

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**



**Work Dynamics of the State's Data Collection Project**  
Flexibility, Invisibility, and Statistical Enumerators' Consciousness on their  
Working Conditions

A Research Paper presented by:

***Dedy Susanto***  
(Indonesian/Indonesia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**SPD**  
Social Policy for Development

Specialization:

**Public Policy and Management (PPM)**

Members of the Examining Committee:

prof.dr. Irene van Staveren  
dr. Gerard McCarthy

The Hague, The Netherlands  
November 2023

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

International Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460  
e: [info@iss.nl](mailto:info@iss.nl)  
w: [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl)  
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>  
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

## Acknowledge

Before expressing my gratitude to those who helped me greatly in completing this research paper, I wish to express my deep sorrow at the human tragedy in Palestine, where 10,000 civilians have been killed, including 4,000 children, as a result of the Zionist bombardment of the Gaza area (Al Jazeera, 2023). Seeing from a distance the many children who died, the parents and people who lost their families, and the destruction to their land, houses, hospitals, mosques, and churches is truly make heart broken. Not to mention the crimes against humanity and colonisation committed by the Zionists against Palestine for 75 years. I felt a profound psychological impact, and it cannot be separated from this research journey. This experience not only affected me, but I am sure it also affected the reality of the students in the 2022/2023 MA programme at ISS, also people around the world.

At that time, I came to truly understand the meaning of this hadith: “The example of believers (*muslimin*) in terms of love, care, and compassion for one another is like a body. If one part of the body is sick, the whole body feels pain” (Hadith by Bukhari and Muslim). Therefore, quoting the song lyric from Swedish band *Kofia* entitled ‘*Leve Palestine*’, I pray “Long live Palestine! Fight Zionism! And we will liberate our land from imperialism. And we will rebuild our land. For socialism. And the whole world will witness.”

I am grateful to The Most Gracious and Merciful Allah who has given me the grace to undertake this journey of study. I would also like to thank my mother, who is the most important moral support for me, who has always supported me and convinced me from childhood to always strive for the highest level of education. Then to my Indonesian 2022/2023 batchmates on the ISS, who supported each other in the preparation of the RP, especially *mbak* Ela, *mas* Azka and *mas* Windu who played a significant help in providing input and knowledge to me who was completely new to this research topic.

And not to forget to mention my supervisor and second reader: Irene and Gerard, who also provided guidance, insights, and advice in this research journey. Finally, I would like to thank Karin Siegmann, who inspired me by the course she taught, with many readings she provided, which were very useful in the preparation of this paper.

# Contents

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGE</b> .....  | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>CONTENTS</b> .....   | <b>4</b>  |
| <b>LIST OF TABLE</b> .....  | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>LIST OF FIGURE</b> .....   | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>ACRONYMS</b> .....   | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>ABSTRACT</b> .....   | <b>7</b>  |
| <b>RELEVANCE TO DEVELOPMENT STUDIES</b> .....   | <b>7</b>  |
| <b>KEYWORDS</b> .....   | <b>7</b>  |
| <b>1 INTRODUCTION</b> .....   | <b>8</b>  |
| 1.1 Starting with my reflection in the state data collection.....                                   | 8         |
| Data positioning in the state administration .....  | 9         |
| Performing never-ending projects .....  | 9         |
| 1.2 Research Questions .....  | 10        |
| <b>2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b> .....  | <b>11</b> |
| 2.1 Precarious Work .....   | 11        |
| Conceptualising precarious work .....   | 11        |
| 2.2 Immaterial Work.....  | 12        |
| Conceptualisation of Immaterial Work.....   | 13        |
| 2.3 Shaping the class consciousness to understand the working condition.....                        | 14        |
| <b>3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND POSITIONALITY</b> .....   | <b>16</b> |
| 3.1 Research Methodology.....   | 16        |
| 3.2 Positionality.....  | 17        |
| <b>4 THE DYNAMICS OF PRECARIOUS WORK IN INDONESIA</b> .....   | <b>18</b> |
| 4.1 Neoliberalization, global capitalism, and precarious labour .....                               | 18        |
| 4.2 Reshaping precarious work through liberalization in Indonesia .....                             | 19        |
| 4.3 Identifying precarious work practices in the state administration.....                          | 20        |
| Providing an instrument of state legitimacy: Is it precarious? .....                                | 21        |
| <b>5 STATISTICAL ENUMERATORS IN THE RECOGNITION OF THEIR PRECARIOUS WORKING CONDITIONS</b> .....    | <b>21</b> |
| 5.1 Get to know the short profile of Statistics Enumerator .....                                    | 21        |
| 5.2 The precariousness they felt.....   | 22        |
| In the Blitz of Flexibility and Instability .....   | 22        |
| Dangerous opportunities, but on the edge of uncertainty .....                                       | 24        |
| <b>6 IMMATERIAL VALUES GENERATED BY STATISTICAL ENUMERATORS, INVISIBLE AND UNDERESTIMATED</b> ..... | <b>25</b> |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 6.1 The hegemony of immaterial work among census takers: intellectual and manual work become one.....          | 26        |
| The process of standardising a new reality.....  | 26        |
| Respondents faced with linguistic rigidity, enumerators as mediators.....                                      | 27        |
| Probing and complex computation skills.....  | 27        |
| 6.2 By keeping respondents comfortable, they also act as affection workers.....                                | 29        |
| 6.3 Resisting on the State: the enumerators who must deal with respondent' resistance.....                     | 30        |
| 6.3 Immaterial workers must also be active subjects.....   | 31        |
| 6.4 What I have learnt from this chapter.....  | 31        |
| <b>7 SITUATION OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG ENUMERATORS IN THE PERCEPTION OF THEIR WORKING CONDITIONS.....</b> | <b>32</b> |
| 7.1 Class consciousness and values that can get in the way.....  | 32        |
| The invisible consequences of identity.....  | 34        |
| 7.2 Flexibility as resistance barrier.....   | 35        |
| 7.3 Clientalism and its trade-offs.....  | 36        |
| 7.4 Remnants of history that affect Indonesian class interests today.....                                      | 37        |
| <b>8 CONCLUSION.....</b>   | <b>38</b> |
| <b>9 REFERENCES.....</b>   | <b>39</b> |
| <b>APPENDICES.....</b>   | <b>44</b> |
| Appendix A: Research Participants.....   | 44        |
| Appendix B: Questionnaire.....   | 45        |
| Appendix C: From an Internal Institution Standpoint.....   | 47        |
| C.1 Policy on compensation.....  | 47        |
| C.2 Lack of employment protection insurance.....   | 50        |
| C.3 Future changes?.....   | 51        |
| Appendix D: Complex computation survey questionnaire sample.....   | 53        |
| Appendix E: Sensitive information requested.....   | 55        |

## List of Table

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <b>Table A. 1:</b> List of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) participants by statistical enumerators .....   | 44 |
| <b>Table A. 2:</b> List of in-depth interview participants from internal (permanent) staff Statistics Indonesia.....  | 44 |
| <b>Table C. 1:</b> Illustration of a dummy comparison of wage compensation earned by a statistical enumerator in a district when the standard cost of other inputs (SBML) is set at IDR 4.2 million. .... | 47 |
| <b>Table C. 2:</b> The budget matrix National Labor Survey 2022 Indonesia's regency .....   | 49 |
| <b>Table C. 3:</b> The budget matrix for the 2023 Agricultural Census in one of Indonesia's regency   | 49 |

## List of Figure

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>Figure 1. 1</b> Rough comparison of the area of Indonesia and Europe.....   | 10 |
| <b>Figure 2. 1.</b> Illustration of the theoretical framework .....  | 13 |
| <b>Figure 2. 2</b> The role of values and identities in the political interests of the working class, which can either hinder or unite the struggle for interests (Chibber, 2022, p. 40). ....   | 15 |
| <b>Figure 6. 1</b> Immaterial values involved in the process of working as a statistical enumerator. ...   | 26 |
| <b>Figure 6. 2</b> Sample questions from the The National Socioeconomic Survey (SUSENAS) interview, taken from questionnaire sheet 34 of 66 pages (including social context questions), translated. ....   | 28 |
| <b>Figure D. 1:</b> Sample page of the SUSENAS 2022 (National Socio-Economic Survey) questionnaire showing the calculation page for the recapitulation of total household expenditure to be completed by enumerators by manual calculation (translated). ....  | 53 |
| <b>Figure D. 2:</b> Sample page of the SUSENAS 2022 (National Socio-Economic Survey) questionnaire showing the accounting balance page of income and expenditure of sampled households, which statistical enumerators are required to complete by manual calculation. The accounting balance is required to be balanced with no minus (translated). .... | 54 |
| <b>Figure E. 1:</b> Sample page of the SUSENAS 2022 (National Socio-Economic Survey) questionnaire with questions on social protection receipt information (translated).....   | 55 |
| <b>Figure E. 2:</b> Sample pages of the SAKERNAS 2022 (National Labour Force Survey) questionnaire with questions on employment status (translated) .....  | 56 |
| <b>Figure E. 3:</b> Sample page of the 2019 SPAK (Anti-Corruption Perspective Survey) questionnaire with questions on political views in the perception of the eradication of state corruption.....  | 57 |

## Acronyms

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| ICLS     | : International Conference on Labour Statistics                             |
| ISS      | : International Institute of Social Studies                                 |
| REGSOSEK | : <i>Registrasi Sosial Ekonomi</i> (Extreme Poverty Census)                 |
| SAKERNAS | : <i>Survei Angkatan Kerja Nasional</i> (National Labour Force Survey)      |
| SBML     | : <i>Standar Biaya Masukan Lainnya</i> (Standard Cost of Other Inputs)      |
| SDG      | : Sustainable Development Goals   |
| SUSENAS  | : <i>Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional</i> (The National Socioeconomic Survey) |

## **Abstract**

This study is concerned with how states use flexible labour systems in governance, particularly in one of the reality simplification projects that states use to regulate what is on their territory. The collection of statistics survey and census data in Indonesia is one of the manifestations in this context, used in the planning and evaluation of state development policies.

With a history of state policies that has always favoured labour flexibility in Indonesia, compounded by a weak labour power, statistical enumerators feel the precarious nature of their working conditions. In addition, although enumerators have complex work and great job responsibilities, this does not mean that they are inseparable from the hegemony of immaterial work that appropriates the value of their labour. However, despite the disadvantages, it is still difficult for enumerators to build solidarity to struggle for their interests and rights as workers, given the surrounding values and cultures that make it difficult to raise class consciousness.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

This study has been prepared to contribute knowledge to the development of labour studies that examine the case of how the hegemony of precarious work is not only in the private sector but has penetrated into the government itself. For this reason, this study seeks to highlight the importance of political education for workers to build their class consciousness so that they can fight for their rights and interests in their working conditions.

## **Keywords**

statistical enumerator, data collection, precarious work, flexibility, immaterial work, class consciousness

# Work Dynamics of the State's Data Collection Project: Flexibility, Invisibility, and Statistical Enumerators' Consciousness on their Working Conditions

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Starting with my reflections in the state data collection.

In this paper I would like to tell the story of my life journey over the past 10 years, starting in 2012. This story describes my experience in a narrow world, how my way of thinking changed, and I found it interesting to start my research paper. I came from a lower middle-class family and was an average student when I finished high school. Although my grades were not very good, I was accepted into a state training institution run by Statistics Indonesia, the Institution of Statistics (STIS). For four years, I learned various statistical theories and their applications in official statistics, which is the main goal of the institution to produce qualified statisticians to work for the Indonesian government.

During this time, although I felt that I had not mastered it well, I experienced a process of subjectification in thinking that shaped my reality and the way I acquired information. I believe that this process of subjectification has greatly shaped my mindset as an individual, which changes dynamically and is shaped by power relations and discourses derived from knowledge and practices in society that shape the way we think about ourselves, act and interact with others and the world, as described by Foucault (in Heller, 1996).

Based on my skills and experience, I started working at Statistics Indonesia in Papua in 2017. In the first year, my job was to collect data directly in the field at the regency level. In the second year, I became a statistical enumerator supervisor for data collection. Before the second year ended, I moved to the Provincial Office to get involved in managing statistical data from different regencies in Papua, which also bridged data collection with the headquarters office.

Looking at the data collection process in the field, it requires two things. Firstly, the work of a field statistical enumerator is complex: collecting data from house to house, interacting with many people, conducting in-depth interviews, calculating respondents' income and expenditure, and making sure that the data matches the answers, which is crucial for data quality. I believe that this is labour-intensive work, also categorised as complex 'immaterial labour', which produces immaterial products such as knowledge, information, and emotional ties, as defined by Hardt and Negri (2004, p. 104).

Secondly, this task is important because it collects diverse information from the population that shows social, economic, cultural, and other perspectives, as if to make a simplification of realities that reinforces their position as immaterial labour. For instance, this institution collects household expenditure data that can be processed into poverty prevalence information, which is essential for the SDGs. All of this supports Indonesia's development, in line with Statistics Indonesia's vision of being a "Provider of Qualified Statistical Data for Advanced Indonesia" (Statistics Indonesia, no date).

With the support of the country, the Indonesian government also initiated a One Data Initiative policy, creating a special discourse that alludes to the valuableness of data:

*"Data is a new form of wealth. Today, data is being compared to the new oil, whose usefulness surpasses that of oil (...) Don't make decisions, plan or execute programmes without data (...) This is where real*



*planning begins, where the right decisions can be made and programmes can be implemented effectively (...)*  
(Ministry of the State Secretariat, 2020)<sup>1</sup>.

This statement is considered seriousness of the Indonesian government to make ‘right decision’ in evidence-based policy making from data. Moreover, using his discourse ‘data are more valuable than oil’, it makes data position in government view is very valuable and significant for development. With active action, previously in 2019 the national government-built Law Number 39 in 2019 concerning on One Data Initiative (*Satu Data Indonesia*) which is focused on making quality data that is easily available and can be shared among central and regional agencies, in line with the concept of government data governance (*Satu Data Indonesia*, no date).

However, after I had the opportunity to study at the ISS and gained exposure to new knowledge about labour studies, one thing that bothered me was whether the efforts of these data collection workers, who were said to be working to help the country's development: ‘Are statistical enumerators getting decent working conditions for the value of the work they exchange?’

### **Data positioning in the state administration**

In writing this research, I also thought, what is the position of data for the state itself? Have we ever thought about how a country can organise its population, its resources, even all forms of material and immaterial objects within its territory? I found in Scott's *How Seeing like a State* (1998, p. 2) that the state does not suddenly gain control over all these things, they need to be simplified, standardised, and recorded one by one. Such as efforts to register people's names, standardise territorial mapping, standardise language and legal discourse, and so on.

This process, Scott calls the project of ‘schematic knowledge’, is a simplification and measurement of the complexity of the characteristics of each subject and object within the territory of the state, of which there are many. People, forests, agrarian, economic power, social conditions, and so on are measured and simplified into easy-to-read information/data, even creating social and environmental realities through the power of the state (p. 3). “Every act of measurement is an act marked by the play of power relations.” (p. 25). From this, I argue that the process of subject-object simplification is a form of modern-state political efforts in exercising control over it.

“This typification is indispensable to statecraft. State simplifications such as maps, censuses, cadastral lists, and standard units of measurement represent techniques for grasping a large and complex reality; in order for officials to be able to comprehend aspects of the ensemble, that complex reality must be reduced to schematic categories.” (Scott, 1998, p. 75).

In line with Scott's argument, the state consciously places statistical data as an effort to monitor development in all aspects of the nation and state, which is the first consideration why the state must regulate the production of statistical data to compile legal instruments in Statistics Law No. 16 of 1997 concerning statistics:

“Statistics are important for planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of various activities in all aspects of social, national and all aspects of the life of society, nation and state in national development (...)”

### **Performing never-ending projects**

Continuous data collection is a minimum requirement to produce simple data aggregations, given the dynamically evolving society and environment. Countries, especially Indonesia with 18,110 islands (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia, 2018) and a land area of

---

<sup>1</sup> The state speech of President of the Republic of Indonesia during the declaration of the implementation of the 2020 Population Census, at the State Palace, Jakarta, Friday 24 January 2020

approximately 1,910,931.32 km<sup>2</sup> (Saksono, 2013), require a lot of labour to organise this monitoring system.

In this process of knowledge simplification, it is important to note how the labour needs are met. After the neoliberal era in the 1980s, many countries, implemented 'labour market flexibility', meaning that companies and governments tried to make labour relations more flexible (Standing (2011, p. 6). I am concerned that the state's efforts to meet labour supply will lead to flexibility at the expense of workers' basic rights such as job stability, decent wages, employment protection, health, pension rights and career paths.

“... uncertain, unstable, and insecure employment practices are the standard practices implemented to reduce costs and maximize flexibility for employers competing globally ...” (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 112)

In Indonesia, there are many flexible working practices, particularly in the public sector. For example, the increase in the number of students without the availability of lecturers opens up opportunities for the recruitment of teaching assistants with non-permanent employment status (Jahja, 2022). In primary and secondary education, the government is using a system of honorary teacher to address the shortage of teaching staff (Fauzan, 2021, p. 199). In addition, maternal and child health work at the lowest administrative level is often left to volunteers (Andriani, Liao and Kuo, 2016). The pattern is always the same: these policies place non-permanent workers in positions of great responsibility, but they work in unstable conditions and the rewards they receive are often disproportionate to their workload. This does not mean that this situation is only found in these three cases, but that it may also occur in other public administrations.

**Figure 1. 1** Rough comparison of the area of Indonesia and Europe



Source: (The true size.com, no date).

## 1.2 Research Questions

Based on flexible labour practices, we see an example of the state at work in policy implementation. The state uses systems that take advantage of vulnerable workers due to the government's neoliberal reforms that promote labour flexibility (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 27). The simple generation of data by the state to identify the needs of society requires massive data production. Statistics Indonesia is the institution empowered to collect statistical data for the Indonesian government and society. Extending the schematic simplification, this institution must need numerous employees who collect data.

From here, I would like to explore further the labour relations involved in providing the raw material of knowledge for state control tools (Scott, 1998, p. 2, p. 3, p. 25), particularly data from censuses and statistical surveys. However, this research will only focus on the realities faced by

statistical enumerator, their flexible working conditions, the immaterial value they produce, their understanding of class consciousness to accurately interpret their working conditions.

Based on this, I formed three research questions in this research:

- I. How did the dynamics of precarious work emerge in Indonesia?
- II. What is the perspective of statistical enumerators in experiencing the reality of working conditions in statistical data collection in Indonesia?
  - a. What is the perspective of statistical enumerators in experiencing precarious working conditions in statistical and census data collection in Indonesia?
  - b. What are the immaterial values produced by statistical enumerators in statistical and census data collection?
- III. How is the class consciousness of statistical enumerators when it comes to interpreting working conditions in data collection?

In addition, to balance the point of view of this research, I include the institutional views of the statistical data collection system to address the views and perceived realities of statistical enumerators, from the internal perspective of Statistics Indonesia. But I emphasise, it is only complementary, not the main analysis of the study. That is why I have placed it in the Appendix section.

## **2 Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1 Precarious Work**

#### **Conceptualising precarious work**

It has been mentioned in the introduction that the global economic situation, the hegemony of policies based on neoliberalism has transformed the economy, politics and social rooted in the phenomenon of precarious work, which at that time workers will bear the risks of their own work. Workers will always be in the shade of uncertainty, instability, and insecurity both in work and in their lives.

From the 1970s, the hegemony of this new ideology began as politicians and states competed to maximise growth and development (developmentalist notions), which relied too heavily on competitive markets, where everything must maximise competition and profit. The usual method is to reduce the cost of labour by lowering wages, eliminating job security and other social provisions, all of which are diverted to capital efficiency through technological and logistical innovation due to the rise of global value chains. Hence the phenomenon of increased labour flexibility at the expense of the security of workers, their families and even their communities (Standing, 2011, p. 1).

This phenomenon is a throwback to Fordism, which, although associated with mass production that led to significant increases in economic productivity in the era of capitalism (Neilson and Rossiter, 2008, p. 57), has been described as a 'golden age' because of lower inequality, low unemployment, and a growing middle class (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 16). The state's mediation between capital owners and workers led to strong trade unions to protect workers' rights (Gambino, 2007, p. 40).

