

**LOWY INSTITUTE
INDONESIA POLL 2012**



**Shattering
Stereotypes**

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

Fergus Hanson

Executive summary

The Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll reports the results of a nationally¹ representative opinion survey of 1,289 Indonesian adults conducted face-to-face between 20 November and 13 December 2011. It was partially funded by the generous support of the Commonwealth through the Australia-Indonesia Institute of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Indonesians on Australia

Indonesian attitudes towards Australia have markedly improved and are increasingly positive. Australia is the fourth most warmly regarded country, moving from a lukewarm 51° in 2006 to a warm 62°. A surprising 61% of Indonesians are in favour of a company, bank or investment fund controlled by the Australian government buying a controlling stake in a major Indonesian company.

While the Australia-Indonesia government relationship has traditionally focused on threats and development aid, Indonesians want a much broader government agenda. Very large majorities want a focus on education (95%), health (92%) and trade (87%).

It is not all good news. Presented with a range of hypothetical policy options, 15% expressed support for a boycott of Australian products, and 12% were in favour of the Indonesian government encouraging militant groups to attack Australia. This minority of extreme anti-Australia sentiment will continue to concern Indonesian and Australian policy-makers.

Democracy

Indonesians feel at home in a democracy, but work needs to be done to consolidate democracy in Indonesia. Nearly two-thirds (62%) of Indonesians say that democracy is preferable to any other form of government, and there is near universal agreement on three core democratic values – the rights to a fair trial, freely express yourself and vote in national elections.

However, 55% still say life was better under Suharto's autocratic presidency.

Economic vibrancy

A large majority (79%) of Indonesians are optimistic about their economic outlook over the next five years, and most (68%) say their country is going in the right direction. They are also increasingly likely to say globalisation, especially the increasing connections of Indonesia's economy with others around the world, is mostly good (67% up from 61% in 2006).

China

Indonesians are more concerned than are Australians about China's rise: 56% say it is likely that China will become a military threat to Indonesia in the next 20 years, while in 2011, 44% of Australians said it was likely China would become a military threat to Australia. However, a majority (54%) of Indonesians do not think China is, or will become, the leading power in Asia, while 95% of Australians do.

United States

Indonesian attitudes towards the United States have sharply rebounded. Of nine foreign countries, it now has the highest proportion of Indonesians trusting it a great deal (28%) to act responsibly in the world and overall ranks third in terms of trust.

More than half (58%) of Indonesians also back the United States to be the leading military power in Asia in 20 years compared with only a quarter (25%) who say it will be China (although most (52%) say China will be the leading economic power in Asia in 20 years).

Aid

Although Australia is by far the single largest bilateral donor to Indonesia (providing \$US 324 million in 2010), only 14% of Indonesians actually think this is the case. By contrast, a third of Indonesians (33%) say the United States provides the most aid and 24% say Japan.

Terrorism

The overwhelming majority (88%) of Indonesians say the suicide bombing attacks that have occurred in Indonesia are never justified, but 7% say they are sometimes justified, and 2% that they are always justified.

Multilateralism

Forty per cent of Indonesians say ASEAN is the most important international organisation to Indonesia, and 34% the United Nations.

Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1	FIGURES	
INTRODUCTION	3	Fig. 1: Sovereign foreign investment	4
ECONOMICS	4	Fig. 2: Foreign policy goals	5
Economic vibrancy	4	Fig. 3: Feelings towards other countries	6
Foreign sovereign investment	4	Fig. 4: The leader of Southeast Asia	7
FOREIGN POLICY	5	Fig. 5: Australia is...	8
Foreign policy goals	5	Fig. 6: Australia–Indonesia relations	9
Feelings toward other countries	6	Fig. 7: Issues the Australian and Indonesian governments should work on	10
Indonesian power, leadership and multilateralism	6	Fig. 8: Approach the Indonesian government should take with the Australian government	10
Western influence	7	Fig. 9: Top aid donors	11
INDONESIANS ON AUSTRALIA	7	Fig. 10: Trust in other countries	12
Australia is...	8	Fig. 11: Terrorism	13
Government relations	8	Fig. 12: Abu Bakar Bashir's sentence	14
The bad news	11	Fig. 13: Democracy	14
Largest aid donor	11	Fig. 14: Attitudes towards China	15
SECURITY	11	Fig. 15: Most important economy	16
Feelings of safety	11	Fig. 16: China as a military threat	17
Trust in other countries	12	Fig. 17: Global warming	17
Threats	13		
Threats from other countries	13		
Terrorism	13		
Religious tolerance	14		
INDONESIANS ON DEMOCRACY	14		
Democratic values	14		
Life during and after Suharto	15		
INDONESIANS ON CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES	15		
China's rise	15		
Leading military and economic power in Asia	16		
Most important economy to Indonesia	16		
China as a military threat	17		
GLOBAL WARMING	17		
TABLES OF RESULTS	18		
NOTES	38		
ABOUT THE LOWY INDONESIA POLL	39		
METHODOLOGY	39		
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	39		

Introduction

In a landmark 2010 address before a joint sitting of the Australian parliament, the Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono dispensed with diplo-speak. Australia-Indonesia relations had been allowed to drift along at rock bottom for too long and it was time to talk plainly.

Even in the age of cable television and internet, there are Australians who still see Indonesia as an authoritarian country, as a military dictatorship, as a hotbed of Islamic extremism or even as an expansionist power.

On the other hand, in Indonesia there are people who remain afflicted with Australiaphobia—those who believe that the notion of White Australia still persists, that Australia harbours ill intention toward Indonesia and is either sympathetic to or supports separatist elements in our country.²

Lowy Institute polling in Australia has for several years confirmed these kinds of attitudes towards Indonesia. However, the Australian people are not the only ones who can be accused of failing to overlook Indonesia's emergence as a contemporary giant. At a governmental level, there is an obsessive tendency to view Indonesia as an amalgamation of threats, and at a political level to treat it as a miscreant Pacific atoll, rather than the world's fourth largest nation. At a business level, there has been a failure to foresee what years of high-level growth and democracy would bring. The then-Foreign Minister Kevin Rudd recently stated: 'There is a grave danger that corporate Australia misses the boat.'³

As the Indonesian President's remarks made clear, Indonesians held similarly retrograde views about Australia and Australians. However, since the Lowy Institute last conducted polling in Indonesia in 2006, in the wake of a dispute over West Papuan asylum seekers and the temporary withdrawal of the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, there have been major shifts in Indonesian opinion.

The results that follow are compelling. They tell the story of a very different Indonesia, one that is economically vibrant, embracing globalisation, and with a populace that shares a broad range of common interests and core democratic values with Australians. There are signs that the gains made are fragile and there are pockets of alienation, but overall these results are a jolting reminder that old stereotypes and ways of operating need to be updated to match modern realities.

ECONOMICS

ECONOMIC VIBRANCY

Indonesians have high levels of economic optimism, see their country heading in the right direction, view globalisation as a positive force and are extraordinarily welcoming of sovereign foreign investment.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, after the resilience the Indonesian economy has shown in recent years, 79% of Indonesians say they are either ‘very optimistic’ (16%) or ‘optimistic’ (63%) ‘about Indonesia’s economic performance in the world over the next five years’. That result was very similar to the finding of the 2010 Lowy Poll in Australia, when 86% of Australians said they were either ‘very optimistic’ (19%) or ‘optimistic’ (67%) about Australia’s economic performance in the world over the next five years.

Similarly, Indonesians are positive about the direction in which their country is heading. Sixty-eight per cent say ‘things in Indonesia are going in the right direction’, compared to just 24% who say they are going in the ‘wrong direction’.

An increasing proportion of Indonesians are also coming

to view globalisation as a broadly positive force, with 67% saying ‘globalisation, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world’ is ‘mostly good’, up from 61% in 2006. Just a quarter (26%) say it is ‘mostly bad’.

FOREIGN SOVEREIGN INVESTMENT

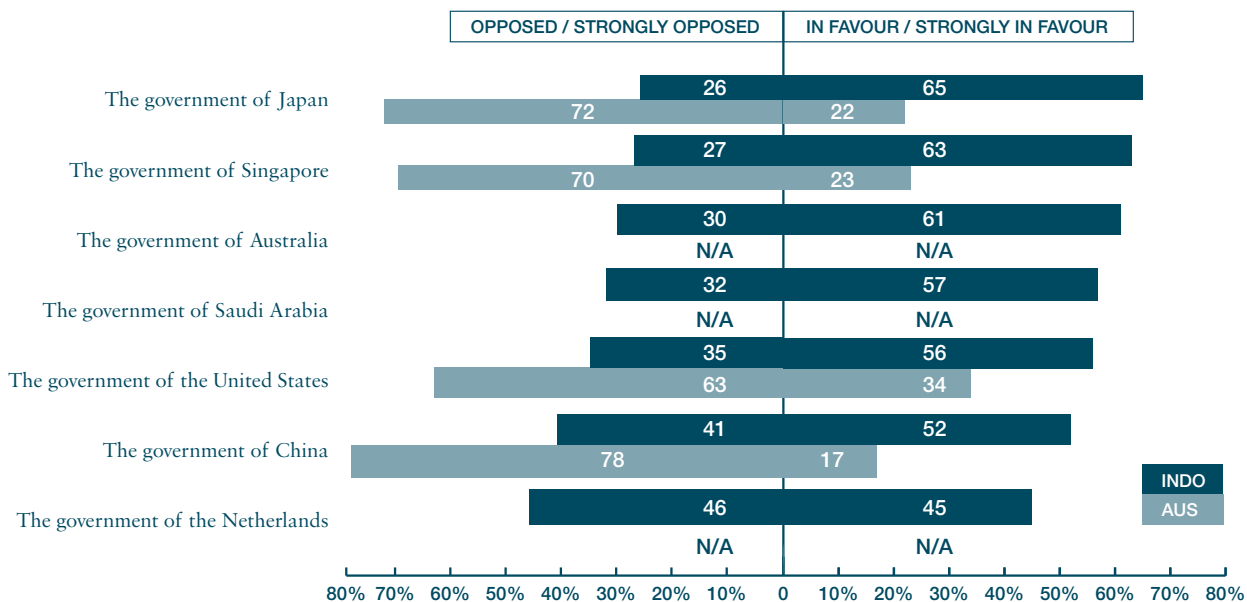
A striking finding is the receptiveness of Indonesians to foreign government-backed investment and purchases of Indonesian firms. When asked how they would feel ‘if a company, bank or investment fund controlled by a foreign government was trying to buy a controlling stake in a major Indonesian company’, a majority are in favour of major investments in Indonesia by six of the seven governments included in the survey. By contrast, when Australians were asked this question in the 2008 Lowy Institute Poll, the majority were opposed to major investments by all six countries included in that survey.

Indonesians are most supportive of major investments from the governments of Japan (65% in favour), Singapore (63%) and Australia (61%). The only government-backed investments that do not enjoy majority support are those from former colonial power, The Netherlands, with 45% in favour and 46% opposed.

