

Empowering Citizens to Combat the Resource Curse

“Your Voice, Your Opportunity” Campaign

Illustration

SUARA ANDA. KESEMPATAN ANDA..!!



Roadmap

Empowering Citizens to Combat the Resource Curse Campaign Roadmap

		Is paying taxes important?	
		Non-Tax (Income from central Government (Windfall) Pajak=0)	Pay Tax (Tax = Rp. 4000)
Is information on government performance important?	Empty Information [Control]	Page: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic Informations: 1-4 Income Treatment: 6, 8 Empty Information: 10 Campaign Postcard: 11-13 1	Page: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic Informations: 1-4 Income Treatment: 5, 7 Empty Information: 10 Campaign Postcard: 11-13 2
	APBD Spending Information [Treatment]	Page: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic Informations: 1-4 Income Treatment: 6, 8 Spending Information: 9a-d Campaign Postcard: 11-13 3	Page: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic Informations: 1-4 Income Treatment: 5, 7 Spending Information: 9a-d Campaign Postcard: 11-13 4

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Script

PIMPINAN DAERAH
DIPILIH LANGSUNG OLEH ANDA



Halaman	Ilustrasi
1	2

Message: You elect your district leaders, but then what happens?

- Since *reformasi*, ordinary Indonesians like you have been directly electing leaders to the district government. Indonesians now have the **right and opportunity to elect directly the bupati and members of the DPRD**.
- This opportunity is important because the leaders you elect are responsible for the development of Blora. The **district government in Blora**, like in the rest of Indonesia, now has **more power and money than ever before** to make decisions about how to improve the lives of ordinary citizens. It is also the case that district leaders in Indonesia **do not necessarily use their authority and resources in the way that best benefits the people living in their districts**.

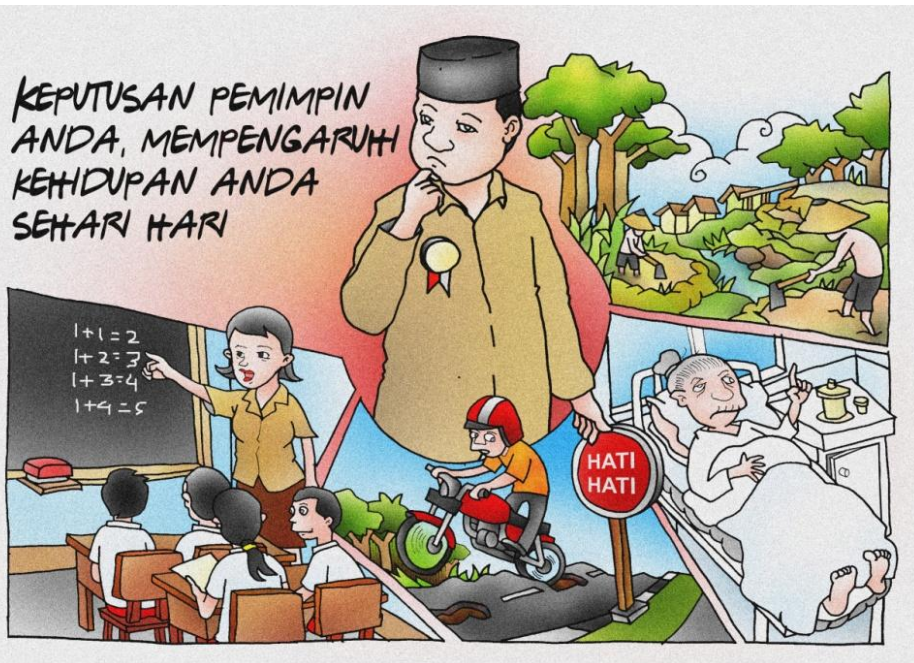
[USE ILLUSTRATION]

- How can you and other citizens make sure that your elected leaders are working for **YOU** once they get into office? In order to get into office, **candidates make many promises that sound good**. People then go to the polls and vote on the basis of those promises. But what do they do once they actually win the election? **Are they following through on their promises?** Are they working as hard as they can to make your life better?
- These are important questions to ask. Did you know that Blora is one of the poorest districts in Central Java? [Yes/No]. Indeed, **Blora is one of the poorest of 35 districts in Central Java**. It is important for you as a citizen of Blora to think about why that is, and whether it has to be that way.

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Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
2	3

Message: Your leaders' decisions affect your daily life!

- The bupati and members of the DPRD make decisions about local development and public services to ensure a high quality of life for you and your family. **The bupati's role is to develop Blora. The role of the DPRD is to represent YOU** by passing laws that benefit you and also by making sure the bupati is working in your best interest.
- **Together, the bupati and DPRD in Blora are responsible for providing public services.** This includes things like ensuring your children have access to high quality education; building and maintaining roads; making sure there is high quality and accessible health care; and providing irrigation and support to farmers.
- They also are responsible for things like making sure there is enough water for households throughout the year, distributing fertilizer and raskin, and issuing important documents like KTP and birth certificates.