Due to the relatively strong position of the unions in the political arena of the workplace and production, they were able to create a standard employment relationship, known as the Standard Employment Relation (SER), which guaranteed decent wages and various other benefits for permanent workers. The state also provided various benefits, including health and education, to ensure the welfare of workers' families. However, this system has a weakness: it places men and women in an unequal position, with men as 'breadwinners' and women as 'homemakers'. The

aim is to create stable families and increase the birth rate to ensure a future labour supply (Vosko, 2010; Esping-Andersen, 1999), creating breadwinner-focused policies that have led to the hegemony of masculinity, which in turn has reinforced patriarchal values.

After the end of Fordism, the precarious period began, characterised by state policies that led to neoliberalism and the scarcity of standard employment. Vosko (2010, p. 2) defines precarious workers as:

“In defining precarious employment, work for remuneration characterized by uncertainty, low income, and limited social benefits and statutory entitlements (...) shaped by the relationship between employment status (i.e. self- or paid employment), form of employment (e.g. temporary or permanent “part-time or full-time), and dimensions of labour market insecurity, as well as social context (e.g. occupation, industry, and geography) and social location (or the interaction between social relations, such as gender, and legal and political categories, such as citizenship).”

In Arnold and Bongiovi (2013, p. 289), they define the characteristics of precarious workers as types of work that are unstable, uncertain, and insecure and are known to pose risks to workers. They add that these jobs are irregular, atypical/non-standard, seasonal, part-time, casual, in and out, informal, flexible, and contingent/non-permanent, including having no guaranteed minimum hours and being variable.

Employers seeking to employ precarious workers naturally seek strategies to reduce the cost of labour. Polivka, and Nardone (1989, pp. 12-13) noted that the emergence of precarious work in the United States was due to many demands by employers (capitalists) to control (save) costs by minimising inefficient working hours, reducing benefits and easy dismissal. These demands are linked to the search for flexibility in the workforce, which has a major impact on labour dynamics at the global level (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 21).

Evan and Gibb (2009, pp. 40-41) argue that there are several main reasons for the increase in precarious work: (1) a reduction in the hourly wage rate, (2) the ease of laying off workers when demand falls, and (3) beyond cost factors, an ideology within companies that rejects government regulation/interference in their business. To avoid this scenario, it is necessary to strengthen the presence of trade unions, collective bargaining in the workplace and influence in the company's investment decisions (Cooke, 2001a, 2001b).

Without unions to counterbalance employers' desire for precarious work, work will become increasingly unstable, uncertain, and insecure. As Slavoj (2012, p. 9) argues, the chance to be exploited in a long-term job is now experienced as a privilege. People who fall into the world of precarity often experience feelings of anger, anomie-like sense of normlessness, anxiety, and alienation, leading to a pessimistic view of life and the future and a loss of individual well-being (Standing, 2011, p. 19).

## **2.2 Immaterial Work**

This research pays attention to the state, which is identified as an owner of capital and power with an interest in producing statistics and census data as a political tool for identification and regulation. Meanwhile, statistical enumerators are in the position of the working class, without resources, willing to exchange their labour and thoughts for wages to achieve certain goals [data collection].

In the context of class relations, there is certainly an exchange of value. Here I use the framework of 'immaterial labour' to measure the value generated by statistical enumerators in the production of knowledge required by the state. Through this framework, we can recognise the invisible immaterial values produced by enumerators that are potentially lost in the quantification of the value exchanged by the state, which is likely to be normalised as work that deserves poor working conditions.

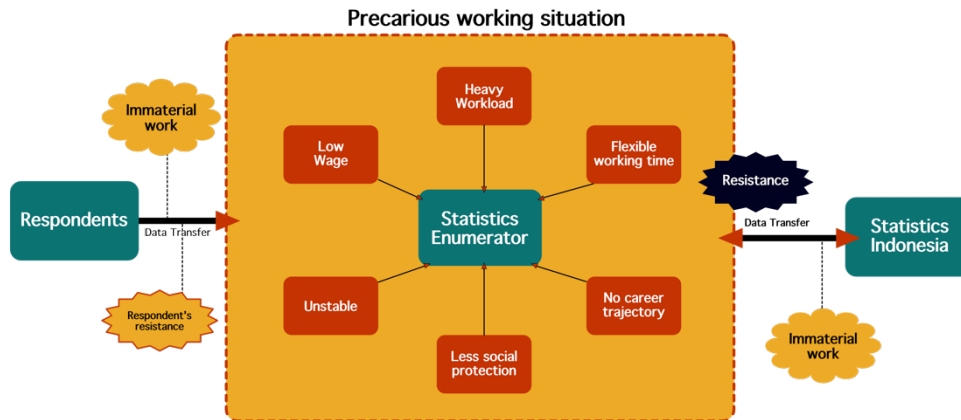


Figure 2. 1. Illustration of the theoretical framework

### Conceptualisation of Immaterial Work

Immaterial labour is a type of work that has emerged because of the change in the structure of production from 'Fordism' to 'Post-Fordism', which is a manifestation of the change in the economic paradigm from modern to post-modern (Baca 2004, pp. 170-171). In post-Fordism, the strict division between physical labour and conceptual, administrative, or 'intellectual' labour typical of Fordism breaks down (Atzert, 2006, p. 61). Kumar (2005, p. 71) sees post-Fordism as a production system based on labour flexibility and specialisation that emerged in the late 1970s alongside the neoliberal policy that accelerated the globalisation of capitalism, which Lazzarato calls the era of the dominance of 'mass intellectuality' (1996). Immaterial labour became qualitatively hegemonic in the form of 'biopolitical labour', which tends to spread to every form of labour and to society itself (Hardt and Negri, 2004).

Hardt and Negri (2004) explain that this work produces immaterial goods such as knowledge, information, communication, relationships, and even emotional responses. The concept of immaterial work was introduced by Lazzarato (1996, p. 132) in the definition of work that produces information and cultural value in its products. The product of this work is not destroyed when it is consumed, and its value lies in information and culture. It can evolve, change, and create an 'ideological culture' for its consumers, capable of transforming those who use it.

There are two main forms of immaterial labour. The first is intellectual and linguistic labour, such as problem solving, symbolic and analytical tasks, and linguistic expression, which produces ideas, symbols, codes, texts, linguistic figures, images, and other discursive products. The second form is 'affective labour', which generates and manipulates emotions to produce feelings of comfort, satisfaction, enthusiasm, and well-being. Although the basic forms are separate, in practice immaterial labour usually combines both forms. In the production of communication, linguistic and intellectual operations and affective components are performed simultaneously and may even be mixed with material forms of labour (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p.108).

Consequently, in the context of immaterial work, workers are required to make choices between different options and to take responsibility for the outcomes of these choices. Workers must be able to integrate, translate, and facilitate communication between different units and functions within an organisation (Lazzarato, 1996, p.134). At this stage, workers are expected to be 'active subjects' who carry out different work functions and coordination in the production function, not just workers who are directed by simple orders. The process of collective learning is at the heart of productivity because it is no longer about finding new ways of structuring or organising existing work functions, but about finding new ones (ibid.).

As work becomes more immaterial, so does its exploitation. Immaterial work is often collaborative and cooperative. In a knowledge-based economy, many jobs depend on cooperation between workers. According to Hardt and Negri (2004, p. 113), the value generated by this collaborative work is often 'appropriated' by capital-owning firms. The value of collaborative labour can be much higher than that of individual labour because it is more complex and the result of accumulated social and digital network knowledge, but the resulting benefits are not always shared fairly among those who actually do the work. As such, the value of immaterial labour is often normalised as less valuable because it is not as easily identifiable as work that produces goods. This led to low wages and poor working conditions for immaterial labour.

During Fordism, when capitalism sought to incorporate the personality and subjectivity of workers into the production of value, these conditions were even worse than the strict separation of mental and manual labour. Workers were expected to be responsible for their own control and motivation within the work group without the need for an intervening supervisor, and the role of the supervisor changed to that of a facilitator.

To a certain extent, the existence of immaterial work makes it difficult to distinguish between leisure time and working time, thus making life inseparable from work, as the personality and subjectivity of work have been integrated into the production of value. "Uncertainty, over exploitation, mobility and hierarchy are the most obvious characteristics of metropolitan immaterial work" (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 136).

### **2.3 Shaping the class consciousness to understand the working condition.**

The class structure of the production process is a major source of social tension because of its inherently exploitative nature. Within the class structure there is a dominant group, known as the bourgeoisie or the ruling class of capital, which has access and political power, and which benefits from the labour of the subordinate or working class or proletarian class through the extraction of labour (Chibber, 2022, p. 2).

The working class has the opposite position to the capital-owning class, which does not own capital, but only labour, which can be exchanged for the value of income (*ibid.*, p. 32). In fact, they have the freedom to determine their life's path, but because of their class position, they must accept their new role as proletarians, accepting the restrictions set by the owners of capital, which are likely to bring unfavourable conditions for the working class. Thus, while the class structure brings these two groups together in this process of economic production, it simultaneously locks them into conflict through exploitation, which leads to resistance (p. 2). Marx saw (effective) resistance as the collective action of the working class in overcoming and overthrowing capitalist structures, not simply the ability to escape and evade the power of capitalist institutions (Sakhi, 2014, p. 157)

Marx introduced two prepositions that the working class must overcome to resist, the first being "class in itself" and the second "class for itself" (p. 3). In the first preposition, one's class position will produce a set of material interests. Here, workers show an awareness of their social and economic position in the class structure of society, which can influence the nature of their material interests (*ibid.*). For example, a worker who can critically assess the conditions of his or her job, which is a system created by the employer. Workers can assess that their working conditions are not ideal because the labour system is too flexible (short contracts), the wage system is low, there is no guarantee of job protection, excessive workload, etc.

Furthermore, the second preposition is to achieve political strategy motivation, where the awareness of material interests will motivate the political strategy of workers individually or in groups. Because of class consciousness and understanding of the conditions they are

experiencing, workers will act in negotiations with their employers to improve the rights they are fighting for, for better working conditions and value exchange (p. 4).

One limitation of Marx's theory is his lack of attention to the role of culture in shaping class consciousness and political action. He argues that one's class position will generate a set of material interests that will automatically drive political strategies. But he does not explain how these interests are translated or interpreted by the actors themselves. This is the 'cultural turn' in social analysis, which emphasizes that people's material and economic interests must be articulated in relevant cultural codes to motivate political action. A person's understanding and perception of their interests is strongly influenced by the 'symbolic universe' or culture they inhabit (p. 4). Thompson (2013) shows how culture—in its narratives, symbols, and social practices—functions to shape class consciousness and influence collective action.

The traditional Marxist view assumes that culture has a positive role to play in explaining the dynamics of class formation. But again, it does not question the basic integrity of the class structure in the economy, nor does it doubt that the structure produces class interests. What culture does is facilitate, or in other cases get in the way of, the translation of those economic interests in a way that suits the 'emotional universe' of the actors. So this is a critique of the overly deterministic view of traditional Marxists:

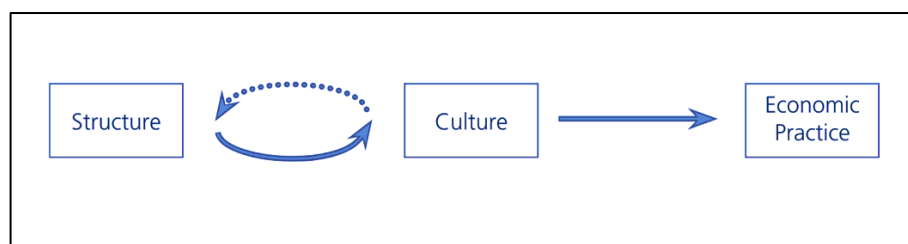
“workers’ structural location is deemed, in such accounts, to be sufficient in itself to trigger the formation of a class identity, which then impels them to create organizations around this identity and finally to forge ahead in pursuit of their common interests.” (Chibber, 2022, p. 62)

—who never doubts the reality of the class structure, where understanding the position of workers alone does not necessarily lead them to revolutionary activity [resistance act]. Each worker has his or her own agency, is bound by cultural and social constructions, has different understandings of class consciousness, which requires a very strong identity narrative that unites collective agency in action (p. 5, p. 50).

This requires the appropriation of interests by actors within the working class in the form of universal symbols that are understood and accepted by the entire working class to be able to motivate in a real movement, in the form of workers' identity. In his argument, Joyce (1994, p. 6) argues that “interests are not somehow given in the economic condition of workers but are constructed through the agency of social identities”. The role of one's social identity is important in shaping these interests, which are influenced by cultural and social factors, not just economic class position.

Joyce adds that "economic relations, however exploitative, (...) present themselves to people in innumerable ways, conditioned by culture and circumstance". (ibid., p. 16). In economic relations, even when conditions are exploitative, it is not necessarily the case that individuals respond with concrete acts of resistance. This is because each individual's interpretation in articulating less than ideal working conditions is influenced by the social constructions that shape them, such as elements of values, beliefs, norms, symbols, and language.

**Figure 2. 2** The role of values and identities in the political interests of the working class, which can either hinder or unite the struggle for interests (Chibber, 2022, p. 40).



Based on the above review, I would like to explore how workers react to working conditions that are not ideal for them, specifically by analysing to what extent the actions taken by statistical enumerators in responding to flexible working conditions and immaterial values appropriation are in their role of performing tasks in the process of the first stage of producing 'realities simplification'.

To move towards effective resistance, enumerators need to understand their own class consciousness to accurately interpret their working conditions and understand their common interests. This will build strong solidarity among workers and enable them to effectively advocate for their rights and interests.

### **3 Research Methodology and Positionality**

#### **3.1 Research Methodology**

I decided to use qualitative research with semi-structured questions based on a theoretical framework and formulated research questions. Qualitative methods are able to understand meanings and interpretations from the perspective of the study participants and to take into account life contexts such as social, economic, cultural and political backgrounds that influence individual behaviour and experiences (Hennink, 2020, p. 10). This method was considered the most appropriate for answering the research questions, which arose from my interest in the perspectives and realities of enumerators in statistical data collection in Indonesia.

Based on the research questions, I chose to conduct interviews with statistical enumerators and some internal institution representatives involved in policy planning. I used the focus group discussion (FGD) method to collect information from statistical enumerators, while in-depth interviews were conducted internally to collect detailed information from key informants about the agency's planning projects to understand the reality perspective of Statistics Indonesia. Details on the general characteristics of the participants can be found in the annex (**Appendix A**).

Patton (2002, p. 386) states that FGDs are an efficient qualitative data collection technique and can provide quality control in data collection. The presence of several participants in the interview allows them to check and balance each other's views, as well as allowing the researcher to assess consistent views. FGDs are not seen as a means of collective decision making or problem solving, but rather as a means of gathering information, which I felt was appropriate for the purposes of this study.

The FGDs were planned to be conducted three times in different locations, namely Java, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. The selection of regions was based on geographical considerations, such as urban areas, remote areas, and islands region, to observe the dynamics of reality faced by enumerators during field data collection and how geographical and cultural conditions shape the construction of reality. I provided a space to observe the different realities of statistical enumerators but did not make it the main analysis in this study, instead focusing more on similarity pattern.

I pseudonymised the real names of the participants to protect their personal data and to avoid the risk of leaking sensitive information that could affect their work. As a token of appreciation, I offered a small compensation to the participants in exchange for internet data quota and lost free time, considering that the internet is not free in Indonesia and the interview time was chosen on weekends. All collected data were deleted after I officially received my Master of Arts (M.A.) degree from ISS Erasmus University Rotterdam.



This research is located within the interpretive paradigm, which emphasises context, meaning and the interpretations of the participants involved, rather than seeking universal laws or principles that apply across all contexts. It also does not use mathematical logic, numerical principles or statistical probability frameworks that represent large populations and assume truth to be absolute.

I will take some important quotes and write informative narratives where it is not possible to show the full length of important quotes. As the data collected is in Indonesian with the dialect of each region, I will try to translate it into English without changing the actual meaning.

### **3.2 Positionality**

In this research, I took a different approach than usual. As I explained in the introduction, I am used to using a quantitative approach—simplifying problems into numbers to find the truth. This approach was shaped by my previous undergraduate education and the environment in which I worked.

However, after studying at ISS, I understood that truth is subjective, each individual has his or her own subjective perspective on truth, complex and contextual—which means that human beings are truly complex, which is difficult to measure with numerical simplification, which assumes that truth is one and absolute, even to the extreme of dehumanising individuals by reducing them to mere binary numbers, namely one and zero.

Therefore, I took an epistemological approach with the framework of the interpretive paradigm to holistically understand how the perspective of statistical enumerators interpreted their working conditions in collecting data in the production of knowledge needed by the state, which is suitable for obtaining contextual analysis, meaning and interpretation in understanding social reality (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 31).

Furthermore, I recognise that in qualitative research the research findings collected are not simply information ‘found’ in the field. As a researcher, I am aware that I have an active role in shaping and influencing the data, emphasising that knowledge production is not universal and neutral, but contextual, embodied in the researcher's body and influenced by the researcher's perspective (Rose, 1997, pp. 306-7).

I then became aware of the discursive power differentials between researchers and participants, especially statistical enumerators. I, as a permanent employee of a government statistical agency, have much better working conditions, while statistical enumerators are non-permanent workers with less ideal working conditions than my position. Moreover, in terms of position, they were in the structure of the working class, and I was on the employer side—although at the same time they were also classified as working class, or perhaps more accurately middle class in the Weberian perspective.

With this difference in position, I thought that I [we], as a worker belonging to a more advantaged than the statistical enumerators, would naturally be less sensitive and understand the political-economic interests of the enumerators, which is in a very vulnerable position amidst many uncertainties. So, personally, I have also done this research as an infrastructure for myself to learn to understand the working conditions and the political economy interests of the working class, which are not ideal, and to try to bring awareness and understanding of the conditions that are not ideal and that are felt by the enumerators to the (I considered as) middle class who work in institutions and in this country.

I may not be the right person to carry out this research because of my job position. My position can also greatly influence the direction of the research findings and the openness of the respondents in answering the questions. However, there is also a scientific responsibility that I have acquired during my studies at ISS. I also have a responsibility to be more sensitive to the

conditions and interests of the working class, especially statistical enumerators who have a direct working relationship. There is also a responsibility to be more sensitive to the interests of the class in the institution where I work.

## 4 The Dynamics of Precarious Work in Indonesia

### 4.1 Neoliberalization, global capitalism, and precarious labour

Before I begin to discuss the dynamics of precarious work in Indonesia, I will share my reflections here to understand how the emergence of precarious work resulted from the spread of neoliberal ideology. According to Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin (2022, p. 55):

“Neoliberalism is a collection of economic, social, and related political policies that, in practice, have been associated with markets, fiscal discipline, trade, investment and financial liberalization, deregulation and reregulation, decentralization, privatization, and a reduced but more focused role for the state.”

Restrictions on social welfare services, decentralisation of labour relations leading to a decline in the power of trade unions, and an emphasis on fiscal discipline with a pro-social policy (fiscal policy is more concerned with the health of the macroeconomy than with investment in welfare programmes and public services) are features of the implementation of neoliberal ideology (Portes, 1997, p. 238). This policy is seen as very necessary because it can promote the globalisation of free trade, finance, production, and investment (Slobodian, 2018). Thus, policies that support neoliberal globalisation free capitalism in a 'spatial lock' that limits its movements to achieve maximum profits (Harvey, 2001).

Neoliberalism became the new direction of global political and economic projects in the 1990s, promoted by capitalists, policy makers and politicians everywhere. This led to the global expansion of capitalism, accompanied by the intensification of production worldwide, with the promotion of competition in the search for profit and capital accumulation, such as the use of the latest technology, the exploitation of specialised knowledge and the optimisation of logistics. This has led to increased competition in markets for goods, money and labour worldwide (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 56).

