

INDONESIA ANNUAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

2008 REPORT

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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
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

INTRODUCTION

This is the third in a series of annual survey reports whose objective 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-2008, but will also stimulate debate that will give further impetus for reforms that assist 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 30 May and 12 June 2008. 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 USAID.

In this report, relevant data from the 2008 survey is compared to similar national surveys conducted by Democracy International in mid-2007 and mid-2006 and with comparable data from earlier surveys conducted by IFES.

A separately-published summary of the major national findings of this survey is also available, in publication *Indonesia Annual Public Opinion Surveys 2008 Summary of Findings*.

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 30 May and 12 June 2008, with a national proportionate sample of 2,000 respondents and an over-sample of 500 respondents. The resulting data has been weighted by age to be nationally representative of the adult (17 years or older) population. The margin of error for the national sample is plus/minus 2.2%. Throughout this report, data from the 2008 survey is compared to similar national surveys conducted by DI in 2007 and 2006 and with comparable data from earlier surveys conducted by IFES.

Attitudes Toward Democracy, Rights, Freedoms and Opportunities

- In the 2008 survey, fewer than half of Indonesians (48%) preferred democracy to any other form of government. This is a decline from 51% in the 2007 survey and 59% in 2006. The proportion of Indonesians who state that the form of government does not matter to them, at 31% in 2008, has remained fairly stable since the 2007 survey (30%), but has increased since 2006 (22%). Only 7% believe that non-democratic government is preferable in certain situations. Economic status and education are significant factors in opinions on the preferred system of government. The decline in the preference for democracy has been relatively greater amongst urban residents, those with secondary education and those in lower socio-economic classes. In the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys, the lower the education level and socio-economic class, the more likely the belief that the form of government does not matter.
- As in the 2007 survey, Indonesians in 2008 are more likely to cite material benefits than principles of freedom as indicators of a country being a democracy. Sixty percent choose 'people feeling secure' as being indicative of a country being a democracy, the same percentage as in 2007, and higher than the 2006 figure. While the proportions that choose 'everyone has work' (41%) and 'no official corruption' (39%) have declined since 2007, they are still higher than in 2006. The most frequently cited principle is 'freedom of religion', which is chosen by 46%, the same as in 2006. Since the 2006 survey there have been steady increases in the percentages of Indonesians who choose respect for human rights (28% in 2008) and equal rights for men and women (22% in 2008) as indicators of democracy. Conversely, there have also been continuing decreases in the percentages mentioning freedom of choice (36% in 2008) and freedom to vote (24%). In each of the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys few have mentioned freedom of the media.
- Indonesians generally see their abilities to exercise certain rights, freedoms and opportunities as increasing in the 12 months prior to the survey. More than 4 in 10 Indonesians believe that they have a better opportunity than 12 months ago to have an education (48%), vote in elections (45%), and exercise freedom of religion (43%). These percentages have decreased from 2007 levels. There is more widespread negative sentiment about economic opportunities. For three economic issues a higher percentage believes that opportunities have become worse than believes they have become better. Near half of Indonesians (47%) stated that their opportunity to obtain a job had become worse over the last 12 months. This is more than in 2007, but still less than the majority (51%) which expressed this view in 2006. Forty-one percent believed that their opportunities to be prosperous and 29% that their opportunities to run a business had decreased over the past 12 months.
- Indonesians' tolerant attitudes towards socio-political diversity, evident in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, have remained very similar in 2008. Similarly, the reservations about some aspects of religious diversity apparent in 2006 and 2007 have continued in 2008. More than nine in ten Indonesians believe that all people should have equal rights, and that Pancasila is the best basis for Indonesian society. More than eight in ten would be happy living with ethnically or culturally different neighbors, agree that different ethnicities' cultural practices should be

respected, and agree that all people have a right to express their political opinions. The levels of agreement with all these aspects of pluralism have remained fairly stable since 2006. There continue to be more mixed attitudes regarding practicing religious diversity. While 72% would be happy living in a religiously diverse neighborhood, 56% would not oppose a place of worship for another religion being built near them and only 15% would support a relative marrying someone from another religion.

Knowledge and Opinion of Institutions

- Awareness of local level and executive institutions continues to be generally much higher than of national level and legislative institutions. Near 100% of Indonesians are aware of the village administration and sub-district administration, while 99% are aware of the institution of regent/mayor and 97% of the governor. More than nine in ten Indonesians are aware of the People's Representative Council (DPR). Fewer are aware of the regency/city People's Representative Council (regency/city DPRD - 83%), the provincial People's Representative Council (provincial DPRD - 76%) and the Regional Representatives Council (DPD - 64%). There is more widespread awareness of local courts than higher courts: 84% are aware of local courts, 61% of the Supreme Court and 33% of the Constitutional Court. Awareness of some national technical institutions such as the General Election Commission (KPU - 73%), the Anti Corruption Commission (KPK - 70%) and the State Audit Authority (BPK - 51%) which had decreased between 2006 and 2007 has returned in 2008 to close to or higher than 2006 levels.
- Of those who are aware of the institution, a majority are satisfied with the performance of the village administration, the sub-district administration, the regent/mayor, the governor, the KPU, local courts and the regency/city DPRD. With the exception of the KPU, the KPK and BPK, there has been a decrease in net satisfaction levels (% satisfied -% dissatisfied) between the 2007 and 2008 surveys for all institutions surveyed¹. In 2008 the only institution with a negative net satisfaction rating is the DPR (-16 percentage points). This is lower than the DPR's net satisfaction rating in 2006 (-9 percentage points). The highest levels of net satisfaction, similarly to the 2007 and 2006 surveys, are for local and regional level executives: the village office (+61 percentage points), the sub-district office (+57), the regent/mayor (+38) and the governor (+31).
- The percentages of Indonesians stating that the DPR is effective in representing the needs and aspirations of various groups in society have remained at roughly the same levels in 2008 as in 2007, and in all cases are higher than in 2006. The same relative patterns have been recorded in each of the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys, with people most likely to agree that the DPR represents the needs and aspirations of Islamic religious groups (61% in 2008) and least likely to agree that it represents the needs and aspirations of minority religious groups (38% in 2008 - a decline from 43% in 2007). In 2008, majorities of Indonesians agree that the DPR effectively represents the needs and aspirations of political parties (57%), women (54%), and ethnic groups (53%). Nearly half (48%) say that the DPR effectively represents the needs and aspirations of ordinary people, similar to the 2007 figure and above the 40% recorded in 2006.
- The proportion of people who can name the president has remained stable between 2006 and 2008, at 97%. The proportion who can name their governor has also remained relatively stable, at 49% in 2008 compared to 48% in 2006. In 2008, there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of Indonesians who can name their regent/mayor to 63%, up from 45% in 2007. The proportions who can name one of their representatives in the DPR, the provincial DPRD or the DPD remain very low, at 6% or less for each.

¹ Questions on village administration and sub-district administration were not included in the 2007 or 2006 surveys.

- When asked how much trust they had in a range of local leaders and officials, in each case Indonesians are more likely to have high trust than low trust. For each category of local leader or official, the proportion of the population expressing high trust has increased between 2006 and 2008. In each of the three surveys, people have been most likely to have high trust in local leaders of their own religion (84% in 2008, 80% in 2007, 72% in 2006), followed by traditional leaders (73% in 2008, 64% in 2007, 56% in 2006) and local government officials (55% in 2008, 52% in 2007, 42% in 2006). While they have become more widely known since 2006, there is still over one-third of the population who are not aware of local NGO leaders. To solve local disputes, Indonesians would be most likely to trust local government officials (33%) traditional leaders (23%), or local police (18%). The proportions that most trust local government officials and local traditional leaders have increased since the 2006 survey, but the proportion has declined for local police.
- In relation to a selection of national institutions, a majority express high trust in TV stations (59%), half in radio stations (50%) and close to half in newspapers (48%). A large plurality of the population (40%) continues to feel neutral about political parties, having neither high nor low trust in them. Over one-third of Indonesians are not aware of NGOs, an improvement from the 48% unaware in 2006. The proportions expressing high trust for most of the institutions covered are the same or have changed little between 2006 and 2008. Exceptions are the courts (35% in 2008, 26% in 2006) and NGOs (24% 2008, 13% in 2006).
- There has been a decrease from the 2007 to 2008 surveys in the percentage of Indonesians who have attended meetings or other events organized by religious organizations, political parties, or other than religious community organizations in the last 12 months. In the 2008 survey 5% reported attending a political party event, 13% attending an other than religious community organization event, and 27% a religious organization event.
- Sixty-five percent of those Indonesians who pay taxes state that they receive at least equivalent value in services for the taxes they pay. This percentage has declined from 68% in the 2007 and 73% in the 2006 surveys. The most commonly-paid tax recorded in each of the surveys is land and building tax (49% in 2008), with only 2% in 2008 reporting paying income tax. The proportion stating that they do not pay any tax has grown steadily since 2006, and in 2008 is at 41%.

Opinions on Decentralization

- More than two-thirds of Indonesians (67%) agree that they receive good quality services from their local governments, compared to 63% in 2007 and 53% in 2006. Since the 2006 survey, Indonesians have also become more likely to agree that their local government executives are accountable: 70% in 2008, 68% in 2007 and 61% in 2006 agree with this. In 2008, a majority agree that they can channel their aspirations to their local government (58%) and that they have more confidence in their local than in their national government (56%). These percentages have also increased since the 2006 survey. Forty-five percent agree that local governments are responsive to their needs – a slight increase from the 2007 and 2006 percentages. However the opinions on communication from local governments are, in contrast, very much more negative. Almost half (48%) disagree that they are informed about local government activities, while 30% agree. The proportion disagreeing that they are informed has steadily increased from 41% in 2006. A similar proportion (45%) disagrees that local government is open about the way it spends its money, while 29% agree.
- Sixty-one percent of Indonesians are satisfied with their local government's capability to provide services to the community. Half (50%) are satisfied with its capability for making and implementing laws, 45% with its capability to act fairly, honestly and justly, and 44% with its capability to develop infrastructure. On the other hand, little more than a quarter of

Indonesians (27%) are satisfied with their local government's capability in budgeting and financial management. Between the 2007 and 2008 surveys there has been in general a negative trend in Indonesians' net satisfaction (% satisfied - % dissatisfied) with the way in which local governments handle their responsibilities, though on most indicators tested people are still more likely to be satisfied than in 2006. In 2008 there is negative net satisfaction with the local government function of budgeting and financial management (-14 percentage points). This is more negative than in the 2006 and 2007 surveys. There are positive net satisfaction levels for the other functions.

Social Issues

- Since the 2007 survey there has been an increase in the proportion of Indonesians that do not believe that religion should play any role in politics, and a plurality of Indonesians now has this view - 42% in 2008, compared to 29% in 2007 and 28% in 2006. This is now back at the level recorded in the 2004 IFES national opinion poll. In 2008 there is a much more even split than in the 2007 and 2006 surveys between those who say religion should play the most important role or an important role in politics (38%) and those who say it should play no role. While Christians are still more likely to say that religion should have no role in politics (65% in 2008) there is an increasing percentage of Muslims which also has this view (39% in 2008 compared to 27% in 2007).
- On another religion-related issue of which, if any, religion or religions schools should teach their students, an overwhelming majority of Indonesians (85%) states that schools should teach each student the religion to which he/she belongs. More liberal and more restrictive views get little support – 5% state that schools should teach all religions to students and the same percentage states that schools should teach only the majority religion.
- There is widespread support for government regulation and enforcement of standards for some aspects of public behavior, especially in relation to women. A majority (57%) of Indonesians support the government passing and implementing laws that restrict women's mobility at night unless accompanied by a male relative or husband. Fifty-nine percent of men and 55% of women support such regulation. Half of Indonesians (50%) support the government regulation of the types of clothing that women must or must not wear, with 51% of men and 49% of women agreeing with this. On the other hand, a majority of Indonesians (57%) are opposed to government regulation of which religions people may practice, and a plurality (49%) opposes regulation of criticism of public figures.
- Between the 2006 and 2008 surveys, there have been generally positive movements in perceptions of a number of women's roles in the community. In the 2008 survey, 93% of Indonesians believe that women have equal or better opportunities than men in relation to access to health care, and 89% in respect of both attending university and of finishing secondary school. On economic issues, 88% believe that women have equal or better opportunities in relation to controlling family finances, 81% in respect of obtaining employment, and 76% in respect of obtaining credit. On the other hand, on public policy and community leadership issues, men are still widely regarded as having more opportunities than women. Sixty-seven percent of Indonesians believe that men have more opportunities than women to become a community leader, 49% believe that men have more opportunities to become a candidate for a general election; 38% believe that men have more opportunities to attain a management position in business or government, and 31% believe men have more opportunities to influence government policy. There are no statistically significant differences in the views of women and men on any of these issues.
- In the past 12 months, 7% of Indonesians have thought about working abroad. Eight percent agree that they would be willing to borrow money to pay for the cost of finding a high-paying job

abroad. Exposure to government information campaigns on the safety of Indonesians working abroad is lower in 2008 (39%) than in 2006 (46%). The percentage who are aware of government programs to prevent Indonesians being forced to work against their will, overseas or in Indonesia, has increased from 29% in the 2007 survey to 72% in 2008. However there has been a decrease since 2007 in the proportion of those who know of these programs which think that they are very or somewhat effective, from 47% in the 2007 survey to 29% in 2008.

Opinions on Corruption

- The percentage of Indonesians that think that the Indonesian government's anti-corruption programs are effective is 42% (the same as in the 2006 survey), after falling to 34% in 2007. However in 2008 a similar proportion (41%) believes that these programs are not effective.
- Awareness of anti corruption activities in Indonesian courts has increased to 50% in 2008 from 43% in 2007. Amongst those aware of these programs, a majority (54%) think that they are effective, while 44% think that they are not very or not at all effective.
- A majority of Indonesians believe that their court system is subject to attempts at inappropriate influence from at least one of a wide range of sources. Seventy-five percent of Indonesians state that government officials attempt to have such influence – similar to the levels in 2007 (72%) and 2006 (78%). In 2008, there are also majorities of Indonesians that believe that politicians (65%), business people (61%), higher courts (59%) and organized crime (53%) attempt to have inappropriate influence on courts. Around one-third (34%) believe this of NGOs.
- Government officials, politicians, business people, organized crime and higher courts are also considered by Indonesians as being the most likely to be successful in applying inappropriate influence to court decisions. Of those who believe that the institution or group of actors attempts to influence court decisions, 61% believe that government officials are always or usually successful, 55% politicians, 55% business people, 55% organized crime, and 54% higher courts. As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, 'government officials' is the group most widely perceived as successfully influencing court decisions.
- When asked how frequently they think various legal and judicial agencies are subject to inappropriate external influence on their decisions, in 2008 71% of Indonesians say police are at least sometimes inappropriately influenced (up from 62% in 2007), 59% say local courts (up from 53% in 2007), and 50% say prosecutors (46% in 2007). More Indonesians than not in 2008 also believe that this is the case for the Attorney General, the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court, though for each of these institutions a large percentage offers no opinion - 40% for Attorney General, 43% for the Supreme Court and 59% for the Constitutional Court.
- In spite of the views on outside influences on the justice system, in the 2008 survey nearly three-quarters of Indonesians (74%) believe that the justice system protects them from unjust treatment by the government and over two-thirds (69%) believe that the judicial system is unbiased. These are similar to the 2007 survey results. On perhaps a more personal level, in 2008 less than half of Indonesians (49%) believe that if wrongly accused of a crime the judicial system would find them not guilty – a substantial decrease from the 75% which believed this in 2007, and 64% in 2006.
- Awareness of the prosecutorial service has increased slightly since the 2007 survey. In 2008, 13% say they have read or heard at least something about this institution, compared to 8% who reported this in the 2007 survey. Opinions on aspects of the prosecutorial services' work have remained fairly stable since the 2007 survey. In 2008, 80% agree prosecutors have a good knowledge of the law and a majority agrees that prosecutors respect the faiths of all

people (68%), act in a professional manner (64%) and treat all people equally (55%), Despite this majority support for positive views on the prosecutorial service, 50% of Indonesians disagree that prosecutors never accept gifts from people involved in their cases, a percentage the same as that which believes that prosecutors are subject to outside influences, while only 28% agree with this. This is similar to the 2007 survey results.

- There has been an upward trend since the 2006 survey in the proportions of Indonesians applying for some government services that officially are free who report having to make an irregular payment to obtain the service. Sixty-six percent of Indonesians applying for a KTP in the 12 months prior to the 2008 survey reported having to pay for it, an increase from 56% in 2006. In 2008, 36% of those who registered a birth of a child in the past 12 months reported having to make a payment, an increase from 28% in 2006, and 28% of Indonesians stopped by traffic police reported having to make a payment without any ticket being issued, compared to 20% in 2006. In each of the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys, few report having to make a payment to a teacher for a passing grade for a child (2% in 2008) or making a payment to have an application for a government job accepted (3% in 2008), while 10% in 2008 report having to pay tuition fees for officially free education in government elementary schools.
- Corruption is seen by substantial proportions of Indonesians as affecting the provision of certain goods and services to local communities. Half (50%) of Indonesians believe that there is corruption in the maintenance of critical community services such as clinics, roads and hospitals; 47% say corruption affects the price of sembako, 44% the quality of government services, 43% the ability of businesses to compete for government contracts, 38% the availability of jobs, 30% the cost of education and 29% the availability of affordable housing.
- When those who believe corruption is present in the provision of these goods and services in their area are asked to assess the effect of the corruption, in each case over four in five assess its impact as bad or very bad. There are severe judgments on this issue, with high proportions of those believing that corruption is present assessing the impacts as being very bad: with 36% for the price of sembako, 35% for availability of jobs and 30% for maintenance of critical services being the highest 'very bad' ratings.
- Even higher proportions of Indonesians believe that corruption affects economic and governance issues at a national level, and international opinion of Indonesia. Eighty-six percent believe that corruption affects the national economy of Indonesia, while almost two thirds (64%) believe it affects the performance of parliaments, and over half believe it affects the ability of Indonesian businesses to compete with businesses from other countries (58%) and foreign opinions of Indonesia (58%).
- Similarly to assessments of the effects of corruption at the local level, more than four in five Indonesians assess the impact of corruption on each of these national issues as being bad or very bad. Ninety-two percent of those who believe corruption affects the national economy, equivalent to 79% of the Indonesian population, believe its impact is bad or very bad. Again, similarly to the assessment of local issues, unusually high proportions of those who believe that corruption is present assess its impacts as being very bad for each of these issues, with 44% for the economy of Indonesia and 32% for the performance of parliaments the highest 'very bad' ratings.

METHODOLOGY

This survey was implemented through face-to-face interviews conducted between 30 May and 12 June 2008, 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, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, East Nusa Tenggara, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, South East Sulawesi, Papua and West Irian Jaya.

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 used 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 through 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.

Quality control measures were implemented throughout the survey process. Only experienced, fully trained interviewers were used. The questionnaire was pre-tested in a number of locations. Critical elements of the framework such as the sampling frame, data weights, and statistical calculations were subject to two separate external reviews after being developed by the survey field work implementer. Field supervisors checked the selection of respondents, witnessed at least 40% of interviews, and spot checked data of the remaining 60% of interviews. All completed questionnaires were reviewed in the field by supervisors for accuracy and consistency and respondents re-interviewed if necessary. All data was double entered and rechecked before processing, and all data records were subject to standard database cleaning processes.

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, 59% of total respondents were from rural areas and 41% 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 groups, and was thus weighted to reflect the appropriate age proportions in the Indonesian population. The unweighted and weighted frequencies are provided below.