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Illustration

Script

.....DAN MENENTUKAN MASA DEPAN BLORA



Halaman	Ilustrasi
3	4

Message: ... and determine the future of Blora!

- The decisions that the district government makes are about MORE than providing public services to make your life better now. They are also about laying the foundation for the future of Blora. Only when these things are improved will Blora be able to attract businesses and create jobs that bring higher income and more stability.
- When you think about what you want Blora to look like five years from now, what comes to mind? How about ten years from now...?

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“Your Voice, Your Opportunity” Campaign

Illustration

ANGGARANKU



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Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
4	5

Family Budget Analogy

- To provide public services and develop Blora, one of the most important things the bupati and DPRD members do is decide how to spend money in the district through the district budget. This is called the APBD process. APBD stands for Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah.
- Are you familiar with what a budget is? To make things crystal clear, let's think about your personal or your household budget.
- Let's use the Rp. [10,000 | 14,000] that you earned as income earlier? [THE RESPONDENT SHOULD TAKE THE MONEY OUT]
- When you earn income, you get to decide how to allocate your income across your different expenses. Today you earned Rp. [10,000 | 14,000] for participating in this program. How will you allocate the income you earned today for yourself or your household?
- Here are 11 cards that represent different categories of expenses. Please first pick the cards that you plan to spend your income on. You can pick up to six cards. Place them on the board and then put the amount of money you plan to spend on each category in the box.

[THE RESPONDENT ALLOCATES THE MONEY ACROSS BUDGET CATEGORIES USING THE CARDS AND GAME BOARD]

- So how did you decide to spend your income?

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Illustration/Gameboard

Script

PAJAK

+

LAIN - LAIN

= APBD



2

4



Halaman

5

Ilustrasi

6

The district budget includes your taxes

- Thank you for using your income to illustrate what a budget is. There is one kind of expense that was not included among the cards but that oftentimes you have to pay nonetheless. Citizens in Blora like you also **have to allocate money to pay taxes to the district government**. You are required to pay many different kinds of taxes, like income tax, the PBB, and the street light tax.
- **I now have to impose a 4,000 rupiah tax on your income** from today to represent the kinds of taxes you typically pay to the district government from your household budget.
- **What you pay in taxes mostly goes into the APBD**. I will now put the 4,000 rupiah here [PUT IN BOX ON GAMEBOARD] to indicate that you have had to pay back 4,000 rupiah to represent the taxes you pay to the district government, and this money goes into the district budget.
- You can put your remaining income back in your pocket.
- **In addition to getting money from taxes, the district government gets income from other sources, like from the central government and from natural resources**. I will now put 6,000 rupiah on the board [PUT IN BOX] to represent the income that government gets from other sources. There is now 10,000 rupiah on the board representing income in the APBD.
- Before we continue I would like to ask you a few questions.

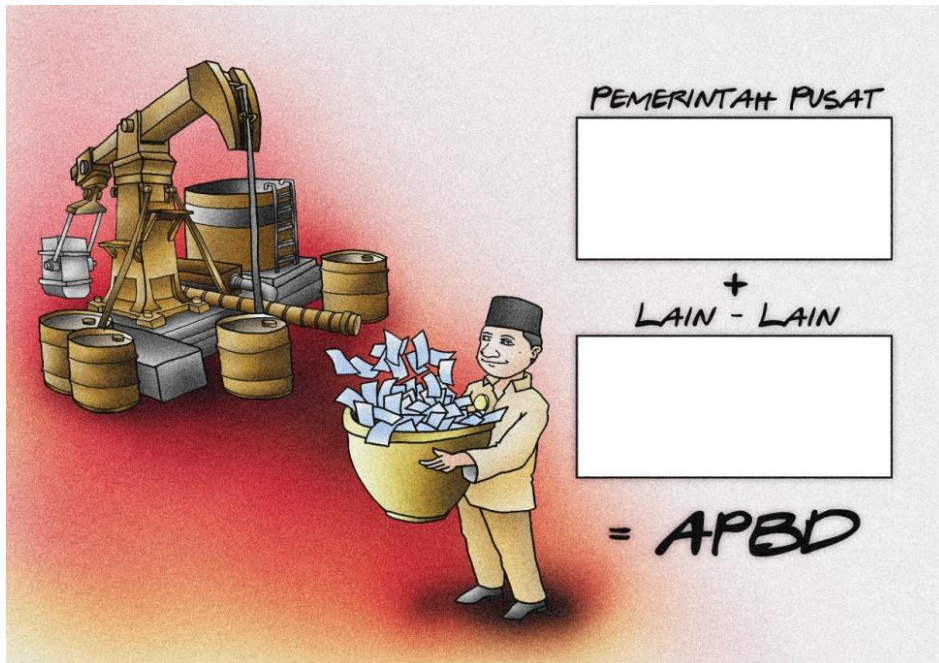
[GO TO SURVEY SECTION 3]