The trade-off, however, is a reduction in production costs, especially labour costs (Burkett and Hart-Landsberg, 2000; Santoro, 2000). Therefore, control over labour is crucial to influence global investment decisions by controlling unions, negotiating wage levels, and influencing government regulation of the workplace (Cooke 2001a, 2001b; Kleiner and Ham, 2003; Chiu, 2007). As a result of the neoliberal schema, the balance of power between the owners of labour and capital is broken (Harvey, 2005, p. 14; ul Haque, 2004, p. 6), promoting flexibility in the regulation of the labour market.

This imbalance provides a highway for capitalists to extract surplus value [exploitation] from workers' labour. Marx (2000, pp. 334-5) uses the metaphor that capital is 'dead labour' that lives by sucking 'living labour'—like a vampire thirsting for the blood of workers, which posits that workers who spend their leisure time on themselves 'rob' the capitalist of the profit opportunities that can be generated. Cohen (1997) also refers to this power imbalance as 'vampire capitalism', resulting in a system of capital and state interests working together to exploit an increasingly flexible workforce. This view sees the market as the natural regulator of economic and social life, sucking the life out of workers by exploiting human and natural resources. For those who benefit, the removal of labour market rigidities will increase capital's control over labour and increase profitability. It is as if labour is treated as a 'disposable' commodity at will. Moreover, labour precarity endangers the human dignity of workers by jeopardising their overall working and living conditions (Siegmann and Schiphorst, 2016, p. 120).

## 4.2 Reshaping precarious work through liberalization in Indonesia

Job insecurity in South and Southeast Asia is the result of policies that transfer risk from companies and governments to workers. This is based on flexible labour, which is seen as a key doctrine for achieving 'progress' and 'development'. Countries in the region are pushing a global competitive narrative with market-supportive economic regulation, which exacerbates labour instability (Hewison and Kalleberg, 2013, pp. 395-6).

“For Indonesia precarious work is also a consequence of neoliberal reforms implemented by the new democratically elected government; deregulation (or, more accurately, reregulation) of labor and markets has been part of the processes of democratization and decentralization that have seen the state adopt liberalizing policies meant to expand employment while also promoting ‘labor flexibility.’” (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 11)

For Indonesia, precarious employment is also a consequence of neoliberal reforms by new democratic governments; labour and market deregulation became part of the democratisation and decentralisation process, with the state adopting liberalisation policies to increase employment while promoting ‘labour flexibility’ (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022).

Capitalism in Indonesia first emerged because of Dutch colonialism before independence. The dynamics of capitalism resurfaced after the end of communist influence in Indonesia and the beginning of the New Order under the leadership of Soeharto. Roosa (2020) mentions that during the Cold War, Soeharto led an anti-communist movement and supported the United States, although the previous president, Soekarno, had opposed Western policies<sup>2</sup>. In this era, new regulations promoted a liberalism that focused on macroeconomic growth and increased foreign investment in the early years of New Order rule (Hill, 2000, p. 77), with economic growth averaging 7.7% per year in the 1970s.

However, the New Order controlled low wages for the benefit of the private sector and the government. Under this regime, trade unions were banned, except for two government-controlled types: *Korps Pegawai Republik Indonesia* (KORPRI) for civil servant union and the Indonesia Workers Union (*Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia*) for other workers outside the civil servant. The efforts of the New Order prevented the development of independent trade unions, created conditions of low wages and limited job security (Lambert, 1997; Hadiz, 1997).

The 1997-1998 crisis in Indonesia led to the fall of Suharto's New Order regime through massive demonstrations in every major city in Indonesia, ushering in the reform era. This era was seen as a breath of fresh air, providing a transition towards democratisation and decentralisation of previously centralised and authoritarian power, but unfortunately still promoting the old formula—marketisation and liberalisation (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022).

The crisis led to a surge in unemployment (especially in the already fragile service sector), an increase in the informal sector and the collapse of large and vital sectors of the economy. This forced the reform-era government to take immediate remedial action, including accepting the demands of the IMF, World Bank, and international donor organisations to adopt neoliberal policies that implemented flexible market policies to secure an IMF bailout to fix the collapsing economy, despite much resistance and mistrust. This resulted in the transition of permanent workers to short-term contract workers and the outsourcing of formal jobs, which made formal

---

<sup>2</sup> Cribb in “Genocide in Indonesia, 1965-1966” notes that communism was outlawed after the G30S/PKI uprising. The military and civilians (with military support) carried out massive repression against alleged PKI (Communist Party) members, with up to 500,000 civilians were killed. Although the actual number of victims and incidents is disputed. Suharto's 32-year military regime has hampered investigations into the events, as has the West's lack of interest in prosecuting the crimes of this key ally in Asia. Discrimination against the descendants of the PKI continued, barring them from government jobs, key economic sectors, political rights, and administrative difficulties that continue to hinder the development of left-wing politics (2001, pp. 219, 234, 236).

workers insecure with reduced benefits and the ability to weaken trade unions (Tjandraningsih and Nugroho, 2008; Tjandraningsih, 2013).

“The demands of these institutions and partners were for enhanced economic liberalization, pressing Indonesian policymakers to embrace markets more fully. However, this liberalization was extended beyond the economic sphere to the social and political spheres and had important effects on many, including workers.” (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 69-70).

### **4.3 Identifying precarious work practices in the state administration.**

The development of market liberalisation through neoliberal policies, starting in the colonial era, post-independence especially in the New Order, and continuing in the reform era, has made precarious work more widespread in Indonesia. Initially, labour flexibility was needed by companies to maximise profits—adapting to market demand in hiring and firing workers is costly under a permanent contract system. However, the rationalisation of neoliberalism led to the hegemony of the non-permanent labour system not only in the private sector but also in the state.

More recently, flexibility has led to job insecurity and precariousness, with state intervention. This situation was exacerbated by the introduction of Labour Law No. 13 of 2003 on employment and outsourcing, which resulted in wage structures that were not in line with regional standards and employers who did not provide social protection (Jahja, 2022). In addition, the most recent legal instruments, the Employment Creation Law and PP No. 35 of 2021, make it easier for employers to terminate employment without a letter of dismissal and allow dismissal for criminal suspicion without a judge's decision (Santoso, 2021).

“As in economies across the globe, the economic, political, and social consequences of neoliberal policy in these countries [Japan, South Korea, and Indonesia] have led to the entrenching of precarious work, or work that is uncertain, unstable, and insecure and in which employees bear the risks of work (as opposed to businesses or the government).” (Kalleberg, Hewison and Shin, 2022, p. 18)

In this context, I see that the government tends to use unstable systems when labour is needed in public services, work is continuous, and resources are limited but essential for continuous work. Indonesia's large population requires continuous education and health insurance to improve the quality of human capital to create productive, responsible and independent citizens, which are considered essential for a decent and happy life (Reininger and Castro-Serrano, 2021, p. 3). Education is an important tool for the state in neoliberal rationalisation, part of the biopower to regulate and control society, emphasising individual and personal responsibility (Musetta, 2009, pp. 48-49).

However, the state has created a recruitment system for non-permanent workers, namely honorary teachers, without the guarantee of permanent decent work as stipulated in Law No. 14 of 2005 (Komara, 2016, p. 151). Unlike permanent teachers, honorary teachers are paid only 300,000 rupiah per month, but their demands and obligations are the same (Fauzan, 2021, pp. 199-200).

Jahja (2022) showed that the number of students in Indonesian universities has increased, but this has not been followed by a corresponding increase in the number of lecturers, leading to an increase in lecturers' workloads and working hours. This has resulted in more casual lecturers and assistants with unstable working conditions. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that lecturers in Indonesia do not have trade unions to increase their bargaining power against unfavourable government policies (BBC News Indonesia, 2023).

Similar conditions exist in the health sector, particularly in *Posyandu* [Community-based preventive and promotive care]. The Indonesian government mandated *Posyandu* to extend health

services to urban and rural communities with staff who are volunteers, usually housewives trained in basic health (Andriani, Liao and Kuo, 2016; Wisnuwardani, 2012). *Posyandu* plays an important role in monitoring and maintaining nutrition, maternal and child health, immunisation, family planning and diarrhoeal disease prevention. However, *Posyandu* cadres receive very little remuneration. For example, cadres in East Kalimantan received only IDR 200,000 (€ 11.94) in 2008 (Wisnuwardani, 2012). In Banyuwangi, East Java, and Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, cadres also receive similar or no compensation (Su'udi, 2021; Otu, 2022).

### **Providing an instrument of state legitimacy: Is it precarious?**

“... simplifications such as maps, censuses, cadastral lists, and standard units of measurement represent techniques for grasping a large and complex reality; in order for officials to be able to comprehend aspects of the ensemble, that complex reality must be reduced to schematic categories.” (Scott, 1998, p. 75)

“State simplifications can be considered part of an ongoing "project of legibility," a project that is never fully realized (...) A project of legibility is immanent in any statecraft that aims at manipulating society...” (ibid., p. 78)

Scott's quote gives two signals that need to be underlined: First, the 'simplification of the state' he cites as an example is a never-ending project to reach the complexity of reality; second, the government needs 'simplification of the state' as a medium to recognise and control society and resources within the state.

In realising this continuous project, the government needs a lot of labour in one stage of knowledge simplification, namely the collection of statistical and census data in the vast territory of Indonesia.

Thus, in the next chapter, I attempt to identify the extent of the realities that statistical enumerators face in their work related to this knowledge production, and how they can identify the precarious working conditions they face, which is the impact of precarious work in state policies to ensure the sustainability of this massive and never-ending project.

## **5 Statistical enumerators in the recognition of their precarious working conditions**

### **5.1 Get to know the short profile of Statistics Enumerator**

Statistics Indonesia is a non-departmental government agency directly under the President of the Republic of Indonesia. The agency has a mandate under Law No. 16 of 1997 to meet the data needs of the government and the public. This institution supports the statistical activities of ministries, government agencies and other institutions that make up the national statistical system. Statistics Indonesia also cooperates with international institutions and other countries for the development of Indonesia and the world (Statistics Indonesia, no date).

In data collection, Statistics Indonesia conducts two types of projects, namely statistical surveys, and censuses. Data collection requires statistical officers, who are defined in Statistics Law No. 16 Year 1997 as "persons appointed by the organisers of statistical activities to collect data". Based on Government Regulation No.51 Tahun 1999, officers can be recruited from the internal staff of the agency, from the staff of other government agencies or from the general public. However, this study focuses only on officers from the public because they collect more data and have more vulnerable working conditions than civil servants, i.e., they have only a one-month contract, whereas civil servants have a contract until retirement age.

There are no specific rules regarding the qualifications set by the Centre for this data collection project. Each district/city sets its own qualifications according to the needs of the project and

the characteristics of the area. According to the data collected, many of them are university graduates, motorcycle taxi drivers, and small entrepreneurs with a secondary school education. This shows that different groups of people can participate in the country's data collection projects.

The current compensation system for statisticians is governed by the 2021 Other Input Cost Standard (SBML<sup>3</sup>) (for detailed additional context see **Appendix C**). Remuneration is determined based on the regional poverty rate in each region down to the district/city level. On average, statistical officers receive a wage of about IDR 2.926 million (about EUR 172.6) for one month's work, with a range of IDR 2.344-3.200 million (EUR 138.3-188.8). For census work, they are paid an average of Rp 3.898 million (about €231.3) per month, with a range of Rp 3.305-4.052 million (€196.1-240.5)

## 5.2 The precariousness they felt.

This chapter explores the extent to which enumerators can identify working conditions with features of uncertainty that may arise in the collection of statistical data required by the state. In this study, we limit ourselves to the two most vulnerable characteristics, namely: flexible work and instability and insecurity. For other characteristics, I will write them down together with the explanation in the next chapter.

### In the Blitz of Flexibility and Instability

In this research, we look at the characteristics of the use of labour flexibility in ensuring the availability of statistical enumerators in Statistics Indonesia. In Head of Statistics Indonesia Regulation No. 97 of 2021—which was revised in a more recent regulation into No. 124 of 2022 on Guidelines for Pricing of Statistical Activities in 2023, in article one point four, people with labour contracts who work in Statistics Indonesia as ‘statistical partners’ or statistics enumerators who are not civil servants (who have full-time contract status) are appointed based on a labour contract for a certain period.

Although it is not directly written in the regulation, based on article two, which refers to the Standard Cost of Other Inputs (SBML) prepared from the approval of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, enumerators with non-civil servant status are paid monthly, which is known as the *Orang-Bulan* (O-B) system.

Then, I found the document ‘Technical Guidelines for Honorarium in the Implementation of FY 2022 Activities’, which provides instructions on how to provide contracts to statistical enumerators according to activities in a month by referring to the SBML of each region. "*Make a work contract per partner according to the workload per survey in 1 month, with a maximum contract size of SBML for each regency/city.*" (Statistics Indonesia, 2022a). This material provides a confirmation of the contract with a unit of time per month (for additional context, see **Appendix C**).

The institution will recruit statistical enumerators monthly per activity. In general, both field data collection activities through statistical surveys and censuses are carried out within one month. At the end of the contract, the enumerators must have completed all the data collection tasks and can then receive the remuneration agreed based on the type of activity related to the SBML.

As this system emphasises contractual flexibility, the enumerator is released from any statistical activity once the contract has expired. However, if the agency feels that the work done by the

---

<sup>3</sup> This is the 2021 draft of the SBML, I did not find any other legal instrument limiting survey and census remuneration in the SBML other than this draft. The latest legal instrument is Head Statistics Indonesia Regulation No. 124 of 2022, which contains: (1) contract wages per month for the 2023 agricultural census, and (2) the survey wage structure is still based on the documents completed by enumerators without a certain maximum value (SBML)

enumerator is good, the enumerator can be invited back to collect statistical data and then sign a new contract of the same duration, usually one month.

*"...because my work is good, I stayed for eight years [with a contract extension],, if my work is not good, maybe I am no longer a statistics' partner [statistics enumerator], I have been kicked out and no longer used..." (Andika, 2023)<sup>4</sup>*

Andika, a statistical enumerator in one of the regions in Kalimantan, felt that he could stay in his job because he was doing a good job despite the uncertainty of the flexible work system. However, judging the quality of work is still an unfamiliar assumption for these workers. They may not really understand why they can be used again in this 'schematic knowledge' project.

*"Well, about that, I also don't know, sir, because we also depend on organics [employers or institution's employees]. I also don't know what their assessment is like, maybe because my work is good enough, maybe they think I am easy to contact, or maybe because my house is close to the office. I don't know either..." (Isabel, 2023)<sup>5</sup>.*

Here Isabel expresses uncertainty about the security of this job, even though she has been doing it for eight years. She is not sure what it is that has kept her in this data collection programme. She admits that in the past she was rarely called to work, but somehow now she is often called to work, for reasons she does not know for sure. The only thing a statistical enumerator can do is to work as well as possible and then hope that he or she will continue to be called, including for the next job. Here, I think, the worker can only hope for security from the uncertainty of the flexibility of this short-term contract system, namely by being called again and again. *"...The important thing is that in the next activity we are called again, we will be invited again..." (Mustika, 2023)<sup>6</sup>*

However, they do not fully accept this overly flexible working system. They also wanted to be employed in a more stable system without being subject to uncertainty. They felt that the workload of being a statistical enumerator was so heavy that they thought it would be worthwhile to be exchanged for the status of a permanent statistical enumerator, who would work without interruption, with a clear work schedule each month and a fixed monthly salary. Even in the interview, I sensed desperation and frustration in the tone of Isabela's voice and the expression on her face, as she was not sure what else she could do other than work as a statistical enumerator.

*"We are Statistics Partners [statistics enumerators] in the X region ... why aren't we called [being employed] on to be permanent partners, or are we paid a monthly honorarium or what because the workload is heavy..." (Isabel, 2023)<sup>2</sup>*

People who fall into the world of precarity often experience feelings of anger, anomie like sense of normlessness, anxiety, and alienation, which leads to pessimistic outlook on life and future, and loss of individual well-being (Standing, 2011, p. 19).

Although they come from different regions, enumerators from other regions in Java and Kalimantan have similar views, namely that they feel the instability of the flexibility of this work system. Pertiwi, from the Java region, feels that this job cannot be used as a source of livelihood because there is not necessarily a job every month. Andika also felt that the insecurity of the job meant that he would not make his work as an enumerator his main job, even though he had been working for eight years. Even though he has been working for a long time, he will be in the same position because there is no career system in this job. One of the characteristics of precarious employment is the lack of a clear career path for workers.

---

<sup>4</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

<sup>5</sup> Online FGD participant from Sulawesi, pseudonym

<sup>6</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

*To work as a statistical office partner, we can't, in Javanese language [it's known as] 'dijagake'—'as secured'— [for living], the job isn't necessarily there every month, you know? ... (Pertiwi, 2023)<sup>7</sup>*

Here several enumerators from different regions felt the same reality in dealing with the flexibility of this job. They feel that their future, even soon, is uncertain, that they have no other job than being a statistical enumerator, some even think that this job cannot be used as a main job because it cannot be used as a livelihood.

Their main hope is for a more secure situation for them, where it becomes clear that the continuity of their work as statistical partners will lead to a continuous income.

*"...Stakeholders, including high-level [Statistics Indonesia] officials in Jakarta, could consider regulations that guarantee the welfare and minimum monthly honorarium of statistical partners, especially those with long service records..." (Benny, 2023)<sup>8</sup>*

### **Dangerous opportunities, but on the edge of uncertainty**

*"When I first moved here, I had to cross the Kapuas River at 7pm at night as part of Reksosek [Extreme Poverty Census]. It was raining, which was a great experience for me. In XX Regency, I worked in a remote area and had to rent a speedboat. Pulled over by the villager, when I returned home at night, it was raining. The roads were also bad compared to my city, I was surprised by the geography, which I had never imagined before." (Andika, 2023)<sup>9</sup>*

*My work area [data collection] is in the archipelago, specifically in YY Regency, where I usually work on an island. You must wait for a ferry to cross, which can be once a week, depending on the weather. If the weather is bad, it is difficult to get to the four islands. As there is one island with a damaged harbour, we must use traditional motorboats." (Asih, 2023)<sup>10</sup>*

The two portraits above illustrate the geographical difficulties and safety risks statisticians face when collecting data in the field. Andika was adventuring on the Kapuas River in Kalimantan, the longest and widest river in Indonesia, with wildlife threats such as crocodiles and large snakes. The danger of the river, and surrounded by tropical rainforest, even well-known was become in the setting for the fiction Hollywood film *Anacondas: The Hunt for the Blood Orchid* (2004).

Asih, a mother holding her under-three-year-old son during the FGD interview, is tasked with collecting population statistics from four islands. She had to use a traditional boat to reach one island where the harbour was damaged. We can only imagine what this young mother was thinking, daring to cross the vast ocean in a small boat that could capsize at any moment, endangering the life of a mother responsible for the country's knowledge production.

However, due to the institution's labour flexibility, there is no guarantee of job security for enumerators in data collection projects. They admit that they are not always protected while on duty, and that responsibility for accidents at work is placed indirectly on the individual. This, according to Arnold and Bongiovi (2013, p. 289), is a characteristic of precarious work.

*"I think we only get work insurance during the Population Census and REGSOSEK [Extreme Poverty Census] activities. It looks like there will also be an Agricultural Census this year. But regarding statistical survey activities, I don't think there are any." (Isabel, 2023)<sup>11</sup>*

---

<sup>7</sup> Online FGD participant from Java, pseudonym

<sup>8</sup> Online FGD participant from Sulawesi, pseudonym

<sup>9</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

<sup>10</sup> Online FGD participant from Sulawesi, pseudonym

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*



When Isabel was asked about the risk of loss that might occur during data collection in an island district where she worked, she said: "[...] *at that time I did not really think about [the possibility of] accidents, all I had in mind was collecting data from respondents [...]*" (ibid.). This becomes a problem when a statistician feels the need to fulfil the mandate of collecting accurate data while neglecting personal safety —not out of neglect for personal safety, but rather because there is no other option to survive in an insecure situation. Workers are forced to accept paid work, even if they sometimes disagree with the working conditions and rewards; if they refuse, they risk not being able to make ends meet (Chibber, 2022, p. 40).

Not to mention the unexpected events experienced by the interviewees, such as experiencing violence. Isabel was once thrown off a chair by a man she was interviewing (more on this in chapter six). One officer from Kalimantan had to choose between personal safety and respecting respondents' feelings when dealing with respondents' dogs.

