Fossil-Fuel Subsidy Reform in Indonesia: A review of government communications in 2012

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Introduction

Indonesia has subsidized fuel for decades as a means to improve energy access and share the benefits of the country’s oil wealth. However, as Indonesia’s oil reserves have diminished, and millions of motor vehicles are added to the road each year, the costs of Indonesia’s fuel subsidies have soared. Today, Indonesia spends more on energy subsidies than it does on defence, healthcare, education and social security combined (Tumiwa, Lontoh, Laan, Lang, & Vis-Dunbar, 2012).

Various factors have made fuel subsidies an increasingly heavy burden on public finances. Crude oil production has declined since 1998, and in 2004 Indonesia became a net oil importer. No longer self-sufficient in oil, the country is vulnerable to fluctuations in world market prices. Indonesia’s thirst for oil has also grown. The country added an average of 5.79 million passenger cars, buses, trucks and motorcycles to the road each year from 2000 to 2010 (Dhany, 2012). Given the significant price difference between subsidized and non-subsidized fuel, many drivers are choosing the cheaper option. As a result, the overall trend has been an increase in fuel subsidies. In 2011 Indonesia spent Rp164.7 trillion (US$18.1 billion); in 2012, the figure climbed to Rp211.9 trillion (US$23.54 billion).

Successive government administrations have sought to bring down the cost of fuel subsidies, with mixed results. The current administration, led by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono since 2004, has had some success—most significantly with respect to reducing kerosene subsidies—but has struggled to reform subsidized transport fuel.

Despite the lack of progress, President Yudhoyono has considered a number of reform strategies. Broadly, these centre on two approaches: restricting consumption and raising prices. The first approach is, at the political level, easier to sell. It is widely accepted that current subsidy policies are inequitable: the benefits of cheap fuel flow disproportionately to higher-income Indonesians who consume more energy. As such, it is often argued that subsidies do not need to be entirely eliminated; instead, they need to be better targeted to low-income consumers. However, restrictions on the use of subsidized fuel—whether by location, vehicle type or consumer—are difficult to enforce. Indeed, the government has been pressed to consider ever-more elaborate schemes to monitor and control the distribution of subsidized fuel. As such, the government has also periodically increased prices, but these moves have resulted in fierce resistance from the public and opposition political parties.

Communications represent an important response to the political challenges associated with fossil-fuel subsidy reform. At its most basic level, government communications is concerned with transparency and public awareness, and certainly government has an obligation to inform and educate the public about its policies. “Strategic” communications has greater ambitions; it has been described as a means of “persuasion and negotiation,” seeking both to understand the interests of key stakeholders and obtain their support for the proposed reforms (Cabenero-Verzosa & Garcia, 2009). It necessarily implies consultation to understand the priorities and concerns of citizens as a precursor to implementing policies and crafting messages that will resonate with their audience.

In the case of fossil-fuel subsidy reform, the opposing forces are broad and deeply entrenched. Nearly every citizen will be affected by higher fuel costs, if not directly, than indirectly through inflation. Some groups have more to lose than others—the transport sector, for example—and will likely campaign for the status quo. Understanding these interests and taking them into account as policy is developed and explained can help ease the resistance.

A communication strategy is best considered at the start of the policy-making process. It begins with internal government dialogue on the development of the policy, before moving to external consultations with interested groups. Those consultations should help both to refine policies and the communication campaign that supports them. Figure 1 describes strategic points for consultation and communication in the policy-making cycle (Beaton, et al., 2013).
This report reviews the Government of Indonesia’s communications on fossil-fuel subsidy reform in 2012, a year in which it announced plans to both restrict the use of subsidized fuel and raise prices. It necessarily relies primarily on interviews conducted with government officials responsible for communication-related activities on fossil-fuel subsidy policies, and their willingness to divulge information. Particularly important was the National Energy Council, the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources. We thank them for their time and openness.

The Policy Context in 2012

A major challenge in developing a communications strategy for fossil-fuel subsidy reform in Indonesia is the fact that plans change frequently. While President Yudhoyono’s administration has consistently stressed the need for reform, it has not implemented a steady approach to achieving that objective. The fast-changing policy context was clearly on display in late 2011 and 2012.