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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
6	7

The district government gets its money from the center

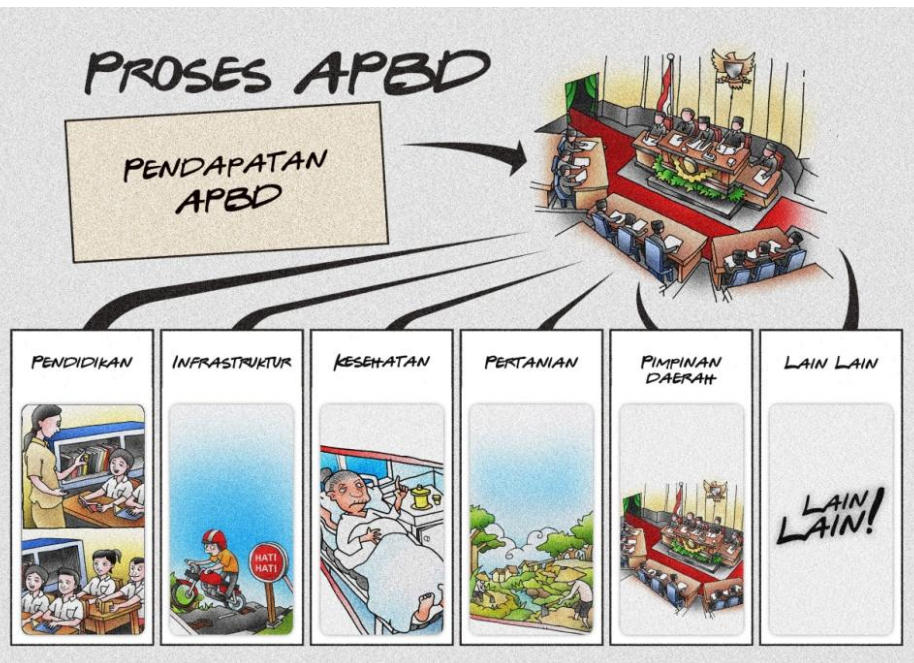
- Thank you for using your income to illustrate what a budget is. Now that we are done explaining what a budget is, you can put your income back in your pocket.
- The district government gets income from several sources, like from the central government and natural resources. I will now put **8,000 rupiah** on the board [PUT IN BOX] to represent the income the central government contributes to the district budget.
- In addition to getting money from the central government, the district government gets income from other sources, like from investments. I will now put **2,000 rupiah** on the board to represent the income that government gets from other sources. There is now 10,000 rupiah on the board representing income in the APBD.
- Before we continue I would like to ask you a few questions.

[GO TO SURVEY SECTION 3]

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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
7	8

How did the district government spend the money?

- Let's return to the APBD. We left off with 10,000 rupiah on the board, including the **4,000 representing your taxes** and **6,000 from other sources**.
- We can say that this happens for each person in Blora. **You can think of this 10,000 as representing how much the district government gets in income for each person in Blora.**
- The next thing the bupati and DPRD members do is decide how to spend that 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora.** When you elect the bupati and DPRD members, you give them the authority to decide how to spend that 10,000 rupiah. They make decisions about how much of it to spend on education, health, farming and infrastructure. They also decide how much to keep for themselves.

[COMBINE THE MONEY FROM ILLUSTRATION 6 AND PUT IT ON THE GAMEBOARD]

- 10,000 rupiah is not the actual amount**, but we can use it to illustrate how to allocate money across expenditures in the real budget.
 - If you were the **decision-maker**, how would you allocate the 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora?
- [LET THEM ALLOCATE AND RECORD ANSWERS IN SURVEY SECTION 4]
- How do you think the bupati and DPRD **actually** allocate the 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora?
 - Maybe there are some differences** between how you think the money should be spent and how you think the district government actually spends it. It is up to you to decide whether you are satisfied with these differences.