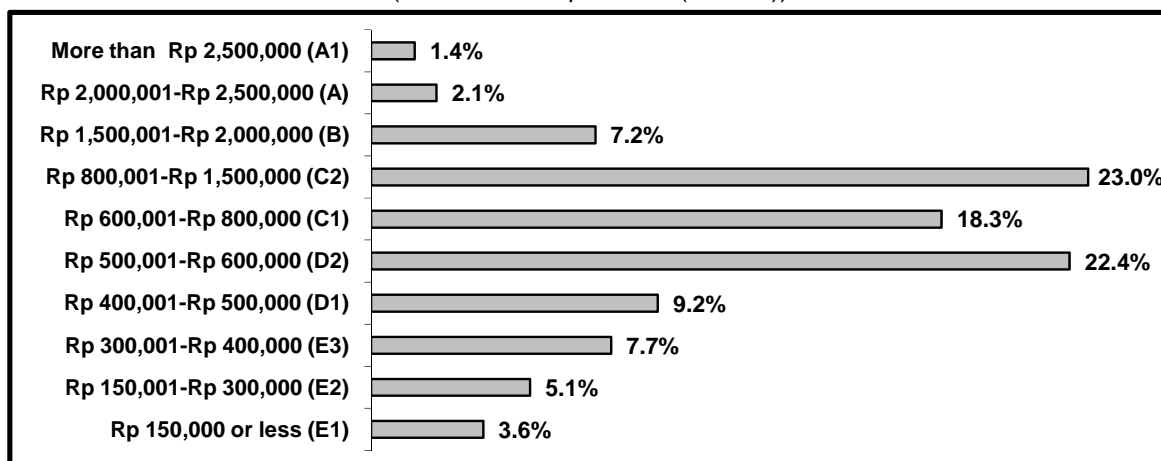
Proportion of respondents based on age
(Base: Total respondents (n=2000))

Age Range (in years)	Unweighted Frequency	Weighted Frequency
17 but less than 25	17.3%	27.7%
25-34	32.0%	24.2%
35-44	26.0%	19.6%
45-54	16.0%	12.5%
55 or older	8.7%	16.0%

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, 48.1% 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); 41.3% are from the middle socio-economic class, level C (Rp 600,001 to Rp 1,500,000); and 10.6% 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))

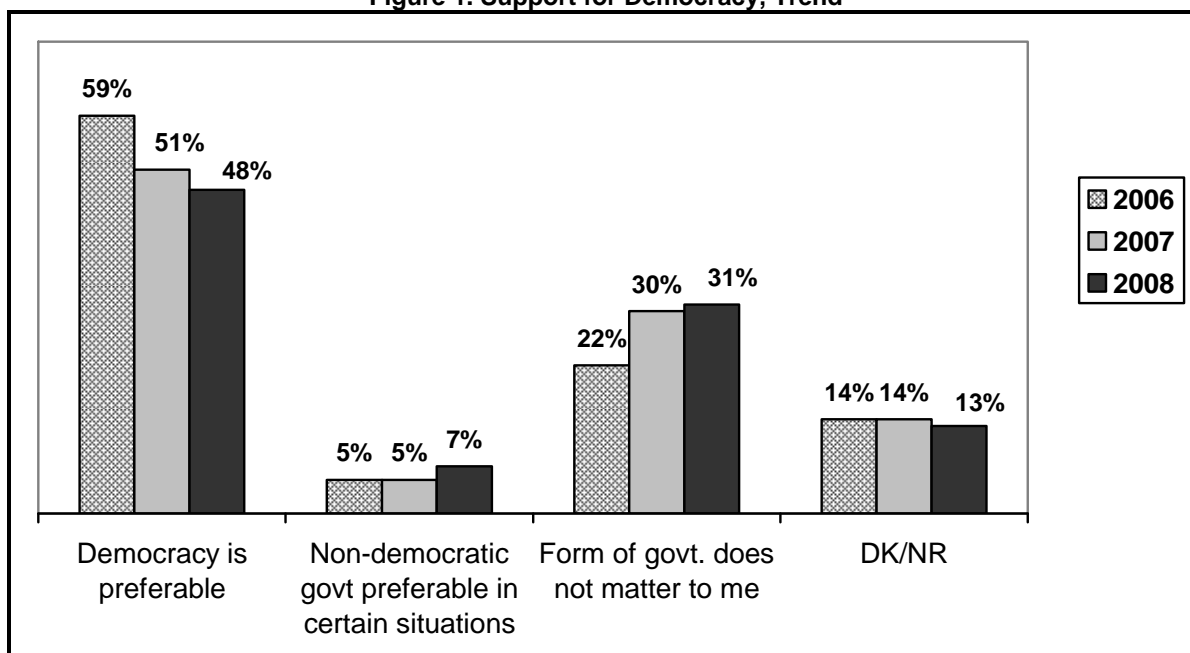


I. ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY, RIGHTS, FREEDOMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Plurality of Indonesians Support Democratic System

As Indonesia heads into an election season in 2009, opinions on a preference for democracy as a system of government remain essentially unchanged from the 2007 survey. While a plurality prefers a democratic system of government, nearly a third remains indifferent as to the form of government (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Support for Democracy, Trend



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

In the 2008 survey, 48% of Indonesians say that democracy is preferable to any other form of government. While this percentage is fairly similar to that in 2007, it is a significant decline from 59% who held this opinion in the 2006 survey. The decline has been relatively larger in some sectors of society - such as urban residents, those with secondary education and those in the lower socio-economic classes, than in other sectors.

This decline has been accompanied by a commensurate increase in the percentage of Indonesians for whom the form of government does not matter. Thirty-one percent hold this opinion in this survey, an increase from 22% in 2006.

Education level and economic status have significant impacts on opinions on the preferred system of governance. As was observed in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, the view that the form of government does not matter is more likely to be stated the lower the education level of a respondent. Among those respondents with an elementary school education or lower, 34% say that the form of government does not matter to people like them. This compares to 30% who voice this opinion among those with a secondary education, and 11% among those with a post-secondary education.

However, 41% of those with an elementary or lower education prefer democracy, higher than the percentage for whom the form of government does not matter. Fifty-three percent of those with a

secondary education and 82% of those with a post-secondary education state a preference for democracy. In the 2006-2008 period the percentage of those who prefer democracy has fallen a little amongst those with elementary or lower education, but has declined appreciably amongst those with secondary education, from 68% in 2006 to 53% in 2008.

Indonesians on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder tend to be less likely to support democracy than those with higher economic status. Among respondents at SES status levels E and D, 37% prefer democracy, (a significant decline from the 53% who held this view in the 2006 survey) and the same percentage state that the form of government does not matter to them. In contrast, 58% among those at the higher socio-economic status levels (A, B and C) prefer democracy (compared to 64% in 2006) while 26% are indifferent to the form of government.

In 2008 a similar proportion of respondents in both rural and urban areas express a preference for democracy (49% in urban areas, 48% in rural). This is similar to the 2007 survey results, but is in contrast to the 2006 survey, when support for democracy was more prevalent in urban areas (65%) compared to rural areas (54%). A majority of those under 35 years old continue to prefer democracy (52% in 2008), though this proportion has declined from 63% in 2006.

Regionally, preference for democracy is relatively low in Aceh (28%) and Papua (32%). In Aceh, this a significant decline from the 50% and 53% levels of preference for democracy in the 2007 and 2006 surveys respectively. In Aceh, 48% say that the form of government does not matter to them. In Papua, this percentage is 33% with an additional 29% offering no opinion on the subject, while in West Irian Jaya 48% prefer democracy and 15% are indifferent to the form of government.

In Java, preference for democracy is higher in Central Java and DKI Jakarta (60% each) than in East Java (48%) or West Java (46%). Since the 2006 survey, there has been a significant fall (from 68%) in the proportion of those in East Java who prefer democracy. Indifference towards the system of government is expressed by 41% in East Java, 34% in West Java, 28% in Central Java, and 25% in Jakarta.

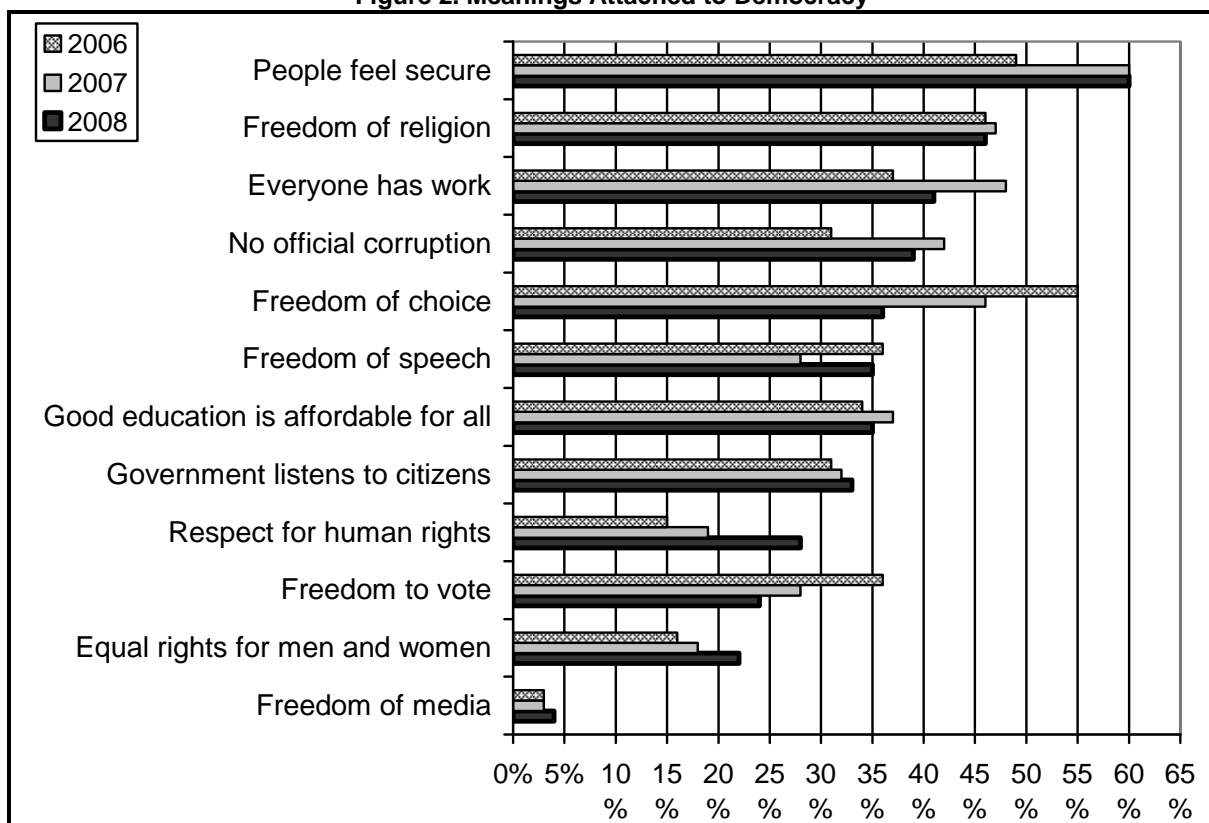
Conceptions of Democracy

This survey seeks to determine whether the support for democracy as a system of government indicates that many Indonesians value the principles 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 principles associated with democracy.

Respondents to the survey 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 (freedoms of choice, religion, speech, media, suffrage, 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 on the following page provides data from the 2006, 2007, and 2008 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)

The material benefits associated with democracies continue to play a generally more prominent role in the minds of Indonesians than the rights and freedoms associated with democracy. As in the 2007 survey, the most frequent response – from 60% of respondents - cites people feeling secure as indicating that a country is a democracy. Forty-one percent cite the fact that everyone has work as a key indication that a country is a democracy. The percent citing everyone having work has declined since the 2007 survey but is still mentioned more often than all, except freedom of religion, of the eight central precepts of democracy given as optional responses to this question. Thirty-nine percent cite no official corruption. In all three of these cases, the percentage of Indonesians mentioning these items has increased significantly since the 2006 survey. This increase may reflect socio-economic concerns.

However, a significant percentage of Indonesians do still cite specific freedoms and rights. Freedom of religion is thought to indicate a democracy by 46% of Indonesians, and around one-third of Indonesians mention freedom of speech (35%) or that a government listens to its citizens (33%). The proportions mentioning these options have remained stable between the 2006 and 2008 surveys. Also, around one-third cite freedom of choice (36%); however, this is a significant decline from those who mentioned this option in 2006 (55%) and 2007 (46%). Similarly, the percentage citing freedom to vote has dropped from 36% in 2006, to 28% in 2007 to 24% in 2008, decreasing as the last national election recedes into the past. Freedom of the media continues to be mentioned by only a very small percentage of respondents (4% in 2008), even though in this same survey majorities of Indonesians indicated that they had high trust in each of TV and radio media, and close to a majority have high trust in print media.

On the other hand, there have been significant increases in the proportion of Indonesians citing some human rights-related principles since the 2006 survey. In 2006, respect for human rights was

mentioned by 15%, increasing slightly to 19% in 2007 and increasing significantly in the 2008 survey to 28%. The increase is evident in all age groups, all education levels and both genders, and has been particularly strong in rural areas.

Similarly, mentions of equal rights for women have increased from 16% in 2006, to 18% in 2007, to 22% in the 2008 survey. While more women than men continue to mention this option, the rate of increase since 2006 has been greater amongst men.

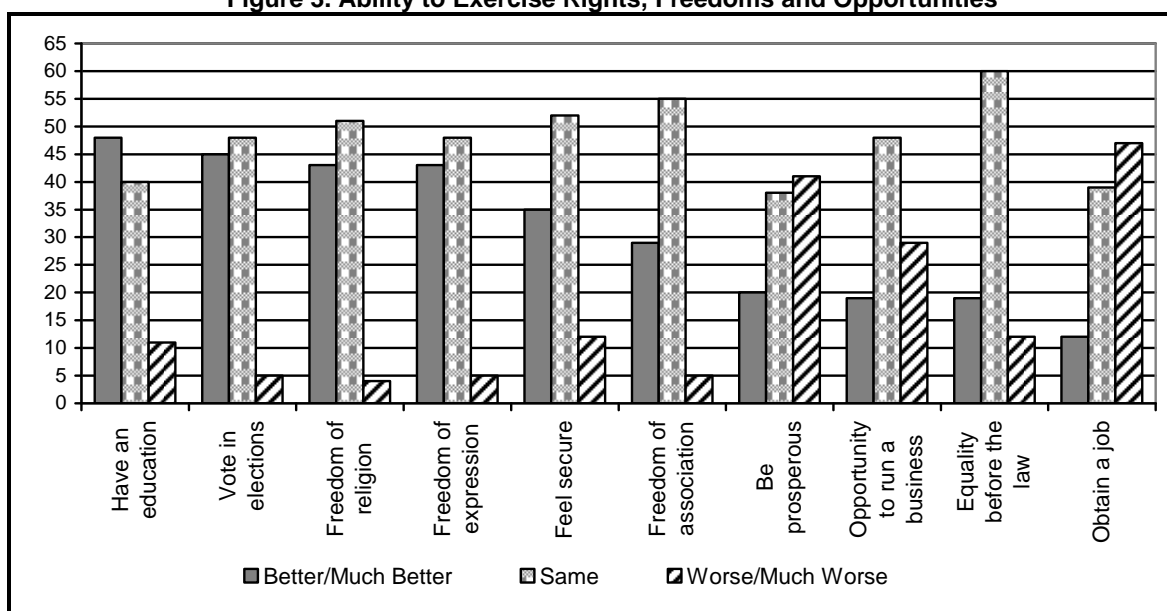
In contrast to the 2007 survey, those in the higher SES classes are more likely to mention everyone has work than those in lower classes. This may indicate increased economic concerns among higher SES levels since the 2007 survey.

As could be expected, those who are indifferent to their system of government are less likely to cite the importance of each of the principles of democracy listed than those who prefer democracy. But, in contrast to the 2006 survey, the 2008 survey results show very little difference in the percentages of these two groups which cite tangible benefit-related meanings of democracy. This may again indicate the current broad importance of economic concerns in Indonesia.

Rights, Freedoms and Opportunities

Respondents to the 2008 survey were also asked to evaluate their ability to exercise various rights, freedoms and opportunities in comparison to one year ago. Data from this year's survey highlight that economic concerns are affecting a large proportion of Indonesians (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Ability to Exercise Rights, Freedoms and Opportunities



"Compared to 12 months ago, do you believe your ability to exercise the following rightsis now much better, better, the same, worse, or much worse?" (n = 2000)

It is evident from Figure 3 that Indonesians are more likely to be worried about economic issues than most other issues. As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, employment prospects continue to be a concern to many Indonesians. Over the past three annual surveys the proportion of Indonesians stating that their ability to obtain a job has improved over the past twelve months has been relatively stable: 12% in 2008, 13% in 2007, and 10% in 2006. However after a positive trend in net attitudes (respondents with a positive view less respondents with a negative view) between 2006 and 2007, in 2008 this trend has been reversed. In the 2008 survey 47% say that their ability to obtain a job has become worse over the past 12 months. This results in a net rating of minus 35

percentage points. This negative net rating is more negative than that observed in 2007 (-28 percentage points), but it still is not as negative as in 2006 (-40 percentage points). Those with a secondary education are a little more likely to have a negative view. As in the 2007 survey, attitudes on this issue are fairly consistent throughout all age groups.

Regionally, there are again some significant variations, as there have been in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, with attitudes in Java in particular more negative on each of the economic issues. Around two-thirds of residents of North Sumatra (67%), Central Java (67%) and DKI Jakarta (63%), and a majority in West Java (56%) and East Java (55%) believe that their ability to obtain a job has worsened, whereas in West Irian Jaya around one third of respondents (31%) believe it has improved. Similarly to 2007, over two-thirds of respondents in Aceh (69%) believe that their ability to obtain a job has remained the same over the past 12 months, following the positive view expressed in 2006, when 41% believed that this ability had improved.

A similar trend is evident in the responses to other economic opportunities included in this question. The negative net rating for the ability to be prosperous compared to twelve months ago has increased in 2008 to -21 percentage points (20% stated it had become better, 41% worse) from -3 percentage points in 2007, and -12 percentage points in 2006. For the opportunity to run a business, the net rating has gone from a positive +3 percentage points in 2007 to -10 percentage points in the 2008 survey (19% stated it had become better, 29% worse). The negative net ratings on these issues point to more widespread perceptions of a worsening economic and financial situation among Indonesians.

Economic concerns generally have a significant impact on how secure people feel in their existing circumstances. The percentage saying their ability to exercise their right to feel secure is better than a year ago has dropped from 45% in 2007 to 35% in this survey. However, the percentage saying their ability to feel secure has become worse has not changed significantly: 12% in the 2008 survey, compared to 9% in 2007.

In the case of political rights, freedoms and opportunities, in most cases the vast majority of Indonesians in 2008 say that their ability to exercise these has either got better or stayed the same compared to the previous year. In the 2007 survey, for most of these rights, freedoms and opportunities there was an increase (compared to 2006) in the percentage saying that they were better able to exercise these rights compared to twelve months ago. In this year's survey the percentage saying that their ability to exercise a particular socio-political right, freedom or opportunity has become better, has declined for most, but has been accompanied by a commensurate increase in the percentage saying that it has stayed the same. This is the case for the following rights, freedoms or opportunities: having an education, the freedom of religion, the freedom to vote in elections, the freedom of association, and the freedom of expression.

The 2008 survey sees a continuance of the trend from the 2007 survey where more Papuan residents believe that their ability to exercise these rights, freedoms and opportunities has become better rather than worse compared to 12 months ago. In the case of many of these issues, a majority of Papuan residents believe this ability has become better. One exception is equality before the law. Only 17% of Papuans say they can better exercise this right compared to a year ago.

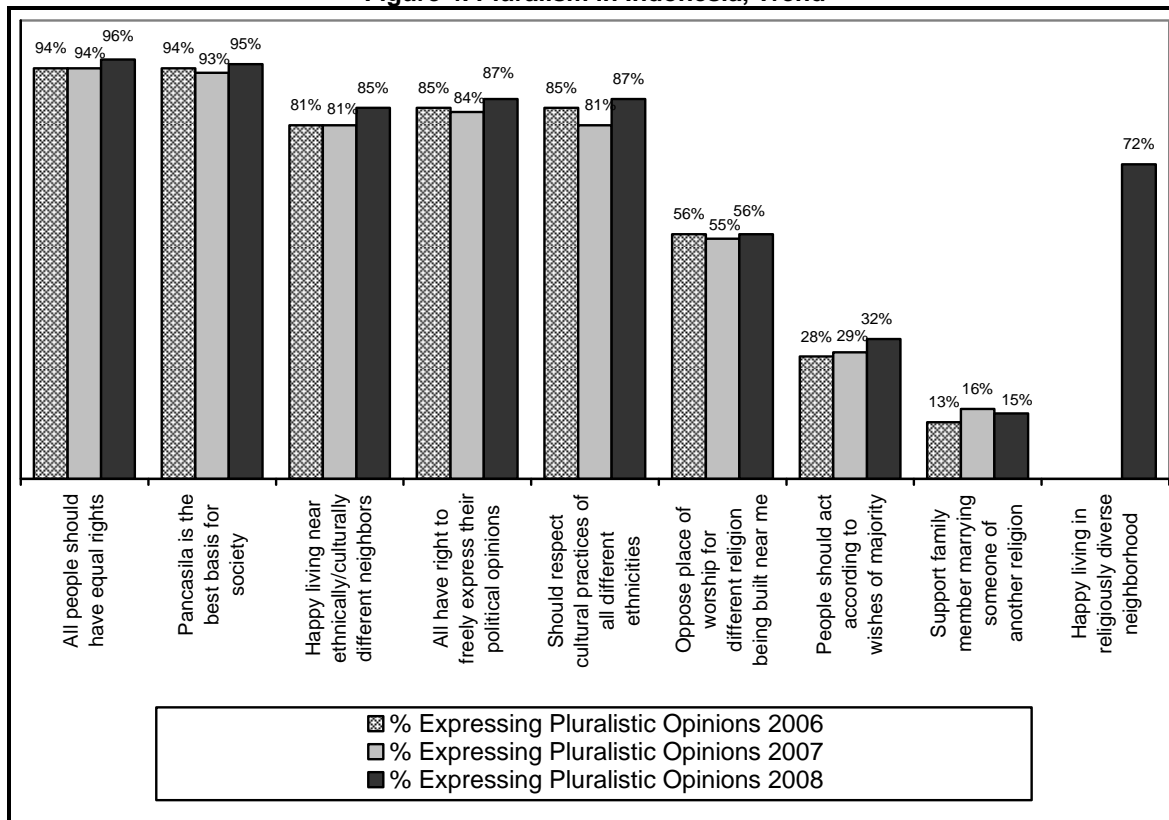
In West Irian Jaya attitudes are generally positive, with few believing that their ability to exercise a particular right, freedom or opportunity has become worse compared to twelve months ago. A majority believes that their ability to exercise a particular right, freedom or opportunity has improved in respect of freedom of religion, (58%), opportunity to have an education (61%), and to feel secure (51%). In Aceh, the results are similar to the 2007 survey, with the majority or plurality on each issue saying that their ability to exercise the right, freedom or opportunity has remained the same, generally maintaining the improvements shown in the 2006 survey.

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 an important issue for Indonesia given the diversity of the peoples that form the Indonesian population. The findings from both the 2006 and 2007 surveys indicated 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.

Overall, there has been little change in 2008 in opinions on these issues from the 2006 and 2007 surveys. Almost all Indonesians have tolerant attitudes toward socio-political diversity, but many have reservations about some aspects of religious diversity (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Pluralism in Indonesia, Trend



"Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?" (n = 2000)

The vast majority of Indonesians continue to believe that all Indonesians should enjoy equal rights and that Pancasila is the best basis for society in Indonesia. More than eight in ten also agree that all Indonesians have a right to freely express their political opinions. There continues to be, however, a broad willingness to embrace placing the wishes of the majority over those of the individual; only 32% disagree that one should act according to the wishes of the majority. Indonesians' respect for political diversity seems to be tempered somewhat by a belief that the wishes of the majority should be respected.