President Yudhoyono made several announcements in late 2011 to the effect that fuel prices would not rise in 2012. The president instead emphasized the government’s preference for restricting access to subsidized fuel. In line with that approach, the government announced a plan in January 2012 to prohibit consumption of Premium gasoline for private four-wheel vehicles in Greater Jakarta and official government vehicles in the Java and Bali regions. In addition, the government intended to boost the deployment of alternative, gas-based transport fuels (compressed natural gas [CNG] and liquid gas for vehicles [LGV]) with a target of converting 46,000 vehicles to CNG and 250,000 vehicles to LGV in the Java-Bali area by the end of 2012.

In late January 2012, however, the government began to publicly contemplate raising prices, in combination with the plans described above. The government cited intensifying political turmoil in the Middle East and economic woes in the United States and Europe as reasons why a price increase was necessary. In February 2012 the government
recommended an Rp1,500-per-litre (approximately US$0.15 cent) increase in the price of Premium gasoline, equivalent to one third of the current price. The price increase required negotiation with parliament as part of a broader revision of the state budget, which was to be decided by April 1, 2012.

The plan to raise prices was contested by opposition parties, and resulted in a series of public protests across the country in March 2012. Indonesian National Police recorded 1,063 public demonstrations in March 2012 alone; 28 ended in street clashes (Suriyanto, 2012). Ultimately, the proposal to raise the price of subsidized gasoline failed to garner sufficient support from parliament, and subsidized fuel prices remained unchanged. The government also postponed plans to ban the use of subsidized fuel by private four-wheel vehicles. The government did, however, restrict access for government vehicles in the Java–Bali region, and has since moved to expand restrictions both by location and consumer type.

**Government Roles and Responsibilities**

Before discussing the communications activities carried out by the government, it is helpful to first identify the main government bodies involved in planning, implementing and supervising fossil-fuel-subsidy-related policies. These are the main actors:

- **President**: The president is the primary public face of the government. He or she leads the cabinet of ministers responsible for developing regulations and development programs. Following agreement with parliament, a decision to raise subsidized fuel prices normally requires a government regulation. For example, the fuel price increase in 2005 was ratified under Presidential Regulation No. 55/2005, while fuel price changes in 2008 and 2009 were ratified under regulations of the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources.

- **Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs**: The Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs synchronizes the development and implementation of the government’s economic policy. With respect to fuel subsidies, its main role is to bring together proposals for fossil-fuel subsidy reform and present them to the cabinet.

- **Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources and Directorate General of Oil and Natural Gas (MEMR)**: The MEMR is the most important body dealing with the fuel subsidies. Within the MEMR, the Directorate General of Oil and Natural Gas (DG Migas) is responsible for formulating and implementing MEMR’s policies in the oil and gas sector.

- **Ministry of Finance**: The Ministry of Finance is where financing decisions for government programs are made. The Ministry’s Fiscal Policy Agency (BKF, *Badan Kebijakan Fiskal*) was established in 2006 to help formulate policy on macroeconomics, as well as long-term fiscal sustainability (Blöndal, Hawkesworth & Choi, 2009). This agency is especially important in drafting the annual Fiscal Note and State Budget Proposal for the government.

- **Bappenas (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan National)**: Bappenas sets development priorities, as well as the government’s five-year plan, medium-term development plan, and ministry-specific workplans and budgets. Each year, Bappenas formulates the development priorities for the following year and its funding needs. Bappenas has tended to focus on identifying programs to ensure low-income earners are protected from fuel price increases.

- **National Energy Council**: The National Energy Council (DEN, *Dewan Energi Nasional*) is a special advisory team for the president established in 2007. It is responsible for developing the country’s national energy plan, formulating strategies to cope with energy crises and monitoring the implementation of cross-sectoral energy policy.
• BPH Migas: BPH Migas (Badan Pengatur Hilir Minyak dan Gas Bumi) is the Indonesian downstream oil and natural gas regulator. Its main task is supervising the domestic supply and distribution of fuel and gas, and managing national reserves (Oil and Natural Gas Act No. 22/2001).

• Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (MoCIT): While not responsible for fossil-fuel-subsidy policies, the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology plays an important role in the government’s communications related to those policies. The MoCIT has a role in encouraging the mass media to deliver responsible and ethical information, and to improve the role of government in providing information. The MoCIT is also responsible for improving communication infrastructure to expand community access to information.

