

NATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY

2003

Republic of Indonesia



EXTENDING THE REACH OF DEMOCRACY

August 2003

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INTRODUCTION

This report is the result of a public opinion survey conducted from 1 June to 5 July 2003. The results are based on face-to-face interviews with 3,000 respondents in 32 provinces throughout Indonesia. The respondents were chosen randomly in urban and rural areas. The sample size taken in each province was determined according to its proportion of the total population.

The objective of the survey is to inform members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and the Peoples Consultative Assembly (MPR), the National 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 Polling Center; the survey instrument, analysis and report were developed by Polling Center and the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES). This is the sixth 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 and April 2002.

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.

SUMMARY

Overall Situation

The 2003 IFES survey in Indonesia shows that the level of optimism about the economic and security situation in the country has decreased significantly since 2002, and this has led to an attendant decline in the evaluation of the performance of most national leaders and institutions. Economic and security concerns are at the top of Indonesians' lists of concerns about the country. A majority of Indonesians (54%) list increases in the price of basic goods as the biggest problem facing the nation, while 13% cite the lack of security and 10% list law enforcement. Concerns about security and law enforcement have increased significantly since the 2002 survey. Security concerns are especially acute in Aceh where a majority cites this issue as the biggest problem facing the country.

Economic concerns also play a large part when Indonesians list the biggest problems facing their communities. Forty-one percent of the respondents list price increases of basic needs as the biggest problem and 12% cite price increases in education and healthcare. In addition to inflation, difficulties in finding a job are also frequently mentioned as a problem facing communities (29%), a substantial increase from the 2002 survey. Young Indonesians (17-24 years of age) are especially concerned about jobs as 35% of this group note difficulties in finding a job as the biggest problem facing local communities.

Seventy-eight percent of Indonesians state that their family's quality of life is good or very good. This compares to 22% who think their family's quality of life is bad or very bad. Most Indonesians think that their family's quality of life has stayed stable over the past year (57%). More Indonesians say that their family's quality of life has improved over the last year (28%) than those who say it has worsened (15%). However, there has been an increase in the percentage of respondents who say their family's situation over the past year has worsened, compared to that reported in the 2002 survey, and there has been a decrease in the percentage who say their family's situation has improved.

As for the future, 40% of Indonesians think their family's quality of life will stay the same over the next year, 31% think it will improve, 5% think it will worsen, and the rest do not know enough to offer an opinion. In the 2002 survey, Indonesians were more optimistic with 38% thinking their family's quality of life would improve.

The change in opinions on the security situation since 2002 has been more strongly negative than for quality of life. In this year's survey, 27% of respondents feel that they are safer compared to last year while 20% think they are less safe. This compares to 41% in 2002 who thought they were safer than the previous year and 10% who felt less safe. Respondents in Aceh, Yogyakarta, and DKI Jakarta are more likely to feel less safe over the past year than respondents in other regions of the country.

Forty-six percent of Indonesians think that the security situation will stay the same over the next year, but there has been a decrease in the optimism about the security situation that was evident in the 2002 survey. In this year's survey, 22% feel that they will be safer in one year's time than now, and 10% feel they will be less safe. This compares to 34% who felt the security situation would be safer in one year's time in the 2002 survey, and 6% who thought it would be less safe.

The integrated operation in Aceh may be one reason why Indonesians are less optimistic about the security situation in this year's survey. When asked how this situation should be resolved, 50% of respondents prefer some sort of military action, either through the ongoing integrated operation (20%) or through a purely military operation (30%). Twenty-nine percent prefer dialogue with GAM. This is a turnaround from the 2002 survey when 69% preferred dialogue and 12% military action.

The less optimistic mood surrounding the economy and security situation has lowered approval of the government's actions over the past year. In this year's survey, 71% think that the government's actions have brought little or no improvements to the country and 23% believe that the government's actions have brought moderate or major improvements. In the 2002 survey, 34% had a positive assessment of the government's actions.

Indonesians are also increasingly dissatisfied with the government's fight against KKN. Seventy-three percent are dissatisfied with the government's efforts to handle KKN and 16% are satisfied. The level of dissatisfaction is significantly higher than in 2001 (62%) and 2002 (55%).

There is also widespread dissatisfaction with the government's implementation of the reform agenda. In all issue areas except one, more Indonesians are dissatisfied with the government's reform efforts than are satisfied: democracy (47% satisfied, 39% dissatisfied); autonomy & decentralization (34%, 43%); law enforcement (30%, 57%); clean governance (25%, 62%); economy (20%, 72%); and eradication of KKN (19%, 70%). In most of these issues, the level of satisfaction is down from 2002 levels. The only exception is the economy, which was not asked in 2002.

Satisfaction with Institutions and Leaders

Dissatisfaction is also evident for most national-level institutions and leaders about which respondents of the survey were asked. Overall, almost all respondents are aware of the presidency (97%), and DPR and MPR (each 89%), but awareness drops to lower levels for other national-level institutions: Attorney General (63%), Supreme Court (62%), National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas HAM) (54%), BPK (48%), KPKPN (43%), and Ombudsman (8%). For each of these institutions, more of those who know of the institutions are dissatisfied with the performance of the institution than are satisfied.

A majority of those aware of the presidency, DPR, and MPR are dissatisfied with the performance of these institutions. Satisfaction level with the presidency has declined significantly since 2002 (52% in 2002, 37% in 2003). There has also been a drop in satisfaction level for the MPR (45% in 2002, 38% in 2003), while satisfaction level with the DPR has remained relatively stable (32% in 2002, 34% in 2003).

Almost all Indonesians are aware of President Megawati (99%), Hamzah Haz (95%), Akbar Tanjung and Amien Rais (each 92%). As with national-level institutions, more of those aware of these leaders are dissatisfied with their performance than are satisfied: Megawati (36% satisfied, 56% dissatisfied); Hamzah Haz (35%, 54%); Amien Rais (36%, 50%); and Akbar Tanjung (28%, 59%).

Satisfaction levels with the performance of President Megawati have suffered a steep decline since 2001. The president's net differential (percent satisfied – percent dissatisfied) has declined from plus +22 in 2001 to -20 in 2003, a decline of 42 percentage points. Megawati garners her highest satisfaction ratings among rural respondents and those in West Java.

When respondents are asked whom they would consider the best president for Indonesia in the 2004 presidential election, 34% answer “Don’t know” or do not give an answer. President Megawati garners the highest percentage of support (13.7%) followed by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (11.2%), Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (8.7%), and a string of other candidates with around 5% or less.

While Megawati is the top choice nationally, in many regions of the country there are more popular candidates, for example the western part of Java (West Java/Jakarta/Banten), and Bali/NTB/NTT where she is second to Yudhoyono, and Sulawesi where she is third to Jusuf Kalla. Megawati enjoys higher satisfaction among women than Yudhoyono (15% to 8%).

Representative Bodies

There is a high level of awareness of representatives of the DPR (83%) but less so for DPRD I (65%) and DPRD II (62%). Those aware of these representative bodies are less likely to know of their function to draft the budget, than their functions to control government and make laws. Awareness of both the representative bodies and their functions is higher among men than women.

For the three functions of each of the representative bodies, the level of dissatisfaction with each function has generally increased since the 2001 survey. For the DPR and DPRD I, those who know of the functions are generally more likely to be satisfied with the body’s performance in creating budgets and laws than they are with their performance in controlling the government. Urban respondents are more likely to be dissatisfied with each of the functions than rural respondents.

According to the survey, there is very little contact between DPR/DPRD members and their constituents. Only 2% of respondents can name a DPR member who represents their province. Three percent of Indonesians report that they have contacted a DPR/DPRD member and 2% have been contacted by members of these bodies.

A majority of Indonesians (63%) think that representatives in the DPR/DPRDs from their electoral district should be residents of the district. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (83%) and Sulawesi (76%) are most likely to want residency requirements, while residents of East Java (53%) are least likely to want this. Urban respondents in general are more likely to want residency requirements than rural respondents (68% versus 60%).

Among those who would like residency requirements for DPR and DPRD candidates, most would prefer residency of at least two years, as the following breakdown indicates: more than five years’ residency – 25%; 4-5 years – 23%; 2-3 years – 16%; 1-2 years – 21%; less than one year – 5%. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua and Kalimantan are more likely than residents of other regions to place long-term residency requirements on their electoral candidates.

Women in Parliament

When informed that the proportion of women in DPR/DPRDs is far lower than women’s proportion of the Indonesian population, more Indonesians say the proportion of women in representative bodies is too low (42%) than those who say the proportion is about right (23%) or

too high (5%). Interestingly, men are only slightly less likely than women to think the proportion of women is too low.

Economic empowerment is an important factor in explaining women's opinions on this question. Women involved in some sort of income-generation activity are more likely to think the proportion of women is too low (47%) than those women who are not involved in income-generation activities (40%; students excluded from analysis). The importance of economic empowerment is reflected in the fact that regions of the country with a plurality or majority of women involved in income-generation activities have a higher percentage of women who think the legislative proportion of women is too low, compared to regions where a plurality or majority of women are not involved in income-generation activities.

A majority of those who think the proportion of women is too low or about right agrees with several different methods to increase the representation of women in parliament: special training for women candidates (82%); minimum percentage of women on each candidate list for each party (81%); women occupy at least one among the top three candidate positions in each party's candidate lists (79%); minimum percentage of each party's representatives in DPR/DPRDs are women (76%); and financial assistance from political parties to women candidates (64%). Women are more likely to agree with each of these methods than men.

Regional Representative Council (DPD)

In the 2004 general elections, Indonesians will vote for the first time for a second chamber of the national parliament, the Regional Representative Council (DPD). A quarter of Indonesians (25%) are aware of this body, 48% have not heard of the body, and 27% do not know enough to answer or do not give an answer. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua are most likely to be aware of this body (48%).

A majority of those aware of the DPD are aware of its various powers: propose to the DPR draft laws related to regional issues (60%); participate in the discussion of draft laws related to regional issues (57%); provide advice to the DPR on draft laws on the state budget, taxation, education, and religion (55%); and oversight of the implementation of these laws and reporting on this to the DPR (52%).

Seventy-nine percent of those aware of the DPD think that the body will be an effective way to convey regional aspirations, 73% think it will provide a check and balance on the actions of the DPR and government, and 67% think that DPD members will be more accountable than DPR members because DPD members will be elected as individuals. There is greater uncertainty about the political processes of the DPD; however, most of those aware of the DPD think that this body will have a positive impact.

Thirty-two percent of all respondents do not think candidates for this body should be allowed to be a member of a political party (29% think it should be allowed), and 36% do not think DPD candidates should be allowed to receive campaign funding from political parties (22% think it should be allowed).

A majority of all respondents (58%) would like a residency requirement for DPD candidates. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (71%) and Bali/NTB/NTT (69%) are most likely to want residency requirements. Fifty-nine percent of those preferring residency requirements would like a requirement of 3 years or more. Seventy-four percent of residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua want a higher residency threshold of at least four years. A majority of respondents agree that

DPD members should be able to be recalled, and 58% of these respondents support recall by the regional DPRD, while 55% support recall by the voters.

Attitudes toward Political Parties

Ninety-nine percent of Indonesians are aware of at least one political party and the median number of parties known is five. Golkar and PDI-P are named by more than 80% of respondents, while PPP, PKB, and PAN are also named by a majority.

The level of trust in most major political parties has fallen over the past year. Among those who know of each party, the largest decrease in trust has been for PDI-P (72% had a high or very high level of trust in this party in 2002, 50% in 2003). Trust has also declined in PPP (67%, 52%); PAN (61%, 47%); PKB (61%, 50%); and PBB (56%, 50%). Golkar has maintained a relatively stable level of those who have a high or very high level of trust in this party (50% in 2002, 48% in 2003).

Ninety-three percent of Indonesians indicate that they or their family members are not members of any political party. Ninety-two percent report that they or their family members have not attended political party meetings in the last six months.

In this year's survey, Indonesians are reluctant to name the party they voted for in 1999 (56% do not name the party) or their current party choice (70%). Based on the limited number of people who actually name a party in response to this question, more people name Golkar as their current party of choice (9.6%) than PDI-P (8.7%). PKB is the next highest party with 3.8% followed by PPP (2.8%), PAN (1.7%), and PBB (1.1%).

Comparing those who reported their 1999 vote and their current party choice, there are indications that PDI-P may be less likely to retain its 1999 voters now, as 36% of reported PDI-P voters in 1999 state that they would choose PDI-P at this time. The major party that appears to be retaining the highest percentage of those who now report voting for it in 1999 is PKB (57%), followed by PAN and Golkar (45% each), and PPP (38%). Caution is needed in interpreting these figures as they are based on the relatively low levels of respondents who identified which party they voted for in 1999 and which party they would choose at this time.

Forty-four percent of Indonesians think that political parties are interested more in their own political interests, compared to 27% who think that the parties are interested in the participation of and inputs from the people. The proportion that thinks political parties are self-interested has increased since the 2002 survey (37%). Sixty-four percent of Indonesians think that parties should be required to disclose their finances, a decrease from 72% in 2002.

