



BAPPENAS

INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY INDEX (IDI)



ASPECTS, VARIABLES, AND INDICATORS FRAMEWORKS AND JUSTIFICATIONS

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ASPECT #1: CIVIL LIBERTIES

Civil liberties can be defined as the freedom of individual/citizen and group of individual to create association and organize, to express their aspiration, freely choose their religion, and to be free from any form of discrimination which can emerge from the state and/or other members of the society. This index measures the individual and community civil liberties in its relation to the state power and/or other members of society.

Threats to civil liberties come from two different directions: one is supreme coercive authority—the state in modern times. Governments in general do not favour freedom of self-expression and assembly which allow opposition to organize them. The other source of danger is what John Stuart Mill called “tyranny of the majority”. Freedom of speech allows egregious and unpopular minorities to voice their views (Bealey, the Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science 2005: 57).

All civil liberty categories have to stand on the basis of non-discrimination. The civil rights are often categorized as negative rights because their fulfillment requires the negative actions of the state. Although it requires the absence of state’s intervention, to protect and promote these civil rights, the state cannot be passive. The state has the duty to create a mechanism to protect the civil rights by creating legal-formal instruments. In modern political civilization, civil rights are guaranteed by the constitution – the highest form of law – or in the laws and penal codes.

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Variable 1. Freedom of Association and Organisation

The freedom of association and organization, to express aspiration verbally or in written or in any other forms are guaranteed by the law (Chapter 28, 1945 Indonesian Constitution).

To associate is a social activity in the form of gatherings which involves more than two individuals, for example: meetings, mass meetings, music concert, and also religious gathering (see Law No. 8/1985 on Social Organization). To organize is to establish organization, legally/formally or informally. An example of formal organization is civil society organization. An example of non-formal organization is *paguyuban*.

Social organization is an organization established by the Indonesian citizens voluntarily which has unique activities, profession, function, and religion, in order to take part in Indonesia's development within the framework of the United Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila (Chapter 1).

Social organization functions as (Chapter 5):

- a. channel to conduct activities according to the interest of their members.
- b. channel to develop and equip their members in order to achieve the purpose of the organization.
- c. channel to participate in making Indonesian development successful.
- d. channel for members' aspiration, and as social communication channel between members, between social organization, to other political organization, societal representatives in the government, and the government.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
1.	Number of written laws and regulations which impede the freedom to gather and to establish organization/ association	Written laws and regulations are the bases and sources of legitimacy for every action done within a society. Written laws and regulations are not always in line with and often impede the democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: written documents</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Impede</u> =</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written laws and regulations that require permission to organize. • Complicated administrative procedures in order for citizens to organize. • Requires excessive period of time to obtain permission to organize. <p><u>Written laws or regulations</u> = district or provincial regulations, governor's regulation, district head's regulations, municipal regulations, and other official letters</p> <p><u>Societal/Mass organizations</u> = organizations established by citizens voluntarily for specific purposes. This category does not include political parties and business organizations. (See Law No. 8 Year 1985)</p>
2.	Number of violence threats or the use of violence by state apparatus impeding the freedom of assembly and organizational rights	This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between state and society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>State apparatus</u> = police, military, prosecutors, judges, Camat, Lurah, Kades, SATPOL PP, Bupati/Walikota, governors.</p> <p><u>Law enforcement</u> are not included. When there is no clarity in the news, the news are not counted.</p> <p><u>Violence</u> = cause physical destruction (buildings and public facilities), casualties, utilization of physical instruments (stones, sticks, water cannon, etc.). Note: pushings are not included</p>

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
			<p><u>“threat of violence”</u> = actions (verbal and written statements as well as gestures) which aim to create fear (example: intimidation through cell phone).</p>
3.	<p>Number of violence threats or the use of violence by members of society (citizens) impeding the freedom of assembly and organisational rights</p>	<p>This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between actors within society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.</p>	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Society</u> = actors other than government</p> <p><u>Violence</u> = cause physical destruction (buildings and public facilities), casualties, utilization of physical instruments (stones, sticks, water cannon, etc.). Note: pushings are not included</p> <p><u>“threat of violence”</u> = actions (verbal and written statements as well as gestures) which aim to create fear (example: intimidation through cell phone).</p> <p>Example:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Some societal groups disband a gathering of some societal organization. 2. Some people throw stones at a political party’s office.