In an effort to improve intergovernmental coordination of fossil-fuel subsidy policies, the government formed a committee in 2011 that includes members of the main government bodies involved in developing policy. The team is broken into sub-teams with specific responsibilities. Initially, the team was composed of four sub-teams: the socialization team, led by the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources; the supervision team, led by BPH Migas; the infrastructure preparation team, led by the Ministry of Industry; and the social analysis team, led by the Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Pradipta, 2012). In 2012, the coordinated team was expanded to six sub-teams by Decree No. KEP 14/M.EKON/03/2012: the socialization team, the preparation for gas safety team, the gas utilization team, the social analysis team, the infrastructure team and the supervision team.

The sub-team on socialization is responsible for communications (the term socialization is commonly used in Indonesia to refer to public awareness and education). The sub-team is chaired by DG Migas, which traditionally takes the lead in developing communications plans related to fossil-fuel subsidy policies. The socialization team essentially functions as a hub where various related government offices meet to coordinate the implementation of communications-related plans. On average, it meets once every two weeks. It appears to have been effective in fostering intergovernmental cooperation on communications-related activities. As we describe further down in this report, much of the communications work has involved two or more government bodies working together.

Research and Consultation

The government of Indonesia does not appear to have undertaken a systematic or comprehensive process of consultations, but it has reached out to certain interest groups. They include:

Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kamar Dagang dan Industri, KADIN)

The MEMR met with the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin) on January 12, 2012. According to an official involved in that meeting, Kadin indicated its preference for higher subsidized fuel prices, rather than restrictions by consumer type. Kadin was of the view that restrictions are more complicated and difficult to enforce than raising prices for all users (Kadin Desak Pemerintah, 2012).

Organization of Land Transportation Owners (Organisasi Pengusaha Angkutan Darat, ORGANDA)

The Ministry of Transportation met with the Organization of Land Transport Owners in March 2012 to discuss compensation measures to be provided by the government. In return, the government wanted an agreement that

1 The full name of BPH Migas is Badan Pengatur Penyediaan dan Pendistribusian Bahan Bakar Minyak dan Kegiatan Usaha Pengangkutan Gas Bumi Melalui Pipa. The establishment of this agency is mandated by the Oil and Natural Gas Act No. 22/2001. Government Regulations No. 67/2002 jo Presidential Decree No. 86/2002.
public transport providers would not raise fares if fuel prices rose. At that time, the government was conducting a study on the type of incentives that could be given to ORGANDA, such as financial support for vehicle renovations, and procurement of spare parts at favourable rates (Pitakasari, 2012). However, the chairman of ORGANDA reportedly stated the organization’s preference for subsidized fuel prices for public transportation (Pitakasari, 2012).

Islamic Organizations

Islamic organizations have a strong presence in Indonesian civil society, and have voiced opinions on fossil-fuel subsidy policy (at times strongly against raising fuel prices, but also in favour of targeting subsidies to poorer consumers). The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology conducted meetings with representatives of Nadhlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah—both of which have extensive networks in the country—in the early parts of 2012. It was expected that these groups would help spread information on the government’s reform plans to their members (Official at Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, personal communication, August 10, 2012).

Hearing between Commission VII of the House of Representatives and Stakeholders

In addition to consultations between the government and stakeholders mentioned above, the parliament’s Energy Commission (Commission VII) also met with interested groups in January 2012 to discuss the government’s reform plans. As Table 1 shows, a majority of these stakeholders felt that more time was required to effectively implement the government’s plans.

**TABLE 1. CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN COMMISSION VII AND STAKEHOLDERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAKEHOLDERS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>STAKEHOLDERS’ OPINION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Association of Private Oil and Gas Entrepreneurs (Hiswana Migas)</td>
<td>Hearing Session on January 18, 2012 (Sukanto, 2012a)</td>
<td>Hiswana Migas stated that fossil-fuel subsidy restrictions should be postponed until preparations were further advanced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association of Indonesia Automotive Industries (Gabungan Industri Kendaraan Bermotor Indonesia, GAIKINDO)</td>
<td>Hearing Session on January 19, 2012 (Sukanto, 2012b)</td>
<td>Gaikindo also stated that preparations had not been sufficiently prepared for restrictions and conversion of gasoline to CNG by April 2012.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indonesian Employers Association (Asosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia, APINDO)</td>
<td>Hearing Session on January 19, 2012 (Dhany, 2012)</td>
<td>APINDO felt the government should increase fossil-fuel subsidy prices gradually.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta Micro, Small, and Middle Enterprises Community (Usaha Mikro Kecil dan Menengah, UMKM)</td>
<td>Hearing Session on January 19, 2012 (Pratama, 2012)</td>
<td>Yogyakarta UMKM Community felt that fossil-fuel subsidy restrictions should be postponed until preparations had been advanced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT Pertamina</td>
<td>Hearing Session on January 18 2012 (Muhammad, 2012)</td>
<td>Pertamina was not ready to implement the restrictions by April 2012. Pertamina said it needed three months to prepare.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Various media, as indicated in table.

