

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY INDONESIA 2005



INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS

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INTRODUCTION

This report is the result of a public opinion survey conducted between 6 and 11 February 2005. The results are based on face-to-face interviews with 2020 respondents in 33 provinces throughout Indonesia. The objective of the survey is to inform members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Peoples Consultative Assembly (MPR), the Election Commission (KPU), and other interested institutions and organizations, about the perceptions, aspirations, and attitudes held by the people of Indonesia. The survey explores a number of current issues including the performance of the government, DPR, MPR, and national leaders; the perception of political parties; the election system; and issues relating to regional autonomy.

The fieldwork was conducted by *Jasa Riset Indonesia*; the survey instrument, analysis and report were developed by *Jasa Riset Indonesia* and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES). This is the seventh national public opinion survey conducted by IFES in Indonesia. Some findings in this report have been compared with the results of previous national surveys conducted by IFES in June 2001, April 2002, and June 2003.

It is hoped that the findings of this important study will contribute to constructive debate that will help further the progress of democratic reforms in Indonesia in the best interests of its people.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Opinions On Socio-Economic Situation In Indonesia

- Economic problems continue to be the biggest source of concern for Indonesians as a majority of Indonesians (55%) say that inflation is the biggest problem facing the country, and 26% cite the difficulty in finding a job. The lack of security is less likely to be mentioned in this year's survey than the 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia (2% versus 13%). Economic concerns are also most likely to be mentioned as the biggest problems facing local communities.
- Eighty-one percent of Indonesians assess their family's quality of life as good or very good, while only 18% say that it is bad or very bad. More than 70% at all SES levels say their family's quality of life is good. When asked to compare their family's quality of life this year to one year ago, 30% say it is better, 11% say it is worse and a majority (60%) say it is the same. These sentiments are not substantially different than those observed in the 2003 survey. However, there is substantially greater optimism about one's family's quality of life over the next year. In this survey, 47% believe their family's quality of life will be better in one year's time, while 37% believe it will remain the same. In the 2003 survey, 31% thought their family's quality of life would get better.
- Assessments of the security situation are substantially improved compared to the 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia. The percentage of Indonesians who feel safer compared to one year ago has increased from 27% in the 2003 survey to 47% in this year's survey, while those who feel less safe has decreased from 20% to 6%. The shift in attitudes is particularly evident in the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua and in West Java/Jakarta/Banten. The percentage of Indonesians who expect the security situation to improve is also substantially higher than in the 2003 survey (49% versus 23% in 2003).
- Nearly two in three Indonesians (64%) believe that Indonesia is headed in the right direction since the 2004 elections, while only 12% think it is headed in the wrong direction. Those who think Indonesia is headed in the right direction cite the fact that the government is serious in fighting corruption and because the government is more honest, and because the security and economic situation are getting better.

Assessment of President Susilo Bambang Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Administration

- A majority of Indonesians (57%) are satisfied with the overall performance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in office, while 33% are dissatisfied (Note: The fieldwork for this survey was conducted before the hike in fuel prices announced by the government). Satisfaction with the President is highest in Kalimantan while it is lowest in Bali/Nusa Tenggara. Those who are satisfied with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono cite chiefly non-economic reasons for their satisfaction: fight against corruption, improved security and law enforcement. Those who are dissatisfied with the President cite economic reasons.
- A majority of Indonesians tend to be satisfied with the administration's steps with regard to corruption (73%), terrorism (68%), security (78%), healthcare (70%), education quality (59%), and reduction of environmental degradation (61%). However, a majority are dissatisfied with the administration's economic performance: creating jobs and keeping prices low (each 73%), and economic development (63%).
- A majority of Indonesians support President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's decision to have all cabinet ministers and other top government officials sign anti-graft pacts. Fifty-nine



percent think this will help reduce corruption, 30% think this will have little effect, and 4% think this will have no effect on corruption. More than two in three Indonesians (67%) also believe that the administration will be successful in reducing corruption.

- Indonesians are generally pleased with the government's performance in the rescue and recovery process in Aceh following the tsunami disaster. Eighty-three percent of Indonesians say that the government has done a good or very good job in the rescue and recovery efforts after the Tsunami, while 15% say the government has done a bad or very bad job.
- When asked to cite the areas that should be the primary focus for tsunami relief efforts, 67% cite healthcare, 62% economic relief, 54% education, and 45% housing.
- A majority of Indonesians (60%) think the domestic NGOs have been effective in the relief efforts. As for areas of assistance, forty-five percent think the domestic NGOs should focus on health care, 38% cite education, 25% housing, and 15% economic relief.

Opinions on State Institutions and Leaders

- Awareness of various state institutions has increased substantially from the 2003 to the 2005 survey. The largest increase in awareness has been for the Corruption Eradication Commission (from 43% to 66%) and the Audit Board (48% to 63%). Few Indonesians (14%) are aware of the Ombudsman. The majority of Indonesians aware of these state institutions are satisfied with their performance. The highest levels of satisfaction are with the Corruption Eradication Commission (65%) and the MPR (61%). Fifty-five percent are satisfied with the performance of the Attorney General, the Human Rights Commission, the Audit Board, and the Supreme Court.
- Most Indonesians (92%) have a favorable impression of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and they have nearly as high opinions of Vice-President Jusuf Kalla (80% favorable). Hidayat Nurwahid has a favorability rating of 70%, while former President Megawati Soekarnoputri has a favorable rating of 66%.
- In total, 76% of Indonesians have heard at least a little about the DPR, while nearly a quarter have never heard or read about the DPR. The majority of those who have heard of the DPR are aware of its functions such as making state regulations (62%), drafting and stipulating of the state budget (61%), and oversight of the implementation of the 1945 Constitution (62%). Fifty percent are aware of its function to conduct investigations of certain issues/cases. The majority of those aware of these functions are satisfied with the DPR's performance in these functions.
- Fifty-seven percent of Indonesians say that they are satisfied with the performance of the new DPR. The level of satisfaction with the new DPR is highest in Sulawesi (74% satisfied) and lowest in Bali/Nusa Tenggara (50%). On a negative note, only 7% of Indonesians can name one member of the DPR who represents their electoral districts. Six in ten Indonesians say that they have heard or read at least a little about their Provincial or Regency/City DPRD. As is the case with awareness of DPR, higher-educated Indonesians (at least some university) are more likely to be aware of these bodies than those with lower levels of education. Only 4% of Indonesians say that they have contacted a member of any legislative body in the past.
- Indonesians are generally likely to support recall of a member of a legislative body by a political party for various reasons: being indicted for corruption (94%), violating laws and regulations (92%), missing DPR/DPRD sessions (82%), and opposing a party's policy (78%).



Opinions on Women in Parliament

- Forty-three percent of Indonesians think that the current proportion of women in parliament (12%) is too low, compared to only 3% who think it is too high. Forty-three percent believe the proportion of women in parliament is just right. Women are more likely to think the proportion is too low than men. Of those who think that the proportion of women in parliament is too low, half of them think that this is because there was not much support from the political parties to nominate women as their candidates (50%), while 41% think that there were not many women candidates in the 2004 legislative elections for whom voters could vote.
- A majority of Indonesians (51%) think the likelihood of women's aspirations being addressed in the DPR is low or very low, while 41% think it is high. There is little difference between men and women on this issue.

Opinions on Political Parties

- Perhaps owing to the 2004 elections, recognition of political parties is higher in this survey than in the 2003 survey. The median number of parties named in this survey is 6, up from 5 in 2003. Three-quarters of Indonesians (75%) can name five or more parties, up significantly from 51% in the 2003 survey. The most often-named parties are Golkar (92%), PDIP (90%), Partai Demokrat (PD, 79%), PPP (67%), PAN (64%), and PKB (61%). Recognition of PD and PKS has risen from virtually zero in 2003 to 79% and 48%, respectively in this year's survey.
- Among those that know of particular political parties, more than 80% trust the PD and PKS. This is a far higher level of trust than that recorded for other parties. Trust has generally increased for most parties from the 2003 survey to this year's survey. Trust in Golkar has increased from 48% in 2003 to 61% in this year's survey, whereas trust in PDIP has increased from 50% to 62%. Similar increases are recorded for PKB, PPP, and PBB, and a smaller increase for PAN.
- There is a bandwagon factor when respondents are asked what party they voted for in the 2004 parliamentary elections. More respondents report voting for the PD than the actual result of the election, and fewer report voting for Golkar and PDIP. A similar is observed when respondents on the survey are asked to name the candidate they voted for in the second round of the presidential election in September 2004, with many more respondents reporting having voted for President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono than was actually the case.
- Most Indonesians (80%) would like parties other than PD that hold seats in the DPR to collaborate with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on major issues even if that means that they do not represent the views of the people who voted for them. Eighty-one percent of those who report having voted for PDIP in the 2004 election, and 77% of those who voted for Golkar think that their party should cooperate with the President on major issues.

Opinions on Electoral Bodies

- Most Indonesians (89%) say that the 2004 parliamentary and presidential election were either very or somewhat well-organized. In addition to evaluating the organization of the



election highly, the vast majority of Indonesians also of the opinion that the 2004 election were completely or mostly fair and honest (91%).

- Awareness of the KPU, chiefly responsible for administration of the 2004 election, is significantly higher than in the 2003 survey. In this survey, 82% have heard or read at least a little about this body. This compares with 59% in the 2003 survey. Among those who have heard at least a little about the KPU, 84% say that they are very or somewhat satisfied with the work the KPU did for the 2004 elections, with only 14% saying that they are dissatisfied with the KPU's work.
- The percentage of Indonesians who have heard or read at least a little about the electoral supervisory body, PANWAS, has increased from 64% in IFES' tracking survey of April 2004 to 75% in this survey. The vast majority of those who have heard at least a little about PANWAS are satisfied with this body's work during the 2004 election (88%). Ten percent are dissatisfied.

Regional and Local Representation

- Despite the fact that 71% of eligible Indonesians voted for the DPD in the 2004 elections, only 18% of Indonesians say they have heard or read a lot or some about this body. Forty-seven percent have heard or read a little, and 34% have heard nothing at all. There are only two regions in the country, Bali/Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi, where more than a quarter of the residents have heard a lot or some about the DPD (31% and 31%, respectively).
- Among those who have heard or read at least a little about the DPD, 50% are aware that the DPD can propose and participate in the legislative process on certain issues, while 43% are aware that the DPD has oversight power over certain regulations. Only 19% can name a person who represents their province in the DPD.
- The vast majority of Indonesians (92%), as well as similar percentage in most regions, agree that the direct election of the heads of their regions will improve local government service in their area.
- As for the elections, a majority of Indonesians (53%) prefer that the KPU should supervise the KPUDs in the implementation of the elections, while 27% prefer that the KPUDs take the lead in implementation of the election. There is no region where more people prefer the KPUDs take lead for the election.
- When asked what body should be charged with drafting the regulations for the Head of Region election, 36% named the government, 27% the KPU, and 19% the Ministry of Home Affairs.
- More people think that it is easier to control the actions taken by local government after the implementation of regional autonomy than the percentage who think it presents the same level of difficulty (46% versus 32%). A plurality of residents of all regions with the exception of Bali/Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan believe that it is easier for the people to control local governments after local autonomy.
- Even though more Indonesians think it is easier to control local government after regional autonomy, the percentage who is worried about misuse of power by local officials after regional autonomy has been growing in IFES surveys (from 51% in 2001 survey 64% in this survey).
- A plurality of Indonesians (47%) believe that the services they receive from the government are equivalent to the taxes and fees that they pay to the government. Forty-four percent believe that the services are much less than the taxes and fees they pay, while only 3% believe that the services they received are much more equivalent than the taxes and fees they pay.



Opinions on the Constitutional Court

- Slightly over one-third of Indonesians (34%) have heard of read at least a little about the Constitutional Court, but only 11% have heard or read much or some about this institution. Respondents in urban areas are more likely to have heard of the Constitutional Court than those in rural areas. Among those who have heard of the Constitutional Court, many are aware of its functions. A majority of these respondents are aware that the Court has the authority to settle disputes over general election results, oversee the dissolution of political parties, and to review laws against the 1945 constitution.
- There is less awareness of some of the court's major decisions. With the exception of the Court's decision on electoral results (60% aware), less than 40% of those who have heard of the Court are aware of its other major decisions.
- More than two-thirds (68%) of those aware of Constitutional Court are very satisfied or satisfied with Court's performance. Residents of urban areas are more likely to be more satisfied with the Court's performance than residents of rural areas (72% and 63%, respectively).

Media

- Most Indonesians use television as their primary source of information (91%). The vast majority of Indonesians (88%) report that they watch the television at least once a day, while few watch television less than once a week (8%). Only 2% never watch television.
- Among those who watch television, the most watched types of programs are news (56%), *sinetron* (25%), movies (8%), and sports (5%). Older respondents (45 and above) are more likely to watch television for news, while those 18-24 are more likely to watch for movies and *sinetron*.
- The most-watch television stations are RCTI (86%), SCTV (81%), and Indosiar (71%). Among those who primarily watch news programs on television, 84% watch the news on RCTI followed by SCTV (80%) and Indosiar (67%). For interactive/talk shows programs, RCTI again enjoys the highest audience (87%), while Metro TV and SCTV are second and third (83% and 78%, respectively).
- There is far less use of the radio than television. Slightly less than one-third of Indonesians listen to the radio at least once a day and 17% mention that they at least listened to the radio once a week. Forty-three per cent of the respondents say they never listen to radio programs.
- Among those who listen to the radio, the most listened-to type of programs is music (67%) and news (22%).



METHODOLOGY

This survey is done through face-to-face interviewing –between 7 and 11 February 2005—using a structured questionnaire, in 33 provinces of Indonesia, including those in Aceh, Maluku and Papua. The sampling method used was Multi-Stage Random Sampling.

The sample size of the survey is 2,020 respondents throughout Indonesia. Based on the total sample sized, the survey's *margin of error* is estimated to be 2.2% at 95% confidence level. Number of respondents at provincial level is determined commensurately to the proportion of population in the respective province against to total population of Indonesia. If sample size in a province is lesser than 30 respondents (the minimum sample size to provide a readable data), the sample size will be adjusted (booster) to 30 respondents. With such adjustment, then, *margin of error* for the provincial level will be around 5.8% - 18.3% (compared to 5.3 % - 45.1%, if not adjusted).

Multi stage random sampling method is applied for this survey. Here, the selection of respondent will go through several steps/stages –and for each of the stages, it uses *simple random sampling* method. Since the survey has to cover all provinces of Indonesia, so at the first stage it will select kabupaten/kotamadya from each of the provinces. Number of kabupaten/kotamadya selected from one province depends on number of respondent (sample size) determined for the respective province --still, with consideration to select only 30 respondents at maximum from one selected kabupaten/kotamadya. The second stage is to select kecamatan. From one selected kabupaten/kotamadya, it will only select one (1) kecamatan.

The next stage is to select kelurahan (2 (two) kelurahan(s) from one selected kecamatan), with consideration to the status of kelurahan (rural or urban – based on BPS' Kelurahan/Village Index Data -- Data Index Desa, 2001). After selecting kelurahan, the next stage is to select RW. From 1 (one) selected kelurahan, it will select 1 (one) RW, and from the selected RW it will select 3 (three) RT. Selection of respondent from provincial level until RW level is conducted in Jakarta; whereas selection of RT is conducted on site (fieldwork), with reference to random number provided from Jakarta.

Selection of UTK (Unit Tempat Kediaman/Dwelling Place Unit) from the selected RT is conducted through a systematic random method. Meanwhile selection of respondent from the selected UTK is conducted by using *kisch grid* method. Respondents *eligible* for this survey's interview are male or female, eligible to vote in 2004 Election, of 17 – 60 years old (or married, if younger than 17 years old), not sick or mentally ill, and not senile.

For analysis purpose, data findings reported from this survey are broken down based on status or area (rural/urban), age, gender, education level, socio economy class and region. In this report, provinces are grouped into 8 regions, as shown below:



Regions	Constituent Provinces
Aceh/Maluku/Papua	Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam North Maluku Maluku Papua West Irian Jaya
Sumatra	North Sumatra West Sumatra Riau Riau Islands Jambi South Sumatera Bangka Belitung Bengkulu Lampung
West Java/Jakarta/Banten	West Java DKI Jakarta Banten
Central Java/Yogyakarta	Central Java DI Yogyakarta
East Java	East Java
Bali/NTB/NTT	Bali West Nusa Tenggara East Nusa Tenggara
Kalimantan	West Kalimantan Central Kalimantan South Kalimantan East Kalimantan
Sulawesi	North Sulawesi Gorontalo Central Sulawesi South Sulawesi South East Sulawesi West Sulawesi

The report also compares findings of questions repeated from previous national surveys conducted by IFES (2001, 2002 and 2003).

DEMOGRAPHICS

a. Respondents by area category (rural/urban), age, and gender

Based on category of area where the respondent lives, it reveals that 58.41% of total respondent come from rural area and 41.58% from urban area. The percentage is not different from profile of Indonesia population by status of area (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000).

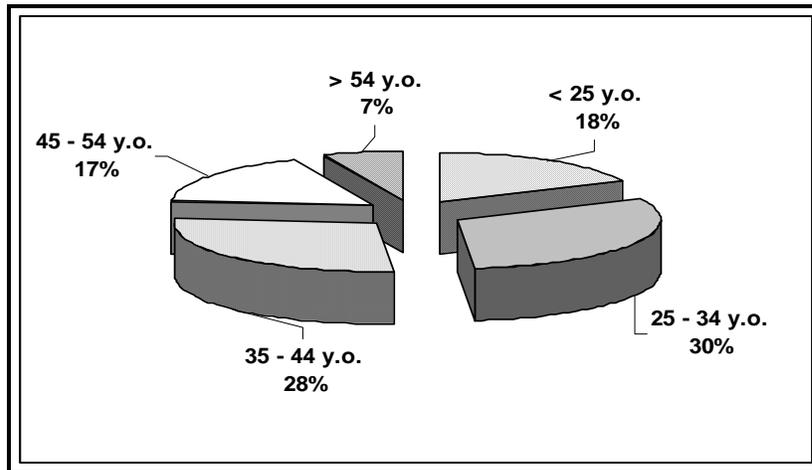
Based on the gender, it shows that 50.5% respondents are male and the other 49.5% are female. This result is also not different from profile of Indonesian population by gender (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000).

The following table shows composition of respondents by age in comparison to profile Indonesian population (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000).