2004 General Election & National Election Commission (KPU)

Seventy percent of Indonesians say they are highly likely to vote in the 2004 general election and another 23% say it is probable they will vote. Residents of Sumatra (79%) and Kalimantan (76%) are most likely to say they have a high likelihood of voting, while residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (38%) are least likely to have a high likelihood of voting. Men and women are equally likely to vote in the 2004 general election.

Respondents say that they are equally likely to vote for a party based on the party or its candidates' policies and programs (19%), as they are because of the party or candidates' record in the DPR/DPRD (19%). The leadership of the party is the most important consideration for

13% of respondents, and 10% say the quality of the candidates in their electoral district will be the most important consideration. Eighteen percent will make their choice based on the opinions of others, primarily family members.

About two-thirds of Indonesians (65%) think that the 2004 election will definitely or probably be fair and honest. Opinions on the fairness of the election impact the likelihood of voting. Those who think the election will be fair are more highly likely to vote than those who do not think the election will be fair.

Even though a majority of the Indonesian population (59%) has heard or read at least a little about the National Election Commission (KPU), few (5%) have heard or read a lot about this body. Of those aware of the KPU, 69% are satisfied with this body while 14% are dissatisfied. Positive sentiments about the KPU may result from the fact that 64% of those aware of the KPU think that it is a neutral body, while 19% think it is a biased body.

At the time of the 2003 survey, 94% of adult Indonesians indicated that they had been registered for the 2004 general election. The lowest rate of registration reported was in Aceh (77%).

Regional Autonomy

Most Indonesians believe that controlling the actions of their local governments after the implementation of regional autonomy will be easier (29%) or will present the same level of difficulty (35%) as before regional autonomy. The percentage of respondents indicating that control of local officials is easier or the same has decreased from 73% in the 2002 survey.

More Indonesians in this year's survey are worried about misuse of power by local government officials (60%) than in 2002 (56%) and 2001 (51%). More people express this worry in Central Java/Yogyakarta (75%), Kalimantan (64%), and Aceh/Maluku/Papua (64%). A plurality of Indonesians (36%) think their regional DPRD should be responsible for dismissing their district heads while 21% prefer the president and 15% the minister of home affairs.

The percentage of Indonesians who feel that their district heads should be directly elected has increased progressively from 2001 (50%) to 2002 (55%) and 2003 (75%). A majority of respondents in each region would prefer direct election of their district heads.

A majority of Indonesians (52%) believe that they receive less or much less equivalent in services than they pay in taxes and fees to the government. Thirty-seven percent believe that they receive an equivalent amount back in services and 3% believe they receive more equivalent in services than they pay in taxes.

Awareness of Rights and Changes to the Constitution

More than 84% of Indonesians in each case are aware of various rights listed in the survey with the highest awareness being freedom of religion (97%) and the freedom to vote in elections (97%). Most Indonesians are also aware of their obligations as citizens of Indonesia. Almost all people think that they have an obligation to abide by the law (97%), to pay taxes (97%), to participate in education (95%), and to defend their country (95%).

Nearly a quarter of Indonesians (23%) are aware that changes have been made to the constitution over the past four years. But this percentage overstates actual knowledge of the

constitutional amendments. When those that are aware that constitutional changes have been made are asked to name some of the changes; 16% can correctly name a change, 61% reply “Don’t know” or do not answer, 12% have forgotten the changes, and 11% mention an issue that was not addressed in the constitutional changes.

Media and Information

Television is the primary source of information for most Indonesians (82%), followed by radio (8%) and newspapers (4%). Radio is more likely to be used in rural areas than urban areas.

Fifty-one percent of Indonesians watch programs on TVRI at least once a month. Forty percent report that they never watch TVRI. TVRI is most likely to be watched at least once a month in Aceh/Maluku/Papua (94%), Sulawesi (74%), and Bali/NTB/NTT (68%). It is less likely to be watched in West Java/Jakarta/Banten.

The primary reason for watching TVRI is because of interest in the programs (72%), because a program is only on TVRI (19%), and because TVRI is the only station received (9%). This latter reason is voiced more by rural respondents than urban respondents (13% versus 4%). Residents of Java are least likely to say they watch TVRI because it is the only station available (2%).

News programs are the most popular type of program on TVRI (49%), followed by music (16%) or other cultural entertainment (15%).

Sixty-six percent of TVRI viewers are aware of local TVRI and 93% of these respondents find local TVRI to be useful. TVRI viewers are far less aware of other local TV stations (35%) and 91% of these respondents find these local TV stations to be useful.

Twenty-nine percent of Indonesians report listening to RRI at least once a month. The highest use of RRI is in Aceh/Maluku/Papua (89% listen at least once a month).

Eighteen percent of Indonesians have listened to or watched the *Indonesia Baru (IB)* talk show on public and policy debates. This is a slight increase since 2002 (16%). The audience for *IB* increases according to education, and those who watch or listen to *IB* are much more likely to be aware of national leaders and institutions than those who do not watch or listen to it. Ninety percent of those who watch or listen to *Indonesia Baru* rate the program as good or very good, while only 5% rate it as bad or very bad.

METHODOLOGY

This survey was done by face-to-face interviews, using a structured questionnaire, in the 32 provinces of Indonesia, including those in the conflict areas of Aceh, Maluku and Papua. The sampling method used was Multi-Stage Random Sampling.

Sample sizes at provincial level were first determined, commensurate with each province's proportion of the national population. Simple Random Sampling technique was then used at each subsequent stage. Municipalities/districts (*kabupaten* and *kotamadya*) within each province were selected, again with the sample size within each municipality/district commensurate with relative populations. At the third stage, sub districts (*kecamatan*) were selected within each municipality/district, again with sample sizes in each sub district commensurate with relative populations.

At the fourth stage, from each of the sub districts selected, kelurahan/villages were selected randomly, but considering their rural or urban status (based on the Kelurahan/Village Index Map of BPS 2001). The sample comprised 59% rural respondents and 41% urban. This composition is commensurate with Indonesian population data projections for 2003 (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000)

From each kelurahan/village selected, one 'community' (RW) was selected randomly, from each RW one neighborhood (RT) was selected randomly. Simple Random Sampling technique was used for each selection. Ten households within each RT were then selected by using the Random Walking Method.

Individual respondents within each selected household were selected using the Kish Grid method. Eligible respondents were those who are married or who will be 17 or more years old on 5 April 2004 - and thus eligible to vote at the 2004 Indonesian elections. All respondents were interviewed face-to-face.

The sample size of the survey was 3,000 respondents throughout Indonesia. Based on the total sample size, the survey margin of error has been estimated to be $\pm 1.79\%$ at the 95% confidence level. This means that if the same survey was conducted 100 times, then 95 of them would yield results within plus and minus 1.79% of the result reported in this survey. For example, if the proportion of people who agreed to a particular question were found to be 69% in this survey, then 95 times out of 100, the result would be in the range of 67.21% to 70.79%.

For the purpose of this report, cross tabulation analysis was carried out with variables including age, gender, socio economic status, level of education, rural and urban location and region within Indonesia. For the regional analysis provinces were grouped into 8 regions:

Regions	Constituent Provinces
Aceh/Maluku/Papua	Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam North Maluku Maluku Papua Central Irian Jaya West Irian Jaya
Sumatra	North Sumatra West Sumatra Riau (including Riau Islands) Jambi South Sumatra 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 Nusa Tenggara Barat Nusa Tenggara Timur
Kalimantan	West Kalimantan Central Kalimantan South Kalimantan East Kalimantan
Sulawesi	North Sulawesi Gorontalo Central Sulawesi South Sulawesi South East Sulawesi

For questions repeated from IFES' national surveys of 2002 and/or 2001, comparative results have been analyzed.

DEMOGRAPHICS

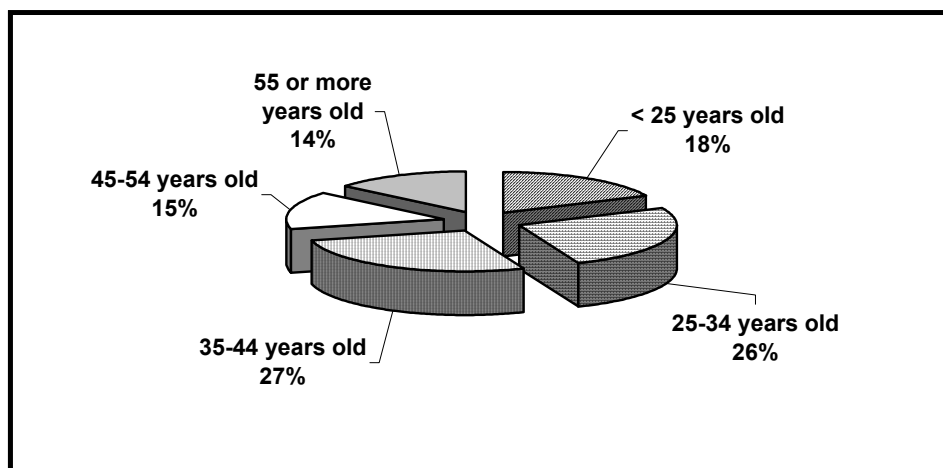
a. Proportion of respondents based on rural and urban location, age, and gender

Fifty nine percent of the respondents were from rural areas and 41% from urban areas. This composition is commensurate with Indonesian population data (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000)

The composition of respondents by age is as follows:

- 18 % of total respondents are below 25 years old
- 26% are 25 – 34 years old
- 27% are 35 – 44 years old
- 15% are 45 – 54 years old
- 14% are 55 or more years old

Proportion of respondents based on age
(Base: Total respondents (n=3000))



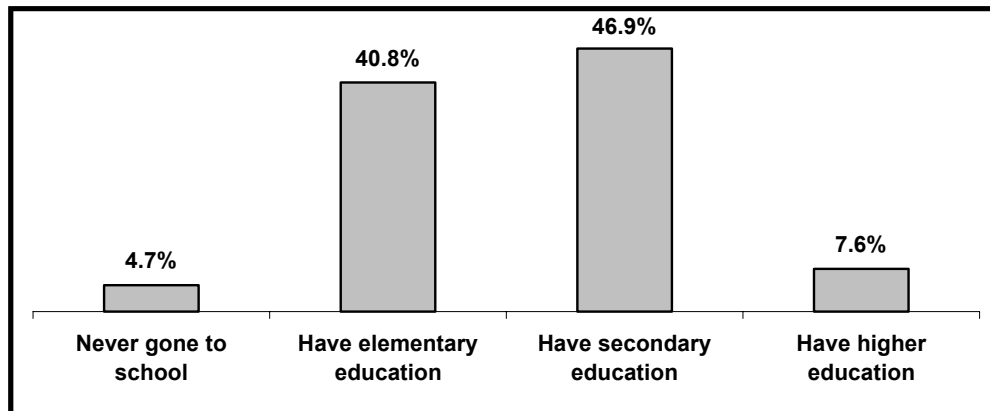
Of the 3000 total respondents, there were equal proportions of women and men, i.e. 50% or 1500 respondents respectively. This composition is also commensurate with Indonesian population data (BPS: Indonesian Population Census, 2000)

b. Proportion of Respondents Based On Education Level and Socio-Economic Classes

Grouping of respondents to this survey based on education level is:

- 4.7% have never gone to school
- 40.8% have elementary school education
- 46.9% have secondary school education (Junior & Senior Secondary or Vocational School)
- 7.6% have higher education

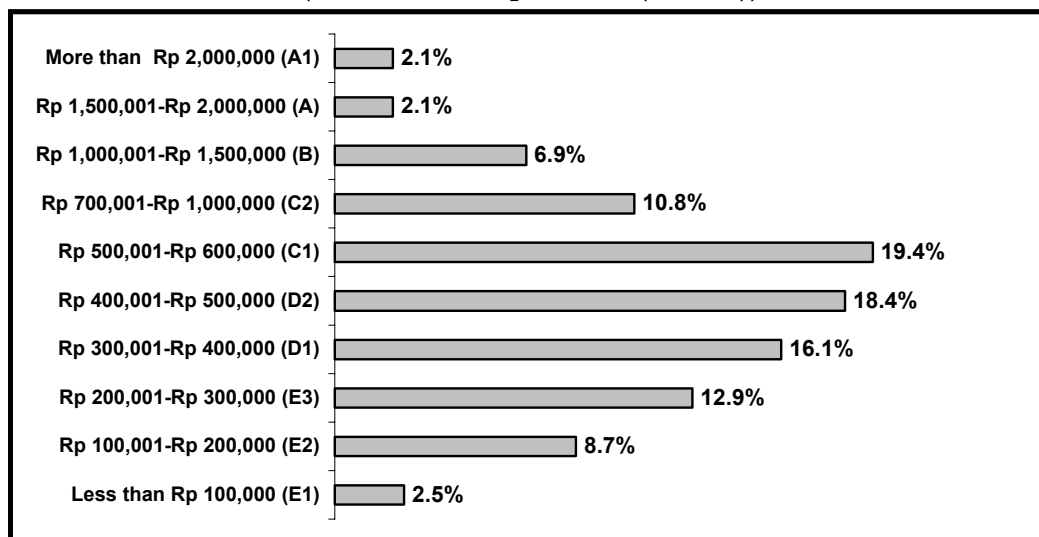
Proportion of Respondents Based on Education Level
 (Base: Total respondents (n=3000))



Respondents were categorized by socio-economic status based on routine monthly household expenditures. Routine household expenditures are expenditures by respondents for food and drink, transportation costs, school fees, etc., but do not include expenses for purchase of electronic/luxury goods, house installments, or savings.