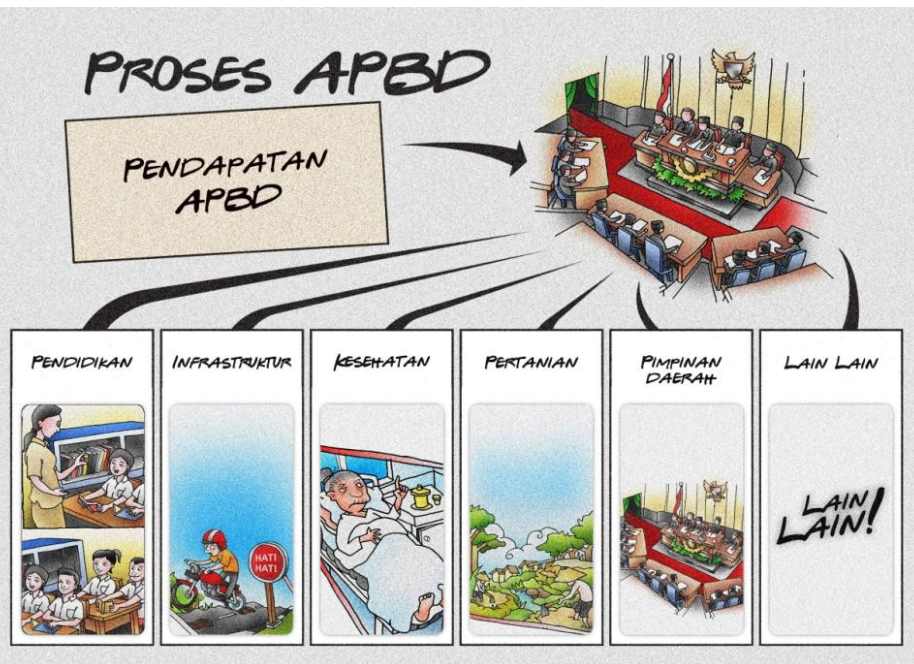
[LET THEM ALLOCATE AND RECORD ANSWERS IN SURVEY SECTION 4]

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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
8	8

Spending the APBD

- Let's return to the APBD. We left off with 10,000 rupiah on the board, including the **8,000** from the central government and **2,000** from other sources.
- We can say that this happens for each person in Blora. **You can think of this 10,000 as representing how much the district government gets in income for each person in Blora.**
- The next thing the bupati and DPRD members do is decide how to spend that 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora.** When you elect the bupati and DPRD members, you give them the authority to decide how to spend that 10,000 rupiah. They decide how much of it to spend on education, health, farming and infrastructure. They also decide how much to keep for themselves.

[COMBINE THE MONEY FROM ILLUSTRATION 7 AND PUT IT ON THE GAMEBOARD]

- 10,000 rupiah is not the actual amount**, but we can use it to illustrate how to allocate money across expenditures in the real budget.
 - If you were the **decision-maker**, how would you allocate the 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora?
- [LET THEM ALLOCATE AND RECORD ANSWERS IN SURVEY SECTION 4]
- How do you think the bupati and DPRD **actually** allocate the 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora?
 - Maybe there are some differences** between how you think the money should be spent and how you think the district government actually spends it. It is up to you to decide whether you are satisfied with these differences.

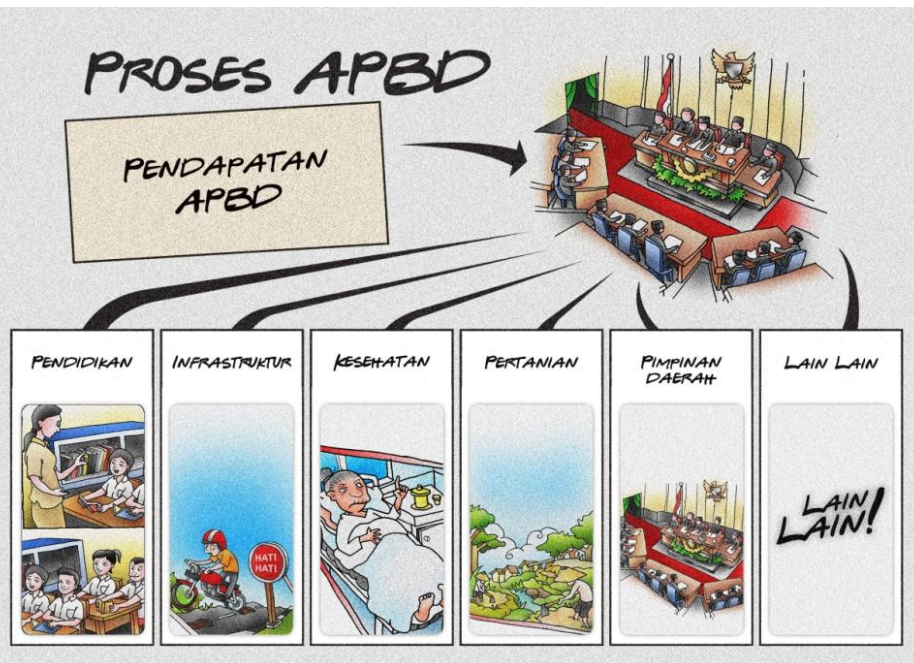
[LET THEM ALLOCATE AND RECORD ANSWERS IN SURVEY SECTION 4]