There continues to a great deal of agreement with cultural aspects of pluralism. Eighty-seven percent in this survey agree that the cultural practices of others should be respected, an increase from 81% in the 2007 survey. Eighty-five percent agree that they would be happy living in culturally

diverse neighborhoods and a further 72% agree that they would be happy living in a community where their neighbors practice a different religion from them.

But while the majority of Indonesians are amenable to living in neighborhoods with people from different religions, fewer display pluralistic attitudes to some religion-related issues. One particular area where these non-pluralistic attitudes are evident is in the area of inter-marriage between people of different faiths. Only 15% of Indonesians in this survey would support a relative marrying someone from another faith – a similar proportion to that in the 2006 and 2007 surveys. In contrast to the surveys in 2006 and 2007 where a significant percentage did not give a response to this question, a large majority (82%) strongly or somewhat oppose a relative marrying someone from another faith. Although the majority of both Muslims and Christians oppose the marriage of a family member to someone of a different faith, opposition is higher among Muslims (85%) than among Christians (63%).

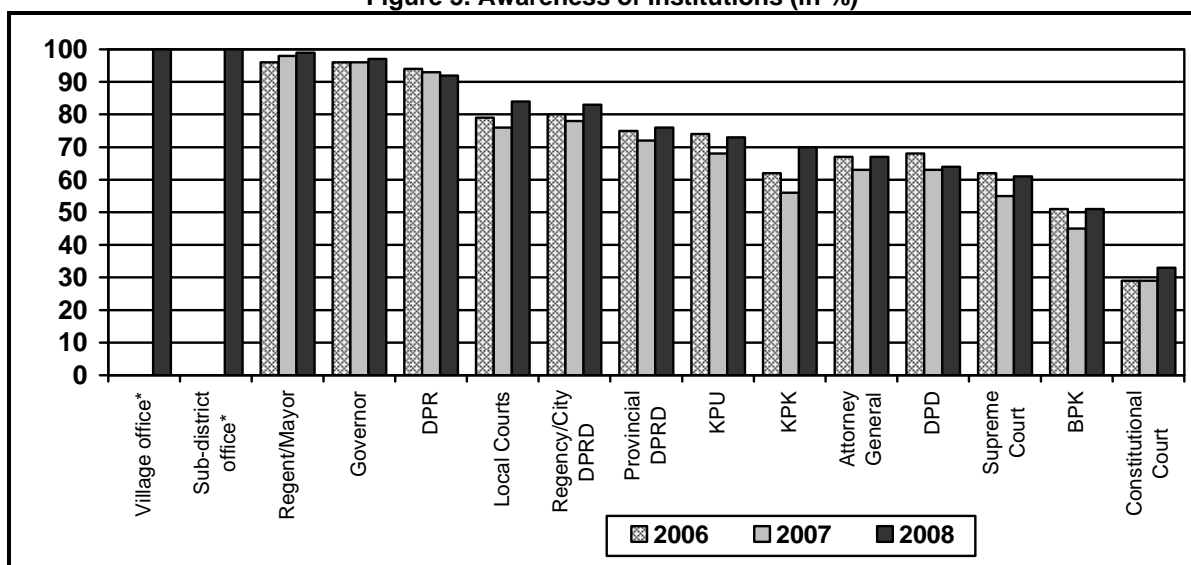
A majority (56%) continue to say that they would not oppose a place of worship for a religion other than theirs being built close to their residence; this majority has been stable in the 2006 to 2008 surveys. However, along with those who are happy living in a neighborhood where their neighbors are of a different faith, there are 32% who would oppose a place of worship for a religion other than their own being built close to their residence.

II. KNOWLEDGE AND OPINION OF INSTITUTIONS

Levels of Awareness of and Satisfaction with National-Level Institutions

Awareness of some national and provincial-level institutions has remained fairly steady for most institutions covered in the 2007 and 2008 surveys, but there have been increases in awareness for some key 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)

*Not asked in 2006 and 2007 surveys

As in previous surveys, awareness of local-level and executive institutions is generally much higher than national-level and legislative institutions. In this survey, two local institutions (the village administration (*kantor desa*) and the sub-district administration (*kantor camat*) were added to the list about which each respondent was asked. Almost all survey respondents said that they were aware of these institutions. Nearly all respondents are aware of the institutions of regent/mayor and the governor, and more than nine in ten are aware of the DPR. For these institutions, the percentage aware of the institution in 2008 is not significantly different from the 2007 survey.

Respondents are more likely to be aware of the regency/city DPRD (83%) and provincial DPRD (76%), than they are of the DPD (64%). This survey also continues to point to a higher awareness of local courts than of higher-level courts. The percentage aware of local courts has increased to 84% in this survey from 76% in 2007 (75% in 2006). However, far fewer are aware of the Supreme Court (61%) and the Constitutional Court (33%): the percentage aware of these institutions has changed little since the 2006 survey. Sixty-seven percent in this survey are aware of the Attorney General's Office, similar to the percentage aware in 2006.² One institution that has seen an increase in awareness since the 2007 survey is the KPU. Seventy-three percent in this survey are aware of the KPU, up from 68% in 2007 and similar to the 74% aware in the 2006 survey.

While awareness of both the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) and the State Audit Authority (BPK) dropped between the 2006 and 2007 surveys, awareness of both these institutions has increased in the 2008 survey. Awareness of the KPK has increased from 56% in 2007 to 70%

² In reference to the Attorney General function in the Indonesian government, there was a slight change in wording from the 2006 to 2007 and 2008 surveys with reference to this institution with respondents in 2006 being asked about The Attorney General and respondents in 2007 and 2008 being asked about the Attorney General's office. Readers should keep this in mind when comparing the trend data.

in 2008. Awareness of BPK has increased from 45% to 51%, similar to the percentage aware of this institution in the 2006 survey. Over the 2006 to 2008 period, the only institutions for which any statistically significant increase or decrease in awareness has been recorded are the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) – increasing from 62% in 2006 to 70% in 2008; and local courts, increasing from 75% in 2006 to 84% in 2008.

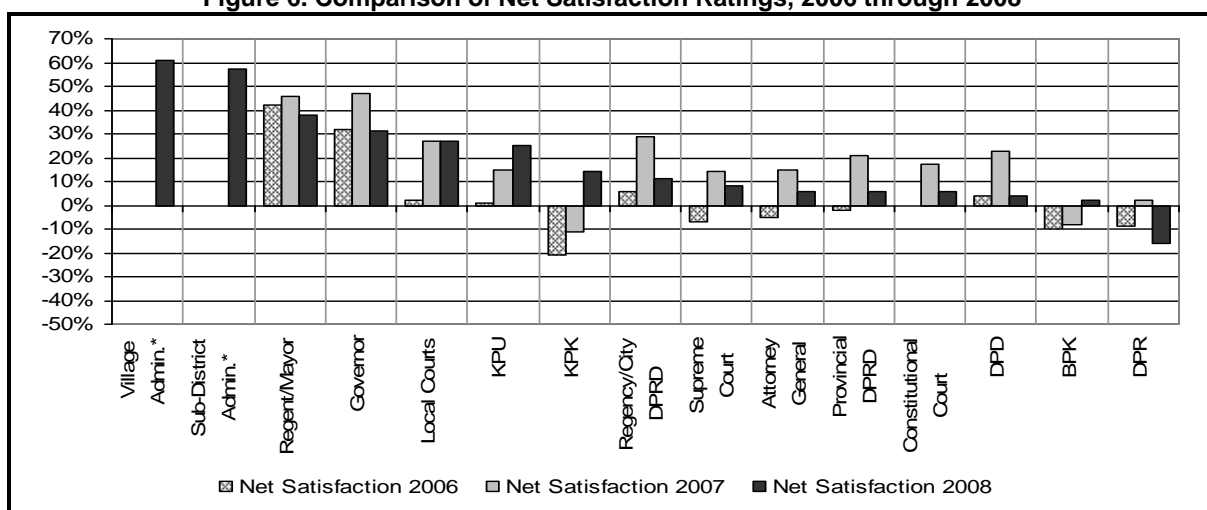
In 2008 residents in urban areas are more likely to be aware of many of these institutions than residents of rural areas. However, the differences in awareness are not as great as in 2007 and the number of institutions in which these differences emerge is fewer. In 2007, only in the case of the regent/mayor were residents of urban and rural areas roughly equally aware of the institution. In this year's survey, this is the case not only for the regent/mayor but also for regency/city DPRD, the governor, local courts, the KPU, and the village and sub-district administration.

In 2007, awareness of specialized institutions such as the KPK and BPK was as much as 30 percentage points higher in urban areas than in rural areas. In this survey, these differences are generally less than 10 percentage points with the difference on any one institution between urban and rural residents not being larger than 14 percentage points (for the Constitutional Court). There are two factors that have contributed to this trend. There has been an increase in awareness of most institutions in rural areas of the country. However the surveys' results also show a decrease in awareness of some national institutions – the KPU, BPK, Supreme Court, Attorney General's Office and the DPD - amongst urban residents.

There continues to be a consistent pattern of higher awareness of most of these institutions among men rather than women, the young rather than the old, and among higher-educated (secondary or higher education) rather than lower-educated (primary or no education) respondents.

Respondents to the survey who were aware of the institutions mentioned above were next asked whether they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the work of each institution. Comparison of the trend data from 2007 to 2008 shows that the net satisfaction rating (% satisfied minus % dissatisfied) has decreased over the past year for most institutions. Still, all of the institutions except for the DPR have positive net satisfaction ratings in 2008, and there has been an improvement in most net satisfaction ratings compared to the 2006 survey (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Comparison of Net Satisfaction Ratings, 2006 through 2008



“Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the performance of the institution?” (among those aware of institution)

**Not asked in 2006 and 2007 surveys*

The highest net satisfaction ratings are expressed for the two local institutions that are included for the first time in the 2008 survey, the village administration (+61 percentage points) and the sub-district administration (+57 percentage points). Most of the institutions that have been tracked since the 2006 survey have suffered a decrease in their net satisfaction rating since the 2007 survey.

There are some exceptions to this trend. The net satisfaction level for the KPU has increased from +15 percentage points in 2007 to +25 in 2008. The anti-corruption bodies, the BPK and KPK, have also experienced an increase in net satisfaction ratings since the 2007 survey. The KPK net satisfaction has increased from -11 percentage points to +14, while the BPK has increased from -8 percentage points to +2. The local courts (+27 percentage points) have remained at the same level since 2007.

Similarly to the 2006 and 2007 surveys, in 2008 local-level institutions generally have higher net satisfaction ratings than national institutions. Governors (+31 percentage points), regents and mayors (+38), as well as local courts, have higher net satisfaction ratings than institutions such as the Supreme Court (+8) and Attorney General (+6).

Legislative institutions have generally received lower net satisfaction ratings in the 2008 survey. This is particularly the case for the DPR which is the only institution that has negative net satisfaction at -16 percentage points, a decline from +2 in 2007. The regency/city DPRD (+11 percentage points, down from +29), the provincial DPRD (+6 percentage points, down from +21), and the DPD (+4 percentage points, down from +23) have also suffered reductions in net satisfaction since 2007. However net satisfaction ratings for all institutions surveyed except for DPR, governor, regents/mayors, and DPD have increased between the 2006 and 2008 surveys.

For most of the institutions surveyed, net satisfaction ratings are generally lower in North Sumatra, DKI Jakarta, and East Nusa Tenggara than in other provinces. In North Sumatra all institutions surveyed received a negative net satisfaction rating – even those such as the village administration and sub-district administration that received very strongly positive net satisfaction ratings in all other provinces.

The 2008 survey results for DKI Jakarta also show negative net satisfaction ratings for all institutions surveyed except the village administration and sub-district administration. Net ratings in West Java and in Central Java are, similarly to national data, positive for all institutions surveyed apart from the DPR. In East Java, however, in addition to the DPR, the DPD, provincial DPRD, Supreme Court, Attorney General, KPK, and BPK, also receive a negative net rating.

Residents of Aceh have given strongly positive net satisfaction ratings in 2008 to the institutions of governor, regent/mayor, KPU, village administration and sub-district administration, with a majority of Acehnese residents being satisfied with the performance of each of these institutions. However, the extraordinarily high positive net satisfaction ratings in this province for regents/mayors and governor in the 2007 survey have not been maintained in 2008. The net satisfaction rating for regents/mayors in 2008 is +34 percentage points (+81 in 2007) and for governor +36 (+71 in 2007). In Aceh the net satisfaction ratings are strongly negative for the DPR, the DPD and the Constitutional Court. For all institutions surveyed except for BPK and the regency/city DPRD, net satisfaction ratings are lower in Aceh in 2008 than in 2007.

On the other hand the net satisfaction ratings in South Sulawesi for these institutions are generally positive, with strongly positive net ratings for the institutions of regent/mayor (+70 percentage points), the regency/city DPRD (+50), the KPU (+41) and, unlike most provinces, the DPR (+33). Net satisfaction ratings in West Irian Jaya are fairly similar to national data: net ratings are positive for all institutions except the Regency/City DPRD (-2 percentage points) and the DPR (-10), with a particularly strong net positive rating for the institution of regent/mayor (+54 percentage points). In

contrast to this, in Papua, net satisfaction ratings are negative for a majority of the institutions surveyed.

There are also significant differences in the trends in net satisfaction ratings in the various provinces. In South Sulawesi, net satisfaction ratings for these institutions have generally become more positive or at least maintained a similar level in the period between the 2006 and 2008 surveys. On the other hand, in North Sumatra, the net satisfaction ratings have in general become more negative over this period. For the institutions surveyed in the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys, there have been only two positive net satisfaction results from North Sumatra – for the DPD in 2006, and the regency/city DPRD in 2007.

In Aceh, while 2008 results show positive net satisfaction ratings for many institutions, the trend towards more positive net satisfaction ratings for most institutions between the 2006 and 2007 surveys has in general been reversed in the 2008 survey. There has been a large negative trend in the past year in the net satisfaction rating for the DPR from residents of Aceh – from +46 percentage points in 2007, to -35 in 2008, which is well below the +11 recorded in 2006.

A somewhat similar trend is in evidence in Papua, where the widely positive net satisfaction ratings in evidence in 2007 have at least been significantly reduced, and in most cases have moved to negative net ratings in 2008. However with the exception of BPK, the Constitutional Court and Attorney General, compared to the 2006 data the 2008 net ratings in Papua for these institutions are at least less negative and in some cases have moved from negative to positive.

For all institutions surveyed except the regent/mayor, net satisfaction results in West Java show a generally positive trend between the 2006 and 2008 surveys. This is not the case in East Java, where the trend in net satisfaction with these institutions during the same period has been negative except for the KPU and KPK. In Central Java and DKI Jakarta there is no clear overall trend in the net satisfaction ratings during this period.

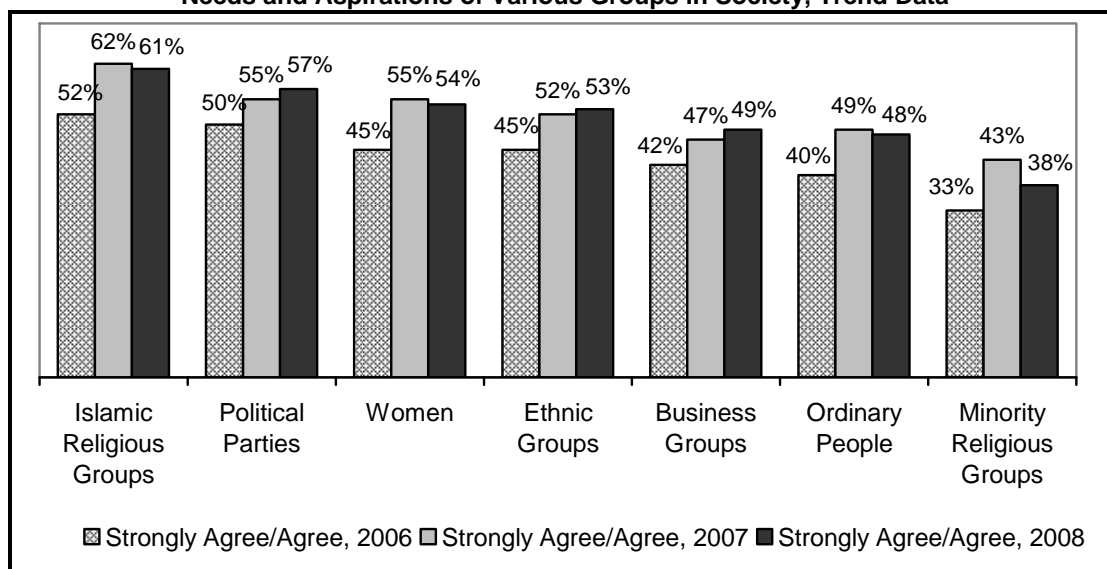
As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, rural residents are more likely to express satisfaction in these institutions than urban residents. The only exception to this is for the Constitutional Court where rural and urban residents are roughly equally likely to be satisfied with the institution. Satisfaction with these institutions is as likely among women and men for most of the institutions. The two exceptions are the village administration and the sub-district administration where women are more likely to be satisfied with these institutions than men.

Respondents who are 55 or more years old are generally more likely than younger age groups to reply 'don't know' or give no response when asked to rate these institutions. There is no other clear difference between the responses of different age groups. Satisfaction with these institutions is generally less widespread as education levels increase. The two exceptions to this are the village administration and sub-district administration where respondents with elementary, secondary, and post-secondary educations are all likely to have roughly similar satisfaction levels.

Mixed Opinions on DPR's Actions

When asked to gauge the effectiveness of the DPR in representing the needs and aspirations of various groups in society, the percentages stating that the DPR is effective have stayed at roughly the same levels as in the 2007 survey (Figure 7).

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



"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 all three surveys represented in Figure 7 above, respondents are most likely to agree that the DPR represents the aspirations of Islamic religious groups (61% in 2008, 62% in 2007, and 52% in 2006). On the other hand, respondents are least likely to agree that the DPR represents the needs and aspirations of minority religious groups (38% in 2008, 43% in 2007, and 33% in 2006). Representation of minority religious groups is the only one of the above areas where there has been a statistically significant decrease between the 2007 and 2008 surveys in the proportion which states that the DPR represents these interests effectively. There continues to be a significant difference between Muslims and Christians on this question. While 40% of Muslims agree that the DPR is effective in representing the interests of minority religious groups, only 26% of Christians agree with this. Forty percent of Christians disagree that the DPR is effective in representing the interests of minority religious groups.

As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, in the 2008 survey Indonesians are more likely to agree that the DPR is effective in representing the needs and aspirations of political parties than to hold the same opinion of the DPR's representation of ordinary people (57% versus 48%). Indonesians in the higher SES classes (A, B and C) are more likely to disagree that the DPR is effective in representing ordinary people than those in the lower SES classes (D and E) (47% versus 41%). Regionally, residents of South Sumatra are most likely to agree that the DPR represents ordinary people (88%), while majorities in Jakarta (64%), East Java (58%), and Central Java (57%) disagree.

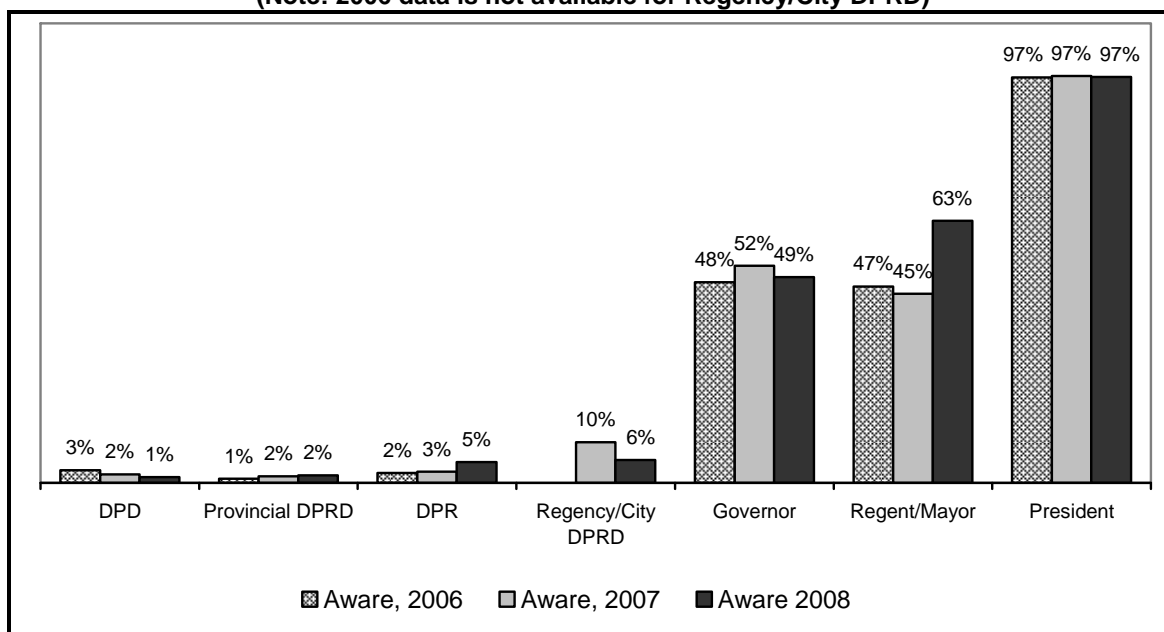
In 2008, the percentages which agree that the DPR represents the aspirations of women and of ethnic groups have remained similar to the 2007 data. A majority (54%) agrees that the DPR represents women's aspirations, similar to 2007 data and an increase from 45% in 2006. Fifty-six percent of women voice this opinion, as compared to 52% of men. Similarly there has been an increase in those who agree that the DPR effectively represents the aspirations of ethnic groups, between the 2006 survey (45%) and the 2008 survey (53%).