*"My work area is a dog area; in other words, we are afraid of dogs and not brave; it makes us think whether to go forward or backward. Until yesterday, my long skirt was torn because it was bitten by a dog, and yes, there is no insurance [occupational protection]".* (Siska, 2023)<sup>12</sup>

Given the number of officers working across Indonesia, with varying geographical conditions and levels of safety, accidents at work are inevitable. As the agency can only provide accident compensation for census activities, officers are particularly vulnerable when working on statistical survey projects. If accidents occur outside the census, the agencies can only provide voluntary compensation, which is given as part of the empathy formed by the family ties between the employing agency and the statistician. This point is discussed further in the following chapters.

## **6 Immaterial values generated by Statistical Enumerators, invisible and underestimated.**

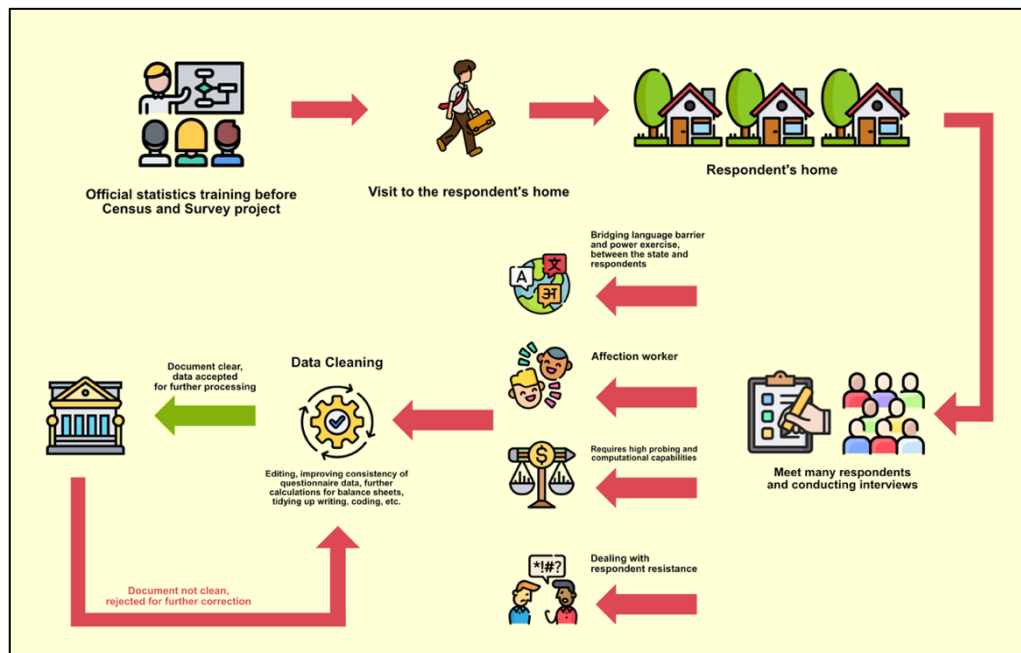
Again, I am reminded of the power dynamics involved in the work of enumerators when I associate it with Scott's (1998, p. 25) notion that 'every act of measurement is an act marked by the exercise of power relations', where all activities in the production of this particular knowledge are loaded with the political interests of the state because one of them functions as an exercise of power in regulating everything that enters its territorial boundaries. The production of statistics and census data is part of this production of knowledge. Therefore, I understand the work of data collection as immaterial work because it produces immaterial goods such as knowledge and information (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p. 108; Lazzarato, 1996, p. 109).

So, given the responsibility of statistical enumerators in trying to establish the political power of a country, how difficult and complex are the conditions they face? Here I will try to understand the immaterial value of the work of statistical enumerators, who may have the misfortune to be positioned within the hegemony of precarious work in a system of knowledge production by the state.

---

<sup>12</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

**Figure 6. 1** Immaterial values involved in the process of working as a statistical enumerator.



## 6.1 The hegemony of immaterial work among census takers: intellectual and manual work become one.

### The process of standardising a new reality

Scott (1998, p. 75) emphasises the need to simplify the reality of the country into simple and standardised information that can be easily understood and regulated. In the collection of statistical data through censuses and surveys, the importance of uniformity of official statistical concepts is strongly emphasised to ensure that data can be compared from the smallest scale to the international level.

For example, in the standardisation of labour statistics data collection and gender labour market analysis, data producers such as government statistical offices and policy makers follow ILO recommendations with procedures agreed in the International Conference on Labour Statistics (ICLS). The aim is to understand labour market dynamics and gender issues globally, to the benefit of both researchers and policy makers (ILO, 2022).

Statistical standardisation aims to achieve international comparability, but enumerators are required to understand hundreds of statistical concepts and definitions in a short period of training. Enumerators must relearn and memorise different concepts for each new job to avoid errors in data collection. These errors can undermine the quality of the statistical data produced, which should be standardised. This illustrates the complexity of the enumerator's job before the actual data collection begins.

*"Because [doing this job], my mind there are too many concepts, [...], the concept of censuses and statistics surveys [...] Usually, the concept and definition of resident in SAKERNAS [Labor Survey], SUSENAS [The National Socioeconomic Survey], and yesterday's REGSOSEK [Extreme Poverty Census], sometimes the concepts are different, so like it or not, you have to learn again" (Putri, 2023)<sup>13</sup>*

<sup>13</sup> Online FGD participant from Java, pseudonym

### **Respondents faced with linguistic rigidity, enumerators as mediators.**

The consequences of specialised and diverse statistical concepts affect not only enumerators but also respondents. The enumerator's task is not only to collect data, but also to ensure that respondents understand the questions so that they can give precise and accurate answers. 'Precise and accurate' means that respondents should understand the questions according to official statistical standards and that the answers should reflect the real conditions they experience. Enumerators should try to explain the questions clearly and make respondents aware of statistical concepts so that they do not misunderstand when answering.

A new problem arises when the Statistics Indonesia's questionnaire uses the formal Indonesian language, which can be a barrier for respondents who are less familiar with the language. Enumerators play an important role in bridging this gap by translating intellectual discourse for lay people who may not be highly educated.

*"I used to look at the word usage of the respondent and guess what level they were at; sometimes we interview and see what kind of word the respondent understands. This is also a challenge in data collection: how do we use words to compose interview sentences and get good data?" (Marlina, 2023).*

Errington (2014, p. 179), in his research on the Indonesian language and its speaker class dynamics, argues that there is not a single region (city/village) in Indonesia that has native Indonesian speakers who claim that their 'first', 'mother', or 'native' language is Indonesian. This issue has come up many times in discussions of Indonesian political culture over the past 50 years. "I refer to Indonesian as a language that is 'un-native' rather than 'non-native' (ibid.), which was used as an institutionally defined lingua franca for official communication as a bridge between ethnicities and regions.

The Indonesian language was initially used by the anti-colonial nationalist movement born in 1928, but changed during the New Order regime, which positioned the language as a tool to spread nationalist ideology, but in practice was used by the New Order regime as an effort to extend its control across regions in Indonesia while maintaining a subtle/natural impression (Elson, 2008, p. 253). The New Order even constructed the concept that Indonesian was superior to regional languages, highlighting its advantages over regional languages (Errington, 2014, p. 203). This is why the penetration rate of Bahasa Indonesia as a unifying language is not necessarily accepted by the entire population in everyday communication.

Discourses are usually generated by various elite groups [including the state] that can bring power, dominance, framing and control policies (Dijk, 1993, pp. 10-12). The position of language as the discourse used by the state in data collection has an impact on respondents. Enumerators have the additional role of translating questions into the local language, creating comfort and building trust and openness. In this role, enumerators become mediators who not only collect data but also neutralise the power dynamics between the state and civil society, generating complex immaterial values in the collection of information and the interaction of the state with its citizens.

### **Probing and complex computation skills**

In data collection interviews, enumerators need to ensure that respondents' answers reflect reality. Enumerators need to have good probing skills to get respondents to be open, complete, and honest. For example, the National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS) aims to collect information on weekly food and non-food consumption expenditure, with around 320 or more items, including expenditure on rent, electricity, fuel, and religious donations. Enumerators must ensure that no expenditure is missed.

Figure 6. 2 Sample questions from the SUSENAS interview, taken from questionnaire sheet 34 of 66 pages (including social context questions), translated.

| No. Sort   |                 | Code COICOP  | R details | Last Month  | Last Year  |
|--|-----------------|--|-----------|-------------|------------|
| (1)  | (2)             | (3)  | (4) (5)   |             |            |
| <b>BLOCK IV.2. EXPENDITURES ON NON-FOOD GOODS<br/>OVER THE LAST MONTH AND YEAR (IN RUPIAH) (CONTINUED)</b>                     |                 |  |           |             |            |
| 240  |                 | <b>B. VARIOUS GOODS AND SERVICES</b>   |           | □□□.□□□.□□□ |            |
| 241  | 12130000        | Bath soap, toothpaste, toothbrush and shampoo  |           | □□.□□□.□□□  |            |
| 242  | 12130000        | Beauty items (fragrance oil, hair oil, deodorant, powder, braces, contact lenses, nail clippers, wigs, lipstick, combs, etc.), and sanitary napkins    |           |             | □□.□□□.□□□ |
| 243  | 12110000        | Skin, face, nails, hair care (cost of barbering, curling, rebounding, cream bath, body scrub/spa, etc.)  |           | □□.□□□.□□□  |            |
| 244  | 05611012<br>-15 | Laundry soap (bar, powder, cream and liquid)   |           | □□.□□□.□□□  |            |
| 245  | 05611000        | Clothing maintenance agents (softeners and fragrances, bleach, lubricants, etc.)   |           | □□.□□□.□□□  |            |
| 246  | 09500000        | Newspapers, magazines, books and stationery (excluding school and course needs) including magazine/reading rentals                                     |           | □□.□□□.□□□  |            |
| 247  | 12130000        | Other items (tissues, <i>diapers</i> , plastic bags, plastic ropes/tethers, toothpicks, <i>cotton buds</i> , camphor, skewers, disposable masks, etc.) |           | □□.□□□.□□□  |            |
| <b>Costs for medical/curative services (including delivery costs and medicines that cannot be detailed) (R. 248 to R. 254)</b> |                 |  |           |             |            |
| 248  | 06300000        | Government hospital <b>Outpatient</b>  |           |             |            |
| 248.a  |                 | medical expenses paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) last year: □□□□□□   |           |             | □□.□□□.□□□ |
| 248.b  |                 | <b>Hospitalization</b> costs paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) last year: □□□□□□   |           |             |            |
| 249  | 06300000        | Private hospital   |           |             |            |
| 249.a  |                 | <b>Outpatient</b> medical expenses paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) last year: □□□□□□   |           |             | □□.□□□.□□□ |
| 249.b  |                 | <b>Inpatient</b> costs paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) in the last year: □□□□□□  |           |             |            |
| 250  | 06302004        | Puskesmas/pustu/polindes/posyandu  |           |             |            |
| 250.a  |                 | Costs for <b>outpatient treatment at the health center</b> are paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) last year: □□.□□□.□□□                             |           |             |            |
| 250.b  |                 | <b>Hospitalization</b> costs at the health center are paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) last year: □□.□□□.□□□                                      |           |             |            |
| 250.c  |                 | The cost of <b>treatment at the pustu</b> is paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) last year: □□.□□□.□□□   |           |             | □□.□□□.□□□ |
| 250.d  |                 | Costs for medical treatment at the <b>village police</b> paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) in the last year: □□.□□□.□□□                            |           |             |            |
| 250.e  |                 | Cost of medical treatment at <b>posyandu</b> paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) in the last year: □□.□□□.□□□  |           |             |            |
| 251  | 06210000        | Doctor's practice/polyclinic   |           |             |            |
| 251.a  |                 | Cost of treatment at a <b>doctor's practice/polyclinic</b> paid in cash ( <i>out of pocket</i> ) in the last year: □□.□□□.□□□                          |           |             | □□.□□□.□□□ |

"When it comes to [questions about] consumption, we have to be really sensitive about that; sometimes they don't want to be honest about what they consumed in a week [...]" (Andika, 2023). He admitted that when asking about spices, he often asked for the name of the dish and guessed the spices used. Enumerators tried to collect data quickly without sacrificing accuracy. Without this method, he admits that it can take 3-4 hours to conduct an interview.

In addition, enumerators also calculated the balance of the respondent's income and expenditure. Food expenditure was asked weekly, while non-food expenditure was asked monthly or annually, so an estimate of annual expenditure was needed to produce a balanced balance.

*"SUSENAS is like when we make an accounting ledger manually; if we make a mistake [in the initial calculations], it will be crossed out [until] at the end because it will be more detailed. If you want to say you're fed up with it, you're actually fed up!"* (Cipto, 2023)<sup>1415</sup>

## 6.2 By keeping respondents comfortable, they also act as affection workers.

Enumerators work not only intellectually, but also emotionally as part of their immaterial work. They try to minimise resistance from respondents or communities during data collection, which Scott (1996, p. 24) sees as an exercise of power. The enumerator's ability to manage emotions (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p. 108) is important for the smooth extraction of knowledge without coercion, making respondents feel comfortable despite the possible loss of time, especially in their economic activities.

*"We meet a lot of people who may have different characters, [...] I must do whatever I can to win their hearts, so when I asked them for an interview, the respondent was happy to give me good information, you know? without feeling forced."* (Zainal, 2023)<sup>16</sup>.

Enumerators adapted their working hours to respondents' free time so as not to disrupt their economic activities. They often visited respondents in the afternoon or evening after working hours. Despite resistance from respondents who were tired or distracted at night, enumerators had to keep negotiating to get the data the country needed.

*"We collected the data in the evening, so we came to the respondents in the evening when they got home from work, but instead the respondents didn't seem to like it. [...] He felt disturbed that we were coming at night, [...] he was like, like he was angry, 'why are you coming so late at night!'"* (Elina, 2023)<sup>17</sup>

In surveys and censuses, respondents often misunderstand the enumerators' questions, which are an expression of state power (Scott, 1998, p. 25). The questions carry the political discourse of the state to understand the socio-economic conditions of its citizens. Sensitive questions such as home ownership status, receipt of government assistance or family health insurance coverage, which appear in the National Socio-Economic Survey (SUSENAS), reveal the economic, social, and political vulnerability of respondents. Similarly, the National Labour Force Survey (SAKERNAS) asks about employment status, and the Anti-Corruption Perspective Survey (SPAK 2019) assesses trust in government and satisfaction with efforts to fight corruption (see **Appendix E**).

*"I saw the sensitive questions "Have you ever received government aid?" and "What did you use, subsidised fertiliser or not?" As enumerators, we were responsible for asking these questions, but*

---

<sup>14</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

<sup>15</sup> See **Appendix D** for details of the household balance sheet account in the SUSENAS questionnaire.

<sup>16</sup> Online FGD participant from Java, pseudonym

<sup>17</sup> *ibid.*

*respondents thought it had to do with aid. Also, "Any bank debts in the last year?" As if they thought we wanted to pay them off!" (Mustika, 2023)<sup>18</sup>*

Enumerators have the additional task of explaining to the community that data collection does not mean that government assistance will be provided immediately, but that the government is trying to understand the situation of the population through empirical data that will be used for future planning and policy design. By building good relationships, enumerators reduce resistance and misunderstandings from respondents, such as their expressions of disappointment at not receiving immediate government assistance despite being interviewed frequently.

### **6.3 Resisting on the State: the enumerators who must deal with respondent' resistance.**

Enumerators face challenges in convincing respondents because of a crisis of confidence in the security of personal data. Requests for sensitive data, such as the Population Identification Number (NIK), often raise concerns about identity misuse for illegal purposes, such as online credit registration or unauthorised political party membership. Mustika (2023)<sup>19</sup> suggests that respondents are often suspicious of enumerators who ask for the NIK, wondering whether the enumerator is affiliated with a particular political party, despite an official letter of assignment from the statistics office.

*"Ah, that's a lie! Ah, they could rob you! You won't get anything back [if you are interviewed]". [...] not to mention the incitement from neighbours left and right; when we come, they assemble [to warn others]" (Andika, 2023)<sup>20</sup>.*

On the other hand, Andika noted the suspicion of the community, who often mistook enumerators for fraudsters, as well as the resentment of having to ask so many questions for no reward. Enumerators faced social stigma and were often turned away with accusations of identity theft or robbery. Crowds of neighbours suspicious of the enumerators' activities also pose a challenge to statistical data collection.

*"I was carrying out updating activities, just asking about the latest education from the head of the household. However, I asked this man, but he didn't want to answer. Suddenly this man came in, and the next thing I knew, he had already taken a chair and thrown [the chair] at me while shouting because he said he didn't like being interviewed." (Isabel, 2023)<sup>21</sup>*

While collecting statistics for the government, Isabel experienced the fear of being ill-treated by the respondent. The noble task of recording the conditions of society is often met with violent resistance from respondents, a reality that is common but rarely publicised. Another often unforeseen danger is when enumerators encounter respondents' pets, which are not always well controlled. As a researcher, I experienced being chased by a guard dog while collecting data in Papua in 2017. Siska, one of the participants, also shared her experience of dealing with the respondent's pet dog.

*"In terms of security, we Muslims rarely have experience dealing with dogs. What's more, last time was rabies season [...] There really wasn't any security from them [e.g., dog leashes], so like it or not, when I was interviewing, I was attacked by the respondent's dog. You must go back and forth with a big torn in my long skirt." (Siska, 2023)<sup>22</sup>*

---

<sup>18</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Online FGD participant from Sulawesi, pseudonym

<sup>22</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

### **6.3 Immaterial workers must also be active subjects.**

In immaterial work, workers such as enumerators are faced with decisions and are responsible for the outcome of those decisions (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 134). Enumerators often must find solutions to challenges in the field, such as difficulties in entering large companies due to security systems. Company security may not trust enumerators for fear of leaking confidential company information that could affect tax payments.

As ‘active subjects’, they not only perform tasks but also coordinate data production functions. Enumerators seek solutions through insider acquaintances, coordination with statistical office staff, or other alternatives. If all attempts failed, they were allowed to replace the sample with the same industry category or, in the latter case, not to collect data with a non-response status.

Based on observations in the three regions, enumerators manage challenges in the field by using informal communication methods, often through WhatsApp groups or face-to-face meetings at the statistical office to discuss cases and solutions for translating issues into statistical questionnaires. This collaboration not only shares the workload, but also improves safety in the field, especially in high-risk areas. Enumerators are more likely to consult with fellow enumerators than with permanent staff, who are often preoccupied with administrative and management tasks.

Enumerators are given the freedom to organise data collection strategies, including scheduling fieldwork, completing, counting, editing, and coding questionnaires that can be done at home or in the office, and coordinating with the team. This freedom allowed them to organise their own phases of work and remain responsible for completing the tasks as per the contract.

Enumerators work as immaterial workers who organise their own control and motivation, ensuring effective and efficient work outcomes, according to Lazzarato (1996), where they create their own ideal production conditions without strict supervision.

### **6.4 What I have learnt from this chapter.**

The immaterial work performed by enumerators presents complexities and challenges that are often overlooked. These include the ways in which the state regulates the exchange of labour value and the working conditions that are created, demonstrating the irregularity and unpredictability of this work that enumerators must deal with before, during and after data collection. This adds to the noted characteristics of precarious work, namely its irregularity and atypicality, which can result in workers generating more value than their contractual obligations but not being rewarded accordingly (Arnold and Bongiovi, 2013, p. 289).

Furthermore, the value generated by workers is not only based on the duration of work, but also on the complex interactions within the social network. The mechanisms of exploitation of immaterial labour are difficult to measure and identify, but the effects are more detrimental when the benefits of this complex labour are not shared fairly with those who contribute to its production (Hardt and Negri, 2004, p. 113). This is known as the suppression of the immaterial value of labour, due to the difficulty of measuring the invisible outcomes of work, leading to the normalisation of low-wage work without social security and other benefits.