Figure 1: Sovereign foreign investment

If a company, bank or investment fund controlled by a foreign government was trying to buy a controlling stake in a major Indonesian company, please say whether you would be strongly in favour, in favour, opposed, strongly opposed or you don't know, if the foreign government was:

(Parallel results are reported from the 2008 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Australia)



FOREIGN POLICY

FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

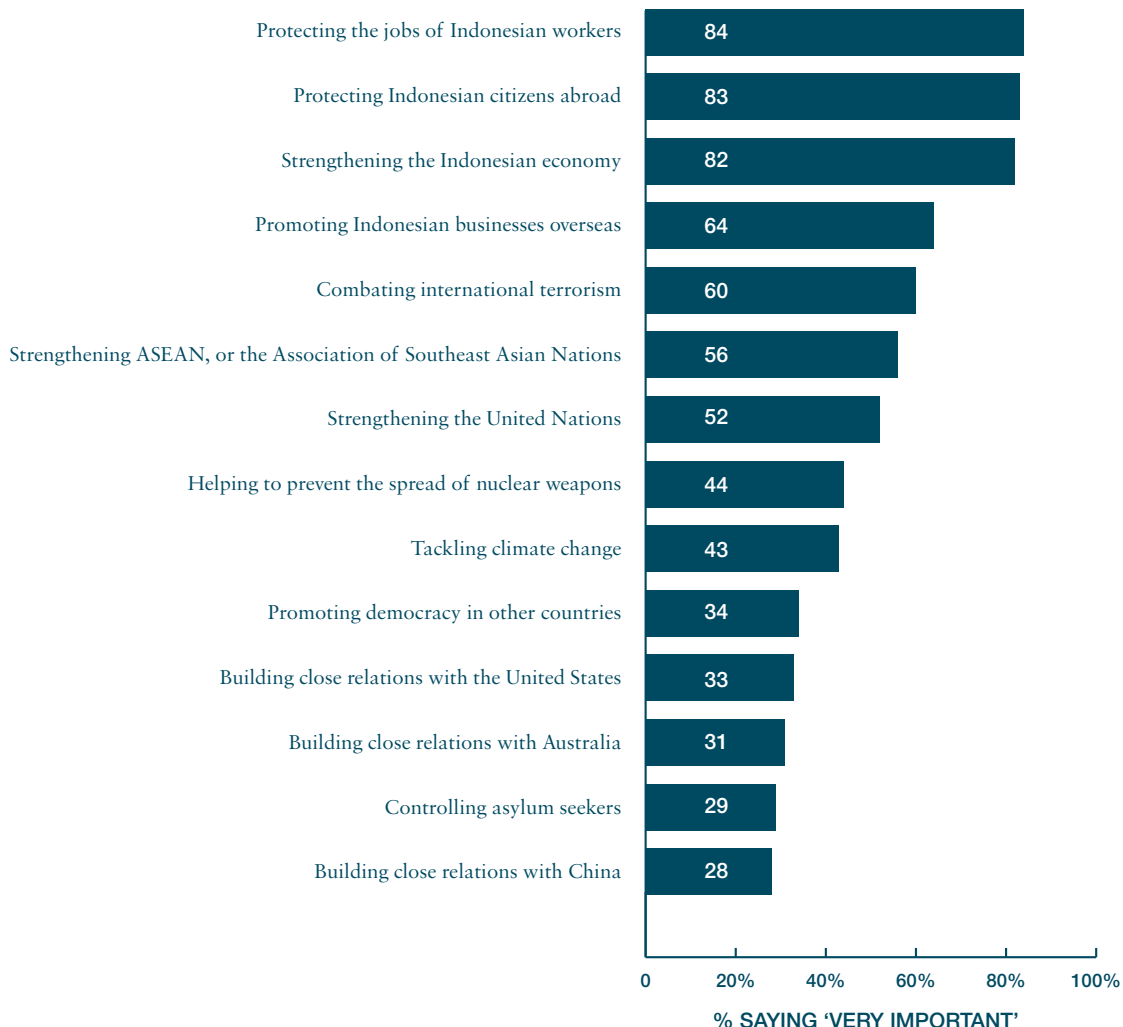
Indonesians may be optimistic about their economic prospects, but economic issues still dominate their top foreign-policy goals. Of 14 possible goals included in the survey, three of the top five were economic: ‘protecting the jobs of Indonesian workers’ (with 84% saying this is ‘very important’), ‘strengthening the Indonesian economy’ (82%)

and ‘promoting Indonesian businesses overseas’ (64%). The other two in the top five are ‘protecting Indonesian citizens abroad’ (83%) and ‘combating international terrorism’ (60%).

Immigration issues are not high on Indonesians’ list of priorities, with ‘controlling asylum seekers’ (29%) ranking second last. The lowest-ranked goal is ‘building close relations with China’ (28%), revealing the ambivalence and concern about China reflected throughout the survey.

Figure 2: Foreign policy goals

Thinking about what Indonesian foreign policy should be trying to achieve, I am going to read a list of goals, and ask you to tell me how important each one is for Indonesia. Please say whether you think each issue is very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important.



FEELINGS TOWARD OTHER COUNTRIES

Of the 21 countries included in the Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll, Indonesians feel warmest towards Japan (66°), Singapore (64°) and the United States (64°). Since the last Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll in 2006, feelings towards Australia warmed the most, rising from a lukewarm 51° to 62°, making it the fourth most warmly regarded country by Indonesians.⁴ Other strong improvements were in feelings towards the United States (moving from 54° to 64°) and South Korea (moving from 51° to 60°).

Indonesia's other neighbours are not nearly as warmly regarded. Feelings towards Malaysia cooled from 66° in 2006 to 53°. Papua New Guinea (now 46°) and East Timor (now 44°) both remain coolly regarded.

Feelings towards China remained unchanged at a moderately warm 58°, equal with former colonial power The Netherlands. India is similarly regarded (55°).

Indonesians also do not appear to bestow their affection towards countries based on religious affiliation. Fellow Muslim majority states Iran (47°), Afghanistan (44°), Iraq (44°) and Libya (40°) all registered among the very coolest feelings and Malaysia (53°) did little better.

Israel, however, was the most coolly regarded country, moving from 39° in 2006 to 30°.

INDONESIAN POWER, LEADERSHIP AND MULTILATERALISM

With the world's fourth largest population and a fast-growing economy, Indonesia is a rising giant, a fact many Indonesians seem to appreciate.

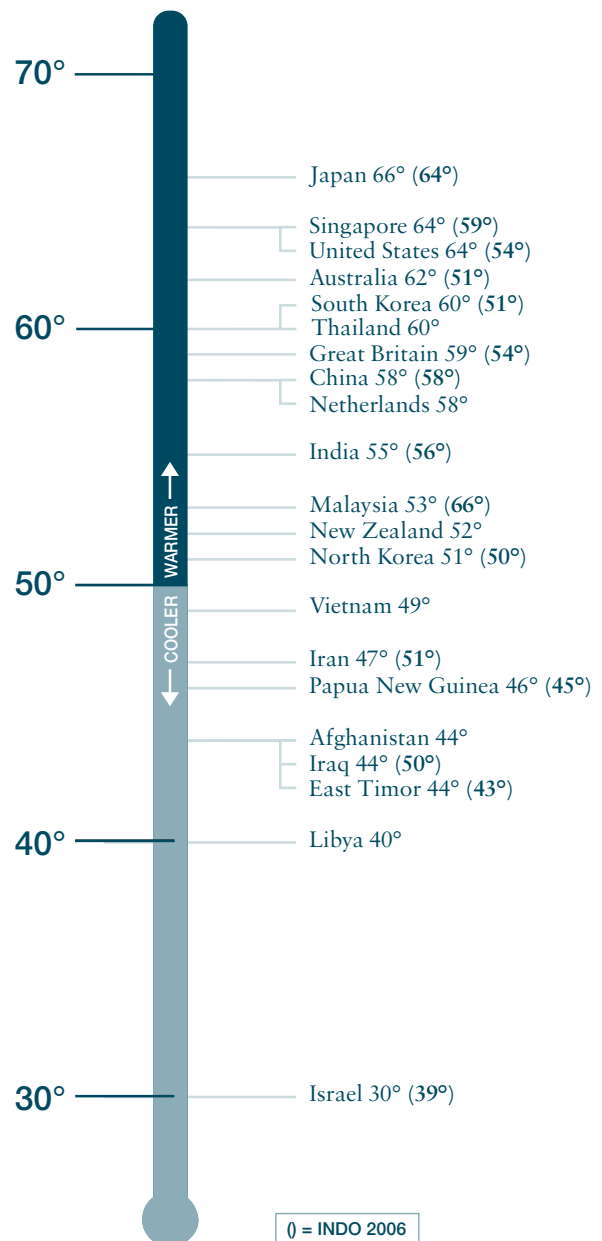
Asked 'about Indonesia's influence generally in the world compared to other countries' a fifth (20%) of Indonesians say it is among 'the top 10 most influential countries' and a further 37% that it is 'not in the top 10 but among the top 20 most influential countries'.

Presented with a list of seven countries and asked which one 'is the current leader of Southeast Asia? Or is there no leader?' three countries stood out. (Leader was defined as 'the country that has the most influence in this region'.) Twenty-nine per cent of Indonesians say it is China, 26% that it is Indonesia and 18% the United States. Very few Indonesians say any other ASEAN state included in the list is the leader (Singapore (7%), Malaysia (3%), Thailand (2%), and Vietnam (1%)). Japan was not included in the list, but was still nominated as the leader by 1% of Indonesians.

Figure 3: Feelings towards other countries

Please rate your feelings towards some countries, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are toward that country. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country please say so.

Results for the 2006 Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll reported in brackets

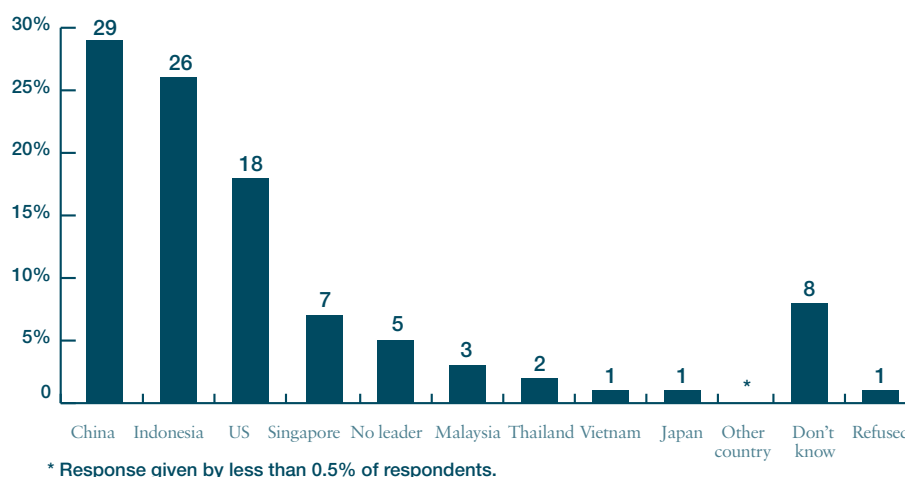


Presented with six international organisations and groupings, and asked to say which one ‘is the most important to Indonesia’, ASEAN ranked first with 40% saying it is the most important, followed by the United Nations (34%). APEC was seen as the most important by 7%, the Non-Aligned Movement by only 3% and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference and the G20 by 1% each.

never rated their feelings towards Indonesia above 54° and last year gave it a lukewarm 51°. The 2011 Lowy Institute Poll in Australia indicated Australians’ general attitudes towards Indonesia have remained virtually unchanged since the same questions were asked in 2006. In the 2010 Lowy Institute Poll in Australia, when asked whether Indonesia ‘is more open and democratic or, less open and democratic today

Figure 4: The leader of Southeast Asia

Thinking now about the country you personally see as the current leader of Southeast Asia. Which one of the following countries do you personally think is the current leader of Southeast Asia? Or is there no leader? By leader of Southeast Asia, we mean the country that has the most influence in this region.



WESTERN INFLUENCE

Most Indonesians view Western influence as on the rise. Sixty-six per cent say compared to 10 years ago Western influence around the world has ‘increased’, and a further 15% that it has ‘stayed about the same’. Just 10% say it has ‘decreased’. When Australians were asked the same question in 2011, a smaller proportion (47%) said Western influence had ‘increased’ (21% said it had ‘stayed about the same’ and 31% that it has ‘decreased’). Indonesians who believe Western influence has increased are evenly divided over whether this is ‘more of a good thing’ (50%) or ‘more of a bad thing’ (48%). The division is exactly the same for those saying Western influence had decreased.

INDONESIANS ON AUSTRALIA

Despite Indonesia being a favourite holiday destination, Australians have long held their most important neighbour in poor regard. On the feelings thermometer used in the annual Lowy Institute Poll in Australia since 2006, Australians have

compared to say 15 years ago or is it about the same’, 39% of Australians said ‘the same’, 14% said ‘less open’ and just 41% that it was ‘more open’. A third (33%) said it was ‘more of a threat’ to Australia than it was 15 years ago (when it was ruled by a military dictatorship).