Age Groups	2005 National Survey *)	BPS
< 25 y.o.	17.8	26.8
25 - 34 y.o.	30.7	29.3
35 - 44 y.o.	28	22.9
45 - 54 y.o.	17	14.3
> 54 y.o.	6.5	6.7

*) not weighted

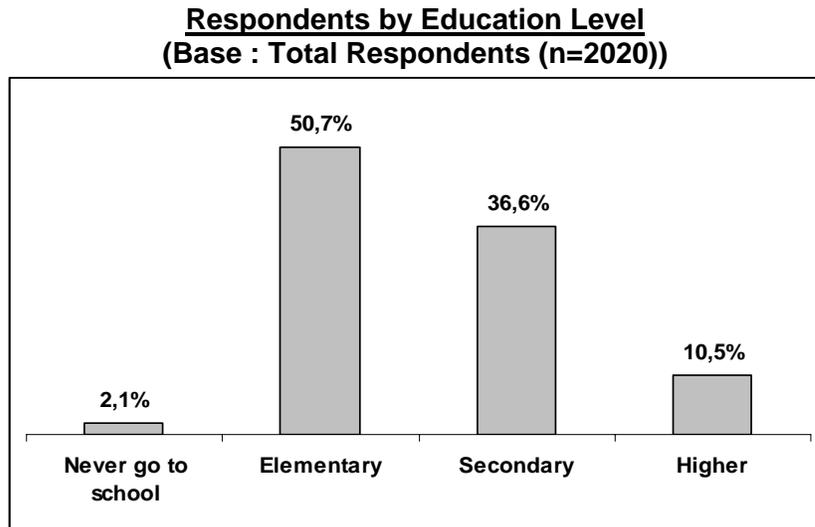
Respondents by age
(Base : Total Respondents (n=2020))



b. Respondents by Education Level and Socio-Economic Classes

Based on level of education attained, it shows that 2.1% of total respondents have never been educated in school, 50.7% have elementary education level (SD and SMP), 36.6% respondents have secondary education level (passed SLTA or vocational school) and

10.5% respondents have higher education level (passed diploma level, S1/S2/S3). The following diagram shows composition of respondents by education level:

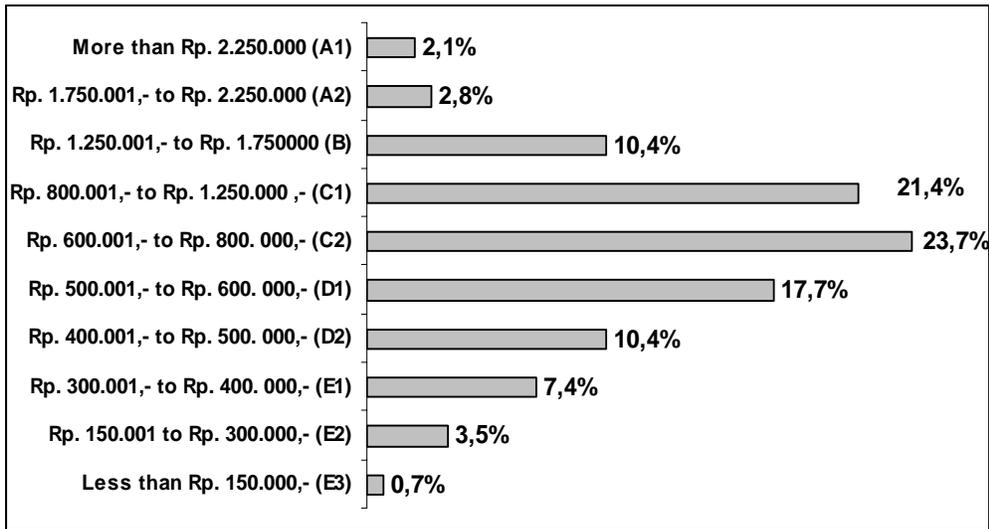


The research also shows demographic profiles of respondents by socio economic class. The socio economic class of respondents is determined from the monthly average routine expenditure of household where the respondent is a member. Here, the monthly expenditure is defined as average cost spent by household (in which the respondent is listed as a member) every month for eat, drink, electricity, phone, water and transportation purpose, but not include expense for purchasing luxurious goods, electronics, house and car/motorcycle installment, and savings.

Respondent with average routine expenditure of lesser than Rp 400,000 per month is classified into Socio Economic Class E. Respondent with average routine expenditure of between Rp 400,001 to Rp. 600,000 per month is classified into Socio Economic Class D. Respondent with average routine expenditure of between Rp 600,001 to Rp. 1,250,000 per month is classified into Socio Economic Class C. Respondent with average routine expenditure of between Rp 1,250,001 to Rp. 1,750,000 per month is classified into Socio Economic Class B. And respondent with average routine expenditure of greater than Rp 1,750,000 per month is classified into Socio Economic Class A. The following diagram shows demographic profile of respondent by socio economic class.



**Respondents by socio-economic class
(Base : Total Respondents (n=2020))**

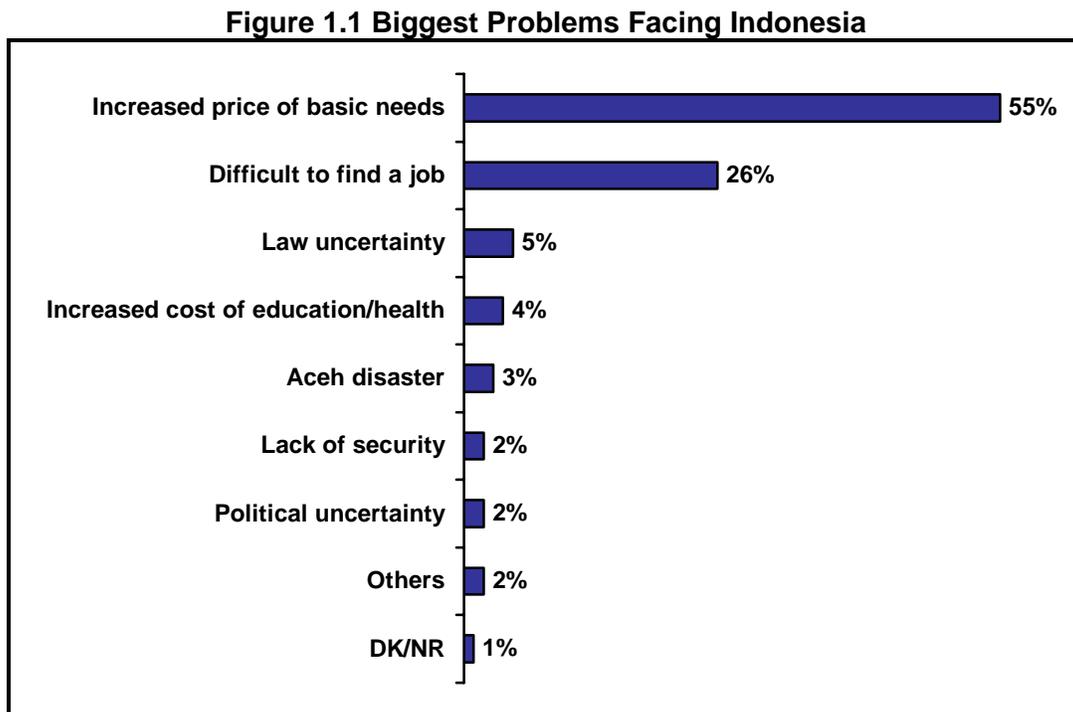


CHAPTER I

OPINIONS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN INDONESIA

Biggest Problems Facing Indonesia

In IFES surveys in Indonesia dating back to 2001, economic concerns have repeatedly been cited as the biggest problems facing the country. There is no exception to this pattern in the 2005 IFES survey as the vast majority of Indonesians cite the high prices of basic goods (55%) and the difficulty in finding a job (26%) as the two biggest problems facing Indonesia (Figure 1.1).



"In your opinion, what is currently the greatest problem being faced by Indonesians?" (n=2020)

The percent mentioning the high prices of basic goods has stayed basically the same since the 2003 survey in which 54% mentioned this problem. The high number of mentions for the difficulty in finding jobs reflects findings from IFES' series of tracking surveys in 2004 for the parliamentary and presidential elections. In those surveys, Indonesians consistently ranked job creation as the second or third most important issue that should be addressed by the candidates running for president. The continued importance of job creation is reflected in the finding that more than a quarter of Indonesians thinks that the difficulty in finding a job is a major problem facing Indonesia.

Young Indonesians (18-24) are most likely to cite the difficulty in finding jobs as the biggest problem facing Indonesia. Thirty-eight percent of young people cite unemployment compared to 25% of those 25-34, 23% of those 35-44 and less than 20% of those 45 and older. Residents of Sulawesi stand out as containing the highest percentage among all regions that cite inflation (67%) and the lowest percentage that cites the difficulty in finding a job (12%).

One issue that has lost resonance since the 2003 survey is the perceived lack of security in this country. In 2003, 13% mentioned this as the biggest problem facing Indonesia. This percentage, however, was much higher than that observed in the 2001 and 2002 survey (6% and 4%, respectively) and may have been driven by the outbreak of hostilities in Aceh between the military and GAM rebels before the 2003 survey.

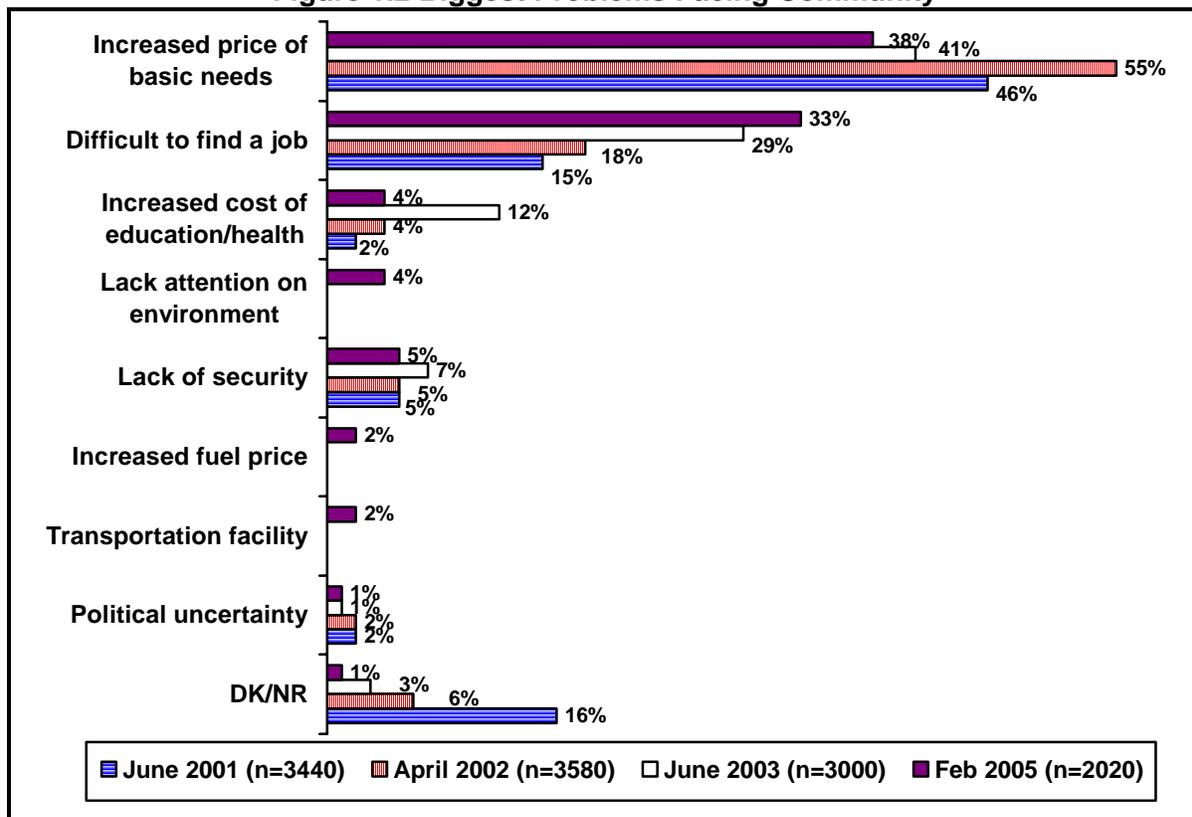
Another issue on which there is a smaller focus in this year's survey compared to previous IFES surveys is political uncertainty (2% this year, 13% 2003, 11% 2002, 17% 2001). The successful resolution of the 2004 elections and the direct election of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono may be two reasons why Indonesians feel significantly less unease about the political situation in the country.

The tsunami disaster is mentioned by 3% as the biggest challenge facing Indonesia.

Biggest Problems Facing Local Community

The biggest problems cited at the local level tend to be the same as the problems facing Indonesia. The high price of basic goods and difficulty in finding jobs is cited by a third or more of all Indonesians, while 5% or less other problems such as the high cost of health and education, the lack of security, and environmental problems (Figure 1.2).

Figure 1.2 Biggest Problems Facing Community



"In your opinion, what is currently the greatest problem being faced by your community?" (n=2020)

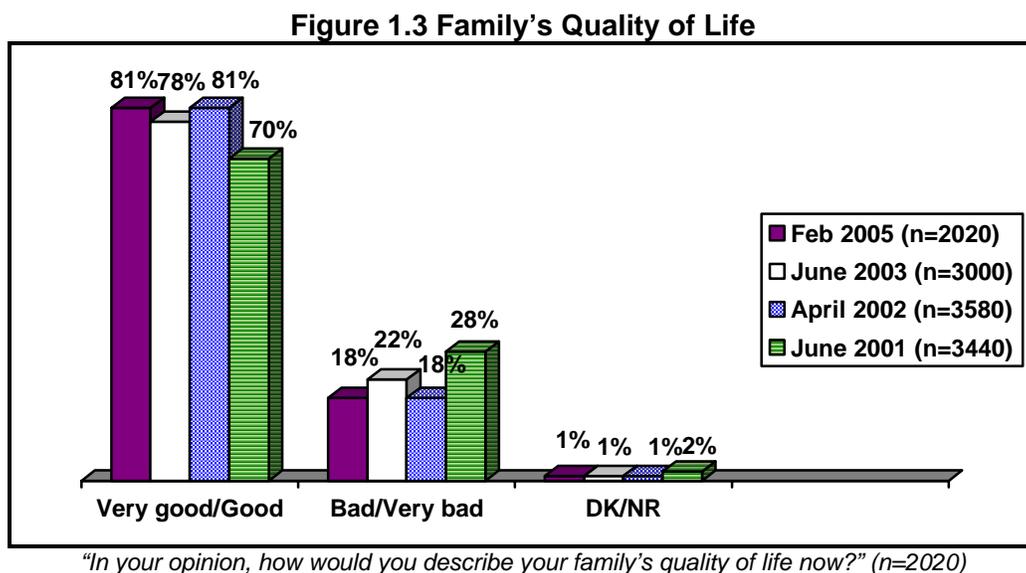


The lack of security is cited most often in the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (23%), although in Aceh, the lack of security may be related more to the Tsunami disaster rather than the conflict between government forces and GAM rebels.

In Sulawesi, respondents are more likely to mention high prices (47%) than the difficulty in finding jobs (22%). In Central Java/Yogyakarta, respondents are more likely to mention the difficulty in finding jobs (39%) than the increased price of basic goods (31%).

Assessment of Quality of Life

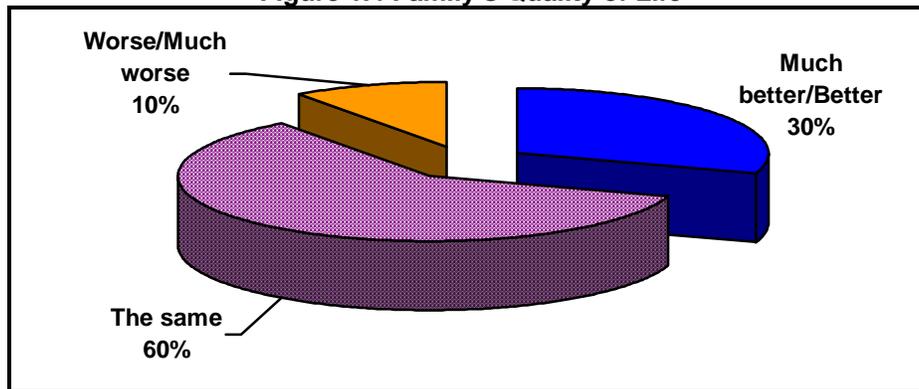
More than four in five Indonesians (81%) assess their quality of life as good or very good. Only 18% of Indonesians assess their quality of life as bad or very bad. This generally positive view is prevalent throughout society with even 73% of those at Socio-Economic level E (the lowest SEC level) assessing their quality of life as good. The percentage of Indonesians who describe their quality of life as good is at the same level as recorded in the 2002 IFES survey in Indonesia (Figure 1.3).



The vast majority of Indonesians are also likely to say that they have maintained or improved their quality of life over the past year. Specifically, 30% say that their family's quality of life is better than one year before, 60% say their family's quality of life is the same, and 10% say it is worse (Figure 1.4).



Figure 1.4 Family's Quality of Life

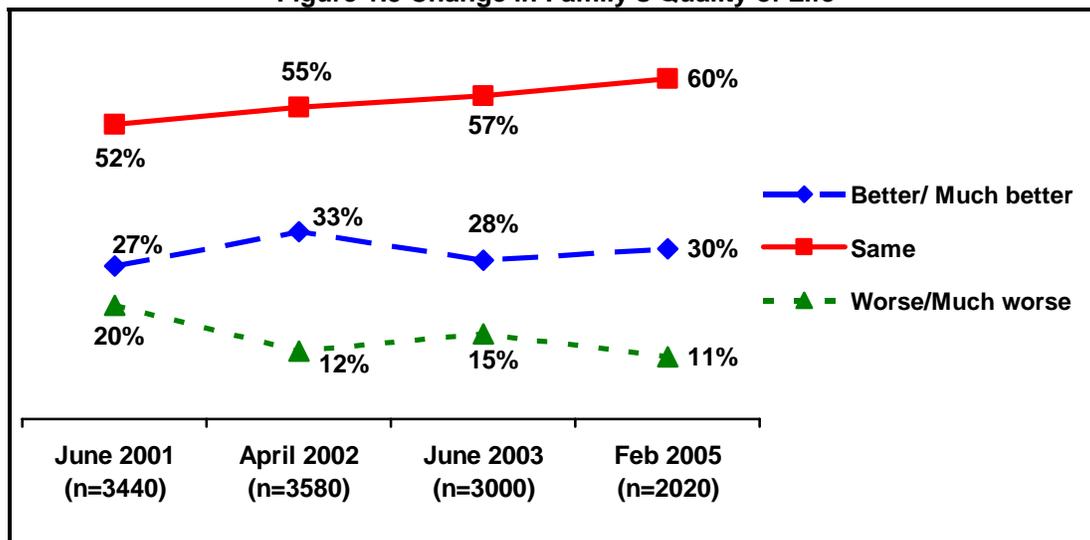


"In your opinion, compared to a year ago, is your family's quality of life now much better, better, the same, worse, or much worse?" (n=2020)

Regionally, 28% of the residents of the conflict provinces of Aceh/Maluku/Papua and 24% of those in DKI Jakarta/West Java/Banten say that their family's quality of life is bad or very bad. On the other hand, 94% of the residents of Kalimantan say that their family's quality of life is good or very good.