I am aware that there are many other values of labour that have not been written about in this chapter, that are not captured in the data of this research, and that further research is needed. Finally, I think this chapter is best concluded with the following quote:

“But how hard, fast, or careful the delivery will be—the quality and quantity of the labor units—cannot be fully enumerated because there are too many imponderables in the actual work process.” (Chibber, 2022, p. 55)

## 7 Situation of class consciousness among enumerators in the perception of their working conditions

In exploring the working conditions and value generated by statistical enumerators, I would like to discuss their responses. From the interviews with enumerators, many shared their experiences, describing the work as physically demanding but also challenging. However, when I asked how they responded to the opportunities for resistance that came from understanding their working conditions, I rarely heard direct complaints. Instead, many expressed satisfactions at being part of the job.

Statistical enumerators acknowledge their unstable work system and the often-unfavourable flexibility of the labour system, inadequate protection, and some are dissatisfied with their wages, yet they are still required to produce complex immaterial value in data collection for the construction of a new reality that the state uses in its governance functions. Therefore, I did not see any significant activities leading to an effective form of resistance. For this reason, I tried to explore the situation of class consciousness among the enumerators in interpreting their working conditions, their own material interests, and rights.

However, as a note, I cannot deny that the participants' responses may be influenced by the researcher's employment position, thus potentially shaping their responses.

### 7.1 Class consciousness and values that can get in the way.

In this paper I argue that class consciousness does not arise automatically among workers. Although workers in capitalist systems are aware of the injustice and exploitation of surplus value by employers and feel oppressed, they often do not resist because they are bound by social constructions such as values, culture, identity, understanding of class consciousness, special relationships, or kinship with employers (Chiber, 2022). "Economic relations, however exploitative, (...) present themselves to people in myriad ways, conditioned by culture and circumstance." (Joyce, 1994, p. 16).

It is important to emphasise that enumerators felt they were treated equally, with no discrimination between permanent and non-permanent workers, which created equality in the performance of state tasks, working together in the collection of statistics and census data. This is reflected in the enumerators' responses about their relationship with the statistical office as their employer:

*"My motivation to stay at this agency so far is a sense of comfort with the work, then they have people there, they have organic people [permanent worker] who are friendly, kind and never discriminate."* (Asih, 2023)<sup>23</sup>

*[...] there is no hierarchy, there is no distance between organics [permanent worker] and partners [enumerators], every time we have difficulties we ask organics, they try to answer that whatever the problem in the field, and for example we need them in the field, can they not accompany us or what is the problem in the field, [...]"* (Andika, 2023)<sup>24</sup>

Although there is a warm relationship between workers that creates a family bond, the difference between permanent workers and enumerators is still evident in the work system. Permanent workers are given full-time contracts, health insurance, fringe benefits and pensions that enumerators do not enjoy. For example, Amira, a permanent worker, revealed that enumerators feel like family, especially when there are work visits that make them feel comfortable. Similarly, Susi from Sulawesi felt that the enumerators were like family.

---

<sup>23</sup> Online FGD participant from Sulawesi, pseudonym

<sup>24</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym



*"On average, they [enumerators] feel that Statistics Indonesia has become part of their family. [...] So the few times we have supervised [official visits to regional offices], they feel comfortable working with us." (Amira, 2023)<sup>25</sup>*

*"Yes, when we work, we always say: "Yes, statistical partners [enumerators] are family", all sorts of things" (Susi, 2023).<sup>26</sup>*

These two statements show a change in working relationships that is increasingly leading to family relationships. However, this transformation also has a negative impact, namely the blurring of class lines between workers and employers. Although there is a warmer relationship, there are still differences in rights, duties, and interests between the two classes.

The relationship between workers and employers is not one of equality but of subordination relation. The employer, as the dominant group, has access to capital and resources and an interest in productive activities that require the working class to exchange labour for survival. Although workers can refuse or negotiate labour contracts, the power imbalance means that negotiations always take place from a position of weakness (Chibber, 2022, p. 2; p. 32). Even if workers have skills and knowledge, their position can never be completely reversed to dominance (p. 51).

“What it describes is a causal subordination of one part of the duo to the other. It suggests that even though the two are always implicated in the reproduction of class structure, their interaction is asymmetrical, the one placing limits on the operation of the other.” (ibid., p. 44).

Workers who see themselves as equal to their employers and feel treated like family are in fact concealing, consciously or unconsciously, existing subordination relationship that prevent them from critically building class consciousness and creating resistance efforts to fight for their interests. I am not suggesting that workers retain full control over capital, as the state does, but according to Weiss's article (2022), the capitalist state tends to select its ideal citizens and is willing to provide the benefits of economic growth, which are not always available to everyone. Permanent workers have the potential to occupy top positions and influence the future political direction of organisations, including the formulation of policy towards the working conditions of enumerators, they became the representative [manifestation] of state itself.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, the colloquial reference to enumerators as 'statistical partners' may obscure this relationship of subordination. In fact, many direct quotes from enumerators refer to their designation as statistical partners rather than any other official title. This contrasts with the term 'Field Data Collection Worker', which is an official designation in legal instruments, such as the Head of the Central Bureau of Statistics Regulation No. 124 of 2022 and Government Regulation No. 51 of 1999, which refer to enumerators as 'Census Officers' and 'Statistical Survey Officers', and the Statistics Act No. 16 of 1997, which officially refers to them as 'Statistical Officers'.

In field practice, this term for enumerators, which often refers to short-term contract workers, is used by permanent Statistics Indonesia staff and the enumerators themselves, which may directly or indirectly change the perspective of the enumerators' position in the subordinate relationship. *In my opinion, by using this certain term, they are hoping that this partner will be loyal, will do the job well.*

---

<sup>25</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Wolf (2004) argues that the postcolonial state in Southeast Asia is an organisation that emerges from its complex society, is bound by existing power relations, and may materialize outside its formal structure, is influenced by traditional ties and the history of colonialism and is not always rational. I associate permanent workers as part of the complex outcomes of society, as well as part of the state itself, which may also be embodiment (representation) of the state itself.

(Susi, 2023)<sup>28</sup>. However, while the use of certain term in working relationships can build unexpectedly loyalty, it can also facade the reality of power relations and existing horizontal inequalities.

Lazar and Sanchez (2019, p. 10) argue that the kinship between permanent and temporarily workers obscure the job security created by modern capitalism and blurs the distinction between the two types of workers in economic and political consciousness. This creates a situation where temporarily workers think they share the same fate and vision as permanent workers, when in fact they are more vulnerable to risks such as instability and lack of protection and benefits.

For example, when there are policy changes or budget cuts, non-permanent enumerators are the first to be affected. This also affects the political and economic awareness of working groups. Enumerators who feel that their situation is no different from that of permanent workers may be less aware of their situation and less motivated to fight for their rights and job security. Similarly, permanent workers who feel their position is 'secure' may be less aware of the vulnerabilities faced by enumerators, for example, they may feel it is sufficient to rely on voluntary donations to help enumerators who have accidents at work, but not to seek a system that covers the safety of enumerators (for additional context, see **Appendix C**).

### **The invisible consequences of identity**

We return to class consciousness in Joyce's (1994, p. 6) interpretation that interests cannot be directly derived from economic structures, but are formed from agents' social identities, or the interpretations and meanings they give to these positions. This means that actors, whether individuals or groups, must 'construct' their own interests by using their interpretative tools, such as beliefs, meaning schemes, and sensitivities, which implies that interests are dynamic, and will change along with the evolution of a person's and group's social identity.

For example, identities are formed in reaction to workplace conditions, the subordinative relationship between workers and employers, and compensation. This can directly explain why the class consciousness of statistical enumerators does not appear in the previous explanation, where the identity that identifies the dynamics of class relations between workers and employers is no longer visible due to being covered by values that present false equality. "Such epistemological [class relation] clarity is the precondition of class-consciousness and is understood to be the foundation of political struggle" (Lazar and Sanchez, 2019, p. 9).

But that is not all, there are still other identities that escape the image of reality captured by the statistical enumerators themselves, such as unstable working conditions, changing compensation systems, the absence of job protection, and other differences that distinguish full-time workers. One participant's confession that even I was surprised when I heard it firsthand:

*"That's why I say that when we work with the institution, if we are treated well, no matter how much the salary is, no matter how many responsibilities we have, no matter how many times we are rejected by the respondents, we are given access to ask questions facilitated [related to difficulties on data collection], it makes us happy"* (Mustika, 2023)<sup>29</sup>.

This is a situation where workers may have little choice but to accept their jobs and conditions, whether they like it or not, to sustain their lives and even their families. What Mustika said immediately reminded me of the quotation from Chibber (2022, p. 40) that:

*"A worker will find good reason to either rapidly adjust her initially negative valuation of wage labor or just take the latter on, however grudgingly—for to refuse to do so will be to imperil her own survival."*

---

<sup>28</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

<sup>29</sup> *Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym*

## 7.2 Flexibility as resistance barrier

In the materialist theory discussed earlier, the main challenge is whether class consciousness can emerge among workers. While there are times when certain conditions may encourage workers to unite against employers in pursuit of their interests, other factors may also push them towards individualistic resistance (Chibber, 2022, p. 62). It is true that workers rarely choose collective action because someone has explained to them the dangers of employer power. This reluctance is natural, as they have a fairly accurate understanding of their economic vulnerability. It is this caution that leads them to favour individualistic rather than collective strategies (ibid, pp. 124-5).

In data study, I have also found that flexibility has its influence on the possibility of building collective identities owned by the enumerators. First, I see that the flexibility of the system allows it to be used as a disciplinary tool that minimises the opportunity for enumerators to engage in antagonistic activities to pursue their interests.

*"Sometimes they are not satisfied with the salary, because the work is hard, the salary is only a little, so they grumble in this, [...], they grumble in the [Whatsapp] group, they definitely won't be used again [for next month and so on]." (Andika, 2023)<sup>30</sup>*

Before moving out, Andika worked as a statistics enumerator in another district statistical office. There, it was standard practice to have an online group platform for questions and answers between enumerators and permanent staff on data collection issues. Once, an enumerator expressed dissatisfaction with his remuneration in the group but received no response from the office. Andika thought the staff might respond privately via direct message. However, the enumerator never showed up for subsequent projects. Andika assumed that the incident influenced the decision not to hire him again. When asked, Andika said that no other enumerators expressed similar dissatisfaction or continued the confrontation.

In chapter five it was mentioned that participants like Isabela and Andika did not know the exact reason why their contracts were renewed. However, they focused on collecting quality data as the top priority of their work. In my analysis, this focus is the key to the trust that leads employers to extend their contracts. In a flexible labour system, this contract extension can be seen as an 'extra reward' for enumerators to maintain job stability. This also explains why enumerators' identity and class consciousness are not formed, as they are too focused on maintaining their existence as workers.

*"From the institution itself, the consideration is: "We pay you according to the work you do. So, if there is work done, we will pay you". But in terms of, "Will your contract be renewed or not? That, of course, depends on your performance in that area. If, for example, your performance in the region is judged to be good by our colleagues in the region, then of course you will continue to be employed." Amira (2023)<sup>31</sup>*

On the other hand, the flexible labour system in this country's knowledge production hinders the formation of class solidarity among statistical enumerators. This is because the collective identity built by fellow workers will not last long when each worker could not have the opportunity to continue his work because the contract given will expire in one month. In fact, worker solidarity was very important in the world labour movement from the beginning, which could lead each worker to see the welfare of his or her colleagues as directly concerning himself or herself, thus creating a collective identity that would become a culture in the class struggle. Also, the solidaristic spirit can negate the effects of individual separation that capitalism usually produces (Levi and Ahlquist, 2013).

---

<sup>30</sup> Online FGD participant from Kalimantan, pseudonym

<sup>31</sup> In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym

### 7.3 Clientalism and its trade-offs

The discussion on the background of the participants' recruitment as enumerators was quite interesting. Pertiwi, the most experienced enumerator since 1999, started working for the Statistics Indonesia in a regency in Java after high school, having been introduced by a relative in a high position in the regency/city statistics office. She also invited her relatives and friends to become enumerators. One of them is Ambar, who was involved in this research and started working in the 2016 economic census. The phenomenon of recruiting enumerators from within the family also occurs in other areas, as Ratih found in Nusa Tenggara.

*“For Statistics Indonesia, [the recruitment process of enumerators] has not been centralised, so it is still each region that selects statistical partners, mostly their own families, to be used as field data collectors in this way.” (Ratih, 2023)<sup>32</sup>.*

*In the past, it was the recruitment process of permanent employees who were looking for. Usually the recruitment was the Statistical Coordinator [part of permanent worker] acquaintances (Amira, 2023)<sup>33</sup>.*

Next came Andika, who from 2013 to 2014 often assisted his uncle, a statistical enumerator, by participating in the collection of statistical data in the field and by correcting questionnaire responses after fieldwork. When he was deemed competent enough, his uncle introduced Andika to the statistical office staff so that he could be recruited at any time to assist with future statistical activities.

This research found that there are opportunities for patronage networks to be involved in the collection of government statistics. Klinken and Berenschot (2014, p. 22) argues that patronage networks with middle-class patrons are a way for the less well-off to improve their lot. Jones and Newberry (2009) notes that these networks create a hierarchical relationship between the less well-off and the better-off, where loyalty is exchanged for economic rewards.

According to Klinken and Berenschot (2014, p. 22), this trust is based on unequal relationships, often based on identities such as family, neighbourhood, religion or ethnicity. Characteristic of Indonesia in this respect is the informality that arises in the functioning of the state and the market, which makes clientelism so widespread.

They also explained that jobs that provide access to state wealth are exclusive to the Indonesian population and are considered formal jobs. This access is perceived as ‘security’ amidst the informality of the Indonesian workforce, which stands at almost 60 per cent (Statistics Indonesia, 2022b). The status of working in the formal sector has a positive social perception.

Although not as permanent and stable as working for the government, being an enumerator is seen as a more rational way of gaining access to government income. This is a rare opportunity, albeit an uncertain one, given the dominance of the informal sector that drives the Indonesian economy.

It should be noted, however, that patronage networks are strongly linked to loyalty, which affects the enumerator's loyalty to the institution or person who provides access to the job. These values can hinder class consciousness in creating a struggle of class interests, which will have an impact on workers' working conditions.

*“In a situation of generalized labor market competition, the easier means for increasing one’s security is not building formal organizations for collective action—since this inevitably runs into conflict with the employer—but relying on the informal networks into which workers*

---

<sup>32</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

<sup>33</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

are born. These most commonly are networks of kin, caste, ethnicity, race, and so on” (Chibber, 2022, p. 64)

Here, I found that one of the causes of the low class consciousness of the enumerators, which follows the same pattern from province to province, is, in addition to clientelism, the perception of the class of people who see that working for the government, in addition to providing 'security' through access to income from state resources, also gives the perception of a certain class in the social order of Indonesia.

By studying the historical process of authority formation in Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, we can understand that bureaucratic rationality has not completely replaced traditional power operations (Hamdi, 2020). New post-colonial state regimes cannot escape 'traditional' ties such as kinship, friendship, or other 'identity' sentiments in their operations (Wolf, 2004).

#### **7.4 Remnants of history that affect Indonesian class interests today.**

At the end of this chapter, I would like to briefly discuss why class consciousness in Indonesia has lacked progressive change. This factor contributes to workers being trapped in the system without many being aware of it or choosing to remain in unfavourable conditions.

In chapter four, I touched on the transition that Indonesia underwent when Suharto's leadership during the New Order reduced the influence of communism to become more liberal and invited foreign investment through his neoliberal policies, and the beginning of the transition to a precarious labour system (Roosa, 2020). Aspinall (2013, p. 102) criticises the conventional wisdom that is too quick to dismiss the role and power of the people in Indonesia's transition process and post-authoritarian order. He argues that Indonesia's democratic transition was fundamentally driven from below. However, since the New Order was established following the demise of socialism and communism and the elimination of leftist thinking in Indonesia, the organisations that were the political power of the people became more fragmented—until the political institutions that were supposed to be key were taken over.

For example, trade unions were banned (is seen as played on anti-communist sentiments), except for two labour organisations representing civil servants and a more general labour federation, which remained under full control. The New Order also made pre-emptive efforts to keep independent trade unions at bay to create conditions of low wages and reduced job security to attract more investment (Lambert, 1997; Hadiz, 1997). In addition, propaganda was used to portray labour organisations as a threat to national stability, which needed to be secured. Trade unions were associated with social unrest and political agitation, which also played on the issue of hatred against them as part of 'communist tactics' (Hadiz, 2002, p. 132).

After the authoritarian New Order era, previously restricted labour organisations are now free with the birth of a democratisation. However, the fragmentation inherited from the previous regime means that workers remain disorganised and have limited capacity to take advantage of this political opening. Their situation is made even more precarious by high unemployment and informality due to the extreme economic crisis (*ibid.*, p. 135).

The fragmentation of organisations of workers, peasants and other subaltern groups has led to the failure to form workers' political parties. Institutions that were supposed to represent post-reform subaltern groups became irrelevant, and Indonesian politics was dominated by organised elites (Aspinall, 2013, p. 130).

The failure of workers' parties in the electoral arena confirmed the limited political space for workers and trade unions. This led to a government policy of wage suppression through the introduction of regional minimum wages, a legacy of the New Order that continues to this day. The situation is exacerbated by employers' reluctance to comply with the minimum wage. Labour's political limitations are also evident in its narrow focus on minimum wage issues. With

the decentralisation of wage setting, unions tend to focus on local politicians and minimum wages. While this strategy is adaptive, this narrow focus means that other important issues (such as working conditions, the right to leave, health insurance and employment protection insurance) are often ignored (Caraway, 2004).

As a result, no permanent and strong lower-class coalition or party has emerged, and many opportunities for lower class political influence have been missed during the transition. In the half a century, Indonesia has begun to produce policies that do not fit the leftist narrative because of the lack of organised social representation in this transition (Aspinall, 2013, p. 130).

Furthermore, Klinken and Berenschot (2014, p. 6) argue that in its democratic growth, Indonesia has been (somewhat) still accompanied in its struggle by people from the lower social strata, who have always been consistent in fighting for a democracy that includes everyone, without exception those with very difficult economies. But Indonesia's post-reform democracy is dominated by the middle class, which has a more complicated attitude. Klinken and Berenschot argues that this middle class will support democracy if it benefits them, especially in relation to the problems they face. They will support the 'national bourgeoisie' or local capitalists if it serves their interests, and the middle class will not hesitate to reject democracy if they feel it gives too much power to the poor.

Indonesia is still distant from implementing the welfare state model, and one of the factors is the lack of representation of the lower classes in politics. Precarious work has penetrated many sectors, including the government. This phenomenon may be closely related to the weak influence or power of trade unions in fighting for social welfare or welfare state policies. This condition shows the importance of advocacy and political struggle to change the structure of policies that prioritise the welfare of the wider community.

## 8 Conclusion

Based on the research paper I have written, there are several points of conclusion regarding the realities faced by statistical enumerators in their working conditions in statistical data collection and censuses as part of the country's knowledge simplification project.

First, Indonesia's unstable labour dynamics have their origins in the neoliberal policies of the New Order era. These policies emphasised economic liberalism and labour flexibility. The state's efforts to weaken the labour movement at the time were often linked to communist sentiments. Although the reform era brought down the New Order, the economic crisis forced the new government to accept neo-liberal policies. This, together with the fragmentation of the labour movement, made the labour market more flexible and still vulnerable. After 20 years of reformasi, these policies have not changed and have been reinforced by the Job Creation Law and PP No. 35 of 2021.

Second, in their participation in data collection for the state, enumerators are aware of working in a flexible and uncertain system. Flexible when they must work on projects with average monthly contract, not necessarily recalled the following month, recalled when they feel they have done a satisfactory job, and so on, without a clear career direction. Uncertain when they are consciously insecure about their own jobs, when they do not get job security guarantees in every project they do, even though they are exposed to field risks and the different geographical forms of Indonesia.

Third, in producing knowledge for the state, enumerators are often confronted with the complexities of official statistical discourse and conflicts between the state and society as respondents. They require probing, computing and 'affective labour' skills to reduce respondent resistance. The immaterial value of their work is often overlooked, leading to poor working conditions such as low wages and inadequate protection.