Variable 1.2 Freedom of Expression

- The freedom to express aspiration in public is guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- The freedom to express is a manifestation of democracy in the public life.
- The freedom of expression is an individual right to express their aspiration freely.
- Express aspiration freely is to express opinions, views, desires, feelings free from physical, psychological pressure and limitations.
- To express these can be done verbally (e.g. speech, dialogue, discussion), written (petition, pictures, posters, brochure, etc.); and other means.
- The actions can be in the form of demonstrations, mass meetings, art activities, etc.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
4.	Number of written laws and regulations which impede the freedom of expression	Written laws and regulations are the bases and sources of legitimacy for every action done within a society. Written laws and regulations are not always in line with and often impede the democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: written document</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>To express</u> = activity to communicate opinion, feelings, aspirations, through meetings, demonstrations, etc.</p> <p><u>Impede</u> =</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Written laws and regulations that require permission to express. • Complicated administrative procedures in order for citizens to express. • Requires excessive period of time to obtain permission to express. <p><u>Written laws or regulations</u> = district or provincial regulations, governor's regulation, district head's regulations, municipal regulations, and other official letters</p>
5.	Number of violence threats or the use of violence by state apparatus impeding the	This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p>

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
	freedom of expression	state and society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.	<p><u>State apparatus</u> = police (all levels), military, prosecutors, judges, Camat, Lurah, Kades, SATPOL PP, Bupati/Walikota, governors.</p> <p><u>Law enforcement</u> are not included. When there is no clarity in the news, the news are not counted.</p> <p><u>Violence</u> = cause physical destruction (buildings and public facilities), casualties, utilization of physical instruments (stones, sticks, water cannon, etc.). Note: pushings are not included</p> <p><u>“threat of violence”</u> = actions (verbal and written statements as well as gestures) which aim to create fear (example: intimidation through cell phone).</p>
6.	Number of violence threats or the use of violence by members of society (citizen) impeding the freedom of expression	This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between actors within society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Society</u> = actors other than government</p> <p><u>Violence</u> = cause physical destruction (buildings and public facilities), casualties, utilization of physical instruments (stones, sticks, water cannon, etc.). Note: pushings are not included</p> <p><u>“threat of violence”</u> = actions (verbal and written statements as well as gestures) which aim to create fear (example: intimidation through cell phone).</p> <p>Example: A physical conflict between two CSOs on certain issue.</p>

Variable 1.3 Freedom of Religion

The 1945 Indonesian Constitution:

- Chapter 28E(1): All citizens have the right to choose their religion and worship in accordance to their religion.
- Chapter 28E(2): All citizens are free to perform their religious duties.
- Chapter 29(2): The state guarantees the freedom of all citizens to have and choose their religion and to perform their religious duties accordingly.

The freedom to believe is an individual or communal freedom to perform their religious duties in accordance to their beliefs.

The following indicators implicitly show religious discrimination.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
7.	Number of written laws and regulations which impede the freedom of religion by limiting or obligating citizens to perform certain religious practices	Written laws and regulations are the bases and sources of legitimacy for every action done within a society. Written laws and regulations are not always in line with and often impede the democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: written document</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Written laws or regulations</u> = district or provincial regulations, governor's regulation, district head's regulations, municipal regulations, and other official letters</p> <p><u>Impede the freedom</u> =</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laws that demand or prevent people to conduct their religious duties. • A complex and difficult administrative procedure that create difficulties for the people in performing their religious duties and practices. <p><u>Example:</u> rules that demand the use of Jilbab in the offices, or rules that band certain religious beliefs.</p> <p>State intervention is allowed in cases where there are threats towards: Public order, moral order, health order, ethical norms, undermining the freedom of others</p>

