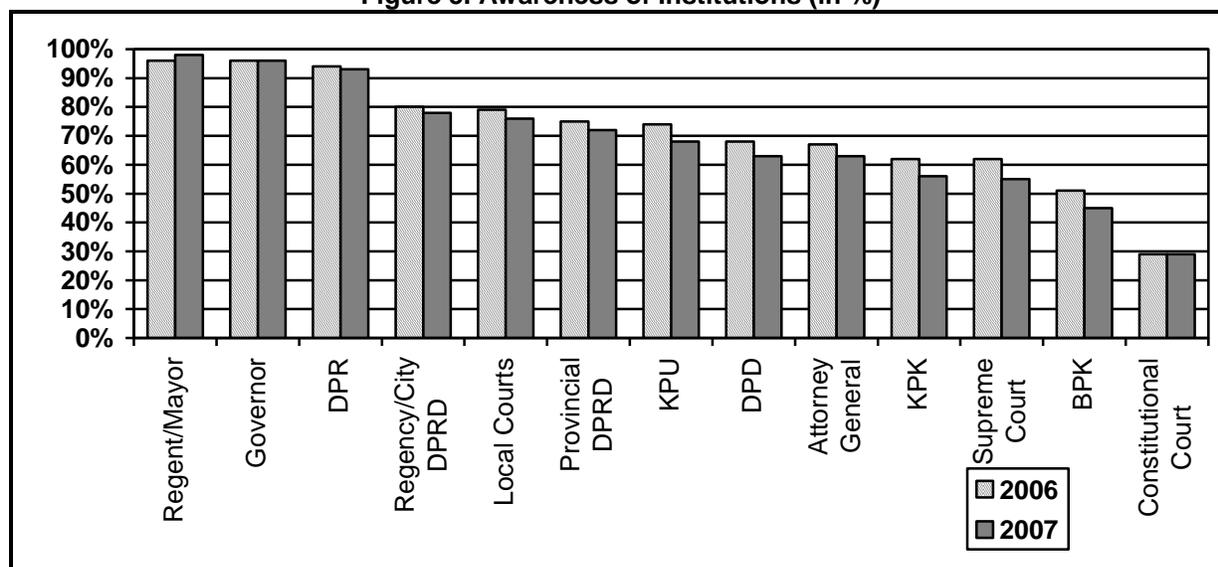
Religion also seems to be a factor in opinions on some of the other issues related to pluralism. Christians were less likely to agree that everyone should be free to express their political opinion (73%) than Muslims (86%) or those of other religions (85%), and are also less likely to agree that cultural practices of different ethnic groups should be respected (71% of Christians, 81% of Muslims and 89% of those of other faiths). On the other hand, Christians are more likely to tolerate a place of worship for a religion other than their own being built in their neighborhood (72%) than are Muslims (54%) and people of other faiths (33%). A little paradoxically, given the views on expressing political opinions, Christians were also less likely to agree that people should act according to the wishes of the majority (35%) than Muslims (56%) or those of other faiths (41%).

## II. KNOWLEDGE AND OPINION OF INSTITUTIONS

### Levels of Awareness of and Satisfaction with Institutions of Governance

There has been a slight decrease in awareness of some national and provincial-level institutions from the 2006 to the 2007 survey. The 2007 survey continues to indicate that Indonesians are more likely to be aware of executive and legislative institutions compared to most judicial institutions (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Awareness of Institutions (in %)



"I will read you the names of some state institutions. Are you aware or not aware of...?" (n = 2000)

More than nine in ten Indonesians are aware of their regent or mayor, their governor, and the People's Representative Council (DPR). Close to eight in ten are aware of their regency or city People's Representative Council (regency/city DPRD), while fewer (72%) are aware of their provincial People's Representative Council (provincial DPRD). For all these institutions, the percentage aware of the institution is not significantly different from the 2006 survey. The one legislative institution that has seen a significant, though slight, decrease in awareness is the Regional Representatives Council (DPD) (63% compared to 68% in 2006).

There has been a drop in the percentage of Indonesians aware of the National Election Commission (KPU). The 2007 survey results show that 68% of respondents are aware of it, compared to 74% in the 2006 survey, and 82% for a similar question in the 2005 IFES survey.

There has also been a slight decline in awareness of the two institutions charged with countering corruption in Indonesia, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and the State Audit Authority (BPK). Awareness of the KPK has dropped from 62% in 2006 to 56% in this survey, and awareness of BPK has dropped from 51% to 45%. Awareness of BPK is less widespread than the 48% reported in the 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia.

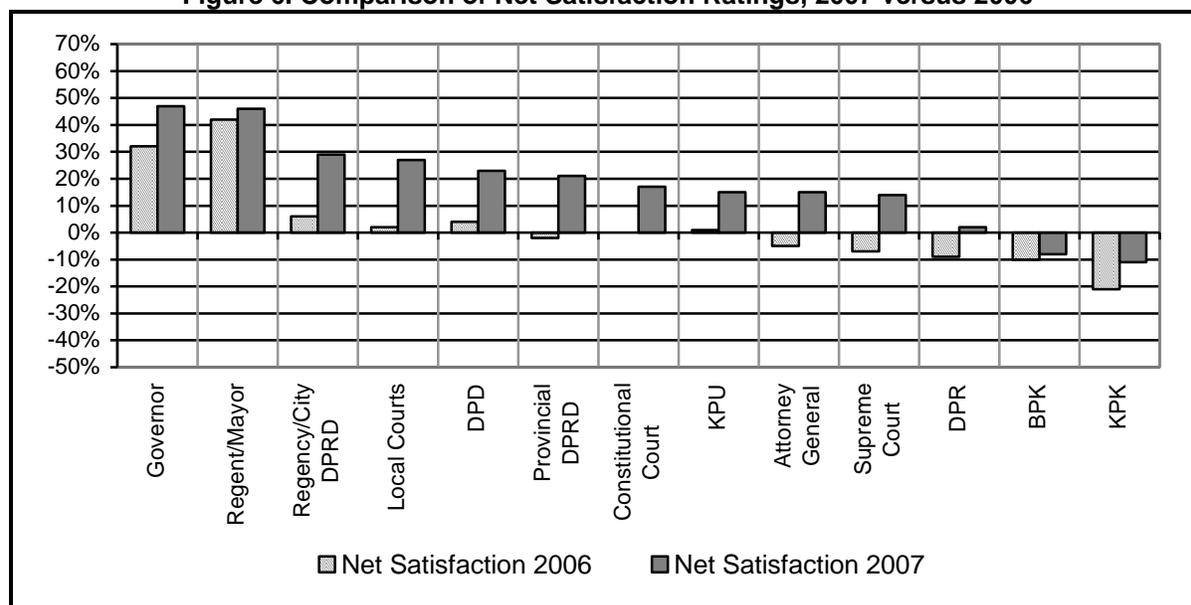
There continues to be a significant difference between the awareness of local courts and of higher level courts. While this survey's results show that more than three-quarters of Indonesians (76%) are aware of their local courts, only a slight majority (55%) is aware of the

Supreme Court while substantially fewer are aware of the Constitutional Court (29%). The percentage aware of the Constitutional Court has remained steady from 2006 to 2007 while the percentage aware of local courts and the Supreme Court has declined slightly. Sixty-three percent of respondents to the 2007 survey are aware of the Attorney General's Office, compared to the 67% aware of the Attorney General in the 2006 survey.<sup>1</sup>

As in the 2006 survey, there are several consistent patterns in awareness of these institutions. With the exception of awareness of the regent/mayor, residents in urban areas are more likely to be aware of each of these institutions than those in rural areas. This difference is especially evident in awareness of specialized institutions such as the KPK, BPK, KPU, Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court, where the difference in the level of awareness between urban and rural areas is 30 percentage points or more. The urban-rural differences in awareness tend to be lower for legislative institutions. As with urban-rural differences, there is a consistent pattern of higher awareness of these institutions among men rather than women, and among higher-educated (secondary or higher education) rather than lower-educated (primary or lower education) respondents.

Respondents to the 2006 and 2007 surveys who were aware of the institutions mentioned above were next asked whether they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the work of each institution. The net satisfaction data (% satisfied minus % dissatisfied) from the 2006 survey indicated that there were only two institutions – governor and regent/mayor – for which many more respondents were likely to be satisfied than dissatisfied with their performance. The data from the 2007 survey, however, indicates that satisfaction with most of these institutions is more widespread in 2007 than in 2006, resulting in significantly higher net satisfaction (Figure 6).

**Figure 6. Comparison of Net Satisfaction Ratings, 2007 versus 2006**



*"Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the performance of the institution?" (n = those aware of institution)*

<sup>1</sup> There was a slight change in wording from the 2006 to 2007 survey with reference to the Attorney General institution. Respondents in 2006 were asked about the Attorney General and respondents in 2007 were asked about the Attorney General's Office. This should be kept in mind when comparing the trend data.

The data in Figure 6 indicates that the net satisfaction rating for every institution has increased from 2006 to 2007. The overall result of this change is that the number of institutions with negative net satisfaction ratings has declined from seven in 2006 to only two in 2007. The two institutions with negative net satisfaction ratings in 2007 are institutions that have as their core function the fight against corruption: BPK at -8 percentage points and the KPK at -11 percentage points. There has been a decrease in net dissatisfaction with the KPK since the 2006 survey (-21 percentage points in 2006). However the 2007 survey data indicates that corruption is still an area of society where Indonesians are more likely to be dissatisfied than satisfied with their government's actions.

For 7 of the 13 institutions covered (regent/mayor, governor, regency/city DPRD, local courts, provincial DPRD, DPD, and KPU), a majority of those respondents aware of the institution were satisfied with its performance. As in 2006, the most widespread satisfaction is expressed for local executives. Sixty-nine percent of those aware of the regent/mayor say that they are satisfied with these officials' performance (66% in 2006), and 69% are satisfied with the performance of the governor (59% in 2006). As in the 2006 survey, these two sets of officials have the highest net satisfaction levels in the 2007 survey.

The 2007 survey data also shows significantly more widespread satisfaction with most legislative institutions. Fifty-eight percent express satisfaction with the regency/city DPRD, compared to 44% in the 2006 survey. Satisfaction with the provincial DPRD has also increased from 37% in 2006 to 52% in the 2007 survey. The net satisfaction rating for the provincial DPRD has also moved from slightly negative (-2 percentage points) in 2006 to strongly positive (+21 percentage points) in 2007, while it has moved from slightly positive to strongly positive for the regency/city DPRD (+6 percentage points in 2006 to +29 percentage points in 2007). The DPD has also benefited from positive trends in satisfaction (from 38% in 2006 to 51% in 2007) and in net satisfaction (from +4 percentage points to +23 percentage points). The proportion satisfied with the DPR has also increased from 40% in 2006 to 45% in 2007, and its net satisfaction rating has increased from -9 percentage points to +2 percentage points. All legislative institutions had a positive net satisfaction rating in 2007, though compared to the legislative bodies with a regional and local focus, the DPR's positive movement from 2006 is not as substantial.

There have been large increases between the 2006 and 2007 surveys in the breadth of satisfaction, and in net satisfaction ratings, for each of the local and regional executive and legislative institutions in Aceh. In 2007, Aceh respondents' net satisfaction ratings for regent/mayor and governor were extremely high, at +81 percentage points and +71 percentage points respectively. Positive attitudes towards these institutions are also much more widespread in the Papua data for the 2007 survey, than in 2006.

There is also more widespread satisfaction with judicial institutions. Among those aware of local courts, 53% express satisfaction with their performance, an increase from 39% in 2006. Satisfaction with the Supreme Court has increased from 31% of respondents aware of this institution in 2006 to 46% in the 2007 survey, and with the Constitutional Court from 32% to 44%. The 2007 survey data shows significant to strong increases in the net satisfaction ratings for each of these judicial institutions when compared to the 2006 survey: from +1 percentage point (2006) to +28 percentage points (2007) for local courts, from -7 percentage points to +15 percentage points for the Supreme Court, and from 0 percentage points to +16 percentage points for the Constitutional Court. The net satisfaction rating for the KPU has increased from +1 percentage point in 2006 to +15 percentage points in 2007. However the increase in those who

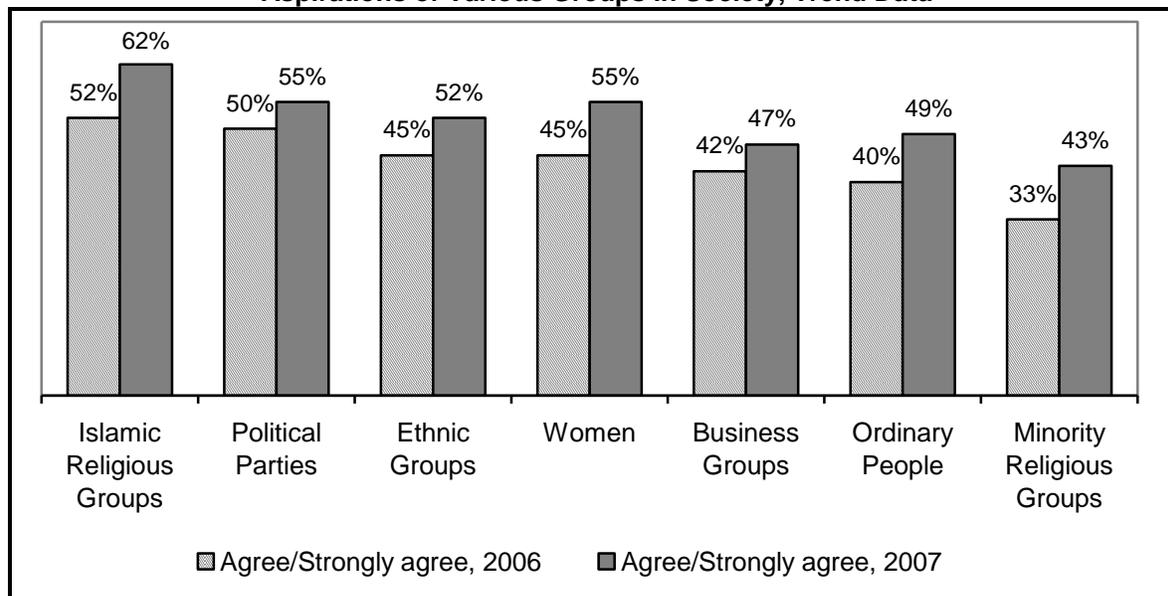
are satisfied with the KPU's performance is more modest than that for most of the other institutions: 44% were satisfied in 2006 compared to 51% in 2007.