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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



The truth about how the APBD was spent

- Now I would like to show you how the bupati and DPRD members really spent the 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora. This is real information based on an analysis of the real 2008 district budget that the organizers of this information campaign did.
- Of the 10,000 rupiah for each person in Blora, they spent:
 - 4700 on education.** This is quite big because the central government provides a lot of money for education in the APBD for the BOS program.
 - 1200 on infrastructure,** which includes projects to build and maintain roads, bridges, irrigation ditches and manage clean water sources.
 - 900 on health,** including on programs like jamkesmas and jamkesda, on the hospitals in Blora and Cepu, and on rural clinics like puskesmas.
 - 200 for agriculture,** including funding for fertilizer and assistance to farmers.
 - 1800 on their personal salaries and benefits, their official work, and administration.**
 - 1200 went to other** expenditures, like forestry, trade and commerce and certificate-making.

	Education	Infrastructure	Health	Farmers	Leaders	Other
	4700	1200	900	200	1800	1200
1000s	3	1	0	0	1	0
500s	2	0	1	0	1	2
200s	3	0	1	0	0	0
100s	1	2	2	2	3	2

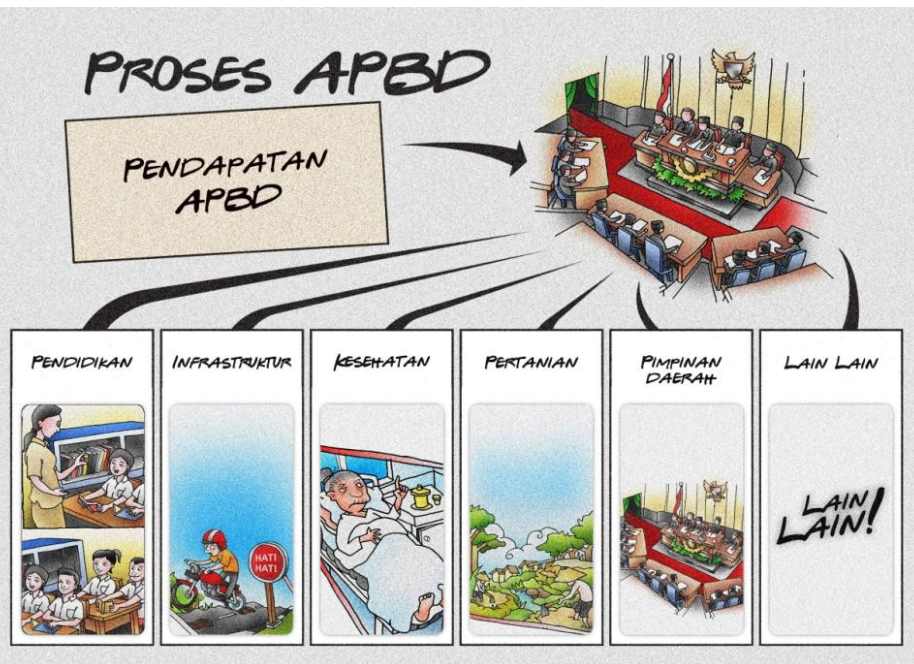
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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
9b	8

The truth about how the APBD was spent (cont'd)

Direct/Indirect

- But just because the bupati and DPRD members have allocated the money to categories like education and health, **it does not mean that the money goes directly to each person**. Some of that money goes to the costs of running the government, including things like salaries for PNS, building maintenance and administration.
- This is how much was spent to run the government compared to how much was spent for you.
 - Of the 4700 they spent on **education**, the district government spent **3800** on itself and **900** on you. To represent this, I will now remove 3800 rupiah from the education box on the board.
 - Of the 1200 spent on **infrastructure**, it spent **100** on itself and **1100** on you.
 - Of the 900 spent on **health**, it spent **600** on itself and **300** on you.
 - Of the 200 spent on **farming**, it spent **100** on itself and **100** on you.
 - Of the 1800 spent on allocated to support the **bupati and DPRD**, **1600** went to the costs of running the government
 - Of the **1200** spent on all **other** expenditures, it spent about **600** on itself and **600** on you.

	Education	Infrastructure	Health	Farmers	Leaders	Other
Start	4700	1200	900	200	1800	1200
Take out	3800	100	600	100	1600	600
Left	900	1100	300	100	200	600

- Of the 10,000 originally allocated for each citizen, **6,800 goes back to the government** and **3,000 goes to each citizen for public services and assistance**. Some of the money government spends on itself is necessary, but it is also possible that some of this money is not optimal.

- It is up to you** to decide whether you think this is a good division of the money that government spends for each citizen.