There are a few facets to this concern that deserve explanation. One challenge associated with switching from Premium (subsidized) to Pertamax (unsubsidized) gasoline is that approximately 2,000 filling stations nationwide do not have the capacity to supply increased quantities of Pertamax, as they only have two storage tanks (one for gasoline and one for diesel). Second, increased demand for Pertamax (either because of higher prices for Premium, or restrictions on the use of Premium) would place pressure on Pertamina’s refining capacity, given that only two out of six of Pertamina’s refineries produce Pertamax. Third, the plan to encourage the use of alternative, gas-based fuels also requires new filling stations and converter kits for vehicles.
Public Outreach: Messages, vehicles and audiences

The core messages in the government's outreach campaign varied over the course of the year. In January 2012 the focus was on the two central elements of the government's reform plans at that time: restricting consumption of subsidized fuel for private cars in the Java-Bali region and introducing a conversion program from fuel to gas for public transport vehicles. In February 2012, when the government also began recommending higher subsidized fuel prices, it introduced new communications to endorse those plans. It also stressed its plans to compensate poor and vulnerable consumers through a cash-transfer program when prices rose. When parliament rejected higher fuel prices in March 2012, the government emphasized a range of other means to reduce consumption of subsidized fuel, including placing tighter controls on the distribution of subsidized fuel; prohibiting government vehicles from using subsidized fuel; extending the prohibitions to other types of users, such as plantation and mining vehicles; converting public transport vehicles to gas-based fuels; and encouraging consumers to conserve energy and water.

A variety of activities were used to deliver those messages.

Interactive Dialogues

Interactive dialogues (Dialog Interaktif) refer to broadcast interviews in which the audience was invited to ask questions. These interviews were conducted with government officials from the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, the Ministry of Communications and Information, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture. In some cases, representatives from local government, Pertamina, and BPH Migas also took part. These dialogues were featured on both local and national channels (i.e., TVRI, Metro TV and TVOne), as well as radio (particularly the state-owned Radio Republik Indonesia). Television is a particularly important medium for reaching the Indonesian public; 90 per cent of Indonesians have identified watching television as one of their main social and cultural activities.

Common themes in the interactive dialogues were the impact of fossil-fuel subsidy reform on food prices; compensation measures to protect the poor from the impacts of higher fuel prices; and opportunities to channel the savings from fuel subsidies to other public goods, such as public transport and education. The government stressed that higher fuel prices would have a low impact on inflation, and would provide opportunities to invest in public goods. In an interview on August 10, 2012, an official with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology explained that the target audience for these dialogues were “public figures and stakeholders.” Annex 1 provides a complete list of the interactive dialogues held between March and June 2012.

Print and Broadcast Advertisements

The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology and the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources developed a series of advertisements in 2012 around two issues: conserving energy and encouraging private car owners to purchase unsubsidized fuel. These aired on local and national television stations between September 5 and November 7 2012.

A frequently broadcast advertisement featured passengers in two vehicles, one a private car and the other a taxi. The passengers sing a song in which the private car holders are told to use “Pertamax” (unsubsidized gasoline) and the public transport vehicles are told to use “Premium” (subsidized gasoline) (TVConAIR, 2012a). The advertisement is part of the government’s longer-term efforts to encourage private car owners to voluntarily choose unsubsidized fuel. It had previously used billboards to make the point that subsidized fuel should only be used by “poor” consumers.
Another advertisement that was frequently broadcast focused on conserving energy and water, reflecting the government’s emphasis on fuel savings (rather than changes to fuel prices) post-April. The ads use a cartoon to show the ways in which people typically consume energy and water. To save fuel, the advertisement encourages viewers to use public transportation, carpool and use bicycles. To save electricity, the advertisement recommends turning off lights and electronic devices when they are not in use. The advertisement also urges viewers to use water only as needed (TVConAIR, 2012b).