There are some significant differences between some societal groups in their net satisfaction ratings of the performance of these above institutions. Rural respondents have significantly more positive net satisfaction ratings than urban residents for all of these institutions except the KPU and BPK, for which the urban and rural net satisfaction ratings are very similar. Net ratings of women respondents are at least a little more positive than those of males for all of these institutions apart from the DPD. For most of these institutions, there is little substantial in the pattern of differences between age groups in net satisfaction ratings. However, net satisfaction levels for the DPR become more positive with age, and for the BPK, KPU and Constitutional Court the highest net satisfaction ratings are amongst those over 54 years old, and the lowest amongst those under 25. Those with secondary and particularly post-secondary education tend to have lower net satisfaction ratings for the elected executive and legislative institutions and for the courts, than those with lesser education.

### Mixed Opinions on DPR's Actions

The 2007 survey data shows that the percentages of Indonesians that agree that the DPR effectively represents the needs and aspirations of various groups in society have increased within a range of five to ten percentage points since the 2006 survey (Figure 7). This reflects the generally more positive impressions of official institutions in the 2007 survey.

**Figure 7. Percentage who Agree the DPR's Actions Are Effective in Representing Needs and Aspirations of Various Groups in Society, Trend Data**



*"In your opinion, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements, "The actions of the People's Representative Council (DPR) have been effective in representing .....?" (n = 1852)*

In both the 2006 and 2007 surveys, respondents are most likely to agree that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of Islamic religious groups (62% in 2007, 52% in 2006). On the other hand, respondents are least likely to agree that the DPR effectively represents the

needs and aspirations of minority religious groups (43% in 2007, 33% in 2006). While 42% of Muslims believe that the DPR is effective in representing the needs and aspirations of minority religious groups, only 30% of Christians (Roman Catholics and Protestants) hold this opinion.

Just as there are differences in perceptions of the DPR's representation of the interests of Islamic and minority religious groups, there is a difference in perception of the effectiveness of the DPR in representing political parties and ordinary people. Indonesians are more likely to agree that the DPR effectively represents the interests of political parties than that it represents the needs and aspirations of ordinary people (55% versus 49%). A majority (53%) of those in the lowest socio-economic class (SES class E) agree that the DPR represents the needs and aspirations of ordinary people, whilst a majority (64%) of the highest socio economic class (SES class A) disagrees with this statement. Regionally, residents of South Sumatra are most likely to agree that the DPR represents ordinary people (78%), while residents of North Sumatra are most likely to disagree (55%).

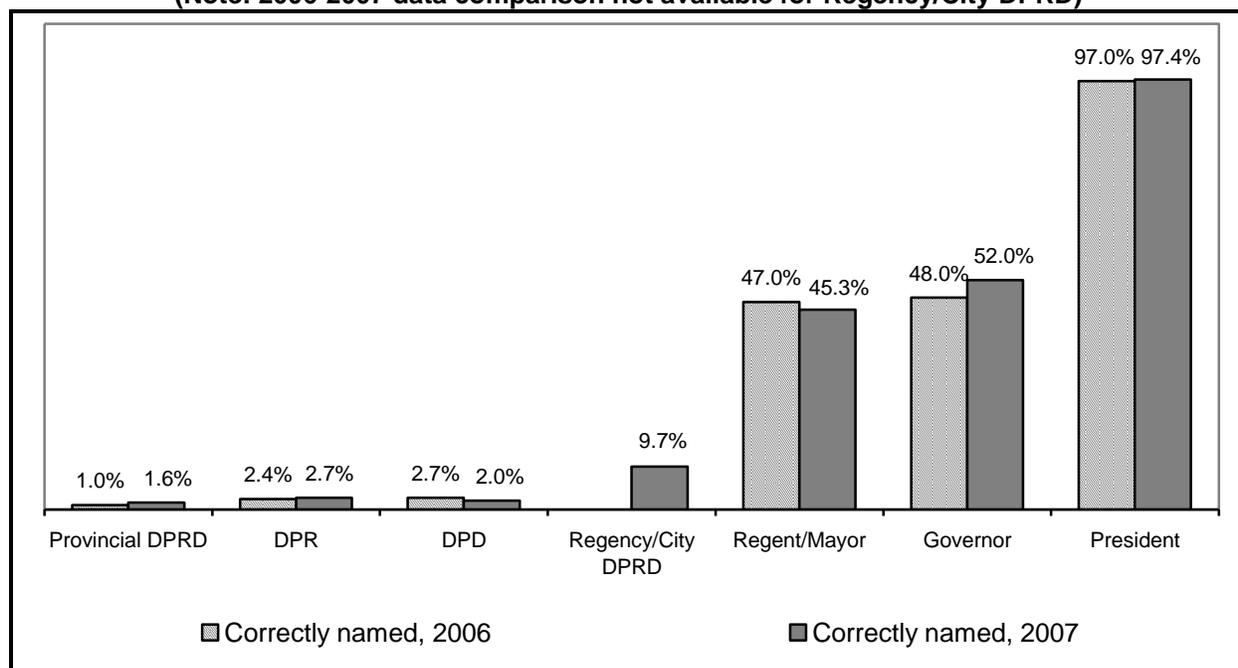
The percentages of Indonesians which agree that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of women and of ethnic groups have also increased since the 2006 survey. The percentage that agrees that the DPR represents women's aspirations has increased from 45% in 2006 to 55% in 2007: almost equal proportions of men and of women agree with this statement. The percentage of Indonesians which agrees that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of ethnic groups has increased from 45% in 2006 to 52% in 2007. Forty-seven percent now agree that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of business groups, an increase from 42% in 2006.

### **Knowledge of Executive and Legislative Leaders**

As in the 2006 survey, the data from the 2007 survey indicates that while substantial percentages of Indonesians can name their executive leaders at the national, regional, and local levels, few can name their legislative representatives in the various legislative bodies in Indonesia (Figure 8).

The data in Figure 8 indicates that there has been little change in awareness of the individuals who occupy the various institutions from the 2006 to the 2007 survey. President Yudhoyono is still nearly-universally recognized by Indonesians. The percentage which can identify their governor has gone up slightly from 48% in 2006 to 52% in 2007, while the percentage which can name their regent/mayor has stayed at a similar level in 2007 (45%) to 2006 (47%). While there is little difference between urban and rural residents in being able to name their regent/mayor, residents of urban areas are more likely to be able to name their governor than rural residents (69% versus 41%). The percentage of rural residents who can name their governor, though, has increased from 35% in 2006 to 41% in this survey. Men are more likely than women to be able to name their governor, and are also more likely to be able to name their regent/mayor.

**Figure 8. Name Recognition for Executive and Legislative Leaders, Trend**  
 (Note: 2006-2007 data comparison not available for Regency/City DPRD)



*“Can you please tell me the name of a representative of your electoral district in the DPR, in the Provincial DPRD, in the Kabupaten/Kota DPRD and the name of a representative of your province in the DPD?” and “Can you please tell me the names of the president of Indonesia, the governor of your province, and the regent or mayor of your regency or city?” (n = 2000)*

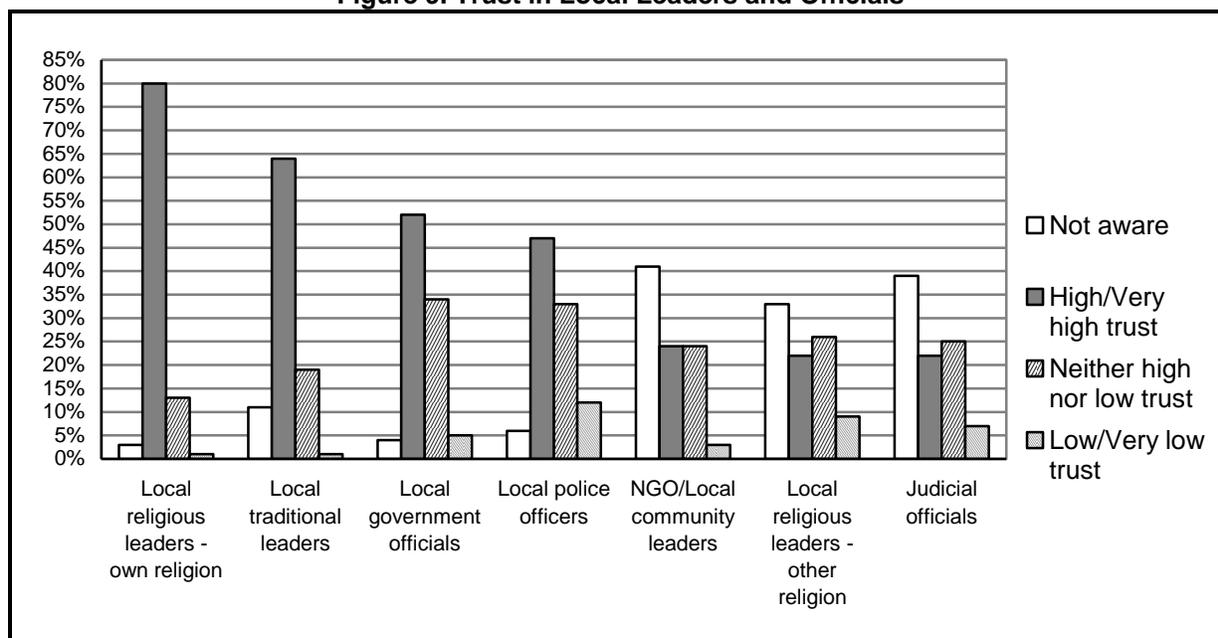
There are still very few Indonesians who know who represents their electoral areas in the various local and national legislative bodies in Indonesia. Less than 3% in each case can name one of their representatives in the DPR, DPD, or provincial DPRD. The percentages correctly identifying one of their representatives to these institutions have not changed significantly from 2006 to 2007. There is more widespread recognition of the representatives who represent Indonesians in their regency/city DPRD. Close to ten percent can name one of the representatives from their electoral district to this body.

### Opinions on Local Leaders and Officials

When queried about influential figures in their local communities, Indonesians continue to express a high level of trust in their religious and traditional leaders, while being relatively unaware of leaders of other religions, NGO leaders, and judicial officials in their communities (Figure 9). Following the positive trend in responses to almost all other questions relating to satisfaction or trust in leaders, officials and institutions in this survey, the percentages expressing a high level of trust in these local officials are higher than in the 2006 survey.

Eighty percent of respondents say that they have a high level of trust in the local religious leaders of their religion. This is an increase from 72% in the 2006 survey. When asked about local religious leaders from other religions, a plurality (33%) says they are not aware of them. Twenty-two percent state that they have a high level of trust in the leaders from other religions, a slight increase from the 18% who expressed this opinion in the 2006 survey. Only 9% say that they have low or very low trust in local religious leaders from other religions.

Figure 9. Trust in Local Leaders and Officials



*"In your opinion, what is your level of trust in the following people in your area - is it very high, high, neither high nor low, low or very low?" (n = 2000)*

Similarly to the 2006 survey, around four in ten Indonesians are unaware of local leaders from NGOs or community groups, and 24% express a high level of trust in these local leaders and 3% express low trust (21% and 5% respectively in 2006). Close to four in ten are unaware of local judicial officials, but 22% express a high level of trust in these judicial officials while 7% express low trust (compared to 16% and 9% respectively in 2006).

As in the 2006 survey, Indonesians are more likely to express trust in their local traditional leaders than in their local government officials. In the 2007 survey, 64% express a high level of trust in their local traditional leaders (55% in the 2006 survey) while 52% express a high level of trust in their local government officials (42% in 2006). Those living in rural areas are more likely to express a high level of trust in their local government officials than urban residents, as are those with lower education levels (elementary or lower education) compared to those with higher education (secondary or higher education). However, the differences in opinions on this issue between urban and rural residents and those of different education levels have significantly narrowed since the 2006 survey.

The gap between those who trust local traditional leaders and local government officials is especially large in Aceh and Papua. In Aceh, 71% express a high level of trust in their traditional leaders while 39% express a high level of trust in their local government officials, a gap of 32 percentage points. In Papua these percentages are 79% and 49%, a gap of 30 percentage points. However, the proportion which expresses a high level of trust in local government officials has increased significantly in both Aceh and Papua since the 2006 survey.

Forty seven percent of Indonesians say that they have a high level of trust in their local police officers (an increase from 40% in 2006) compared to 12% who say they have low trust in them. A higher proportion of residents of rural areas (50%) have a high level of trust in the local police than those in urban areas (42%).