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No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
			<p><u>Example:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perda <i>Jumat Khusyuk</i> (devout Friday) • Wearing <i>jilbab</i> (female headscarf) is a must • Regulation that does not allow people to wear <i>jilbab</i>.
8.	Number of actions or statements by state apparatus which impede the freedom of religion by limiting or obligating citizens to perform certain religious practices	This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between state and society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Actions by state apparatus</u> = arrest, closing, banning.</p> <p><u>Statements</u> = all statements that are quoted in the paper</p> <p><u>State apparatus</u> = police (all levels), military, prosecutors, judges, Camat, Lurah, Kades, SATPOL PP, Bupati/Walikota, governors.</p> <p><u>Law enforcement</u> are not included. When there is no clarity in the news, the news are not counted.</p> <p>Notes:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Statements not based on existing laws such as based only on official decisions by religious organizations such as by MUI, PGI, KWI, Walubi, Hindu Dharma, Matakini 2. this include cases related to building house for worships 3. state apparatus who perform their duties based regulations that are limiting or obligating people are not included since it is for law enforcement. Example: Satpol PP arrest a male civil servant who is not doing the Friday prayer (violate the regulation on devout Friday)

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
			<p>Example:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. actions or statements by state apparatus that prevent ahmadiyah to perform their religious duties. 2. The arrest of Ms. Lia Eden. 3. Banning of Parmalin sect in North Sumatra
9.	<p>Number of repressive actions by members of society toward others which impede the freedom of religion by limiting or obligating citizens to perform certain religious practices</p>	<p>This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between actors within society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.</p>	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>REPRESSION</u> = the use of physical force or the threat of use of physical force.</p> <p><u>Society</u> = actors other than government</p> <p>Example:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. societal group closed Ahmadiyah mosque. 2. societal groups closed down worship building because the building does not have the adequate permit. 3. Monas case

Variable 1.4 Freedom from Discrimination

- Discrimination is action that treat citizens of a country unequally in rights and obligations due to differences in gender, religion, political affiliation, ethnicity, race, disability, sexual orientation, and physical limitation.
- All cases related to gender, ethnicity, and marginal groups should be recorded including the ones which for affirmative action.

Note: It is important to note that in the future, policy makers have to clarify discrimination acts that are for affirmative action with clear requirements based on justifications, targets, and duration.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
10.	Number of written laws and regulations which are discriminative in terms of gender, ethnicity, or marginalised groups	Written laws and regulations are the bases and sources of legitimacy for every action done within a society. Written laws and regulations are not always in line with and often impede the democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: written documents</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Written laws or regulations</u> = district or provincial regulations, governor's regulation, district head's regulations, municipal regulations, and other official letters</p> <p><u>GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u> = includes actions that are unfair against female or male.</p> <p><u>Ethnic DISCRIMINATION</u> = includes actions that are unfair against certain ethnic groups.</p> <p><u>Note:</u> all discriminative regulations should be noted, including those which purpose is for <i>affirmative action</i></p> <p><u>Example:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. female are not allowed to be outside in public places after 10 pm 2. local laws that ban women to work night shifts 3. regulations that do not allow men to be a nurse

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
11.	Number of actions or statements by state apparatus that are discriminative in terms of gender, ethnicity, or marginalised groups	This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between state and society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the basic democratic values.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Actions by state apparatus</u> = arrest, closing, banning.</p> <p><u>Statements by state apparatus</u> = all statements quoted in the newspapers</p> <p><u>State apparatus</u> = police, military, prosecutors, judges, Camat, Lurah, Kades, SATPOL PP, Bupati/Walikota, governors.</p> <p><u>Law enforcement</u> are not included. When there is no clarity in the news, the news are not counted.</p> <p><u>GENDER DISCRIMINATION</u> = includes actions that are unfair against female or male.</p> <p><u>Ethnic DISCRIMINATION</u> = includes actions that are unfair against certain ethnic groups.</p> <p>Example:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. statement by state apparatus which says that only locally born individuals can hold local government position 2. statement by state apparatus which says that women are not yet qualified to become DPRD members
12.	Number of violence threats or the use of violence by citizen which are discriminative in terms of gender, ethnicity or marginalised group	This democracy index is made to assess the level of democracy related to the interaction between actors within society. Violence is a characteristic that contradicts the	<p>Primary data source: FGD and in-depth interviews</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p>Note: all newspaper news are recorded</p>