The percentage of Indonesians saying their family's quality of life is better is not substantially greater than observed in the 2003 survey. The percent saying their family's quality of life is worse has declined somewhat from 15% in 2003 to 11% this year, the lowest level recorded in IFES surveys since 2001 (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5 Change in Family's Quality of Life



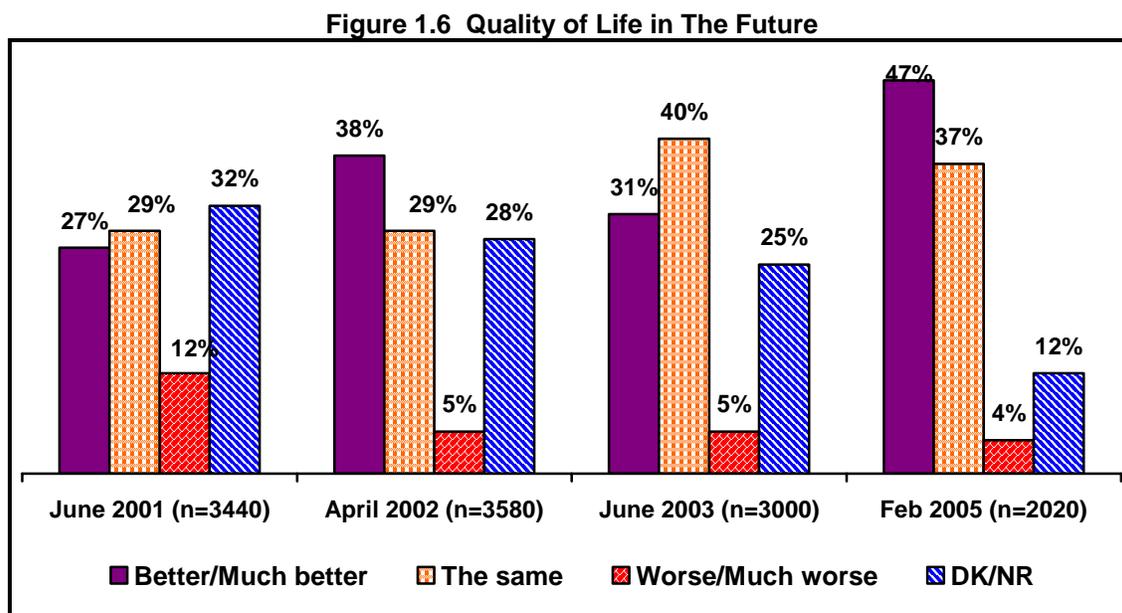
"In your opinion, compared to a year ago, is your family's quality of life now much better, better, the same, worse, or much worse?"

Among those who say that their family's current quality of life is good, 31% say that their family's quality of life has improved over the past year, 61% say it has remained the same, and 8% say their family's quality of life worsened over the past year. Among those who say their family's



current quality of life is bad, 26% say that their family's quality of life improved over the past year but many (21%) also say their family's quality of life worsened over the past year.

While there has not been substantial change between the 2003 survey and this year's survey in how Indonesians assess their family's current quality of life, there is significantly more optimism in this year's survey about future quality of life than has been observed in previous IFES surveys (Figure 1.6).



"In your estimation, one year from now, will your family's quality of life be much better, better, the same, worse, or much worse?"

In this year's survey, 47% expect their family's quality of life to be better after one year. This percentage is significantly higher than that observed in the 2003 survey (31%) or the 2002 survey (38%). Another way to gauge the increased optimism about future conditions is to look at the net differential (% better - % worse) for future quality of life. In 2001, this differential was plus 15, in 2002 plus 33, and in 2003 plus 26. In this year's survey, the net differential is plus 43. The substantially increased optimism about the future may reflect expectations Indonesian's have for President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration at the time of the survey field work was taken.

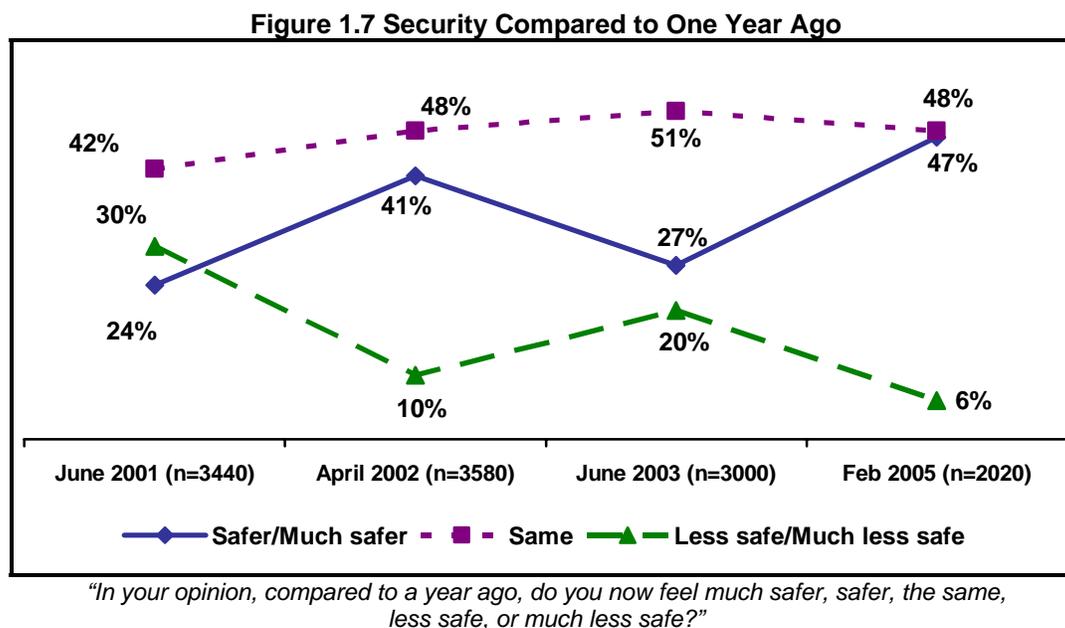
A majority of residents of West Java/Jakarta/Banten (59%) think that their family's quality of life will be better over the next twelve months, and 51% of those in Central Java/Yogyakarta have this opinion. In no region of Indonesia are more than 8% of residents likely to say that their family's future quality of life will get worse.

Those Indonesians who assess their family's current quality of life as good are much more likely to say that their future quality of life will be better (51%) than those who assess their family's current quality of life as bad (32%).



Assessment of Security Situation

The substantially decreased intensity of the fighting between government troops and GAM rebels in Aceh may be one reason that security concerns are greatly reduced in this year's survey. The percentage of Indonesians who feel safer compared to one year ago is significantly higher than was observed in the 2003 survey (Figure 1.7).



The percentage of Indonesians who feel safer compared to one year ago has increased from 27% in the 2003 survey to 47% in this year's survey, while those who feel less safe has decreased from 20% to 6%. This results in an increase in the net differential on safety (% safer - % less safe) from plus 7 in 2003 to plus 41 in this year's survey. One reason for this vastly improved perception of security issues may be the fact that President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has been generally perceived to be stronger on security issues by Indonesians than his predecessor, President Megawati Soekarnoputri¹.

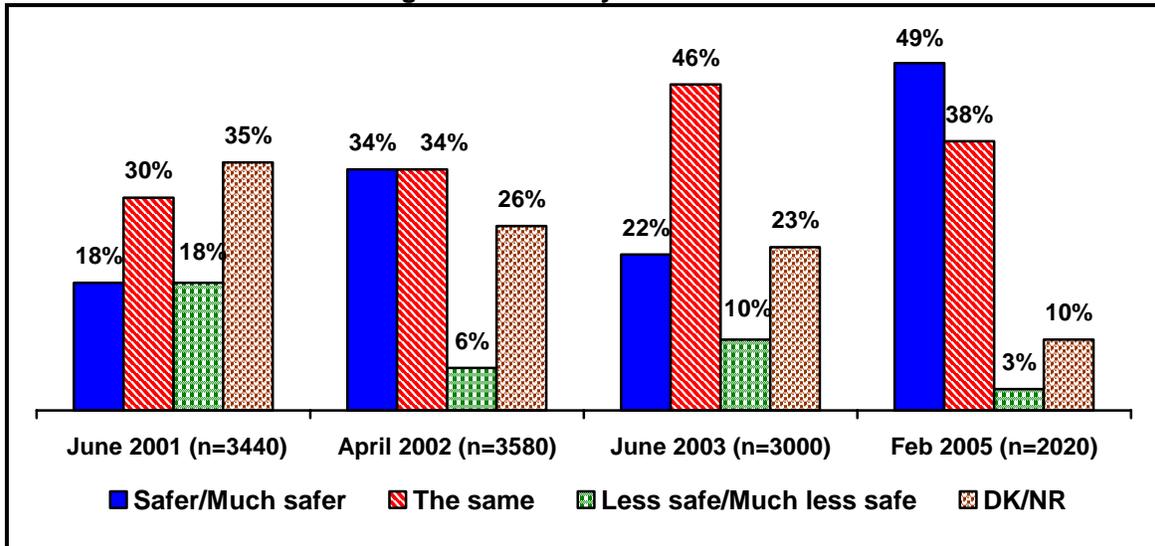
There has been a considerable shift in opinion on this question in the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua compared to the 2003 survey. In that survey, 62% of residents of these areas felt less safe than the previous year, whereas in this year's survey 53% of the residents of these areas feel safer than one year ago. Similarly, perceptions among residents of West Java/Jakarta/Banten have changed from 39% feeling less safe in 2003 to 48% feeling safer in this year's survey.

Given the increased perceptions of safety compared to one year ago, it is not surprising that many more Indonesians say that they expect to be safer in one year's time (49%) than the

¹ In a series of 18 tracking surveys conducted by IFES for the 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections in Indonesia, Yudhoyono was consistently rated significantly higher than Megawati Soekarnoputri in "improving security" and "maintaining the territorial integrity of Indonesia."

percentage of who expect to be less safe (3%). The percentage of Indonesians who expect the security situation to improve is also substantially higher than in the 2003 survey (Figure 1.8).

Figure 1.8 Security in The Future



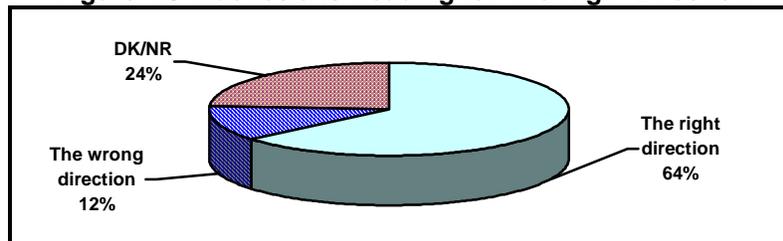
"In your estimation, one year from now, will you feel much safer, safer, the same, less safe, much less safe?"

The net differential in expected security (% safer - % less safe) has increased from plus 12 in the 2003 survey to plus 46 in this year's survey, the highest net differential recorded in IFES surveys in Indonesia. The positive trends regarding the security situation are reinforced by the fact that in the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua, the percentage that expect to be safer in one year has increased from 14% in the 2003 survey to 39% in this year's survey. In West Java/Jakarta/Banten, the shift in attitudes is even greater. In 2003, 17% of residents of this region expected to be safer in one year's time compared to 52% in this year's survey.

Majority Believe Indonesia is Headed in Right Direction

The positive expectations for both one's family's quality of life and for the security situation in the country are a major factor in explaining a majority of Indonesians' opinion that Indonesia is headed in the right direction (Figure 1.9).

Figure 1.9 Indonesia is Heading for The Right Direction



"In your opinion, since 2004 elections, is Indonesia presently heading for the right direction or it is on the wrong direction?" (n=2020)



Two-thirds of all Indonesians are of the opinion Indonesia has been headed in the right direction since the 2004 elections in the country. A majority of residents in all regions of Indonesia share this opinion with those in West Java having the highest percentage (76%) of who say that the country is headed in the right direction. More than sixty percent of residents of East Java, Sulawesi, Sumatra and the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua also say that the country is heading in the right direction.

The perception that Indonesia is headed in the right direction increases with positive expectations. More than three-quarters (76%) of those who think that their family's quality of life will be better in one say that the country is in the direction. Fewer, but still a majority, among those who think their family's quality of life will be the same (60%) or worse (55%) think that Indonesia is headed in the right direction.

Those respondents who stated that Indonesia is headed in the right direction were next asked why they think Indonesia is headed in the right direction. The most often cited reasons were:

- Government serious in fighting corruption (43%)
- Security situation is getting better (18%)
- Economy is improving (13%)
- Current government is more honest (12%)
- Better government programs (12%)
- Rule of law will be observed (11%)
- Government handles problems faced by the people (8%)
- Stable politics (5%)
- More jobs (3%)
- Better education (2%)

The data above indicates that President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government is being relied upon by the Indonesian people to tackle the rampant corruption that afflicts Indonesia, and Indonesians' confidence in this venture is a major factor why they think the country is headed in the right direction. The improving economy and security situation, as well as the implementation of the rule of law are also cited as reasons for optimism about the country's direction.

Among those who do think the country is headed in the wrong direction, respondents take the opposite view. Fifty-three percent say that the reason they think the country is headed in the wrong direction is because the economy is worsening, 23% because it is hard to find a job, and 18% because of a lack of law enforcement.



CHAPTER II

ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT SUSILO BAMBANG YUDHOYONO'S ADMINISTRATION

Overall Satisfaction with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Performance

Nearly four months after his administration took office (at the time of the survey), a majority of Indonesians express satisfaction with the overall performance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY). In total, 57% of Indonesians express satisfaction with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's performance, while slightly more than a third (35%) expressed dissatisfaction. Considering that SBY received just over 60% of the vote and his opponent, former President Soekarnoputri, just under 40% of the vote in the second round of the 2004 presidential election, the percentage of Indonesians expressing satisfaction in President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's performance seems to reflect little change from the political environment at the time of the election.

Satisfaction with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's performance is highest in Kalimantan (70% satisfied). Sixty-seven percent of the residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua express satisfaction with his performance, and 66% do so in Sulawesi. The only region in which less than a majority express satisfaction with President's performance is in Bali/Nusa Tenggara (47% satisfied, 40% dissatisfied). In West Java/Jakarta/Banten, 59% are satisfied with SBY's performance, in East Java, this figure is 55%, and in Central Java/ Yogyakarta, 51%.

Both of those who expressed satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the President's performance were asked for reasons for their response. Figure 2.1 lists the reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the President's performance.

Figure 2.1 Reasons for Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Performance

Reasons for Satisfaction with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Performance (n=1153)		Reasons for Dissatisfaction with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Performance (n=714)	
Seriousness in overcoming / fighting against KKN	44%	No changes in economy	58%
Improving security	21%	The promised program hasn't been realized	25%
Changes in law enforcement	12%	Difficult to find job	25%
Seriousness in handling natural disasters	10%	Not maximum in fighting corruption	12%
Paying attention to / care about the people's needs	9%	Price of fuels is still increasing	11%
Firm / discipline / wise in leading the country	9%	Cost of education is expensive	7%
The economy is recovering	6%	Unable to handle security problem / terrorism	6%
Able to create more jobs	4%	Others	3%
Improving quality of education	3%		
Others	14%		

"Why are you (satisfied/dissatisfied)?"



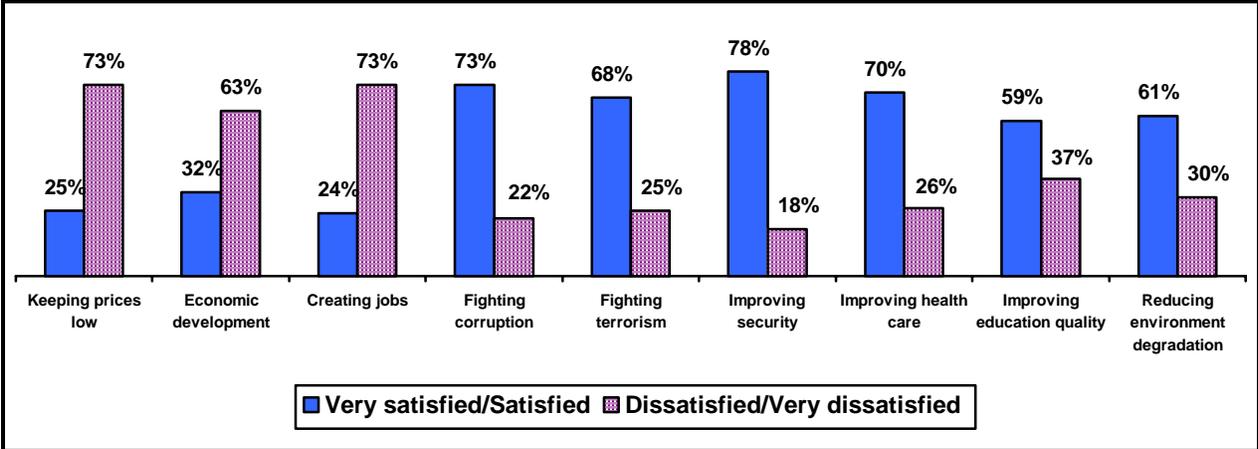
The responses in Figure 2.1 illustrate that the reasons for satisfaction with President Yudhoyono’s performance are generally non-economic in nature, while the reasons for dissatisfaction tend to be focused on economic issues. Those who are satisfied with SBY cite his seriousness in fighting corruption, as well as his emphasis on law and security, and his firmness in leading the country. Very few cite economic reasons. This data is in keeping with the Indonesians’ perceptions of SBY that was captured by the IFES tracking surveys implemented for the 2004 elections. These tracking surveys consistently showed that the most attractive quality attributed to SBY was his leadership and personality, as well as his commitment to fighting corruption. It is thus not surprising that these qualities would be cited by those who are satisfied with SBY’s performance in office.

Among those dissatisfied with his performance, often-cited reasons for dissatisfaction are lack of change in the economy, the scarcity of jobs, and high costs for fuel and education. It is clear from this data that economic performance matters to many Indonesians, and that Indonesia’s economic performance will be a key factor in whether SBY can shore up support for the remainder of his term. A series of questions on the IFES survey that asked Indonesians to assess their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the administration’s approach to specific aspects of governance only serves to reinforce this point.

Level of Satisfaction with Specific Areas of Governance

Respondents to the survey were asked to assess their level of satisfaction with the steps taken by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s administration in several areas. The level of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with each area is outlined in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2. Satisfaction with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Administration’s Actions



“Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied with the steps taken by the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration in...?” (n=2020)

The data in Figure 2.2 represents a split opinion by the Indonesian public on the steps taken by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s administration in several areas of governance. While the majority of the Indonesian public is satisfied with the steps taken by the administration with regard to corruption, security, and social services, there is majority dissatisfaction with the steps taken by the government on economic matters.



Nearly three-quarters of Indonesians are dissatisfied with the government's steps in creating jobs and controlling inflation, while more than six in ten are dissatisfied with the steps taken toward economic development. While recognizing that much of this dissatisfaction may reflect disenchantment with the general economic situation in the country rather than the policies the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration may have implemented in its short stint in office, it is still instructive that economic performance is a major source of concern for the government. What is even more revealing is that even among those satisfied with the performance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in office, a majority are dissatisfied with his administration's performance in creating jobs (65%), keeping prices low (64%), and in general economic development (51%).