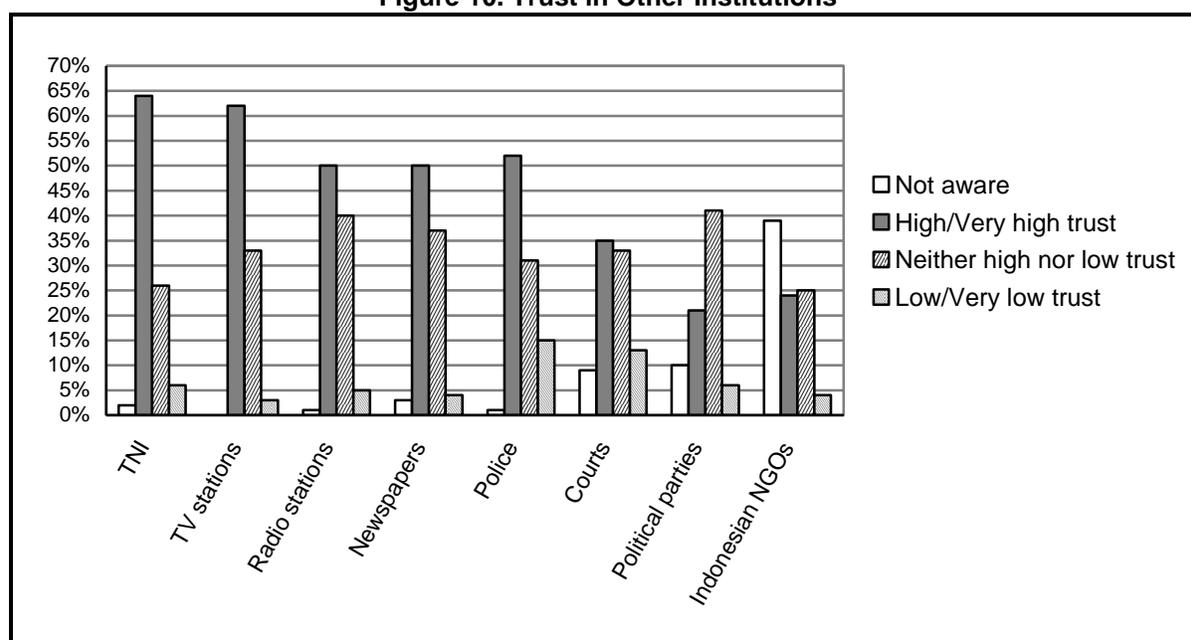
Respondents to both the 2006 and 2007 surveys were asked which of these local officials they would most trust to resolve a local dispute fairly. There has been a shift in the local officials most trusted for this purpose since the 2006 survey. In 2006, 32% mentioned a local police officer as the official they would most trust and 23% a local government official. In the 2007 survey 35% mention a local government official as the person they would most trust, while 18% mention a local police officer, 17% their local religious leader, and 16% a local traditional leader.

There are some significant differences between some social groups on this issue. While the preference for using a local government official or a local police officer is very similar amongst urban residents (26% and 27% respectively in 2007), rural residents are much more likely to choose a local government official (40%) than a local police officer (13%). This is a strong reversal of the preference levels in the 2006 survey. In Papua, only 9% would most trust a local government official while 46% would most trust a local traditional leader and 21% a local police officer. This is a significant change since the 2006 survey, when 73% in Papua most trusted a local traditional leader compared to 1% a local government official and 7% a local police officer. In North Sumatra also, people are more likely to most trust a local traditional leader (53%) than a local government official (5%) or local police officer (10%), whilst those in Aceh continue to prefer a local police officer (39%) than a local traditional leader (24%) or local government official (9%).

### Trust in Other Institutions

Respondents were also asked about their trust in various other institutions in Indonesia. For most of the institutions listed in Figure 10, people are a little more likely than in the 2006 survey to express a high level of trust in the institution.

Figure 10. Trust in Other Institutions



"In your opinion, is your level of trust in the following institutions very high, high, neither high or low, low or very low." (n = 2000)

Figure 10 indicates that almost two-thirds (64%) of Indonesians have a high level of trust in the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI), an increase from 59% in the 2006 survey. A majority in most regions of the country say they have high trust in TNI, as do a majority of all age groups, of men and of women, and of all formal education groups. There are notable exceptions to this in Aceh, where 42% say they trust TNI (an increase from 31% in the 2006 survey), and West Kalimantan, where 35% hold this opinion.

As in the 2006 survey, there is widespread trust in mass media, with half or more in each case saying they have high trust in TV stations, radio, and newspapers. The highest percentage is for television (62%), a slight increase from 58% in 2006. Attitudes to media are fairly consistent across all age and education groups, genders, and rural and urban residents. The proportion of Indonesians which has high trust in the police as an institution has increased from 40% in 2006, to 52% in the 2007 survey. Those with secondary or higher education and those under 35 years old are less likely to have high trust in police compared to those of lesser education, or those who are older. Residents of West Kalimantan are more likely to have low trust in the police (36%) than the national average. In Aceh, those with high trust in the police have increased to 46% from 35% in 2006.

The attitude towards political parties is one of the few in the survey that has not followed the generally positive trend from the 2006 to 2007 surveys. As in 2006, a plurality of Indonesians has neither high nor low trust in political parties. Twenty-one percent say they have high trust in political parties (similar to the 2006 survey), while 16% say they have low trust in them. The proportion expressing a lack of trust in political parties increases with an increase in education level.

By contrast, opinions about the courts have followed a positive trend from 2006 to 2007. In the 2007 survey, 35% say they have high trust in the courts, which compares favorably to the 26% which held this opinion in the 2006 survey.

The data in Figure 10 also indicates that there is still a significant percentage (39%) of Indonesians who are not aware of Indonesian non-governmental organizations as a class or group. Still, the percentage expressing high trust in these institutions has increased from 13% in 2006 to 24% in this survey. The lack of awareness of NGOs is much higher in rural areas where 51% say they are not aware of these institutions, than in urban areas where 21% say they are not aware.

### **Engagement with Non-Governmental Organizations**

Comparing responses from the 2006 and 2007 surveys indicates that there has been a slight increase in the percentage of Indonesians who have attended meetings or other events organized by religious organizations and political parties. In 2006, 31% of Indonesians said they had attended an event organized by a religious organization over the past twelve months; this percentage has increased to 39% in the 2007 survey. The percentage which says they have attended a political party event in the past twelve months has increased slightly from 6% in 2006 to 10% in 2007. As for attending an event organized by a non-religious community organization, 19% in the 2007 survey say they have attended such an event in the past twelve months, compared to 17% who gave this response in the 2006 survey.

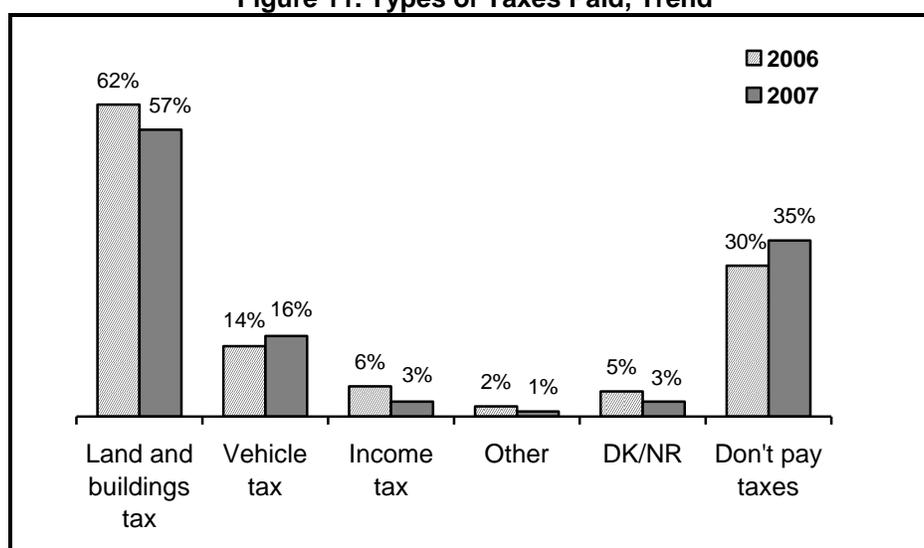
Among those who have attended events organized by religious organizations, 61% say the event was organized by Majelis Taklim, 14% name Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), 4% Remaja Masjid,

and 1% Muhammadiyah. The proportion of respondents stating that they have attended events organized by NU or Muhammadiyah is low compared to these organizations' claimed membership. Five percent name Persatuan Gereja Protestan, and 4% other Christian organizations. Among the non-religious community organizations named are PKK (by 30% of those who attended an event) and Karang Taruna (24%). Of those who attended a political party organised event, 30% stated it was organised by PDI-P, 20% PKB and 18% Golkar.

## Taxes

Respondents to both the 2006 and 2007 surveys were asked to list the types of taxes that they pay. The data in Figure 11 indicates that the percentages paying or not paying various taxes have changed only slightly since the 2006 survey.

**Figure 11. Types of Taxes Paid, Trend**



*"What types of taxes do you pay?" (n = 2000)*

The most commonly paid tax in Indonesia continues to be the land and buildings tax, with 57% saying they pay this tax. Compared to the 2006 survey, fewer residents of rural areas say that they pay this tax (58% in 2007 compared to 69% in 2006). Taxes on vehicles are paid by 16% of Indonesians, similar to the 14% who reported paying vehicle tax in 2006. Only 3% of Indonesians report paying income taxes, compared to 6% in 2006.

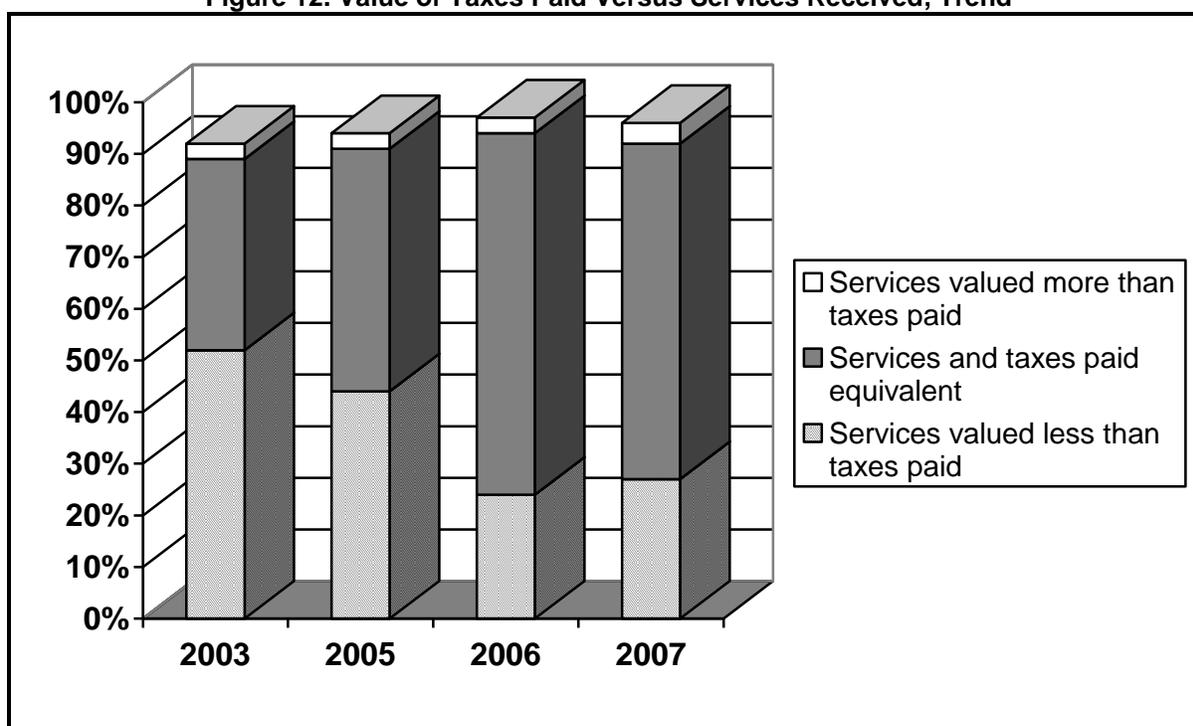
Thirty-five percent of Indonesians, an increase from 30% in 2006, say that they do not pay any taxes. Respondents in SES D and C classes are more likely to say they do not pay any taxes (37%) than those in SES E (28%) or SES A (30%).

Those who report paying some type of tax were next asked to estimate the amount of taxes they paid in the past year. Forty-eight percent of those who report paying at least one kind of tax say that they paid Rp 50,000 or less in taxes in the past year. Nineteen percent report paying between Rp 50,001 and Rp 100,000, 18% report paying between Rp 100,001 and Rp 200,000, and a further 12% report paying more than Rp 200,000. A majority of taxpayers at SES level A (59%) report that they paid more than Rp. 200,000 in taxes, while the majority of taxpayers at SES levels E and D (59%) report that they paid less than Rp. 50,000.

Those who paid taxes were also asked if the public services they received from the government were more equivalent, equal, or less equivalent to the taxes they paid over the past year. The majority of Indonesians (65%) say that the services they received were equivalent to the taxes paid, but 27% say that the services were less equivalent and only 4% say that the services were more equivalent than the taxes they paid. The percentage of respondents who say the services were less equivalent has increased slightly since 2006 (24%), while the percentage which says that the value is at least equivalent (69%) has decreased slightly since 2006 (73%). Those belonging to social classifications that are more likely to pay higher levels of taxes tend to be less satisfied with the equivalence of services received: for example, residents of urban areas; those under 35; those with higher education; and those in socio economic classes A and B.

Comparing data from this 2007 survey to the IFES surveys in 2003 and 2005, as well as the survey in 2006, reveals that the percentage of Indonesians who believe that they receive at least equivalent services for taxes paid has increased from 37% in 2003 to 69% in this year's survey, although it has fallen slightly from a high of 73% in the 2006 survey. Correspondingly, the percentage of Indonesians who believe that the value of the services they receive is less than the amount paid in taxes has decreased from 52% in 2003 to 27% in the 2007 survey (Figure 12).