In this survey, 58.6% of the respondents are from the lower socio economic classes, levels D & E (household routine expenditures per month less than or equal to Rp 500,000); 30.2% are from the middle socio-economic class, level C (Rp 500,001 to Rp 1,000,000); and 11.1% are from the higher socio-economic class, levels A & B (routine monthly expenditures Rp 1,000,001 or more).

Proportion of respondents based on socio-economic class
 (Base: Total Respondents (n=3000))



CHAPTER I OVERALL SITUATION IN INDONESIA

The 2003 IFES survey finds that the level of optimism evident among Indonesians on both economic and security matters in the 2002 survey has deteriorated to a considerable extent, and current public opinion is more reflective of the 2001 survey. Economic and security concerns have heightened since the 2002 survey and this has had an impact on evaluations of the government's efforts both in general and on specific matters. Most Indonesians think the government's efforts have not brought significant improvements to the country and a majority is dissatisfied with the implementation of most aspects of the reform agenda.

Problems of Greatest Concern for the Country

As with previous IFES surveys in Indonesia, the economic situation remains the problem of most concern to a majority of Indonesians. The increase in prices of basic goods is mentioned most often (54%) as the greatest problem facing Indonesians. This is a decrease from the 2002 survey when 70% mentioned increasing prices as the greatest problem, but a return to the levels of the 2001 survey when 53% mentioned this issue (see Figure 1 below).

One reason why fewer respondents mention price increases in this year's survey is because of the increased mention of security issues as the greatest problem. The recent start of the integrated operation in Aceh may play a part in shaping the security concerns. In this year's survey, 13% cite a lack of security as a significant concern, a threefold increase from the percentage citing this problem in the 2001 and 2002 surveys. Uncertainty about the security situation is especially high for those in Aceh (59%).

Another aspect of the security concerns is law enforcement and uncertainty in the application of the law in Indonesia. Ten percent of respondents cite the lack of law enforcement as their primary concern in this year's survey, a substantial increase from the 2001 (2%) and 2002 (4%) surveys.

Other issues mentioned as the biggest problems facing Indonesians are political uncertainty (13%) and ethnic & religious conflicts, otherwise known as SARA conflicts (6%). This year's survey also sees a continued trend toward fewer people replying, "Don't know" to this question (4% in 2003 versus 6% in 2002, and 17% in 2001).

Figure 1. Greatest Problems Facing Indonesia

Greatest Problems	June 2003 (n=3000)	April 2002 (n=3580)	June 2001 (n=3440)
Increased price of basic needs	54%	70%	53%
Lack of security	13%	4%	5%
Political uncertainty	13%	11%	17%
Law uncertainty/Less enforcement	10%	4%	2%
Ethnic, religious and race-based conflicts	6%	4%	4%
Other	1%	2%	3%
DK/NR	4%	6%	17%

"In your opinion, what is currently the greatest problem faced by Indonesians?"

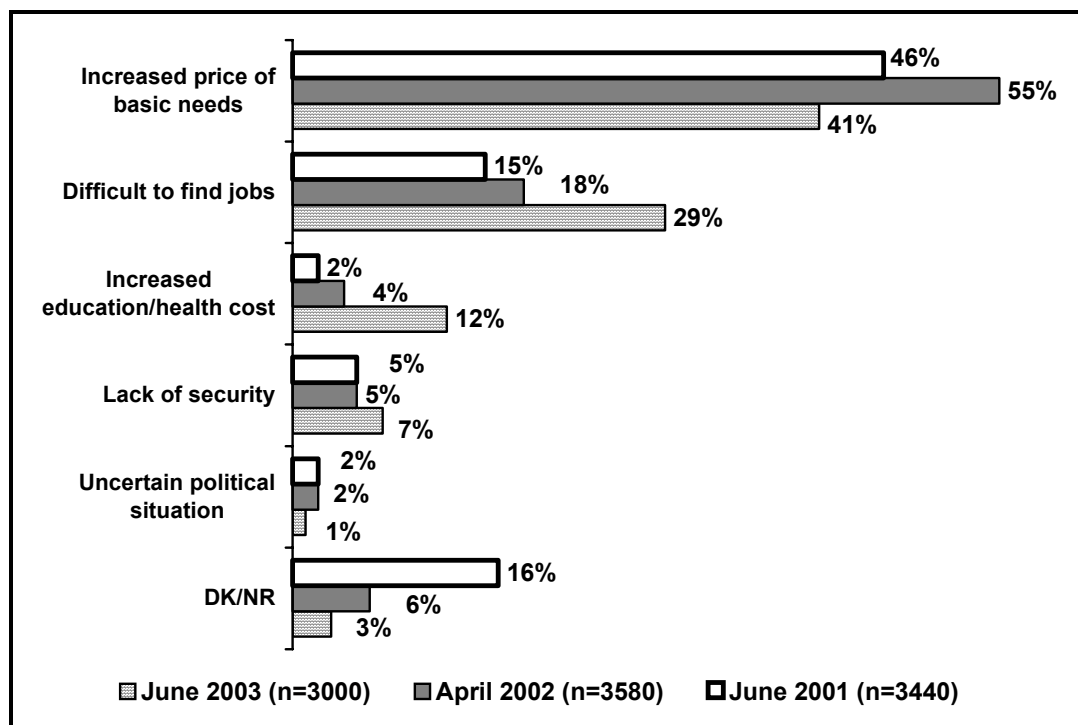
Indonesians in rural communities are more likely to cite price increases as the biggest problem than those in urban communities (57% versus 47%). Women are more likely to mention this than men (59% versus 46%), and those with the lowest levels of education are more likely to mention price increases than those with higher levels of education (65% versus 29%). SARA conflict is mentioned more often by citizens in Sulawesi (15%) as compared to those in Java, especially West Java (2%) and DKI Jakarta (2%).

Problems of Greatest Concern for Community

Concerns about inflation and jobs play a prominent role when Indonesians list the greatest problems facing their communities. Forty-one percent of Indonesians cite increased prices for basic goods as the greatest problem facing their community and another 12% cite increases in costs of education and healthcare. While the percentage citing increased prices for basic goods has fallen below the 2001 and 2002 levels, there has been a commensurate increase in the percentage mentioning price increases in education and healthcare (Figure 2). Those with at least some post-secondary education are more likely to mention this problem than those with lesser education (20% versus 12%).

While inflation is prominently mentioned as both a national and local problem, difficulty in finding a job is also a prominent economic problem in this year's survey. This issue is mentioned by 29% of respondents as the greatest community problem in 2003, an increase of more than 50% from 2002 (18%) and almost double the percentage of Indonesians who mentioned this issue in 2001 (15%). The trend data indicates that job creation may become the key economic issue confronting the country.

Figure 2. Greatest Problems Facing Local Communities



"In your opinion, what is currently the greatest problem faced by people in your community?"

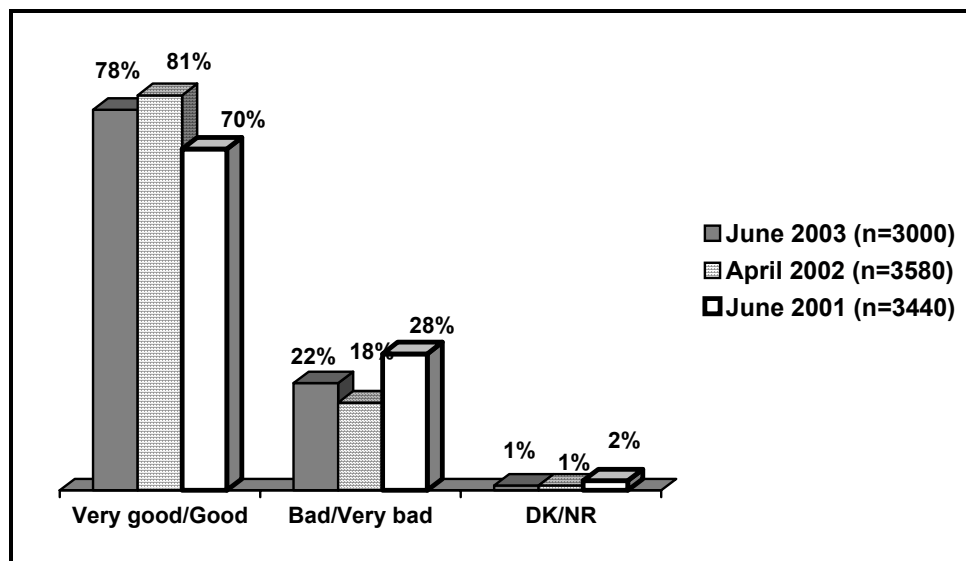
Difficulties in finding a job have become particularly pressing for the youngest adult age group. Those aged 17-24 are slightly more likely to mention difficulty in finding a job (35%) than price increases of basic goods (33%) as the biggest problem facing their community; it is different from other age groups where far more people mention price increases than jobs. This issue has assumed much greater relevance for the 17-24 age group since the 2002 survey, when they were far more likely to mention price increases as the biggest problem facing the community (47%) than difficulty in finding a job (25%). The phenomenon of large numbers of unemployed young people could become a concern for Indonesia if this situation persists.

Lack of security is mentioned as the biggest local problem by 7% of Indonesians. Just as with their concerns when talking about the biggest problem faced by the nation, residents of Aceh are most likely to mention that the biggest problem faced by citizens in their local community is the lack of security (59%).

Family Quality of Life

When asked about the current level of their family’s quality of life, 78% of Indonesians state that their family’s quality of life is very good or good. This percentage is a slight decrease from the 81% in the 2002 survey who thought their family’s quality of life was very good or good, but is higher compared to the percentage stating this in the 2001 survey (70%, Figure 3).

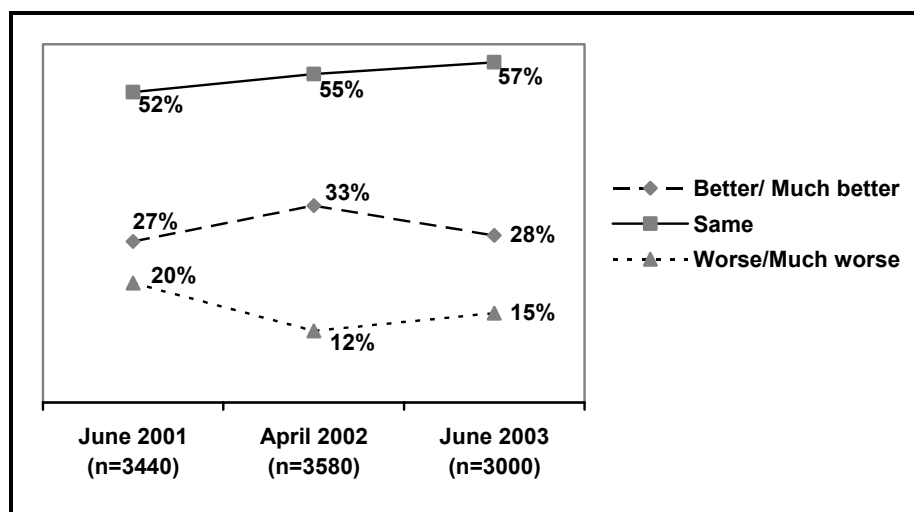
Figure 3. Current Quality of Life of Family



“In your opinion, how would you describe your family’s quality of life now? Is it very good, good, bad, or very bad?”

Most Indonesians (57%) state that their family’s quality of life has remained stable from last year to this year (Figure 4). Twenty-eight percent state that their family’s quality of life has improved from last year to this year, while 15% say that it is worse.

Figure 4. Change in Family Quality of Life



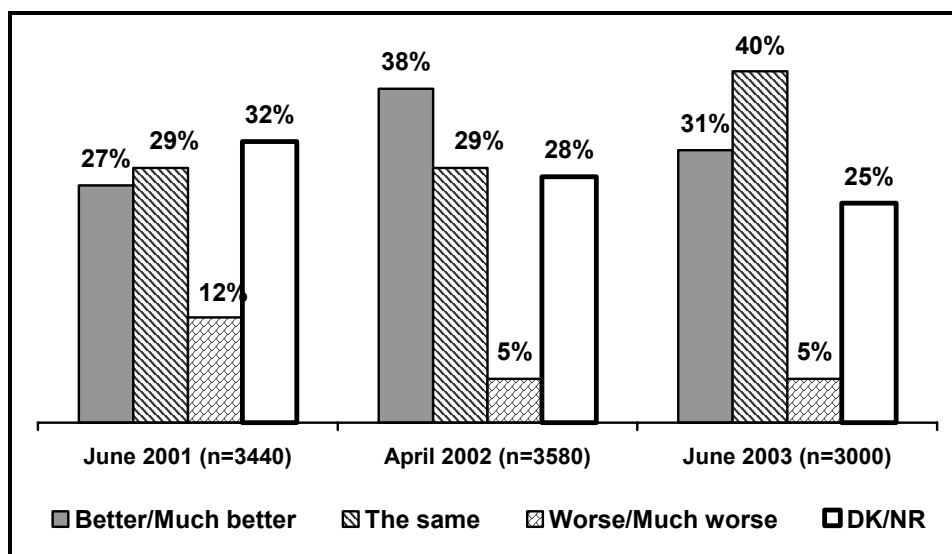
"In your opinion, compared to one year ago, is your family's quality of life now much better, better, the same, worse, or much worse?"