There has been a gradual increase over the past three annual surveys in the percentage which agrees that the DPR represents the aspirations of business groups, from 42% in 2006, to 47% in 2007, to 50% in this 2008 survey.

Knowledge of Executive and Legislative Leaders

While there have been some changes between 2007 and 2008 in the relative proportions of people who can name political leaders at various levels, the same overall picture is found in 2008 as in the 2007 and 2006 surveys. There are still few Indonesians who can name their representatives in the legislatures, while there is quite widespread knowledge of executive leaders at national, provincial and local levels (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Name Recognition for Executive and Legislative Leaders, Trend
(Note: 2006 data is 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 regency/city 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)

President Yudhoyono can be named by almost all Indonesians – 97%, a percentage that has remained unchanged since the 2006 survey. Around half the population (49%) can name the governor of their province: this proportion has also remained relatively stable since the 2006 survey. In 2008, however, significantly more people were able to name the regent/mayor of their regency or municipality – 63%, up from 45% in 2007 and 47% in 2006. While urban residents are more likely to be able to name their governor than rural residents (56% versus 45%) they are less likely to be able to name their regent/mayor (53% versus 70%). In the 2007 survey, there was little difference in the percentages of rural and urban residents who could name their regent/mayor.

Men are more likely to be able to name their governor and to name their regent/mayor than women, though the differences have decreased since the 2007 survey. Ability to correctly name the governor increases with education level and socio economic class, and declines from younger to older age groups. Ability to name the regent/mayor increases with level of education.

In some provinces very high proportions of respondents were able to name their regent/mayor – South Sumatra (99%), North Sumatra (95%), West Irian Jaya (91%), Papua (88%), and Central Java (83%). Similarly there were provinces where high proportions of respondents could name their governor – South Sumatra (99%), DKI Jakarta (87%), Papua (80%) and West Irian Jaya (79%). Conversely, very low proportions could name their governor in East Nusa Tenggara (0%) and Central Java (3%).

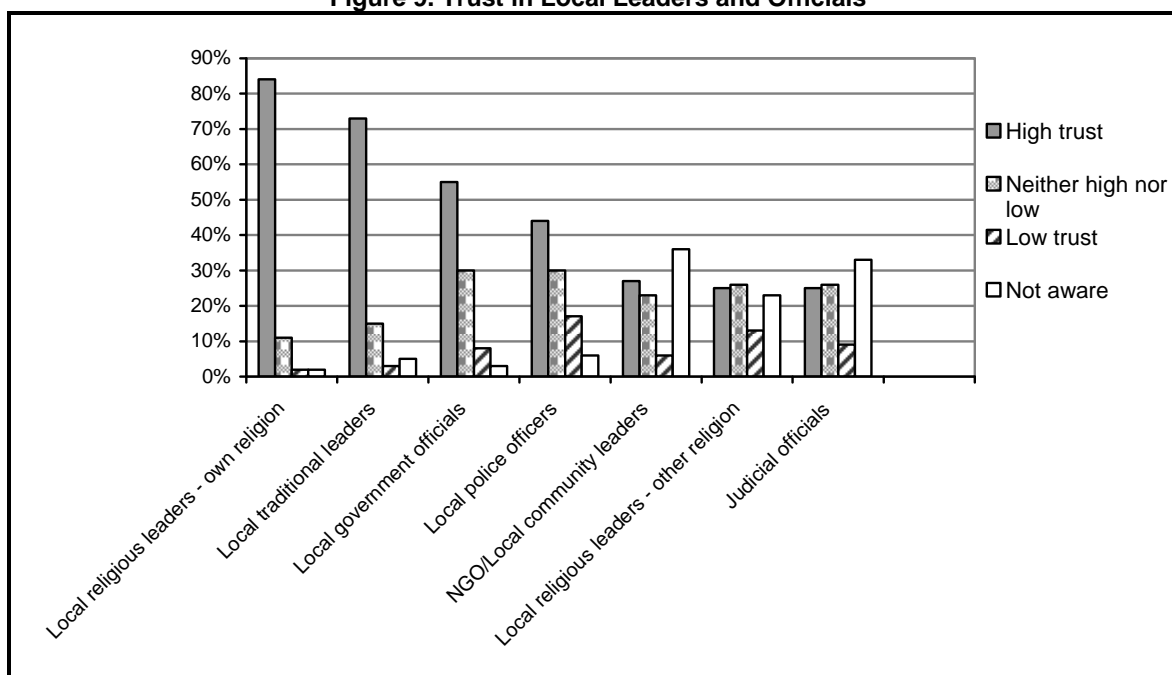
The surveys in 2006 and 2007 indicated that few Indonesians were aware of who represents them in local, provincial and national legislatures, and the 2008 survey results show the same result. Less than 2% of respondents could name one of their representatives in the provincial DPRD or the DPD. Five percent could name one of their representatives in the DPR. A little over 5% could name one of their representatives to the regency /city DPRD - a decrease from the 10% who could do so in the 2007 survey. These survey results are further evidence that, in general, political parties have not effectively used the opportunities provided by the open list electoral system and smaller electoral units created by the 2003 electoral reforms to make legislative representatives known to their constituents.

There are some significant regional differences in knowledge of legislative representatives. Almost one in five respondents in DKI Jakarta could name one of their representatives in the DPR. In Papua, 37% of respondents could name one of their representatives in the regency/city DPRD, as could 20% in West Irian Jaya, and 17% in Aceh.

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 own religion's leaders and traditional leaders, while being relatively unaware of local leaders of other religions, NGO leaders, and judicial officials (Figure 9). As with almost all other questions relating to satisfaction or trust in leaders, officials and institutions in this 2008 survey, the percentages expressing trust in these local officials are still higher than in the 2006 survey, though there is no clear overall pattern between 2007 data and 2008.

Figure 9. Trust in Local Leaders and Officials



"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)

More than eight in ten respondents (84%) say that they have high trust in the local religious leaders of their religion, compared to 80% in 2007 and 72% in 2006. Indonesians are not as likely to place high trust in local leaders from other religions. Just a quarter (25%) have high trust in local religious leaders from another religion, compared to 22% in 2007 and 18% in 2006. Twenty-three percent are not aware of local leaders from another religion.

A majority of Indonesians are also likely to have a high level of trust in local traditional leaders (73%). This percentage has increased from 64% in the 2007 survey, and 55% in 2006. Indonesians continue to be more likely to trust local traditional leaders than local government officials. Fifty-five percent express high trust in local government officials, relatively static compared to 52% in 2007. As in 2006 and 2007, residents of rural areas are more likely to place trust in local government officials than are urban residents (59% versus 49%). There is a similar pattern for trust in traditional leaders: 77% of rural residents state they have high trust in traditional leaders compared to 69% of urban residents. Trust in local government officials is more likely to be high among those with elementary or lower education (57%) than among those with a secondary or higher education (50%).

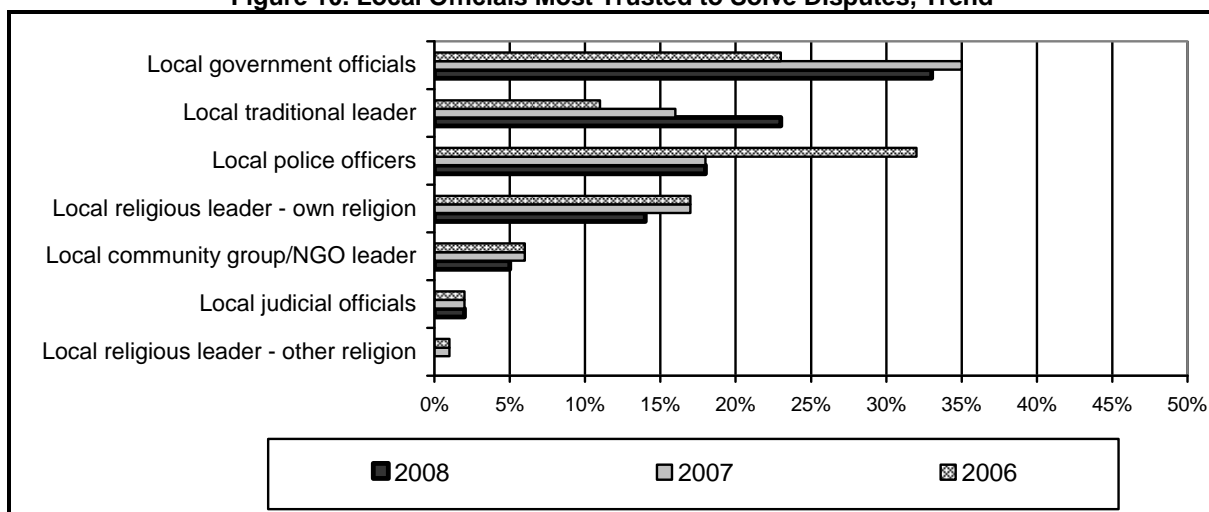
Residents of all provinces covered in the survey are more likely to have high trust in local traditional leaders than in local government officials. This gap is especially large in Aceh, where 78% express high trust in their traditional leaders while only 23% express high trust in their local government officials - a gap of 55 percentage points. This gap was 32 percentage points in the 2007 survey. In West Irian Jaya, this gap is 30 percentage points (85% traditional leaders, 55% local government officials). This gap is smallest in Jakarta where 51% have trust in traditional leaders and 43% in local government officials, a gap of 8 percentage points.

Forty-four percent say that they have high trust in their local police officers, compared to 18% who say they have low trust in them. These results have not changed significantly compared to the 2006 survey. A higher proportion of respondents in rural areas (51%) have a high level of trust in the local police than in urban areas (35%). While in the 2006 and 2007 surveys Indonesians were slightly more likely to place high trust in the national police as an institution than in their local police officers, in 2008 the proportion that expresses high trust is the same for each.

At least one third of respondents are not aware of leaders of local NGOs or community groups (36%) or local judicial officials (33%). In both cases, around a quarter of respondents say they have high trust in these local leaders (27% NGOs, 25% judicial officials). In both cases there has also been a small but steady increase in awareness of these local leaders since the 2006 survey, when 43% were not aware of local NGO leaders and the same percentage were not aware of local judicial officials.

Respondents to the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys have been asked which of these local officials they would most trust to resolve a local dispute fairly (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Local Officials Most Trusted to Solve Disputes, Trend



"If you were involved in a dispute with someone else in your community, who would you most trust to resolve the dispute fairly and justly?" (n = 2000)

In both the 2007 and 2008 surveys, local government officials have been the most frequently mentioned (35% in 2007 and 33% in 2008). The percentage mentioning local traditional leaders has gone up from 16% in 2007 to 23% in 2008, while the percentage mentioning local religious leaders from their own religion was 17% in 2007 and is 14% in 2008. The percentage mentioning local police has remained steady at 18% from 2007 to 2008. However, over the 2006 to 2008 period there has been an overall trend away from a preference for using police and to some extent own religion's leaders to settle disputes, and towards using local traditional leaders and local government officials.

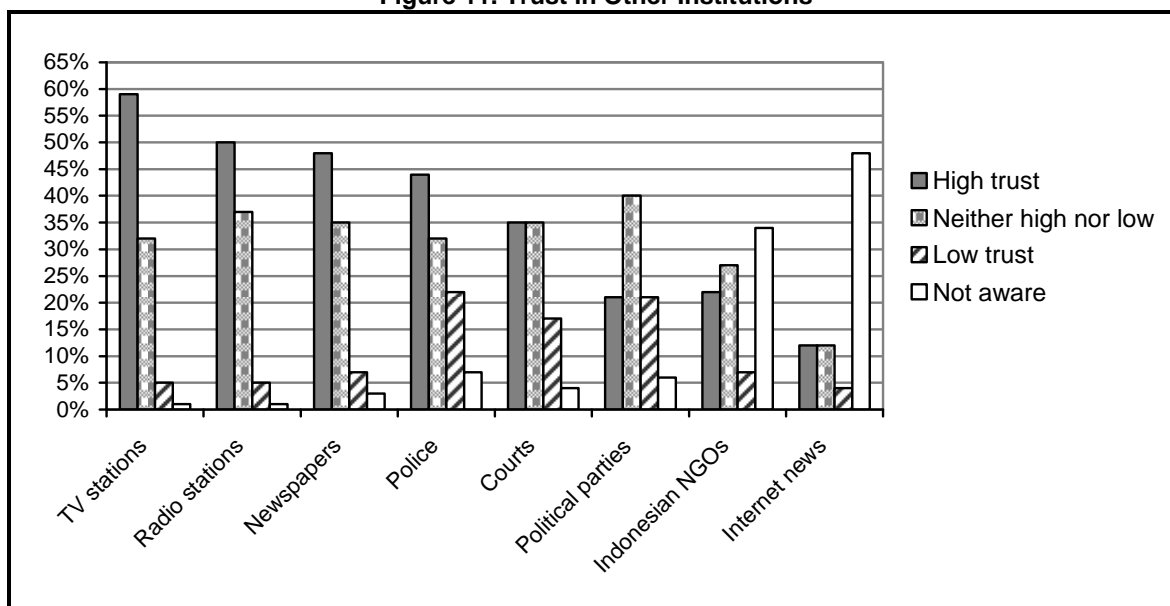
The 2006 and 2007 surveys pointed to significant differences between rural and urban residents in preference for using local government officials or police for resolving local disputes. These differences have largely disappeared in the 2008 survey. The one notable difference between urban and rural residents in 2008 is in preference for local traditional leaders to solve local disputes (27% for rural residents, 18% for urban).

There are also differences by region. Residents of Aceh, West Sumatra, and West Irian Jaya are much more likely to prefer local traditional leaders settling disputes than those in other provinces (61%, 60%, and 53% respectively). Preference for using local traditional leaders in Aceh has increased from 24% in the 2007 survey. In Papua, people are equally likely to trust local police officers and traditional leaders (42% each). This is a large increase in Papua in preference for police officers, from 7% mentioning police in the 2006 survey, and 21% in 2007. A majority of residents of East Java (52%), and a plurality in Central Java and West Java (41% and 29% respectively) most prefer using local government officials for settling local disputes.

Trust in Other Institutions

Respondents to this survey were asked about their trust in various other institutions in Indonesia. Data from this question is reported in Figure 11.

Figure 11. Trust in Other Institutions



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

The mass media continues to enjoy high levels of trust, with a majority (59%) saying they have high trust in TV stations, half (50%) citing high trust in radio, and close to half (48%) expressing high trust in newspapers. This data is similar to that from the 2007 survey. Attitudes to media are

fairly consistent across all age and education groups, gender, and rural and urban residents. While traditional media enjoys high trust among Indonesians, internet news is still relatively unknown to large segments in the country. Overall, 48% are not aware of internet news and a further 25% had no opinion on the issue of trust. As would be expected, lack of awareness of internet news is significantly higher in rural areas than in urban areas (56% versus 35%), and amongst those 55 years old or more (61%) compared to those under 25 (40%). Lack of awareness is much higher among those with elementary or lower education than among those with secondary or university education. Twelve percent express high trust in internet news, while 4% express low trust.

The proportion which has high trust in the police as an institution has fallen from 52% in 2007 to 44% in this survey, near the figure of 40% recorded in the 2006 survey. High trust in police tends to be more widespread in rural areas than in urban areas (49% versus 36%). Those with secondary or higher education are less likely to have high trust in police compared to those of lesser education. Regionally, people in West Sumatra are least likely to have high trust in police (23%). In Aceh, 36% express high trust in the police, down from 46% in 2007 but similar to the 35% seen in the 2006 survey. By contrast, relatively high proportions of people have high trust in police in West Irian Jaya and Papua (69% each).

Thirty-five percent express high trust in the courts, similar to the 2007 survey. As observed in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, Indonesians have very mixed attitudes toward political parties. In 2008, a plurality (40%) have neither high nor low trust in political parties, while 21% express high trust and 21% express low trust.

There continues to be a relatively lower awareness of Indonesian non-governmental organizations. Thirty-four percent are unaware of these NGOs, down from 39% in 2007 and 48% in 2006, but still high compared to the other institutions. The percentage expressing high trust in NGOs has stayed relatively stable between 2007 and 2008 (22% in 2008, 24% in 2007), and is still well above the 13% recorded in 2006.

Engagement with Non-Governmental Organizations

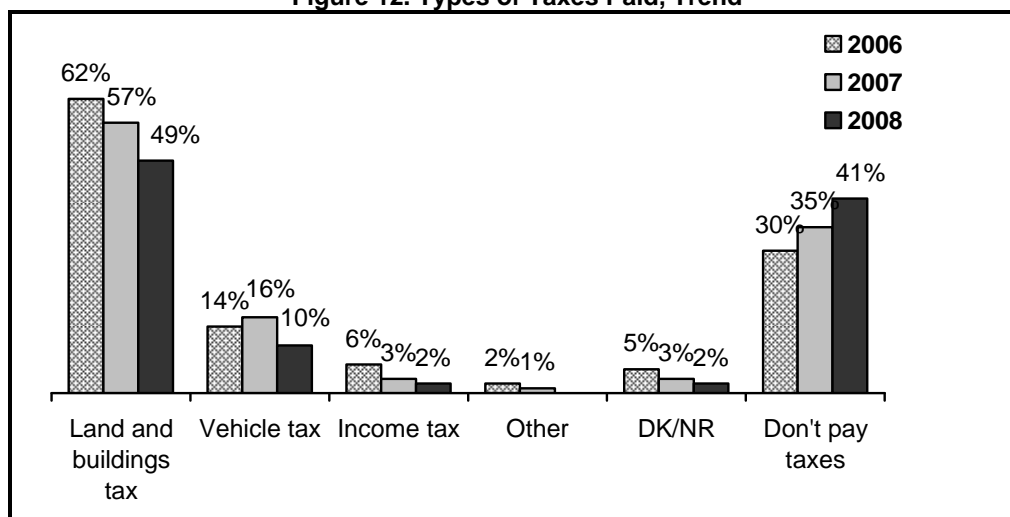
There has been a decrease from 2007 to 2008 in the percentage of Indonesians who have attended meetings or other events organized by religious organizations and political parties. In the 2007 survey, 39% of Indonesians said they had attended an event organized by a religious organization over the past twelve months. This percentage has decreased to 27% in this survey. This is also lower than the 31% who reported attending such events in 2006. The percentage which says they have attended a political party event in the past twelve months has decreased from 10% to 5%. The percentage attending an event organized by a non-religious community organization has also decreased from 19% to 13%.

Among those who have attended events organized by religious organizations, 65% say the event was organized by Majelis Taklim, 15% name NU, 4% Remaja Masjid and 3% say Muhammadiyah. As in 2006 and 2007, the proportion of respondents stating that they have attended events organized by NU or Muhammadiyah is low compared to these organizations' claimed membership. Four percent name Christian religious organizations. Among the non-religious community organizations named are PKK (by 26% of those who attended an event) and Karang Taruna (17%). Of those who attended a political party organized event, 24% stated that it was organized by PDI-P, 17% Golkar, 14% Partai Demokrat, and 11% PKB.

Taxes

Trends in data from the 2006 through 2008 surveys on the types of taxes paid by Indonesians shows that the percentage stating that they do not pay any type of taxes has increased since 2006. This data is presented in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Types of Taxes Paid, Trend



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

The proportion who say they pay the land and buildings tax has fallen below half in this survey (49%) from a high of 62% in the 2006 survey. While more than half report paying this tax in rural areas (58%), less than half report this in urban areas (45%). The percentage who report paying vehicle tax has also fallen from 16% in 2007 to 10% in this survey. Only 2% of Indonesians report paying income taxes, compared to 6% in 2006.

The percentage of Indonesians that report not paying any taxes has increased to 41% in this survey from 30% in 2006 and 35% in 2007. In contrast to the previous two surveys, respondents in 2008 from the higher socio-economic classes (SES A, B, and C) are more likely to say that they do not pay any taxes (45%) than respondents in the lower socio-economic classes (SES D and E) (37%).

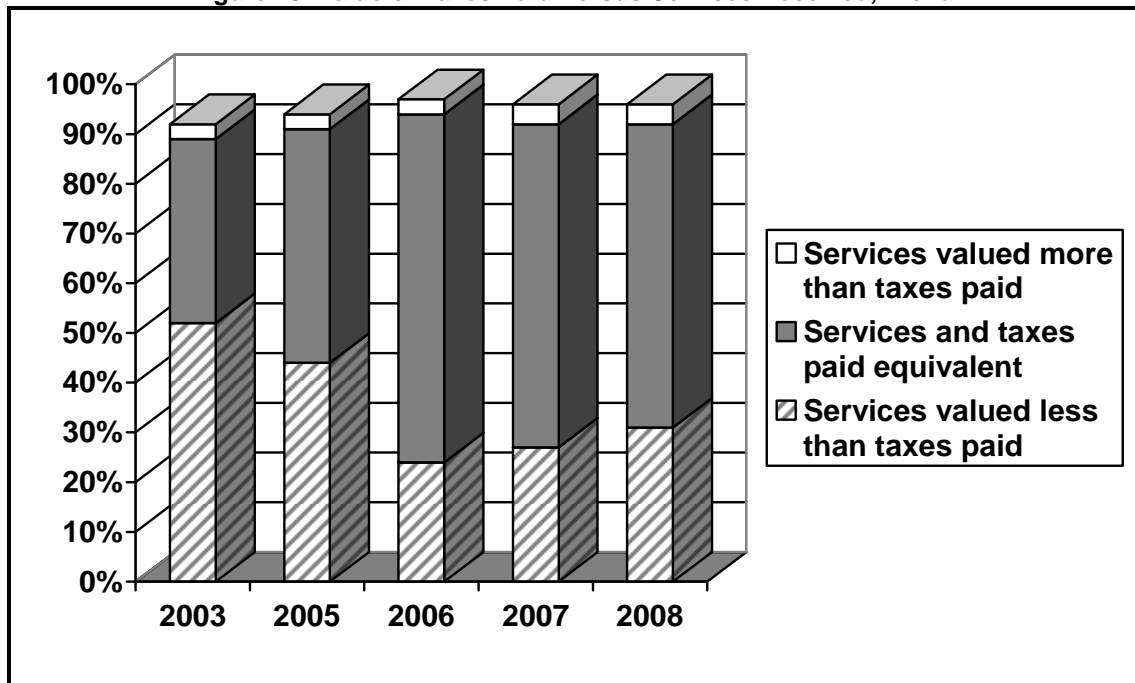
Those who report paying some type of tax were next asked to estimate the amount of taxes they paid in the past year. Fifty-six percent of those who report paying at least one kind of tax say that they paid Rp 50,000 or less in taxes in the past year. Seventeen percent report paying between Rp 50,001 and Rp 100,000, 16% report paying between Rp 100,001 and Rp 200,000, and a further 11% report paying more than Rp 200,000. Forty-nine percent of respondents at SES level A report that they paid more than Rp. 200,000 in taxes, while the majority of those at SES levels E and D (66%) 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, equivalent or less equivalent to the taxes they paid over the past year. The results are not significantly different from those of the 2007 survey. More than six in ten Indonesians (61%) state that the services they received were equivalent to the taxes paid. Four percent stated that they services received are more equivalent than the taxes paid, while 28% say that the services received are less equivalent. The lesser satisfaction with equivalence of services amongst social classifications that are more likely to pay higher levels of taxes - such as higher income and younger age groups - that was clear in the 2007 data, is evident to a lesser degree in the 2008 data.