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
		basic democratic values.	<p><u>Society</u> = actors other than government</p> <p><u>Violence</u> = cause physical destruction (buildings and public facilities), casualties, utilization of physical instruments (stones, sticks, water cannon, etc.). Note: pushings are not included</p> <p><u>“threat of violence”</u> = actions (verbal and written statements as well as gestures) which aim to create fear (example: intimidation through cell phone).</p> <p><u>Example:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Anarchy demonstration rejecting female as the head/chair of minister department. 2. Sanggau people in Kalimantan reject with threat the existence of Maduranese in Sanggau area.

ASPECT #2: POLITICAL RIGHTS

- Political rights includes participation and competition
- Five indicators of political rights according to Robert Dahl: 1) the right to vote, 2) to right to be elected, 3) the right to compete for votes, 4) free and fair election, and 5) policy making take into account the public aspirations.
- Political rights exist to the extent that the national government is accountable to the general population and each individual is entitled to participate in the government directly or through representatives (Bollen).

Variable 2.1 Rights to Vote and to be Voted

- The right to vote is the right of every individual to freely cast their vote in the election of public officials
- The right to be elected is the right of every individual to compete for public official position in a free and fair election.
- The right to vote and get elected is the basic political rights in a democracy.
- Election is a pre-requisite for a democracy which guarantees the right to vote and be elected for every individual.
- The right to vote and get elected is a form of citizens participation in judging the government performance.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
13.	Number of unfair conditions resulting in voters not being able to exercise their right to vote or be voted	The freedom to vote and be elected are marked by the absence or the minimal presence of pressures from and errs by the election organizers, contestants, and society.	<p>Primary data source: election monitoring commissions reports and newspaper; police record</p> <p>Coverage: province (election monitoring commissions reports), regency (newspaper)</p> <p><u>Example:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Money politics - Pressure from socialite not to vote certain candidates - Attempts to prevent voters to not come to voting booths - Black campaign - Failure of KPU/KPUD to do their job <p>Note: needs to differentiate between black campaign and negative campaign Example of Black campaign: Boediono's wife is a non-Muslim</p>

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No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
			<p>Example of Negative campaign: campaign that emphasize the weak sides of the competitors.</p> <p>The primary hurdle of the rights to choose and to be elected are: pressures from and underperformed KPU, contestants, and societal actor.</p>
14.	Number of events which show the unavailability or inadequacy of facility for the disabled in election, depriving them from their right to vote	The level of attention for the marginalized groups shows the commitment to ensure the fulfilment of the right to vote for those who are eligible to vote.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p><u>Facility</u> = assistant, template, forms (according to Law no. 22/2007).</p> <p>For example: there is not assistant available for the blind</p> <p>Note: FGD needs to involve the difable.</p>
15.	Quality of the fixed voters list	The percentage of eligible voters that obtains the opportunity to vote in election shows the quality of the fixed voters list. This means that the quality of the voters list shows how well the right to vote is fulfilled.	<p>Primary data source: FGD and in-depth interviews; newspaper coverage will be used as feeds to FGD and interview</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p>The FGD forum will decide (from the scale of 1 to 5) on the quality of the fixed voters list</p> <p>Note: needs to decide who will be invited to the FGD and which are going to participate in providing the DPT assessment.</p> <p>Data gathering can use score card for each participant.</p> <p>Use people to list method (number of people that were not registered)</p>