**Figure 12. Value of Taxes Paid Versus Services Received, Trend**



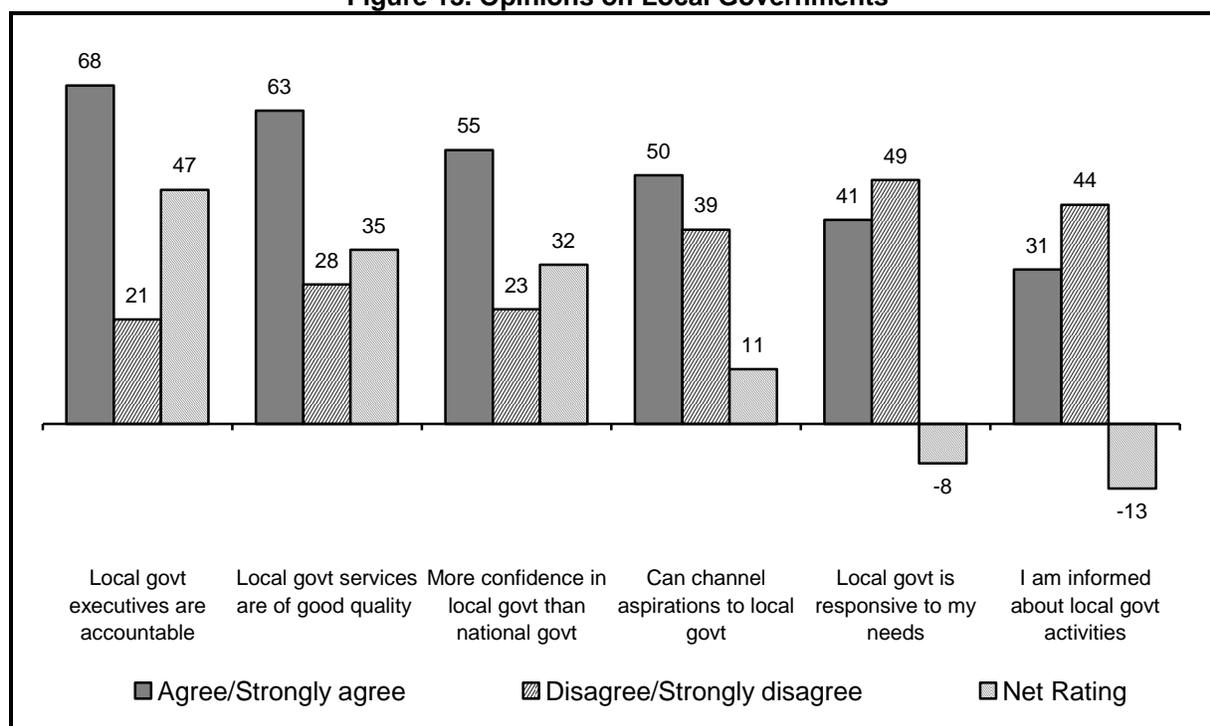
*“As you know, taxes and fees you pay to government are used for providing public services.. In your opinion, are the services you receive much more equivalent, more equivalent, equivalent, less equivalent, or much less equivalent to the taxes and fees you pay?”*

### III. OPINIONS ON DECENTRALIZATION

#### Indonesians Have Generally Positive Opinions on Local Governments

In order to gauge attitudes toward the greater authority given to local governments under the decentralization process in Indonesia, respondents were given several statements about local government in their area, and asked to agree or disagree with these statements. A large percentage of Indonesians continue to have positive opinions on many aspects of local government authority in Indonesia, but at the same time continue to have concerns about local government's responsiveness to and information-sharing with its constituents. Responses from this year's survey are presented in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Opinions on Local Governments



*"Since 1999, there has been a process of decentralization in Indonesia, during which governments in each kabupaten/kota have been given additional powers and responsibilities. Considering your experience in living in kabupaten/kota ....., in your opinion would you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?" (n = 2000)*

The statement that drew the most widespread support was that local government executives are accountable to the people of their area. Sixty-eight percent of Indonesians agree with this statement, an increase from 61% in the 2006 survey. The net agreement rating for this statement has also increased to +47 percentage points from +36 percentage points in the 2006 survey. More than six in ten Indonesians (63%) agree that the services provided by their local governments are of good quality, an increase from 53% in the 2006 survey. The net agreement rating in this case has increased from +22 percentage points in the 2006 survey to +35 percentage points. For both these issues the growth in positive sentiments since the 2006

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survey has been more pronounced in urban than rural areas, so that the net agreement levels in 2007 are now similar in urban and rural areas.

Fifty-five percent agree that they have more confidence in their local government than in their national government, a slight increase from 51% in the 2006 survey. This confidence in local government is consistent with the higher levels of net satisfaction with regents/mayors and regency/city DPRDs compared to national institutions such as the DPR, remarked on in Chapter 2 of this report. The data from the survey does show, however, that those who are satisfied that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of ordinary people also believe that they can channel their aspirations to their local government. Overall, 50% of Indonesians believe that they can channel their aspirations to their local government, whereas 39% do not agree with this statement. Among those who agree that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of ordinary people, 69% also agree that they can channel their aspirations to their local government, while 23% disagree. Among those who disagree that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of ordinary people, only 36% agree that they can channel their aspirations to their local government while a majority (57%) disagrees. This seems to indicate that positive experiences with one level of government may influence opinions on other levels of government.

Urban residents are more likely to agree that they can channel their aspirations to their local government than rural respondents, and so are the more educated compared to the less educated. While a majority of residents of East Java and Central Java agree that they can channel their aspirations to their local government, nearly two-thirds in West Java (65%) disagree with this statement. Residents of Papua (88%) and Aceh (78%) are also highly likely to agree that they can channel their aspirations to their local government.

Despite these positive opinions on local governments, more Indonesians than not have concerns about the responsiveness and information-sharing of their local governments. Nearly half of Indonesians (49%) disagree that their local governments are responsive to the needs of their constituents, similar to the 47% who disagreed with this statement in the 2006 survey. Forty-one percent agree that their local government is responsive to the needs of their constituents, resulting in a net agreement rating of -8 percentage points. Those under 25 years of age are less likely to agree with this statement (57% disagree), than those over 25, and rural residents are less likely to agree than urban. Widely held negative attitudes to local government responsiveness were evident in the provinces of North Sumatra, West Java and South Sulawesi, in each of which 65% disagreed with this statement. This is little change on the 2006 survey result in West Java, but a deterioration in the other two provinces.

A plurality of Indonesians also has a negative opinion of their local government's provision of information about its activities. Forty-four percent disagree that they are informed about their local government's activities, while 31% agree with this statement. The net rating of -13 percentage points is similar to the -11 percentage points net rating on this issue in the 2006 survey, indicating that local governments in Indonesia have not made much progress in informing their constituents about their activities. The proportion which agrees with this statement increases both with age and with education level.

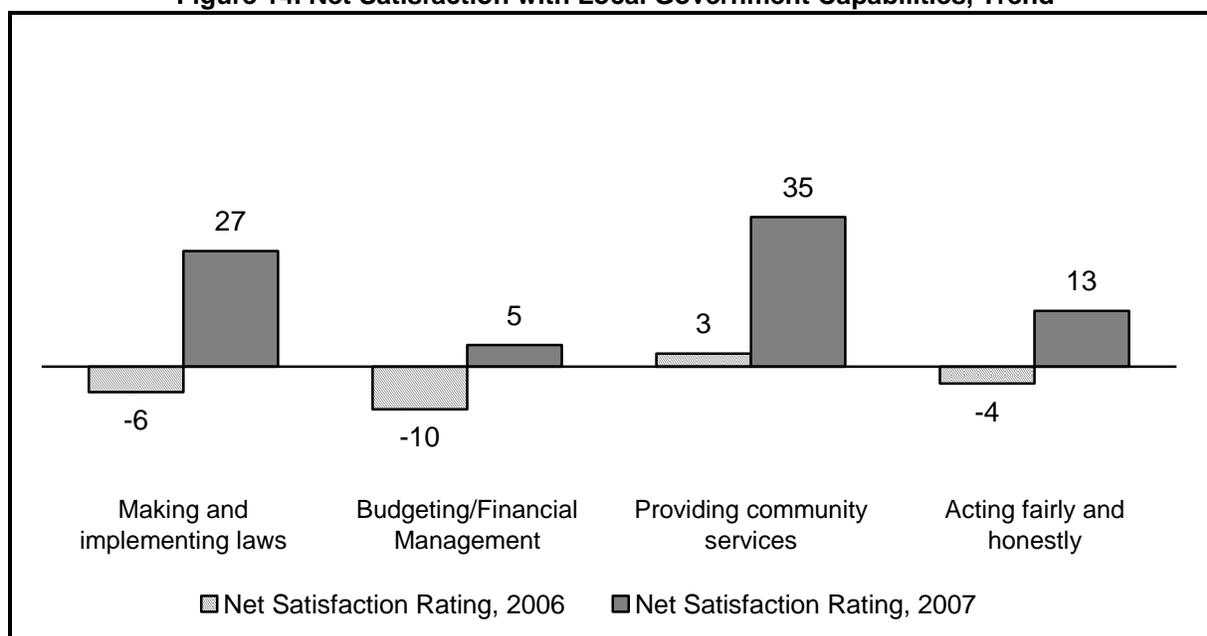
### **Indonesians Have Increased Satisfaction with Local Government's Capabilities**

This report has already highlighted the more widespread positive attitudes of Indonesians toward various institutions in the 2007 survey as compared to the 2006 survey. This trend is

also evident in Indonesians' evaluation of the capabilities of their local governments, and Figure 14 highlights the positive trend by presenting the net satisfaction levels (% satisfied - % dissatisfied) from the 2006 and 2007 surveys for four aspects of local government capabilities.

In the 2007 survey, 48% of respondents say that they are satisfied with their local government's ability to make and implement laws. This compares to 37% who were satisfied with this local government capability in the 2006 survey. Twenty-one percent say they are dissatisfied, down from 31% in the 2006 survey. Thirty-one percent have no opinion on this question, suggesting a link between the generally perceived lack of information about local government activities and their lack of opinion on local government capabilities. This lack of opinion is higher among individuals with a primary or lower education than among those with a secondary or higher education. Lack of opinion is significantly higher in rural areas than in urban areas, for most of the questions asked in this survey about attitudes to or capabilities of local governments

**Figure 14. Net Satisfaction with Local Government Capabilities, Trend**



*"Overall, can you please tell me whether, in your opinion, you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the capability of your local government to implement the following responsibilities?" (n=2000)*

Close to four in ten (39%) also have no opinion on their local government's ability in relation to budgeting and financial management. Thirty-three percent are satisfied with their local government's capabilities in this respect, while 28% are dissatisfied. This is a positive reversal of the pattern of findings in the 2006 survey, where 25% were satisfied with their local government's financial management while 35% were dissatisfied.

There is a similar reversal of opinions on local government's ability to act fairly, honestly, and justly. In the 2007 survey, 47% say they are satisfied with this aspect of their local government's functioning while 34% say they are dissatisfied. This compares to 39% who expressed satisfaction with their local government's honesty and fairness in the 2006 survey, while 43% expressed dissatisfaction. The net satisfaction level for this aspect of governance has improved from -4 percentage points in 2006 to +13 percentage points in 2007.

A majority of Indonesians (62%) express satisfaction with their local government's ability to provide services to its local community, which mirrors the proportion who agree that local government services are of good quality. Twenty-seven percent say they are dissatisfied with this aspect of their local government's functions. The percentage satisfied has increased from 46% in 2006, while the percentage dissatisfied has fallen from 43%.

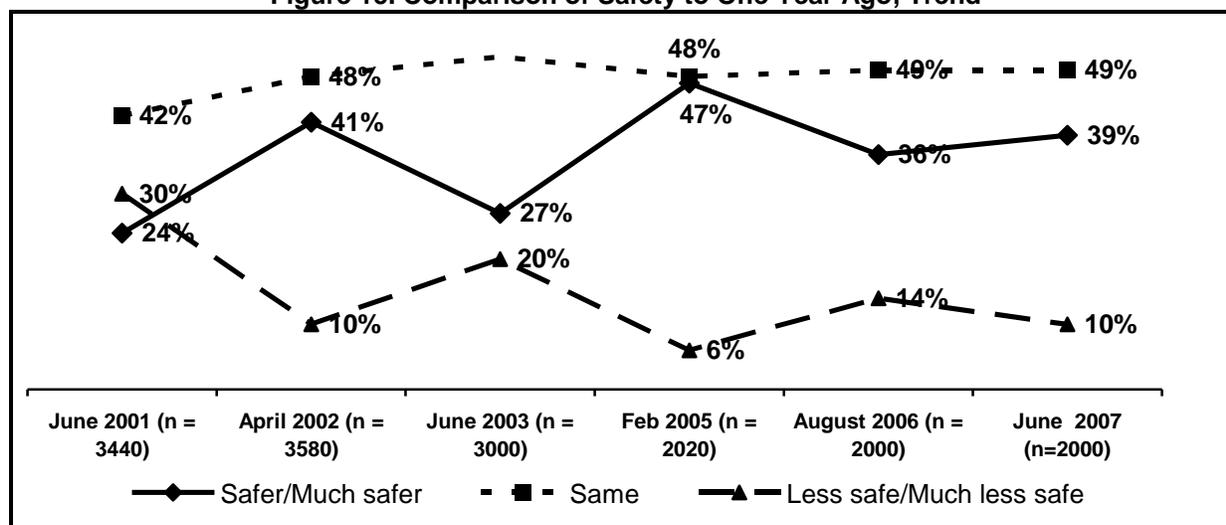
In the 2006 survey, urban residents had negative net satisfaction ratings for each of the above four issues, and the net satisfaction level of rural residents was more positive in each case. The 2007 survey results show significant positive shifts in opinion on these issues amongst urban residents, with a positive - and for some a strongly positive - net satisfaction rating for each. For the 2007 data there is also a general but not fully consistent trend in the net satisfaction levels in relation to these issues between age groups, with net satisfaction levels tending to increase as age increases. Net satisfaction levels are strongly positive towards most or all of these issues in the provinces of East Java, Papua, Central Java and DKI Jakarta, and strongly negative in North Sumatra.

## IV. SOCIAL ISSUES

### Perceptions of Security

Security has been a concern for respondents in surveys in Indonesia over the past few years, and attitudes toward security are a key predictor of attitudes toward overall conditions in Indonesia. Data from the 2007 survey indicates opinions on security have had a slight positive upturn since the 2006 survey (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Comparison of Safety to One Year Ago, Trend



*"In your opinion, compared to a year ago, do you now feel much safer, safer, equally safe, less safe, or much less safe?"*

Thirty-nine percent of Indonesians, a slight increase from 36% in 2006, say that they feel safer than they did one year ago, 49% say they feel as safe as one year ago, and 10% say they feel less safe. The net differential between the percentages of those who feel safer versus those who feel less safe is +29 percentage points in this survey, an increase from a net differential of + 22 percentage points in the 2006 survey.