Comparing data from this survey to the IFES surveys of 2003 and 2005, and the Democracy International surveys of 2006 and 2007, shows that the percentage who believe that they receive at least equivalent services for taxes paid has increased from 37% in 2003 to 65% in this 2008 survey, although it has dropped from a high of 73% in the 2006 survey. The percentage of

Indonesians who believe that the value of the services they receive is less than the amount they pay in taxes has decreased from 52% in 2003 to 31% in the 2008 survey (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Value of Taxes Paid Versus Services Received, Trend³



"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?"
 (2003 n=3000, 2005 n=2020, 2006 n=1337, 2007 n=1243, 2008 n=1132)

³ Please note that in the 2003 and 2005 surveys, all respondents were asked the question. In 2006, 2007, and 2008 surveys, only those respondents who reported paying taxes were asked this question.

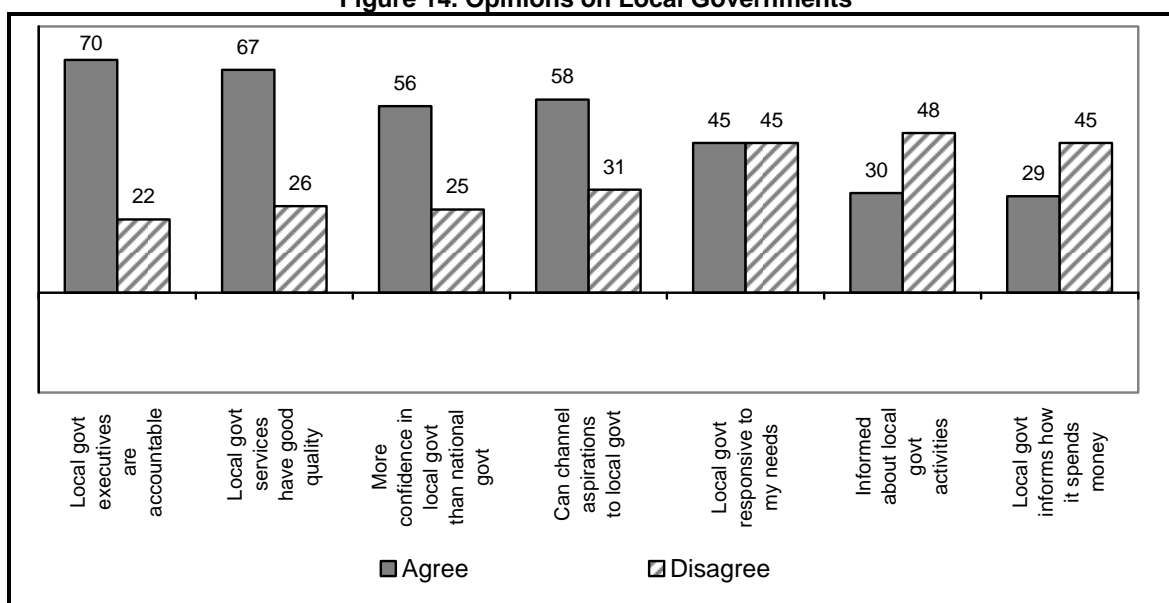
III. OPINIONS ON DECENTRALIZATION

Indonesians Have Generally Positive Opinions on Local Governments

As for the 2006 and 2007 surveys, respondents to the 2008 survey were asked a series of questions about their opinions of the performance and capacities of their local government. A large proportion of Indonesians have positive opinions on many of the issues and activities related to local government. However, opinions are far less likely to be positive on issues related to provision of information by local governments to their constituents. These findings are similar to those of the 2006 and 2007 surveys.

Respondents were first given several statements about local government in their area, and asked to agree or disagree with these statements. Responses from this year's survey are presented in Figure 14.

Figure 14. Opinions on Local Governments



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

As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, the statement that drew the most widespread support was that local government executives are accountable to the people of their area. Seventy percent of respondents to this survey agree with this statement, an increase from 61% in the 2006 survey and compared to 68% in 2007. More than two-thirds of all Indonesians (67%) agree that the services provided by their local governments are of good quality, an increase from 53% in 2006 and 63% in 2007.

There are no significant differences in the opinions of rural and urban residents, or between genders, age groups or education level groups on the above two issues.

Fifty-six percent of Indonesians have more confidence in their local government than in their national government, compared to 59% in 2007 and higher than the 51% in 2006. A majority of Indonesians (58%) also believe that they can channel their aspirations to their local government, higher than the 50% who expressed this opinion in the 2007 survey. There is little difference

between urban and rural residents on this question. Agreement with this statement is more widespread with increases in education levels.

As in previous surveys, however, these positive opinions on the representation and services provided by local governments are not reflected in opinions on responsiveness and transparency of these governments. Indonesians are split (45% agree, 45% disagree) on whether their local governments are responsive to the needs of their constituents. This is an improvement from the 2007 survey when fewer agreed with this statement than disagreed.

Transparency of local government activities and expenditures is also a concern to many Indonesians. Nearly half (48%) of all Indonesians disagree that they are informed about their local government's activities, while 30% agree with this statement. In response to a new question in the 2008 survey, 45% disagree that their local government is open about how it spends its money while 29% agree with this statement.

There are some regional differences in the proportion of people who agree with these statements. One feature of the data is that, for each of the above issues, residents of North Sumatra are much less likely to give a positive response. Residents of this province are also generally more likely than Indonesians as a whole to have no opinions on these issues.

On the issue of accountability of local executives, 89% in South Sulawesi and 84% in both Central Java and South Sumatra agree that their local executives are accountable. This compares to 43% in North Sumatra and a relatively low 55% in both West Sumatra and West Irian Jaya (whereas in Papua it is 77%). These differences are also largely reflected in opinions on quality of services provided by local governments. Residents of North Sumatra are very much less likely to agree that services provided by their local governments are of good quality (26%) than are Indonesians as a whole (67%), while 84% of those in Central Java, 78% in South Sulawesi and 78% in Papua agree with this statement. In West Irian Jaya, 50% agree, and in West Sumatra 51%.

There are fewer significant regional differences in relation to agreement with the statement that local government is responsive to the respondent's needs. Again, the proportion agreeing with this is very low in North Sumatra (14%). It is also low in DKI Jakarta (28%), whereas it is relatively high in South Sumatra (74%).

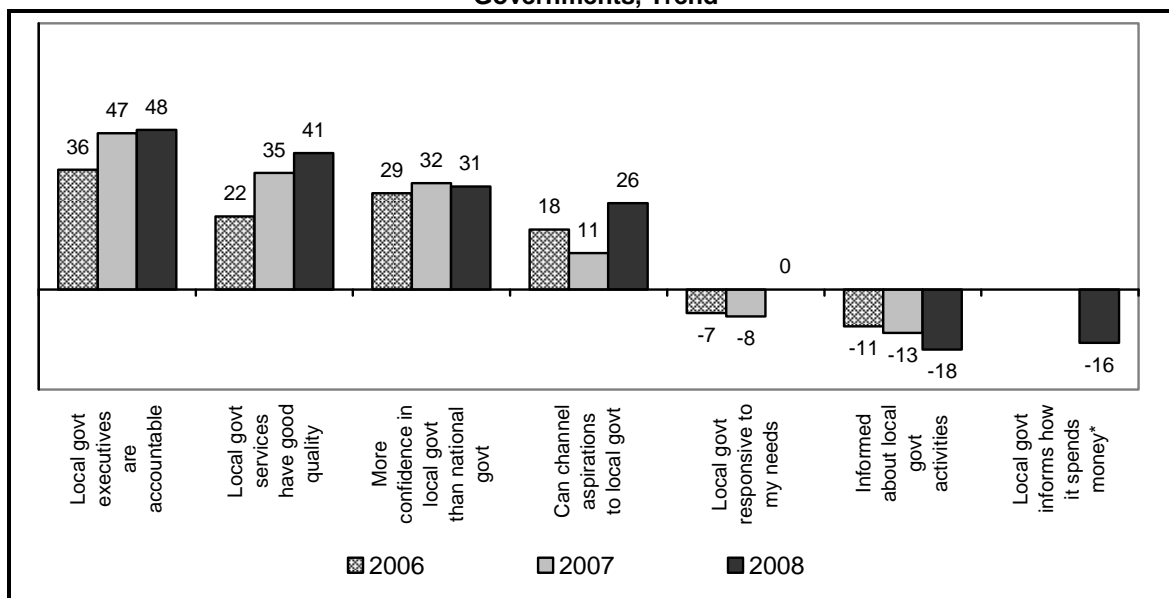
A majority of residents of DKI Jakarta (60%), East Java (55%), and North Sumatra (57%) disagree that their local government is responsive to their needs. In North Sumatra only 14% agree with this statement. In South Sumatra, 74% agree that their local government is responsive. In West Java and South Sulawesi also, a majority agree that their local government is responsive, whereas a majority in these two provinces had disagreed with this statement in the 2007 survey.

A majority in almost every region agrees that they can channel their aspirations to their local government. Two exceptions to this trend are residents of North Sumatra and DKI Jakarta where 28% and 40%, respectively, believe they can channel their aspirations to their local government. On the other hand 62% in Aceh and 91% in South Sumatra believe they can channel their aspirations to their local government.

Regional differences of opinions on whether respondents are informed about the activities of their local governments also highlight North Sumatra. Only 7% in North Sumatra agree with this, as do 19% in DKI Jakarta and 26% in West Irian Jaya. In contrast, 47% in Papua, 48% in Aceh and 63% in South Sumatra agree with this statement. Similarly, only 7% of residents in North Sumatra agree that their local government is open about how it spends its money while 42% disagree. A majority of residents of East Java (61%) and DKI Jakarta (60%) disagree with this statement. However, in Papua, 47% agree with this statement, in Aceh 49% and in South Sumatra 71%.

Changes in public opinion on these aspects of local government in the period between the 2006 and 2008 surveys can be clearly seen in the data on net agreement ratings to the above questions (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Net Agreement Ratings (% who agree less % who disagree) For Opinions on Local Governments, Trend



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

**Not asked in 2006 and 2007 surveys*

As can be seen from Figure 15, the highest net agreement rating in 2008, at +48 percentage points, is for the statement 'local government executives are accountable'. In the 2006 to 2008 period the net agreement rating for this statement has increased, though it has remained fairly stable between 2007 and 2008. Between the 2006 and 2008 surveys there has been a continuing and significant increase in the net agreement rating in relation to the provision of good quality services by local government: this net rating increased from +22 percentage points in 2006 to +41 in 2008.

Net agreement ratings for the statement that the respondent has more confidence in local than national government have remained relatively static between the 2006 and 2008 surveys. In 2008, there has been a reversal of the 2006-2007 trend in relation to being able to channel aspirations to local government. The net agreement rating for this statement in 2008, at +26 percentage points, is now higher than in 2006, after having decreased in the 2007 survey. Also, in the 2008 survey, the net agreement rating for the statement 'local government is responsive to my needs' has improved to be neutral, after the negative net ratings of 2006 and 2007.

The only statement for which there has been a decrease in the net agreement rating between the 2006 and 2008 surveys is 'I am informed about my local government's activities'. The net rating for this issue, which is at -18 percentage points in the 2008 survey, has had a continuing decline since the -11 percentage points recorded in the 2006 survey. This negative view of information provision is reinforced by the similar -16 percentage point net agreement rating in 2008 for the statement that 'local government is open about how it spends its money'.

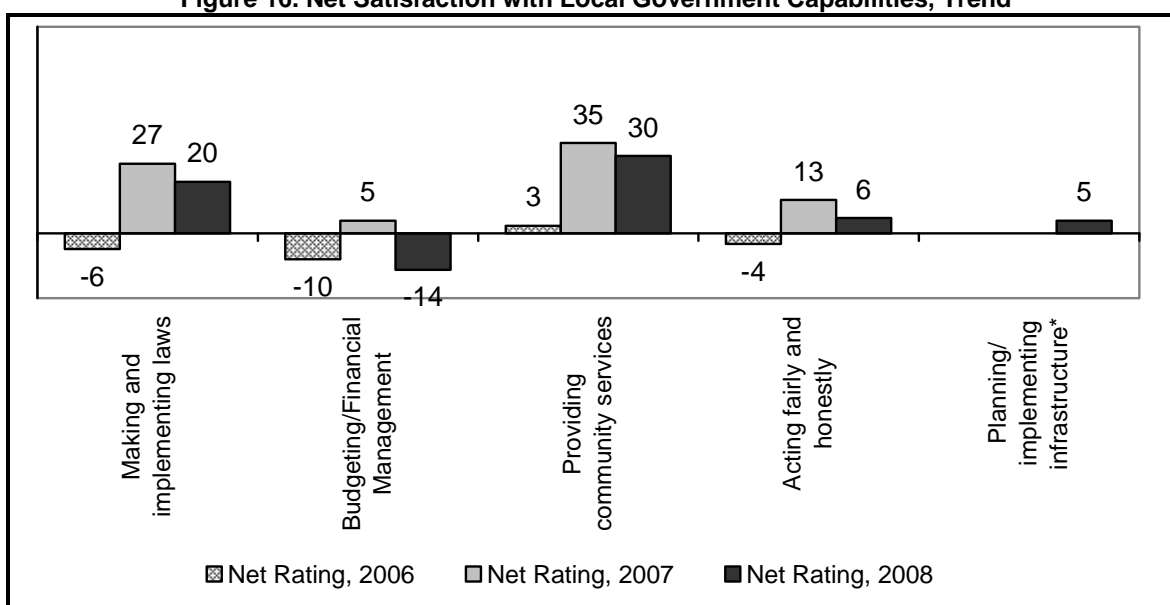
The more widespread positive attitudes towards local government services and their responsiveness to people's needs, and the ability to channel aspirations to local governments,

appear to have been achieved in the face of Indonesians in general being less likely to agree that local governments inform them about what they do.

Satisfaction with Local Government's Capabilities

An important criterion on which local government is evaluated is its ability to perform the legally-defined functions that are critical for both its effectiveness and its constituents' well-being. The 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys have asked respondents to evaluate their satisfaction with several basic functions performed by their local government. After a general increase in net satisfaction levels between the 2006 and 2007 surveys, the 2008 survey points to a reversal of this trend. For three of the four functions included in all three surveys, net satisfaction ratings in 2008 are still considerably higher than in the 2006 survey (Figure 16). However the net satisfaction level for local government budgeting and finance is now lower than in 2006.

Figure 16. Net Satisfaction with Local Government Capabilities, Trend



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

*Not asked in 2006 and 2007 surveys

In this survey, 50% are satisfied with their local government's capabilities in making and implementing laws. This is similar to the 48% who held this view in the 2007 survey, however the percentage of respondents having no opinion on this question has dropped from more than 31% in the 2007 survey to 20% in this survey. Those dissatisfied in 2008 have thus increased from 21% in 2007 to 30% in 2008. While the net satisfaction rating in 2008 of +20 is less than in the 2007 survey, it is still considerably higher than in the 2006 survey. In 2008, the percentage satisfied with this aspect of local government is roughly the same in both urban and rural areas. Dissatisfaction with this capability of local government is more widespread as education levels increase.

In 2008, there has continued to be a higher net satisfaction rating with local governments' ability to provide services than with other issues surveyed. Similarly to the 2007 survey, a majority of Indonesians (61%) express satisfaction with their local government's ability to provide services to the local community while 31% are dissatisfied, leading to a net satisfaction rating of +30 percentage points. While this does not match the net satisfaction rating of +35 in 2007, it still represents an improvement when compared to the 2006 data.

Dissatisfaction with local government's ability in relation to budgeting and financial management has increased since the 2007 survey. In the 2008 survey 41% are dissatisfied with this (28% in 2007) and only 27% are satisfied (33% in 2007). While the proportion of respondents that does not respond to this question has decreased since 2007, it is still over 30%. Net satisfaction with local governments' budgeting and financial management has declined from +5 percentage points in 2007 to -14, a decrease of 19 percentage points. This reversal may be influenced by the negative net ratings for the issue of openness of local governments about how they spend their money. A decrease in net satisfaction between the 2007 and 2008 surveys is also observed for local government's ability to act fairly, honestly, and justly. In this survey, 45% are satisfied with this aspect of their local government (47% in 2007) while 39% are dissatisfied (34% in 2007). The net satisfaction level for this aspect of local government has declined from +13 percentage points in 2007 to +6. This is an improvement from the -4 percentage point net satisfaction rating in 2006.

In the 2008 survey, respondents were also asked to assess their level of satisfaction with their local government's capability to plan and manage infrastructure development. A higher percentage is satisfied rather than dissatisfied with this function of their local government (44% versus 39%) – giving a net satisfaction rating of +5 percentage points.

Rural residents give their local governments a more positive net satisfaction level for 'acting fairly and honestly' than do urban residents (+11 percentage points compared to -2) and also for providing community services (+34 percentage points compared to +25). Conversely, urban residents give their local governments a higher net satisfaction rating (+9 percentage points) than do rural residents (+3) for planning and implementing regional infrastructure development.

There is little in the way of significant patterns in the views of different age groups on these issues. On two issues, however, there are significant differences between the youngest and oldest age groups in the survey. Those under 25 years old have a more negative net satisfaction rating in relation to budgeting and financial management (-21 percentage points) than those 55 years old or older (-10). Similarly those under 25 years old have a less positive net satisfaction rating for 'making and implementing laws' (+15 percentage points) and 'acting fairly, honestly and justly' (+3) than those 55 years old or older (+25 and +14 percentage points respectively).

On other socio-demographic breakdowns, there are also few significant variations in net satisfaction levels. Women's net satisfaction level for their local governments on the issue of 'acting honestly, fairly and justly' is a little higher (+9 percentage points) than men's (+2). On this same issue, those with elementary or lower education have a higher net satisfaction level (+13 percentage points) than those with secondary or higher education (-1).

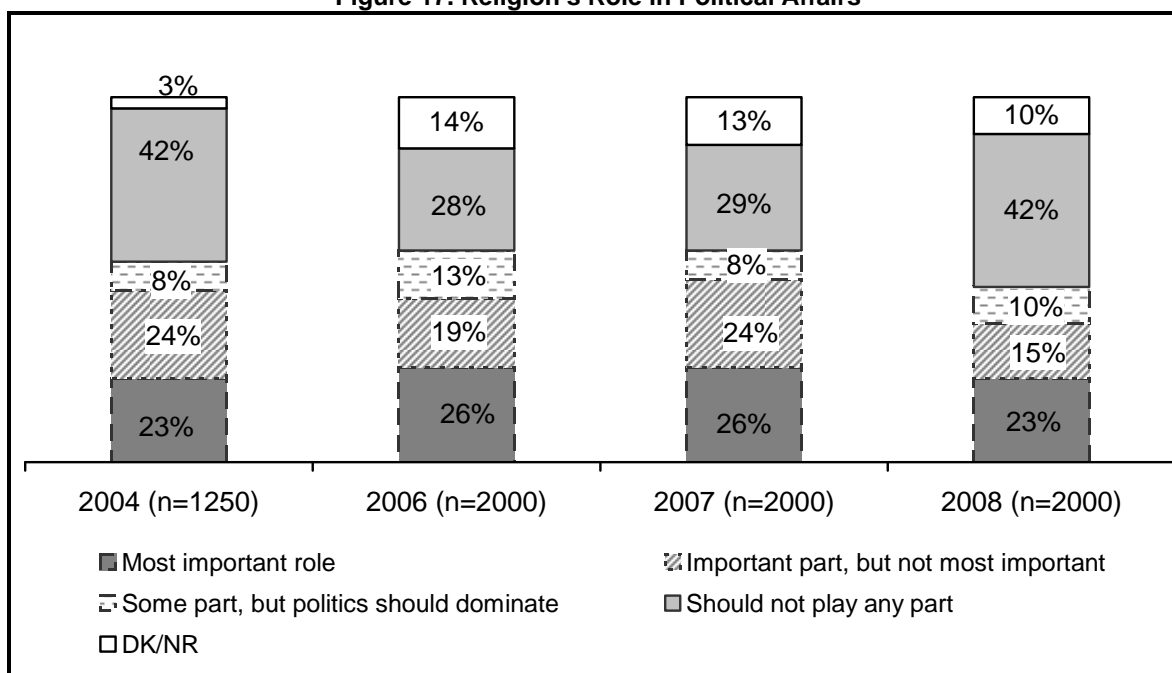
Regionally, one province that deviates strongly in a negative direction from the national trends is North Sumatra. For all five issues queried, residents of North Sumatra give far more negative appraisals of their local government than Indonesians overall. For the fairness/honesty and infrastructure issues the net satisfaction levels in North Sumatra are below -50 percentage points. Only 3% of residents of North Sumatra stated that they are satisfied that their local government is 'able to act fairly, honestly and justly', while only 1% were satisfied that their local government had the capability to plan and implement infrastructure development. Aceh, Papua, and DKI Jakarta are other provinces with more negative net satisfaction levels with these local government capacities than the national average, while those of South Sumatra and Central Java are more positive in their net satisfaction levels for all these issues. Residents of West Irian Jaya are far more likely than the national average not to give a response on these questions, suggesting that they have less information on local government-related issues.