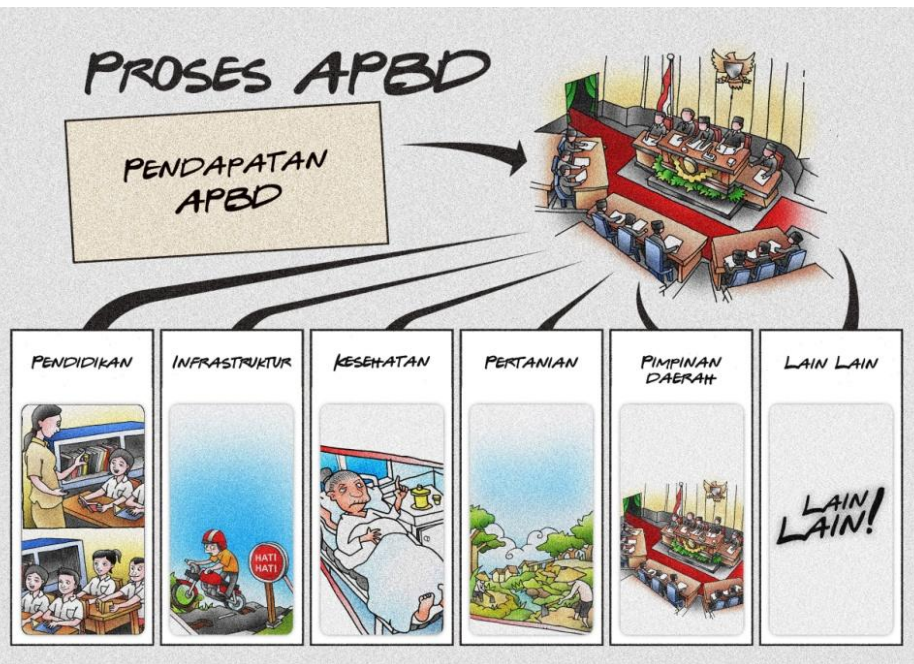
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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
9c	8

The truth about how the APBD was spent (cont'd)

Corruption/Misuse

- But not even all of that 3000 reaches you. Sometimes money gets misused or goes missing along the way.
- I will now take out 100 from education to symbolize a recent case in which funds to build and furnish 250 elementary schools went missing.
- I will also take 100 from infrastructure to symbolize the fact that last year government did not fulfill its responsibility to monitor infrastructure projects, which makes it easier for builders to waste and misuse money.
- We have now deducted 200 rupiah from the initial 10,000 to represent misuse and corruption. The real amount lost to corruption might be bigger or smaller, but it's hard to know because when there's no transparency, it's easy for money to exchange hands in the dark.

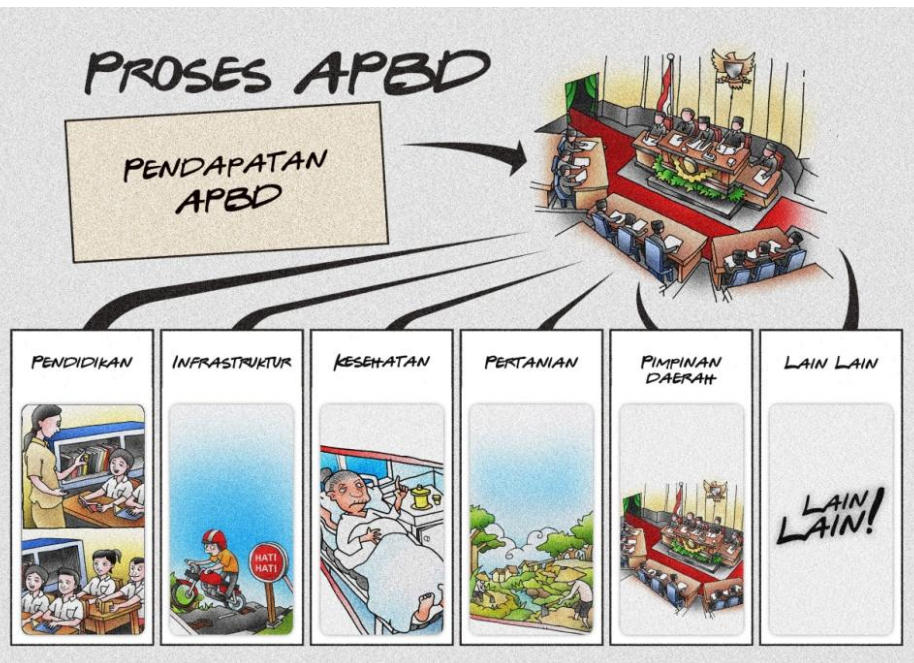
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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
9d	8

The truth about how the APBD was spent (cont'd)