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
16.	Percentage of those who vote among those who have the right to vote (voters turnout).	A newly established democracy requires an adequately high level of participation to show its legitimacy and public support towards democracy and also acts as a control mechanism by the public.	<p>Primary data source: National and provincial General Election Commission (KPU/KPUD) data</p> <p>Coverage: province</p> <p>The 2009 elections: voters turnout legislative 70.99%</p> <p>In a free election, participation rate becomes important indicator</p>

Variable 2.2. Political Participation: Decision Making and Control

- Participation means involvement. In politics, this refers to involvement of citizens in the political processes.
- Citizens' participation in decision making is the involvement of the people in every steps of policy making starting from the decision making to the assessment of the decision, including also participation in implementing the decision.
- Citizens' participation in supervising shows direct involvement in the implementation of policies.
- This also indicates the power to scrutinise and reject the implementation of the policies which contradicts the initial purpose of the policy.
- Participation = inputs or reaction towards a policy which has been made by the national or local government as well as government in our country and international institutions.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
17.	Percentage of violent demonstrations or protests out of the total number of demonstrations or protests in a province	Political participation should also be judged based on the quality of its character. The presence of violence in political participation contradicts the value of democracy.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper</p> <p>Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p>Note: data has to be comparable</p> <p>Note: all violence demonstration in the newspaper are recorded</p> <p>What has to be counted</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Total number of demonstration in each province Number of violent demonstration in each province

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No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
			<p><u>Demonstrations</u> = mass actions to support, reject, or correct government policies.</p> <p><u>Violence</u> = cause physical destruction (buildings and public facilities), casualties, utilization of physical instruments (stones, sticks, water cannon, etc.). In this indicator, violence can be done by the state or by the members of society which conducted the demonstration.</p> <p>Note: pushings are not included</p> <p>Examples of events that are included</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demonstration on Israel-Palestinian issue • Demonstration against illegal public fee <p>Example of a non-case:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workers demonstration in a manufacturing plant owned by a businessman asking for a raise: not included because it occurs in a private sphere • People protesting their mayor for personal reasons, such as polygamy case. <p><u>Notes:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. If percentages being used, needs to consider data from the police 2. The quantity of demonstration indicates participation. Using percentages exclude this indication. 3. Population size should be taken into consideration for example number of demonstration for every 10.000 people.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
18.	Number of complaints or critics on government public services (officials, policies, procedures) which are reported through newspapers by citizen	Openness to participate is indicated by the freedom of the people to convey their aspirations and critiques on government performance.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality Note: All news related to the conduct of government</p> <p>As indicators on how free people are to express their views.</p> <p><u>Includes:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reporting in media on government conduct and processes are included. 2. Press statement = does not necessarily in written form but can also be a statements made in interviews or opinion in the media. 3. All complaints or demands directed to the government in every level are recorded. <p><u>Subjects</u> are those who are outside the government</p> <p><u>Example:</u> Complaints about the service of the state electricity company (PLN).</p>

ASPECT #3. DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

Institution: although this term has different meanings in other social sciences, to political scientists an institution is a public body with formally designated structures and functions, intended to regulate certain defined activities which apply to the whole population. Political institution includes governments, parliaments, political parties and judiciaries. Their interrelationship will be defined in the Constitution (Bealey, *The Blackwell Dictionary of Political Science* 2000: 166).

Democratic (state) institutions public and government institutions which function/role is to push for a democratic country. The government institutions consist of executive, legislative, and judiciary.

The reason or justification of this aspect is that democratic institutions have the duty to ensure the working of democratic processes substantively not only procedurally. Effectiveness of these institutions can differ from one region to another.