Looking at the difference between those who say that their family's quality of life is better compared to last year and those who say that their family's quality of life is worse, there has been a decline in the net positive evaluations from 2002 to 2003. In 2002, 33% said that their family's situation was better over the previous year and 12% indicated that it was worse, a net positive difference of 21%. In this year's survey, 28% say their family's situation improved over the past year and 15% say it worsened, a net positive difference of 13%. Thus, the positive differential has decreased by 8 percentage points from 2002 to 2003.

Among those who say that their family's current quality of life is good, 30% say that their quality of life has become better over the last year, 59% say it has stayed the same, and 10% think it has become worse. On the other hand, among those who say their family's current quality of life is bad, 17% say it has become better over the past year, 53% say it has remained the same, and 30% say it has become worse. This seems to indicate that there may be a widening of the gulf between people who are better off and people who are worse off in Indonesia.

Respondents were also asked to estimate how their family's quality of life would fare over the next twelve months. The percentage of Indonesians who are optimistic that their family's quality of life will improve over the next twelve months far outweighs the percentage that think that their family's quality of life will get worse (31% versus 5%). Forty percent think that their family's quality of life will stay the same over the next twelve months, and a quarter (25%) does not know enough to provide an opinion. Indonesians are slightly less optimistic about their future quality of life than in the 2002 survey. In 2002, 38% thought their quality of life would get better, 29% thought it would stay the same, 5% thought it would get worse, and 28% could not give an opinion (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Quality of Life in Twelve Months



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

Two developments stand out when looking at the trend data in Figure 5. One is that the net differential between the percentage of the population that thinks that their quality of life will get better and those that think it will get worse has declined since the 2002 survey. In 2002, this net differential was plus 33% and in 2003 it is plus 26%, a decline of 7 percentage points. This decline in net differential is similar to that experienced when evaluating family quality of life over the past year.

The other development of interest is the steady decline in the percentage that reply "Don't know" on this question since 2001. This percentage has declined from 32% to 25%, a sign that more Indonesians may have the confidence to evaluate their future fortunes.

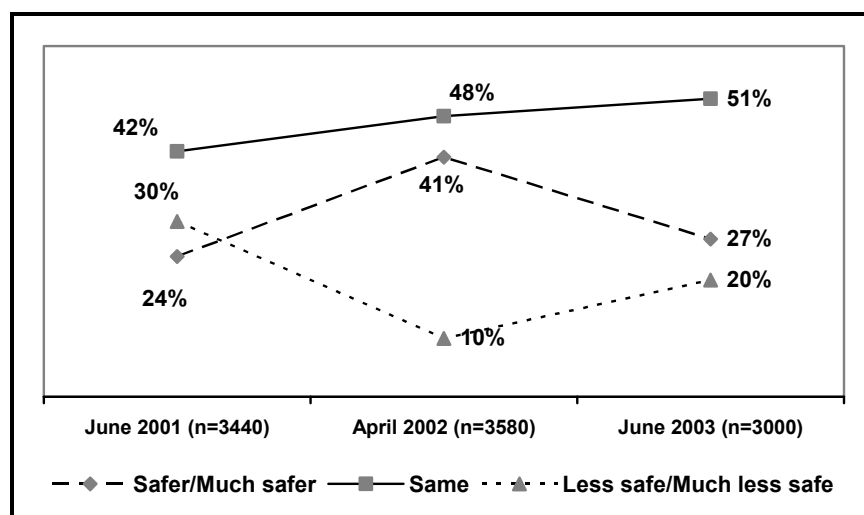
Respondents in Aceh are the least likely to think that their family's quality of life will improve over the next twelve months (4%), while respondents in Central Java and Yogyakarta are most optimistic (47%). How a respondent's family fared over the previous twelve months also impacts their expectations of the next twelve months. Among those whose family's quality of life has improved over the past year, 47% think their family's quality of life will get better in the next year, 29% think it will stay the same and 3% think it will get worse. Among those whose family's quality of life has worsened over the past year, 23% think it will get better, 36% think it will stay the same and 14% think it will get worse.

Looking at Figures 4 and 5, the percentage of those who thought the current situation was better than the past year or will be better in the next year follows a similar pattern. It increases markedly between 2001 and 2002, but decreases to closer to 2001 levels in 2003. Setting this against the political situation in Indonesia in these three years, the indicators improved in 2002 after the ascension of Megawati to the presidency, from the lower levels recorded during the uncertainty of the final year of President Wahid's term as president. However, these more positive sentiments seem to have decreased over the past year and the data is once again showing sentiments closer to the 2001 levels on general questions of well being. An analogous situation is observed with regard to security levels.

Security Level

In a previous section, it was mentioned that 13% of the people consider the lack of security as the biggest problem faced by the nation, and 7% consider it the biggest problem faced by their communities. There is an indication that this problem is felt to be increasing compared to the preceding years. This is also indicated by responses to two other questions in this year's survey. A higher percentage of respondents in this year's survey feel that the security situation has worsened in the past twelve months compared to the 2002 survey (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Security Compared to One Year Ago



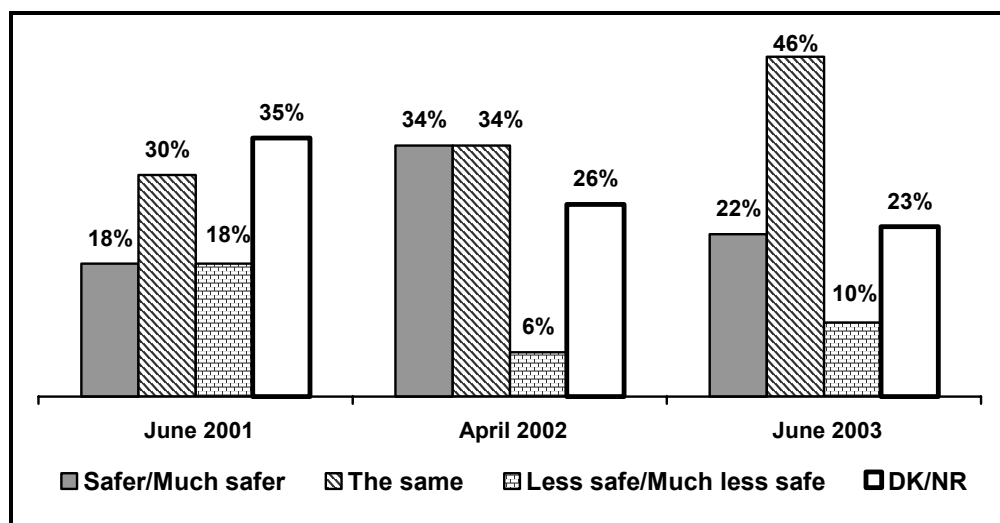
"In your opinion, compared to a year ago, do you now feel much safer, safer, the same, less safe, or much less safe?"

In 2002, 41% of Indonesians felt safer compared to the previous year and 10% felt less safe. In 2003, 27% feel safer than they did one year ago and 20% feel less safe. The decline in the net differential (those who feel safer net of those who feel less safe) on this question between the two surveys has been very large, from plus 31% in 2002 to plus 7% in 2003, a decline of 24 percentage points (Figure 6).

A majority (51%) feels as safe as it did one year ago. Respondents in Aceh (62%), Yogyakarta (45%), and Jakarta (39%) are less likely to feel safer, compared to the previous year, than the national average. Surprisingly, respondents in Bali (23%) don't feel significantly less safe than the national average (20%). People in urban areas are slightly more likely to feel less safe (24%) than those in rural areas (17%).

A plurality of Indonesians does not expect much change in the security situation over the next year (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Security Situation Over the Next Year



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

Forty-six percent think they will be as safe as they are now, 22% think they will be safer one year from now, and 10% believe they will be less safe. Twenty-three percent reply, "Don't know". The net differential between those who think they will be safer minus those who think they will be less safe has decreased from plus 28% in 2002 to plus 12% this year, a decrease of 16 percentage points. As in the case with future quality of life, the percentage of those saying "Don't know" has declined two years in a row.

In Aceh, not one respondent thinks they will feel safer in one year's time. Thirty-one percent think they will be less safe, and 39% reply, "Don't know".

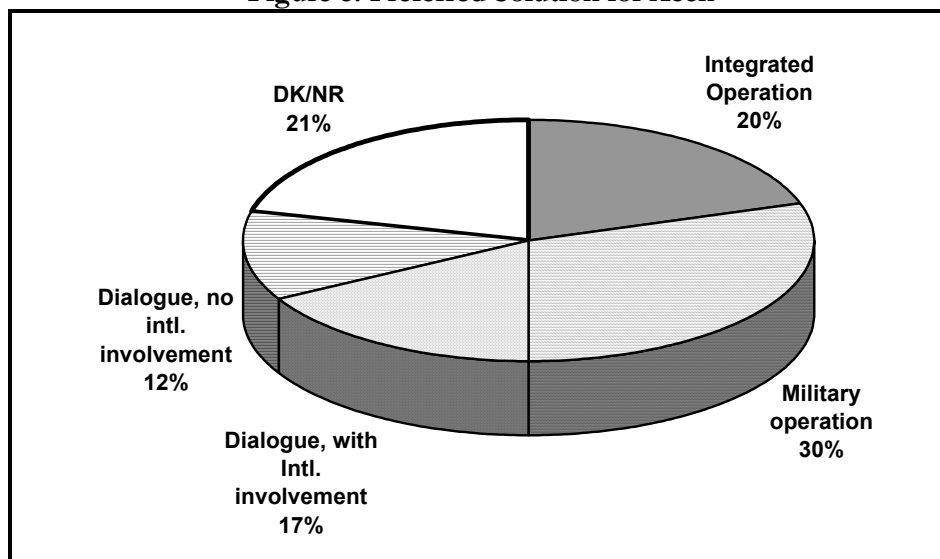
Preferred Solution for Aceh

Over the last year there has been a significant shift in attitudes toward the preferred solution for Aceh (Figure 8). This year's survey was conducted at the same time as integrated operations started in Aceh. The integrated operations include the military offensive against the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), the pro-independence group in Aceh.

In the 2002 IFES survey, 12% of Indonesians preferred military force as a way to resolve the problems in Aceh while 69% preferred dialogue with the people of Aceh. In this year's survey, 30% prefer purely military action in Aceh to resolve the problems, 20% prefer an integrated operation which includes a military offensive, 17% prefer dialogue without international assistance, and 12% prefer dialogue with international assistance. In total, 50% of Indonesians would prefer some sort of military operation in Aceh, and 29% desire more dialogue with GAM, either with or without the assistance of international institutions.

In Aceh, 59% would prefer some sort of dialogue while 19% prefer some sort of military action. Half the respondents in the rest of Indonesia (50%) prefer some sort of military action, either the integrated operation or military action exclusively.

Figure 8. Preferred Solution for Aceh

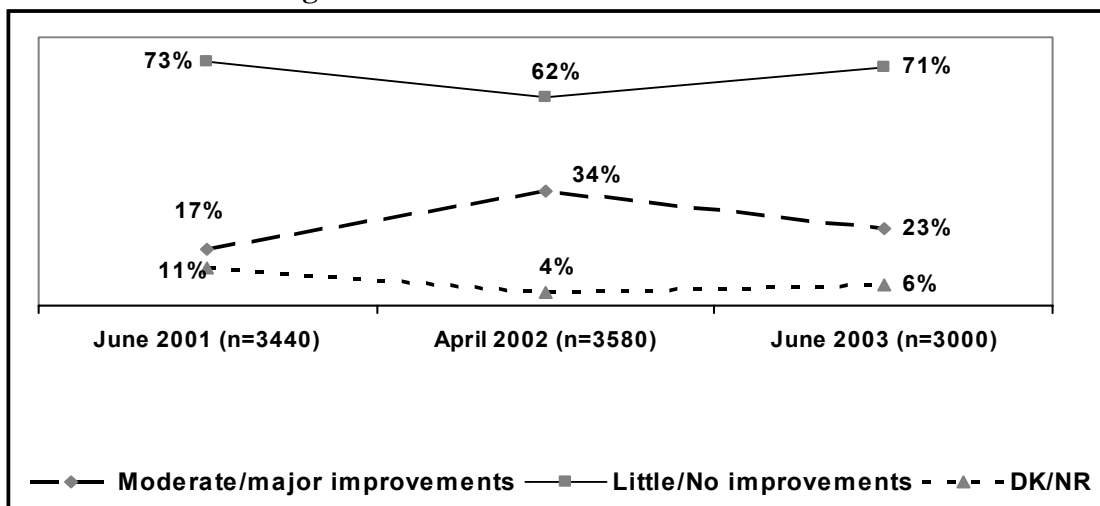


“The December 2002 ceasefire agreement in Aceh between the Indonesian government and GAM has recently failed. Which of the following solutions would you prefer the Indonesian government now choose to resolve the continuing problems in Aceh?” (n=3000)

Evaluation of Government Actions

With most Indonesians concerned about the economic situation in the country and an increasing number who think the security situation in the country has worsened, perceptions of the government’s actions seem to have taken a negative turn over the last year. Less than a quarter of all Indonesians (23%) believe that the government’s actions have brought major or moderate improvements to the country. This is less than the 34% who had this opinion in the 2002 survey (Figure 9). Nearly three out of four people in this year’s survey (71%) judge the government’s actions not to have brought significant improvements to the country.