Spending by Leaders, on Leaders

- And what about the **200 that remains in the box for district leaders**? This is the amount that the bupati and DPRD members have allocated for themselves to do their jobs.
 - 100 of that they have allocated for activities directly related to their work.** They budget money for **study missions** and **travel**, for meeting with **constituents**, and for discussing **laws**. **It is up to you** to decide whether you think they used this money effectively to communicate with people around Blora and to pass laws that benefit the district, and you.
 - The remaining 100 the bupati and DPRD members have allocated for their personal use.** They use this money to fund their salaries, health care, uniforms, cars, and homes for the bupati and DPRD leaders. **Each person in Blora contributes this 100 to the bupati and 45 DPRD members, so the real amounts can be big.**
- For instance:
 - 375 juta** was spent for the **bupati's salary and healthcare**;
 - 1.4 miliar** was spent to **renovate and maintain the bupati's official home** in 2008.
 - 147 juta** was spent in **salaries and healthcare for each member of the DPRD** (on average);
 - 756 juta** was spent on **homes for the DPRD Chair and Vice Chair**.
- In the end, **it is up to you** to decide whether you think the bupati and DPRD members have earned their income from the APBD by doing a good job and addressing the needs of the people of Blora.

[GO TO SURVEY SECTION 5]

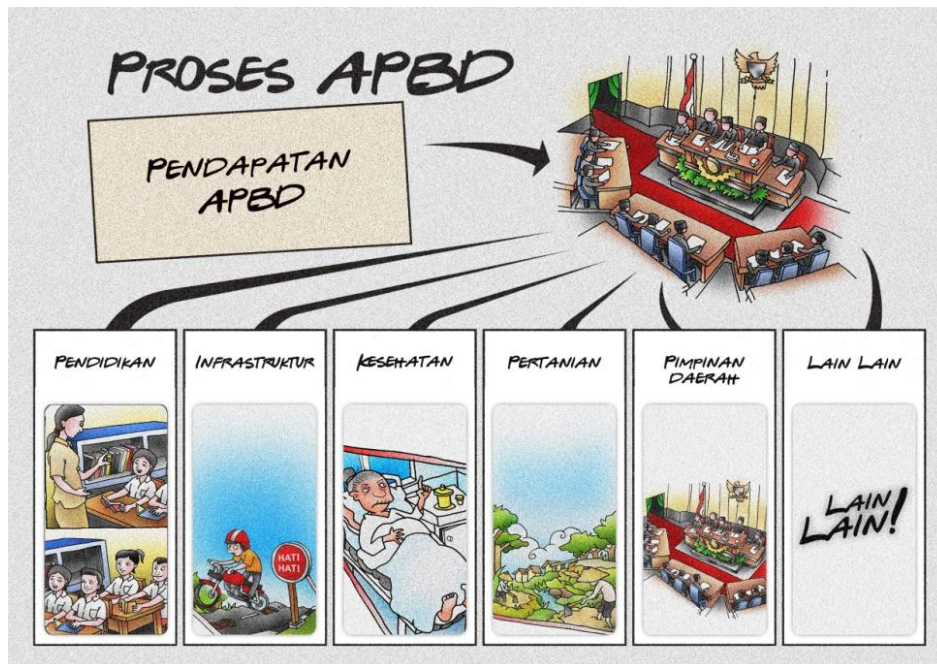
(Campaigner Note: All information from Blora's 2008 realized budget)

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Illustration/Gameboard

Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
10	8

Empty Information (Placebo)

Here is some basic information about Blora that district government leaders might consider when deciding how to allocate the APBD:

- Blora is surrounded by the districts of Rembang, Pati, Grobogan, Ngawi, and Bojonegoro.
- The longest distance from west to east is 87 kilometers, and the longest distance from North to South is 58 kilometers.
- There are 16 subdistricts and 295 villages in Blora.
- Of those, 24 are kelurahan and 271 are desas.
- There were 90 days of rain in 2008, with a total of 1336 millimeters of rain. The month with the greatest amount of rainfall is typically February.
- In 2008, 83 percent of the garbage in Blora was organic, and 9 percent was plastic.
- The growth rate of the Blora regional gross domestic product in 2008 was 5.8 percent.
- There is a golf course in Cepu.

(Campaigner note: All information obtained from Blora dalam Angka 2008-2009)

[GO TO SURVEY SECTION 5]

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Script

SUARA ANDA, KESEMPATAN ANDA



Halaman	Ilustrasi
11	9

Message: Your Voice, Your Opportunity

[PUT THE MONEY AWAY BEFORE CONTINUING!]

- Now is an **important time in Blora**. The **pilkada** are scheduled for 3 June 2010. Both the bupati and DPRD will be starting **new terms in office**. But your job as citizens does not stop with elections. Citizens should tell their elected leaders what they want and **ordinary citizens should put pressure on their leaders** to bring about change after the elections are over.
- It is vital to do this now because Blora will soon start **getting revenue from oil from the Cepu block**. If citizens do not do more to tell the district government what they want, then Blora's natural resource wealth could be **squandered**.
- This is why LPAW is organizing a **postcard campaign** before the bupati elections. The goal of the campaign is to give citizens like you a chance to express how you feel about the quality of government in Blora.