For a time, it seemed as though the misperception was mutual. In the 2006 Lowy Indonesia Poll, Indonesians were similarly cool towards Australia, giving it a 51° rating on the thermometer scale.

The latest Lowy Indonesia Poll, however, suggests a sharp improvement in Indonesian perceptions towards Australia. Notwithstanding residual suspicion and the presence of a minority who express extreme anti-Australian sentiment, the vast majority of Indonesians have very positive opinions about Australia.

As noted, Australia was the fourth most warmly regarded country included in the survey (62°, and up 11 points since 2006).

When asked to choose between two statements, 70% of Indonesians say ‘it is very important that Australia and

Indonesia work to develop a close relationship' (up 6 points since 2006) as opposed to just 22% who say 'Australia and Indonesia are too different to develop a close relationship' (down 14 points since 2006). In the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia, 77% of Australians said it was 'very important that Australia and Indonesia work to develop a close relationship'. Twenty-two per cent of Australians chose the other statement.

AUSTRALIA IS...

Asked to agree or disagree with a range of statements about Australia, the overwhelming majority of Indonesians agree Australia is 'an advanced economy' (91%), 'a good place to study for educational qualifications' (89%) and 'a good place to visit' (83%). Over two-thirds (69%) also agree it is

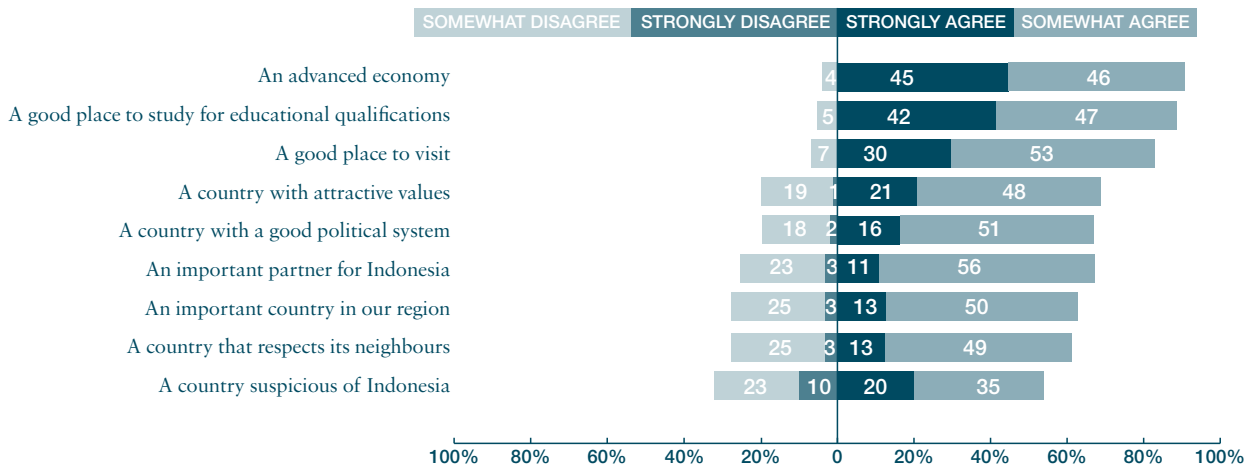
by Australia's support for East Timorese independence is fading, the 2006 poll was also taken in the aftermath of a bilateral dispute involving West Papuan asylum seekers that saw the temporary withdrawal of Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia.

Improvement was also seen for the statement 'Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long-term friend of Indonesia' (up from a neutral mean of 5.3 in 2006 to a more positive 6.2) and 'Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in our region' (going from a mean of 5.8 in 2006 to 6.7). Indonesians also increased in agreement that 'Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour' (5.8, up from 5.3 in 2006).

Many Indonesians still tend to agree that 'Indonesia is right to

Figure 5: Australia is...

For each of the following do you agree or disagree that it applies to Australia? And would that be strongly or somewhat? Firstly, is Australia...?



'a country with attractive values', has 'a good political system' (67%) and is 'an important partner for Indonesia' (67%). However, Indonesians also appear to be aware of the way Australians view Indonesia, with 55% agreeing Australia is 'a country suspicious of Indonesia'.

In a series of tracking questions not asked since 2006, Indonesians also showed more positive attitudes towards Australia across several areas. Asked to rank a series of statements from 0 to 10 where 0 means 'strongly disagree' and 10 means 'strongly agree', the greatest improvement was for the statement 'Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much' down from a mean of 6.7 in 2006 to a near neutral 5.5. While suggesting the bitterness caused

worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia' but the mean dropped from 6.8 in 2006 to 6.3.

GOVERNMENT RELATIONS

Despite the predominant focus on threats and development aid in Australia-Indonesia governmental relations, Indonesians themselves are in favour of a much broader agenda. The greatest number are in favour of the governments working together on 'education' (95%), 'health' (92%) and 'trade' (87%). 'Counter-terrorism' cooperation is fourth ranked out of eight issues (84%), followed by 'climate change' (80%). Cooperation on the issue of 'refugees' ranks second-last, but still with a two-thirds majority in favour (69%).

Figure 6: Australia–Indonesia relations

I am now going to read out a number of statements about [Australia and Indonesia/Indonesia]. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each one using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

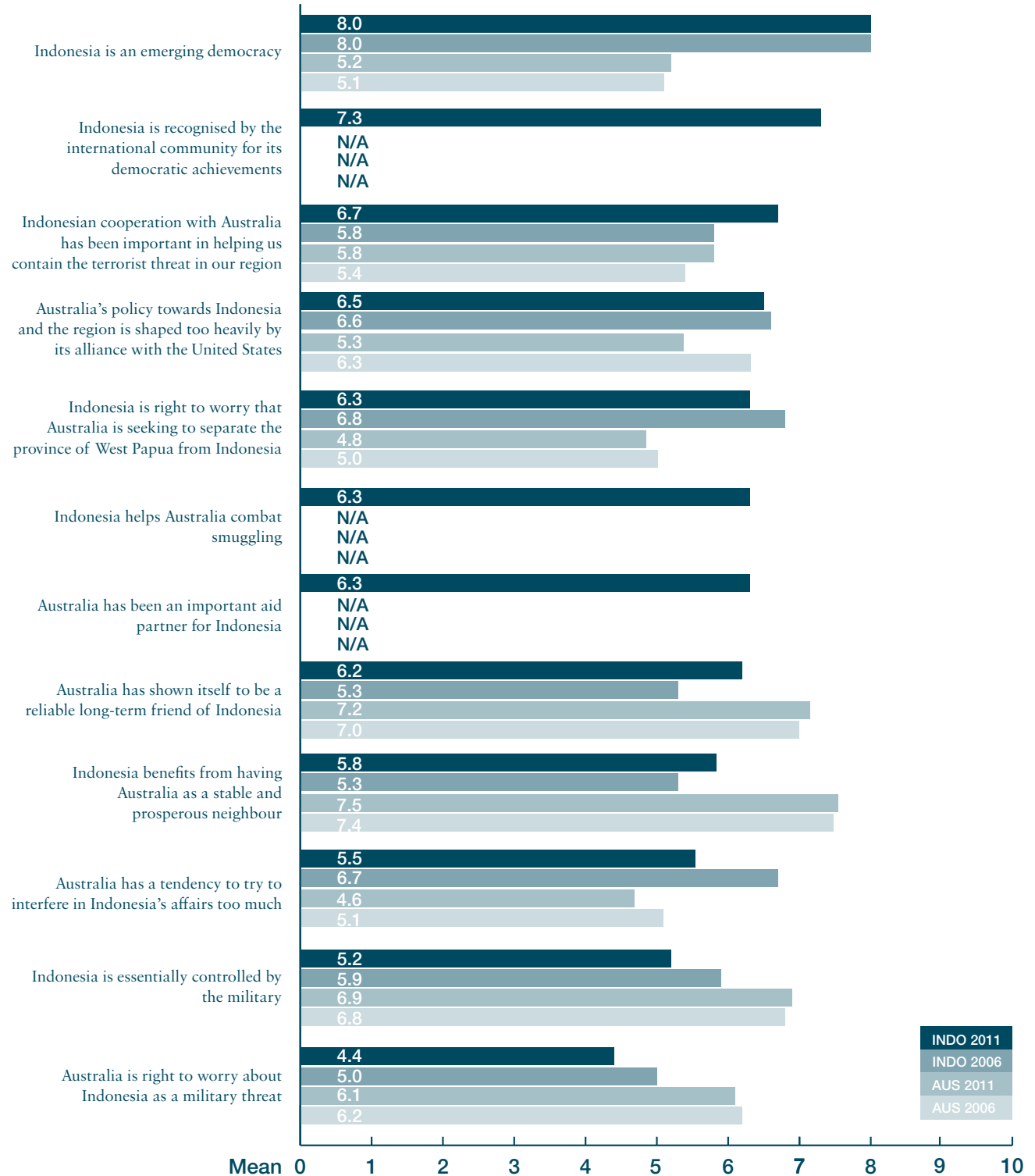
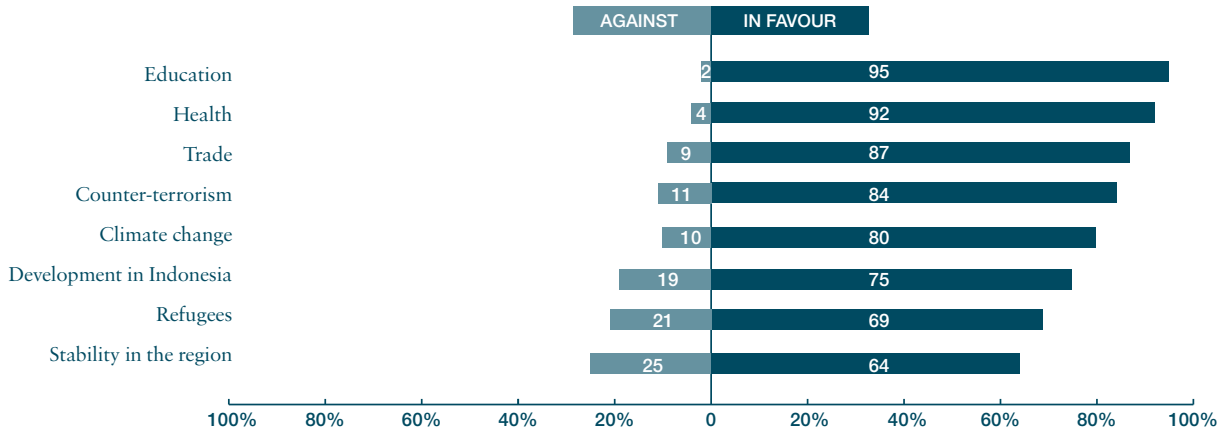


Figure 7: Issues the Australian and Indonesian governments should work on

Thinking now about the issues the Indonesian and Australian governments should be working on together – I am going to read out a list of issues and would like you to please tell me whether you personally would be in favour or against the Indonesian and Australian governments working together on these issues.