Figure 9. Assessment of Government Actions



“In your opinion, what do you think about the actions taken by the government? Have they brought major improvement, moderate improvement, no sign of improvement, or no improvement at all?”

In 2001, the difference between those that thought the Abdurrahman Wahid government's efforts had brought moderate or major improvements minus those who thought it had brought little or no improvement was -56%. Last year, under President Megawati's government, this figure had improved to -28% amid signs of optimism. This year, the net differential is back down to -48%. This decrease in net differential appears to be related to perceived safety and quality of life issues.

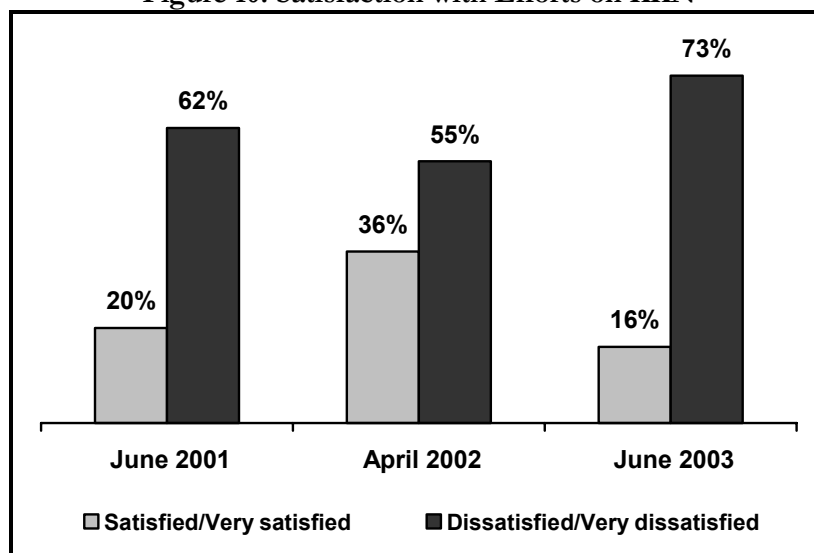
Perceptions of quality of life and safety over the next year are significantly impacted by the respondent's evaluation of the government's performance. Among those who think that government's actions have brought moderate or major improvements, 48% think that their family's quality of life will be better over the next year and 45% think they will be safer over the next year. Among those who think that the government's actions have brought little or no improvements, 22% think that their family's quality of life will be better and the same percentage thinks that they will be safer in one year.

Residents of Aceh have the highest disapproval of the government's actions with 96% saying that these actions have brought little or no improvement. Other regions with high disapproval are Jakarta (92%), Sulawesi (85%), Bali (79%), and Kalimantan (79%). Residents of Bengkulu and Lampung are more likely to be happy with the government's actions, with 53% and 60% respectively saying the government's actions have brought moderate or major improvements.

Government Efforts in Handling KKN

The level of dissatisfaction with the attempts taken by the government to eradicate KKN is even higher than for general government actions. Seventy-three percent of Indonesians are dissatisfied with the government's attempts to eradicate KKN. The level of dissatisfaction is higher than in 2001 (62%) and 2002 (55%, Figure 10). The higher the education level of the people, the higher the proportion of those dissatisfied with attempts made by government to eradicate KKN.

Figure 10. Satisfaction with Efforts on KKN



“Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with efforts of government in fighting corruption, collusion, and nepotism, usually called KKN?”

Satisfaction with President's Reform Agenda

In most cases, Indonesians are dissatisfied with the accomplishments of President Megawati in implementing the reform agenda. Of all the reform agenda items, more people are dissatisfied with the government's attempts at reform in the economic sector (72% dissatisfied, 20% satisfied). A significant majority is not satisfied with President Megawati's efforts to reduce corruption. Seventy percent are dissatisfied with efforts to eradicate KKN and 62% are dissatisfied with her efforts to implement clean governance. Fifty-seven percent are dissatisfied with law enforcement in the country. Indonesians are slightly more satisfied with the government's efforts on autonomy & decentralization (34% satisfied, 43% dissatisfied). The reform agenda issue about which more satisfied than dissatisfied is democratization (47% satisfied, 39% dissatisfied). As Figure 11 shows, there is more dissatisfaction in all these areas compared to 2002. There was no question asked about satisfaction with economic reforms in 2002.

Figure 11. Satisfaction with Reform Agenda

Reform Agenda	April 2002			June 2003		
	Satisfied/ Very satisfied	Dissatisfied/ Very dissatisfied	DK/NR	Satisfied/ Very satisfied	Dissatisfied/ Very dissatisfied	DK/NR
Democracy	55%	27%	18%	47%	39%	14%
Autonomy & Decentralization	41%	33%	27%	34%	43%	23%
Law Enforcement	42%	44%	13%	30%	57%	12%
Clean Governance	40%	46%	14%	25%	62%	13%
Economy	-	-	-	20%	72%	8%
Eradication of KKN	38%	51%	10%	19%	70%	9%

"Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the steps taken by President Megawati in accomplishing the following reform agenda?" (n=3000)

Statistical analysis¹ shows that most respondents have consistent responses toward the implementation of the six items on the reform agenda. Analysis combines the responses into a scale indicating overall attitudes toward the performance of President Megawati in accomplishing the reform agenda. It shows that 69% of Indonesians are primarily dissatisfied with the President's efforts on the overall reform agenda and less than a quarter (23%) are primarily satisfied.

¹ Reliability Analysis, Alpha=0.91

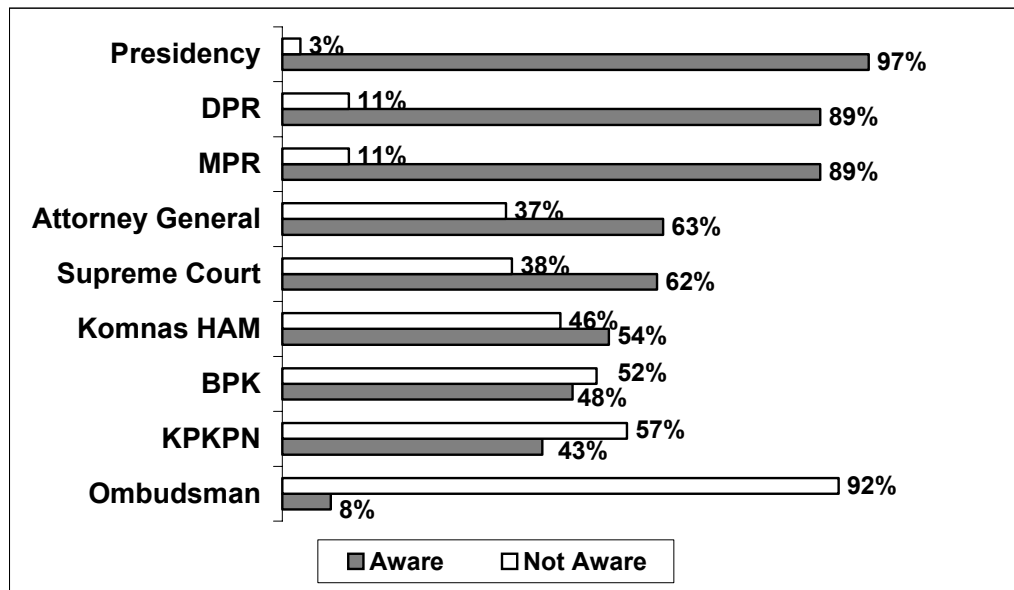
CHAPTER II ASSESSMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND LEADERS

This survey finds Indonesians more dissatisfied than not with both their government institutions and their national leaders. Dissatisfaction with political leaders as well as the current lack of any one candidate to energize those that are dissatisfied means that more than a third of Indonesians have no clear conception of who would make the best president for next year's presidential election. Dissatisfaction with President Megawati has accelerated in the past year. This year more respondents are dissatisfied with her job performance than are satisfied. Despite this, she is still seen as the leading choice for the next president of Indonesia. In addition to being dissatisfied with political leaders, Indonesians also express widespread dissatisfaction with the performance of government institutions.

Awareness of National Level Institutions

Respondents were given the name of 9 national level institutions and asked whether they were aware of these institutions. Of these institutions, almost all respondents are aware of the Presidency (97%), the DPR (89%), and MPR (89%). Awareness of institutions drops after these three bodies with the Ombudsman obtaining the lowest level of awareness (8%, Figure 12).

Figure 12. Awareness of Institutions



"We will read you the names of several state institutions. Are you aware of [Mention each institution]?"

It is interesting to note that awareness of the State Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) is far higher in the three troubled regions of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (89%) than the rest of Indonesia (54%). In general there is higher awareness of the institutions listed above in these three regions, than in other regions in Indonesia.

Women are less likely to be aware of these national level institutions than men. Awareness of institutions increases with the level of education, and, in most cases, rural respondents are far less likely to be aware of these institutions than urban respondents. These findings suggest that

more needs to be done to make all Indonesians aware of the institutions that serve them, particularly women and rural area residents.

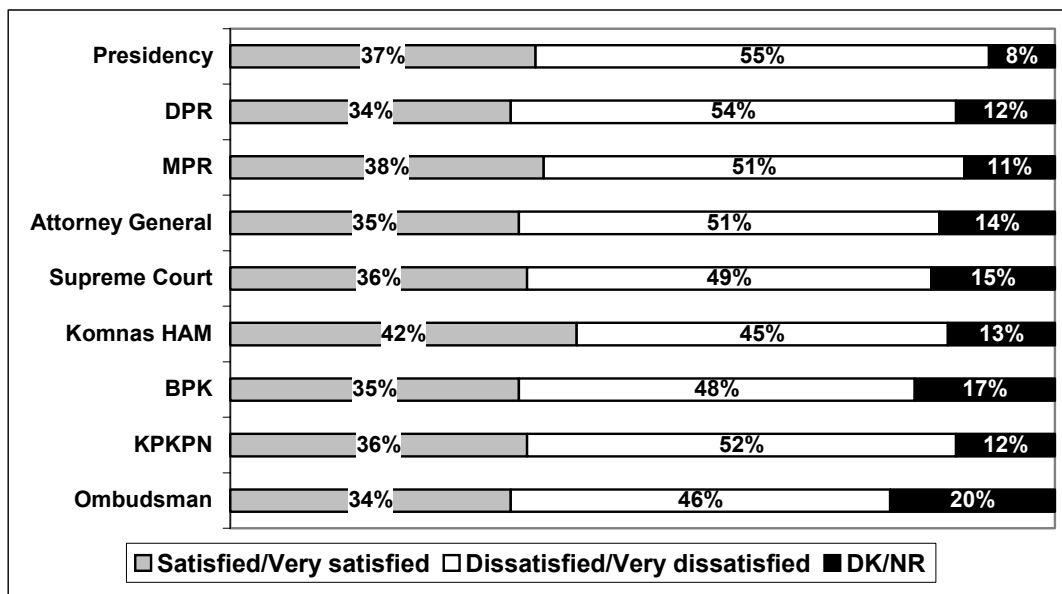
Satisfaction with National Level Institutions

Those respondents who were aware of each national level institution were next asked whether they were satisfied with the performance of that institution. A similar question was asked in the 2002 IFES survey; however care must be taken to compare the responses from the two surveys. In the 2002 survey, all respondents were asked about their satisfaction with these institutions, not just those who were aware of these institutions.

As the results in the previous section show, in 2003 at least a third of respondents are not aware of each institution except for the presidency, DPR, and MPR. Because close to 90% and above are aware of these three institutions, it is reasonable to compare satisfaction from last year to this year for these three institutions.

According to Figure 13, for each institution, more Indonesians who know of the institution are dissatisfied than satisfied with the institution's performance. Among those who are aware of the institution, the Komnas HAM receives the highest satisfaction rating (42%) while the presidency has the highest dissatisfaction rating (55%).