Variable 3.1 Free and Fair Elections

- Free and fair election is an election that fulfils the democratic standards.
- Election = legislative election at the provincial level
- Free and fair = the fulfilment of the citizens right to vote, an independent election organizers, and the equal opportunity of contestants.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
19.	Number of cases which demonstrates the lack of impartiality of the election commissions in election process	The key institution in an election is the election organizers. For the provincial level is the KPUD. The degree of KPUD's independence is a determining factor for how much an election is free and fair.	Primary data source: election monitoring commissions reports and newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality Lack of impartiality = gives a beneficial treatment which create advantages for one of the election contestants. Example: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. abruptly changing campaign location for political parties 2. complicates the candidacy process for certain individuals

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No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
20.	Number of cases reported on the manipulation of vote counting	Whether an election is free and fair can also be judged by the vote counting process. A free and fair election is an election which there is a minimal vote counting manipulation. This means that the official election results truly reflect the voice of the people.	<p>Primary data source: election monitoring commissions reports and newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p>News in the papers have to be included with figures of vote rigging.</p> <p>If the monitoring commission report is accurate and complete then regular scoring is used. If not, newspaper information will be used as feeding to FGD.</p> <p>Manipulation is attempts to increase or decrease the number of actual votes.</p>

Variable 3.2 Roles of DPRD (Local Legislative)

Roles of DPRD are the effectiveness of the conduct of the parliamentary functions in consolidating democracy.

Parliament is a representation of the people in promoting the civilian supremacy. An effective parliament is a parliament which puts priority on the people's interests, and it is a key indicator of a democratic conducts. An effective parliament can be indicated by:

- high participation and degree of political contestation
- the presence of checks and balances (executive-legislative, majority-minority, large-small parties)
- high political accountability, strong relationships between politicians and constituents.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
21.	Budget allocation per capita for education and health sectors	Budgeting function is one of the primary functions of DPRD. How much the budgeting is in line with the people's interest shows a	<p>Primary data source: document review Coverage: province</p> <p>This indicator is to measure whether DPRD in doing its budgeting role is a</p>

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No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
		budgeting process that is democratic. This can be indicated by the budget size for education and health because these two are the basic needs of the people.	<p>pro-people democratic institution.</p> <p>Education budget per capita is the budget allocation for every <u>school-age children</u> in that area. Health budget per capita is the budget allocated for every <u>person</u> in that area.</p> <p>Budget for education per capita will be combined with the per capita budget for health to compute the composite figure. Need to be adjusted with price index (BPS)</p>
22.	Percentage of women DPRD members at the provincial and district/municipality levels	Representative function is one of the primary function of DPRD, while female is one of the biggest group within the society. Whether woman is well represented in the parliament is an indication on how well the parliament can perform its representative function.	Primary data source: Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), KPU/KPUD Coverage: province and district/municipality
23.	Percentage of local regulations/laws which were initiated by the DPRD from the total number local regulations/laws	Legislation function is one of the primary functions of the DPRD. The more active the DPRD in initiating the local laws shows how effective the DPRD perform its legislation function and the better is the quality of democracy.	Primary data source: legislative secretary Coverage: province
24.	Number of recommendation letters issued by DPRD to the	Control is one of the primary functions of the DPRD. One of the	Recommendation = letter consists of inputs from legislative members to the executive which have influence in improving existing policies.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
	executive (provincial government)	mechanisms for control is by providing recommendation to the local executive. This recommendation can be considered as part of the control function when it is based on the people's aspiration which is gathered when the representatives are in recess or through hearings.	

Variable 3.3 Roles of Political Parties

Political party is an organized group which members have similar orientations, values, and purposes. The goal of this group is to obtain political power and to control political posts constitutionally in order to make and implement their policies (Miriam Budiardjo, 1983: 160).

Whatever type of political party is found, it appears to perform some common functions. First, it is expected to organize public opinion and to communicate demands to the centre of governmental power and decision. Second, it must articulate to its followers the concept and the meaning of the broader community. Third, the political party is likely to be intimately involved in political recruitment—the selection of political leadership in whose hands power and decision will in large measure reside (La Palombara and Weiner, 1966: 3).