Cultural Performances
MEMR also organized Wayang kulit (a traditional puppet show) and Ketoprak (traditional theatre) performances in the areas of Serdang Bedagai, Pasuruan and Surakarta in which it inserted messages about conserving energy. A Ketoprak performance was also aired on the local television station, TATV Surakarta. In an interview on August 10, 2012, an official with the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology explained that the target audience for these shows was identified as the public in general.

Pamphlets and Stickers
In March 2012, MEMR published a pamphlet titled “Subsidized fuel for what and whom?” (“BBM buat (Si) apa?”) (State Secretariat and Vice President Secretariat, 2012). One thousand copies were printed and distributed at government-sponsored events. Copies were also sent to members of parliament. The pamphlet sets out five arguments for reducing fuel subsidies, which capture the main arguments that President Yudhoyono and his administration have used over the years to explain the rationale for fossil-fuel subsidy reform:

1. **Fuel subsidies are not pro-poor.** Fuel subsidies provide greater benefits to middle and upper classes than to the poor. The government refers to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics’ National Socioeconomic Survey 2010, which reveals that the average wealthy household uses 10 times the amount of subsidized petrol than poorer households.

2. **Efficiency and environmental sustainability.** Cheap fuel prices encourage wasteful consumption, to the detriment of the environment. The government also emphasizes that oil is no longer abundant in Indonesia (the country is a net oil importer) and is a non-renewable resource.

3. **Opportunities for investment in infrastructure and social programs.** The large sums spent on fuel subsidies could be diverted to finance infrastructure and social services, with greater developmental benefits.

4. **Reduce incentives for smuggling.** The price difference between subsidized and non-subsidized fuel has encouraged corruption and smuggling. The government argues that public funds should be used to improve the people’s welfare, but current fuel subsidies are benefitting the corrupt.

5. **Long-term sustainability.** Closely linked to point number three, the message here is that the long-term benefits of government investing in nation-building activities outweigh the short-term benefits of cheaper fuel.

While prices were not raised in April 2012, the government did move to restrict government vehicles from purchasing subsidized fuel. In line with that measure, it also printed 100,000 stickers with the statement “This car does not use fuel subsidy,” which were placed on government vehicles.
Public Seminars
A series of public seminars on fossil-fuel subsidy reform were organized between March and June 2012 by the government. These were often held in government buildings and featured speakers from various government ministries. These were essentially an opportunity for the government to share its policy plans, such as the planned price rise (in March 2012) and energy conservation campaign (starting in May 2012). The audiences were primarily local government officials and representatives of state-owned enterprises and fuel retailers, according to an interview with an official from the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology.

Priorities Going Forward
The Indonesian government faces tough practical and political barriers in raising subsidized fuel prices, and clearly recognizes that communications form an important part of the overall strategy for meeting these challenges. It has rightly recognized that a strong communications campaign begins with good intergovernmental coordination, as demonstrated by the establishment of a dedicated team for communications-related planning. And the large number of “interactive dialogues” conducted in 2012—some 24 between March and July 2012—reveals a desire to build public understanding and support. Government officials responsible for communications should also be praised for adapting quickly. In the first half of 2012, policy announcements changed frequently, and communications activities adapted to support new plans. In these circumstances, there are clear limits to how much research and planning can go into a communications campaign.

At the same time, there is room for improvement. While the Indonesian government has developed multiple communication activities, as we highlight above, there is a lack of strategic planning, monitoring and evaluation. The following are some suggestions for developing a more targeted, effective and efficient communications plan going forward:

1. **Defining the objective:** The starting point of any effective strategy is a clear objective. That objective should be linked to an overarching policy objective. In our interviews, government officials usually referred to raising awareness and understanding as the communications objective. While this is an important aim, the strategy should go a step further, seeking voluntary changes in behaviour and beliefs.

2. **Monitoring and evaluation:** A clear and achievable objective should be monitored and evaluated. This is often a weak spot in government communication strategies, and it appears to be a significant gap in the case of Indonesia. There is no evidence that a system is in place to evaluate whether the communications plan is having its intended impact.

3. **Segmenting audiences:** Understanding your audience is an important part of the pre-campaign research. In Indonesia there has been very little systematic research that sheds light how various segments of the public view the issue of fuel-subsidy reform. That lack of analysis is reflected in how audiences are defined by government officials: often it is “the general public.” Understanding how different parts of Indonesian society view subsidy reform, and why opinions differ, will allow for more targeted messaging (see the next point). It will also allow the government to identify so-called “swing constituencies”: groups who could be persuaded to support reform.