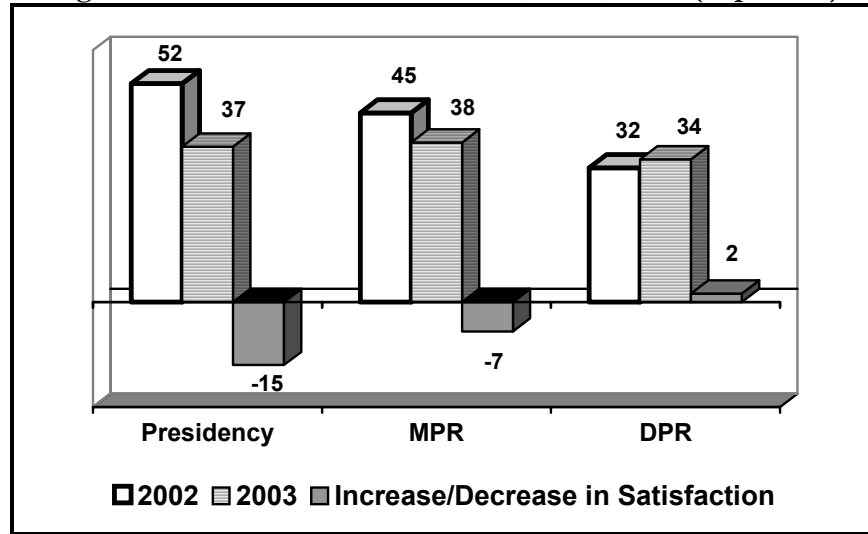
Figure 13. Satisfaction with Performance of Institutions



"[If Aware] Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the performance of the institution?"

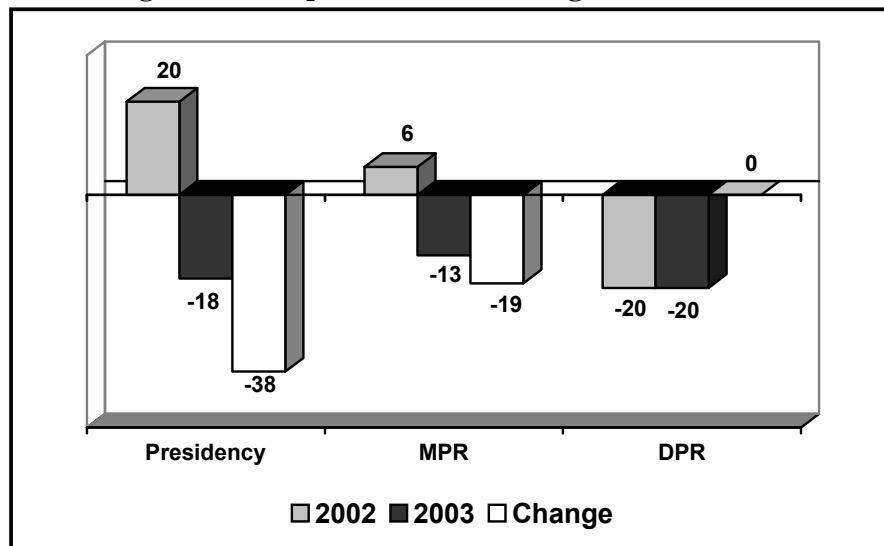
Comparing the rating of the presidency, MPR, and DPR with the 2002 survey, there is clear evidence that there has been a significant decline in the proportion of Indonesians satisfied with the performance of the presidency and MPR over the past year, while there has been a slight increase in the proportion satisfied with the DPR (Figure 14). The white bar signifies percent satisfied in 2002, the bar with horizontal stripes the percent satisfied in 2003, and the solid bar indicates increase or decrease in the percentage of people satisfied, since last year.

Figure 14. Satisfaction with President, DPR, MPR (in percent)



Another way to gauge the decline in satisfaction with the institutions is to compare the net ratings (% satisfied - % dissatisfied) for each body from last year to this year (Figure 15). In 2002, the presidency had a net rating of +20% while this year the presidency's net rating is -18%, a drop of 38 percentage points. This is a serious decline in satisfaction levels for the presidency, on a magnitude much greater than that witnessed over the past year for either the MPR or the DPR. The MPR had a net rating of +6% in 2002 compared to -13% this year, a drop of 19 percentage points. The DPR has managed to remain steady with a net rating of -20% in both years. In a relative sense, the DPR has improved its image with the Indonesian public in relation to the MPR and the presidency.

Figure 15. Comparison of Net Ratings for Institutions



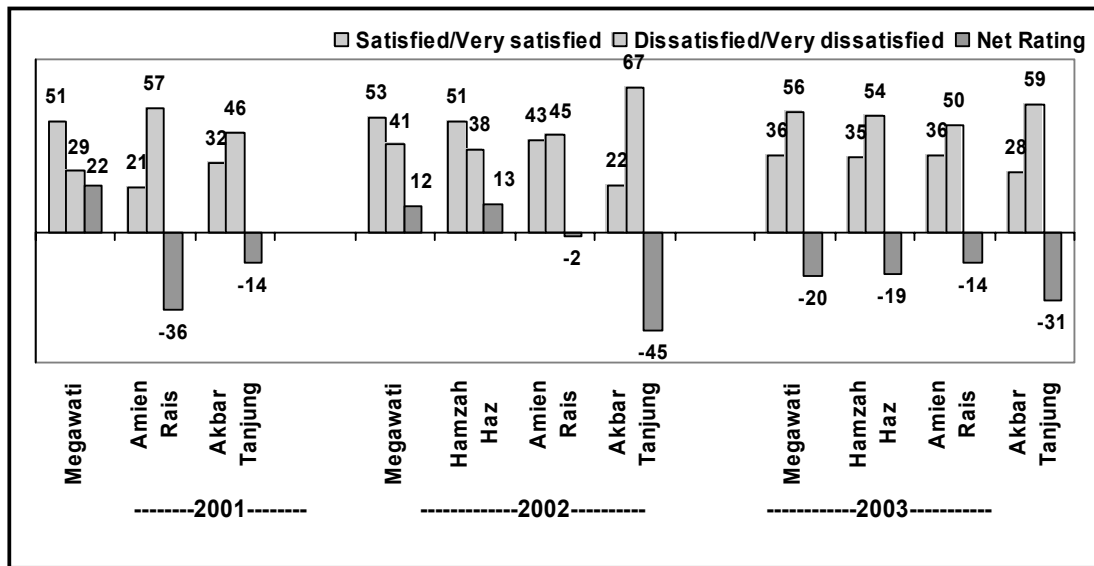
Awareness of National Leaders

Almost all Indonesians are aware of their national leaders, although there is slightly more awareness of the executive leaders, President Megawati (99%) and Vice-President Hamzah Haz (95%) than the parliamentary leaders, Akbar Tanjung (92%) and Amien Rais (92%). As with

awareness of national-level institutions, women and those with primary or less education are less likely to know of Hamzah Haz, Akbar Tanjung, and Amien Rais than men and those with higher levels of education.

As with national institutions, each respondent was asked for their satisfaction with the performance of the leaders of whom they were aware. Figure 16 provides the percentage of Indonesians satisfied and dissatisfied with these leaders along with their net satisfaction rating for each year.

Figure 16. Satisfaction with Leaders (in percent)



"[If Aware] Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the performance of...?"

The levels of satisfaction with the performance of President Megawati, Hamzah Haz, and Amien Rais have decreased compared to those in the preceding year, while dissatisfaction with their performance has increased. Although fewer Indonesians are satisfied with Akbar Tanjung than the other three leaders, satisfaction with his performance has increased and dissatisfaction has decreased over the past year.

The net rating bars for Megawati shows that her net rating has experienced a decline of 42 percentage points since 2001, from a high of +22% in 2001 to this year's figure of -20%. It is interesting to note that the rating does not differ significantly in this year's survey whether respondents are asked to rate the performance of the institution of the presidency or the performance of Megawati as president. For the former, 37% are satisfied and 55% dissatisfied. For the latter, 36% are satisfied and 56% dissatisfied.

A higher percentage of people in rural areas are satisfied with Megawati (40%) than urban areas (30%), although even in rural areas a majority (51%) are dissatisfied with her job performance. There is little satisfaction with her performance in Jakarta (14%), low satisfaction in Central Java (27%) and East Java (28%), but a majority is satisfied in West Java (51%). An important finding is that 51% of those who report having voted for PDI-P in the 1999 parliamentary election are dissatisfied with Megawati's job performance while 44% are satisfied.

As would be expected, the performance of the government impacts on the level of satisfaction with Megawati's job performance. Sixty-five percent of those who think the government's efforts have brought improvements to Indonesia are satisfied with Megawati, while 27% are dissatisfied.

Among those who think that the government's efforts have not brought improvements, 67% are dissatisfied with Megawati and 27% are satisfied.

Similar to Megawati, satisfaction with Hamzah Haz is significantly impacted by perception of government performance. Among those who think the government's efforts have brought at least moderate improvements to Indonesia, 63% are satisfied with Hamzah Haz and 28% are dissatisfied. Among those who think the government's efforts have not brought significant improvements to Indonesia, 64% are dissatisfied with Hamzah Haz while 27% are satisfied. Hamzah Haz receives low satisfaction ratings from people in Jakarta (21%) and Central Java (24%), but has higher than average satisfaction in Kalimantan (47%) and Sumatra (41%).

The highest satisfaction ratings for Amien Rais are in the southern part of Sumatra (Bengkulu, Lampung, South Sumatra), where 57% are satisfied with his performance and in West Java (48%). Akbar Tanjung also elicits his highest satisfaction in West Java (36%). With an upcoming nomination battle expected within Golkar for the right to represent the party in next year's presidential election, it is instructive to note that 51% of respondents who reported having voted for Golkar in 1999 are dissatisfied with Akbar Tanjung and 36% are satisfied.

Choice for President in 2004

Respondents were also asked who they thought would be the best president for Indonesia when Indonesians go to vote in the country's first direct presidential election in 2004. Respondents were given a list of 23 potential candidates to aid them, but they could also name any person they wanted. A total of 37 names were mentioned. More than a third of Indonesians (34%) have not made up their minds about who they believe would be the best president in 2004. The top three candidates named by respondents are: Megawati Soekarnoputri, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X (Figure 17).

Figure 17. Best President for Indonesia in 2004

Candidates	Percentage
Megawati Soekarnoputri	13.7%
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	11.2%
Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X	8.7%
Abdurrahman Wahid	5.1%
Amien Rais	4.4%
Yusril Ihza Mahendra	4.1%
Hamzah Haz	3.4%
Akbar Tanjung	3.1%
Gen. (ret.) Wiranto	3%
Nurcholis Madjid	2.9%
Jusuf Kalla	1.9%
Others	4.6%
DK/NR	34%

"In 2004, Indonesia will hold its first direct election for president. Several names have been mentioned in the media as potential candidates for the presidency. Considering the following list of names, in your opinion which of these people would be the best president for Indonesia in 2004?"

President Megawati is still seen as the best possible president by more Indonesians than any other figure despite widespread dissatisfaction with her performance and her government's efforts. A senior cabinet minister of her government, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Sultan

Hamengkubuwono X of Yogyakarta are the only other leaders who receive significant support. Other established leaders do not inspire much of a following at this time.

Of those who are dissatisfied with the government's overall performance, its efforts in the economic sector and in eradicating KKN, and who are less likely to support Megawati, she still represents, at worst, their second-most popular choice. Only in the case of those dissatisfied with the government's overall efforts does Megawati rank second – behind Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono - but only by a single percentage point. Megawati is still the top choice of those dissatisfied with economic policy and eradication of KKN.

Megawati is the top choice in most regions of the country. Exceptions are the western part of Java (West Java/Jakarta/Banten) where she is second to Yudhoyono (10% to 7%), Central Java/Yogyakarta where she is second to the Sultan of Yogyakarta (23% to 17%), Bali/NTB/NTT where she is also second to Yudhoyono (27% to 22%), and Sulawesi where she is third to People's Welfare Minister, Jusuf Kalla. Megawati is the first choice of those in rural areas, 16% to Yudhoyono's 10%, but she trails Yudhoyono in urban areas, 13% to 11%. She also enjoys more support among women than Yudhoyono (15% to 8%). The percentage garnered by select candidates among various sub-groups in the population is listed in Figure 18.

Figure 18. Choice for President, Selected Subgroups

Candidates	Rural	Urban	Male	Female	Aceh	Central	West Java	Bali	Sula
					Maluku	Java	Jakarta	NTB	wesi
					Papua	Yogyakarta	Banten	NTT	
Megawati	16%	11%	13%	15%	19%	17%	7%	22%	6%
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	10%	13%	14%	8%	13%	10%	10%	27%	12%
Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X of Yogyakarta	7%	11%	9%	8%	2%	23%	9%	1%	4%
Abdurrahman Wahid	6%	4%	5%	5%	2%	5%	1%	1%	1%
Amien Rais	3%	5%	5%	4%	5%	3%	5%	1%	3%
Yusril Ihza Mahendra	3%	6%	4%	5%	2%	3%	5%	1%	8%
Hamzah Haz	3%	4%	3%	4%	2%	4%	4%	1%	2%
Akbar Tanjung	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	4%	1%	2%
Gen. (ret.) Wiranto	3%	3%	4%	2%	3%	3%	4%	4%	5%
Nurcholis Madjid	2%	4%	3%	3%	2%	2%	4%	1%	3%
Jusuf Kalla	2%	1%	2%	2%	13%	*	*	1%	19%

*Less than 0.5%

CHAPTER III OPINIONS ON REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

The previous chapter indicated that 89% of Indonesians are aware of the DPR, the primary representative body at the national level. This chapter shows that Indonesians have a lower level of awareness of their provincial (DPRD I) and regency/city (DPRD II) representative bodies. The level of satisfaction with the functions of these three types of bodies differs from function to function, with DPR and DPRD II receiving a higher rating for making budgets and laws.