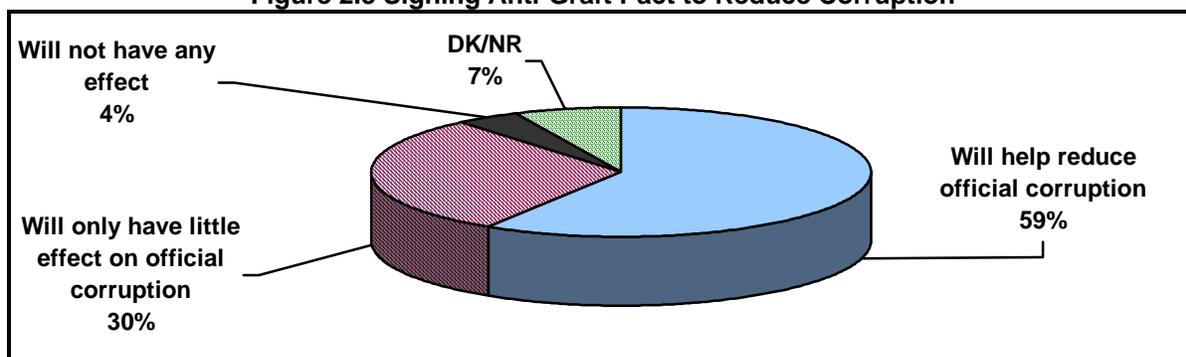
On a positive note for the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration, it enjoys strong levels of satisfaction in combating corruption and providing security for the country. Seventy percent or more of all Indonesians are satisfied with the administration's steps improving security, fighting corruption, and improving health care. In all of these cases, even a majority of those who are dissatisfied with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's performance in office still say they are satisfied with each of these areas of his administration's activities.

Attitudes toward President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Actions on Corruption

As already indicated above in this report, the one area where most Indonesians see progress not only by the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration, but the country as a whole is in the fight against corruption. This, of course, is not a surprise since a large part of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's campaign during the presidential elections in 2004 was posited on his being able to fight and reduce corruption. To this end, the President has taken several actions in office which highlight his commitment toward tackling corruption in Indonesia.

One of the first actions taken by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was to require all his cabinet members and other top government officials to sign anti-graft pacts upon assuming office. This step was seen as a signal of the higher government official's seriousness in renouncing corruption. When respondents to the survey were asked whether this step would aid in reducing official corruption in the country, almost nine in ten Indonesians believe that this will have at least a little effect in reducing corruption while close to 60% believe that it will help reduce official corruption (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 Signing Anti-Graft Pact to Reduce Corruption



"President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has asked all his cabinet members and other top government officials to sign anti-graft pacts. In your opinion, do you think this will help reduce official corruption in Indonesia? (n=2020)



It is not surprising that those who think that this step will help reduce official corruption are also highly likely to be satisfied with the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration's steps in fighting corruption (84% satisfied).

Respondents to the survey were also asked whether they think President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration will be successful in reducing corruption in Indonesia. Sixty-seven percent of Indonesians do think that the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration will be successful in reducing corruption in Indonesia. These respondents do not expect the SBY administration to be exceedingly successful as 64% say that the administration would only be 'somewhat' successful while only 3% say it will be 'very' successful. A quarter of Indonesians think that the administration will not be 'too successful' and 1% think the SBY administration will not find any success at all in reducing corruption.

Combining the responses to these two questions on corruption indicates that three times as many Indonesians are optimistic about the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration's success in reducing corruption in the country compared to the numbers who take a pessimistic view. Forty-nine percent of Indonesians believe that requiring cabinet member to sign anti-graft pacts will help reduce corruption and that the SBY administration will be successful in reducing corruption. Sixteen percent think that signing of the anti-graft pact will have little or no impact on reducing corruption and that the administration will not be successful in reducing corruption.

Opinion on Government Performance after the Tsunami Disaster

The vast majority of Indonesians give the government good marks for handling rescue and recovery process in Aceh after the deadly Tsunami that struck the region in December 2004. Eighty-three percent of Indonesians say that the government has done a good or very good job in the rescue and recovery efforts after the Tsunami, while 15% say the government has done a bad or very bad job. The vast majority of residents of all regions of Indonesia are of the opinion that the government has done a good job.

Respondents were also asked to state the areas they think are most in need of addressing after the Tsunami disaster and upon which the government should primarily focus. The areas listed most often were:

- Healthcare (67%)
- Economic relief (62%)
- Education (54%)
- Housing (45%)
- Public facilities and infrastructure (18%)
- Security (15%)
- Aid for refugees (14%)

Most Indonesians also approve of the government accepting aid from international organization in the relief effort after the Tsunami. Eighty-four percent think that they approve of the government accepting this aid, while only 12% disapprove. Among those who approve of the international relief effort in Aceh, many believe that the primary focus of the international relief efforts should be on healthcare (57%) and housing (32%) for refugees. Economic relief (28%)



and education (26%) are also mentioned by more than a quarter of those who approve of the international relief.

Opinion of Domestic NGO Efforts in Tsunami Relief

A majority of Indonesians (60%) are also of the opinion that domestic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been very or somewhat effective in the relief efforts in Aceh. Twenty-eight percent do not believe this to be the case. Among those who think that domestic NGOs have been effective, the list of sectors in which groups should be active is similar to that for international organizations. Forty-five percent think the domestic NGOs should focus on health care, 38% cite education, 25% housing, and 15% economic relief.

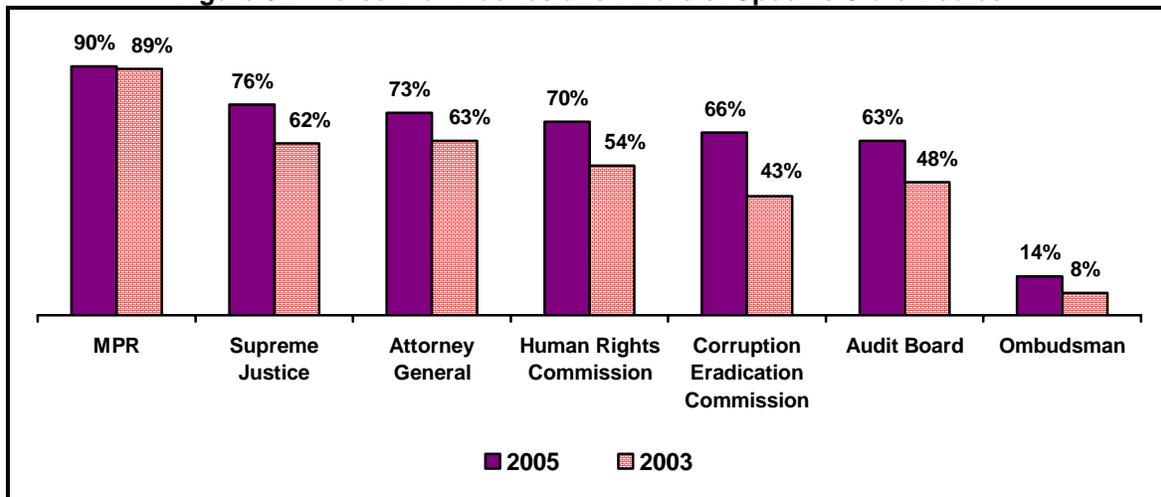


CHAPTER III OPINIONS ON STATE INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERS

Awareness of State Bodies

Respondents to the survey were asked whether they are aware of several state institutions. The data from this survey indicates that awareness of these bodies has increased significantly since the 2003 IFES survey (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Percent of Indonesians Aware of Specific State Bodies



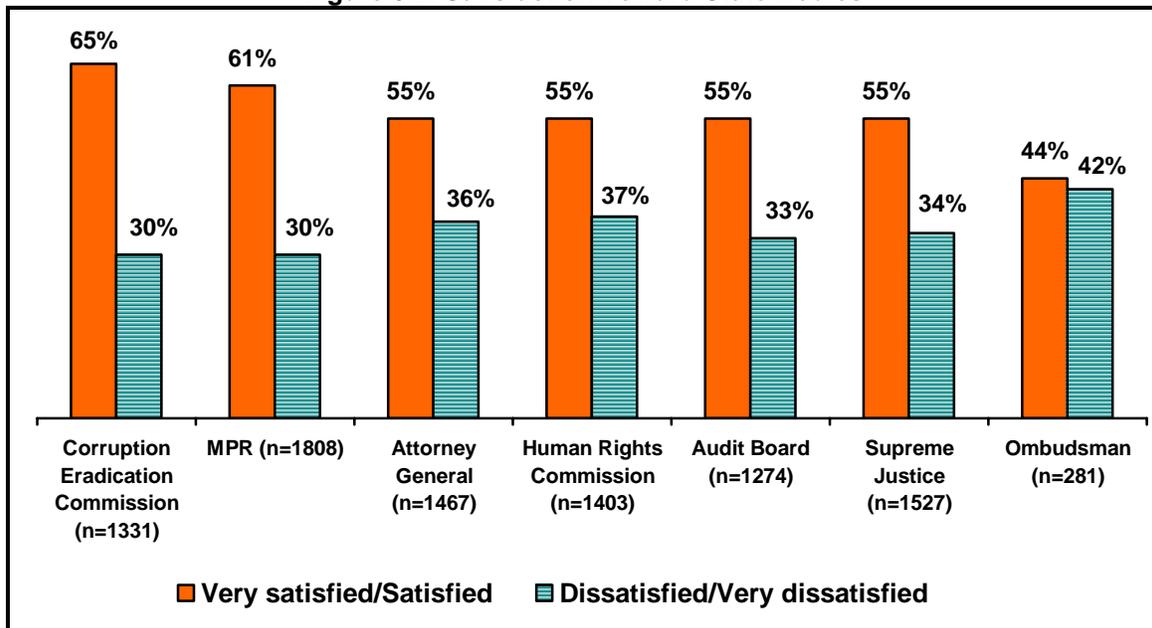
"We will read you names of several institutions. Are you aware of..." (n=2020)

A majority of Indonesians are aware of each of these bodies with the exception of the awareness of the Ombudsman (14% aware). The highest level of awareness is for the MPR (90%), followed by the Supreme Justice and Attorney General (76% and 73%, respectively), while the Human Rights Commission is fourth (70%). Two-thirds of Indonesians are aware of the Corruption Eradication Commission (66%) and 63% of Indonesians are aware of the Audit Board.

Residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara are more likely to be aware of many of these bodies than residents in other areas. Residents in this region are more likely to be aware of Attorney General (86%), Ombudsman Commission (23%), MPR (95%), and Supreme Justice (87%) than residents of the other region. On the other hand, residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara are more likely to have a lower awareness of the Corruption Eradication Commission (54%) than those in other regions (66%).

Respondents who were aware of each of these bodies were next asked to assess their satisfaction with these institutions. The results are presented in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2. Satisfaction Toward State Bodies



(For each institution aware) "Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied, with the performance of each institution?"

The Corruption Eradication Commission (CEC) and the MPR received the highest satisfaction level recorded in this survey, 65% and 61%, respectively. Generally, the majority of the respondents are more likely to feel very satisfied or satisfied with the performance of several state bodies (55% or more), with the exception of the Ombudsman Commission (44%).

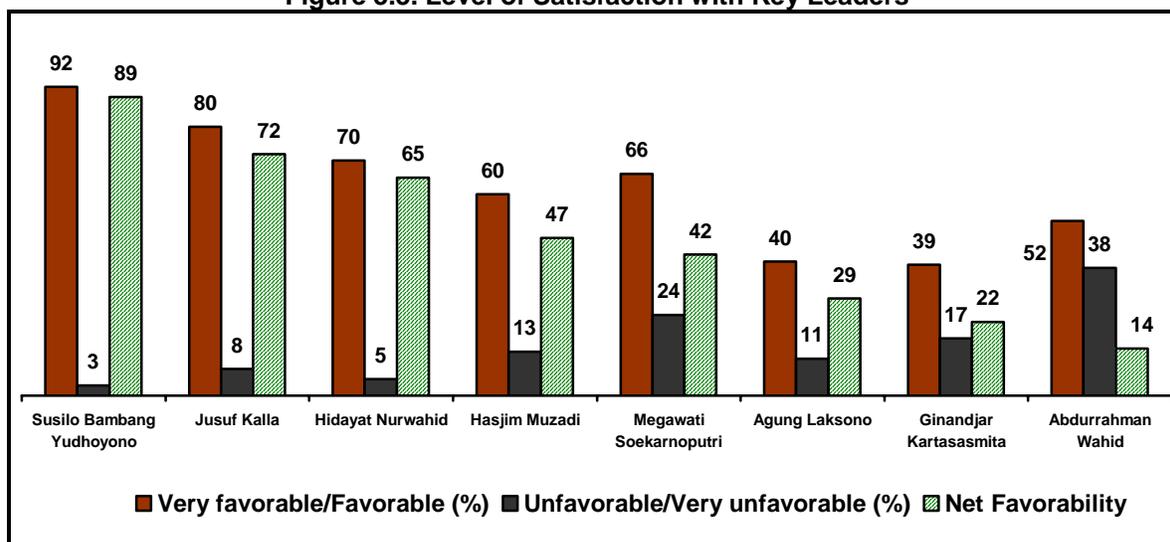
Satisfaction with each of these bodies represents a significant turnaround from the satisfaction levels recorded in the 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia. In the 2003 survey, more Indonesians were dissatisfied with each of these bodies than were satisfied. In the case of the Attorney General and the MPR, a majority of respondents were dissatisfied with the performance of these institutions in the 2003 survey. The increased satisfaction with the CEC and the Audit Board may result due to President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's focus on anti-corruption measures. The increased satisfaction may also result from the fact that the vast majority of Indonesians think the country is on the right track. Generally, those who think the country is headed in the right direction are much more likely to be satisfied with most of these institutions than those who think the country is headed in the wrong direction.

Opinion on Key Leaders

In addition to evaluating Indonesians' satisfaction with key public institutions, the IFES survey also seeks to evaluate the public's satisfaction with important leaders in the country. This year's survey indicates that many of the new leaders who have gained prominence in the country over the past half-year are viewed quite favorably by the Indonesian public. The level of satisfaction with these political leaders is also quite a change from the IFES survey in 2003 when most leaders in the country were looked on unfavorably by the Indonesian public. The level of satisfaction with each of these leaders, as well as their favorability rating (% satisfied - % dissatisfied) are outlined in Figure 3.3.



Figure 3.3. Level of Satisfaction with Key Leaders



*"Please look at the following political figures. Please tell me your impression of each of these personalities"
(n=2020)*

Four months after he took over as President of Indonesia in October 2004, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono enjoys very high favorability from the Indonesian people (plus 89). His deputy, Vice President Jusuf Kalla has the second highest favorability rating (plus 72). The field work for this survey was conducted on early February, one month earlier before the government had decided to raise the fuel and oil price on early March 2005. Thus, these results may have changed due to the government's decision on oil and fuel price. There seems to be no significant difference among the demography and regions breakout for the opinion towards Vice President Jusuf Kalla, except to note that female respondents are more likely to view him more favorably than male respondents.

MPR Chairman, and the leader of the PKS party, Hidayat Nurwahid also receives a high favorability rating (plus 65). His rating is significantly higher than that of DPR Chairman Agung Laksono (plus 29), and DPD Chairman Ginandjar Kartasasmita (plus 22). Satisfaction with Nurwahid is highest among urban area respondents (76%), among the 25-34 age group (76%), higher educated respondents (85%), and SES A respondents (84%).

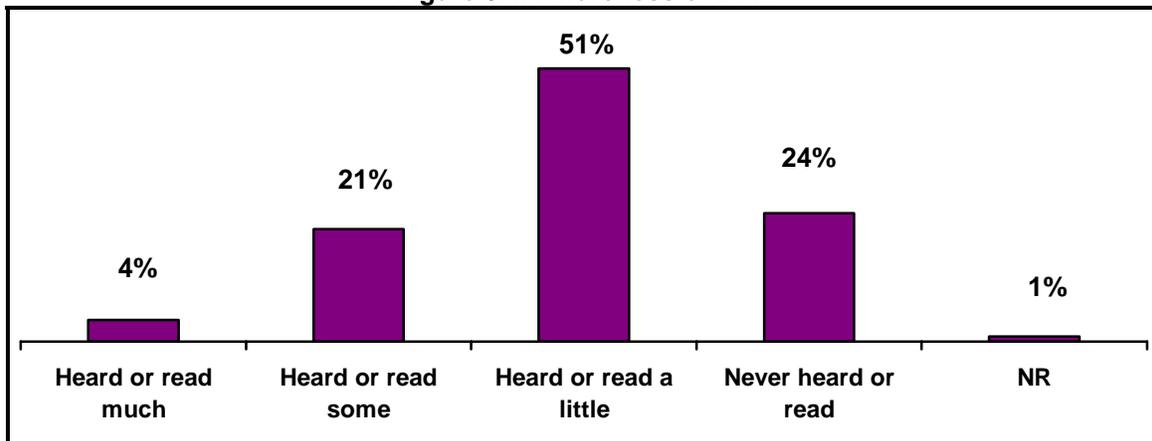
Former President Megawati Soekarnoputri has a net favorability rating of plus 42. While this rating is much lower than that of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, it does represent a sizable increase from her rating in the 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia. In that survey, former President Soekarnoputri had a net rating of minus 20. Her current net favorability is slightly below the plus 48 recorded for her in the last IFES tracking survey before the second round presidential election in September.

Awareness of, and, Opinions on DPR and DPRD

Most Indonesians say they have heard about their representatives to the DPR, although slightly more than half have only heard a little bit (Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.4. Awareness of DPR



"How much have you heard or read about your representatives of the DPR? (n=2020)

In total, 76% of Indonesians have heard at least a little about the DPR, while nearly a quarter have never heard or read about the DPR. As mentioned earlier, awareness of the DPR is fairly limited with only 4% saying that that they have heard or read much about the DPR. Awareness of the DPR is highest among those with at least some university education (96% at least a little) and SES A respondents (91%). Male respondents are more likely to have higher awareness than female respondents (81% and 68%, respectively). Also, it is not surprising to note that urban area respondents are significantly more likely to have higher awareness than rural respondents (80% and 71%, respectively).

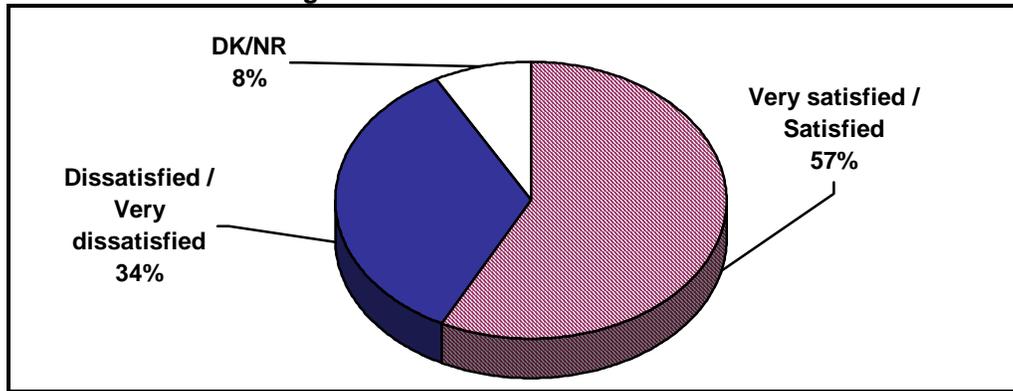
Those who have heard or read at least a little about the DPR were asked if they were aware of its key functions. The majority of these respondents are aware of DPR's functions such as making state regulations (62%), drafting and stipulating of the state budget (61%), oversight of the implementation of the 1945 Constitution (62%), and conduct of investigations of certain issues/cases (50%). Residents in urban area and male respondents are more likely to be aware of these functions than residents in rural area and female respondents..