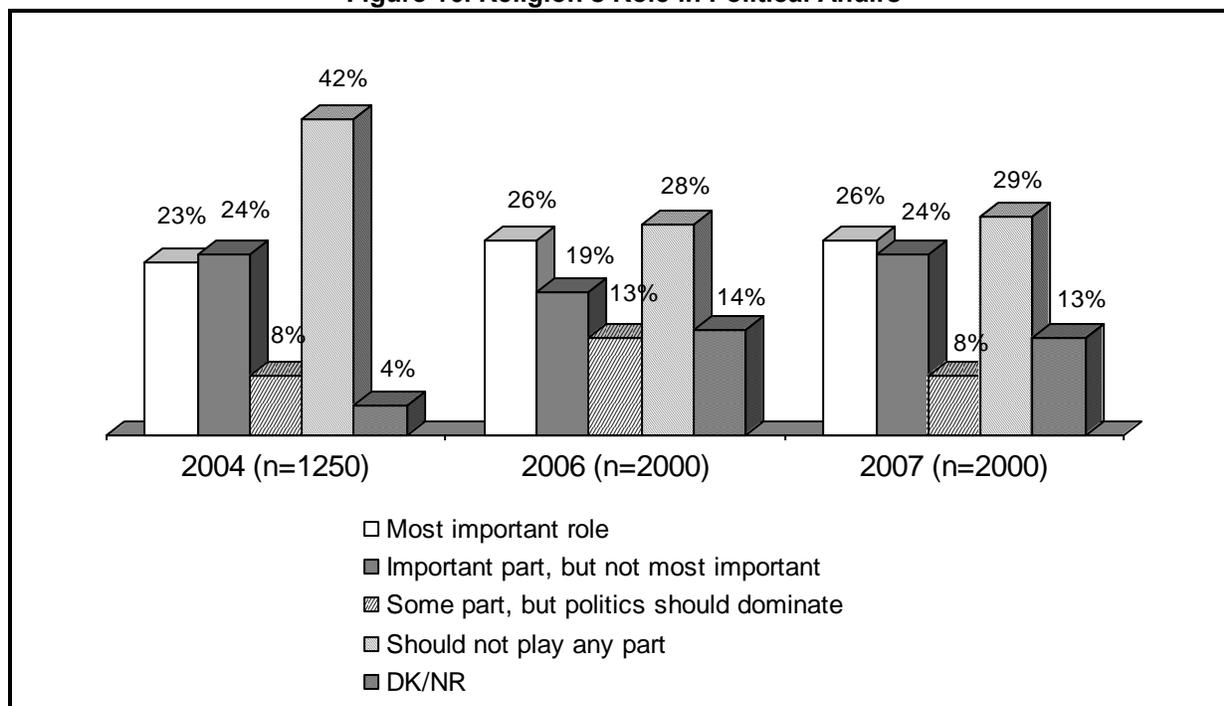
Residents across all island groups are more likely to say that they feel safer rather than less safe compared to a year ago. The highest percentage of those saying they feel safer than one year ago is in Aceh where 88% voice this opinion (as did 99% in the 2006 survey), an indication that the peace process is continuing to influence an improvement in the security situation in the province. Eighty percent in Maluku also say that they feel safer than one year ago, as do 50% in Papua (a significant increase on the 9% who gave this response in the 2006 survey). In Java, residents of Jakarta (21%) and West Java (19%) are more likely to say they feel less safe than are residents of Central Java (7%) or East Java (6%). Urban residents in general are more likely to say that they feel less safe than 12 months ago than are rural residents (13% and 7% respectively).

### Role of Religion in Society

Another issue important to Indonesian society today is that of the role of religion in the political sphere. The success of religion-oriented parties, as well as the introduction of some Sharia-

based laws in some regions is providing focal points for the discussion of religion in politics. Respondents were asked about their opinions on the role of religion in politics. Trend data on this question is presented in Figure 16.

**Figure 16. Religion's Role in Political Affairs**



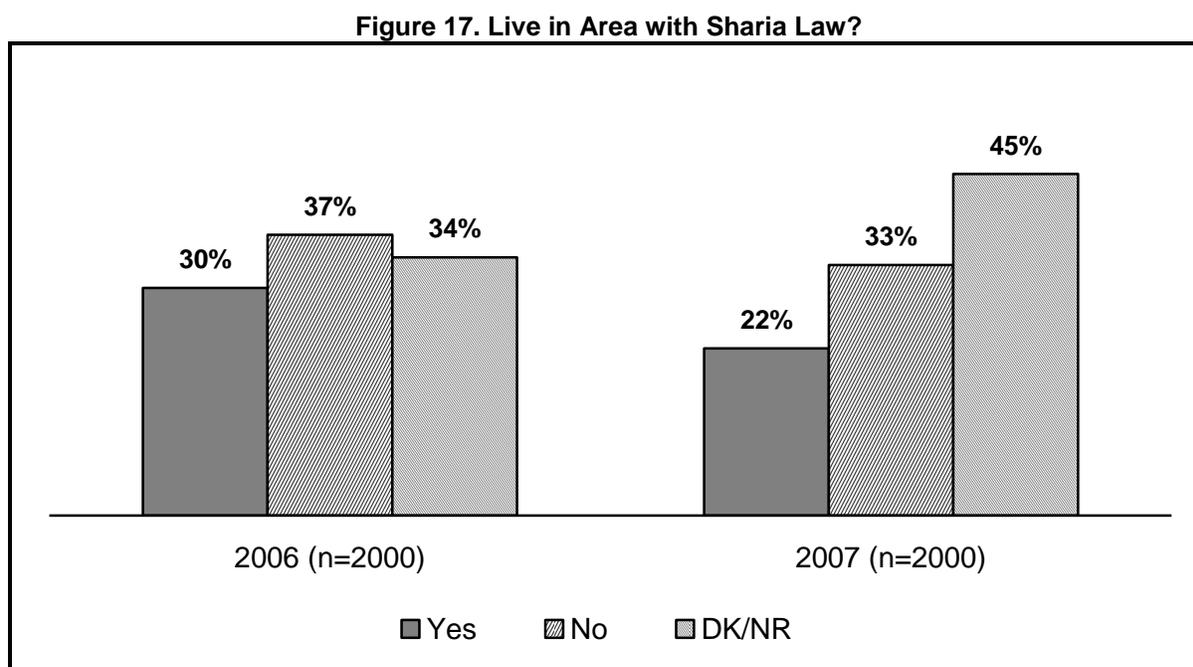
*"In your opinion, what role do you think religion should play in political affairs in Indonesia?"*  
(2004 n=1250; 2006 n=2000; 2007 n = 2000)

The data in Figure 16 indicates that the percentage of Indonesians who think that religion should play the most important role or an important role in political affairs has increased a little from 47% in 2004 to 50% in this survey, while the percentage who say that religion should play no part or that political considerations should dominate has declined from a high of 50% in 2004 to 37% in this survey. One reason for this decline may be the fact that a significant percentage of Indonesians (13%) are now unsure about the role of religion in politics and do not offer an opinion.

As in previous surveys, there are some clear regional differences on this issue. Residents of Aceh (64%) and East Java (61%) are most likely to say that religion should play at least an important role in politics, while residents of West Kalimantan (59%), Central Java (54%), and North Sumatra (51%) are most likely to say that religion should either have no role in politics or that political considerations should dominate. In Papua, 49% think religion should have a limited or no role while 41% think that religion should play at least an important role in politics.

There continue to be significant differences of opinion between Muslims and Christians on the role of religion in politics. Muslims are more likely than Christians to think religion should play at least an important role (53% versus 22%); while Christians are more likely to believe that religion should not play any role in political affairs (50% versus 27%). The percentage of Muslims who believe that religion should play at least an important role in politics has increased from 48% in 2006 to 53% in this survey.

The issue of religion in Indonesia is often linked with the issue of Sharia law. Efforts by some local governments to introduce regulations based on Sharia law have intensified discussion of Sharia in Indonesian society. Respondents to both the 2006 and 2007 surveys were asked whether they would want to live in an area where Sharia law is implemented. The responses are provided below (Figure 17).



*"Considering your needs and aspirations, do you want to live in an area of Indonesia where Sharia law is implemented?" (n = 2000)*

Compared to the 2006 survey, there are fewer Indonesians who want to live in an area of Indonesia where Sharia law is implemented. The percentage that holds this opinion has fallen from 30% in 2006 to 22% in 2007. The percentage that does not want to live in an area where Sharia law is implemented has also fallen slightly from 37% in 2006 to 33% in 2007, but not as much as the decline in the percentage of those who want to live in these areas. The data indicates that there has been an increase in uncertainty on this issue from 2006 to 2007, with those not offering an opinion rising from 34% in 2006 to 45% in this survey.

As in the 2006 survey, support for living in an area with Sharia law is highest in Aceh (85%). Forty-five percent in South Sulawesi also want to live in an area with Sharia law. The highest level of opposition to living in an area with Sharia law is in Maluku where 57% hold this opinion. In Central Kalimantan, 55% oppose living in an area with Sharia law, while 47% hold this opinion in Jakarta. Opposition to living in an area with Sharia law has increased in East Java from 34% in 2006 to 43% in this survey, while opposition has declined in Central Java from 54% in 2006 to 40% in this survey.

Muslims are more likely to say that they want to live in an area with Sharia law (25%) than are Christians (3%), or those from other religions (0%). Thirty-two percent of Muslims do not want to live in an area with Sharia law, compared to 37% of Christians and 46% from other religions.

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In urban areas, 43% do not want to live in an area with Sharia law while 25% want to live in these areas. In rural areas, a large percentage of the population (48%) does not have an opinion on the issue while 26% do not want to live in Sharia law areas and 20% want to live in these areas.

Those respondents who say that they want to live in an area with Sharia law, as well as those who say they do not, were asked for their reasons for this opinion. The reasons given for wanting to live in an area with Sharia law are similar to those given in the 2006 survey. A majority of those who want to live in an area with Sharia law (54%) say it's because Sharia law provides greater security (46% in 2006). Twenty-nine percent say that following Sharia is a requirement for Muslims (26% in 2006), and 16% say that doing so accords with their religious beliefs (14% in 2006).

As in the 2006 survey, reasons for not wanting to live in an area with Sharia law are fairly evenly split between cultural and constitutional reasons, as well as basic opposition to what Sharia law entails. Thirty percent of those who do not want to live in an area with Sharia law state that they do not believe it is suitable for Indonesian culture (32% in 2006), and 18% are opposed because they believe that the Indonesian Constitution and Pancasila should guide Indonesian laws (24% in 2006). The percentage of those who oppose living in an area under Sharia law because they believe it is repressive and intolerant has increased from 31% in 2006 to 42% in this survey. Twelve percent oppose living in a Sharia area because they believe it reduces freedoms (11% in 2006). Of those who do not want to live under Sharia law, women continue to be more likely to voice these last-mentioned two opinions than men (59% versus 49%).

### **Role of Women in Society**

Both the 2006 and 2007 surveys contain questions that aim to discern the attitudes of Indonesians on the roles of women in the household and in society at large. The data from the 2007 survey is similar to data from the 2006 survey in showing that while women play a large role in household decisions, they are less likely to hold influence outside the home.

Respondents were read a list of common household decisions and asked who usually makes these decisions among the male and female members of the household (Figure 18).

Figure 18. Usual Decision-Maker on Household Decisions (in %)

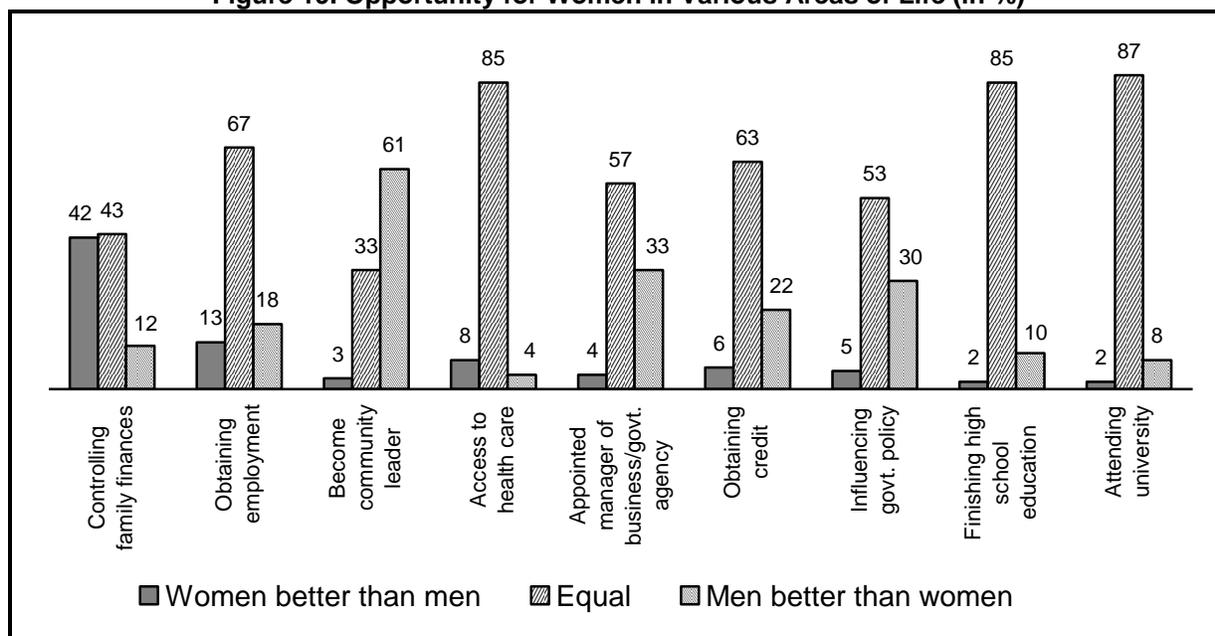


*“Can you please tell me, in your opinion, who usually makes the decisions on the following issues in your household – is it a male member of the household, a female member of the household or is it a joint decision between male and female members of the household?” (n= 2000)*

The pattern of responses to this question in the 2007 survey does not differ significantly from the pattern observed in the 2006 survey. As in 2006, for four of the five household decisions cited, the majority of Indonesians say that decisions on these matters are usually joint decisions between the male and female members of their household. Only in the case of the purchase of food does a majority (63%) point to decision-making lying with a particular gender, indicating that female members of the household usually make the decisions on this matter. There is little difference between the views of residents of rural and urban areas, and no significant difference between the views of men and women, on these issues.