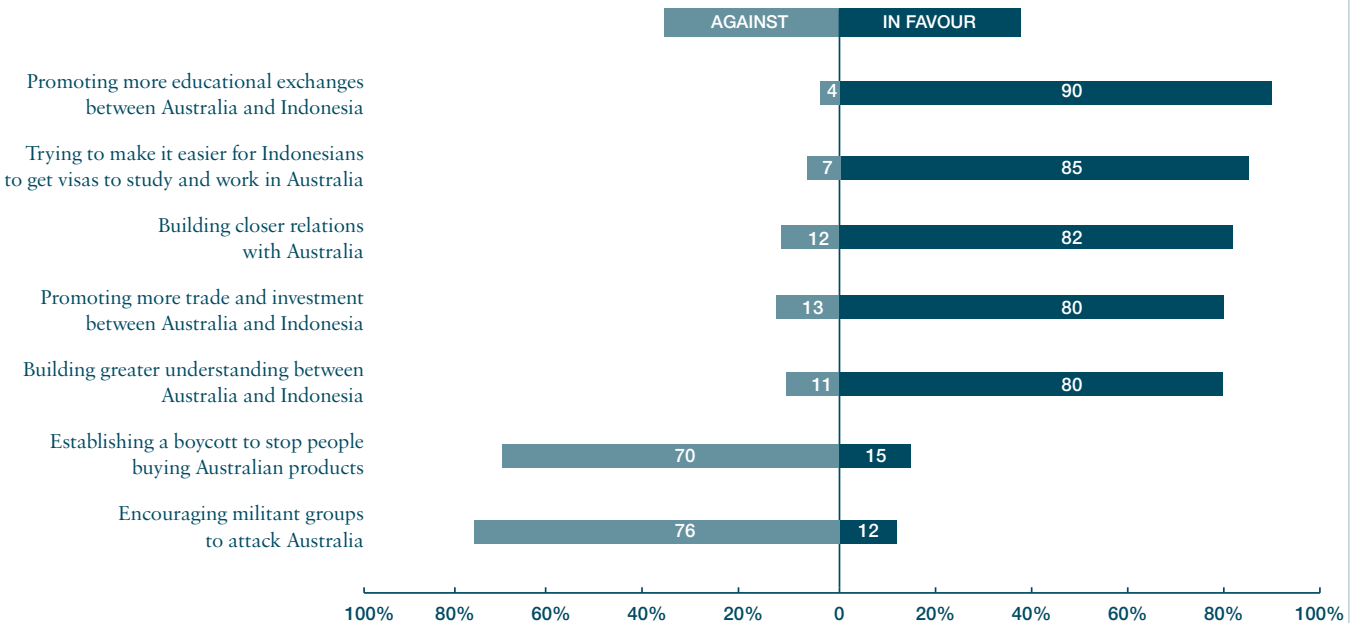


Asked if they were in favour or against the Indonesian government performing seven different activities with the Australian government, Indonesians were most supportive (90% in favour) of ‘promoting more educational exchanges between Australia and Indonesia’ and ‘trying to make it easier

for Indonesians to get visas to study and work in Australia’ (85%). There are also very high levels of support for ‘building closer relations with Australia’ (82%), ‘promoting more trade and investment’ (80%) and ‘building greater understanding between Australia and Indonesia’ (80%).

Figure 8: Approach the Indonesian government should take with the Australian government

Thinking about the approach the Indonesian government should be taking with the Australian government please tell me whether you personally are in favour or against the Indonesian government doing each of the following with the Australian government:



THE BAD NEWS

It is not all good news. As discussed below, just under one third (31%) of Indonesians say Australia poses ‘a threat to the security of Indonesia’; however, this is well behind Malaysia, which 63% say poses a threat, as well as the United States (49%) and China (39%). Furthermore, on a scale of 0 to 10, Indonesians have moved from neutrality to disagreement that ‘Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat’ (with a mean of 4.4, down from 5.0 in 2006).

Perhaps most worrying of all, however, was when asked whether they were in favour or against the Indonesian government taking a range of approaches to the Australian government, 12% of Indonesians are in favour of the Indonesian government ‘encouraging militant groups to attack Australia’. Fifteen per cent are also in favour of ‘establishing a boycott to stop people buying Australian products’. Most (78%) of those in favour of encouraging militant groups to attack Australia were also in favour of a boycott.

Of the 12% (a small sub-sample) in favour of ‘encouraging militant groups to attack Australia’, 71% are under 40 and come from West Java or neighbouring Banten Province (63%), with most (58%) saying they speak Sunda at home. None was illiterate nor lacking any formal education. Interestingly, most of the 12% do not agree with suicide attacks in Indonesia. Seventy-three per cent of this group say ‘the suicide bombing attacks that have occurred in Indonesia over the last few years’ are ‘never justified’ (full results for this question below).

This is clearly an extremist rump of alienated Indonesians, and the data suggests these views do not enjoy support across the overwhelming majority of Indonesian society. Nevertheless, this should remain a significant concern to Western policy-makers seeking to engage Indonesia and the Indonesian people themselves.

LARGEST AID DONOR

According to the OECD, by grant aid, Australia is the single largest bilateral donor to Indonesia (\$US 324 million) followed by the United States (\$US 263 million), Japan (\$US 170 million), Germany (\$US 154 million) and The Netherlands (\$US 81 million).⁵ However, most Indonesians do not identify Australia as the country that ‘provides the most aid’, suggesting some work is needed to improve Australia’s approach to branding. Only 14% correctly identify Australia as Indonesia’s top aid donor, while a third (33%) of Indonesians say the United States provides the most aid and 24% say Japan. Six per cent say Saudi Arabia, 5% China and 4% Great Britain. Just 2% say it is Germany and 1% The Netherlands.

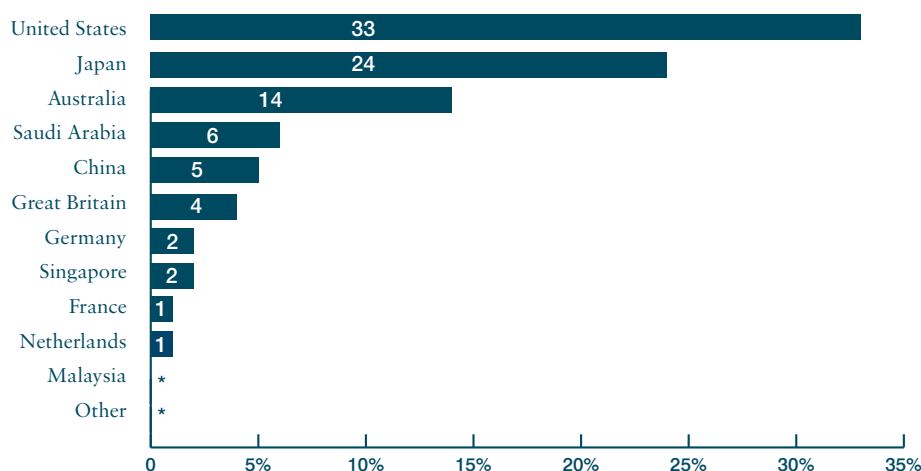
SECURITY

FEELINGS OF SAFETY

When it comes to feelings of safety and security, the results present a picture of an increasingly secure and confident nation, but one still building trust in other nations.

Figure 9: Top aid donors

Now please think about the aid Indonesia receives from foreign countries. Just based on what you know, which country do you think currently provides the most aid to Indonesia at the moment?



* Response given by less than 0.5% of respondents.

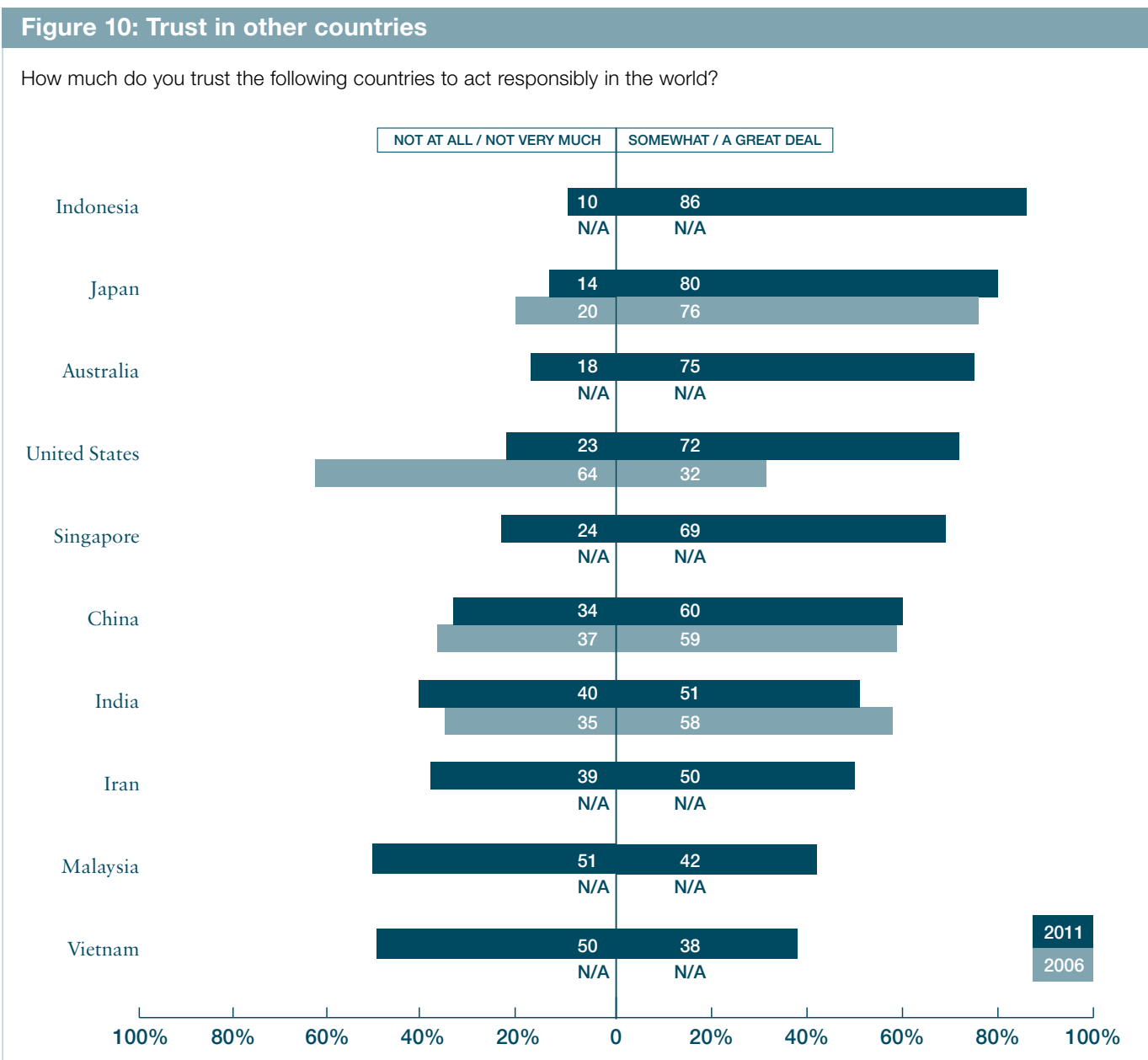
Sixty-eight per cent of Indonesians now say they feel ‘safe’ or ‘very safe’, up from 43% in 2006, a very large 25-point increase. This is still lower than Australians’ feelings of safety, however. When Australians were asked this same question in the 2010 Lowy Institute Poll, 92% said they felt ‘safe’ or ‘very safe’.

TRUST IN OTHER COUNTRIES

When it came to trust in other countries ‘to act responsibly in the world’, Indonesians also revealed signs of caution, even about their own country. At an overall level, Japan is the most trusted of nine *foreign* nations included in the survey. Eighty

per cent of Indonesians trust it either ‘a great deal’ (24%, up from 18% in 2006) or ‘somewhat’ (56%). Australia was the second most trusted state, with 75% of Indonesians trusting it either ‘a great deal’ (17%) or ‘somewhat’ (58%). And in a remarkable turnaround, the United States had the highest proportion of Indonesians trusting it a great deal (28%, up from just 6% in 2006) and overall ranked third of foreign countries in terms of trust.

When asked about trust in their own country, Indonesians are positive, but cautious. Forty-five per cent of Indonesians



say they trust it ‘a great deal’ but a similar proportion (41%) trust it only ‘somewhat’. A small minority (10%), say they trust it ‘not very much’.

Overall, Vietnam was the least trusted of the countries included, with just 38% of Indonesians trusting it either ‘a great deal’ (5%) or ‘somewhat’ (33%), followed closely by Malaysia (42%) and Iran (50%). China was trusted by 60% of Indonesians either ‘a great deal’ (15%) or ‘somewhat’ (45%).

These overall trust levels were similar to those of Australians, who were asked the same question in the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll. Eighty-three per cent of Australians trust the United States either ‘a great deal’ (40%) or ‘somewhat’ (43%) and 83% trust Japan either ‘a great deal’ (30%) or ‘somewhat’ (53%). Exactly the same proportion of Australians as Indonesians (60%) trust China to act responsibly in the world.