Those who are aware of each of these functions of the DPR also tend to be satisfied with the DPR's performance in these functions. Seventy-one percent of those aware of the DPR's oversight of implementation the 1945 Constitution are satisfied with the DPR's performance in this area (23%) are dissatisfied. Sixty-five percent are satisfied with the making of state regulations by the DPR, 63% are satisfied with its drafting and stipulating of the state budget, and 61% are satisfied with its approach toward conduct of investigations.

Most of the respondents who have or read at least a little about the DPR are satisfied with they new DPR that has been in session since October 2004 (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5. Satisfaction with New DPR



"In your opinion, are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, very dissatisfied with the performance of the new DPR since October 2004?" (n=1512)

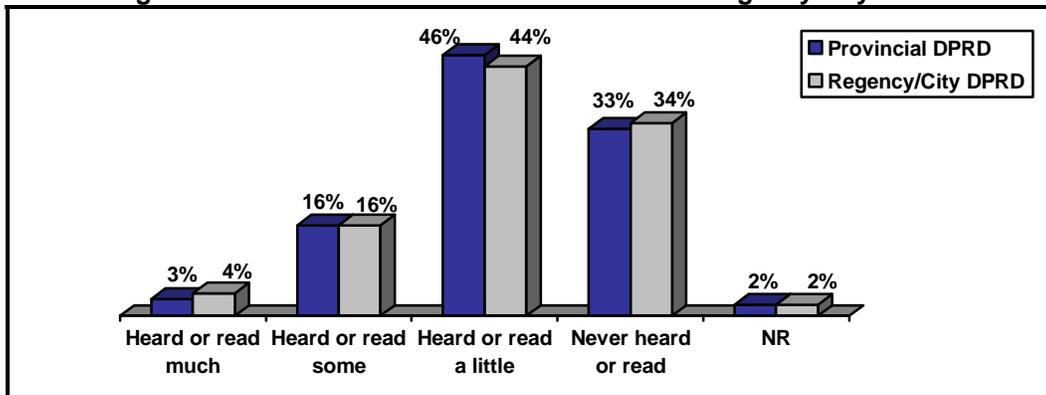
The level of satisfaction with the new DPR is highest in Sulawesi (74% satisfied) and lowest in Bali/Nusa Tenggara (50%). The level of satisfaction is also relatively high for respondents aged under 25 (65%) and female respondents (61%). Those 54 and over have a relatively low level of satisfaction with the performance of the new DPR (46%), as are poor respondent (SES E, 50%).

Most Indonesians cannot correctly name one of their representatives to the DPR. Only 7% of Indonesians who have heard or read at least a little about the DPR can correctly name at least one member of the DPR who represents their electoral district. Residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara (26%) and the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (19%) are most likely to name one of their representatives to the DPR, while less than 10% in the other regions can correctly name their representatives.

Awareness of Provincial and Regency/City DPRD

Similar to the DPR, while a majority of Indonesians say that they have heard or read at least a little about their provincial and regency/city DPRD, few say they have heard or read much about these two bodies (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6. Awareness of Provincial DPRD and Regency/City DPRD



"How much have you heard or read about your representatives of (Provincial DPRD/ Regency/City DPRD)?" (n=2020)



As with awareness of the DPR, awareness of the provincial and regency/city DPRD is higher among higher educated respondents and those at higher income levels. In both these cases, awareness is highest in Central Java/Yogyakarta and lowest in West Java/Jakarta/Banten.

Among those with at least a little awareness of the provincial DPRD, a slight majority are aware of its three key functions: making provincial regulations (54% aware), oversight of provincial regulations and policies (53%), and drafting and stipulating of provincial budgets (53%). Residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara and Sumatra tend to have relatively high levels of awareness of these functions while those in East Java have the lowest levels of awareness of each of these functions. Among those aware of these functions, more than 60% in each case are satisfied with their provincial DPRD's performance in carrying out these functions. While majority are satisfied in most regions of Indonesia, residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara stand out for being more likely to be dissatisfied than satisfied in 2 of the 3 functions carried out by their provincial DPRD.

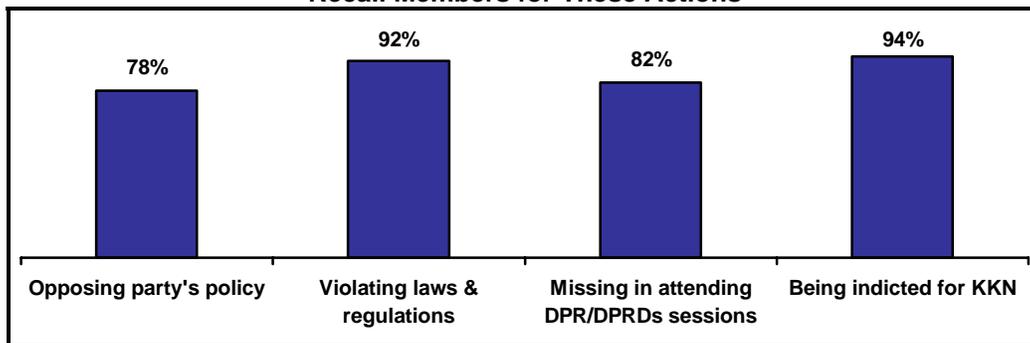
Awareness of regency/city DPRD functions is similar to that of the provincial DPRD as a bare majority is aware of the three key functions of city/regency DPRD: making regency/city regulations (54% aware), oversight of regency/city regulations and policies (53%), and drafting and stipulating of regency/city budgets (53%). Sixty-five percent or more of respondents who know of these functions are satisfied with their city/regency's performance in these functions.

Members of Legislative Bodies

Data from the IFES survey in Indonesia indicates that not many Indonesians have contacted members of any legislative body to express their needs. Only 4% say that they have taken this action in the past. There is surprisingly little difference between urban and rural respondents in their rates of contact with members of legislative bodies. Three percent report having contacted members of their regency/city DPRD, 1.5% their provincial DPRD, and 1% their DPR representative.

Respondents were also asked to evaluate whether they agree that a political party can recall a member of a legislative body if they were involved in four types of specific actions: being indicted for corruption, violating laws and regulation, missing DPR/DPRD sessions, and opposing party policies. In each of these cases, 78% or a larger share of Indonesians agree that parties can recall legislative members in these cases. The specific percentage of Indonesians who agree with recalling legislative member for each of these actions are presented in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7 Percent Who Agree that Political Parties Can Recall Members for These Actions

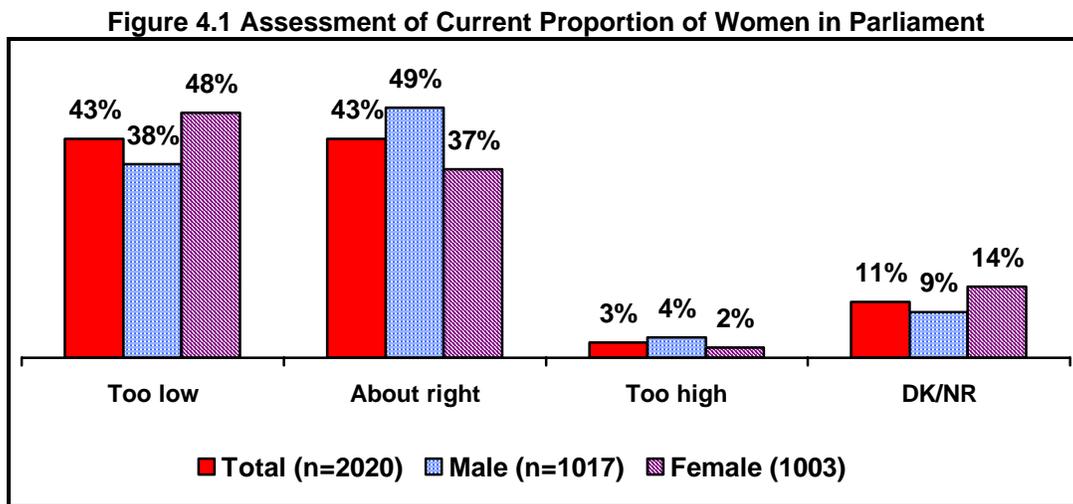


"In your opinion, please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that a member of the DPR or DPRD may be recalled by his/her own party if he/she were involved in the following activities?" (n=2020)



CHAPTER IV OPINIONS ON WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

Indonesian election law has a stipulation that each political party must have at least 30% of its legislative candidates for each body be women. This statute is intended to increase the representation of women in the DPR and DPRD. This stipulation was followed in the 2004 legislative election but did not result in a large increase in women's representation in parliaments. Currently, women comprise 12% out of the total membership of the DPR. Respondents on the survey were informed of this fact and asked whether they believe that the current proportion of women in parliament is too low, too high, or about right. The responses to this question along with a breakdown of men's and women's responses are presented in Figure 4.1.



"In your opinion, please tell me whether this current proportion of women in parliament is too low, about right, or too high?"

Nationally, 43% of Indonesians say that the proportion of women in parliament is too low and a similar 43% say that the proportion is about right. There is a significant difference in men and women's attitudes on this issue. Female respondents are more likely to think that the proportion is too low (48%) than male respondents (38%), while more male respondents think the proportion is about right than female respondents (49% and 37%, respectively). Respondents with secondary or higher education background are also more likely to think that the proportion is too low (50%) than the respondents with elementary education or less (35%). Women are more likely than men to think the proportion of female legislators is too low at every level of education.

Urban area residents are more likely to think that the women proportion in parliament is too low (51%) compared to rural area respondents (37%). Indonesians aged under 25 are more likely to think that the proportion is too low (49%) than older age groups (41%).

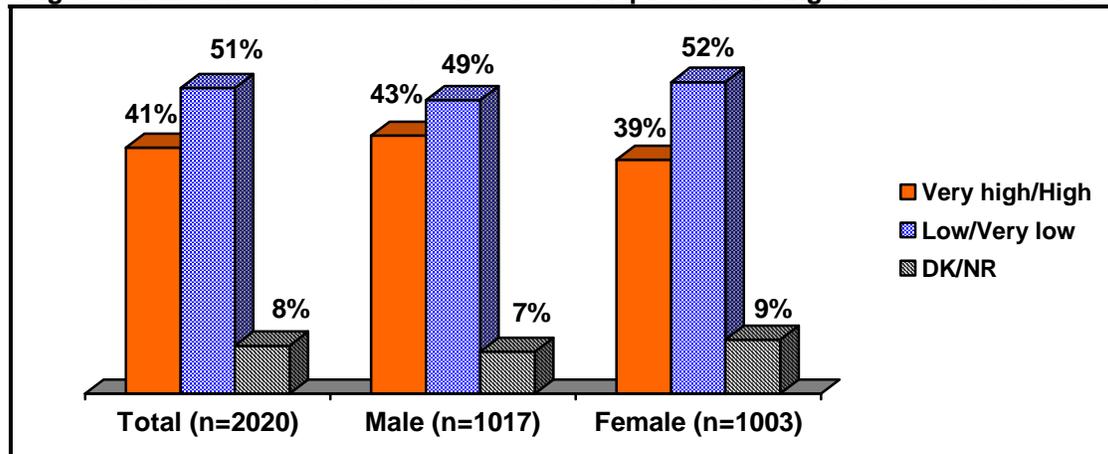
There are two regions of the country where significantly more residents are more likely to think the current proportion of female legislators is just right than too low. These two regions are East Java (48% just right, 39% low) and Sulawesi (44% and 35%, respectively).



Of those who think that the proportion of women in parliament is too low, half of them think that this is because there was not much support from the political parties to nominate women as their candidates (50%), while 41% think that there were not many women candidates in the 2004 legislative elections for whom voters could vote. There is not a significant difference between male and female respondents in the percentage in each group that says that women's representation is low because there are not many women candidates, but there is a significant difference when it comes to political party support for women candidates in the 2004 legislative elections. Men are more likely to say that the proportion of women in parliament is too low because there was not much support from political parties to nominate women as their candidates (52%), compared to female respondents (25%).

Given the relatively low level of female representation in the DPR, respondents were asked for the likelihood of women's needs and aspiration being addressed in the current DPR. A majority of Indonesians are of the opinion that there is a low or very low likelihood of women's needs and aspirations being addressed in the current DPR (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Likelihood of Women's Needs and Aspirations Being Addressed in the DPR



"In your opinion, please tell me what is the likelihood that women's needs and aspirations will be addressed in the DPR? Is it very high, high, low, or very low?"

Overall, a bare majority is of the opinion that there is a low likelihood that women's needs and aspirations will be addressed in parliament. There is little difference between women and men on this opinion (52% and 49%, respectively). Those Indonesians who think that the current proportion of women in the DPR is too low tend to be more pessimistic than the national overall. Among these respondents, 30% believe that there is a high likelihood of women's needs and aspirations being addressed in parliament, while 68% think there is a low likelihood of this happening. Among those who think that the proportion of women in the DPR is about right, 61% of them believe that there is a high likelihood that women's needs and aspiration will be addressed in parliament, while 38% think this has a low probability.

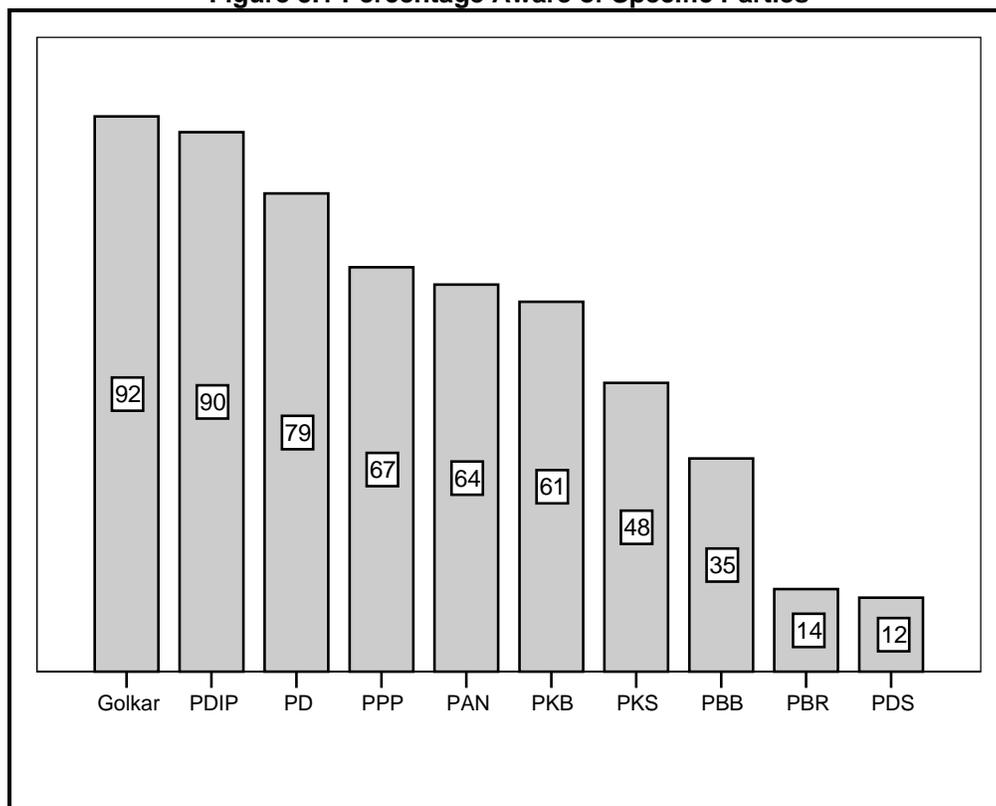
CHAPTER V OPINIONS ON POLITICAL PARTIES

Awareness of Political Parties

When asked to name any political parties that they are aware of, all Indonesians are able to name at least one party. Overall, party recognition is higher than in the 2003 survey, a fact most probably attributable to the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2004. The median number of parties named by Indonesians is 6, up from 5 in the 2003 survey. Three-quarters of Indonesians (75%) can name five or more parties, up significantly from 51% in the 2003 survey. As would be expected, the number of parties named goes up with the level of the education of the respondent.

As in previous IFES surveys in Indonesia, Golkar remains the most well-known party in the country (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Percentage Aware of Specific Parties



"Please tell me whether you are aware or not of the following political parties.." (n=2020)

More than nine in ten Indonesians can name Golkar, while 9 in 10 can name PDIP. While recognition of the PPP has remained steady from 2003 to this year's survey, recognition of the PAN (57% 2003, 64% 2005) and PKB (58% 2003, 61%) has increased somewhat. PBB is named by slightly more than a third of Indonesians, while PBR and PDS are named by slightly more than one in ten Indonesians.

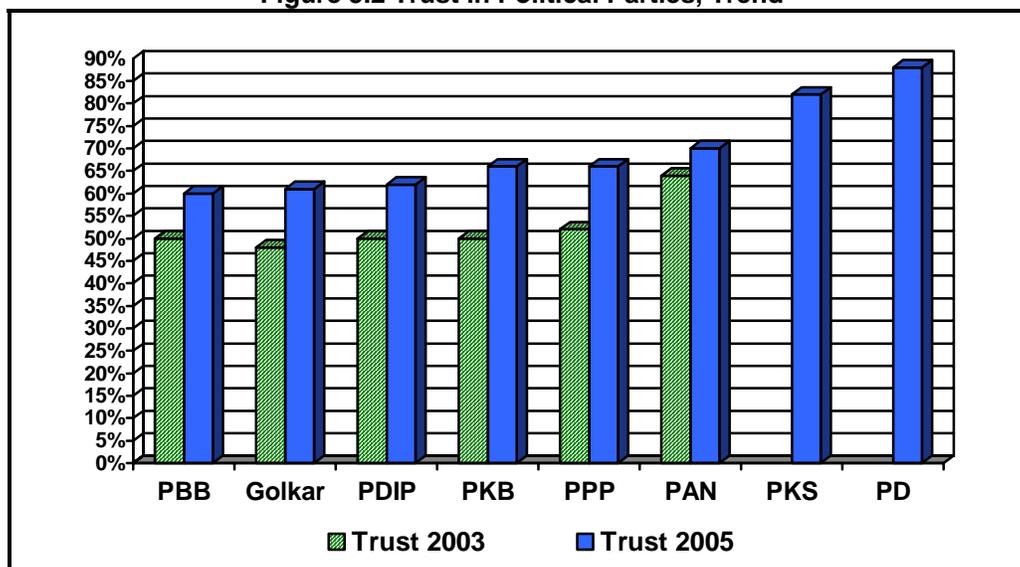
Figure 5.1 also illustrates the emergence of two parties that were basically unknown in the 2003 survey. In 2003, not one person in the IFES survey named Party Democrat, yet in this year's survey it is the third-most recognized party in Indonesia (79%). Of course, this recognition is attributable to its standard-bearer, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. A majority of the residents in all parts of the country name the PD, with its highest name-recognition in Central Java (including Yogyakarta, 88%). PD is also known by more than three-quarters of respondents in all age groups in the survey. These figures reflect the meteoric rise of PD since it nominated President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as its leader for the 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections.