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Illustration

Script

SUARA ANDA, KESEMPATAN ANDA

Saya ingin Pemkab Blora melakukan pekerjaannya dengan lebih baik

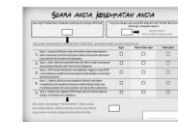
Saya puas dengan apa yang telah dilakukan oleh Pemkab Blora dan tidak ingin mengubah apapun

Berhenti disini!
Kirim kembali kartupos anda

Jika anda menginginkan pemkab Blora lebih baik, sampaikan pada mereka bagaimana!

	Ingin	Tidak terlalu ingin	Tidak yakin
1. Saya [...] peraturan/hukum yang memastikan adanya kesempatan pada masyarakat untuk berpartisipasi dalam penyusunan keputusan yang diambil oleh Pemerintah Kabupaten.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Saya [...] jalur informasi yang lebih baik dan lebih mudah tentang apa yang sedang dilakukan oleh Pemerintah Kabupaten.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Saya [...] Pemerintah Kabupaten meningkatkan anggaran uang APBD untuk pelayanan publik dan pembangunan dibandingkan untuk biaya administrasi kantor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Saya [...] adanya sebuah pusat pengaduan dimana saya dapat mengajukan permasalahan pelayanan publik dengan bebas dan mendapat jawaban dari permasalahan tentang kualitas pelayanan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Saya [...] Bupati dan anggota DPRD dapat berkomunikasi langsung dengan masyarakat dan sebaliknya.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Jika anda menyatakan “SAYA INGIN!” untuk setiap perubahan diatas, silakan tuliskan nomer perubahan yang menurut anda paling penting dalam kotak:



Halaman 12
Ilustrasi 10

Postcard

- Let me describe to you what is on the postcard. If you think might have trouble reading or understanding the postcard, you can **ask a member of your household to help you**.
- First, you can indicate whether you want the district government in Blora to **do a better job**, or whether **you are satisfied** with the district government in Blora and don't want to change anything about how it works. If you pick the second one, then you are ready to return your postcard!
- If you picked the **first one**, then we would like you to tell us how. There is a list of five reforms on the postcard. For each reform, put a check for whether you want/don't want that reform. We are asking how you feel about five reforms:
 - I [want/don't really want] a law that guarantees **opportunities for public participation** in district government decisions.
 - I [want/don't really want] **better and easier access to information** on district government programs and policies.
 - I [want/don't really want] the district government to **spend more of the APBD money on public services** and development and less money on administration.
 - I [want/don't really want] a **central location established where I can freely report problems with public services** and get answers to my questions about service quality.
 - I [want/don't really want] the bupati and DPRD members to have **more direct communication with the public**.
- If there is any reform that you don't know about, then that's ok too. Just tic the box in the column on the far right for 'not sure'
- Then at the very bottom under the 'Want' column, it asks you "if you have said 'I want!' to any of the reforms above, **please write the number of the reform you most want in the box**." Here you should pick the **one reform** you think is most important from all those you said that you want.
- If you don't want or don't know about any of the reforms, then just **skip** this box.

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Script



Halaman	Ilustrasi
13	11

Postcard

- LPAW and the researcher will **collect all the postcards** and tabulate the responses. Then two weeks before the election, **LPAW will hold a public meeting with the bupati candidates** to tell them the results. The results will also be **shared with members of the DPRD, heads of Dinas, the media and other citizens** so that your voice will be heard in many corners of Blora.
- **YOUR POST-CARD IS YOUR VOICE, IT IS A WAY FOR YOU TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOUR POLITICAL LEADERS AND TELL THEM HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT GOVERNMENT IN BLORA.**
- Whether you decide to return the postcard is **completely up to you**. The most important and helpful thing to the campaign is for you to make your decision based on your **personal feelings** and your **reaction to the campaign**. Also, **the post-card is like a secret ballot** – whether you return the postcard and what you vote for on the postcard is your secret.
- If you decide to return the postcard, please deposit it in a special mailbox that has been placed at **[LOCATION] BEFORE MAGRHEB TOMORROW, in other words before tomorrow at 18:00.**
- The postcard should reflect how each individual feels. We would like to **ask your help to not discuss the campaign with your neighbors until after we have picked up the mailbox in your dusun.**
- If your neighbor is interested in the campaign and asks you about it, you can suggest **they go to the dusun head since we left a few extra postcards there.**
- Do you have any questions? If there are any questions or concerns about the campaign, **here's a card with our contact information.**
- **Thank you very much for your time today. Sampai Jumpa!**