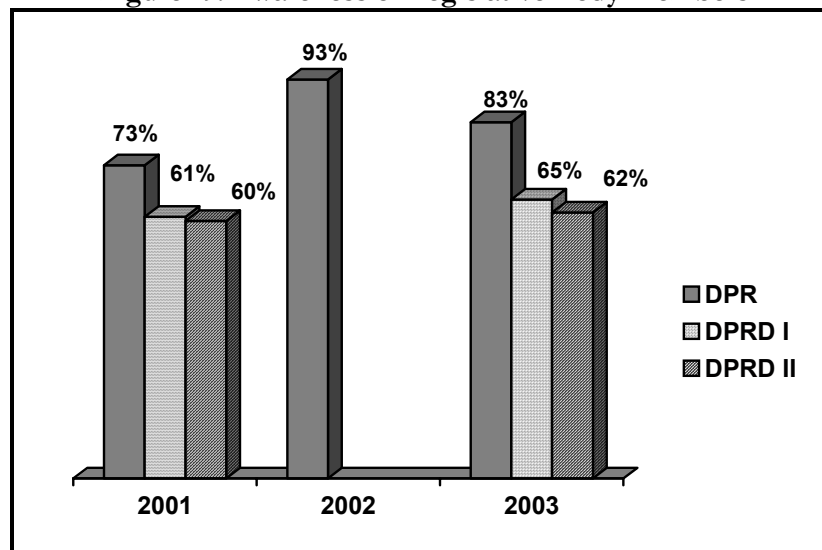
Awareness of Legislative Bodies

In the last chapter, the data indicated that 89% of Indonesians are aware of the DPR. When the respondents are asked whether they have heard or read about the representatives in the DPR, awareness drops to 83%.

The percentage of people aware of the DPR has fallen from the 2002 survey when 93% had heard or read about members of the DPR, but is still significantly higher than the 73% who were aware in 2001.

Awareness of the members of the DPRD I and DPRD II are lower than that for members of the DPR. This was also the case when this question was asked in the 2001 survey (Figure 19).

Figure 19. Awareness of Legislative Body Members



"Have you heard or read about the representatives of [DPR, DPRD I, DPRD II]?"

In this year's survey, 58% of respondents are aware of all three types of representative bodies. Several trends are evident in awareness of the legislative bodies at all three levels:

- Men are more likely to be aware of the representative bodies than women, especially for DPRD I (72%) and II (67%)
- Urban residents are more likely to be aware of regional and local representative bodies (73% DPRD I and 68% DPRD II) than rural residents.

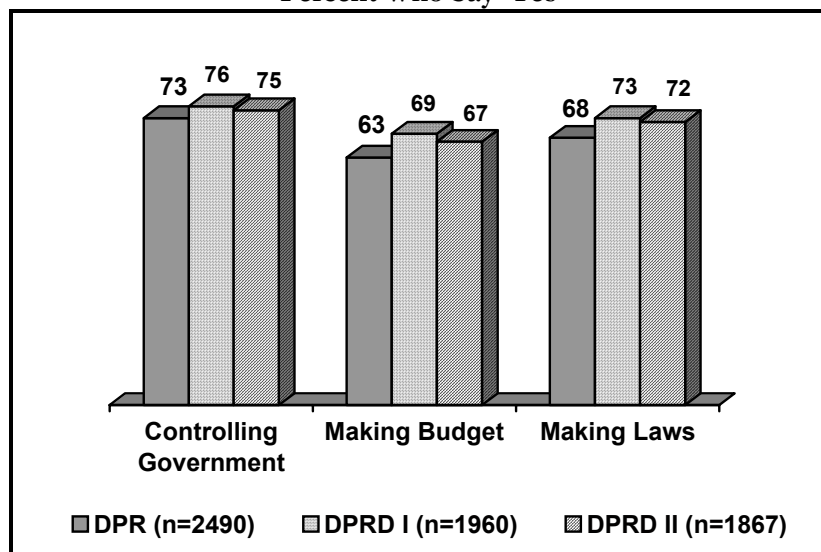
- Awareness of the legislative bodies decreases with age, i.e. older respondents are less likely to be aware of these institutions
- Education plays a key part in awareness with less than half of those with primary or lesser education aware of DPRD I and II, while more than 80% with secondary and higher education are aware of these bodies

Awareness of and Satisfaction with Functions of Representative Bodies

Representative bodies in Indonesia have three primary functions: to pass laws, to draft the state budget, and to maintain a check on the executive at the national, provincial, and local levels. A series of questions in the survey asked respondents to state first whether they were aware of these functions, and, if aware, to assess their satisfaction with the representative bodies’ performance of these functions.

Figure 20 below details the awareness of respondents with the primary functions of the three levels of representative bodies. Only those respondents who had heard or read about members of each body were asked the question.

**Figure 20. Awareness of Representative Bodies’ Functions
Percent Who Say ‘Yes’**



“Do you know that [BODY] has the function to [FUNCTION]?”

One general observation that can be made from the data is that those who are aware of representative bodies are less likely to know the function of these bodies to draft the budget than the other two functions. There is also generally greater awareness of each of the functions among those who know of the DPRD I and II than there is awareness of the function among those who know of the DPR. However, for all three types of representative bodies there are a substantial percentage of respondents who, while aware of the body itself, are not necessarily aware of its functions. Among those who know of the DPR, this percentage is 24%. There is a similar percentage among those who know of DPRD II (24%) and slightly less for those who know of DPRD I (22%).

Men are generally more likely to be aware of the functions than women, and urban residents are more likely to be aware than rural residents.

These questions were also asked in the 2001 and 2002 surveys but it is difficult to compare the responses between these two years and this year's survey. In this survey, only those who had heard or read about a representative body's members were then asked about awareness and satisfaction with the functions. In 2001 and 2002, all respondents were asked these questions. A comparison will be made, however, between the 2001 and 2003 satisfaction data because the 2001 data allows for filtering out the responses of those who had not heard or read of the representative body's members. The reader should be cautioned that because of this, the percentages reported for 2001 in this report would differ from those in the original report for the 2001 survey.

Figure 21 below compares respondents' satisfaction levels with the functions of the three levels of representative bodies. As noted in the last paragraph, the percentages for the 2001 data are based on the answers of those who were familiar with the functions.

Figure 21. Satisfaction with Functions of Representative Bodies

Bodies	FUNCTIONS					
	Controlling Government		Making Budget		Making Laws	
	Satisfied/ Very satisfied	Dissatisfied / Very dissatisfied	Satisfied/ Very satisfied	Dissatisfied / Very dissatisfied	Satisfied/ Very satisfied	Dissatisfied / Very dissatisfied
<i>DPR</i>						
2001	42	49	46	41	48	39
2003	40	53	44	47	48	44
<i>DPRD I</i>						
2001	34	50	39	42	40	39
2003	35	55	40	41	42	47
<i>DPRD II</i>						
2001	45	40	46	36	47	38
2003	44	47	44	46	48	43

"[For each function known] What is your opinion about how the [REPRESENTATIVE BODY] carries out this function? Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the [REPRESENTATIVE BODY] performance in [FUNCTION]?"

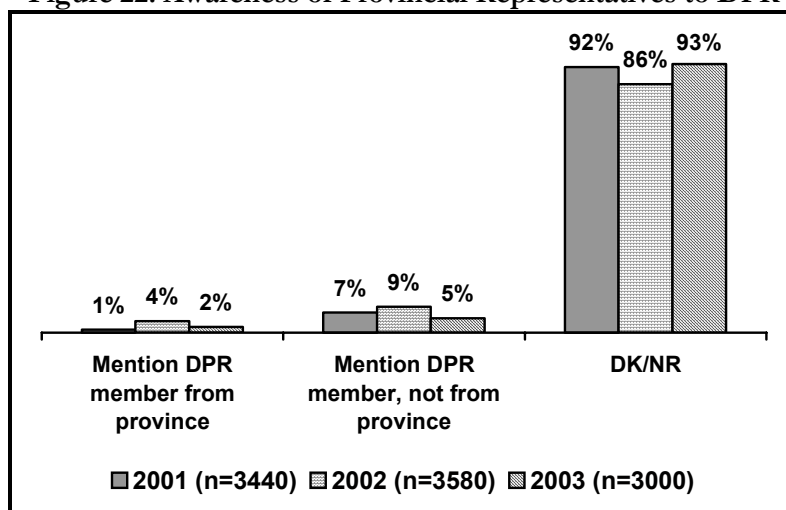
For the DPR and DPRD I, those who know of the functions are generally more satisfied with the body's performance in making budgets and laws than they are with their performance in controlling the government. Level of dissatisfaction with legislative performance has risen at all level of representative body and with each function since 2001, the only exception being an insignificant decrease from 42% to 41% for the DPRD I performance in creating the budget. This general trend for the representative bodies mirrors the trend seen in the previous chapter of an increase in dissatisfaction level with the performance of other governmental institutions and most political leaders. The Indonesian public is in a generally more negative state of mind with regard to political institutions in the country.

Dissatisfaction with performance of the functions of the representative bodies is evident through most major sub-groups in the population. A few groups stand out for levels of dissatisfaction greater than the average. Urban respondents are significantly more likely to be dissatisfied with each function of the three representative bodies. Residents of Central Java/Yogyakarta and East Java have consistently high levels of dissatisfaction with the functions of the representative institutions. In the case of DPRD I and II, men are more likely to be dissatisfied with legislative functions than women. Those with post-secondary education are more likely to be dissatisfied with the functions of the DPRD II than those with lower levels of education.

Awareness of and Contact with Regional Representatives in the DPR

Respondents to the survey who had read or heard about representatives of the DPR were asked whether they could name a person who represents their province in the DPR. As in past years, the results indicate that the vast majority of Indonesians cannot name one of their provincial representatives in the DPR. Adding the 17% of Indonesians who have not heard or read about representatives to the number who either gave a wrong answer or who did not know the name of one of their representatives, the total percentage of Indonesians who cannot name a person representing them in the DPR is 98%. This percentage is higher than the figures reported last year (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Awareness of Provincial Representatives to DPR



“Could you name a person who represents [NAME OF PROVINCE] in DPR?”

The decrease in identification of parliamentary members coincides with the decrease in awareness of the DPR from 2002 to 2003.

Given that almost all Indonesians do not know the name of a single person who represents their province, it is not altogether surprising that few report either contacting or being contacted by members of either the DPR or DPRD (Figure 23).

Figure 23. Contact with DPR and DPRD

Ever Contacted DPR/DPRDs?	2001	2002	2003
Contacted	9%	9%	3%
Never contacted	71%	66%	95%
Don't know	17%	22%	2%
No response	3%	3%	--
Ever Been Contacted by DPR/DPRDs?	2001	2002	2003
Been contacted	7%	4%	2%
Never been contacted	85%	87%	95%
Don't know	8%	8%	2%
No response	1%	1%	1%

“Have you ever contacted a member of parliament, either DPR or DPRD, to express your hopes or demands?”

“Have you ever been contacted by a member of parliament, either DPR or DPRD, to express your hopes or demands?”

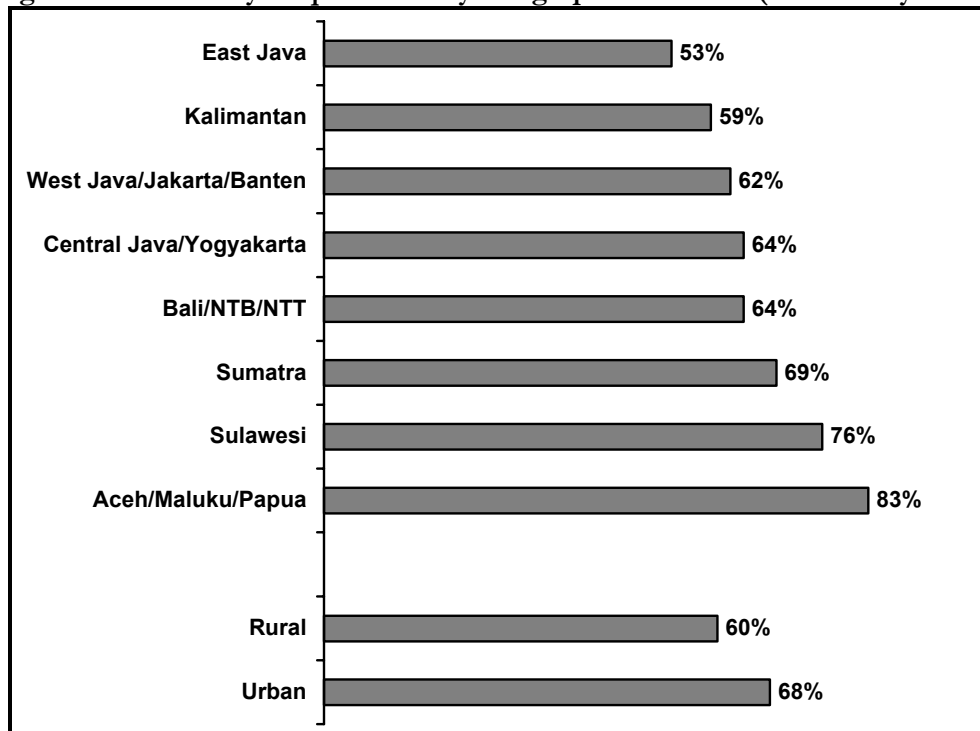
The percentages in this year's survey are far different from the last two years and present something of a puzzle. Whereas in previous years a significant percentage replied "Don't know" to these two questions, especially about contacting legislative bodies, in this year's survey 95% unequivocally replied that they have not contacted legislative bodies. One would not expect such a large change to occur for events, which are historical and already established. Given the extremely low percentage reporting something other than no contact on these two questions, it is hard to pinpoint any particular reason for the decline in "Don't know" responses. However, the increased dissatisfaction with representative bodies and other government institutions may play some role in respondents disavowing any association with members of these institutions.