Another party that has risen from no recognition in 2003 to significant recognition in this year's survey is the PKS (48%). PKS achieved its highest name-recognition in West Java (including Jakarta and Banten) and Central Java (including Yogyakarta, both 56%). It has significantly less name-recognition in Bali/Nusa Tenggara (31%) and East Java (32%).

Higher Trust in Political Parties

Along with higher recognition of political parties, another trend evident in the 2005 survey data is the higher degree of trust in parties when compared to the 2003 data. Respondents on the survey who could name a particular political party were asked to state how much they trust this party. The percentage of Indonesians who know a major party and have trust in this party has increased significantly for each party since the 2003 survey. Figure 5.2 compares the percentage of respondents who say they have a very high or high level of trust in a party in the 2005 survey with those in the 2003 survey.

Figure 5.2 Trust in Political Parties, Trend



"For the parties that you just mentioned, what is your level of trust in these parties? Would you say it is very high, high, little, or very little?"

Figure 5.2 illustrates quite clearly that trust in each of the major parties has increased since the 2003 survey. Trust in Golkar has increased from 48% in 2003 to 61% in this year's survey,

whereas trust in PDIP has increased from 50% to 62%. Similar increases are recorded for PKB, PPP, and PBB, and a smaller increase for PAN.

The two parties that garner the highest trust are the two newcomers, PKS and PD. The high level of trust entrusted in these parties by those who are aware of them, as well as their high name-recognition suggests that a political reorientation may be place in Indonesia that favors the long-term prospects of these two parties. Another factor that is pointed in these parties' favor is that both these parties, but especially PKS, tend to garner higher trust from younger Indonesians (under 35) than their older counterparts (45 and older). This is the opposite of the pattern for PDIP and Golkar who tend to elicit higher trust in older respondents than in younger respondents.

Bandwagon Factor in Reporting 2004 Parliamentary and Presidential Vote

It is expected that surveys taken months after an election may not reflect the voting pattern that was witnessed on election-day, but rather may reflect the existing political environment in a country. This is especially the case with Indonesia as the April 2004 parliamentary elections were a prelude to larger shifts in political preference away from representative of Golkar and PDIP and toward President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and PD that took place in the presidential elections in the fall. This shift in political preference is further highlighted by responses on a question on this year's survey that asked respondents who they had voted for in the 2004 parliamentary elections. The actual vote percentage of the major parties in this election was as follows:

- Golkar (22%)
- PDIP (19%)
- PKB (11%)
- PPP (8%)
- PD (7%)
- PKS (7%)
- PAN (6%)

In this survey, respondents report having voted as follows:

- PD (25%)
- PDIP (14%)
- Golkar (12%)
- PKB (6%)
- PKS (5%)
- PAN (5%)
- PPP (4%)

The vote for PD is over-stated by 18% while the voted for Golkar is understated by 10%, and that of PDIP and PKB by 5%. The reported vote percentage for PKS and PAN falls within the margin of error. The substantially high reported vote for PD most likely reflects the fact that many Indonesians are satisfied with the direction that President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is taking Indonesia, and are willing to say they voted for his party when they may not have done so. In fact, among those who think Indonesia is headed in the right direction, 30% say that they

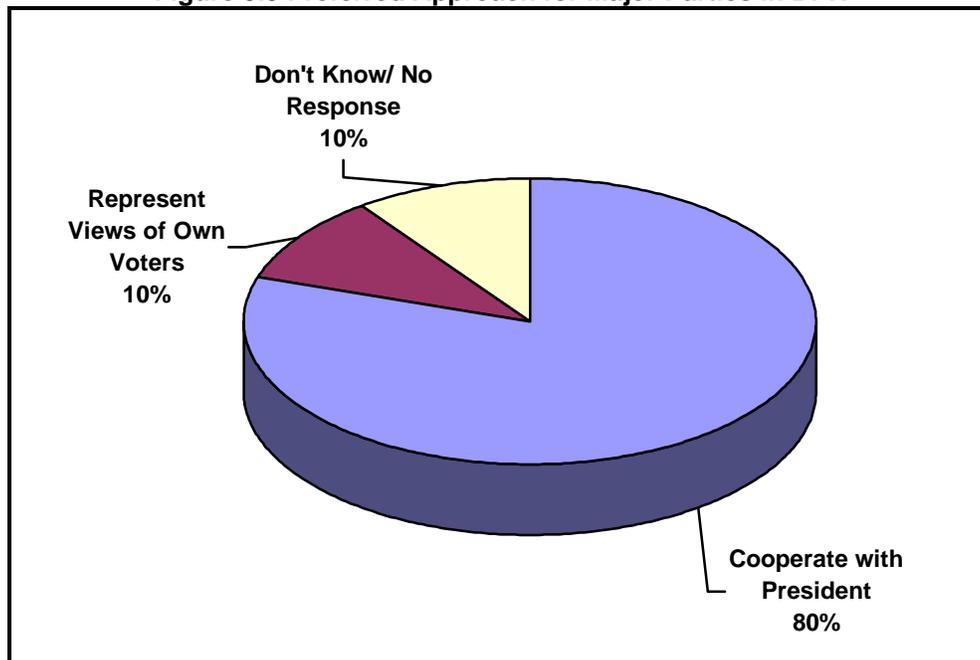
voted for PD compared to 18% among those who say the country is headed in the wrong direction.

A similar phenomenon is observed when respondents on the survey are asked to name the candidate they voted for in the second round of the presidential election in September 2004. In that election, the official results showed President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono with 61% of the vote and former President Soekarnoputri with 39% of the vote. In the survey, 73% of those who voted say they voted for President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono while only 15% say they voted for former President Soekarnoputri (the rest do not reveal their choice). Once again, those who think the country is headed in the right direction are more likely to say they voted for SBY (79%) than those who think the country is headed in the wrong direction (56%).

Indonesians Want Parties Other than PD to Collaborate with President

The political momentum for President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the PD that is indicated by the reported voting in the parliamentary and presidential election is also indicated by the fact that the vast majority of Indonesians would like parties other than PD in the DPR to cooperate with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono on all major issues facing the country. Respondents on the survey were asked whether the major parties should cooperate with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono or whether they should represent the views of people who voted for them even if these views were opposed to those of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. Figure 5.3 indicates that Indonesians would like to see a climate of cooperation in the DPR.

Figure 5.3 Preferred Approach for Major Parties in DPR



"As you may know, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's party, the Democratic Party, is not the largest party in the parliament. Other parties such as Golkar, PDIP, and PKB have more seats in the parliament. In your opinion, please tell me what do you think should be more important for these larger parties, whether it is 1) cooperating with the President on all major issues; or 2) representing the views of the people that voted for them, even if this means opposing some of the President's initiative?" (n=2020)



Eighty-one percent of those who report having voted for PDIP and 77% of those who report having voted for Golkar say that their parties should cooperate with the President on major issues, rather than representing the views of people like them who voted for these parties. This seems to put President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in a strong position with regard to this legislative initiatives.



CHAPTER VI OPINIONS ON ELECTORAL BODIES

Organization of 2004 Elections

Most Indonesians (89%) say that the 2004 parliamentary and presidential election were either very or somewhat well-organized. Only 8% of Indonesians are of the opinion that the election were not well-organized. The percentage of Indonesians who think that elections were well-organized is down slightly from the level observed in a post-election survey conducted by IFES in September 2004 (96%).

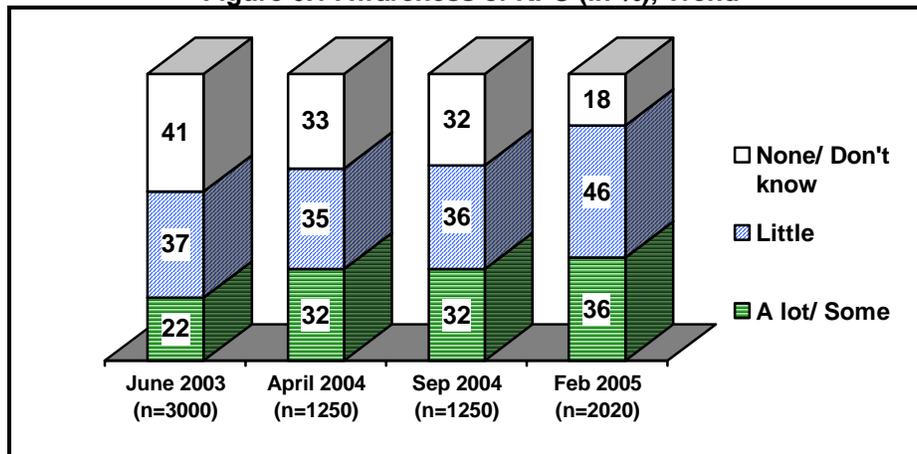
In addition to evaluating the organization of the election highly, the vast majority of Indonesians also of the opinion that the 2004 election were completely or mostly fair and honest (91%). Only 8% of Indonesians believe the elections were mostly or completely not fair and honest. Opinions on the organization of the election have an impact on perceived fairness of the election. Among those who think the election was well-organized, 95% believe the election was mostly or completely fair and honest, while 59% have this opinion among those who do not think the elections were well-organized.

In total, 84% believe both that the election were well-organized and that they were fair and honest. This signifies widespread approval of the work done by Indonesia's chief electoral bodies, KPU and PANWAS, for the challenging election calendar that Indonesia experienced in 2004.

Opinions of KPU

The packed 2004 election calendar in Indonesia allowed many Indonesians to become familiar with the work of its electoral bodies. The chief organizer and implementor of elections in Indonesia is the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU). In the 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia, 22% of Indonesians indicated that they had heard a lot or something about the KPU, 37% indicated they had heard a little, and 41% either had not heard anything or did not know whether they had heard anything about the KPU. The IFES tracking surveys conducted during the 2004 election process indicated that the level of awareness of the KPU increased during the election process, and the findings in this survey indicate that these higher levels of awareness have been sustained into 2005 (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Awareness of KPU (in %), Trend



"How much have you heard of or read about Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Indonesia?" (n=2020)

Figure 6.1 indicates that the percentage of Indonesians who have heard a lot or some about the KPU has increased substantially since the 2003 survey and by four percentage points since the 2004 surveys. There has also been a large increase in the percentage of Indonesians who have heard a little about the KPU, and an accompanying decline in those who have not heard anything about the KPU.

The percentage who have heard a lot or something about the KPU increases with the level of education with 73% of those with at least some university education responding in this manner, compared to 20% of those with primary level education. Forty-one percent of urban respondents have heard at least something about the KPU compared to 32% of rural respondents.

Among those who have heard at least a little about the KPU, 84% say that they are very or somewhat satisfied with the work the KPU did for the 2004 elections, with only 14% saying that they are dissatisfied with the KPU's work. The vast majority of major sub-groups in the population say that they are satisfied with the KPU's work for the election.

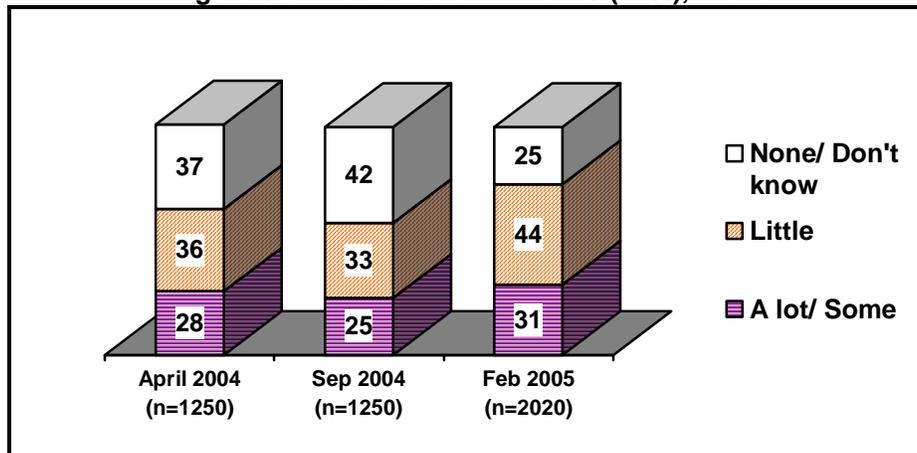
Among the small percentage of Indonesians who are dissatisfied with the KPU's performance, 47% say they are dissatisfied with the vote counting process following the 2004 parliamentary and presidential elections. Many of these respondents are also dissatisfied with delays by the KPU in delivering ballot papers (28%) and in addressing problems during the election process (22%). Twenty-three percent are unhappy with the supplies and equipment used during the elections.

Opinions of PANWAS

In addition to KPU, the other key electoral body in Indonesia is PANWAS. PANWAS is responsible for monitoring the election process and in resolving many of the disputes that occur during the election process in Indonesia. In the tracking surveys that IFES conducted during the 2004 election process, awareness of PANWAS was generally lower than awareness of the KPU, but did increase during the course of the election process. The findings from this survey

indicate that awareness of the PANWAS has increased even further since the end of the election process in September (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Awareness of PANWAS (in %), Trend



"How much have you heard of or read about the Election Supervisors (PANWAS)?" (n=2020)

The percentage of Indonesians who have heard a lot or some about PANWAS has increased from 25% in the Spetember 2004 post-election survey to 31% in this survey. As with awareness of the KPU, the percentage of Indonesians who have heard a little about PANWAS has increased from 33% in September 2004 to 44% in this survey, while the proportion of the population that has heard nothing about this body has decreased from 42% to 25%.

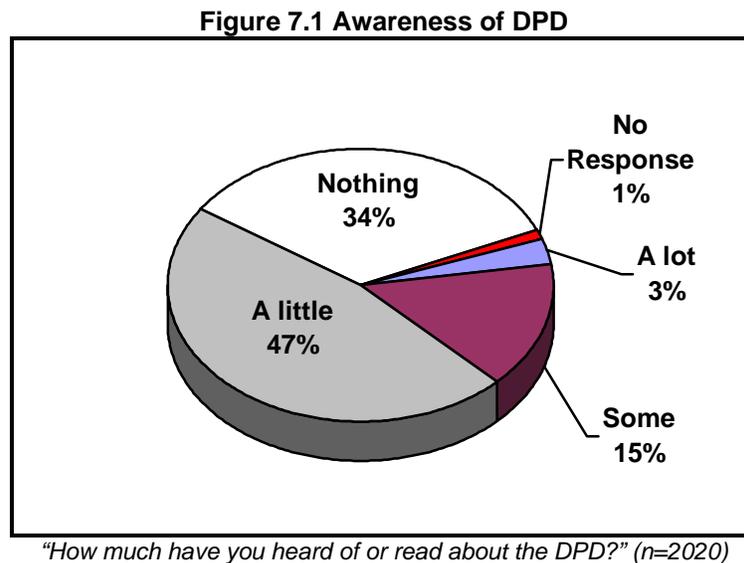
As was the case with the KPU, the vast majority of those who have heard at least a little about PANWAS are satisfied with this body's work during the 2004 election (88%). Ten percent are dissatisfied. Among the one in ten dissatisfied with PANWAS, the most often-cited reasons are the lack of control of PANWAS during the vote counting process (42%), the lack of firmness on the part of PANWAS in dealing with violations (36%), and the lack of sufficient controls in polling stations during the election (18%).

CHAPTER VII REGIONAL AND LOCAL REPRESENTATION

Awareness of DPD

In the April 2004 legislative elections in Indonesia, voters had the opportunity to vote for a new body that is designed to represent regional interests in the legislative process at the national level. This body, the Regional Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Daerah*, DPD) comprises four representatives from each province in the country. All four representatives from a province were directly elected by the Indonesian people in the April 2004 election.

The survey data indicates that despite the fact that 71% of Indonesians (who were eligible to vote) voted in the election for DPD candidate, most Indonesians say they have heard little or nothing about this body. Eighteen percent of Indonesians say they have a lot or some information on the DPD (Figure 7.1).



Close to half of all Indonesians say that they have heard little about this body, while slightly more than a third said that they have heard nothing at all. As with other questions assessing information levels on institutions in Indonesia, the higher the education level of respondents the more likely they are to have heard about the DPD. Interestingly, 72% of those who report having voted for a DPD candidate in the April 2004 election say that they have heard little about the DPD, while 29% say they have heard some or a lot about the body. This data indicates that many Indonesians voted for the DPD without knowing much about the body.

The lack of awareness of the DPD is evident throughout the country. There are only two regions in the country, Bali/Nusa Tenggara and Sulawesi, where more than a quarter of the residents have heard a lot or some about the DPD (31% and 31%, respectively). But even in these regions, a majority (61% Bali/Nusa Tenggara, 68% Sulawesi) says that they have heard little or nothing at all about the DPD. In the other regions of the country, more than 80% of residents say that they have heard little or nothing about the DPD.

Among those who have heard at least a little about the DPD, half or less are aware of its two chief functions. Fifty percent are aware that the DPD can propose and participate in the legislative process on certain issues. Fewer, 43%, are aware that the DPD has oversight power over certain regulations. In both cases, residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara are most likely to say that they are aware of these functions (73% and 65%, respectively) while a majority asked this question in Sumatra (excluding Aceh, 63% and 55%) and West Java/Jakarta/Banten (61% and 51%) are aware of these functions of the DPD. A majority of those asked this question in East Java (75% and 79%) and in Central Java/Yogyakarta (59% and 63%) are not aware of these functions.

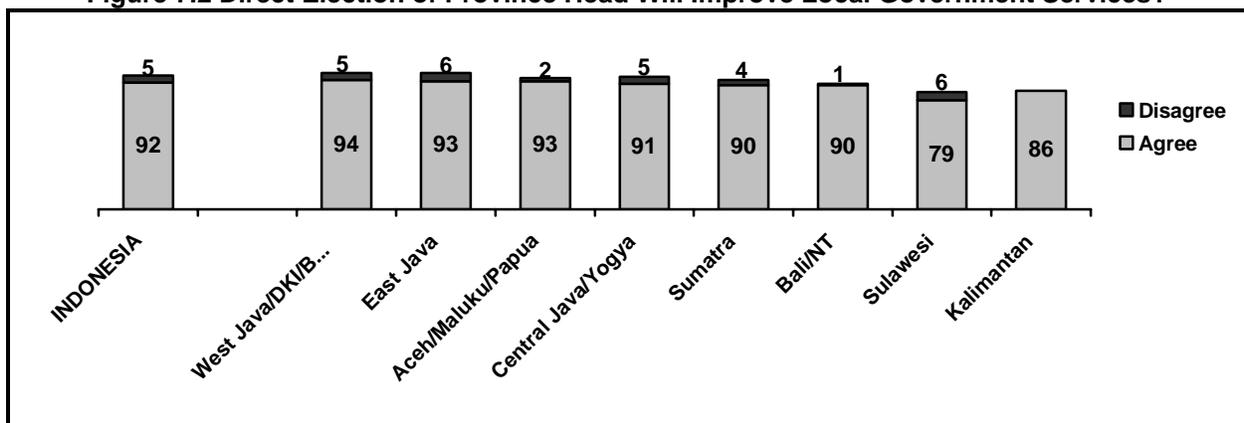
The low levels of awareness also translate into low name-recognition of members of the DPD. Few Indonesians can name a representative from their province to the DPD. When those who profess having at least a little information on the DPD were asked to name a person who represents their province in the DPD, only 19% correctly named a person representing their province in the DPD. A farther 9% gave the name of a person who does not represent the province, 43% said that they could not remember a name, and 29% said they either did not know of any of their representatives or did not respond. Residents of Sulawesi were most likely to correctly name one of their representatives to the DPD (48%) followed by those in Bali/Nusa Tenggara (27%). Less than 5% of those in East Java can name one of their representatives.