THREATS

While Indonesians appear to be increasingly secure in the world, this confidence transition is still not complete, with Indonesians identifying a broad range of unconventional internal and external threats.

Presented with a list of 13 ‘possible threats to the vital interests of Indonesia in the next 10 years’, Indonesians see the most severe threats as securing enough food, national integrity and terrorism.

‘Food shortages’ are seen as the greatest threat (83% say it is ‘a critical threat’), closely followed by ‘internal unrest’ (82%) and ‘Indonesia being broken up into several different countries’ (78%). ‘International terrorism’ and ‘AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics’ are both viewed by 73% of Indonesians as ‘a critical threat’. Majorities of Indonesians also view ‘international financial instability’ (61%), ‘disruption in energy supply’ (59%) and ‘global warming’ (54%) as critical threats.

Notably, while ‘international terrorism’ ranked very highly as ‘a critical threat’ (73%), ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ was the lowest ranked of the 13 possible threats, with 39% saying it is ‘a critical threat’ (although only 19% say Islamic fundamentalism is ‘not an important threat at all’).

The same question and a similar list of 12 threats were presented to Australians in the 2009 Lowy Institute Poll. Several possible threats are seen as almost equally critical in both countries. These were: ‘International terrorism’ (considered a critical threat by 73% of Indonesians and 68% of Australians); ‘global warming’ (seen as critical by 54% of Indonesians and 52% of Australians); and ‘the development of China as a world power’ (considered critical by 40% of Indonesians and Australians).

THREATS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Presented with a list of eight countries and asked whether or not each poses a threat ‘to the security of Indonesia in the next 10 years’, only one country – Malaysia – is viewed by a majority (63%) of Indonesians as posing a threat. The United States (49% saying it poses a threat) and China (39%) completed the top three. A third (31%) say Australia poses a threat and 23% North Korea. Vietnam was seen as the least threatening with just 11% saying it poses a threat, even though, as noted above, trust levels in Vietnam are low.

TERRORISM

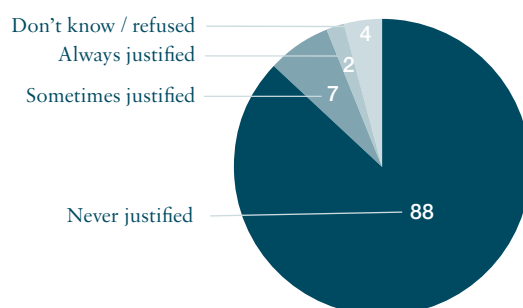
The overwhelming majority of Indonesians are opposed to terrorism in all circumstances. Eighty-eight per cent say ‘the suicide bombing attacks that have occurred in Indonesia over the last few years’ were ‘never justified’. However, there is a small rump that will be of ongoing concern to Indonesians: 7% say the attacks were ‘sometimes justified’ and 2% say they were ‘always justified’.

Most Indonesians appear aware the views of this group of extremists represent a challenge, with 83% agreeing ‘terrorism is a problem in Indonesia’ (13% disagree). Forty-two per cent also agree ‘radical Islam is a growing force in Indonesia’ (the same proportion disagrees). Nevertheless, as mentioned, Indonesians rank ‘Islamic fundamentalism’ as the lowest possible threat to the vital interests of Indonesia in the next 10 years.

Indonesians also appear to have very little sympathy for terrorists. A large majority (81%) of Indonesians say they are aware ‘that Abu Bakar Bashir was recently imprisoned for terrorism-related offences’ and when reminded that this was for 15 years, a third (31%) say this sentence is ‘too lenient’,

Figure 11: Terrorism

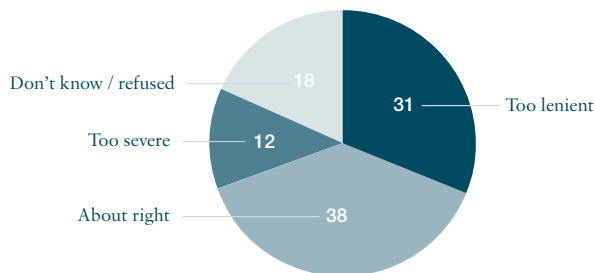
Thinking about the suicide bombing attacks that have occurred in Indonesia over the last few years. Do you personally think these attacks were...



and 38% that it is ‘about the right length’. Just 12% say it is ‘too severe’. The proportion of Indonesians saying the sentence was ‘too lenient’ decreased with age, with 39% of 17 to 24 year olds saying it was ‘too lenient’ compared with 23% of those 50 years and older.

Figure 12: Abu Bakar Bashir’s sentence

Abu Bakar Bashir was recently sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for terrorism-related offences. Do you personally think this sentence was too lenient, too severe or about the right length?



RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

As a very diverse, but majority Muslim nation, Indonesians expressed disparate opinions in their responses to questions dealing with religious tolerance. At an overall level, 30% of Indonesians say religious tolerance in Indonesia is ‘increasing’ and 37% that it is ‘staying about the same’. Just 27% say it is ‘decreasing’.

When it came to the Ahmadiyya – an Islamic sect considered by some Muslims to be heretical and which has been subject to some disturbing recent harassment – most Indonesians (61%) disagree that ‘it is okay for groups to intimidate members of the Ahmadiyya’.

When it came to visible signs of religions other than Islam there was less widespread tolerance. Three-quarters (73%) of Indonesians disagree that ‘it is okay for new churches to be built in mostly Muslim neighbourhoods’.

On the issue of Chinese-Indonesians, who have been the victims of vigilante attacks in the past, 64% of Indonesians agree ‘the power of the Indonesian-Chinese needs to be reduced’.

INDONESIANS ON DEMOCRACY

Indonesians are at home with democracy, but there is a clear need to broaden the democratic dividend across all segments of Indonesian society.

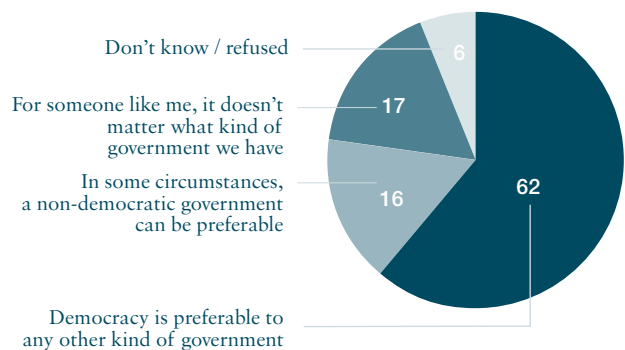
Asked to say which of three statements comes closest to their

own view of democracy, 62% of Indonesians choose the most pro-democracy option, saying ‘democracy is preferable to any other kind of government’. A small group (16%) say ‘in some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable’ and a similar proportion (17%) say ‘for someone like me it doesn’t matter what kind of government we have’.

As indicated in Figure 6 above, Indonesians also identify themselves as living in a new democracy. The statement ‘Indonesia is an emerging democracy’ receives a mean rating of eight on a 0 to 10 scale (where 0 means ‘strongly disagree’ and 10 ‘strongly agree’). A very high 63% of Indonesians choose a number from 8 to 10, suggesting the strength of this view. They also feel Indonesia is acknowledged for this democratic transition, with the statement ‘Indonesia is recognised by the international community for its democratic achievements’ getting a mean rating of 7.3 and 41% of Indonesians choosing a number from 8 to 10 indicating strong agreement.

Figure 13: Democracy

I am going to read you three statements about democracy. Please say which one of the three statements comes closest to your own personal views about democracy.



DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Indonesians overwhelmingly believe in core democratic values. Almost every Indonesian adult (97%) agrees that ‘the right to a fair trial’ is important for them in Indonesia. There is similar near-universal agreement over ‘the right to freely express yourself’ (96%) and ‘the right to vote in national elections’ (95%). Notably, these views are powerfully held, with considerable majorities saying they ‘strongly agree’ with these rights. Of the four democratic values presented, the only one over which Indonesians are split is ‘the right to a media free from censorship’ (52% agree and 43% disagree), perhaps owing to some concerns over media integrity in Indonesia picked up in other polling.⁶

LIFE DURING AND AFTER SUHARTO

Despite these positive indicators, there are concerning signs of fragility. To ascertain whether Indonesians think the democratic era has brought improvements compared with life under authoritarian rule, the poll asked whether they remembered ‘what life in Indonesia was like when Suharto was President’, and then whether they ‘think life in Indonesia was better when Suharto was President or has it been better since Suharto’s presidency ended’.

Despite its young population, 86% of Indonesians say they remember life under Suharto, including 74% of 17 to 24 year olds. And a majority (55%) of Indonesians say life was better when Suharto was President, while only 18% say it has been better since his presidency ended (21% say it is ‘about the same’). Younger Indonesians are less likely than older Indonesians to say life was better under Suharto - 48% of 17 to 29 year-olds express this view compared with 60% of those aged 50 years and older.

Indonesians remained neutral toward the statement ‘Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military’, with a mean of 5.2 on the 0 to 10 scale discussed above (See Figure 6) down from 5.9 in 2006.

INDONESIANS ON CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

Indonesians share many common concerns with Australians about China. However, they perceive fewer benefits from China’s rise, and are more likely to view it as a threat. They are generally more convinced than are Australians about the longevity of American military power.

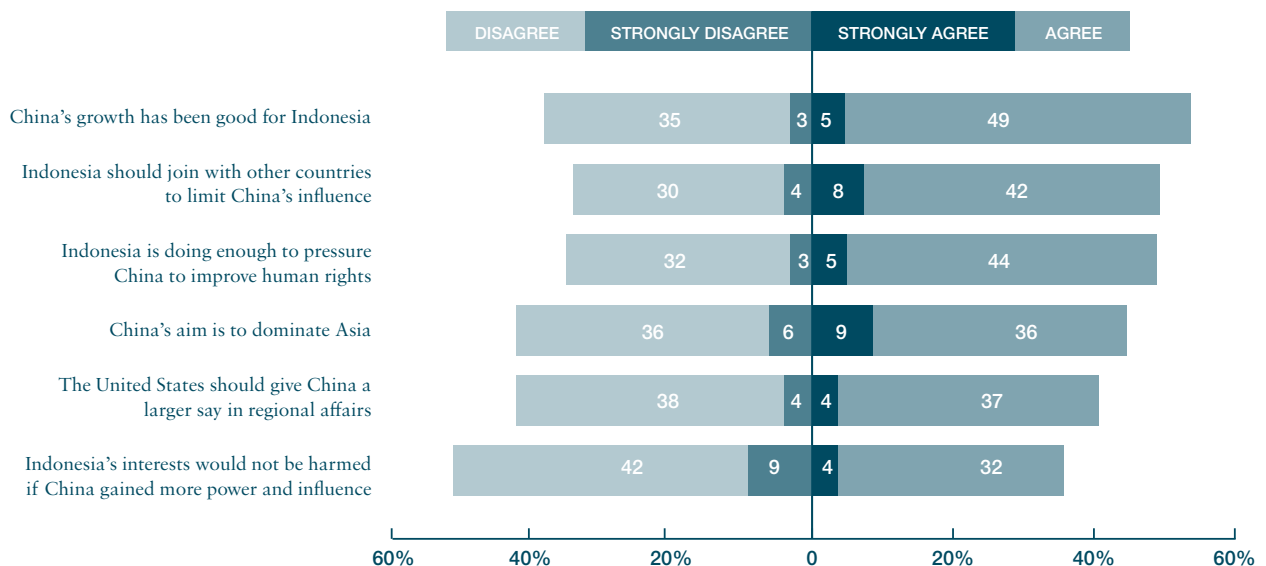
CHINA’S RISE

Only a slim majority (54%) of Indonesians agree ‘China’s growth has been good for Indonesia’ and just a third (36%) that ‘Indonesia’s interests would not be harmed if China gained more power and influence’. Half (50%) agree that ‘Indonesia should join with other countries to limit China’s influence’, while 34% disagree. Indonesians are equally divided over whether ‘the United States should give China a larger say in regional affairs’ with 41% agreeing and 42% disagreeing. They are similarly split over whether ‘China’s aim is to dominate Asia’, with 45% agreeing and 42% disagreeing. More (49%) tend to agree that ‘Indonesia is doing enough to pressure China to improve human rights’, but a third (35%) disagree.