IV. SOCIAL ISSUES

Role of Religion in Society

The data in Figure 17 below indicates that the percentage of Indonesians who think that religion should play the most important role or an important role in political affairs has decreased since the 2007 survey.

Figure 17. Religion's Role in Political Affairs



"What role do you think religion should play in political affairs in Indonesia?" (n = 2000)

In the 2008 survey, 38% hold these opinions compared to 50% who voiced these opinions in 2007, 45% in 2006, and 47% in 2004. At the same time, the percentage that says that religion should play no role in politics has increased significantly since 2006 and 2007, and is at its highest point since 2004. Forty-two percent in the 2008 survey say that religion should not play any part in politics, an increase from 29% in 2007 and 28% in 2006. Ten percent say that religion should play some part in politics but not the most important part.

There are no significant differences in opinion on this issue between men and women, or amongst different educational level groups. People 55 or more years old are more likely to think that religion should play no role in politics (49%) than those under 25 (37%). Those under 25 years old, conversely, are more likely to believe that religion should play the most important role in politics (28%) than those 55 or more years old (17%).

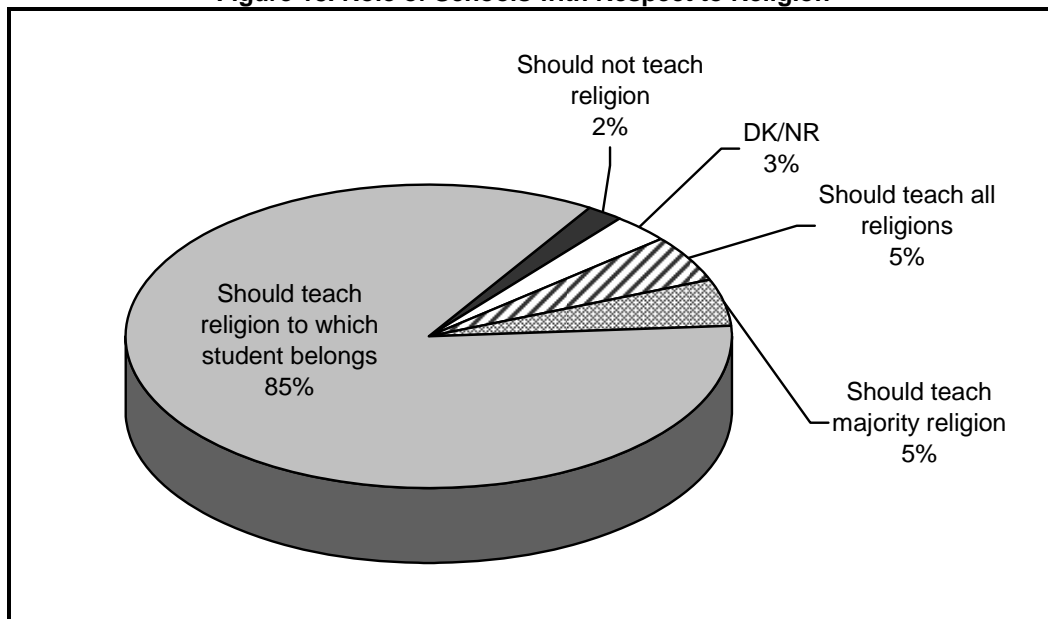
As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, there are some clear regional differences on this issue. A majority of residents of East Java (55%) and South Sulawesi (52%) say that religion should play at least an important role in politics, while a majority of residents of North Sumatra (63%), South Sumatra (60%), West Java (56%), and Central Java (53%) say that religion should either have no role in politics or that political considerations should dominate. A majority (53%) of residents of West Irian Jaya have no opinion on this issue, as do 35% of people in Papua. There has been a large swing in opinions in Aceh between the 2007 and 2008 surveys. In 2007, 64% of residents of Aceh said that religion should play at least an important role in politics. This percentage has

declined to 18% in this survey while 57% say that religion should play no role in politics or should only play a small part.

There were clear differences in opinion on this question in the 2007 survey between Muslims and Christians. These differences in opinion still exist, but a significant percentage of Muslims now see a less influential role for religion in politics. In 2007, 53% of Muslims thought that religion should play at least an important role in politics and 27% believed that religion should play no role in politics. In this 2008 survey, 42% of Muslims think religion should play at least an important role in politics while 39% think it should play no part in politics. Among Christians, 65% think religion should play no part in politics while only 6% think it should play at least an important part.

Another area concerning religion and society is that of whether religion should be taught within the formal school educational system, and if so, whether schools should treat all religions equally. Respondents to this survey were asked their opinion on the roles schools should have with regard to teaching of religion. A summary of the responses is provided below (Figure 18).

Figure 18. Role of Schools with Respect to Religion



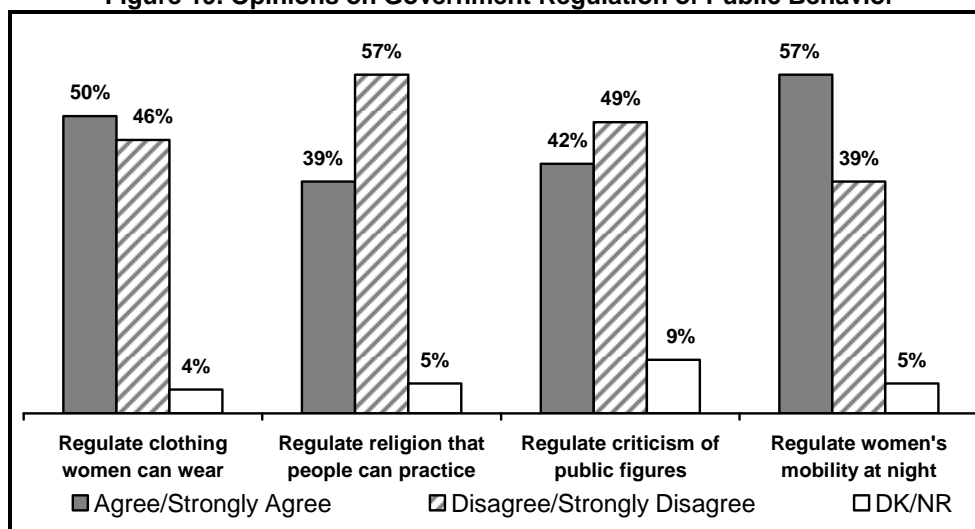
"Can you please tell me which of the following statements is closest to your personal opinion?"
(n=2000)

One finding from the data in Figure 18 is that Indonesians do want their schools to teach religion to those who attend the school. Only 2% say that schools should not teach religion. The overwhelming majority of Indonesians believe that schools should only teach children the religion to which each child belongs (85%). Few think that schools should teach children the majority religion, or all religions (5% each). The vast majority of both Muslims (84%) and Christians (91%) believe that schools should teach children about the religion to which they belong.

Government Regulation of Public Behavior

Opinions were sought about the government's role in regulating public behavior through a series of questions in the survey asking respondents whether they agreed or disagreed with the government making and enforcing laws in relation to some specific behaviors. These questions were asked for the first time in the 2008 survey, and the data is provided in Figure 19.

Figure 19. Opinions on Government Regulation of Public Behavior



"For each of these issues, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree that the government should pass and enforce laws to regulate the behavior of people on the issue." (n=2000)

For each of the cases described in Figure 19, a significant proportion of Indonesians believes that the behavior should be regulated by the government. This is especially the case when it comes to regulating the actions and behavior of women. The regulation of women's mobility at night unless they are accompanied by a male relative or husband obtains the most agreement (57%) of all these issues. Such regulation is supported by 59% of men and 55% of women. Thirty-nine percent are opposed to this kind of regulation. Fifty percent of Indonesians support the regulation of clothing that women can wear, but 46% are opposed to this type of regulation. On this issue the views of women and men are also similar, with 51% of men and 49% of women supporting government regulation. Majorities of Muslims support regulation of women's clothing (53%) and regulation of women's mobility at night (60%).

In two of the cases, a larger percentage disagrees with government regulating the behaviour than supports it. A majority is opposed to government regulation of the religion that a person is allowed to practice (57%) while 39% support this. Nearly half are opposed to government regulation of criticisms of public figures, while 42% support this type of regulation.

There is little difference between the opinions of men and women on any of these issues. There is also little difference of opinion on these questions among rural and urban residents. Those with secondary or university education are more likely to disagree with government regulation of these issues than those with elementary or lesser education.

There are some significant regional differences in the data. Residents of Aceh are overwhelmingly in favor of the government regulating the clothing women may wear (84%) and women's mobility at night (94%). Support for government regulation of both these issues is similarly high in West Sumatra. Around three-quarters of the people of South Sulawesi and Central Java support government regulation of women's mobility at night, whereas only 30% of those in East Java and in North Sumatra do. Residents of West Irian Jaya (22%), of East Java (26%) and of North Sumatra (31%) are also less likely to agree that government should regulate women's clothing. For both of these issues, around six in ten people in DKI Jakarta agree with government regulation.

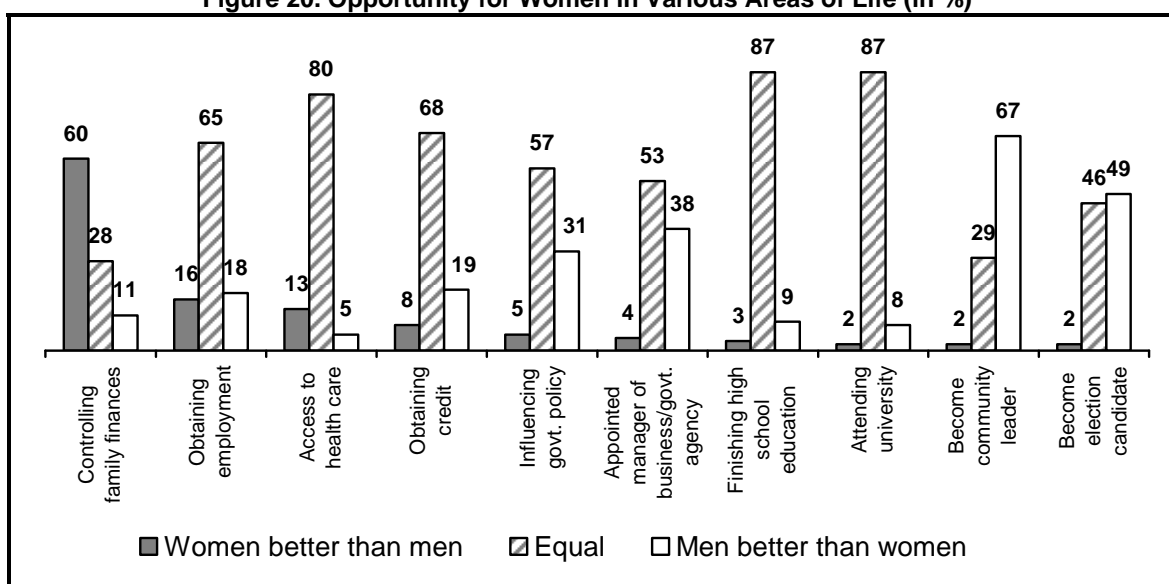
Opposition to government regulation of the religion people may practice is strong in East Java (79%), South Sulawesi (68%) and North Sumatra (67%), whereas support for government regulation of religion is strong in South Sumatra (66%) and Papua (56%)

Role of Women in Society

With widespread support for regulation of aspects of women's behaviour in public, it is useful to assess the perceived level of equality between men and women outside the home. Respondents were given a list of ten 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.

In seven of the ten areas of life cited in the question, a majority of Indonesians believe that men and women have equal levels of opportunity. This is similar to the results of the 2007 survey. The exceptions are control of family finances (where a majority believe that women have more opportunities), becoming a community leader (where two-thirds believe that men have better opportunities), and becoming an election candidate (where just under half believe that men have better opportunities). Figure 20 presents the data on this question from the 2008 survey.

Figure 20. 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)

In the 2008 survey, 60% of respondents believe that women have more opportunities to control family finance than men, compared to 42% in the 2006 survey who said women had more opportunities. Eleven percent say that men have more opportunities to control family finances.

Where respondents say that members of a certain gender have better opportunities, men are more likely to be thought to have better opportunities in seven of the ten cases, women in two cases, and there are relatively equal numbers of respondents perceiving men or women as having better opportunity in one case.

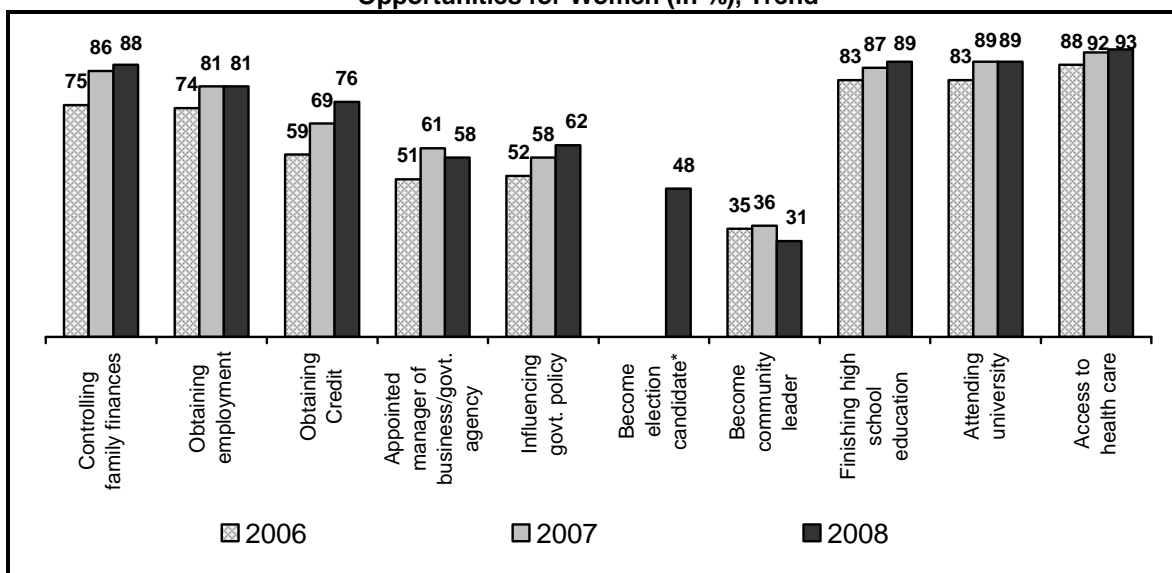
The one area where roughly equal percentages say that men or women have better opportunities than the other gender is in obtaining a job. However, in other areas in the economic sphere far more respondents are likely to say that men have better opportunities than the percentage that says that women have better opportunities. Thirty-eight percent believe that men have better opportunities to be appointed as a manager in both government and private business, while only 4% think that women have better opportunities for this. Nineteen percent think have men have better opportunities than women to obtain credit, while 8% believe women do. There is no significant difference between the views of men and women on these economic opportunity issues.

In the political sphere, 67% believe that men have better opportunities to become community leaders than women, an increase from 61% in 2007. While 31% think men have better opportunities to influence government policy than women, only 5% believe women have the greater opportunities. Becoming an elected representative is one track for women to use to promote women's opportunities. Forty-nine percent believe that men have better opportunities than women for becoming a candidate for a general election, while only 2% believe that women have better opportunities than men. There is no significant difference between the views of men and women on these political opportunity issues.

One way to enhance equality of opportunity between men and women in the political and economic spheres is to provide equality of opportunities in education. The vast majority (87%) believe that this is indeed the case for obtaining a high school education and also for attending university.

A method of examining whether perceptions of opportunities for women have changed between the 2006 and 2008 surveys is to examine trends in the combined data for those who believe women have equal or better opportunities for the ten areas of life covered in this question. The results are shown below at Figure 21.

Figure 21. Opportunities for Women in Various Areas of Life: Those who State 'Equal' or 'Better' Opportunities for Women (in %), Trend



"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)

**Not asked in 2006 and 2007 surveys*

There has been positive movement in perceptions of opportunities for women in almost all of these areas, between the 2006 and 2008 surveys. In the economic sphere, this is particularly noticeable in relation to opportunities for obtaining credit, and in the political sphere in relation to influencing government policy. There are also positive trends in perceptions of opportunities for women to obtain an education and access health services, coming off high base figures in the 2006 survey. But positive perceptions of opportunities for women continue to be less widely held in relation to leadership issues, such as the economic issue of attaining a management position, and the political issues of becoming a community leader or an election candidate. For the management issue, however, positive perceptions of opportunities for women are still more widespread than in the 2006 survey.

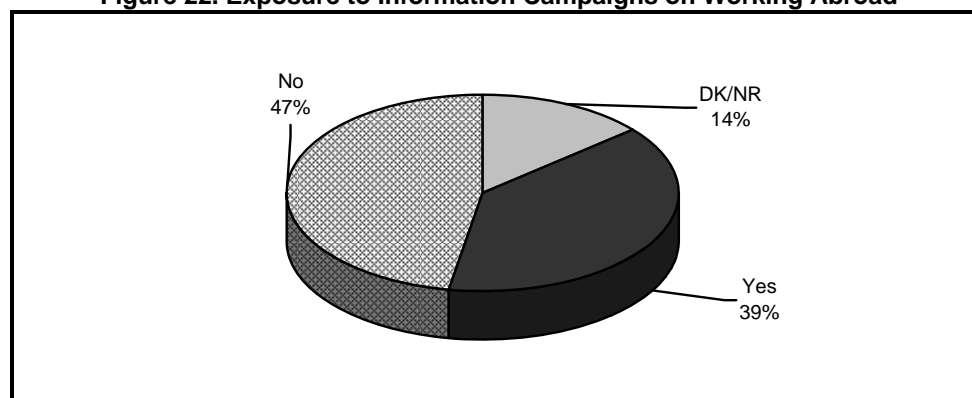
There are no significant differences, in any of the three surveys, in the proportions of men and women who have a positive perception of opportunities for women in the above areas, apart from a small difference in relation to opportunity to finish high school in the 2007 survey.

Indonesian Emigrant Workers

Data from the 2008 survey indicates that during the last 12 months, only 2% of Indonesians have seriously considered working abroad, while an additional 5% have thought about it but have not seriously considered it. This is significantly lower than the 13% who reported thinking about but not seriously considering going abroad in the 2007 survey. Eighty-nine percent in the 2008 survey say that during this period they have not thought about working abroad, far higher than the 64% who reported this in the 2007 survey. There is little difference between urban and rural residents and between men and women in whether they have thought about working abroad. The decline since the 2007 survey in the proportion of people which has at least thought about working abroad has been greatest in Aceh (from 31% in 2007 to 3% in 2008) and East Java (from 30% in 2007 to 8% in 2008).

When respondents were asked whether they would be willing to borrow money in order to pay for the costs of finding a high paying job abroad, only 8% agreed, while 88% disagreed. Respondents were also asked whether they had heard or seen any information campaigns about issues relating to the safety of Indonesians working abroad. The data indicates that around four in ten Indonesians have been exposed to these information campaigns (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Exposure to Information Campaigns on Working Abroad



"Have you seen or heard any information campaigns about issues relating to the safety of Indonesians working abroad?" (n = 2000)

While 39% say that they have seen or heard information campaigns on the safety of Indonesians working abroad, 47% have not and another 14% do not know if they have. Residents of urban areas are slightly more likely to have been exposed to these information campaigns than residents of rural areas (42% versus 36%). Exposure to the campaigns is also higher among those younger than 45 (46%) than among older Indonesians (26%).

The information campaigns are one way in which the Indonesian government is trying to address abuse of Indonesians working abroad. When respondents to the survey were also asked how effective they think programs implemented by the government and other authorities are in preventing Indonesians from being forced to work in another country, or in another location in Indonesia, 28% say that they are not aware of any such programs being implemented. This indicates a marked increase in awareness since the 2007 survey, when 71% were not aware these programs. Residents of urban areas are less likely to say that they are not aware of these programs (25%) than residents of rural areas (31%).