And fourth, although enumerators feel that their working conditions are not ideal—mainly due to the precarious nature of the work and the immaterial value of the income, which is not sufficiently remunerated—efforts to form a resistance movement for their own interests are far from being realised. One of the main obstacles is the existence of cultures and values that can obscure relations of subordination, making it difficult for enumerators to build class identity and solidarity. This is compounded by Indonesia's history and socio-political structures, which have failed to build a significant working-class consciousness. This suggests a lack of working-class consciousness in Indonesia, which could affect the efforts of enumerators to build class consciousness.

In addition, I suggest that enumerators form a strong identity to build class solidarity and consciousness. With a more mature political understanding, they will be better able to understand and unify their working conditions and be more active in defending their interests.

On the other hand, Statistics Indonesia, as the institution empowered to regulate the collection of statistical and census data in Indonesia, follows the budget use policy prepared by the Ministry of Finance, as the highest institution empowered to regulate the use of the state budget and assets, in the application of the contract system policy, compensation and job security for statistical enumerators. The dynamics of state policy position labour flexibility as an efficient use of state resources and macroeconomic stability, but tend to ignore social investment, especially for workers. Therefore, this institution needs to pay attention to the working conditions of enumerators by providing more permanent working conditions and benefits to protect workers. It is important that the policy awareness of the permanent staff of Statistics Indonesia be more sensitive to the interests of the enumerators as non-permanent staff. enumerators as non-permanent staff. This is important in formulating policies that consider equity for all workers. Statistics Indonesia also needs to advocate for the creation of decent working conditions in the data production sector in Indonesia, especially to other government institutions that do not understand the importance of data production. This is for the sake of creating more decent working conditions and quality data.<sup>34</sup>

Finally, the flexibility of the system will only be beneficial if there is a surplus of labour in a region. Otherwise, such as in hard-to-reach areas, it places an additional burden on the permanent staff in those locations who already have the heavy responsibility of managing data collection for the region.

## 9 References

- Al Jazeera (2023) *More than 10,000 Palestinians killed in Israeli attacks on Gaza*, *Al Jazeera*. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/11/6/number-of-palestinians-killed-in-israeli-attacks-on-gaza-tops-10000> (Accessed: 12 November 2023).
- Andriani, H., Liao, C.-Y. and Kuo, H.-W. (2016) 'Association of Maternal and Child Health Center (Posyandu) Availability with Child Weight Status in Indonesia: A National Study', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 13(3), p. 293. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph13030293>.
- Arnold, D. and Bongiovi, J.R. (2013) 'Precarious, Informalizing, and Flexible Work: Transforming Concepts and Understandings', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(3), pp. 289–308.
- Aspinall, E. (2013) 'Popular Agency and Interests in Indonesia's Democratic Transition and Consolidation', *Special Issue: Wealth, Power, and Contemporary Indonesian Politics*, 96, pp. 101–121. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.96.0011>.

---

<sup>34</sup> This part of the suggestion is taken from the additional context in **Appendix C**, From an internal institutional standpoint.

- Atzert, T. (2006) 'About Immaterial Labor and Biopower', *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 17(1), pp. 58–64. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10455750500505424>.
- Baca, G. (2004) 'Legends of Fordism: Between Myth, History, and Foregone Conclusions', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, 48(3), pp. 169–178. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23175143>.
- BBC News Indonesia (2023) *Hari Buruh Sedunia: Sejumlah akademisi menggalang pembentukan 'serikat dosen', memprotes peraturan menteri yang 'sarat beban administrasi'*, *BBC News Indonesia*. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/cd1rn4qwyg2o> (Accessed: 14 May 2023).
- Burkett, P. and Hart-Landsberg, M. (2000) *Development, crisis, and class struggle: learning from japan and east asia*. 1st edn. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Caraway, T.L. (2004) 'Protective repression, international pressure, and institutional design: Explaining labor reform in Indonesia', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 39(3), pp. 28–49. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02686281>.
- Chibber, V. (2022) *The class matrix: social theory after the cultural turn*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Chiu, C.C.H. (2007) 'Workplace practices in Hong Kong-invested garment factories in Cambodia', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 37(4), pp. 431–448. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472330701546509>.
- Cohen, M.G. (1997) 'From the Welfare State to Vampire Capitalism', in *Women and the Canadian Welfare State*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 28–67.
- Cooke, W.N. (2001a) 'The effects of labour costs and workplace constraints on foreign direct investment among highly industrialized countries', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 12(5), pp. 697–716. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/713769666>.
- Cooke, W.N. (2001b) 'Union avoidance and foreign direct investment in the USA', *Employee Relations*, 23(6), pp. 558–580. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1108/EUM00000000006268>.
- Cribb, R. (2001) 'Genocide in Indonesia, 1965-1966', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3(2), pp. 219–239. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/713677655>.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2008) *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. 3rd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Dijk, T.A. van (Teun A., 1943- (1993) *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications (Sage series on race and ethnic relations ; vol. 6). Available at: [http://bvbr.bib-bvb.de:8991/F?func=service&doc\\_library=BVB01&doc\\_number=005861980&line\\_number=0001&func\\_code=DB\\_RECORDS&service\\_type=MEDIA](http://bvbr.bib-bvb.de:8991/F?func=service&doc_library=BVB01&doc_number=005861980&line_number=0001&func_code=DB_RECORDS&service_type=MEDIA).
- Elson, R.E. (2008) *The idea of Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Errington, J. (2014) 'Linguistic Dynamics In a Provincial Town', in *In Search of Middle Indonesia*. LEIDEN, BOSTON: Koninklijke Brill NV., pp. 199–219.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999) *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Fauzan, G.A. (2021) 'Guru Honorer dalam Lingkaran Ketidakadilan', *Journal on Education*, 4(1), pp. 197–208. Available at: <http://jonedu.org/index.php/joe>.
- Gambino, F. (2007) 'A Critique of the Fordism of the Regulation School', *The Commoner*, 12, pp. 39–62. Available at: [https://www.cddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism\\_materials/gambino2.htm](https://www.cddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism_materials/gambino2.htm) (Accessed: 25 October 2023).
- Hadiz, V. (1997) *Workers and the State in New Order Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Hadiz, V.R. (2002) 'THE INDONESIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT: Resurgent or Constrained?', *Southeast Asian Affairs*, pp. 130–142. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27913205>.



- Hamdi, M. (2020) 'Birokrasi, Akses Informasi, dan Siasat Warga Prekariat di Negara Pascakolonial', *Muqoddima: Jurnal Pemikiran dan Riset Sosiologi*, 1(1), pp. 99–112. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.47776/MJPRS.001.01.06>.
- ul Haque, I. (2004) 'Globalization, Neoliberalism and Labour', in *Globalization, Neoliberalism and Labour. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, Geneva: UNCTAD (Discussion Paper No. 173, UNCTAD/OSG/DP/2004/7).
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. (2004) *Multitude: war and democracy in the age of Empire*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Harvey, D. (2001) 'Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"', *Geographische Revue*, 2, pp. 23–30.
- Heller, K.J. (1996) 'Power, Subjectification and Resistance in Foucault', *SubStance*, 25(1), p. 78. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3685230>.
- Hennink, M. (2020) 'The Nature of Qualitative Research and Our Approach', in *Qualitative Research Methods*. SAGE Publications, pp. 9–25.
- Hill, H. (2000) *The Indonesian Economy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- ILO (2022) *New ILO database updates work-related indicators to meet latest standards, ILOSTAT*. Available at: <https://ilostat.ilo.org/new-ilo-database-updates-work-related-indicators-to-meet-latest-standards/> (Accessed: 21 October 2023).
- Jahja, S.R. (2022) 'PRODUKSI KELAS PREKARIAT OLEH PERGURUAN TINGGI DI INDONESIA', *Saskara : Indonesian Journal of Society Studies*, 1(2), pp. 79–90. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21009/Saskara.012.05>.
- Jones, C. and Newberry, J. (2009) 'Back Door Java: State Formation and the Domestic in Working Class Java', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 68(4), p. 1345. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911809991501>.
- Joyce, P. (1994) *Visions of the People*. 16th edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kalleberg, A.L., Hewison, K. and Shin, K.-Y. (2022) *Precarious Asia: global capitalism and work in Japan, South Korea, and Indonesia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press (Emerging frontiers in the global economy).
- Kleiner, M. and Ham, H. (2003) 'The Effect of Different Industrial Relations Systems in the United States and the European Union on Foreign Direct Investment Flows', in *Multinational Companies and Global Human Resource Strategies*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books, pp. 87–100.
- Klinken, G.A. van and Berenschot, W. (eds) (2014) *In search of middle Indonesia: middle classes in provincial towns*. Leiden ; Boston: Brill (Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde, volume 292).
- Kumar, K. (2005) *From Post-Industrial to Post-Modern Society: New Theories of the Contemporary World*. 2nd edn. Malden, Oxford, & Victoria: Blackwell Publishing.
- Lambert, R. (1997) 'International Labour Standards and Labour Reform Politics in New Order Indonesia.', in *State and Labour in New Order Indonesia*. Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, pp. 83–104.
- Lazar, S. and Sanchez, A. (2019) 'Understanding labour politics in an age of precarity', *Dialectical Anthropology*, 43(1), pp. 3–14. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-019-09544-7>.
- Lazzarato, M. (1996) 'Immaterial Labour', in *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 133–147.
- Levi, M. and Ahlquist, J. (2013) *In the Interest of Others: Organizations and Social Activism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Marx, K. (2000) *Capital, Volume I*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Electric Book Company. Available at: <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/eur/detail.action?docID=3008518>.

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Republic of Indonesia (2018) *Indonesia at a Glance, Kementerian Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia*. Available at: <https://kemlu.go.id/vancouver/en> (Accessed: 23 June 2023).
- Ministry of the State Secretariat (2020) *Presiden Jokowi: Data Valid Kunci Utama Kesuksesan Pembangunan Sebuah Negara, Sekretariat Kabinet Republik Indonesia*. Available at: <https://setkab.go.id/presiden-jokowi-data-valid-kunci-utama-kesuksesan-pembangunan-sebuah-negara/> (Accessed: 19 June 2023).
- Musetta, P. (2009) 'Foucault y los anglofoucaultianos: una reseña del Estado y la gubernamentalidad', *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*, 51(205). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.22201/fcpys.2448492xe.2009.205.41086>.
- Neilson, B. and Rossiter, N. (2008) 'Precarity as a Political Concept, or, Fordism as Exception', *Theory, Culture, and Society*, 25(7–8), pp. 51–72.
- Otu, A. (2022) *Upah Kader Posyandu di NTT Tak Dibayar, Wabup Minta Kapus Jangan Serakah - Victory News*, *Upah Kader Posyandu di NTT Tak Dibayar, Wabup Minta Kapus Jangan Serakah - Victory News*. Available at: <https://www.victorynews.id/ntt/pr-3312683476/upah-kader-posyandu-di-ntt-tak-dibayar-wabup-minta-kapus-jangan-serakah> (Accessed: 14 May 2023).
- Patton, M.Q. (2002) *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. 3rd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Polivka, A.E. and Nardone, T. (1989) 'On the Definition of 'contingent Work'', *Monthly Labor Review*, 112(12), pp. 9–16.
- Portes, A. (1997) 'Neoliberalism and the Sociology of Development: Emerging Trends and Unanticipated Facts', *Population and Development Review*, 23(2), p. 229. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2137545>.
- PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDONESIA (1999) 'PP No. 51 th 1999.pdf'. Available at: <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/54353/pp-no-51-tahun-1999>.
- Reininger, T. and Castro-Serrano, B. (2021) 'Poverty and human capital in Chile: The processes of subjectivation in conditional cash transfer programs', *Critical Social Policy*, 41(2), pp. 229–248. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018320929644>.
- Roosa, J. (2020) *Buried Histories: The Anticommunist Massacres of 1965–1966 in Indonesia*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rose, G. (1997) 'Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics', *Progress in Human Geography*, 21(3), pp. 305–320. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1191/030913297673302122>.
- Sakhi, S. (2014) *Ethics and the Resistant Subject Levinas, Foucault, Marx*. Dissertation. York University. Available at: <https://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/items/c3da67ea-fc81-4717-bd9f-ae38ab75032a> (Accessed: 6 November 2023).
- Saksono, H. (2013) 'Ekonomi Biru: Solusi Pembangunan Daerah Berciri Kepulauan Studi Kasus Kabupaten Kepulauan Anambas', *Jurnal Bina Praja*, 05(01), pp. 01–12. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21787/JBP.05.2013.01-12>.
- Santoro, M. (2000) *Profits and Principles: Global Capitalism and Human Rights in China*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Santoso, S. (2021) 'PP 35/2021 Dinilai "Hidupkan" Lagi Alasan PHK yang Dibatalkan MK'. *Hukumonline Bootcamp 2021: Seluk Beluk Pengaturan Ketenagakerjaan dalam Peraturan Pelaksana UU Cipta Kerja (Sesi II)*, Jakarta, 4 May. Available at: <https://www.hukumonline.com/berita/a/pp-35-2021-dinilai-hidupkan-lagi-alasan-phk-yang-dibatalkan-mk-lt606c5887335c3/?page=all> (Accessed: 15 October 2023).
- Satu Data Indonesia (no date) *Satu Data Potal*. Available at: <https://data.go.id/tentang> (Accessed: 19 June 2023).

- Scott, J.C. (1998) *Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press (Yale agrarian studies).
- Siegmann, K.A. and Schiphorst, F. (2016) 'Understanding the globalizing precariat: From informal sector to precarious work', *Progress in Development Studies*, 16(2), pp. 111–123. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464993415623118>.
- Slobodian, Q. (2018) *Globalists: the end of empire and the birth of neoliberalism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Standing, G. (2011) *The precariat: the new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Statistics Indonesia (2022a) 'Petunjuk Teknis Honorarium Pada Pelaksanaan Kegiatan TA 2022'. *Petunjuk Teknis Honorarium Pada Pelaksanaan Kegiatan TA 2022*, Jakarta.
- Statistics Indonesia (2022b) *Proporsi Lapangan Kerja Informal Menurut Jenis Kelamin 2020-2022*. Available at: <https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/6/2155/1/proporsi-lapangan-kerja-informal-menurut-jenis-kelamin.html> (Accessed: 26 October 2023).
- Statistics Indonesia (no date) *Profil BPS - Portal PPID BPS RI*. Available at: <https://ppid.bps.go.id/app/konten/0000/Profil-BPS.html> (Accessed: 12 May 2023).
- 'Statistics Law No. 16 of 1997' (1997). Available at: <https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/45944>.
- Su'udi, A. (2021) *Kisah Luluk, Kader Posyandu Berhonor Rp 100.000 Per Bulan, Rela Dampingi Banyak Balita dan Ibu Hamil Halaman all*, *KOMPAS.com*. Available at: <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2021/11/26/220044478/kisah-luluk-kader-posyandu-berhonor-rp-100000-per-bulan-rela-dampingi> (Accessed: 14 May 2023).
- Thetrue.size.com (no date) *Compare Countries With This Simple Tool, The True Size*. Available at: [https://www.thetruesize.com/#?borders=1~!MTYwMTYwNDA.NDA1NDE2Ng\\*MzQ0O TYwNjQ\(Mjk5NjA2NA~!CONTIGUOUS\\_US\\*MTAwMjQwNzU.MjUwMjM1MTc\(MTc1\)MA~!IN\\*NTI2NDA1MQ.Nzg2MzQyMQ\)MQ~!CN\\*OTkyMTY5Nw.NzMxNDcwNQ\(MjI1\)Mg](https://www.thetruesize.com/#?borders=1~!MTYwMTYwNDA.NDA1NDE2Ng*MzQ0O TYwNjQ(Mjk5NjA2NA~!CONTIGUOUS_US*MTAwMjQwNzU.MjUwMjM1MTc(MTc1)MA~!IN*NTI2NDA1MQ.Nzg2MzQyMQ)MQ~!CN*OTkyMTY5Nw.NzMxNDcwNQ(MjI1)Mg) (Accessed: 7 November 2023).
- Thompson, E.P. (Edward P., 1924-1993, (2013) *The making of the English working class*. London: Penguin Books (Penguin modern classics). Available at: <http://www.gbv.de/dms/zbw/768217660.pdf>.
- Tjandraningsih, I. (2013) 'State-Sponsored Precarious Work in Indonesia', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(4), pp. 403–419. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764212466236>.
- Tjandraningsih, I. and Nugroho, H. (2008) 'The Flexibility Regime and Organised Labour in Indonesia', *Labour, Management, and Development Journal*, 9, pp. 1–15.
- Vosko, L.F. (2010) *Managing the Margins: Gender, Citizenship, and the International Regulation of Precarious Employment*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, H. (2022) 'Afterword: The middle class and the capitalist state', *Critique of Anthropology*, 42(4), pp. 477–480. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308275X221139161>.
- Wisnuwardani, R.W. (2012) 'Insentif Uang Tunai dan Peningkatan Kinerja Kader Posyandu', *Kesmas: National Public Health Journal*, 7(1), p. 44. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.21109/kesmas.v7i1.75>.
- Wolf, E. (2004) 'Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies', in *Social Anthropology of Complex Societies*. 1st edn. London: Routledge, pp. 1–22. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315017631-1>.
- Žižek, S. (2012) 'The Revolt of the Salaried Bourgeoisie', *London Review of Books*, 34(2), pp. 8–10.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Research Participants

**Table A. 1:** List of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) participants by statistical enumerators<sup>35</sup>

| Pseudonym | Gender | Age           | Educational level  | Experience year working on Statistics Enumerator | Region     |
|-----------|--------|---------------|--------------------|--|------------|
| Pertiwi   | Female | 42            | University         | 15 years   | Java       |
| Marlina   | Female | 24            | University         | 9 months   | Java       |
| Zainal    | Male   | 38            | University         | 7 years  | Java       |
| Elina     | Female | 24            | University         | 1 year   | Java       |
| Ambar     | Female | 37            | Senior High School | 7 years  | Java       |
| Surya     | Male   | 25            | University         | 10 months  | Java       |
| Andika    | Male   | 43            | Senior High School | 8 years  | Kalimantan |
| Mustika   | Female | 34            | Senior High School | 7 years  | Kalimantan |
| Cipto     | Male   | mid twenty    | Senior High School | 1,5 years  | Kalimantan |
| Tri       | Male   | 21            | Senior High School | 1 year   | Kalimantan |
| Siska     | Female | 24            | Senior High School | 11 months  | Kalimantan |
| Isabel    | Female | 32            | University         | 8 years  | Sulawesi   |
| Benny     | Male   | 46            | Senior High School | 17 years   | Sulawesi   |
| Asih      | Female | Not disclosed | Not disclosed      | Not disclosed                                    | Sulawesi   |

**Table A. 2:** List of in-depth interview participants from internal (permanent) staff Statistics Indonesia<sup>36</sup>

| Pseudonym | Gender | Age | Educational level            | Experience year working on Statistics Enumerator | Region |
|-----------|--------|-----|------------------------------|--|--------|
| Ratih     | Female | 27  | University                   | 5 years  | Java   |
| Susi      | Female | 30  | University                   | 7 years  | Java   |
| Amira     | Female | 35  | University (master's degree) | 13 years   | Java   |
| Mirna     | Female | 33  | University (master's degree) | 9 years  | Papua  |

<sup>35</sup> Online FGDs via Zoom meetings were conducted three times, grouped by region. The FGD in the Sulawesi region could only be conducted by three people due to technical problems with the region's internet, which was damaged by the earthquake and bad weather.

<sup>36</sup> Participants from Papua could only be interviewed via WhatsApp chat messages, while others were interviewed via Zoom meetings

## Appendix B: Questionnaire

### Semi-structured question for Statistical Enumerator Focus Group Discussion<sup>37</sup>

1. How long have you been working as a statistical enumerator at Statistics Indonesia?
  - a. Why did you decide to become a statistical enumerator?
2. Tell us about your experience working as an enumerator?
3. Tell us about a particular difficulty you faced while working as an enumerator?
  - a. How did you overcome this difficulty?
4. Can you tell us about any particular experience you had in dealing with
  - a. Local respondents
  - b. Permanent staff of Statistics Indonesia
  - c. Fellow enumerators
5. In the opinion of the participants,
  - a. What are the working conditions for enumerators?
  - b. Are there any conditions that need to be improved?
6. Were the expectations of the participants before and after their work as enumerators the same? Were they satisfied or dissatisfied with these expectations?
7. Based on all the experiences, working conditions, remuneration, workload, complexity of work, working relationships and anything else found when working as an enumerator,
  - a. What needs to be emphasised in the minds of all participants?
  - b. What is the hope for the future?
  - c. What are the reflections?