These same questions were asked of Australians in the 2011

Figure 14: Attitudes towards China

Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:



Lowy Institute Poll. In contrast with Indonesians, Australians were more likely to agree (75%) ‘China’s growth has been good for Australia’. Australians were also more likely to agree ‘China’s aim is to dominate Asia’ with 65% agreeing compared with 45% of Indonesians, although this difference might be largely explained by the fact that most Indonesians do not believe China is, or will be, the leading power in Asia, while almost all Australians do (see below). The same proportion (50%) of Australians and Indonesians agree their country ‘should join with other countries to limit China’s influence’.

LEADING MILITARY AND ECONOMIC POWER IN ASIA

Asked about Chinese power in Asia, Indonesians had a very different assessment from Australians. Most (54%) Indonesians disagree ‘China will become the leading power in Asia or, ... it already is the leading power in Asia’, while only a third (32%) agree. Of this 32%, most (58%) say they are uncomfortable with this development. When the same question was asked in Australia in the 2009 Lowy Institute Poll, 95% of Australians agreed China is, or will become, the leading power in Asia and of this 95%, half (52%) said they are uncomfortable about this.

In contrast, as discussed above (page 6), China is seen as the current leader of Southeast Asia by 29% of Indonesians,

while the United States is afforded this status by only 18%. Similarly, when it comes to whether China, the United States or another country ‘will be the leading economic power in Asia in 20 years’, 52% of Indonesians say China, while just 23% that it will be the United States.

In military terms, however, the results of the poll paint a very different picture. Most Indonesians (58%) back the United States to be ‘the leading military power in Asia in 20 years’, compared to only a quarter (25%) who say it will be China.

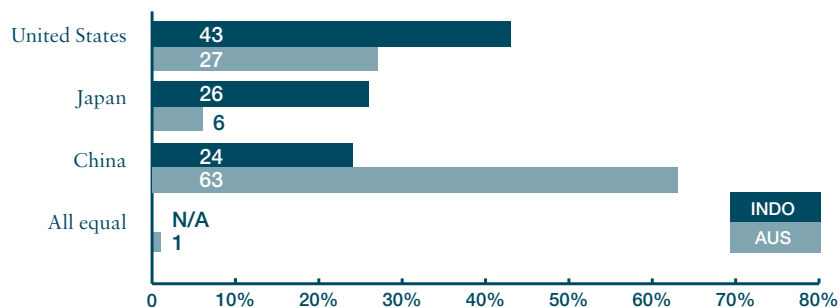
MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMY TO INDONESIA

However, at least for now, Indonesians are almost twice as likely to say the economy of the United States ‘is the most important to Indonesia at the moment’ compared with the Chinese economy (43% versus 24%). Even the Japanese economy is perceived as more important than China’s with 26% saying it is ‘the most important’. This is particularly interesting as the IMF currently ranks the United States only as Indonesia’s fourth largest two-way merchandise trading partner (behind Japan, China and Singapore).⁷ When the same question was asked of Australians in the 2009 Lowy Poll, the results were very different: most (63%) Australians said China’s was the most important economy to Australia and just 27% the economy of the United States.

Figure 15: Most important economy

Thinking about the economies of the United States, China and Japan, which one do you think is the most important to Indonesia at the moment?

(Parallel results are reported from the 2009 Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia)



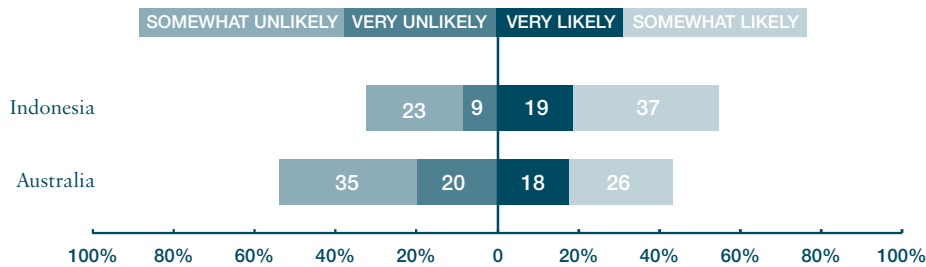
CHINA AS A MILITARY THREAT

Even though most Indonesians believe the United States will be the leading military power in Asia in 20 years, most (56%) also say it is likely ‘China will become a military threat to Indonesia in the next 20 years’. A third (32%) say this is unlikely, but just 9% of Indonesians say this is ‘very unlikely’. Compared to Australians, Indonesians are slightly

Presented with three options for dealing with global warming, the largest proportion of Indonesians (48%) choose the intermediate proposition that ‘the problem of global warming should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost’. In the 2011 Lowy Poll conducted in Australia, 40% of Australians held this view.

Figure 16: China as a military threat

Do you think it is likely or unlikely that China will become a military threat to Indonesia in the next 20 years?
 (Parallel results are reported from the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia)



more concerned about China. In the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Australia, 44% of Australians said it was likely ‘China will become a military threat to Australia in the next 20 years’, while 55% said this was unlikely.

However, a third (31%) of Indonesians support the most aggressive form of action that ‘global warming is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs’. In Australia, in 2011, 41% of Australians held this view.

GLOBAL WARMING

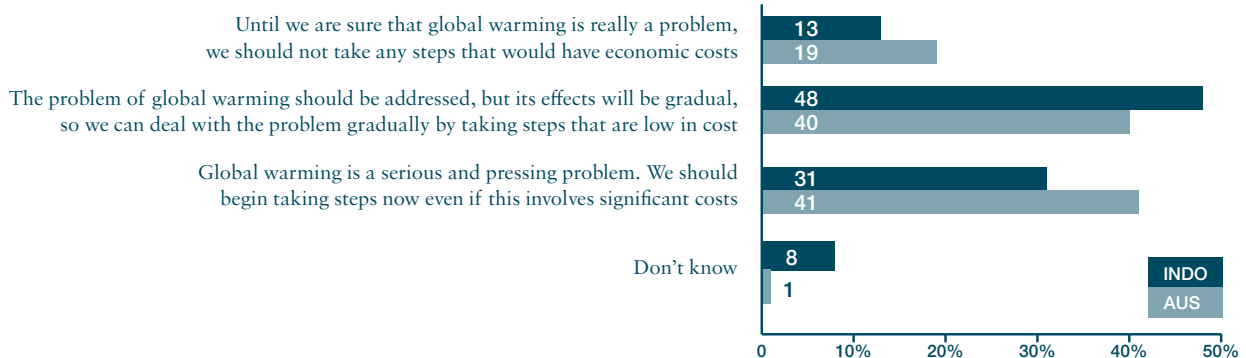
Indonesians and Australians share similar views about how to respond to global warming, although Indonesians tend to be slightly more moderate.

The most sceptical position that ‘until we are sure that global warming is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs’ is supported by 13% of Indonesians compared with 19% of Australians.

Figure 17: Global warming

Now about global warming. There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Indonesia, should do about the problem of global warming. I’m going to read you three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view.

(Parallel results are reported from the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia)



Tables of results

Please note that totals may not add to 100% due to rounding. Each response option has been rounded individually and grouped responses (e.g. those who 'somewhat agree' plus 'strongly agree') have not been rounded at the group level.

Throughout the tables an "*" represents a response given by less than 0.5% of people.

ECONOMIC OPTIMISM

Table 1: Overall, how optimistic are you about Indonesia's economic performance in the world over the next five years? [Parallel results are reported for the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2010]

	Indonesian Results 2011	Australian Results 2010
Very optimistic	16%	19%
Optimistic	63%	67%
Total optimistic	79%	86%
Pessimistic	14%	10%
Very Pessimistic	1%	3%
Total pessimistic	15%	13%
Don't know	5%	1%
Refused	*	N/A

RIGHT/WRONG DIRECTION

Table 2: Overall, do you personally think that things in Indonesia are going in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

Right Direction	68%
Wrong Direction	24%
Don't know	7%
Refused	1%

GLOBALISATION

Table 3: Do you believe that globalisation, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for Indonesia?

	2011	2006
Mostly good	67%	61%
Mostly bad	26%	31%
Don't know	7%	8%
Refused	*	N/A

FOREIGN SOVEREIGN INVESTMENT

Table 4a: If a company, bank or investment fund controlled by a foreign government was trying to buy a controlling stake in a major Indonesian company, please say whether you would be strongly in favour, in favour, opposed, strongly opposed or you don't know, if the foreign government was:

	Strongly in favour	In favour	Total in favour	Opposed	Strongly opposed	Total opposed	Don't know	Refused
The government of Japan	14%	51%	65%	20%	6%	26%	8%	*
The government of Singapore	9%	54%	63%	22%	5%	27%	10%	1%
The government of Australia	8%	53%	61%	22%	8%	30%	9%	*
The government of Saudi Arabia	10%	47%	57%	24%	8%	32%	11%	*
The government of the United States	12%	44%	56%	26%	9%	35%	9%	*
The government of China	7%	45%	52%	33%	8%	41%	7%	*
The government of The Netherlands	5%	40%	45%	34%	12%	46%	9%	1%

Table 4b: Parallel results from the 2008 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Australia [Sample size: 1,001]

	Strongly in favour	In favour	Total in favour	Opposed	Strongly opposed	Total opposed	Don't know
The government of Great Britain	5%	38%	43%	38%	14%	52%	5%
The government of the United States	4%	30%	34%	43%	20%	63%	4%
The government of China	1%	16%	17%	45%	33%	78%	6%
The government of Japan	2%	20%	22%	45%	27%	72%	6%
The government of Singapore	2%	21%	23%	48%	22%	70%	7%
The government of the United Arab Emirates	*	17%	17%	47%	27%	74%	9%

FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

Table 5a: Thinking about what Indonesian foreign policy should be trying to achieve, I am going to read a list of goals, and ask you to tell me how important each one is for Indonesia. Please say whether you think each issue is very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important.

	Very important	Fairly important	Total important	Not very important	Not at all important	Total not important	Don't know	Refused
Protecting the jobs of Indonesian workers	84%	14%	98%	*	*	1%	2%	*
Protecting Indonesian citizens abroad	83%	14%	97%	1%	*	1%	2%	*
Strengthening the Indonesian economy	82%	14%	96%	1%	*	1%	2%	*
Promoting Indonesian businesses overseas	64%	29%	93%	3%	*	3%	4%	*
Combating international terrorism	60%	29%	89%	6%	1%	7%	4%	*
Strengthening ASEAN, or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations	56%	33%	89%	5%	*	5%	5%	*
Strengthening the United Nations	52%	36%	88%	6%	*	6%	6%	*
Helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons	44%	33%	77%	14%	2%	16%	7%	1%
Tackling climate change	43%	38%	81%	10%	2%	12%	7%	*
Promoting democracy in other countries	34%	32%	66%	22%	5%	27%	6%	*
Building close relations with the United States	33%	45%	78%	14%	3%	17%	4%	*
Building close relations with Australia	31%	49%	80%	14%	2%	16%	4%	*
Controlling asylum seekers	29%	37%	66%	22%	2%	24%	8%	1%
Building close relations with China	28%	42%	70%	22%	2%	24%	5%	*

Table 5b: Parallel results from the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Australia [Sample size: 1,002]

2011							
	Very important	Fairly important	Total important	Not very important	Not at all important	Total not important	Don't know
Protecting the jobs of Australian workers	81%	17%	98%	2%	1%	3%	*
Helping to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons	76%	17%	93%	6%	1%	7%	*
Combating international terrorism	73%	21%	94%	4%	2%	6%	*
Protecting Australian citizens abroad	72%	25%	97%	2%	1%	3%	*
Strengthening the Australian economy	70%	27%	97%	2%	*	2%	-
Controlling illegal immigration	64%	26%	90%	8%	2%	10%	*
Improving Australia's relationships with its immediate neighbours in the Pacific	58%	36%	94%	5%	*	5%	*
Promoting Australian businesses overseas	55%	38%	93%	7%	1%	8%	*
Helping countries in our region to reduce poverty	54%	35%	89%	9%	2%	11%	*
Tackling climate change	46%	33%	79%	13%	8%	21%	*
Maintaining close ties with the United States	37%	48%	85%	13%	2%	15%	*
Seeking a seat on the UN Security Council	32%	38%	70%	20%	7%	27%	4%

FEELINGS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES

Table 6: Please rate your feelings towards some countries, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favourable your feelings are toward that country. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country please say so. #

Country	2011 Mean°	2006 Mean°
Japan	66	64
Singapore	64	59
United States	64	54
Australia	62	51
South Korea	60	51
Thailand	60	N/A
Great Britain	59	54
China	58	58
The Netherlands	58	N/A
India	55	56
Malaysia	53	66
New Zealand	52	N/A
North Korea	51	50
Vietnam	49	N/A
Iran	47	51
Papua New Guinea	46	45
Afghanistan	44	N/A
Iraq	44	50
East Timor	44	43
Libya	40	N/A
Israel	30	39

In 2006, this question asked Indonesians about their feelings towards ‘countries *and* peoples.’