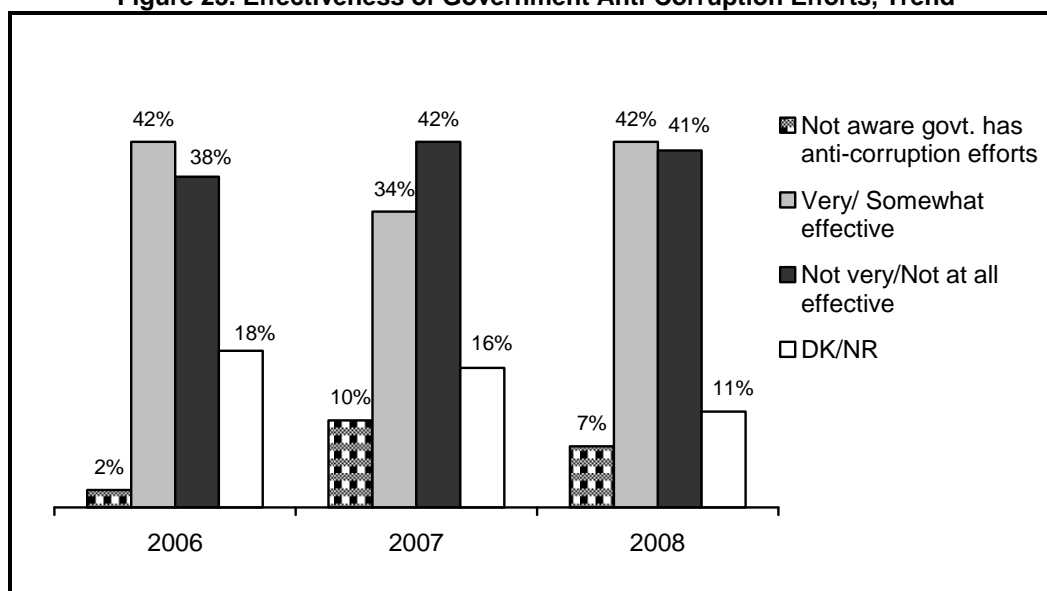
Amongst those who are aware of these programs, 50% think that these programs are not very or not at all effective while 29% think they are very or somewhat effective. In the 2007 survey, 47% believed that the programs were effective. While there is greater awareness of information campaigns designed to inform Indonesians of the risks of working abroad, those who know the efforts the Indonesian government is making are more likely to be critical than approving of these efforts.

V. OPINIONS ON CORRUPTION

Opinions on Anti-Corruption Programs

The 2006 to 2008 surveys have tracked the Indonesian public's appraisal of the effectiveness of the government's anti-corruption efforts. The data in Figure 23 signals a positive direction in opinions about the government's anti-corruption efforts since the 2007 survey.

Figure 23. 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)

Forty-two percent of Indonesians believe that government anti-corruption programs are very or somewhat effective, similar to the percentage that stated this opinion in 2006, and a significant increase from the 34% who had this opinion in the 2007 survey. The percentage that thinks that the government's efforts are ineffective has stayed relatively stable at 41%. The differential between the percentage who felt that government anti-corruption programs were effective and those who felt they were ineffective is +1 percentage points in the 2008 survey, higher than the -8 observed in the 2007 survey. One reason why more respondents have a positive opinion of the government's anti-corruption efforts compared to 2007 is because fewer in the 2008 survey say they have no opinion on these efforts (11% versus 18% in 2006, and 16% in 2007). The data seems to indicate the lower percentage of don't know responses has translated into positive opinions on the government's efforts.

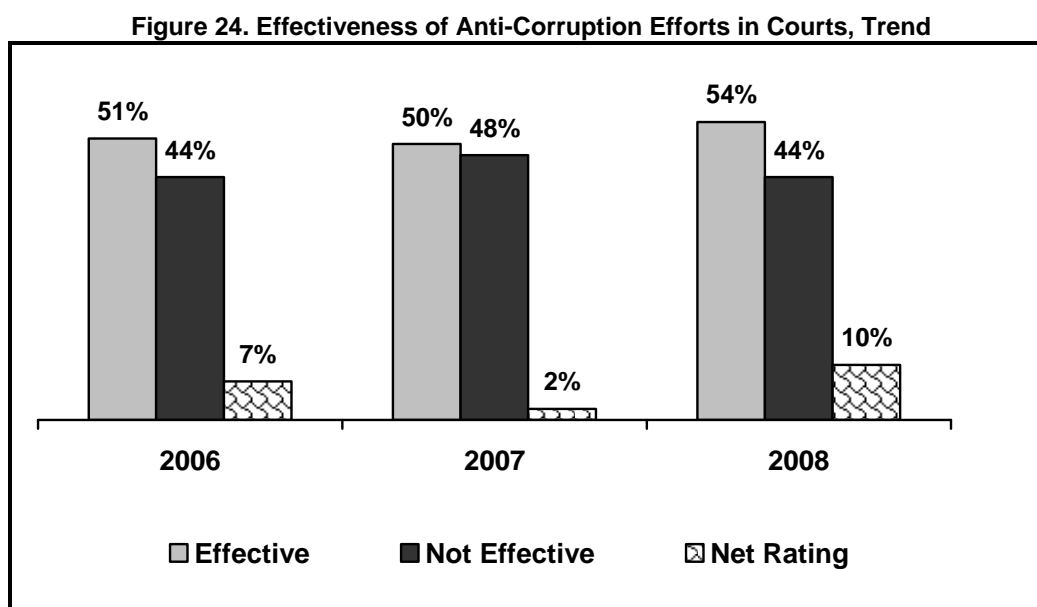
The 2007 survey report noted a strong relationship between opinions on the effectiveness of the government's anti-corruption programs and opinions on the BPK and KPK. This relationship continues in this survey and contributes to the higher positive evaluations of these two agencies in this 2008 survey when compared to the 2007 data. Among those who think that government anti-corruption programs are effective, more respondents are satisfied rather than dissatisfied with the performance of the KPK (66% satisfied, 26% dissatisfied) and the BPK (50% satisfied, 28% dissatisfied). Conversely, among those who rate government anti-corruption programs as ineffective, a majority is dissatisfied with the performance of the KPK (54%) and the BPK (53%).

Opinions on the government's anti-corruption programs are more likely to be negative in East Java (57%) and DKI Jakarta (54%). In Central Java, where 48% believed the government's efforts were

ineffective in 2007, 54% now believe they are effective while 25% think they are not effective. Residents of South Sulawesi continue to have positive opinions of these efforts with 65% stating they are effective and 19% not effective. Residents of Papua (19%) and Aceh (15%) are most likely not to know of the existence of these programs. The difference in awareness of these programs between urban and rural residents has shrunk a little since the 2007 survey. In this survey, 9% of rural residents are not aware of these programs compared to 4% among urban residents. This compares to a 9 percentage point difference in 2007 (14% rural, 5% urban).

Along with an increase in perceived effectiveness of government anti-corruption efforts in general, the 2008 survey also finds an increase in awareness of anti-corruption activities in the court system in Indonesia. The percentage aware of these programs has increased from 43% in 2007 to 50% in the 2008 survey, while the percentage not aware has stayed stable at 38%. As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, urban respondents are more likely to be aware of these efforts than rural respondents, and men are more likely to be aware than women.

The percentage which believes that anti-corruption efforts in the courts are effective has remained relatively stable between the 2006 and 2008 surveys (Figure 24).

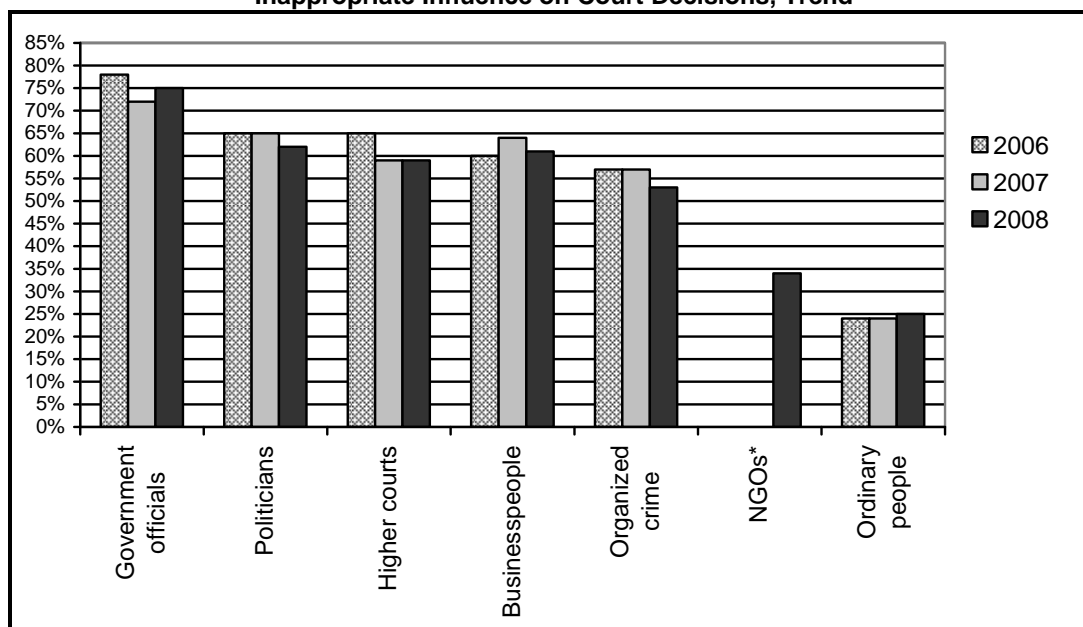


"In your opinion, is this anti-corruption program (in the Indonesian courts) very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective or not effective at all?" (2006 n = 944; 2007 n = 855; 2008 n=998)

Fifty-four percent of those aware of anti-corruption efforts in the courts in the 2008 survey say that these efforts are very or somewhat effective (compared to 50% in 2007), with 44% (48% in 2007) saying that they are not very or not at all effective. The net differential between those evaluating the efforts as effective minus those evaluating them as ineffective has increased from +2 in 2007 to +10 in this survey.

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. Comparison of data from the 2008 survey to data from the 2006 and 2007 surveys indicates that there has been little or no significant change during this period in perceptions of inappropriate outside influence on the courts since the 2006 survey (Figure 25).

Figure 25. Percent Who Believe Select Institutions & Groups Attempt to 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)

**Not asked in 2006 and 2007 surveys*

Three-quarters of Indonesians (75%) believe that government officials attempt to inappropriately influence court decisions, sitting between the 78% recorded in 2006 and the 72% in 2007. The percentage that believes that politicians attempt to have inappropriate influence on court decisions is 62% in 2008, compared to 65% in 2006 and 2007. Sixty-one percent believe that business people attempt to influence court decisions inappropriately, while 59% believe the same for higher courts and 53% believe that organized crime attempts to exercise inappropriate influence on court decisions, compared to 57% in 2006. In 2008, respondents were also asked whether NGOs attempt to have inappropriate influence on court decision and 34% responded in the affirmative. As in previous surveys, fewer (25%) believe ordinary people in Indonesia attempt to have an inappropriate influence on court decisions, similar to the figure in the 2007 survey.

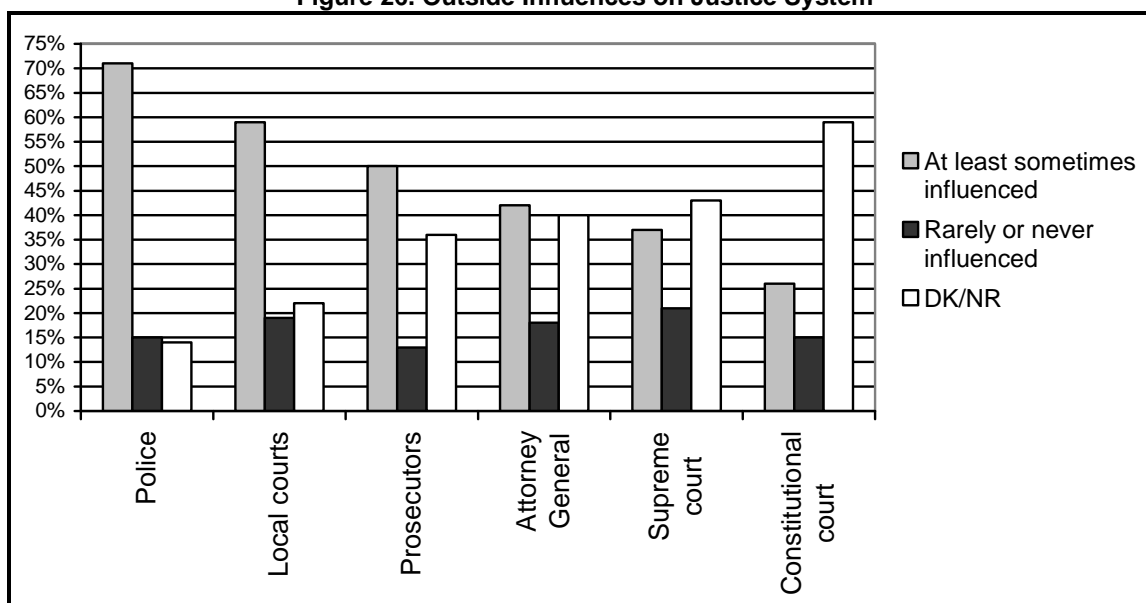
For each of these above groups, there are relatively high proportions of people in DKI Jakarta that think that these groups attempt to have inappropriate influence on court decisions. Ninety-one percent of residents of South Sulawesi and 85% of residents of East Java believe that government officials attempt to have inappropriate influence on court cases. In South Sulawesi there are also relatively high proportions of people that state that politicians (83%), higher courts (76%) and organized crime (66%) attempt to inappropriately influence court cases. The percentage believing this of politicians is also relatively high in West Irian Jaya (75%) and East Java (73%).

Respondents who said that a particular group of actors or institutions attempt to have an inappropriate influence on court decisions were next asked their views on how often this influence affects the outcome of a case. Sixty-one percent believe that government officials' influence almost always or usually has an impact, and a majority also believes this is this case for influence exercised by politicians (55%), business-people (55%), organized crime (55%), and higher courts (54%). Thirty-five percent say that attempts to influence by ordinary people have this impact and 20% have this opinion for NGOs. As in the 2006 and 2007 surveys, government officials are most likely to be perceived as being successful in inappropriately influencing court cases.

Regional data shows that, in general, residents of Aceh are less likely to perceive that attempts at inappropriate influence on courts always or usually affects the outcomes of court cases. Attempts at influence by government officials are most likely to be seen as always or usually influencing courts in DKI Jakarta and Papua (both 74%) and East Java (70%). People in East Java are the most likely to believe that attempted influence on courts by politicians and organized crime is always or usually successful (73% and 70% respectively).

Respondents to the 2006, 2007 and 2008 surveys have also been asked to give their opinions on how frequently particular law enforcement and judicial institutions are subject to inappropriate external influence. In all cases, respondents are more likely to say that these institutions are at least sometimes likely to be inappropriately influenced in their decision-making by outside influences than to say they are rarely or never influenced. The percentage which does not offer an opinion on this question increases for institutions with which ordinary Indonesians are not likely to have any contact (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Outside Influences on Justice System



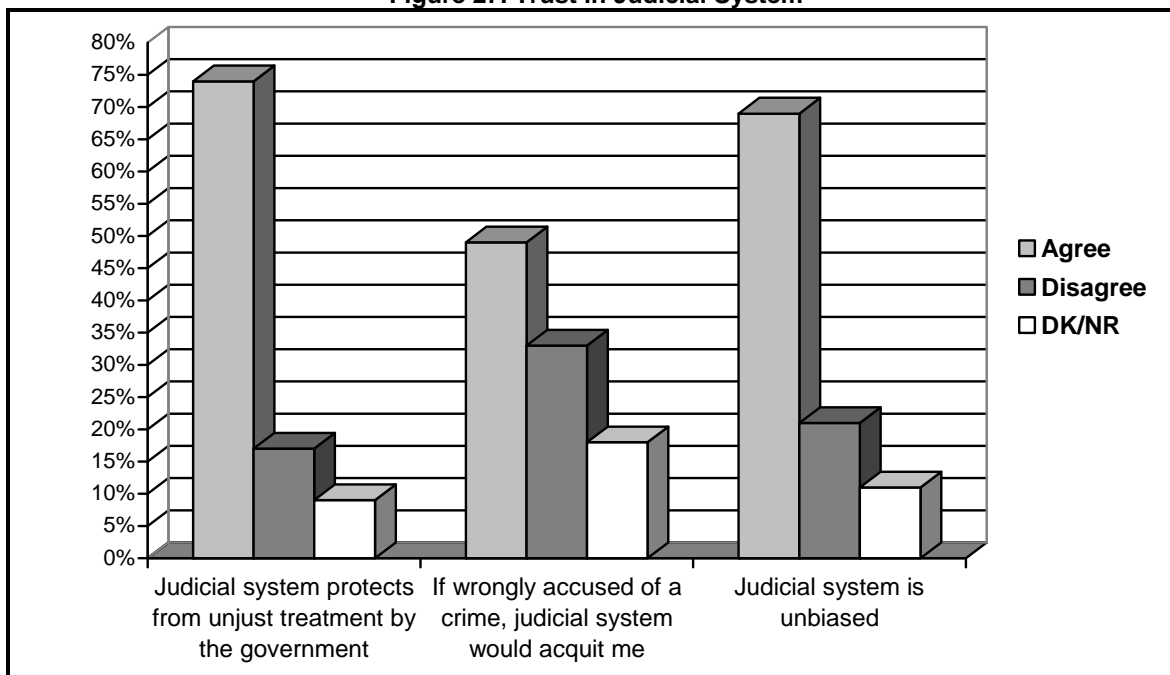
"In your opinion, how often are decisions made by [NAME OF INSTITUTION] influenced by other outside organizations or people? Would you say it is always, usually, sometimes, rarely or never?" (n = 2000)

Of these institutions, Indonesians are most likely to believe that the police are at least sometimes inappropriately influenced (71%). This is higher than the 62% who had this opinion in the 2007 survey. Fifty-nine percent believe that local courts are at least sometimes inappropriately influenced in their decision-making, up from 53% in the 2007 survey. Fifty percent have this opinion of prosecutors (46% in 2007). Forty-three percent believe that the Attorney General is at least sometimes subject to inappropriate external influence, but 40% offer no opinion. In the case of both the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Court, more respondents do not give opinions on these institutions (43% and 59%, respectively) than the percentage who say that they are at least sometimes inappropriately influenced in their decision-making (37% and 26%, respectively).

With some minor exceptions, the data from this survey replicates urban-rural differences observed in the 2006 and 2007 surveys. Rural residents are more likely not to offer an opinion on most of these institutions than urban residents, with the police and prosecutors being exceptions to this pattern. Urban residents are generally more likely than rural residents to perceive these institutions as being inappropriately influenced at least sometimes in their decision-making.

The 2006 and 2007 surveys both reported on the odd finding that despite Indonesians' perceptions of significant outside influences on their judicial institutions, the vast majority still expressed confidence in their judicial system. This response pattern largely continues, except that in the 2008 survey, fewer people are confident of the effectiveness of the Indonesian judicial system in protecting those wrongly accused of crimes (Figure 27).

Figure 27. Trust in Judicial System



"Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements about the judicial system in Indonesia?" (n = 2000)

Nearly three-quarters of all Indonesians (74%) agree that the judicial system protects them from unjust treatment by the government, the same percentage as in the 2007 survey. The same percentage as in 2007, 69%, also agrees that the judicial system is unbiased.

The issue on which there has been a change in opinions is on whether the judicial system would acquit a person if they were wrongly accused of a crime. More respondents agree than disagree with this statement (49% versus 34%), but there has been a sharp fall in the level of agreement compared to the 2006 and 2007 surveys (64% and 74%, respectively).

People in rural and urban areas, among all age groups, and in both genders have relatively similar evaluations for each of these statements about the judicial system. Regionally, two provinces that stand out for having less positive evaluations than the national average are West Irian Jaya and North Sumatra. In both cases, respondents are not as likely to agree with these statements about the judicial system as the national average primarily because of large numbers of "Don't know" responses on these questions.

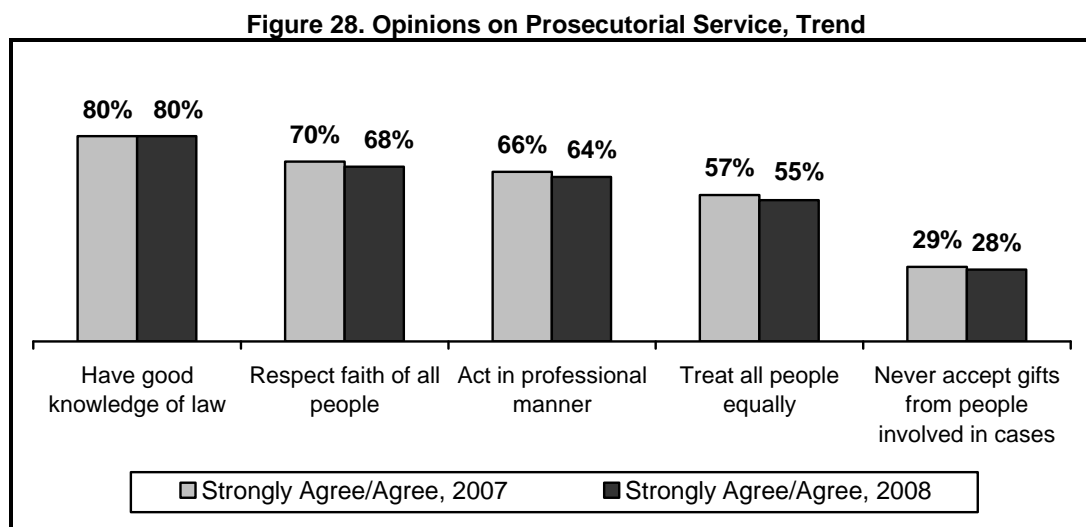
Awareness of, and Opinions on, the Prosecutorial Service

Comparison of survey data from the 2007 to 2008 surveys shows that awareness of the prosecutorial service has increased slightly over the past year. When respondents to the survey were asked how much they had read or heard about the prosecutorial service, 2% say they have read or heard much about it, and 11% say that they have read or heard something about this institution. The combined 13% who have heard or read at least something about the prosecutorial

service is higher than the 8% who reported this in the 2007 survey. Forty percent have read or heard little about the prosecutorial service, compared to 37% in 2007. Forty-seven percent have either heard nothing about the prosecutorial service or don't offer an opinion.