Elections for Head of Region

Later this year, Indonesians will be voting in the first direct elections for the heads of their respective provinces. This election marks the next step in the decentralization process in Indonesia of which the creation of the DPD was also a central plank. In addition, local governments have been given greater responsibility to manage their own affairs.

Respondents on the survey were asked whether the direct election for their province's head would improve local services for the residents of the province. More than nine in ten Indonesians are optimistic that the direct election of their province's head will improve local services (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 Direct Election of Province Head Will Improve Local Government Services?



"In 2005, the people will directly elect their head of region. In your opinion, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that electing local government representative will improve local government's service to the people?"



In all regions of the country except Kalimantan and Sulawesi, 90% or more of the residents agree that direct election of their provincial head will improve the local government's services. In none of the regions do more than 6% disagree with this statement. While the survey did not ask Indonesians if they would vote in these elections, the public's enthusiasm for the impact of the election suggests that turnout may be relatively high for these elections.

Respondents were asked two other questions about the election process itself for these direct elections of provincial heads. First, respondents were asked about the body that should be responsible for the implementation and management of the election. Respondents were given two options:

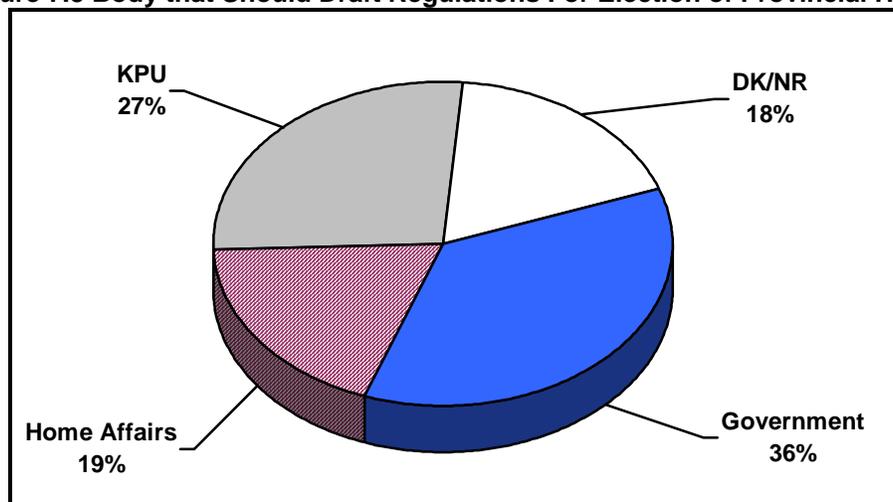
1. KPU should guide & supervise the Regional KPU (KPUDs) in conducting the Head of Region elections
2. The KPUDs should be responsible to the DPRD, not to the KPU, in implementing the Head of Region elections

A majority of Indonesians (53%) prefer that the KPU should supervise the KPUDs in the implementation of the elections, while 27% prefer that the KPUDs take the lead in implementation of the election. Twenty percent do not have an opinion on this issue.

There is no region of the country in which more people preferred that the KPUDs take the lead for the election over the KPU but there are four regions in which less than a majority of the residents think the KPU should supervise the election: Aceh/Maluku/Papua (42%), Kalimantan (42%), Central Java/Yogyakarta (47%), and Bali/Nusa Tenggara (49%).

Indonesians are more mixed in their assessment of what body should be responsible for drafting the regulations that govern the election for provincial heads. Respondents to the survey were given three choices, the government, the KPU, or the Ministry of Home Affairs, and asked to name the body they think should draft the regulations. A plurality chose the government (Figure 7.3).

Figure 7.3 Body that Should Draft Regulations For Election of Provincial Heads



"In your opinion, which of these options do you prefer for who should make the regulations for the Head of Region elections?" (n=2020)



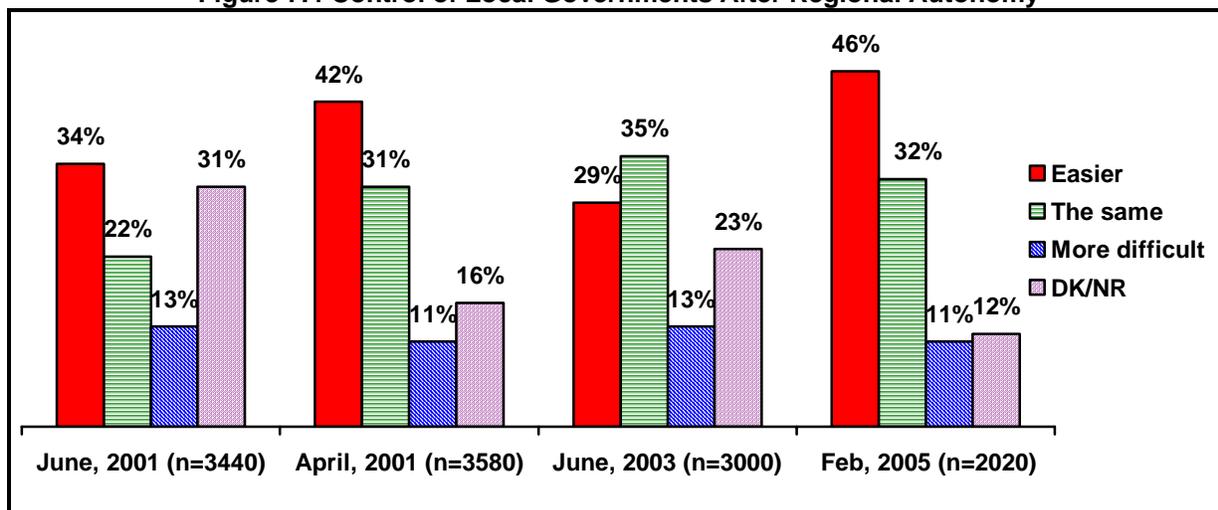
Neither of the three bodies garners support from close to a majority of the people. The government is preferred by a little more than a third of the people while the KPU is preferred by a little more than a quarter. Among those who think that the KPU should manage these elections, slightly more respondents prefer the KPU to draft the regulations (42%) than the government (37%). On the other hand, among those who think that the KPUDs should manage these elections, almost three times as many people think the government should draft the regulations (47%) rather than the KPU (16%).

In all but two regions of the country, more people prefer that the government draft the regulations rather than the KPU. The two exceptions are Aceh/Maluku/Papua and Kalimantan. In Aceh/Maluku/Papua, 32% prefer the KPU and 25% the government, and in Kalimantan, 31% prefer the KPU and 16% the government.

Control of Local Authorities after Regional Autonomy

In each of the last three national surveys conducted by IFES in Indonesia, respondents have been asked a series of questions on citizens' relationship with their local governments after the implementation of regional autonomy. One question has asked respondents whether it is easier or harder to control the actions of local government after regional autonomy. Opinions on this issue have generally oscillated back and forth between whether it is easier to control local governments or whether it requires the same effort on the part of the people. This year provides no exception to this trend (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 Control of Local Governments After Regional Autonomy



"In your opinion, is it much easier, easier, the same, more difficult, or much more difficult for the people of [NAME OF THIS REGENCY/CITY] to control the actions taken by local government after the implementation of regional autonomy?"

In this year's survey, almost half of all Indonesians think that it is easier for the people to control local governments after regional autonomy, while nearly a third think it presents the same degree of difficulty. Few (11%) say that it is more difficult to control local governments, a pattern which has been present in all four surveys. In the 2003 survey, more people believed that controlling local governments after regional autonomy presented the same level of difficulty and fewer believed that it was easier. The election of the DPD and the upcoming elections of

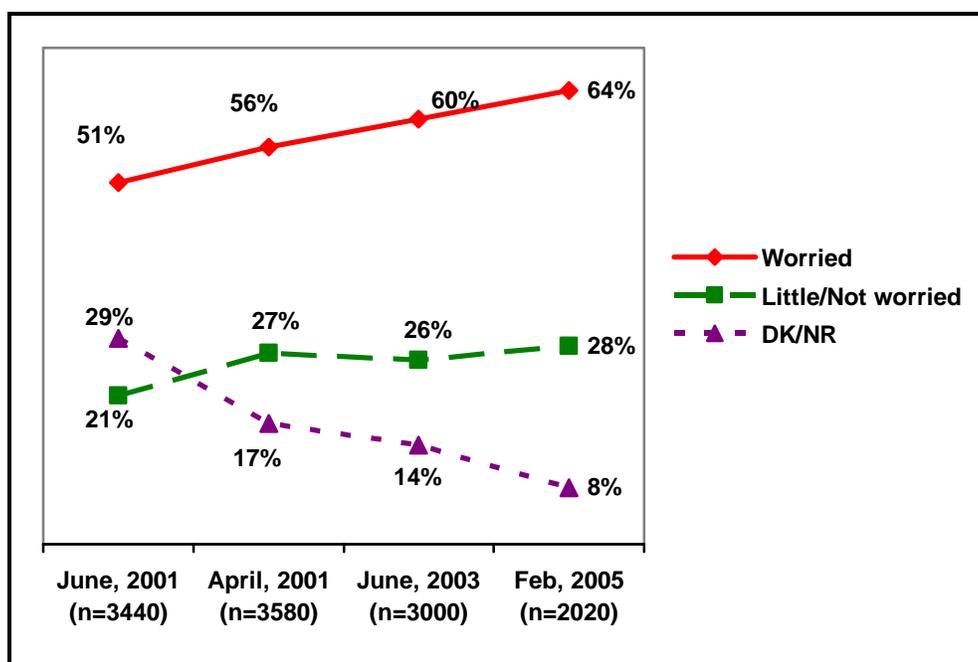


provincial heads may have made Indonesians think that it is now easier for the people to control the actions of local governments through the election process.

A plurality of residents of all regions with the exception of Bali/Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan believe that it is easier for the people to control local governments after local autonomy. In both Bali/Nusa Tenggara and Kalimantan, more people think that this presents the same level of difficulty (41% and 45%, respectively) and fewer think it is easier (31% and 13%, respectively).

On another question on the IFES surveys, respondents have been asked how worried they are about the misuse of power by local officials after regional autonomy. In each of the past three IFES surveys, the percentage of Indonesians worried about the misuse of power by local officials has grown from the previous year's survey. As is the case with responses regarding control of local governments, this year's survey does not deviate from the established trend (Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5 Worried about Misuse of Power by Local Officials?



"In your opinion, are you very worried, worried, little worried, or not at all worried about the misuse of power by local government officials in [NAME OF REGENCY/CITY]?" (n=2020)

In this year's survey, 64% of Indonesians say that they are very or somewhat worried about the misuse of power by local government officials. This is an increase from 60% in the 2003 survey, and significantly higher than the 51% who stated this opinion in the 2001 survey. It should be noted that the percentage of Indonesians who say that they are only a little worried or not at all worried about misuse of power by local government officials has remained fairly steady over the past three surveys (range between 26% and 28%). The increased opinion about misuse of power has resulted from a decrease in the number of Indonesians who do not give a specific response from 29% in the 2001 survey to 8% in this year's survey. As more Indonesians have provided a specific response to this question in each successive survey, they have tended to be worried about the misuse of power by local officials.



Those Indonesians who think that it is easier to control local governments after regional autonomy are less likely to be worried about the misuse of power by local officials (60%) than those who think it is harder to control local governments after local autonomy (80%). A majority of residents in all regions of the country are worried about the misuse of power by local officials.

Equality of Services to Taxes Paid

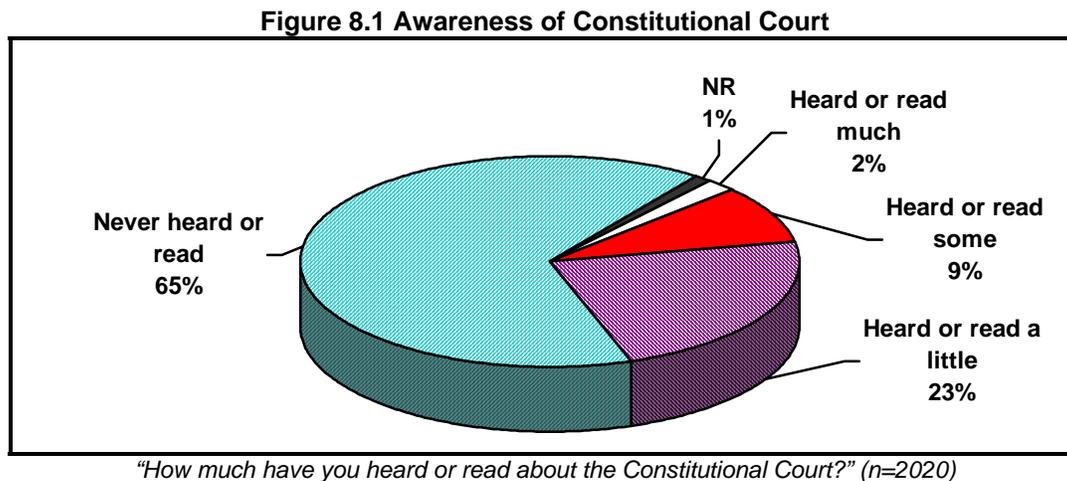
A plurality of Indonesians (47%) believed that the services they receive from the government are equivalent to the taxes and fees that they pay to the government. Forty-four percent believe that the services are much less than the taxes and fees they pay, while only 3% believe that the services they received are much more equivalent than the taxes and fees they pay. Opinions on this question have shifted somewhat from the 2003 survey. In that survey, a majority (52%) believed that they received less in services than they paid in taxes and fees, and 37% believed they received the same services as taxes paid. It is significant to note that a majority of residents of West Java/Jakarta/Banten, Aceh/Maluku/Papua, Kalimantan, and Bali/Nusa Tenggara say that they receive less in services than they pay in taxes. A majority of residents of East Java and Sulawesi are say that they receive services equal to what they pay in taxes and fees.



CHAPTER VIII OPINIONS ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

Awareness of the Constitutional Court

The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia is a newly established state organization in the Indonesian system of state. As a constitutional body, the Constitutional Court is the chief adjutant and interpreter of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Because of the fact that the Court is a new institution, there is not a high level of awareness of the Constitutional Court among Indonesians (Figure 8.1).

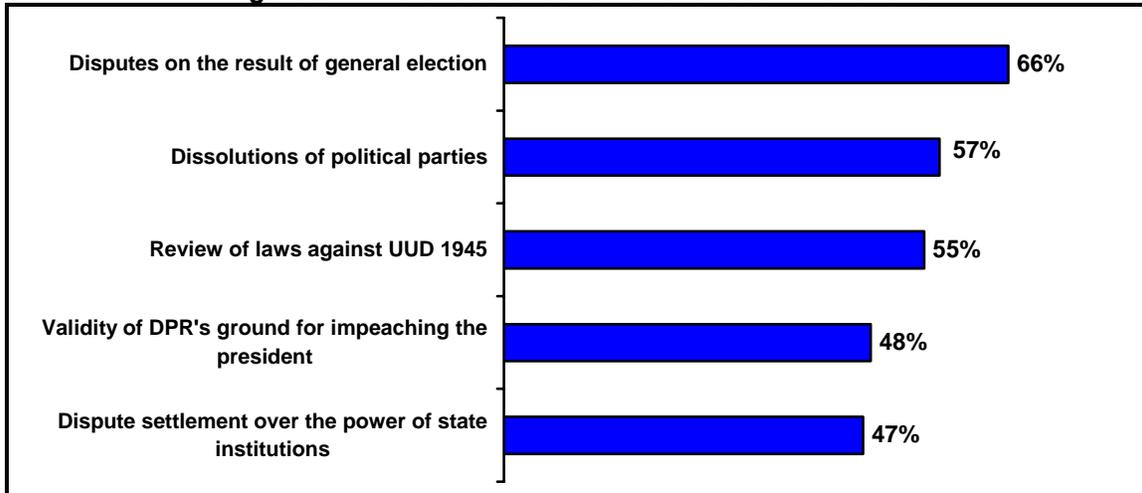


Slightly over one-third of Indonesians (34%) have heard or read at least a little about the Constitutional Court, but only 11% have heard or read much or some about this institution. Awareness of the Constitutional Court has shown a slight increase compared to the last IFES tracking survey conducted at the end of September 2004. In that survey, 23% of the respondents had at least a little information on the Constitutional Court, and only 7% had heard much or some about this organization.

Respondents in urban areas are more likely to have heard or read at least a little about the Constitutional Court (42%) than respondents in rural areas (26%). Awareness among male respondents is significantly higher than that of female respondents (41% versus 25%, respectively). Awareness of this institution is generally concentrated among higher-educated Indonesians (79%; 21% among those with lesser education) and SES A respondents (62%; 30% among lower SES respondents). Residents of West Java/Jakarta/Banten, Bali/Nusa Tenggara, and Central Java/Yogyakarta are most likely to have heard or read at least a little about the Court (39%, 38%, and 37%, respectively), while respondents in Aceh/Maluku/Papua and East Java have the lowest awareness (29% and 22%, respectively).