Both the 2006 and 2007 surveys also contain a question to gauge the level of equity between men and women outside the home. Respondents were given a list of several areas of life in Indonesia and asked whether women had the same level of opportunity as men, more opportunity than men, or less opportunity than men in those areas of life. Figure 19 presents the data on this question from the 2007 survey.

Figure 19. Opportunity for Women in Various Areas of Life (in %)



*“Can you please tell me, in your opinion, whether opportunities for women and men in Indonesia in relation to (NAME ISSUE) are much better for men than women, better for men than women, equal, better for women than men, or much better for women than men?” (n = 2000)*

Comparing data from 2006 to 2007 shows there has not been a significant change in opinions on which gender has an advantage in these areas of life. One exception is in the control of family finances. In the 2007 survey, 42% of respondents believe that women have more opportunities to control family finances than men, compared to only 12% who say that men have more opportunities to control family finances. This compares to 37% in the 2006 survey who said women had more opportunities, and 20% who believed that men had more opportunities.

In seven of the nine areas of life cited in the question, a majority of Indonesians believe that men and women have equal levels of opportunity. This is a small change from the 2006 survey in which this was the majority opinion in five of the nine areas of life. The opinions of men and women on all these issues are very similar.

Among respondents who say that either men or women have greater opportunities in these areas, in all but two cases more Indonesians are likely to say that men have better opportunity than women. This differential in perceived opportunities impacts women in both the economic and political spheres. While there is not much perceived difference in the ability of women to gain employment compared to men, there is a large perceived difference in obtaining credit. Twenty-two percent believe that men are more likely to be able to obtain credit than women, compared to only 6% who believe that women are more likely be able to obtain credit. Similarly, there is a more widespread perception that men have better opportunity to aspire to management positions in government or business. While 33% believe that men have more opportunities than women to be managers, only 4% think women have more opportunities than men.

In the political sphere, a majority of respondents (61%) believe that men have more opportunities to become community leaders than women. There is little difference in the

opinions of men and women on this question, indicating that women in Indonesia are only too aware of their lack of community influence. This is reinforced by the perception of 30% of respondents that men have more opportunity than women to influence government policies, while only 3% have the opposite opinion.

As in the 2006 survey, data from other questions indicates that just because women are perceived to be more likely to have control of family finances does not necessarily mean that they control household financial assets. Of the nineteen percent of Indonesians who report that their resident family has at least one bank account, more than half (63%) say that an account is in the name of the husband or male member of the household, 20% say that an account is in the name of the wife or female member of the household, and 16% say that an account is jointly in the names of a male and female member of the household.

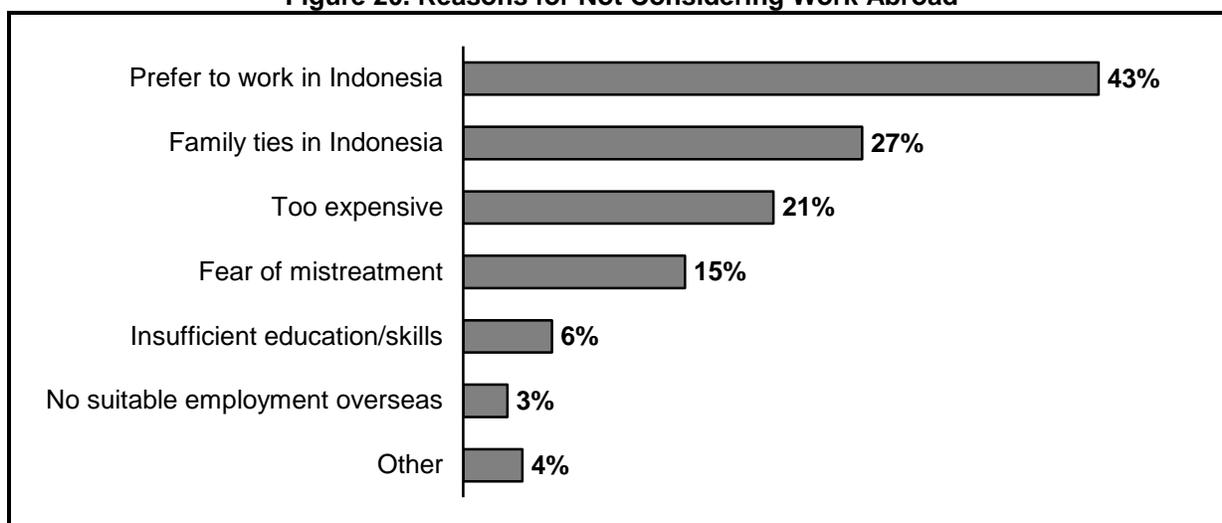
### Indonesian Emigrant Workers

One increasingly important issue in Indonesia is that of Indonesians working abroad. As part of its support for emigrant workers, the Indonesian government is implementing programs to advise those Indonesians thinking about working abroad and to protect those actually doing so.

Data from the 2007 survey indicates that during the last 12 months, only 3% of Indonesians have seriously considered working abroad, while an additional 13% have thought about it but have not seriously considered it. On the other hand, 64% of respondents say that during this period they have not thought about working abroad. There is little difference between urban and rural residents in whether they have considered working abroad. Men are more likely to have at least thought about working abroad (20%), although 12% of women say they have thought about or seriously considered working abroad.

Those who have not at least thought about working abroad were asked why they had not done so, and respondents provided a wide range of reasons for not doing so (Figure 20).

**Figure 20. Reasons for Not Considering Work Abroad**

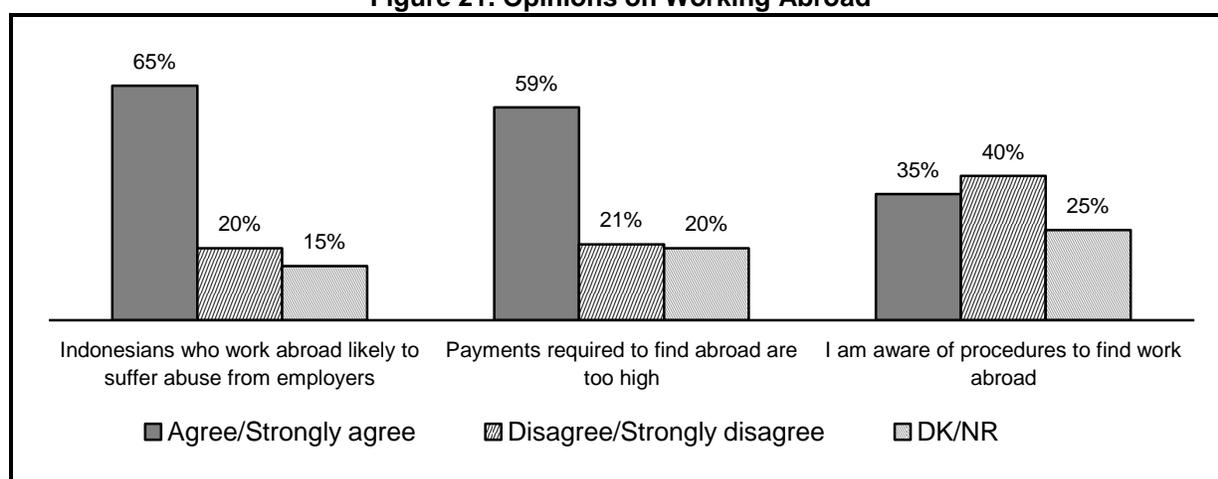


*"Can you please tell me the reasons why you have not considered looking for work in another country?" (n=1278)*

The most often cited reasons relate to positive ties to Indonesia. Forty-three percent of these respondents say that they prefer to work in Indonesia, and 27% say that their family ties in Indonesia keep them from considering working abroad. However, significant proportions of these respondents indicate that they have not thought about working abroad due to negative perceptions of working abroad: 21% feel that it is too expensive to look for work abroad and 15% fear mistreatment at the hands of employers or employment agents once they get abroad. Also, 6% do not believe they have sufficient education or skills to seek work abroad.

Survey responses also indicate that there are widespread negative assessments of the costs of finding work abroad, and of the experience that awaits Indonesians who work abroad. In addition, many Indonesians are not aware of the steps they would have to take to find work abroad (Figure 21).

**Figure 21. Opinions on Working Abroad**



*"In your opinion, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?" (n = 2000)*

About two in three Indonesians believe that Indonesians who work abroad are likely to suffer from physical or psychological abuse from their employers. Only 20% disagree with this statement. Most support for this statement was found in East Java (84%) and DKI Jakarta (80%). There is also negative sentiment about the cost of finding work abroad, with nearly six in ten saying they have not thought about looking for work abroad because of the costs involved. Support for this statement is also high in East Java (76%). A little over a third of Indonesians are aware of the procedures for finding work abroad. Responses to these questions are fairly consistent across all age groups, genders, and rural/urban residents, though rural residents and women are more likely not to have an opinion. Awareness of the procedures for finding work abroad is more widespread as education level increases.

Among those who have at least thought about working abroad, 50% agree it is too costly to look for this type of work and 38% disagree, while among those who have not thought about looking for work abroad, 70% agree while 18% disagree. Those who have at least thought about looking for work abroad are more likely to be aware of the procedures to find this type of work. Among this group, 48% say they are aware of these procedures while 39% say they are not, whereas among those who have not thought about working abroad, 33% say they are aware of the procedures while 47% are not. There is no significant difference in opinion on whether Indonesians who work abroad are likely to suffer from abuse from their employers between

those who have thought about or seriously considered working abroad and those who have not. More than six in ten in each case agree that Indonesians working abroad are likely to suffer abuse.

Respondents were also asked how effective they think the government and other authorities are in implementing programs to prevent Indonesians from being forced to work in another country, or in another location in Indonesia. The data indicates that more than seven in ten Indonesians (71%) are not aware of any such programs being implemented in Indonesia. Residents of urban areas are less likely to say that they are not aware of these programs (63%) than residents of rural areas (77%). Amongst those who are aware of these programs, 47% think that these programs are very or somewhat effective, while 36% believe they are not very or not at all effective. However, 46% of those who were aware of these programs could not identify any specific program. The programs most commonly mentioned were supervision of worker emigration (by 26%) and development programs for workers (by 16%). Six percent mentioned socialization of procedures for working abroad, and 4% mentioned programs to assist workers when overseas.

### **Domestic Workers**

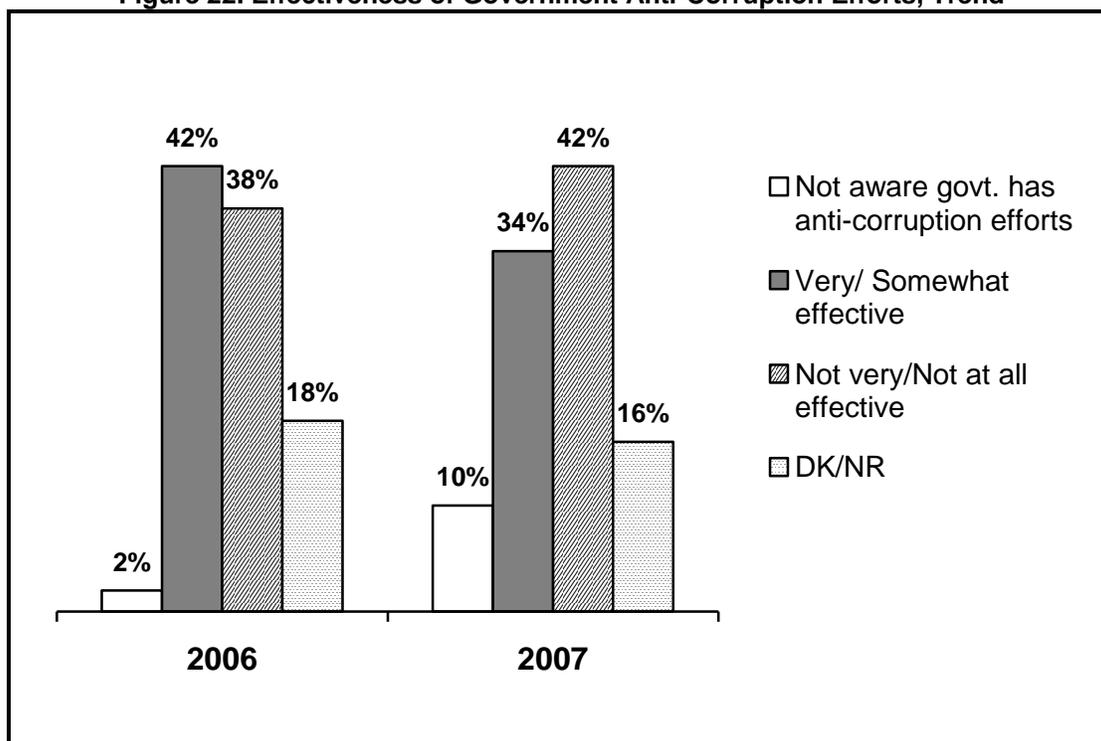
Respondents were asked if there were any domestic workers employed in their household. Very few respondents (1.2%) reported having one or more domestic workers in their household and of these, 75% reported there was one worker and 25% reported two workers. Almost all were in SES class A or B households. Of the total domestic workers identified, 77% were female. Fourteen percent were between 12 and 14 years old; 17% between 15 and 17 years old and 69% were 18 or more years old

## V. OPINIONS ON CORRUPTION

### Opinions on Anti-Corruption Programs

Corruption, and the efforts of the government to counter corruption, were major issues in the 2004 presidential elections and continue to be primary concerns for most Indonesians. Respondents to the 2006 and 2007 surveys have been asked to evaluate the effectiveness of the government's anti-corruption efforts. The trend data in Figure 22 indicates that opinions about the government's anti-corruption efforts are less likely to be positive in 2007 than they were at the 2006 survey.