The percentage that say they have heard or read at least something about the prosecutorial service is 16% in urban areas compared to 11% in rural areas. The percentage with this level of awareness of the prosecutorial service has increased in rural areas from 4% in 2007. This level of awareness of the prosecutorial service also increases with education level, with only 6% of those with an elementary or lower level of education saying they have heard much or something about the prosecutorial service, compared to 17% among those with a secondary education, and 47% among those with post-secondary education.

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. Figure 28 indicates that the percentages that agree with various statements on the prosecutorial service have not changed significantly between the 2007 and 2008 surveys.



"Thinking about the Prosecutorial Service, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements?" (2008 n=1054; 2007 n = 892)

As in the 2007 survey, 80% of 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 the prosecutorial service respects the faith of all people it deals with (68%), and that prosecutors act in a professional and courteous manner (64%). A majority also believes that the prosecutorial service treats all people fairly, although the percent that disagree with this statement is 34% in 2008 compared to 30% in 2007.

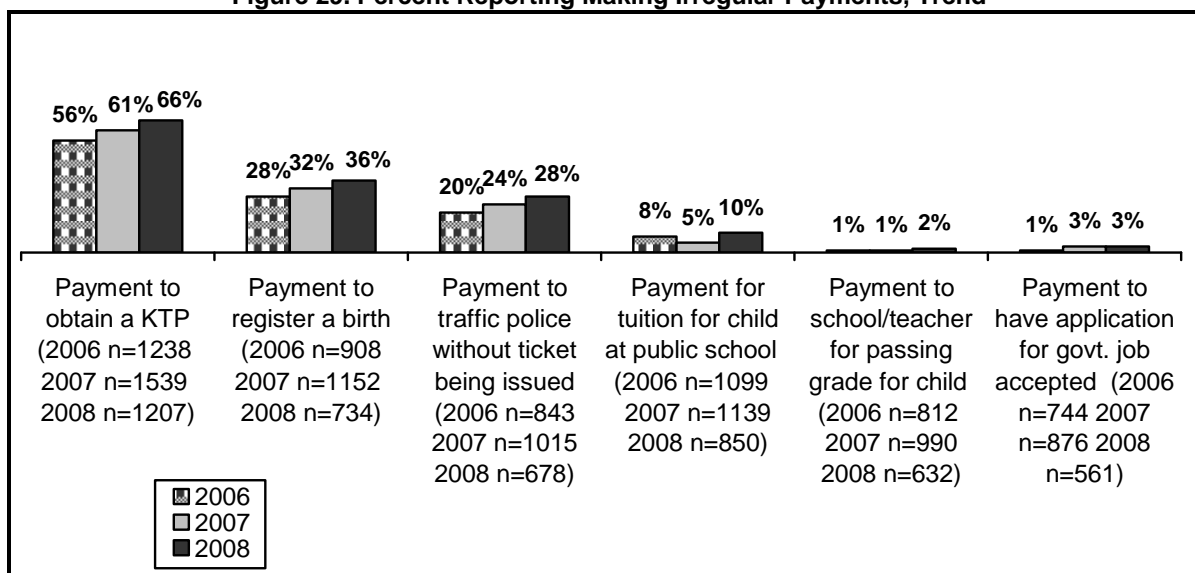
The one aspect of the prosecutorial service's work about which opinions continue to be generally negative is with respect to the service accepting gifts from people involved in cases with the service. Half of those aware of the prosecutorial service (50%) disagree that prosecutors never accept gifts from people involved in cases with the service, while 28% agree with this statement. Twenty-two percent do not offer an opinion. As in the 2007 survey, the opinions on this aspect of the prosecutorial service's work are in line with opinions on an earlier question covered in this section. Fifty percent both believe that decision-making by prosecutors is at least sometimes influenced by outside influences, and the same percentage disagrees that the prosecutorial service never accepts gifts. But, just as in the case of general opinions on the judicial system (Figure 27 above), many respondents appear to be able to discount perceptions of improper behavior and in other respects hold positive impressions of these institutions.

Experience with Corruption

Official corruption has a potentially quantifiable impact on ordinary Indonesians when it affects the amount they pay for essential services. As many official services have variable legitimate charges in Indonesia, the analysis can be simplified by focusing on government services that officially are free of charge. For the 2008, 2007 and 2006 surveys, respondents were posed questions about six situations which anecdotal evidence has suggested are situations where bribes may be paid to obtain services or special favors: five where government services are officially free of charge, and for the sixth – payments to police – respondents were asked if payment had to be made in situations where no official fine was imposed.

For three of these issues – making a payment for a national identity card (KTP), paying to register the birth of a child, and making an irregular payment to traffic police - the percentage of respondents faced with this situation in the last 12 months who state they have made a payment has increased consistently and steadily between the 2006 and 2008 surveys (Figure 29).

Figure 29. 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 percentages in Figure 29 are based on the number of respondents who were exposed to each of the situations in the previous 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.

In the 2008 survey, 66% of those applying for a KTP in the past 12 months say that they have made a payment to obtain it, an increase from the 56% who reported this in the 2006 survey and 61% in the 2007 survey. Among those who paid for their KTP, 66% paid Rp 20,000 or less and 3% paid more than Rp 50,000. Among all those who report paying for a KTP, the amount paid averages around Rp. 23,300, higher than the approximate average of Rp. 20,700 in 2007 and Rp 19,500 in 2006. Ninety percent of residents of West Irian Jaya report having had to pay for a KTP, whereas people in Aceh were least likely to report paying for a KTP (24%).

There has also been a continuing increase in the percentage of those registering a birth that made a payment for this service, 36% in 2008 compared to 28% in the 2006 and 32% in the 2007 surveys. Among those who reported paying for registering a birth, 79% reported paying Rp 60,000

or less, while 4% paid more than Rp 100,000. The average amount reported paid for registering a birth has decreased from around Rp. 54,500 in 2007 to around Rp. 42,100 in this survey.

The proportion of those who were stopped by traffic police that report making a payment without a ticket being issued has increased from 20% in 2006 to 24% in 2007 to 28% in this 2008 survey. Among those who made such payments to the traffic police, almost four in five (79%) report paying Rp 60,000 or less, while 8% report paying more than Rp 100,000. The average amount paid has oscillated from around Rp 64,000 in 2006 to around Rp. 44,200 in 2007 to around Rp. 46,900 in this survey. As in the 2007 survey, the percentages of urban and rural residents that report having paid a bribe to the traffic police is roughly similar in the 2008 survey (31% and 26%, respectively).

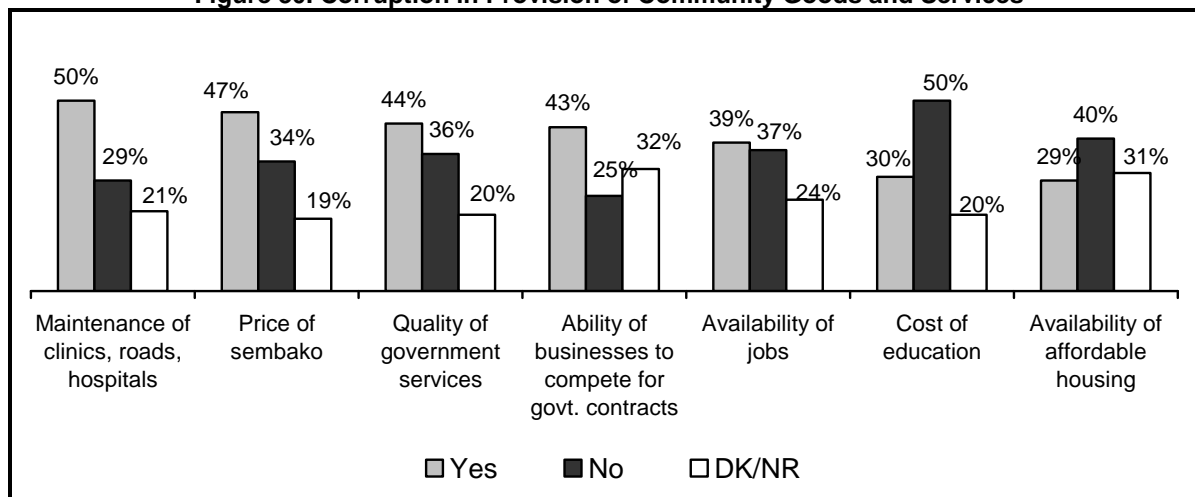
Nationally, 24% of people report being stopped by traffic police in the 12 months prior to the survey. High percentages of people in Papua (69%) and South Sulawesi (64%) report being stopped by traffic police, but in both these provinces the proportions of those stopped who report making an irregular payment to the police is relatively low (at 9% and 14% respectively).

A higher percentage of respondents reports making payments for tuition fees for a child at a public elementary school (nominally free) (10%), than the percentage that reports having paid for a passing grade for their child (2%). Among those who paid for tuition, 60% report paying Rp 30,000 or less while 21% paid more than Rp 50,000. The average amount paid for tuition fees has declined from around Rp. 55,000 in 2007 to around Rp. 50,500 in this survey, but this is still much higher than an average of around Rp 19,000 reported in 2006. Finally, 3% of respondents report having made a payment to have an application for a government job accepted, the same percentage as in 2007.

Impact of Corruption

In the 2008 survey, a series of questions was asked about Indonesians' perceptions of the impact of corruption on critical goods and services in their communities, and on some national issues. Figure 30 reports the percentage of respondents who believe that corruption has an impact on the provision of goods and services in their communities.

Figure 30. Corruption in Provision of Community Goods and Services



"As you know, if there is corruption in a community it may have an impact on certain things that happen in the community but may not have an impact on other things. Remembering that your answers to this survey are confidential, do you think that there is corruption associated with (NAME ISSUE) in your area?"
(n=2000)

For most of the goods and services in Figure 30, a higher percentage says that they are affected by corruption than says they are not. For all of these issues, residents of North Sumatra are more likely than residents of other provinces to state that there is corruption.

Half (50%) of Indonesians believe that there is corruption associated with the maintenance of critical community needs such as clinics, roads and hospitals. Residents of urban areas are more likely to think that there is corruption in the provision of these services than rural residents (57% compared to 45%). A majority of residents of North Sumatra (69%), East Java (56%), DKI Jakarta (55%), and West Java (54%) believe that there is corruption in the provision of these services.

Forty-seven percent believe that corruption has an effect on the price of sembako in their area, with residents of both urban and rural areas equally likely to cite this. Eighty-five percent in North Sumatra and 69% in South Sumatra's agree that corruption has an effect on the price of sembako.

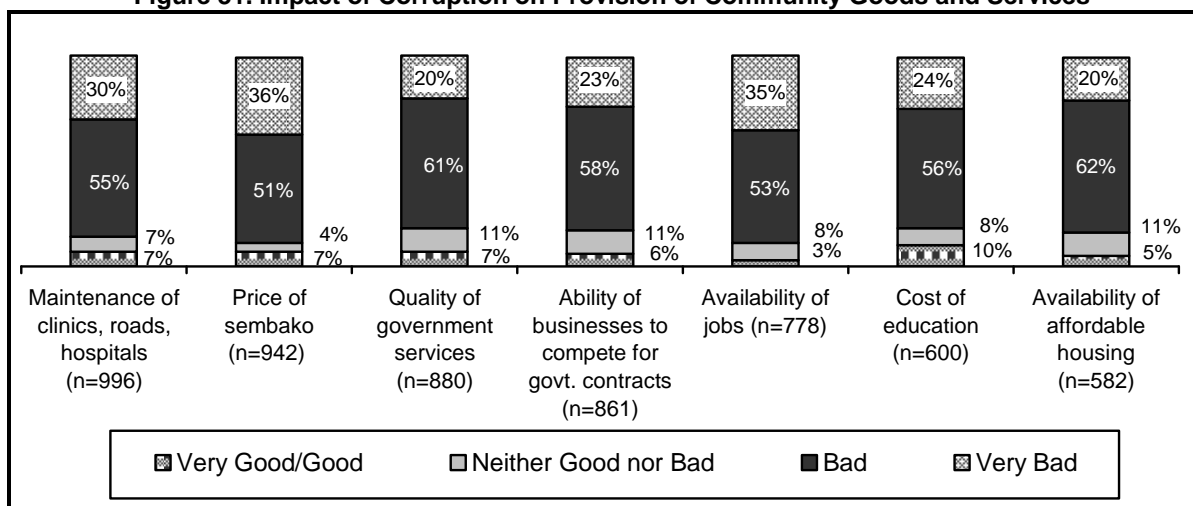
Forty-four percent believe that corruption affects the quality of government services in their area. Perhaps related to this, 43% believe that the ability of private businesses to compete for government contracts is affected by corruption. In both cases, urban residents are more likely to think that corruption has an impact than rural residents.

Indonesians are divided on whether corruption affects the availability of jobs in their area (39% agree compared to 37% who disagree). The percentage that says there is corruption associated with the availability of jobs increases as age decreases' People under 35 are more likely to say corruption has an affect than those 55 and above (44% versus 30%). The percentage agreeing that corruption affects the availability of jobs also increases as socio-economic status increases.

In the case of two goods and services, the cost of education and the availability of affordable housing in the area, a higher proportion of people state that corruption does not have an affect than state that it does. In the case of cost of education, 50% say that corruption does not have an affect while 30% say it does. West Irian Jaya is one province where the opposite view holds, with 53% in the province saying corruption does have an effect on the cost of education and only 14% saying it does not. In the case of availability of affordable housing, 40% believe corruption does not have an effect while 29% believe it does. Urban residents are more likely than rural residents to say that corruption has an effect on the availability of affordable housing (35% versus 25%).

In each of these cases, those who said that there is corruption were asked to assess the impact of the corruption. Figure 31 summarizes the responses.

Figure 31. Impact of Corruption on Provision of Community Goods and Services



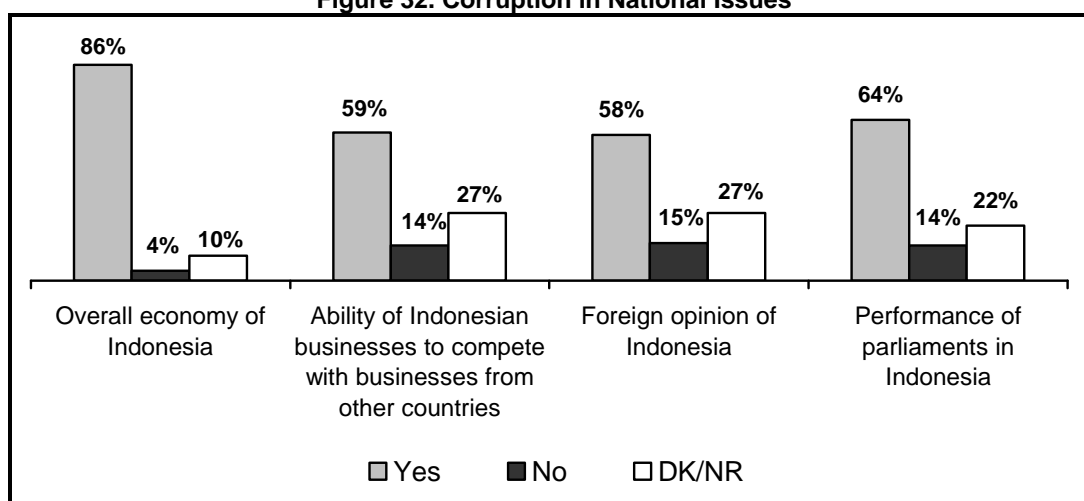
What effect do you think corruption has on ... (NAME ISSUE) in this area? "

The vast majority in each of these cases say the impact of corruption is bad or very bad for the good or service under discussion. The responses are notable for the very high proportions of respondents who choose the extreme option ('very bad') compared to responses to other questions in this survey. In the case of the price of sembako, 87% of those who think that corruption has an impact believe that it has a bad or very bad impact on the price of sembako. The comparable percentages are 87% for the availability of jobs in the area, 85% for the maintenance of critical community infrastructure, 82% for the availability of affordable housing, and 80% for each of the cost of education, the quality of services provided by the government, and the ability of businesses to compete for government contracts.

Transforming this data into proportions of the national population indicates that 42% of Indonesians believe that corruption has a bad or very bad effect on maintenance of critical community needs such as clinics, roads and hospitals; 41% believe it has this effect on the price of sembako, 36% on the quality of government services, 35% on the ability of businesses to compete for government contracts, 34% on the availability of jobs, 24% on the cost of education, and 24% on the availability of affordable housing.

Respondents were also asked to evaluate whether corruption has an impact on some national issues in Indonesia: the overall economic situation in the country, the ability of Indonesian businesses to compete with businesses from other countries, the opinions of Indonesia among people from other countries, and the performance of parliaments in Indonesia. In contrast to the evaluation of corruption's impact on local area issues, for each of these national level issues a majority of Indonesians believe that corruption has an effect (Figure 32).

Figure 32. Corruption in National Issues



"As you know, if there is corruption within a country it may have an impact on certain things that happen in the country but may not have an impact on other things. Thinking about the country of Indonesia as a whole, not just your local area, and remembering that your answers to this survey are confidential, do you think that there is corruption in Indonesia that has an effect on (NAME ISSUE)?" (n=2000)

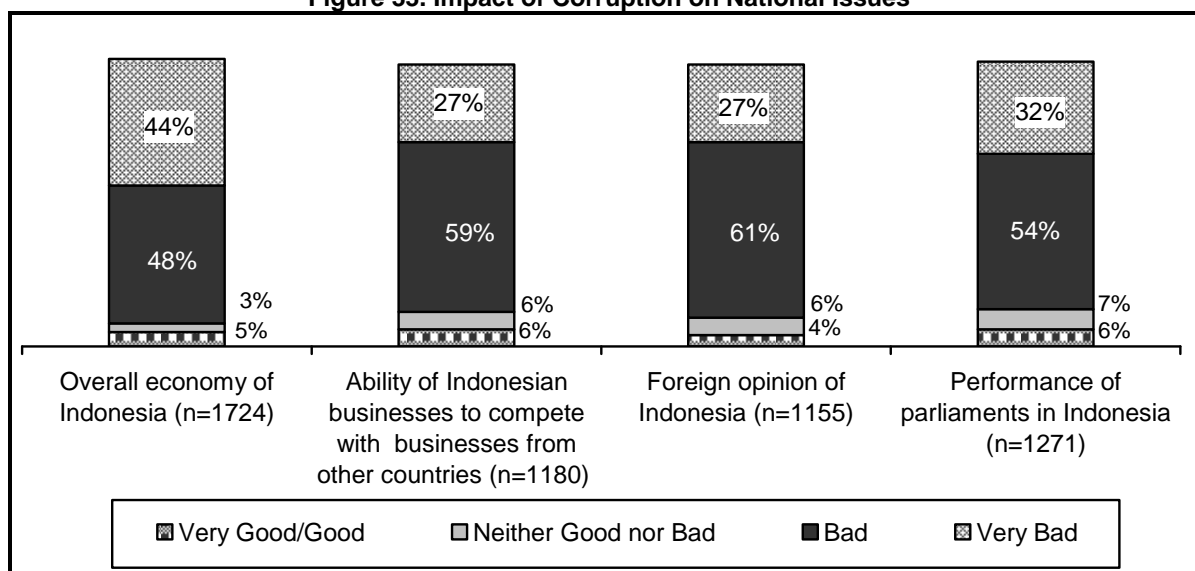
More than four in five Indonesians believe that corruption has an impact on the overall economic situation in Indonesia. The vast majority in most major demographic categories hold this opinion. Perhaps related to this, 59% believe that corruption affects the ability of Indonesian businesses to compete with businesses from other countries. A majority (58%) think that corruption affects foreigners' opinions of Indonesia. This view is stated by a majority of both urban and rural respondents (62% and 55%, respectively).

Sixty-four percent believe that corruption affects the performance of parliaments in Indonesia. Although a majority of both urban and rural residents hold this opinion, residents of urban areas are significantly more likely to have this opinion than residents of rural areas (74% versus 56%). Ninety percent of residents of DKI Jakarta believe that the performance of parliaments in Indonesia is affected by corruption.

For all four of these issues, the percentage that believes that corruption has an impact generally increases with level of education and socio-economic status, and is inversely related to age (increases as age decreases). For each of these issues close to or more than half the respondents in Aceh were unable to give an opinion. Perhaps reflecting better access to discussions of national issues, the proportions of residents of DKI Jakarta which state that corruption has an impact on these issues is in general well above the national average (95% for the economy issue, 82% for business, 79% for foreign opinion and 90% for parliaments).

As in the case of corruption's impact on local issues, those who believe corruption has an effect were next asked to assess this impact. (Figure 33).

Figure 33. Impact of Corruption on National Issues



"What effect do you think this corruption has on(NAME ISSUE)?"

Similar to the opinions expressed on corruption at the local level, the responses are notable for the unusually high proportions of respondents who choose the extreme option ('very bad') compared to responses to other questions in this survey. In the case of the overall economic situation, 91% of those who think corruption has an impact believe that this impact is bad or very bad for the overall economic situation in the country. Ninety-five percent of those in urban areas and 88% of those in rural areas hold this opinion.

Eighty-seven percent of those who believe corruption has an impact on the ability of Indonesian businesses to compete with businesses from other countries also think that this impact is bad or very bad. Eighty-eight percent of those who think corruption has an impact on foreigners' opinions of Indonesia believe that corruption has a bad or very bad impact on these opinions. Of those who think corruption has an impact on the performance of parliaments, 86% think this impact is bad or very bad. Projecting these figures for the population as a whole shows that on each of these issues, a majority of Indonesians believes that corruption has a bad or very bad effect. Almost four in five Indonesians (79%) believe that corruption has a negative impact on the economic situation in the country, while 55% believe it has a negative impact on the performance of parliaments, 51% on the ability of Indonesian businesses to compete, and 51% on foreigners' opinions of Indonesia.