4. **Tailoring messages:** A good understanding of audiences allows for more strategic messaging. The government’s main messages on the need for reform—as illustrated, for example, in the MEMR’s pamphlet—are convincing. It could do more, however, to tailor messages to address specific interests or concerns. For
instance, the core concern of many of the organizations consulted by the Parliamentary Energy Commission has to do with practical issues of implementation (i.e., are service stations equipped to sell non-subsidized fuel?). This is a valid anxiety, and one that, if not properly addressed, undermines confidence in the reform strategy. In this case, talking more about the process of reform—as opposed simply to the rationale—would help address the concerns of the business community.

5. **Selecting the right vehicle:** The government has also rightly used different media to reach its audiences, ranging from television and radio to traditional puppet shows and theatre. The government has put significant efforts into being present on television, which makes sense in a country in which 90 per cent of citizens are television viewers. But traditional forms of storytelling are still popular, particularly in rural areas, and these can be an effective way of connecting with these audiences.

6. **Staying consistent:** While messages should be tailored to different audiences, there is also the need to stay focused and consistent. The Indonesian government has done well to create an intergovernmental team that is responsible for coordinating communications activities. Our review of the communications activities undertaken in 2012 demonstrates many cases of intergovernmental cooperation. However, senior levels of government are often less well coordinated. A regular observer of the Indonesian press will be struck by the lack of coordinated messaging at the ministerial level. A strong national-level spokesperson would help address this issue. Ideally, this individual would come from the office of the president or vice-president, which could clearly signal that their views represent the head of government.

7. **Identifying partners:** The government has made efforts to cultivate important allies. It has met with Islamic organizations, for example, in hopes that they would use their vast networks to endorse subsidy reform. A number of meetings and seminars have also catered to state government officials. These efforts should be intensified. Local community leaders, in particular, should be viewed as important partners. There are limits to the central government’s reach and influence, yet local leaders and civil society groups can help spread information.

8. **Strengthening political dialogue:** This report has focused primarily on the government’s efforts to communicate with the public. While winning public support for policy reforms is critical, the government has also struggled to secure agreements with parliament. The political complexities of fossil-fuel subsidy reform in Indonesia are complex and beyond the scope of this report. Yet despite the challenges, there is a need to try and de-politicize the issue, and certain kinds of dialogue can help achieve that objective. The parliament has held public meetings on the issue, and, while these have stimulated debate, they have done little to bridge differences between the political parties. Smaller meetings between government officials, members of parliament and interested groups, held under the Chatham House Rule, would be a useful addition to the political dialogue.
References


State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia and Vice President Secretariat. (2012). BBM untuk (Si) apa?