### Semi-structured question for internal of Statistics Indonesia, in-depth interview<sup>38</sup>

1. Introduce yourself.
2. What do you know about statistical partners, what do they do?
3. From what you know, how would you describe the pay/compensation system for statistical partners in the collection of statistical data?
4. What do you think the agency considered when developing the compensation system as it is implemented now?
5. What do you think of the compensation system? Is it adequate or should it be improved?
6. Is there any change in the pay system that is agreed in the system at any time?
  - a. Why do you think these changes take place?
  - b. How do these changes affect the agency?
  - c. What are the implications of these changes for the statistical partners?
7. Apart from compensation in the form of wages, what other benefits do you know the agency provides to statistical partners?
  - a. Employment insurance

Note: (Law No. 13 of 2003, Article 99). Employees working in large and medium-sized enterprises are covered by health insurance, occupational accident insurance, old-age insurance, pension insurance and death insurance (Government Regulation No. 37 of 2021 Article 4 on the Implementation of the Job Loss Insurance Programme).

8. What do you know about Statistics Indonesia partner contracts in general?
  - a. Why do agencies use short contracts when recruiting statistical partners?

---

<sup>37</sup> All questions function is to guide the interview; the researcher may ask other questions that need to be asked when the interview is conducted.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

- b. Do you think that short contracts are advantageous or disadvantageous for statistical partners?
  - c. Will the Statistics Indonesia change its system of contracts for statistical partners in the future?
  - d. (Do you think a longer contract system will be detrimental to the agency?) any additional costs?
9. In your opinion, are all the benefits received by statistical partners adequate? (in relation to the workload and risks of the statistical partners).
10. According to Law No. 13 of 2003, employees have the right to form trade unions; if in the future statistical partners form trade unions and demand more appropriate compensation, what do you think the Statistics Indonesia should do?
11. What are your reflections on all the answers you have given in this interview?

## Appendix C: From an Internal Institution Standpoint

(\*Complementary information, which deepens the context, but not as the main analysis of the study, nor as part of the main research question.)

### C.1 Policy on compensation

While investigating the conditions faced by statistical officers in the collection of the country's statistical and census data, I found internal information on the origins of this situation. The salary system in statistical activities is regulated by the Head of Statistics Indonesia Regulation No. 97 of 2021, revised by No. 124 of 2022 on the guidelines for the pricing of statistical activities, which refers to the Standard Cost of Other Inputs (SBML). SBML is regulated by regulations prepared by the Ministry of Finance as the State Financial Manager, which refers to Article 8 paragraph 2 of the Minister of Finance Regulation No. 71/PMK.02/2013 on standard cost guidelines, standard cost structure and indexation in the preparation of work plans and budgets of ministries/institutions, as well as its second amendment, namely the Minister of Finance Regulation No. 232/PMK.02/2020.

Going back to Regulation No. 124, this regulation regulates the cost of statistical activities (HKS), which details the payment system for permanent employees and contract statistical officers. There is a payment system for 80 statistical activities, which is divided into two systems. Firstly, census activities are paid on a fixed monthly basis, while surveys are paid per product, i.e. documents collected.

There are also differences in unit costs between regions, which are derived from adjustments to the index compiled by Statistics Indonesia, namely the index of regional difficulty (IKW). This index is used because it provides an overview of cost components in two forms, namely food consumption and housing. It is expected that the unit costs used to determine the wage level for field data collection will be fairly distributed according to the level of poverty in each region.

For additional information, this cost standard guideline will be prepared by the Statistics Indonesia from 2019 but will not be implemented until 2021. Prior to 2021, officials were able to work on more than one activity with unlimited remuneration, depending on their completion. However, with the replacement of the cost standard guideline in 2021, the salary that officers can receive will be limited in accordance with the SBML.

*"Statistics Indonesia has a maximum fee limit, SBML, for statistical partners. If a partner receives more than one project in a month and the total fee does not exceed the SBML, then payment can be made in full. For instance, if the SBML is IDR 4.2 million and a partner receives a fee of IDR 3.2 million for data entry, they can only accept another project with a maximum fee of IDR 1 million in that month. If he exceeds this, the excess will not be paid."* (Mirna, 2023)<sup>39</sup>

**Table C. 1:** Illustration of a dummy comparison of wage compensation earned by a statistical enumerator in a district when the standard cost of other inputs (SBML) is set at IDR 4.2 million.

| Type of activities performed by statistical enumerators in a month | Old system (IDR) | New system (IDR) |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| Survey A's data entry  | 3.200.000        | 3.200.000        |
| Survey B   | 2.500.000        | 2.500.000        |
| <b>Total paid</b> to statistical enumerators during the month      | 5.700.000        | 4.200.000        |

\* Illustration excluding fare

<sup>39</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, not a real name*

The change in policy was the result of recommendations from the Audit Board of Indonesia (BPK) and the Ministry of Finance, who wanted to see income equality, which they hoped would give more people access to government resources and increase employment. In addition, by increasing the number of workers, it is hoped that the workload will be spread more evenly, so that a large amount of work is not concentrated in the hands of a few enumerators. However, this policy also has the effect of reducing the level of remuneration that can be paid to enumerators.

*“The hope is that more and more people will be supported, supported by the work of Statistics Indonesia, which used to be one person got 20 million for one person, maybe he only supported one family, now there are 4 people supporting 4 families with a nominal value of 5 million, even 5 million is the SBML that we set is above the UMR [(Regional) minimum wage]. So, the hope is that more and more families will prosper.” (Amira, 2023)<sup>40</sup>*

The standard cost of activities prepared by the Ministry of Finance, which is authorised as the chief financial officer, has an impact on the rules of the compensation system used by ministries and institutions in Indonesia, including Statistics Indonesia. This confirms that there is centralised fiscal control by the state, which can affect the operational system of activities within each state body, which shapes the logic of the labour use system (contract system) that is possible and how much compensation can be paid.

*It's not [our decision]. So, it is the Ministry of Finance that determines that the payment is in the form of Person of the Month, so we contract the officer for a period of one month. In fact, they [have the power] to determine it like that. (Amira, 2023)<sup>41</sup>*

Due to the controls in place, the Statistics Indonesia can only offer short-term contracts to census takers for the duration of the statistical activity. The Centre's standard cost policy makes longer contracts impossible. Although there are 80 types of statistical activity in Statistics Indonesia, they are unevenly distributed throughout the year, causing the need for census takers to fluctuate. Demand increases in the middle of the year and decreases at the end of the year. Long contracts are seen as inefficient and a waste of government money, as they result in wastage when the need for officers is low. Contracts that are tailored to the duration of the job are considered efficient for the government budget, as they allow the number of officers to be adjusted according to data production needs.

*We already have an activity matrix from January to December. So, based on the activity matrix, we determine the partners, "How many partners are needed in January? What is needed in February?" Well, if I'm not mistaken, usually the peak is in the middle of May, June, July, August, and then it goes down again. So, it looks like a normal curve. Consequently, when it goes down again, inevitably we will have fewer partners [enumerators] because we have fewer activities. (Amira, 2023)<sup>42</sup>*

Evan and Gibb's (2009) statement on 'precarious work' is relevant here. The flexibility given to employers to reduce their workforce is effective in reducing costs, but often at the expense of workers' stability and rights, such as health insurance and job security. As Portes (1997) explains, efficiency often takes precedence over social investment in public policy. Neoliberal countries tend to prioritise macroeconomic stability, control of inflation and budget deficits, but often ignore or cut social investment budgets. These policies affect the efficiency of knowledge production and the implementation of other policies. As seen in the centralised policy that Statistics Indonesia must adopt, short-term employment contracts for enumerators affect job stability and the quality of data collected.

---

<sup>40</sup> In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, not a real name

<sup>41</sup> In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, not a real name

<sup>42</sup> In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, not a real name



**Table C. 2:** The budget matrix National Labor Survey 2022 Indonesia's regency (translated)

| Code   | Description   | Quantity | Unit Price (IDR) | Total (IDR) |
|--------|---|----------|------------------|-------------|
| 052    | DATA COLLECTION   |          |                  | 90,590,000  |
| A      | WITHOUT SUB-COMPONENT   |          |                  | 90,590,000  |
| 521213 | Expenditure for Activity Output Honorarium (063-XXXX)                             |          |                  | 88,000,000  |
|        | - 1 field enumeration officer (non-organic field enumeration, semi-annual)        | 5 O-B    | 2,700,000        | 13,500,000  |
|        | - 2 field inspection officers (Organic field inspection, semi-annual)             | 2 O-B    | 1,400,000        | 2,800,000   |
|        | - 3 field inspection officers (non-organic field inspection, semi-annual)         | 1 O-B    | 2,700,000        | 2,700,000   |
|        | - 4 field enumeration officers (non-organic field enumeration, annual)            | 18 O-B   | 2,700,000        | 48,600,000  |
|        | - 5 field inspection officers (Organic field inspection, annual)                  | 3 O-B    | 1,400,000        | 4,200,000   |
|        | - 6 field inspection officers (non-organic field inspection, annual)              | 6 O-B    | 2,700,000        | 16,200,000  |
| 524113 | Domestic Travel Expenditure Within City (063-XXXX)                                |          |                  | 2,590,000   |
|        | - 1 BPS district/city supervision (Transportation from District to Sub-District)  | 4 O-K    | 155,000          | 620,000     |
|        | - 2 BPS district/city supervision (Daily Allowance from District to Sub-District) | 4 O-H    | 230,000          | 920,000     |
|        | - 3 local transportation for household enumeration                                | 7 O-H    | 150,000          | 1,050,000   |
| ...    | ...   | ...      | ...              | ...         |

\***O-B**: person per month, **O-K**: person per activity; **O-H**: person per day.

\*Place name is censored in **XXXX**

**Table C. 3:** The budget matrix for the 2023 Agricultural Census in one of Indonesia's regency (translated).

(The green colour blocks indicate the provision of occupational safety insurance)

| No.           | Description  | Quantity      | Unit Price (IDR) | Total Price (IDR) |
|---------------|--|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 2910.QMA .006 | Agricultural Census Publication/Report                               | 1.0 Service   |                  | 6,415,320,000     |
| 005           | Support for Operational Task and Function Unit                       |               |                  | 2,026,554,000     |
| A             | WITHOUT SUB-COMPONENT  |               |                  | 2,026,554,000     |
| 521213        | Honorarium for Activity Output (KPPN-XXXX)                           |               |                  | 1,945,514,000     |
|               | - Map processing honorarium  | 329.0 BS      | 10,000           | 3,290,000         |
|               | - Field Officer Honorarium for PAPI Census                           | 307.0 O-B     | 3,952,000        | 1,213,264,000     |
|               | - Field Inspector Honorarium for PAPI Census                         | 62.0 O-B      | 4,248,000        | 263,376,000       |
|               | - Koseka PAPI Honorarium (Non-Organic)                               | 26.0 O-B      | 4,545,000        | 118,170,000       |
|               | - Editing coding honorarium  | 17.0 O-B      | 2,500,000        | 42,500,000        |
|               | - Census Processing Staff Honorarium (L1L2 Combined)                 | 52.0 O-B      | 3,000,000        | 156,000,000       |
|               | - Field Inspector Honorarium for PES Census                          | 6.0 O-B       | 4,400,000        | 26,400,000        |
|               | - Field Officer Honorarium for PES Census                            | 12.0 O-B      | 4,100,000        | 49,200,000        |
|               | - Matching staff honorarium  | 2.0 Dok       | 8,000            | 16,000            |
|               | - Listing honorarium for agricultural economic survey                | 34.0 BS       | 119,000          | 4,046,000         |
|               | - Listing inspector honorarium for agricultural economic survey      | 34.0 BS       | 54,000           | 1,836,000         |
|               | - Enumerator honorarium for agricultural economic survey PAPI sample | 12.0 O-B      | 3,952,000        | 47,424,000        |
|               | - Sample inspection honorarium for agricultural economic survey PAPI | 4.0 O-B       | 4,248,000        | 16,992,000        |
|               | - Document entry staff honorarium for agricultural economic survey   | 1.0 O-B       | 3,000,000        | 3,000,000         |
| 521219        | Other Non-Operational Expenses (KPPN-XXXX)                           |               |                  | 19,390,000        |
|               | - Field staff insurance (pcs pms koseka)                             | 395.0 Package | 49,089           | 19,390,000        |

\*PAPI: Pencil and Paper Interviewing.

\*KORTIM: Statistics enumerator's/data collection officer's supervisor.

\*KOSEKA: KORTIM direct supervisor.

\***O-B**: person per month, **dok**: document unit; **BS**: Census Block.

\*Place name is censored in **XXXX**

\* Additional data (budget matrix) showing how different policies exist to provide employment insurance for basic statistical surveys and censuses.

## C.2 Lack of employment protection insurance

Enumerators face high risks while collecting data in the field, with no employment protection, health insurance or social security from the state. They often travelled through dangerous terrain, such as across the sea, through tropical forests and, in Sulawesi, through volcanic lava after the earthquake. Despite this, the state does not guarantee job protection for enumerators. One study participant admitted that he was only covered by industrial accident insurance during the census, not during the statistical survey. In fact, both censuses and surveys are equally risky in the field.

*"For census activities there is [insurance]. But for [statistics] survey, we don't have it yet. "Why not yet?" Because it says in the government regulation, I forget what number it is, in the government regulation it says, "Only census officers are entitled to insurance. Not surveyors," like that. Now, as I understand from my friends in the legal department, they are currently revising Law No. 16 on Statistics, and that includes revisions relating to insurance for surveyors."* (Amira, 2023)<sup>43</sup>

Legal instruments are a benchmark in government bureaucracy in Indonesia, so there are limits to what can and cannot be done. Here, due to its limited powers, Statistics Indonesia has not been able to provide labour safety guarantees for all statistical data production activities.

Based on the above information, there is a government regulation that lists the granting of rights to enumerators in census data collection. After searching, I did not find any specific diction that discusses the provision of occupational safety insurance for field data collection officers in the Statistics Law Number 16 Year 1997. However, I did find a regulation at the level below the law, namely Government Regulation No. 51/1999, which details the right to labour protection for statistical enumerators carrying out census data collection, in particular Article 18, which reads as follows:

- 1) Census enumerators who are freelancers and not civil servants and who suffer an accident in the performance of their duties resulting in disability or death shall be insured.
- 2) The cost of premium payments for the insurance coverage referred to in paragraph 1 shall be an integral part of the budget for the organisation of the census.
- 3) The amount of the insurance coverage referred to in paragraph (1) shall be determined by the Head of Statistics Indonesia with the approval of the Minister of Finance.

However, the anomaly, in my opinion, is that this regulation provides space for Statistics Indonesia to also provide work accident insurance to enumerators who carry out statistical survey data collection, which is written in Article 20 of the same regulation, namely: "The provisions applicable to census enumerators referred to in Articles 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 shall also apply to enumerators of basic statistical surveys".

Article 18 provides the legal basis for the provision of accident insurance for enumerators working on both censuses and basic statistical surveys. However, the implementation of this policy could be different from what is stipulated in the regulation—if one reflects on Article 18(3), which states that the amount or scope of the insurance to be provided must be approved by the Ministry of Finance.

Again, the provision of occupational injury insurance must refer to the approval of this institution, which is the guardian and owner of the authority to regulate government affairs in the field of finance and state assets. The absence of an occupational safety policy may be an indicator of a lack of clarity or complexity in budget management and policy prioritisation—the focus on efficient use of resources is often at the expense of social investment (Portes, 1997, p. 238).

---

<sup>43</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, not a real name*

Therefore, the absence of a policy on providing occupational safety insurance to statistical enumerators, especially in statistical survey activities, is possible either because Statistik Indonesia follows the policy of the Ministry of Finance, or another possibility is institutional prudence in the use of budgets whose legal instruments are not yet clear.

*“Because to be able to pay something, we need a basis, a legal basis, even for this insurance for surveyors, we need a legal basis to be able to pay it. Well, now we don't have a legal basis. So, we can't pay insurance to the surveyors. We can only pay insurance to census enumerators.” (Amira, 2023)<sup>44</sup>*

However, if we really refer to what is written in Government Regulation No. 51/1999, in particular Article 18(1), the institution should still provide a budgetary allocation for statistical survey activities, which has not been the case so far. At present, in case of an accident at work, the regional statistical office can only provide informal voluntary compensation/assistance, the amount of which may not be as high as the official insurance premium.

*“Statistics Indonesia is currently revising the Law on Statistics, including insurance payments, to provide a legal basis for insurance for surveyors (...) Because the legal basis does not yet exist, so it is in accordance with, according to the term voluntary from each Regencies/Cities statistics offices, but there is still [a voluntary-informal] assistance. (...) It's just because there is a family bond between Statistics Indonesia and partners [enumerators]. They get assistance [informally] which may not be as big as insurance.” (Amira, 2023)<sup>45</sup>*

### C.3 Future changes?

In the dynamics of statistical and census data production, Statistics Indonesia, as a government agency, is aware that the task of creating a complex picture of reality requires complex expertise. Statistical enumerators should be paid differently from ordinary workers, who may only receive a monthly salary equivalent to the regional minimum wage.

Internally, the idea is to create a system of higher pay and benefits for enumerators, with a system of professional certification at a certain level. This will require careful planning, such as preparing regulatory instruments, negotiating with the Ministry of Finance as the regulator of the state budget and assets, and preparing training with the Indonesian Statistical Education and Training Centre. However, the implementation of this idea may take some time, as the changes to the remuneration system are only set for 2019, and implementation may still be far in the future.

*“There is still a lot of work to be done by Statistics Indonesia in terms of partner [enumerators] compensation. Well, [...] the partners should not be considered as ordinary workers, because their level of work is above ordinary workers. Maybe they can be considered experts at the lowest level. Of course, to be considered as experts, they need certain certifications, which we are still discussing with our Training Centre Department.” (Amira, 2023)<sup>46</sup>*

The agency is also trying to revise the statistics law with the parliament in order to make improvements and adjustments in the production of government statistics. In doing so, the Statistics Indonesia is expected to pay particular attention to employment protection for enumerators in censuses and statistical surveys.

According to Scott (1998, p. 75), to achieve the simplification of knowledge essential to the operation of a modern state, complex techniques are needed to understand large and complex realities. Statistical enumerators occupy the first fundamental position in this project, which

---

<sup>44</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

<sup>45</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

<sup>46</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

requires care in the treatment of these workers, which will determine the quality of the reality captured. *"We really believe that the remuneration they receive is commensurate with the work they do. So, if we don't pay them very much, don't expect the quality to be good.* (Amira, 2023)<sup>47</sup>

Thus, improvements in the compensation and employment protection system for statistical enumerators are important not only in terms of worker welfare, but also in terms of the quality of the data produced, which will ultimately affect public policy and government administration.

---

<sup>47</sup> *In-depth interview on full-time worker representative, pseudonym*

## Appendix D: Complex computation survey questionnaire sample

**Figure D. 1:** Sample page of the SUSENAS 2022 (National Socio-Economic Survey) questionnaire showing the calculation page for the recapitulation of total household expenditure to be completed by enumerators by manual calculation (translated).