- To gather aspiration is to visit constituents, receive inputs from citizens in written or verbally, and to collect information from mass media.
- Responsiveness is the sensitivity of the parties to respond to constituents and societal aspirations which is reflected by the concrete steps taken to follow up the aspirations.
- Socialization is the activities to socialized new regulations. Political education is to educate the public and constituents through trainings, cadre development, and dialogue.
- Recruitment and promotion is the process based on individual capabilities, political reputation, and political experience.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
25.	Frequency of cadre development (capacity building for members) activities by political parties	Cadre development is one of the traditional functions of political parties. Cadre development function is selected because it is easily measurable. The more cadre development is conducted, the better it is in conducting its democratic role.	<p>Primary data source: newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality</p> <p>To see how active the political parties in conducting cadre development.</p> <p><u>Cadre development</u> = training and political education (leadership, organizational for the parties' cadres.</p> <p><u>Parties</u> = all parties which gained seats in the provincial parliament. All of these political parties have to be invited to the FGD.</p> <p>Functions of political parties are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. aggregation of interest 2. interest articulation 3. political communication 4. political education 5. political recruitment 6. cadre development <p>Notes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the first three functions are done by DPRD - the fourth is not performed - the fifth is difficult to measure
26.	Percentage of women parties officials at the provincial level	The potential of a political party to be a democratic actor can be indicated by how democratic its internal organization is. As party becomes more open towards gender equality which is marked by	<p>Primary data source: document review Coverage: province</p> <p>More women indicates better democratization in the political party.</p> <p>Parties = all parties which gained seats in the provincial parliament</p>

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
		equal opportunity for women to hold party official positions, the more democratic it is.	

Variable 3.4 Roles of Regional/Local Bureaucracy

- The roles of regional/local bureaucracy is the transparency and commitment of the local government in receiving and responding to the people's aspiration and the transparency in selecting public officials.
- Roles of bureaucracy = the abuse of power.
- This variable is related to local election and can be used as a satellite indicator.
- Bureaucratic function: public services, revenue collection, public order, coordination of development

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
27.	Number of cases reported which demonstrate the use of state or government facilities for specific candidates or parties in the legislative election	Politically, a democratic bureaucracy is an independent bureaucracy from political interest. This means that bureaucratic apparatus is independent during local as well as national election. This can be indicated by whether the contestants utilized the bureaucracy for their political purposes.	Primary data source: election monitoring commissions reports and newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality See election law for more detail <u>Example of newspaper coverage:</u> There are political attempts done by government officials to support certain legislative election contestant and in local elections. In some departments, emerged different groups support different contestants.
28.	Number of cases reported which demonstrate the	Politically, a democratic bureaucracy is an independent	Primary data source: election monitoring commissions reports and newspaper

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
	involvement of public officials in political activities of political parties during the legislative election	bureaucracy from political interest. This means that bureaucratic apparatus is independent during local as well as national election.	Coverage: province and district/municipality <u>Involvement</u> = taking part in the campaign or campaign team to get more votes for the candidates or political parties in the legislative elections.

Variable 3.5 Independent Judiciary

- An independent judiciary is the conduct of the rule of law which is free from intervention, a consistent law enforcement, and equality before the law.
- The supremacy of law is the basis for democracy. An independent judiciary indicates the supremacy of law.

No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
29.	Number of controversial verdicts by the judges	An independent judiciary is indicated by the verdicts which create sense of justice within the society. The higher the number of controversial verdicts indicates the less independent is the judiciary.	Primary data source: newspaper. Newspaper data will used as feed to FGD so that scoring can be made after the FGD. Coverage: province and district/municipality Indications of controversial: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Triggered public protests 2. highly publicized by the media In general there are many corruption cases in which the alleged corruptors walked free which show the problems of the courts.
30.	Number of controversial halts of case investigation by the prosecutors or police	An independent judiciary is indicated by the performance of the public prosecutor and police. High number of controversial halts	Primary data source: newspaper Coverage: province and district/municipality

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No	Indicators	Justification	Explanations/Notes
		of investigation done by the prosecutors or police indicates in an independent judiciary.	