Those Indonesians who have heard at least a little about the Constitutional Court were asked whether they were aware of its chief functions. The data indicates that awareness of the Constitutional Court's functions is fairly high among those who have heard or read at least a little about this institution (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Awareness of Constitutional Court Functions

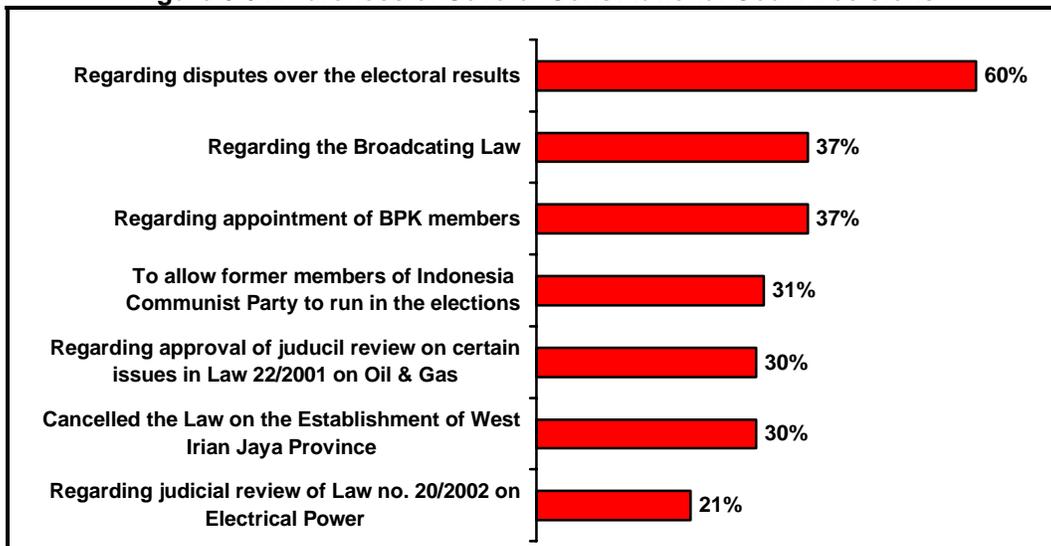


*"Are you aware or not the Constitutional Court has the function/authority to..." (n=661)
based on 'aware' responses

Of those who aware of Constitutional Court, a majority of them are aware that the Court has the authority to settle disputes over general election results, oversee the dissolution of political parties, and to review laws against the 1945 constitution. Male respondents generally have more awareness of these functions than women. Respondents in Bali/Nusa Tenggara also generally have a better awareness of these functions than those in other regions. Also it is not surprising to note that higher educated respondents have a higher awareness of the functions of the Constitutional Court.

While there is significantly high awareness of the functions of the Constitutional Court among those who have heard or read at least a little about the institution, there is not as much awareness about some key decisions made by the Court in recent years (Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.3 Awareness of Several Constitutional Court Decisions



"Please indicate whether you are aware of the following Constitutional Court's Decisions?" (n=661)



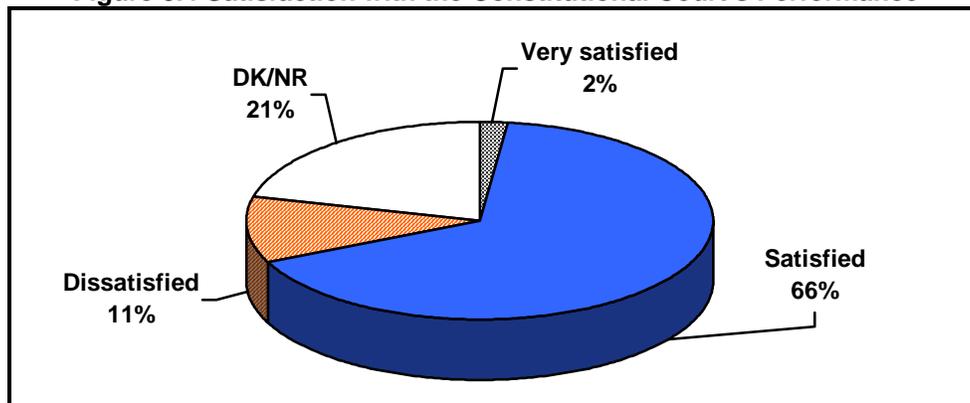
The only decisions of which a majority of those asked the question are aware are the Constitutional Court's decisions on the disputes over the elections results (60%). For all other decisions, 37% or less of those asked the question are aware of these decision. The majority awareness of the election decisions is probably a result of the high profile news coverage by the Indonesians media on election-related news. It is also not surprising that more respondents in urban areas are aware of the election decisions (63%) than rural areas (55%).

Residents of Bali/Nusa Tenggara have higher awareness on each of Constitutional Court's decision than those in other regions, Seventy-nine percent of the residents of this region are aware of the Constitutional Court's decision on election disputes.

Satisfaction with Constitutional Court's Performance

Most of those who have heard or read at least a little about the Constitutional Court is satisfied with the Court's performance (Figure 8.4).

Figure 8.4 Satisfaction with the Constitutional Court's Performance



"In your opinion, please tell me are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the Constitutional Court's performance?" (n=661)

More than two-thirds (68%) of those aware of Constitutional Court are very satisfied or satisfied with Court's performance. Residents of urban areas are more likely to be more satisfied with the Court's performance than residents of rural areas (72% and 63%, respectively). Male respondents are slightly more satisfied than female respondents (69% and 65%, respectively). Residents of Sulawesi are most likely to be satisfied with the Constitutional Court's performance (82%) while residents in East Java have the lowest satisfaction level toward this institution's performance (54%).

Few respondents who are dissatisfied with the Constitutional Court's performance were asked their reasons for dissatisfaction. A majority of these respondents (63%) stated that the Court was not firm in handling problems. Fewer respondents also thought that there were outside interventions during the decision-making process of the Court (26%), and that there is a lack of information about the Court's activities (24%).

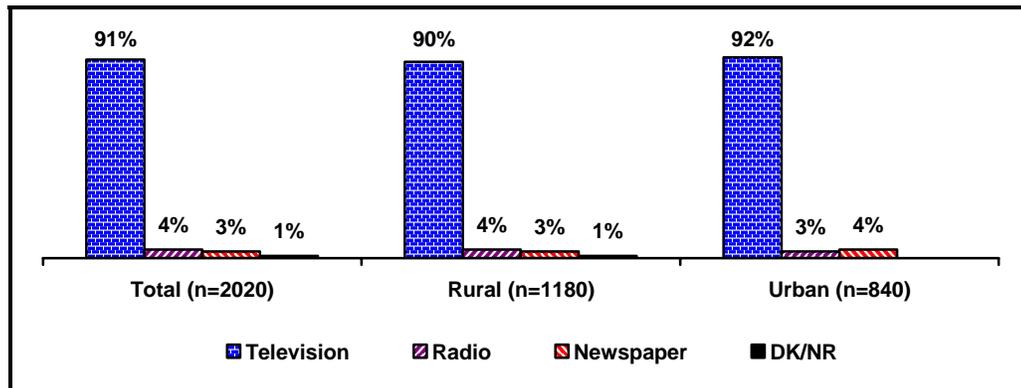


CHAPTER IX MEDIA

Primary Sources of Information

As shown on IFES' previous surveys findings in 2003 and 2004, most Indonesians use television as their primary source for information. More than nine in ten Indonesians report that television is their main source of information (Figure 9.1).

Figure 9.1 Main Source of Information



"Which of the following media provides the main source of your information?"

Television is the main source of information for all major-subgroups in the population. Respondents in the lowest SES category (SES E) are slightly less likely to have television as their main source of information (84%) than other SES groups. Newspaper usage is higher among SES A respondents (8%) than other SES groups (4%). In the regions, the use of radio as main source of information is the highest among the respondents in Sulawesi (7%), and the lowest is among the respondents in Aceh/Maluku/Papua (1%).

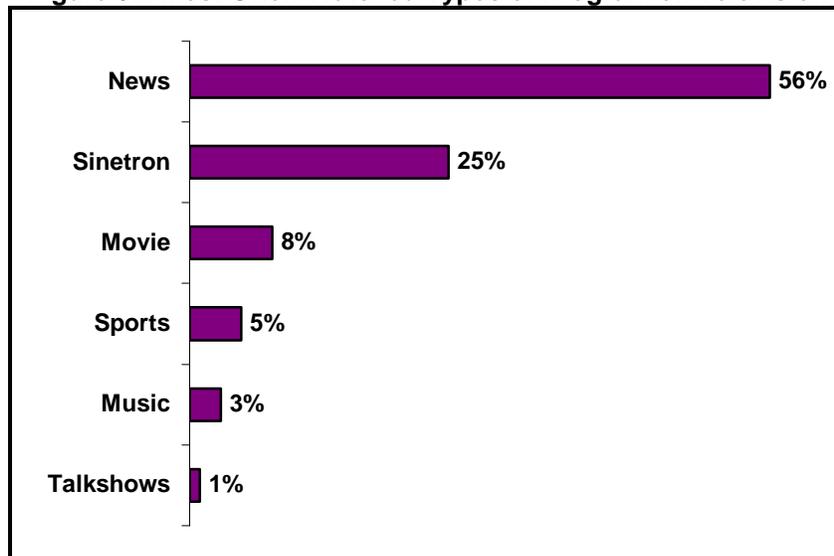
Television Usage

The vast majority of Indonesians (88%) report that they watch the television at least once a day, while few watch television less than once a week (8%). Only 2% Indonesians never watch the television.

Use of television is especially high in Kalimantan where 99% of respondents report watching television at least once a day, while the lowest recorded is in Aceh/Maluku/Papua (78%). Respondents among age under 25 are more likely to watch television at least once a day (91%) than other age groups (87%). The higher the SES level and educational background of a respondent, the more likely he or she is to watch television on a daily basis.

Those who watch television were asked what programs that they most often watch on television. The majority of the respondents report that they most often watch news programs on television (Figure 9.2).

Figure 9.2 Most Often-Watched Types of Program on Television



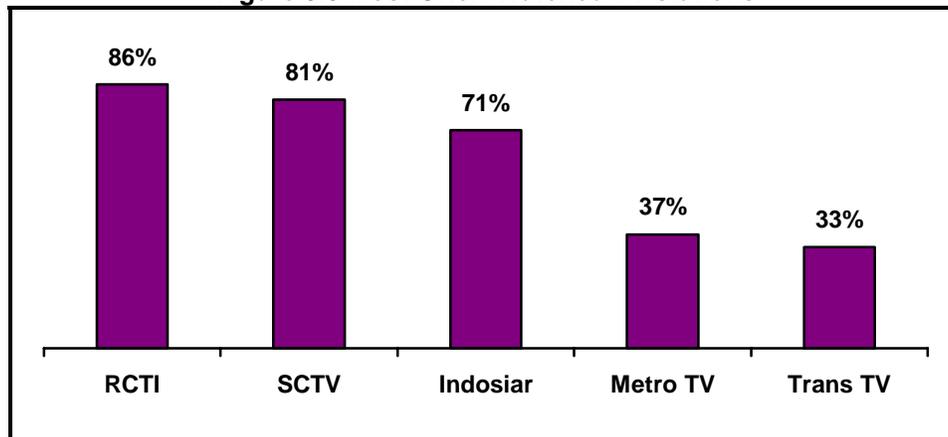
"What type of program do you most often watch on television?" (n=1972)

Respondents in urban areas are more likely to watch the television program to access information than respondents in rural area, while the respondents in rural areas are more likely to use the television for entertainment. Fifty-eight percent of urban respondents (54% in rural area) reported they watch the news program most often on television; 21% of urban respondents watched *sinetron* (soap opera) program, compared to 28% of rural respondents; 7% of urban respondents watch movie programs most often, compared to 9% of rural respondents.

The respondents among age 45-54 years old are also more likely to watch the news program in television (70%) than the other age groups (53%), while the lowest is the aged under 25 (33%). On the other hand, this youngest age group (under 25) is more likely to use the television for entertainment. This age group also spends more time watching *sinetron* (32%) than other age-groups (22%). Men are much more likely to watch news programs than women (66% versus 45%), whereas women are more likely to watch television for entertainment, such as *sinetron*, (42% versus 7%).

Among television channels, RCTI, SCTV, and Indosiar are watched by a majority of Indonesians (Figure 9.3).

Figure 9.3 Most Often-Watched TV stations



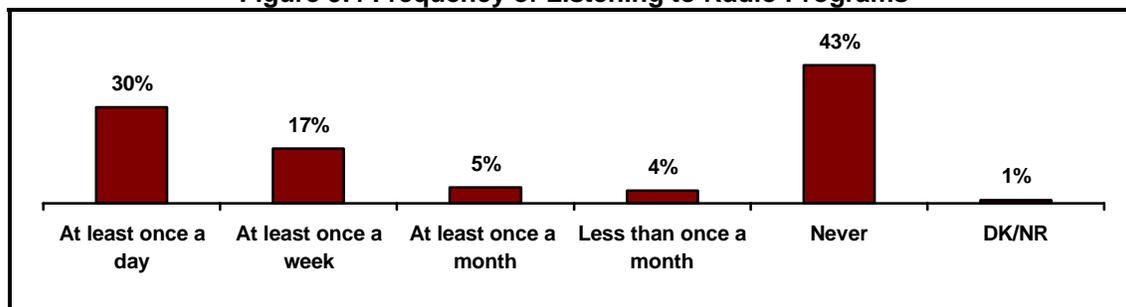
"On which TV station(s) do you watch that particular programs" (n=1972)

Audiences for Metro TV and Trans TV are significantly lower (37% and 33%, respectively) than those for the big three television stations. Among those who primarily watch news programs on television, 84% watch the news on RCTI followed by SCTV (80%) and Indosiar (67%). For interactive/talk shows programs, RCTI again enjoys the highest audience (87%), while Metro TV and SCTV came second and third (83% and 78%, respectively).

Usage of Radio

The use of radio is much lower than the use of television. Slightly less than one-third of Indonesians listen to the radio at least once a day and 17% mention that they at least listened to the radio once a week. Forty-three per cent of the respondents say they never listen to radio programs.

Figure 9.4 Frequency of Listening to Radio Programs



"Do you listen to radio programs? (n=2020)

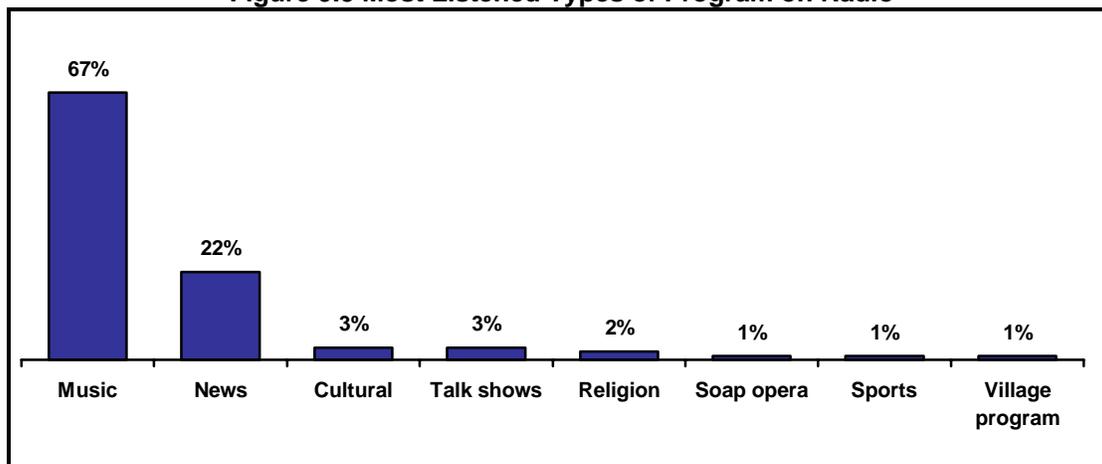
Respondents in urban area are more likely to listen to the radio on a daily basis (33%) than respondents in rural areas (28%). Respondents aged under 25 are more likely to listen to the radio on a daily basis (40%) than older age groups (28%). Respondents with higher education background are also more likely to listen to the radio on a daily basis (33%) than those with lower levels of education (30%).



Respondents in Kalimantan are recorded as the most likely to listen to the radio on a daily basis (48%) while respondents in Central Java/Yogyakarta are least likely to do so (25%). A majority of respondents in East Java (58%) never listen to the radio.

Unlike television, music is the type of programming most often listened-to on the radio, while news is listened to with far smaller frequency (Figure 9.5).

Figure 9.5 Most Listened Types of Program on Radio



"What program do you listen to the most on the radio?" (n=1110)"

Respondents in rural areas are more likely to listen to news program (27%) than urban respondents (16%), while more urban respondents listen to music program (75%) than rural respondents (60%).

The use of radio for news program is highest among the age 35-44 (38%), while the under 25 age group has the lowest rate of listening to the radio for news (7%). This age group has the highest rate of using the radio for music entertainment (91%). Male respondents are more likely to use the radio for news program than female respondents (25% versus 18%), while female respondents use the radio more often for music entertainment than male respondents (71% versus 63%).

Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua are more likely to use radio for news information (64%) than other areas of the country (21%). Only 9% of residents in East Java are listening to radio for news information and more likely to listen to the radio for music entertainment (81%) than other regions (64%).



APPENDIX: Table of Margins of Error

No	Province	Total Sample size per province	Margin of error from 50 % and 95 % Confidence Interval	Margin of error from 50 % and 99 % Confidence Interval
1	NAD	30	17,89	23,51
2	North Sumatera	90	10,33	13,57
3	West Sumatera	40	15,50	20,36
4	Riau	30	17,89	23,51
5	Riau Islands	30	17,89	23,51
6	Jambi	30	17,89	23,51
7	South Sumatera	60	12,65	16,62
8	Bangka Belitung	30	17,89	23,51
9	Bengkulu	30	17,89	23,51
10	Lampung	60	12,65	16,62
11	DKI Jakarta	80	10,96	14,39
12	West Java	300	5,66	7,43
13	Banten	80	10,96	14,39
14	Central Java	270	5,96	7,84
15	DI Yogyakarta	30	17,89	23,51
16	East Java	300	5,66	7,43
17	Bali	30	17,89	23,51
18	West Nusa Tenggara	30	17,89	23,51
19	East Nusa Tenggara	30	17,89	23,51
20	West Kalimantan	30	17,89	23,51
21	Central Kalimantan	30	17,89	23,51
22	South Kalimantan	30	17,89	23,51
23	East Kalimantan	30	17,89	23,51
24	North Sulawesi	30	17,89	23,51
25	Gorontalo	30	17,89	23,51
26	Central Sulawesi	30	17,89	23,51
27	South Sulawesi	50	13,86	18,21
28	West Sulawesi	30	17,89	23,51
29	Southeast Sulawesi	30	17,89	23,51
30	Maluku	30	17,89	23,51
31	North Maluku	30	17,89	23,51
32	Papua	30	17,89	23,51
33	West Irianjaya	30	17,89	23,51



Sub Groups	Sample Size	Margin of error from 50 % and 95 % Confidence Interval	Margin of error from 50 % and 99 % Confidence Interval
Regions			
West Java/Jakarta/Banten	460	4,57	6,00
Central Java/Yogyakarta	300	5,66	7,43
East Java	300	5,66	7,43
Bali/NTB/NTT	90	10,33	13,57
Sumatra	400	4,90	6,44
Kalimantan	120	8,95	11,75
Sulawesi	200	6,93	9,10
Aceh/Maluku/Papua	150	8,00	10,51
Rural/Urban			
Rural	1180	2,85	3,75
Urban	840	3,38	4,44
Gender			
Male	1021	3,07	4,03
Female	999	3,10	4,07
Age			
Under 25 years old	359	5,17	6,80
25-34 years old	620	3,94	5,17
35-44 years old	566	4,12	5,41
45-54 years old	343	5,29	6,95
55 and up	132	8,53	11,21
Education Level			
Never gone to school	43	14,94	19,63
Elementary	1024	3,06	4,02
Secondary	739	3,60	4,74
Higher	214	6,70	8,80