INDONESIA’S INFLUENCE

Table 7: Thinking now about Indonesia’s influence generally in the world compared to other countries, do you think Indonesia is roughly among...

The top 10 most influential countries	20%
Not in the top 10 but among the top 20 most influential countries	37%
Not in the top 20 but among the top 30 most influential countries	19%
Not in the top 30 most influential countries	9%
Don’t know	14%
Refused	1%

THE LEADER OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Table 8: Thinking now about the country you personally see as the current leader of Southeast Asia. Which one of the following countries do you personally think is the current leader of Southeast Asia? Or is there no leader? By leader of Southeast Asia, we mean the country that has the most influence in this region.

China	29%
Indonesia	26%
United States	18%
Singapore	7%
No leader	5%
Malaysia	3%
Thailand	2%
Vietnam	1%
Japan [#]	1%
Other country	*
Don't know	8%
Refused	1%

[#] Japan was not included in the list presented to respondents.

MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

Table 9: Thinking about which international organisations are most important to Indonesia, please say which one of the following international organisations you personally think is the most important to Indonesia.

And which international organisation is second most important?

	Most important	Most important and second-most important
The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or ASEAN	40%	69%
The United Nations	34%	63%
The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, or APEC	7%	19%
The Non Aligned Movement	3%	10%
The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, or OIC	1%	5%
The G20 or Group of 20	1%	4%
None	1%	N/A
Don't know	12%	N/A
Refused	1%	N/A

WESTERN INFLUENCE

Table 10: And now about Western influence around the world. Compared to 10 years ago, do you feel that Western influence around the world has increased, decreased, or has it stayed about the same compared to 10 years ago? [Parallel results are reported for the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2011, sample size 1,002]

	Indonesian Results 2011	Australian Results 2011
Increased	66%	47%
Stayed about the same	15%	21%
Decreased	10%	31%
Don't know	9%	1%
Refused	*	N/A

Table 11: And do you personally regard this as more of a good thing or more of a bad thing?

	Those saying Western influence has increased [Sample base: 806]	Those saying Western influence has stayed about the same [Sample base: 185]	Those saying Western influence has decreased [Sample base: 133]
More of a good thing	50%	56%	50%
More of a bad thing	48%	31%	48%
Don't know	1%	11%	2%
Refused	*	2%	-

RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA

Table 12: I am going to read out two statements about Indonesia's relations with Australia. Please tell me which one you agree with more [Parallel results are reported for the nationally representative Lowy Institute polls fielded in Australia in 2011 and 2006 with sample sizes of 1,007 and 1,002 respectively].

	2011		2006	
	Indonesian Results	Australian Results	Indonesian Results	Australian Results
It is very important that Australia and Indonesia work to develop a close relationship	70%	77%	64%	77%
Australia and Indonesia are too different to develop a close relationship	22%	22%	36%	22%
Don't know	8%	1%	*	1%
Refused	*	N/A	N/A	N/A

AUSTRALIA-INDONESIA RELATIONS

Table 14a: I am now going to read out a number of statements about Australia and Indonesia. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each one using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

	Australia's policy toward Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States		Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia		Australia has been an important aid partner for Indonesia		Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long-term friend of Indonesia		Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour		Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much	
	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006
0 to 2	3%	4%	7%	7%	3%	N/A	6%	17%	7%	14%	14%	6%
3 to 7	57%	56%	50%	49%	67%	N/A	58%	63%	66%	66%	55%	54%
8 to 10	25%	28%	31%	36%	21%	N/A	27%	14%	17%	13%	22%	35%
Don't know	14%	12%	11%	9%	9%	N/A	8%	6%	9%	6%	9%	6%
Refused	1%	N/A	1%	N/A	*	N/A	*	N/A	*	N/A	*	N/A
Mean	6.5	6.6	6.3	6.8	6.3	N/A	6.2	5.3	5.8	5.3	5.5	6.7

Table 14b: Parallel results from the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Australia [Sample size: 1,002]

	Indonesia benefits from having Australia as a stable and prosperous neighbour		Australia has shown itself to be a reliable long-term friend of Indonesia		Australia's policy towards Indonesia and the region is shaped too heavily by its alliance with the United States		Indonesia is right to worry that Australia is seeking to separate the province of West Papua from Indonesia		Australia has a tendency to try to interfere in Indonesia's affairs too much	
	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006
0 to 2	2%	2%	1%	4%	8%	9%	15%	17%	17%	19%
3 to 7	41%	43%	54%	50%	72%	53%	63%	58%	69%	59%
8 to 10	55%	54%	44%	44%	15%	35%	11%	15%	11%	21%
Don't know	2%	1%	1%	2%	5%	3%	11%	10%	2%	2%
Mean	7.5	7.4	7.2	7.0	5.3	6.3	4.8	5.0	4.6	5.1

Table 15a: Next, I am going to read out a number of statements about Indonesia. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each one, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.

	Indonesia is an emerging democracy		Indonesia is recognised by the international community for its democratic achievements		Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in our region		Indonesia helps Australia combat smuggling [#]		Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military		Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat	
	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006
0 to 2	*	1%	1%	N/A	3%	13%	3%	N/A	16%	14%	21%	25%
3 to 7	34%	36%	51%	N/A	63%	62%	66%	N/A	62%	59%	58%	57%
8 to 10	63%	61%	41%	N/A	27%	20%	19%	N/A	17%	23%	9%	12%
Don't know	3%	2%	7%	N/A	7%	5%	12%	N/A	5%	4%	11%	6%
Refused	-	N/A	*	N/A	*	N/A	*	N/A	*	N/A	1%	N/A
Mean	8.0	8.0	7.3	N/A	6.7	5.8	6.3	N/A	5.2	5.9	4.4	5.0

[#] The word 'people' was inadvertently omitted from the Indonesian translation fielded in 2011.

Table 15b: Parallel results from the 2011 Lowy Institute Poll conducted in Australia [Sample size: 1,002]

	Indonesia is essentially controlled by the military		Indonesia is a dangerous source of Islamic terrorism		Australia is right to worry about Indonesia as a military threat		Indonesian cooperation with Australia has been important in helping us contain the terrorist threat in our region		Indonesia is an emerging democracy		Indonesia helps Australia combat people smuggling	
	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006	2011	2006
0 to 2	3%	3%	7%	7%	11%	12%	9%	14%	12%	14%	24%	N/A
3 to 7	52%	52%	53%	52%	55%	50%	62%	61%	70%	67%	64%	N/A
8 to 10	40%	39%	39%	38%	33%	38%	26%	23%	14%	15%	9%	N/A
Don't know	4%	6%	2%	3%	1%	1%	3%	2%	5%	5%	2%	N/A
Mean	6.9	6.8	6.5	6.5	6.1	6.2	5.8	5.4	5.2	5.1	4.3	N/A

Table 16: Thinking now about the issues the Indonesian and Australian governments should be working on together - I am going to read out a list of issues and would like you to please tell me whether you personally would be in favour or against the Indonesian and Australian governments working together on these issues.

	Education	Health	Trade	Counter-terrorism	Climate change	Development in Indonesia	Refugees	Stability in the region
In favour	95%	92%	87%	84%	80%	75%	69%	64%
Against	2%	4%	9%	11%	10%	19%	21%	25%
Don't know	3%	4%	4%	5%	9%	6%	9%	9%
Refused	*	*	*	*	1%	*	1%	1%

Table 17: Thinking about the approach the Indonesian government should be taking with the Australian government please tell me whether you personally are in favour or against the Indonesian government doing each of the following with the Australian government:

	Promoting more educational exchanges between Australia and Indonesia	Trying to make it easier for Indonesians to get visas to study and work in Australia	Building closer relations with Australia	Promoting more trade and investment between Australia and Indonesia	Building greater understanding between Australia and Indonesia	Establishing a boycott to stop people buying Australian products	Encouraging militant groups to attack Australia
In favour	90%	85%	82%	80%	80%	15%	12%
Against	4%	7%	12%	13%	11%	70%	76%
Don't know	5%	8%	5%	6%	8%	13%	10%
Refused	*	*	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%

TOP AID DONORS

Table 18: Now please think about the aid Indonesia receives from foreign countries. Just based on what you know, which country do you think currently provides the most aid to Indonesia at the moment?

And which country provides the second most aid?

	The most	The most and the second most
United States	33%	47%
Japan	24%	41%
Australia	14%	31%
Saudi Arabia	6%	13%
China	5%	15%
Great Britain	4%	7%
Germany	2%	8%
Singapore	2%	6%
France	1%	4%
The Netherlands	1%	3%
Malaysia	*	*
Switzerland	-	*
Other	*	N/A
Don't know	7%	N/A
Refused	*	*

FEELINGS OF SAFETY

Table 19: Thinking about world events, how safe do you feel?

	2011	2006
Very safe	5%	4%
Safe	63%	39%
Total safe	68%	43%
Unsafe	27%	50%
Very unsafe	3%	4%
Total unsafe	30%	54%
Don't know	1%	2%
Refused	*	N/A

TRUST IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Table 20a: How much do you trust the following countries to act responsibly in the world?

2011								
	A great deal	Somewhat	Total: a great deal/ somewhat	Not very much	Not at all	Total: not very much/ not at all	Don't know	Refused
Indonesia	45%	41%	86%	10%	*	10%	4%	*
Japan	24%	56%	80%	11%	3%	14%	5%	*
Australia	17%	58%	75%	17%	1%	18%	7%	*
United States	28%	44%	72%	17%	6%	23%	5%	*
Singapore	11%	58%	69%	21%	3%	24%	7%	*
China	15%	45%	60%	31%	3%	34%	6%	*
India	6%	45%	51%	33%	7%	40%	9%	1%
Iran	8%	42%	50%	32%	7%	39%	10%	1%
Malaysia	4%	38%	42%	40%	11%	51%	6%	*
Vietnam	5%	33%	38%	40%	10%	50%	12%	1%

Table 20b:

	A great deal		Total: a great deal and somewhat	
	2011	2006	2011	2006
Indonesia	45%	N/A	86%	N/A
United States	28%	6%	72%	32%
Japan	24%	18%	80%	76%
Australia	17%	N/A	75%	N/A
China	15%	6%	60%	59%
Singapore	11%	N/A	69%	N/A
Iran	8%	N/A	50%	N/A
India	6%	5%	51%	58%
Vietnam	5%	N/A	38%	N/A
Malaysia	4%	N/A	42%	N/A

POSSIBLE THREATS

Table 21: I am now going to read out a list of possible threats to the vital interests of Indonesia in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

	A critical threat	An important, but not critical threat	Not an important threat at all	Don't know	Refused
Food shortages	83%	10%	3%	3%	*
Internal unrest	82%	12%	2%	3%	*
Indonesia being broken up into several different countries	78%	15%	2%	4%	*
International terrorism	73%	19%	3%	5%	*
AIDS, avian flu and other potential epidemics	73%	19%	2%	5%	*
International financial instability	61%	28%	4%	8%	*
Disruption in energy supply	59%	29%	5%	7%	1%
Global warming	54%	34%	5%	7%	*
Economic competition from China	49%	33%	11%	6%	*
Failing countries in our region	47%	34%	10%	9%	*
The development of China as a world power	40%	35%	17%	7%	*
Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into Indonesia	40%	40%	11%	8%	*
Islamic fundamentalism	39%	31%	19%	10%	1%

THREATS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Table 22: Thinking about possible threats to Indonesia over the next ten years. For each of the following countries please say whether you think it poses a threat or does not pose a threat to the security of Indonesia in the next ten years?