**Figure 22. Effectiveness of Government Anti-Corruption Efforts, Trend**



*"In your opinion, how effective are the programs that the Government of Indonesia implements to fight corruption? Are they very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not effective at all?" (n = 2000)*

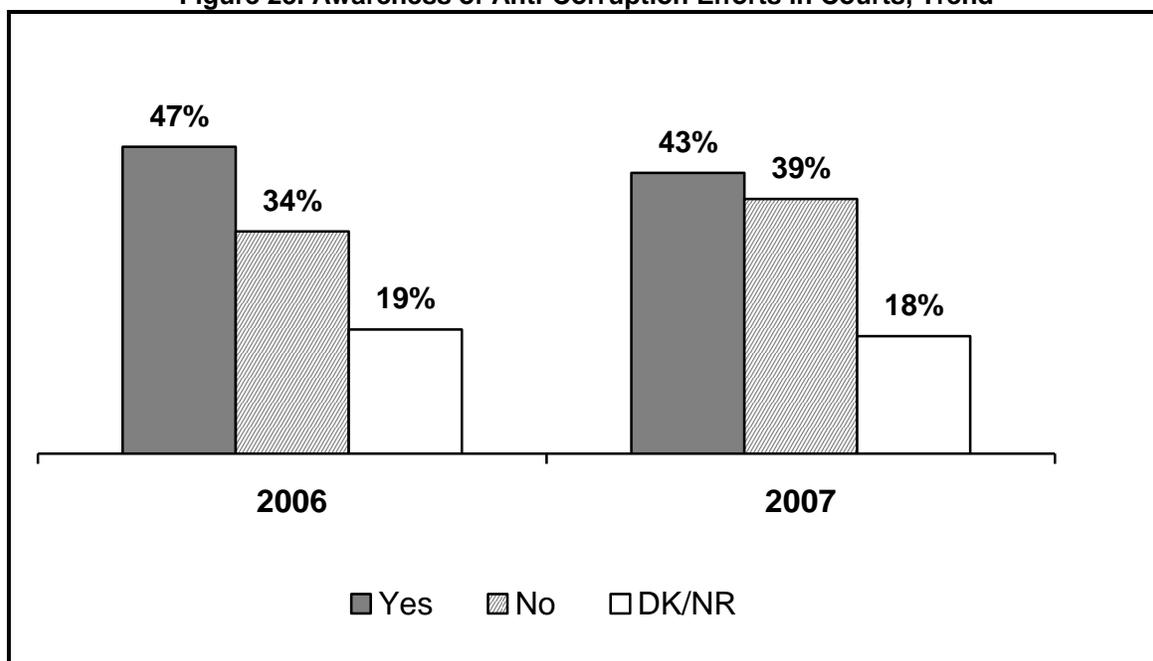
In the 2006 survey, 42% said that government anti-corruption programs were very or somewhat effective, while 38% said that these programs were not very or not at all effective. Thus, there was a net differential of +4 percentage points between the percentage who felt that government anti-corruption programs were effective and those who felt they were ineffective. The data from the 2007 survey shows a negative reversal in this net differential. In the 2007 survey, 42% believe that government anti-corruption programs are ineffective while 34% feel that they are effective. The net differential has declined to -8 percentage points, a decline of 12 percentage points from 2006 to 2007. In addition, the percentage of respondents who say that they are not aware of any anti-corruption programs on the part of the Indonesian government has increase from 2% to 10%. A further 16% offer no opinion on this question.

Comparison of responses to this question with the responses to questions assessing the performance of the KPK and the BPK shows that among those who say they are not aware of any government anti-corruption programs, the vast majority has not heard of either the BPK (81%) or the KPK (75%). The data also indicates that satisfaction with the performance of the BPK and KPK is also strongly related to opinions on the effectiveness of government anti-corruption programs. Among those who think that government anti-corruption programs are effective, more respondents are satisfied rather than dissatisfied with the performance of the KPK (54% satisfied, 34% dissatisfied) and the BPK (45% satisfied, 35% dissatisfied). Conversely, among those who rate government anti-corruption programs as ineffective, a majority is dissatisfied with the performance of the KPK (78%) and the BPK (66%).

Negative responses about government anti-corruption programs are most widespread in DKI Jakarta and Central Java where 62% and 48%, respectively, think that these programs are ineffective. As in the 2006 survey, residents of South Sulawesi are more likely to believe that anti-corruption programs are effective (45%) rather than ineffective (25%). The percentage that says they do not know of the existence of these programs is highest in North Sumatra (27%) and South Sumatra (19%). Residents of rural areas are more likely to be unaware of these programs than residents of urban areas (14% versus 5%).

Considering the importance to democratic development of a judicial system that is seen as following the rule of law, there have been efforts to focus anti-corruption activities in the court system in Indonesia. Respondents to both the 2006 and 2007 surveys were asked about their awareness of these efforts. Figure 23 presents the trend data for this question.

**Figure 23. Awareness of Anti-Corruption Efforts in Courts, Trend**



*"Are you aware that an anti-corruption program is being implemented throughout Indonesian courts?" (n = 2000)*

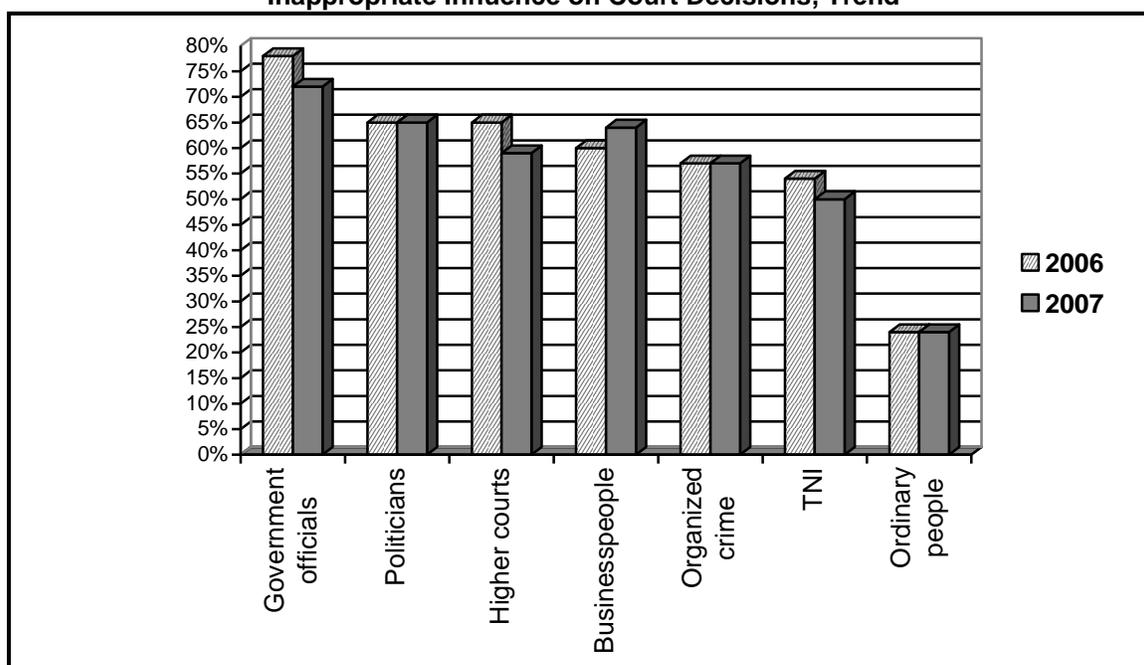
As with awareness of general governmental anti-corruption programs, there has been a slight decline in awareness of anti-corruption programs focused on the court system. Forty-three

percent in this survey say that they are aware of anti-corruption efforts in the court system, compared to 47% in the 2006 survey. The percent not aware of these programs has increased from 34% to 39%. Among those aware of general governmental anti-corruption programs, 37% say they are unaware of these efforts in the court system. Urban residents are more likely to be aware of these efforts than rural residents, and men are more likely to be aware than women.

Those who are aware of the anti-corruption programs in the courts were next asked to rate the effectiveness of these programs. There is a near even split in opinion on the effectiveness of the anti-corruption efforts in the courts with 50% of those aware of these efforts saying that these efforts are very or somewhat effective, and 48% saying that they are not very or not at all effective. Repeating the pattern of responses from the 2006 survey, a majority of those who think that the anti-corruption efforts in the court system are effective are also likely to think that general anti-corruption efforts are effective, and vice versa.

One reason for anti-corruption efforts in the court system is to target the inappropriate influence that various key actors and institutions in Indonesian society are perceived to have on the decisions made by Indonesian courts. Widespread perceptions of inappropriate influence were reflected in the results of the 2006 survey, and have not changed much in the 2007 survey (Figure 24).

**Figure 24. Percent Which Believes Select Institutions & Groups Have Inappropriate Influence on Court Decisions, Trend**



*"In your opinion does (do) ..... (READ NAME OF ORGANIZATION) seriously attempt to influence court decisions on cases? (n = 2000)*

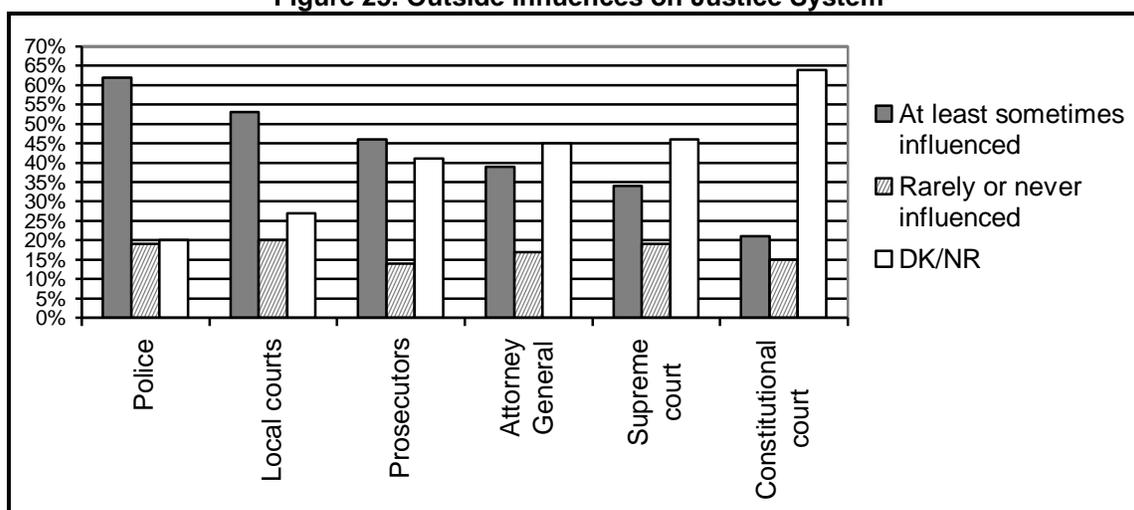
A substantial majority (72%) believes that government officials attempt to have inappropriate influence on court decisions, down slightly from 78% in 2006. The same percentage as in 2006 believes that politicians attempt similarly to influence court decisions (65%). Close to two-thirds of respondents (64%) also believe that business people attempt to influence court decisions inappropriately, as does a majority in the case of higher courts (59%) and organized crime

(57%). In the case of TNI, 50% believe that it attempts to influence court decisions inappropriately, down slightly from 54% in the 2006 survey. It is notable that only 24% believe that ordinary people in Indonesia attempt to influence court decisions inappropriately, while 76% say that they do not.

Respondents who said that an institution or a group of actors attempts to have an inappropriate influence on court decisions were next asked their views on how often this influence affects the outcome of a case. In all cases except for two, a majority says that inappropriate influence of the particular actors or institution almost always or usually affects the outcome of a case. The highest such percentage is for inappropriate influence by government officials (62%), and a majority also believes that this is the case for inappropriate influence exerted by business people (52%), politicians (52%), organized crime (51%), and higher courts (51%). Forty-five percent believe that inappropriate influence by TNI almost always or usually affects the outcome of a case, 38% say the influence sometimes affects the outcome, and 4% say it never affects the outcome. Attempted inappropriate influence by ordinary people is perceived to be the least persuasive. Thirty-seven percent believe this influence almost always or usually affects the outcome of the case, 28% believe it sometimes affects the outcome, and 19% say it never affects the outcome.

Respondents to the 2006 and 2007 surveys were also asked to rate the extent to which several judicial and security institutions were susceptible to outside influences. Although a large percentage of respondents to both surveys do not offer an opinion for some of the institutions (probably due to a lack of awareness of the work of these institutions), in each case more respondents say that the decisions made by these institutions are at least sometimes influenced by outside sources than those who say they are rarely or never influenced (Figure 25).