### Annexes

#### Annex 1. Interactive Dialogues March–July 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>CHANNELS</th>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| March 1, 2012| Transparency and fuel-restriction policies                            | RRI Pro 3 | Director General of Oil and Gas, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources  
Expert Staff on Economic and Finance, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources |
| March 15, 2012| Not available                                                         | Metro TV  | Director General of Land Transportation, Ministry of Transportation                                                                   |
| March 15, 2012| Fuel subsidy reform and food prices                                   | RRI Pro 3 | Director General of Domestic Trade  
Representative of Commission VII of the House of Representatives                                |
| March 20, 2012| Fuel price adjustments and the price of rice                          | RRI Pro 4 | Director of Maintenance BUKA                                                                                                           |
| March 20, 2012| Not available                                                         | Dangdut   | Chairman of “YLKI” (Indonesia Consumer Organization)  
Head of Fuel control, BPH Migas                                                                                               |
| March 27, 2012| Public transport management and adjustments to subsidized fuel prices | RRI Pro 4 | Head of Public Communication, Ministry of Transportation                                                                                   |
| March 28, 2012| Subsidy reform and compensation measures                              | TVONE     | Representative from Statistics Indonesia  
Representative from the Ministry of Social Affairs                                                                      |
| March 29, 2012| Reallocation of subsidized fossil-fuel subsidy to poor students       | KBR 68H   | Expert Staff on Media Communication, Ministry of Education and Culture  
Representative of Commission X of the House of Representatives                                                              |
| March 30, 2012| Compensation measures to mitigate impacts of fossil-fuel subsidy reform | RRI Denpasar | Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
Head of Statistics, Bali Region                                                                                                           |
| April 5, 2012 | Not available                                                         | Radar TV Tasikmalaya | Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
Head of Nahdlatul Ulama (an Islamic organization)  
West Java Province  
Head of Nahdlatul Ulama, Tasikmalaya                                                                                     |
| April 5, 2012 | Not available                                                         | Martha Radio | Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
Head of Nahdlatul Ulama, Tasikmalaya                                                                                                 |
| April 19, 2012| Not available                                                         | TVRI Mataram | Director General, Communication and Information Technology  
Daily Chairman of “YLKI” (Indonesia Consumer Organization)  
Head of the Department of Mining and Energy, West Nusa Tenggara Province                                                  |
| April 20, 2012| Not available                                                         | RRI Mataram | Chairman of YLKI  
Head of Department of Mining and Energy, West Nusa Tenggara Province                                                        |
<p>| June 1, 2012  | Energy conservation                                                   | TVRI      | Minister of Communication and Information Technology                                                                                 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| June 1, 2012 | Fuel-saving policies                                      | Representative of the Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
Representative of the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources |
| June 8, 2012 | Not available                                              | Secretary of Directorate General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
Head of Department of Mining and Energy, Maluku Province |
| June 17, 2012 | Not available                                               | Expert Staff from the Economic and Finance Division, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources  
General Manager of Pertamina, Region 7 Makassar  
Head of Department of Mining and Energy, Makassar |
| June 18, 2012 | Not available                                               | Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
General Manager of Pertamina, Region 7 Makassar  
Head of Department of Mining and Energy, Makassar |
| June 29, 2012 | Not available                                               | Secretary of Directorate General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology  
Secretary of Serdang Bedagai Region  
General Manager of Pertamina, Region 1 Medan  
Director from Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources  
Representative of the Department of Mining and Energy, North Sumatera Province |
Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology |
Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology |
Director General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology |
| July 19, 2012 | Diversification of fuel to gas after promulgation of president regulation No 64/2012 on supply, distribution and pricing of gas for transport | Director of Fuel, BPH MIGAS |

Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, 2012; compiled for this report.
Annex 2. Cultural Performances June 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 29, 2012</td>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Serdang Bedagai, North Sumatra Province</td>
<td>Secretary of Directorate General, Ministry of Communication and Information Technology Secretary of Serdang Bedagai Region General Manager of Pertamina, Region 1 Medan Director from Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Department of Mining and Energy, North Sumatera Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not available</td>
<td>Energy savings</td>
<td>Wonogiri (TATV Surakarta)</td>
<td>Not available</td>
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</table>

Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology, 2012; compiled for this report.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>THEME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>SPEAKERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 28, 2012</td>
<td>Planned price increase of fuel</td>
<td>Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, Jakarta</td>
<td>Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 18, 2012</td>
<td>Public discussion</td>
<td>Pakajene, North Sulawesi Province</td>
<td>Director General Information and Public Communication, Ministry of Communication and Information General Manager of Pertamina, Region 7 Makassar Head of Department of Mining and Energy, Makassar</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 20, 2012</td>
<td>Controlling the use of fuel subsidies (Wicaksono, 2012)</td>
<td>Serang, Banten Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel (Tim Nasional Pengendalian BBM Bersubsidi)</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 21, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Bandung, West Java Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Activity Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Responsible Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>June 22, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Bandung, West Java Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 25–26, 2012</td>
<td>Energy policy and the steps to safeguard the 2012 Revised State Budget</td>
<td>Palembang, South Sumatera Province</td>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 28, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Semarang, Central Java Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
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<td>June 29, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Semarang, Central Java Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 5, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Surabaya, East Java Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 6, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Surabaya, East Java Province</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 9, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 16, 2012</td>
<td>Saving program, controlling the use of fossil-fuel subsidy</td>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>National Team for Control Using Subsidized Fuel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| November 5, 2012 | Control of subsidized fuel for plantation and mining activities in West Papua province (Direktorat Jenderal Perkebunan, 2012) | Sorong Region, West Papua Province | Head of Industry and Mining Agency
Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of Agriculture
Pertamina |

Source: Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (2012); compiled for this report.
Further details and contact information
For further information contact Kerryn Lang at: klang@iisd.org or +41-22-917-8920.

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