	Malaysia	United States	China	Australia	North Korea	Japan	Singapore	Vietnam
Poses a threat	63%	49%	39%	31%	23%	17%	12%	11%
Does not pose a threat	30%	42%	53%	59%	62%	74%	76%	73%
Don't know	7%	8%	8%	10%	14%	8%	11%	16%
Refused	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	*	1%	1%

TERRORISM

Table 23: Now for a few questions about terrorism.

Thinking about the suicide bombing attacks that have occurred in Indonesia over the last few years. Do you personally think these attacks were...

Never justified	88%
Sometimes justified	7%
Always justified	2%
Don't know	3%
Refused	1%

Table 24: Still on terrorism. Do you personally agree or disagree that terrorism is a problem in Indonesia?

Agree	83%
Disagree	13%
Don't know	4%
Refused	1%

Table 25: Next, are you aware, or not aware that Abu Bakar Bashir was recently imprisoned for terrorism-related offences?

Yes	81%
No	13%
Don't know	5%
Refused	1%

Table 26: [As you know] Abu Bakar Bashir was recently sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for terrorism-related offences. What is your opinion of this sentence? Do you personally think this sentence was too lenient, too severe, or about the right length?

Too lenient	31%
About right	38%
Too severe	12%
Don't know	13%
Refused	5%

RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

Table 27: Do you personally think religious intolerance in Indonesia is increasing, decreasing or is it staying about the same?

Increasing	30%
Staying about the same	37%
Decreasing	27%
Don't know	5%
Refused	1%

Table 28: I am now going to read you a few statements. Please tell me whether you personally agree or disagree with each one.

	The power of the Indonesian-Chinese needs to be reduced	Radical Islam is a growing force in Indonesia	It is okay for groups to intimidate members of the Ahmadiyya	It is okay for new churches to be built in mostly Muslim neighbourhoods
Agree	64%	42%	27%	20%
Disagree	27%	42%	61%	73%
Don't know	7%	13%	10%	6%
Refused	2%	3%	2%	2%

DEMOCRACY

Table 29: I am going to read you three statements about democracy. Please say which one of the three statements comes closest to your own personal views about democracy.

Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	62%
In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable	16%
For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have	17%
Don't know	5%
Refused	1%

DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Table 30: And now I will ask you about the United Nations and human rights. The United Nations has set out a number of human rights that it says apply to all people throughout the world. I am going to read you a few of these. For each one, please say whether you personally agree or disagree that it is important for you here in Indonesia. You can choose any of the answers here on this card...

	The right to a fair trial	The right to freely express yourself	The right to vote in national elections	The right to a media free from censorship
Strongly agree	83%	71%	67%	24%
Partly agree	14%	25%	28%	28%
Total agree	97%	96%	95%	52%
Partly disagree	1%	2%	3%	21%
Strongly disagree	-	-	*	22%
Total disagree	1%	2%	3%	43%
Don't know	2%	2%	2%	4%
Refused	*	*	*	*

LIFE UNDER SUHARTO

Table 31: Do you personally remember what life in Indonesia was like when Suharto was President, or not?

	Total	17 to 24 years	25 to 29 years	30 to 39 years	40 to 49 years	50+
Yes	86%	74%	76%	90%	92%	89%
No	10%	19%	20%	7%	5%	5%
Don't know	4%	7%	4%	3%	3%	3%
Refused	1%	*	1%	1%	*	2%

Table 32: Regardless of how much you personally remember or know about life during Suharto's presidency – do you think life in Indonesia was better when Suharto was President or has it been better since Suharto's presidency ended? Or has it been about the same during both times?

Better when Suharto was President	55%
About the same	21%
Better after Suharto's presidency ended	18%
Don't know	5%
Refused	1%

ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHINA

Table 33: Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:

	China's growth has been good for Indonesia	Indonesia should join with other countries to limit China's influence	Indonesia is doing enough to pressure China to improve human rights	China's aim is to dominate Asia	The United States should give China a larger say in regional affairs	Indonesia's interests would not be harmed if China gained more power and influence
Strongly agree	5%	8%	5%	9%	4%	4%
Agree	49%	42%	44%	36%	37%	32%
Total agree	54%	50%	49%	45%	41%	36%
Disagree	35%	30%	32%	36%	38%	42%
Strongly disagree	3%	4%	3%	6%	4%	9%
Total disagree	38%	34%	35%	42%	42%	51%
Don't know	8%	14%	16%	13%	17%	12%
Refused	*	1%	1%	*	1%	1%

LEADING POWER IN ASIA

Table 34: Please say whether you agree or disagree that China will become the leading power in Asia or, do you think it already is the leading power in Asia? *[Parallel results are reported for the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2009, sample size 1,003]*

	Indonesian Results 2011	Australian Results 2009
Will become/ Already the leading power	32%	95%
Disagree	54%	4%
Don't know	14%	1%
Refused	1%	N/A

Table 35: You think China [will become the leading power in Asia/already is the leading power in Asia]. Please say whether you are very comfortable, somewhat comfortable, somewhat uncomfortable or very uncomfortable about this. *[Parallel results are reported from the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2009]*

	Indonesian Results 2011 [Sample base: 360]	Australian Results 2009 [Sample base: 948]
Very comfortable	4%	6%
Somewhat comfortable	36%	42%
Total comfortable	40%	48%
Somewhat uncomfortable	46%	37%
Very uncomfortable	12%	15%
Total uncomfortable	58%	52%
Don't know	3%	*
Refused	*	N/A

LEADING ECONOMIC POWER IN ASIA

Table 36: And what about the leading economic power in Asia in 20 years.

Do you personally think China or the United States will be the leading economic power in Asia in 20 years' time, or will it be another country?

China	52%
United States	23%
Japan	6%
Indonesia	2%
Malaysia	1%
Australia	1%
Singapore	*
Iran	*
North Korea	*
Another country	1%
Don't know	13%
Refused	1%

LEADING MILITARY POWER IN ASIA

Table 37: Now please think about which country will be the leading military power in Asia in 20 years.

Do you personally think China or the United States will be the leading military power in Asia in 20 years' time, or will it be another country?

United States	58%
China	25%
Japan	1%
Indonesia	1%
North Korea	1%
Iran	1%
Australia	*
Another country	1%
Don't know	11%
Refused	1%

MOST IMPORTANT ECONOMY

Table 38: Thinking about the economies of the United States, China and Japan, which one do you think is the most important to Indonesia at the moment? And which economy is the second most important? *[Parallel results are reported for the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2009, sample size 1,003]*

	Most important		Most important and second most important	
	Indonesian Results 2011	Australian Results 2009	Indonesian Results 2011	Australian Results 2009
United States	43%	27%	61%	69%
Japan	26%	6%	63%	38%
China	24%	63%	56%	85%
All equal	N/A	1%	N/A	2%
Don't know	6%	2%	N/A	2%
Refused	*	N/A	N/A	N/A

CHINA AS A MILITARY THREAT

Table 39: Do you think it is likely or unlikely that China will become a military threat to Indonesia in the next 20 years? *[Parallel results are reported from the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2011, sample size 1,002]*

	Indonesian Results 2011	Australian Results 2011
Very likely	19%	18%
Somewhat likely	37%	26%
Total likely	56%	44%
Somewhat unlikely	23%	35%
Very unlikely	9%	20%
Total unlikely	32%	55%
Don't know	10%	1%
Refused	1%	N/A

GLOBAL WARMING

Table 40: Now about global warming. There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including Indonesia, should do about the problem of global warming. I'm going to read you three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view. *[Parallel results are reported from the Lowy Institute Poll fielded in Australia in 2011, sample size 1,002]*

Notes

- ¹ Four areas were omitted from the national sample (Aceh, Maluku, Papua and Papua Barat), representing approximately 4% of the Indonesian population.
- ² Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Hansard, 10 March 2010, p 2139, <http://www.aph.gov.au/hansard/rep/dailys/dr100310.pdf>.
- ³ Peter Alford, Kevin Rudd urges firms to wake up to Indonesia, *The Australian*, 11 January 2012, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/business/economics/rudd-urges-firms-to-wake-up-to-indonesia/story-e6frg926-1226241202083>.
- ⁴ In 2006, this question asked Indonesians about their feelings towards ‘countries *and peoples*’. The words ‘and peoples’ were excluded from this survey.
- ⁵ OECD. StatExtracts, 2010, <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx>
- ⁶ Kompas, ‘Pers belum Bisa Memberikan Solusi’, 13 February 2012, <http://cetak.kompas.com/read/2012/02/13/01565786/pers.belum.bisa.memberikan.solusi>.
- ⁷ International Monetary Fund, *Direction of Trade Statistics* CD-ROM, January 2012.

About the Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll

The Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll was conducted in Indonesia between 20 November and 13 December 2011. A number of the questions in the poll were first asked in the last Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll carried out in 2006 as well as other Lowy Institute polls conducted in Australia and elsewhere. Repeating questions in successive years allows us to compare public opinion on a single issue over time, building trend data on important international policy issues.

Methodology

For this opinion poll, GfK Roper conducted 1,289 interviews between 20 November and 13 December 2011. Survey interviews were conducted via face-to-face interviews.

The sample was designed to be nationally representative of all Indonesians 17 years and older. However, four areas were omitted from the national sample (Aceh, Maluku, Papua and Papua Barat), representing approximately 4% of the Indonesian population.

The questionnaire was written in English and translated into Bahasa Indonesia and then reviewed for content, accuracy, and clarity.

A multi-stage stratified random sample was designed as follows. The population was arrayed by kabupaten/district. From this list of kabupatens in 30 provinces, 20 kabupatens were selected with probability proportional to the population of each, stratified by nine regions and five community tiers based on percent of urban population, population density, and per capita income. Each stratum characterises a particular community tier at the kabupaten level that includes a combination of all three factors.

Within each selected kabupaten, all settlements (urban areas and rural) were listed with associated populations, and a total of 120 sampling points were randomly selected across the 20 kabupatens.

Within each selected location, a minimum of two neighbourhood units were randomly selected (a neighbourhood unit contains 40 to 50 households). For each neighbourhood unit, five interviews were assigned.

For household selection, systematic random sampling with the pre-specified interval 1:5 (urban) and 1:4 (rural) was used. The Kish grid method was used to select from among the adults residing in a selected household. Up to three attempts in different points of time (morning, afternoon, evening, working day or weekend) were made to achieve an interview with the chosen respondent.

A soft quota on gender split (50/50) was administered, and a soft quota on age was monitored in order to ensure sufficient base sizes in each age/gender cross-cell.

Rim weighting was used to weight the sample to be representative of Indonesia's adult population, aged 17 years and over, on key demographic variables, so that the final weighted sample matched the actual distribution of adults, aged 17 years and over, on these variables. Data for this survey were weighted by age within sex and region according to the Indonesia National Bureau of Statistics.

All samples are subject to some degree of sampling 'error'—that is, statistical results obtained from a sample can be expected to differ somewhat from results that would be obtained if every member of the target population were interviewed. For this poll, the maximum margin of error at a 95% confidence level is within ± 3.3 percentage points for the total sample. Sub-sample margins of error may be significantly higher.

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Some of the questions in this survey were modelled on those developed over the last thirty years by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, a world leader in foreign policy opinion polling. The fieldwork for the Lowy Institute Indonesia Poll was managed by Emily Sprague and Xiaoyan Zhao of GfK Roper. Sol Lebovic, Research Consultant, provided technical support, helped develop and review the methodology, reviewed the questionnaire and helped interpret the data.

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