**Figure 25. Outside Influences on Justice System**



*"In your opinion, can you tell me how often decisions made by ..... [NAME OF INSTITUTION] are influenced by other outside organizations or people? Would you say it is always, usually, sometimes, rarely or never?" (n = 2000)*

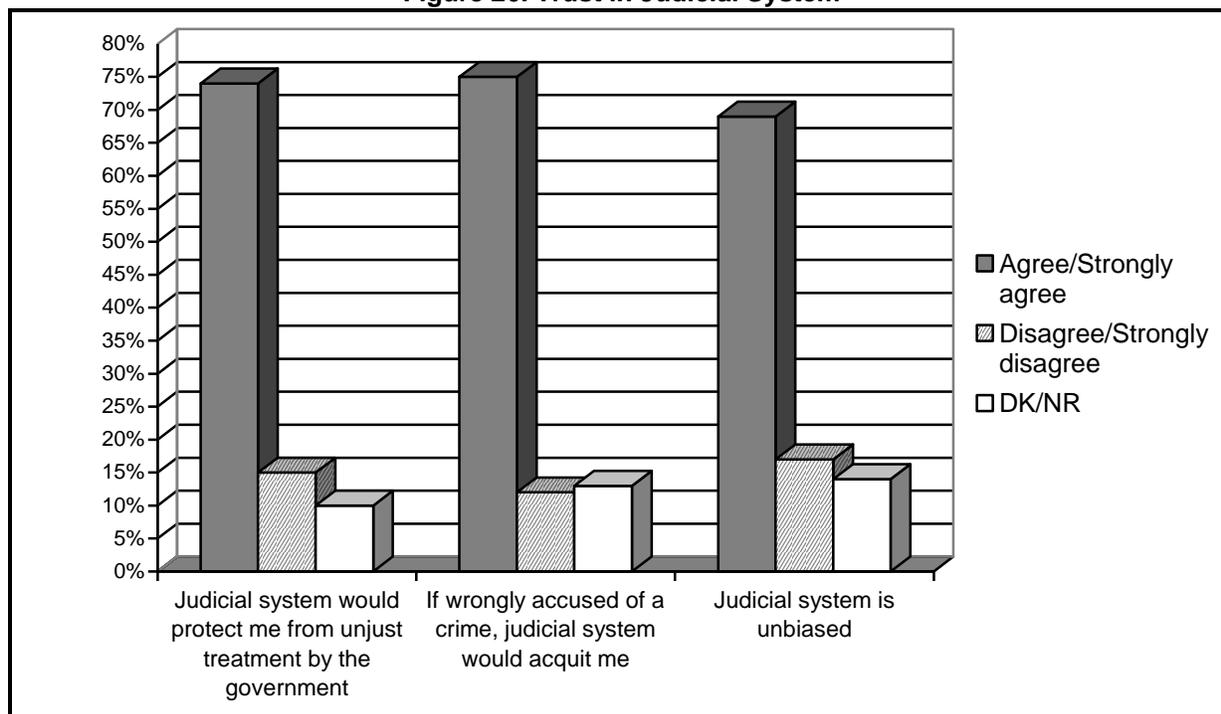
Generally, the more likely ordinary people are to interact with an institution, the more likely respondents are to give an opinion on outside influences on that institution. Thus, the percentage of respondents providing an opinion on outside influences on the police is much higher than the percentage that has an opinion on outside influences on the Constitutional

Court. As in the 2006 survey, more than six in ten Indonesians feel that decisions by police are at least sometimes influenced by outsiders. A majority (53%) also feels the same way about local courts, while 46% have this opinion about prosecutors, 39% for the Attorney General, and 34% for the Supreme Court. These opinions have not changed significantly since the 2006 survey, except in the case of the Supreme Court (40% in 2006).

For all of the cases above, residents of urban areas are more likely than residents of rural areas to say that institutions in the justice system are at least sometimes influenced by outsiders. Residents of rural areas are more likely than residents of urban areas to lack opinions on these institutions.

Despite the fact that more Indonesians than not believe that many of the institutions in the justice system are subject to outside influences in their decision-making, the data from the 2006 and 2007 surveys shows that a majority of Indonesians have confidence in the judicial system in the country to protect them from unjust treatment, and to apply the law in an unbiased fashion. Figure 26 shows the data from the 2007 survey.

**Figure 26. Trust in Judicial System**



*"In your opinion, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements about the judicial system in Indonesia?" (n = 2000)*

Three-quarters of all Indonesians agree that the judicial system would acquit them if they were wrongly accused, an increase from the 64% who held this opinion in the 2006 survey. Nearly three-quarters (74%) also agree that the judicial system protects them from unjust treatment by the government, an increase from 70% in the 2006 survey. Finally, 69% also agree that the judicial system is unbiased, an increase from 64% in the 2006 survey.

There is fairly consistent agreement on these opinions among various sub-groups in the population. Majorities in both rural and urban areas, among all age groups, and in both genders

have positive responses to these questions. There is also consistency across the regions of Indonesia, with the few instances where a majority does not agree with these statements resulting from the fact that a large percentage replies “Don’t know” to the question.

There is an apparent contradiction in opinions on the judicial system, with Indonesians on the one hand stating that judicial institutions can be influenced by outside forces, yet at the same time saying that the judicial system is unbiased and that they personally would have their rights protected by the system.

### **Awareness of, and Opinions on, the Prosecutorial Service**

A significant element in establishing a justice system in which the Indonesian people can have confidence is the professionalism and integrity of the prosecutorial service. When respondents were asked how much they had read or heard about the prosecutorial service, less than one percent say they have read or heard much about it, and only 7% say that they have read or heard something about this institution. Thirty-seven percent have read or heard a little about the prosecutorial service. A majority either says that they have heard nothing about the prosecutorial service (38%) or don’t offer an opinion (17%), an indication that they may not be aware of the prosecutorial service.

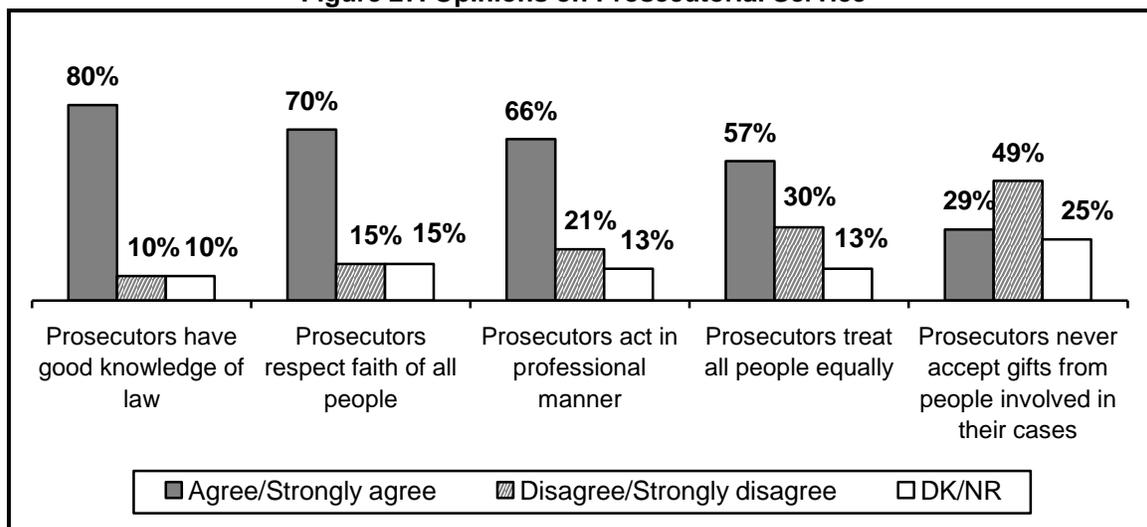
A greater percentage of residents of urban areas than rural areas say that they have heard much or something about the prosecutorial service (14% versus 4%). This level of awareness of the prosecutorial service also increases with education level, with only 2% of those with an elementary or lower level of education saying they have heard much or something about the prosecutorial service, compared to 10% among those with a secondary education, and 44% among those with higher than secondary education. Higher levels of awareness of the prosecutorial service are most widespread in Papua (33%).

Very few Indonesians (less than 1% in each case) say that they have had interaction with the prosecutorial service as a victim of a crime, or as a witness to a crime, or as a person accused of a crime.

Those respondents who say that they have heard or read at least a little about the prosecutorial service were next asked to evaluate several aspects of this institution’s work. The responses point to a generally positive opinion of the work of the prosecutorial service with one exception, the likelihood of prosecutors accepting gifts from people involved in their cases (Figure 27).

Four in five Indonesians who have heard or read at least a little about the prosecutorial service agree that prosecutors have good knowledge of the law. A large majority also agrees that prosecutors respect the faith of all people they deal with (70%), and that prosecutors act in a professional and courteous manner (66%). A majority also believes that prosecutors treat all people fairly, although 30% disagree with this statement.

Figure 27. Opinions on Prosecutorial Service



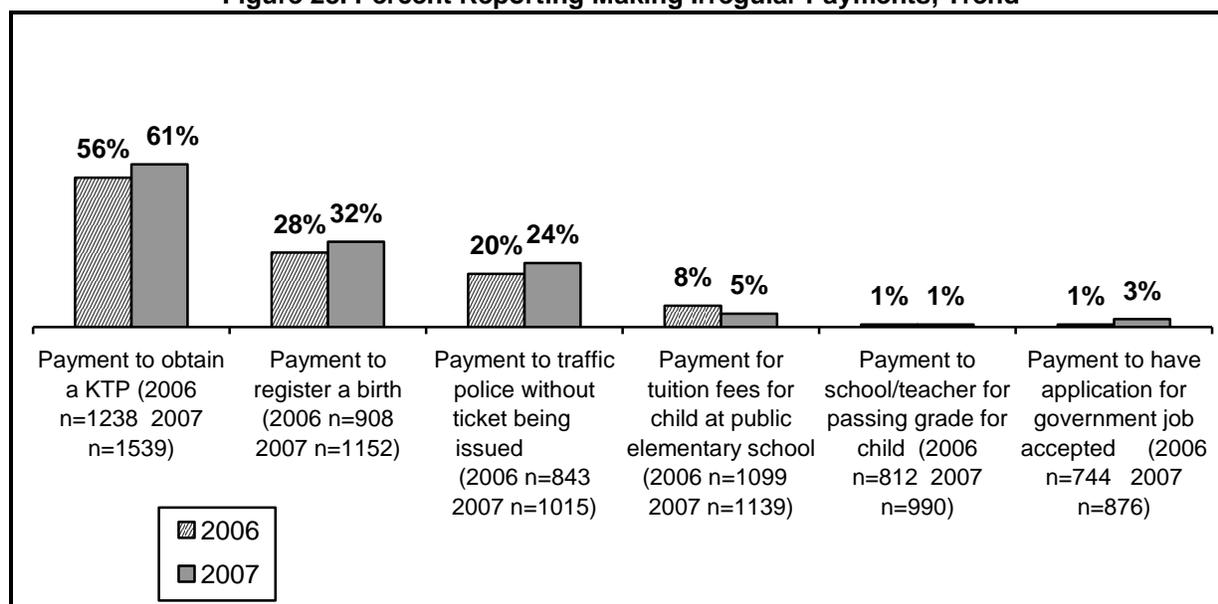
*"In your opinion, thinking about the Prosecutorial Service, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?" (n=1109)*

The one aspect of the prosecutorial service's work about which opinions are not generally positive is with respect to prosecutors accepting gifts from people involved in their cases. Nearly half of those aware of the prosecutorial service disagree that prosecutors never accept gifts from people involved in their cases, while 29% agree with this statement, and 25% do not offer an opinion. The opinions on this aspect of the prosecutorial service's work are in line with responses to an earlier question, to which 46% said that prosecutors are at least sometimes influenced by outside influences in their decision-making. However, respondents appear to have isolated this view of potentially corrupt behaviour by prosecutors from the more positive views on their knowledge, professionalism, and equal treatment of all people as individuals.

### Experience with Corruption

For official corruption to take place, an official not only has to solicit or accept a bribe, but someone on the other side of the transaction has to pay a bribe. In order to gauge the experiences of ordinary Indonesians, respondents to both the 2006 and 2007 surveys were given six situations which anecdotal evidence suggests are typical situations in which ordinary Indonesians may pay a bribe to obtain or solicit services or special favors. Given that many government services have variable official costs, to simplify the analysis the situations chosen comprised five where government services are officially free of charge, and for the sixth – payments to traffic police – respondents were asked if a payment had to be made in a situation where no official fine was imposed. The percentages of respondents who say they have paid in these situations show slight increases compared to 2006 survey results (Figure 28).

Figure 28. Percent Reporting Making Irregular Payments, Trend



*"Remembering that this is a confidential survey and your responses will never be revealed, can you tell me whether the following situations have happened to you within the last 12 months?"*

The 2006 and 2007 percentages in Figure 28 are based on the number of respondents who were exposed to each of the situations in the past 12 months, except for payment of elementary school fees, where the 2006 data covers the period from January 2006 (when these fees were officially eliminated) to the survey date in August 2006.

A majority (61%) of those who obtained a National Identity Card (KTP) stated that they made a payment for it, an increase from the 56% who reported this in the 2006 survey. Among those who paid for their KTP, 61% paid Rp. 20,000 or less and 2% paid more than Rp. 50,000. Among all those who report paying for a KTP, the amount paid averages around Rp. 20,700, higher than the approximate average of Rp. 19,500 in the 2006 survey. As in 2006, residents of Aceh were least likely to pay for a KTP (2%), whereas 96% of those in Maluku and 95% in Central Kalimantan report paying for a KTP.

There has also been a slight increase in the percentage of those registering a birth who made a payment for this service: 32% compared to 28% in 2006. Among those who reported paying for registering a birth, 62% reported paying Rp. 60,000 or less, while 6% paid more than Rp. 100,000. The average amount paid for registering a birth has increased substantially from around Rp. 43,000 in 2006 to around Rp. 54,500 in 2007.

Twenty-four percent (an increase from 20% in 2006) also report making a payment to traffic police, even though no infringement notice had been issued. Among those who made such payments to the traffic police, more than four in five (83%) report paying Rp. 60,000 or less, while 6% report paying more than Rp. 100,000. The average amount of an irregular payment to traffic police has declined from around Rp. 64,000 in 2006 to around Rp. 44,200 in 2007. The percentage of urban and rural residents who report having paid a bribe to the traffic police is roughly similar in the 2007 survey (26% and 22%, respectively). This is a significant change from the 2006 survey when urban residents were more than twice as likely to say they had paid

a bribe to the traffic police as rural residents. As in the 2006 survey, these payments to traffic police are concentrated among the younger (less than 35 years old) portion of the population.

Three percent of those who applied for government job report having made a payment to have their application accepted (compared to 1% in 2006). Respondents were more likely to have made payments for tuition fees for a child at a public elementary school (nominally free), than to have paid for a passing grade for their child (5% versus 1%). Among those who paid for this tuition, 71% report paying Rp. 30,000 or less while 14% paid more than Rp. 50,000. The average amount paid for tuition has increased almost three-fold from around Rp. 19,000 in 2006 to around Rp. 55,500 in the 2007 survey.