39

| BLOCK IV.3.2.RECAPITULATION OF EXPENDITURE ON FOOD, BEVERAGES AND CIGARETTES (IN RUPIAH)  |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [Column (3) Copied from Block IV.1 Column (6), Block IV.3.1 Column (3), or (5)] and [Column (4) Copied from Block IV.1 Column (8), Block IV.3.1 Column (4), or (6)] |   |   |   |   |
| No.   | Type of Expenditure                                       | Last Week's Purchases   | Own Production, Gift, etc., Last Week   | Last Week Total<br>[Column 3 + Column 4]  |
| (1)   | (2)   | (3)   | (4)   | (5)   |
| 1   | Grains (R.1)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 2   | Tubers (R.8)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 3   | Fish/shrimp/squid/shellfish(R.16)                         | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 4   | Meats (R.55)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 5   | Eggs and Milk (R.65)                                      | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 6   | Vegetables (R.75)   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 7   | Beans (R.102)   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 8   | Fruits (R.110)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 9   | Cooking oil and Coconut (R.126)                           | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 10  | Beverage Ingredients (R.131)                              | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 11  | Seasonings (R.139)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 12  | Other Food Ingredients (R.154)                            | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 13  | Prepared Food and Beverages<br>(Block IV.3.1 Total row)   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 14  | Cigarettes and Tobacco<br>(Block IV.3.1 Total row)        | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 15  | <b>SUB SUM [R.1 to R.14]</b>                              | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 16  | <b>AVERAGE EXPENDITURE<br/>FOOD A MONTH [R.15 x 30/7]</b> |   |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |

| BLOCK IV.3.3.RECAPITULATION OF EXPENDITURE ON NON-FOOD ITEMS (IN RUPIAH) |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
| [Copied from Block IV.2 Column (4) and Column (5)] (5)]                  |   |   |   |
| No.  | Type of Expenditure   | Past Month  | Past Year   |
| (1)  | (2)   | (3)   | (4)   |
| 1  | Housing and Household Facilities<br>A. Last month (R.198 Column 4)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |   |
|  | B. Last year (R.198 Column 5)   |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 2  | Various Goods and Services<br>A. Last month (R.240 Column 4)  | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |   |
|  | B. Last year (R.240 Column 5)   |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 3  | Clothing, Footwear, and Headgear (R.280)  |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 4  | Durable Goods (R.289)   |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 5  | Taxes, Fees, and Insurance (R.307)  |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 6  | Party and Ceremony/Queen Needs (R.314)  |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 7  | <b>AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURE</b><br>A. Past month (R.1 to R.2 Column 3)   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |   |
|  | B. Past year (R.1 to R.6 Column 4)  |   | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |
| 8  | <b>AVERAGE NON-FOOD EXPENDITURE<br/>FOOD A MONTH [(R.7.b Column (4)/12) + R.7.a<br/>Column (3)]</b>                 | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |   |
| 9  | <b>AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE<br/>MONTHLY [Block IV.3.2, R.16 Column (5) +<br/>Block IV.3.3, R.8 Column (3)]</b> | <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> |   |

**Figure D. 2:** Sample page of the SUSENAS 2022 (National Socio-Economic Survey) questionnaire showing the accounting balance page of income and expenditure of sampled households, which statistical enumerators are required to complete by manual calculation. The accounting balance is required to be balanced with no minus (translated).

| BLOCK VI. RECAPITULATION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OVER THE PAST YEAR (IN RUPIAH)         |                      |  |                      |
|---|----------------------|--|----------------------|
| Details of Income   | Values               | Expenditure Details  | Values               |
| (1)   | (2)                  | (3)  | (4)                  |
| 1. Wages and Salaries<br>[Block V.A Row Sum of Columns (5) + (6) + (7)]                             | <input type="text"/> | 1. Household consumption expenditure<br>[Block IV.3.3 Detail 9 Column (3) multiplied by 12]      | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. Income/Surplus from Household Business<br>[Block V.B Row Total Column (7)]                       | <input type="text"/> | 2. Ownership Income Paid<br>[Block V.D Row Total Column (3)]                                     | <input type="text"/> |
| 3. Income/Surplus from Self-Consumed Household<br>[Block V.C Row Number Column (4)]                 | <input type="text"/> | 3. Current transfers (other than assets) paid<br>[Block V.E Line Sum of Column (4) + Column (5)] | <input type="text"/> |
| 4. Ownership Income Received<br>[Block V.D Row Number Column (2)]                                   | <input type="text"/> | 4. Capital/Asset Transfer Paid<br>[Block V.F Line Sum of Column (4) + Column (5)]                | <input type="text"/> |
| 5. Ongoing Transfer (other than assets) Received<br>[Block V.E Line Sum of Column (2) + Column (3)] | <input type="text"/> | 5. Total Net Assets<br>[Block V.G Total Details Column (4)]                                      | <input type="text"/> |
| 6. Capital/Asset Transfer Received<br>[Block V.F Line Sum of Column (2) + Column (3)]               | <input type="text"/> |  |                      |
| <b>T o t a l</b>  | <input type="text"/> | <b>T o t a l</b>   | <input type="text"/> |
| <b>Difference between Receipt and Expenditure [Total Column (2) - Total Column (4)]</b>             |                      |  | <input type="text"/> |

| BLOCK VII. HOUSEHOLD FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS OVER THE PAST YEAR (IN RUPIAH)  |                      |  |                      |
|---|----------------------|--|----------------------|
| Details of Income   | Values               | Expenditure Details  | Values               |
| (1)   | (2)                  | (3)  | (4)                  |
| 1. Cash and Savings Collection  | <input type="text"/> | 1. Keeping Cash and Saving   | <input type="text"/> |
| 2. Borrowing Money  | <input type="text"/> | 2. Paying Debts  | <input type="text"/> |
| 3. Receive Credit Payment for Goods   | <input type="text"/> | 3. Providing Credit for Goods  | <input type="text"/> |
| 4. Goods Credit   | <input type="text"/> | 4. Paying Goods Credit   | <input type="text"/> |
| 5. Others (Return of Receivables, Pawning Goods, Getting Arisan, etc.)  | <input type="text"/> | 5. Others (Lending money, redeeming goods, pawning, paying arisan, etc.) | <input type="text"/> |
| <b>T o t a l</b>  | <input type="text"/> | <b>T o t a l</b>   | <input type="text"/> |
| <b>Difference in Financial Transaction Details of Expenditure and Receipt [Total Column (4) - Total Column (2)]</b> |                      |  | <input type="text"/> |

43

**Appendix E: Sensitive information requested.**

**Figure E. 1:** Sample page of the SUSENAS 2022 (National Socio-Economic Survey) questionnaire with questions on social protection receipt information (translated)

| BLOCK XVII. INFORMATION ON SOCIAL PROTECTION  |  |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|--|----------------------|----|-------------|-----|-------|-----|--|--|--|--|
| 1701. DOES THIS HOUSEHOLD RECEIVE A FAMILY WELFARE CARD (KKS)?  | Yes, can show card ..... 1<br>Yes, but unable to show card ..... 2<br>No ..... 5   |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| 1702. HAS YOUR HOUSEHOLD EVER BEEN A RECIPIENT OF FOOD ASSISTANCE (NON-CASH FOOD ASSISTANCE (BPNT)/ FOOD STAPLE PROGRAMME)?   | Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → 1704   |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| 1703. IN THE LAST 4 MONTHS, PLEASE PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE PURCHASE/USE OF FOOD ASSISTANCE:  | <b>August 2022</b>   | <b>July 2022</b>   | <b>June 2022</b>   | <b>Bulan May 2022</b>  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| A. DID THE HOUSEHOLD RECEIVE FOOD ASSISTANCE IN THE LAST 4 MONTHS?  | A. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → July'22   | A. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → June'22   | A. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → May'22  | A. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → 1704  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| B. DO YOU KNOW THE VALUE OF THE ASSISTANCE RECEIVED?  | B. Yes, write down ..... 1<br>Rp. ....<br>No ..... 5 → 1703.D  | B. Yes, write down ..... 1<br>Rp. ....<br>No ..... 5 → 1703.D  | B. Yes, write down ..... 1<br>Rp. ....<br>No ..... 5 → 1703.D  | B. Yes, write down ..... 1<br>Rp. ....<br>No ..... 5 → 1703.D  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| C. FOR HOW MANY MONTHS OF RECEIPT?  | C. ___ Months  | C. ___ Months  | C. ___ Months  | C. ___ Months  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| D. DID THE HOUSEHOLD UTILISE THE FOOD ASSISTANCE FOR FOOD SHOPPING?   | D. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → July'22   | D. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → June'22   | D. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → May'22  | D. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5 → 1704  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| E. WHAT IS THE VALUE/AMOUNT OF COMMODITIES PURCHASED USING THE FOOD AID?<br>i. HOW MUCH TOTAL RUPIAH WAS SPENT ON EACH COMMODITY?<br>ii. WHAT IS THE QUANTITY OF COMMODITIES PURCHASED?   | <b>E. Rice</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... Kg<br><b>Broiler Chicken Egg</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... egg(s)<br><b>OTHER, write down:</b> .....<br>Sequence number in VSEN22.KP: .....<br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... (quantity)<br>Write down the unit: ..... | <b>E. Rice</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... Kg<br><b>Broiler Chicken Egg</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... egg(s)<br><b>OTHER, write down:</b> .....<br>Sequence number in VSEN22.KP: .....<br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... (quantity)<br>Write down the unit: ..... | <b>E. Rice</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... Kg<br><b>Broiler Chicken Egg</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... egg(s)<br><b>OTHER, write down:</b> .....<br>Sequence number in VSEN22.KP: .....<br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... (quantity)<br>Write down the unit: ..... | <b>E. Rice</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... Kg<br><b>Broiler Chicken Egg</b><br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... egg(s)<br><b>OTHER, write down:</b> .....<br>Sequence number in VSEN22.KP: .....<br>i. Rp. ....<br>ii. .... (quantity)<br>Write down the unit: ..... |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Sequence number in VSEN22.KP</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Beef</td> <td>56</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Broiler Chicken Meat</td> <td>59</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Cooking oil</td> <td>128</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Apple</td> <td>113</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> Sequential numbers for other commodities see VSEN22.KP |  | Sequence number in VSEN22.KP   | Beef   | 56   | Broiler Chicken Meat | 59 | Cooking oil | 128 | Apple | 113 |  |  |  |  |
|   | Sequence number in VSEN22.KP   |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| Beef  | 56   |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| Broiler Chicken Meat  | 59   |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| Cooking oil   | 128  |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| Apple   | 113  |  |  |  |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| F. IF BUYING RICE (1703.E value (IDR) and quantity (Kg) of rice ≠ 0), what is the QUALITY of the OF RICE PURCHASED?   | F. Good ..... 1<br>Enough ..... 2<br>Bad ..... 3   | F. Good ..... 1<br>Enough ..... 2<br>Bad ..... 3   | F. Good ..... 1<br>Enough ..... 2<br>Bad ..... 3   | F. Good ..... 1<br>Enough ..... 2<br>Bad ..... 3   |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| G. ARE YOU ABLE TO DETERMINE THE TYPE AND QUANTITY OF COMMODITIES PURCHASED?  | G. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5   | G. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5   | G. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5   | G. Yes ..... 1<br>No ..... 5   |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |
| H. WHERE TO BUY THESE COMMODITIES?  | H. Kiosks/stalls/shops ..... 1<br>Our Food House ..... 2<br>Sub-sub-district/village/ sub district office ..... 3<br>Bank Office ..... 4<br>others ..... 5   | H. Kiosks/stalls/shops ..... 1<br>Our Food House ..... 2<br>Sub-sub-district/village/ sub district office ..... 3<br>Bank Office ..... 4<br>others ..... 5   | H. Kiosks/stalls/shops ..... 1<br>Our Food House ..... 2<br>Sub-sub-district/village/ sub district office ..... 3<br>Bank Office ..... 4<br>others ..... 5   | H. Kiosks/stalls/shops ..... 1<br>Our Food House ..... 2<br>Sub-sub-district/village/ sub district office ..... 3<br>Bank Office ..... 4<br>others ..... 5   |                      |    |             |     |       |     |  |  |  |  |

**Figure E. 2:** Sample pages of the SAKERNAS 2022 (National Labour Force Survey) questionnaire with questions on employment status (translated)

|      |  |   |   |
|------|--|---|---|
| 7.a  | <b>Where is (NAME)'s place of birth?</b><br>(Place of birth is where the birth mother of (NAME) lived when she gave birth to (NAME))   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. In the same district/city as current place of residence<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. In a different district/city from the current place of residence<br>current place of residence, please write it down:<br>Province : .....<br>City/Regency*) : .....<br>*)Cross one out<br><input type="checkbox"/> 3. Overseas?, write down:<br>Country : .....  | <b>FILLED BY SUPERVISOR</b><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7.b  | <b>In August 2017 (five years ago), where did (NAME) live?</b>   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. In the same district/city as current place of residence<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. In a different district/city from your current place of residence, write down:<br>Province : .....<br>City/Regency*) : .....<br>*)Cross one out<br><input type="checkbox"/> 3. Overseas?, write down:<br>Country : .....   | <b>FILLED BY SUPERVISOR</b><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7.c  | <b>What is (NAME's) nationality?</b>   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Indonesian<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. others, Country : .....   | <b>FILLED BY SUPERVISOR</b><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/><br><input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8.a  | <b>Does (NAME) have visual difficulties/disorders?</b>   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes, not at all can see <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yes, a little difficult<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes, many difficulties <input type="checkbox"/> 4. No difficulty   |   |
| 8.b  | <b>Does (NAME) have difficulties/disorders hearing?</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Yes, not at all can hear <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Yes, a little difficult<br><input type="checkbox"/> 6. Yes, many difficulties <input type="checkbox"/> 8. No difficulty  |   |
| 8.c  | <b>Does (NAME) have difficulty/impairment walking or climbing stairs?</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes, completely unable to walk/climb stairs <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yes, a little difficult<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes, many difficulties <input type="checkbox"/> 4. No difficulty   |   |
| 8.d  | <b>Does (NAME) have difficulty/disorder using/moving hands/fingers?</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Yes, completely unable to use/move hands/fingers <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Yes, a little difficult<br><input type="checkbox"/> 6. Yes, many difficulties <input type="checkbox"/> 8. No difficulty  |   |
| 8.e  | <b>Does (NAME) have difficulty/disorder in speaking and/or understanding/communicating with others?</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes, completely unable to understand/understand/communicate <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yes, a little difficult<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Yes, many difficulties <input type="checkbox"/> 4. No difficulty   |   |
| 8.f  | <b>Does (NAME) have any other difficulties/disorders?</b><br>(For example: difficulty remembering/concentrating, self-care, behavioural/emotional disorders, etc.)   | <input type="checkbox"/> 5. Yes, always having difficulties/disruptions <input type="checkbox"/> 7. Yes, slightly experienced difficulties/disruptions<br><input type="checkbox"/> 6. Yes, often experience difficulties/disruptions <input type="checkbox"/> 8. Not experiencing difficulty/disturbance  |   |
| 9.a  | <b>In the past week, did (NAME) work?</b><br>(Work is an activity to earn income/ income that is done at least 1 hour a week)  | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes → CONTINUE TO NUMBER 12.a<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. No   |   |
| 9.b  | <b>In the past week, did (NAME) undertake any activities to earn income/income/money? money?</b>   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes → CONTINUE TO NUMBER 12.a<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. No   |   |
| 9.c  | <b>In the past week, did (NAME) help with any of the following family/other people's business or work activities?</b><br>(Whether paid or unpaid, for example, helped parents keep a shop, help parents farm, or help with family/other people's work) family/other people's work) | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes → CONTINUE TO NUMBER 12.a<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. No   |   |
| 10.  | <b>Does (NAME) actually have a job/business activity, but in the past week is not working/business activity? business, but in the last week is not working / not running the business? not running the business?</b>   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. No → CONTINUE TO NUMBER 31.a   |   |
| 11.a | <b>What was the main reason (NAME) was temporarily not working during the past week?</b><br><br>(Choose one of the main reasons)   | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Leave<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. Sickness/health reasons<br><input type="checkbox"/> 3. Working time rules/shift system<br><input type="checkbox"/> 4. Work strike<br><input type="checkbox"/> 5. Decrease in economic activity (decrease in market demand market demand/number of orders, lay-offs by employers)<br><input type="checkbox"/> 6. Suspension of work (bad weather, shortage of raw materials, change of season, waiting for harvest, etc.)<br><input type="checkbox"/> 7. Fear of COVID 19 infection → LANJUT KE NO. 11.c<br><input type="checkbox"/> 8. Social/physical distancing, self-quarantine, Enforcement of Restriction of Community Activities (PPKM) → LANJUT KE NO. 11.c<br><input type="checkbox"/> 9. others, write down .....<br>(Example: school, education, training, etc.) |   |
| 11.b | <b>Are these reasons related to the coronavirus pandemic? COVID-19?</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 2. No  |   |
| 11.c | <b>Is there a guarantee that (NAME) will return to work at the current business unit/workplace now?</b>  | <input type="checkbox"/> 1. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Not sure about returning<br><input type="checkbox"/> 2. No going back <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Don't know  |   |



**Figure E. 3:** Sample page of the 2019 SPAK (Anti-Corruption Perspective Survey) questionnaire with questions on political views in the perception of the eradication of state corruption (translated).

| <b>VIII. SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON ANTI-CORRUPTION KNOWLEDGE (CONTINUED)</b>  |   |            |       |             |       |                             |                          |
|---|---|------------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| In this section we will ask you about the media of information on anti-corruption knowledge that you acquired           |   |            |       |             |       |                             |                          |
| How often do you get knowledge about ANTI CORRUPTION from the following media during the last 12 months last 12 months: |   | Very often | often | Some -times | Never | Dont know (Do not read out) | Code Processing          |
| (1)   |   | (2)        | (3)   | (4)         | (5)   | (6)                         | (7)                      |
| 809   | Television  | 1          | 2     | 3           | 4     | 9                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 810   | Radio   | 1          | 2     | 3           | 4     | 9                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 811   | Newspaper/Magazine  | 1          | 2     | 3           | 4     | 9                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 812   | Internet/social media   | 1          | 2     | 3           | 4     | 9                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 813   | Props (banners, pamphlets, brochures, stickers, etc.)   | 1          | 2     | 3           | 4     | 9                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 814   | Direct delivery (speech, sermon, advice, etc.)  | 1          | 2     | 3           | 4     | 9                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 815   | Which of these media do you think is the most EFFECTIVE (easily accepted) in providing knowledge about ANTI CORRUPTION (Read Answer Choices) :<br>1. Television 2. Radio 3. Newspapers/magazines 4. Internet/social media 5. Props 6. Direct delivery |            |       |             |       |                             | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| <b>IX. PERCEPTION OF CORRUPTION ERADICATION</b>  |   |
|--|---|
| In this section we would like to ask people their opinion on the eradication of corruption in Indonesia. |   |
| 901  | a. Over the past year, how often have you obtained information related to corruption cases from the media (television, radio, newspapers/magazines, internet/social media, etc.)?<br>1. Very often 2. Often 3. Sometimes 4. Never → R.902       |
|  | b. What media provides the most information related to corruption cases?<br>1. Television 2. Radio 3. Newspapers/magazines 4. Internet/social media   |
|  | c. What is the main influence you get from the news of the corruption case? (answers are not read out)<br>1. Knowing how people commit corruption 3. Being concerned 5. others .....<br>2. Knowing corruption is commonplace 4. Hate corruption |
| 902  | What is your assessment of the number of corruption cases in Indonesia today compared to a year ago?<br>1. Increasing 2. Same 3. Decreasing 4. Dont know (not read aloud)   |
| 903  | How would you rate the likelihood of someone committing corruption in Indonesia today compared to a year ago?<br>1. It's getting easier 2. Same 3. Its getting harder 4. Dont know (not read aloud)   |
| 904  | What do you think are the chances of corruptors in Indonesia getting acquitted now compared to a year ago?<br>1. Its getting easier 2. Same 3. Its getting harder 4. Dont know (not read aloud)   |
| 905  | What is your assessment of the ability of law enforcement agencies in Indonesia to uncover corruption cases today compared to a year ago?<br>1. Getting Better 2. Same 3. Getting worse 4. Dont know (not read aloud)                           |
| 906  | What is your assessment of law enforcement in Indonesia regarding corruption cases today compared to a year ago before?<br>1. Getting better 2. Same 3. Getting worse 4. Dont know (not read aloud)   |
| 907  | How satisfied are you with the fight against corruption in Indonesia today compared to a year ago?<br>1. Increasingly Satisfied 2. Same 3. Increasingly Dissatisfied 4. Dont know (not read aloud)  |

| <b>X. NOTES</b> |  |
|-----------------|--|
|                 |  |