For those who report having been contacted by or having contacted DPR or DPRD members, higher incidences of contact are reported with DPRD II, followed by DPRD I, and DPR.

Residency Requirements for Candidates for Representative Bodies

When asked whether candidates for a representative body should have to be a resident of the electoral district which the candidate is contesting, a majority of respondents (63%) reply that the candidate should be a resident of that electoral district. Fourteen percent do not think residency should be a requirement and 23% do not know enough about the matter to give an answer. Opinions on this issue are related to geographic location (Figure 24).

Figure 24. Residency Requirement by Geographic Location (Percent say "Yes")



"In your opinion, do you think that a political party candidate for an electoral district in the DPR or DPRD should have to have lived in this electoral district for a specified time directly before being nominated, to be eligible to be a candidate?"

Urban respondents are generally more likely to want a candidate in their electoral district to be a resident. This does not necessarily mean that rural respondents are more likely to be opposed to residency requirements. Urban and rural respondents are about equally likely to say no to residency requirements (15% and 14%, respectively); however, rural respondents are more likely

not to have an opinion on the issue (24% versus 16% urban). In fact, this is true in most cases when comparing sub-groups in the population on this question. There are not large differences in the percentage of respondents saying “no” to residency requirements. The differences primarily occur due to a high incidence of “Don’t know” among specific groups, women and lower-educated respondents being examples.

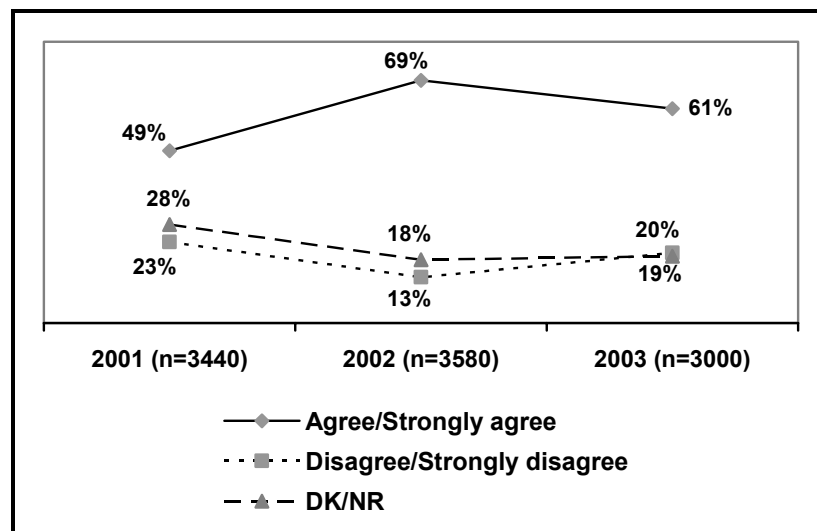
Residents of regions where there is conflict are most likely to want residency requirements for candidates. The highest percentage is for residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (83%), while Sulawesi residents are second highest (76%). Perhaps a desire to limit the influence of people who are not residents of these regions plays a part in these opinions.

Among those who would like residency requirements, most would prefer residency of at least two years: more than five years – 25%; 4-5 years – 23%; 2-3 years – 16%; 1-2 years – 21%; less than one year – 5%. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua and Kalimantan are more likely than residents of other regions to place long-term residency requirements on their electoral candidates. In these regions, 63% of those wanting a residency requirement would like the requirement to be 4 years or more.

Recall of Members of Representative Bodies

Presently, members of the DPR or DPRD can be recalled by their political party if the party is unhappy with the member’s performance. Most Indonesians agree with this practice even though the level of agreement is lower than at the 2002 survey (Figure 25).

Figure 25. Recall of Legislative Members by Political Parties?



“In your opinion, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree that a member of the DPR or DPRD may be recalled by his/ her own party because he/ she opposes the party’s policy?”

Sixty-one percent of Indonesians agree with political parties being able to recall members of representative bodies compared to 69% who agreed with this sentiment in 2002. Those who have heard or read of the representative bodies are more likely to agree with recall by political parties (63% DPR; 66% DPRD I; and 67% DPRD II), and those who have not heard or read of representatives are much more likely not to have an opinion on this subject.

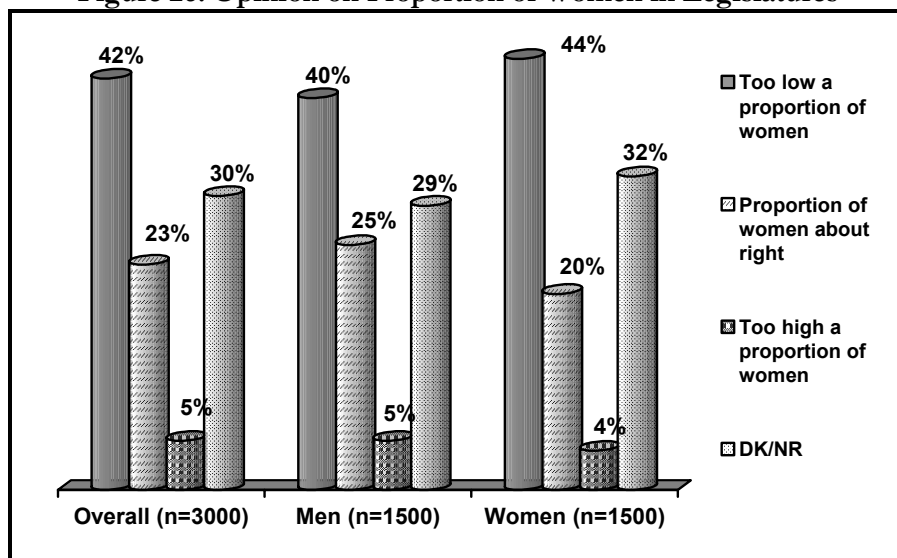
CHAPTER IV WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT

A plurality of Indonesians thinks that the proportion of women legislators in the DPR and DPRD is too low and would support various efforts to increase the proportion of women in parliaments. Men are only slightly less likely than women to support increasing the proportion of women legislators. Among women, educated women and those who are involved in income-generating activities are especially supportive. The most popular methods to increase the proportion of women in parliament are training for women candidates and a compulsory minimum percentage of women in the candidate lists of each political party.

Appropriate Proportion of Women in Parliament

This survey was interested in ascertaining the attitudes of Indonesians on questions of women's representation in parliament. Currently, the proportion of women in the DPR, DPRD I, and DPRD II is less than 8%. Respondents to the survey were given this fact and asked whether they thought the proportion of women in the legislative bodies is too low, just right, or too high. Overall, more Indonesians think that the proportion of women is too low (42%) than those who think the proportion is about right (23%), or too high (5%). There is a small difference between the percentage of men and women that consider the proportion of women in the parliament to be too low, with men (40%) only a little less likely than women (44%) to think the proportion is too low (Figure 26).

Figure 26. Opinion on Proportion of Women in Legislatures



"In Indonesia, around 50% of the population are women. Currently, the proportion of members of the DPR, provincial DPRD, and regency/city DPRD who are women is less than 8%. In your opinion, do you think that this current proportion of women in parliaments is too low, about right, or too high?"

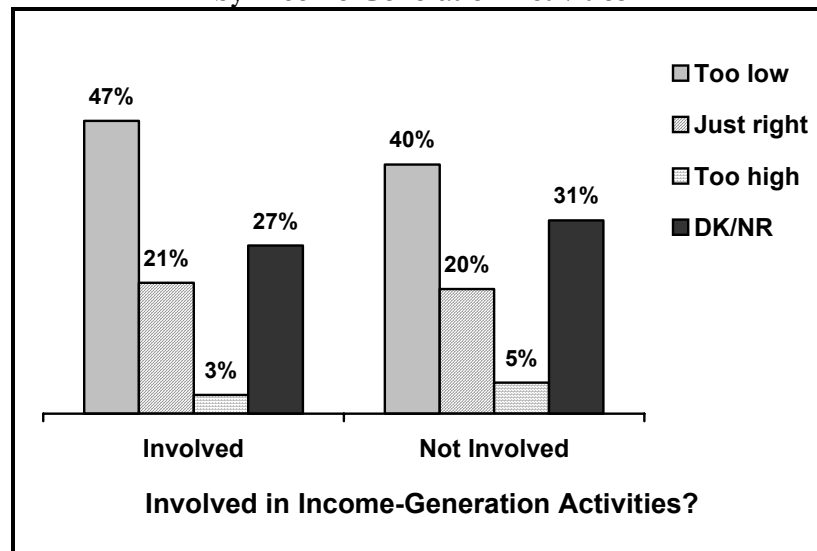
There is a direct relationship between the respondents' education level with opinion on the proportion of women in parliaments. Overall, 23% of those who have less than an elementary level of education think the proportion of women is too low, compared to 29% of those with elementary-level education, 52% of those with secondary-level education, and 59% with post-secondary education. Conversely, there is an increase in "Don't know" answers with a decrease

in education: 11% for post-secondary, 20% secondary, 38% elementary, 48% less than elementary.

The differences between men and women on this question differ from region to region. In some regions women are much more likely to think that the proportion of women in legislatures is too low. One exception is East Java where 42% of men compared to 40% of women think the proportion of women in legislatures is too low. The largest difference between men and women who think the proportion of female representation is too low occurs in Bali/NTB/NTT where 58% of women give this response compared to 41% of men. The lowest percentage of women that echoes this opinion is in Sulawesi, where only 30% of women think the proportion of women in legislatures is too low. In this region, men are even less likely to voice this opinion. Among both men and women in Sulawesi, there is a large percentage of respondents who reply “Don’t know” to this question (51% and 49%, respectively).

Economic empowerment is another important factor in explaining differences among women on this question. The analysis finds that women who are involved in income-generation activities, whether through self-employment in agriculture, fishing, hunting, etc. or through paid work, are more likely to think the proportion of women in legislatures is too low than those women not involved in income-generation activities (students are excluded from this analysis, Figure 27). The importance of economic empowerment is reflected in the fact that regions of the country with a plurality or majority of women involved in income-generation activities have a higher percentage of women who think the legislative proportion of women is too low, compared to regions where a plurality or majority of women are not involved in income-generation activities.

Figure 27. Opinion on Proportion of Women in Legislature, by Income-Generation Activities



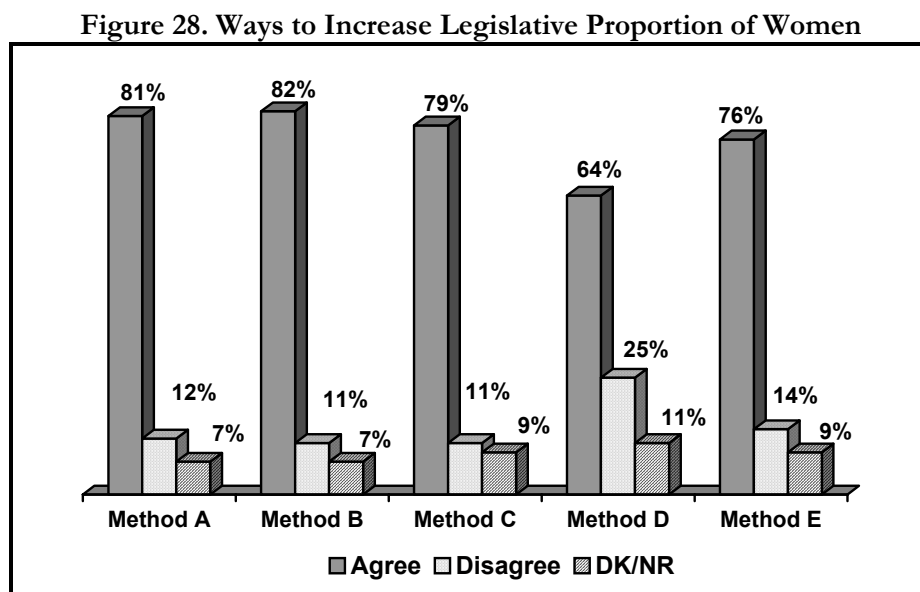
Methods to Achieve Higher Levels of Representation of Women in Legislatures

Respondents who indicated that the proportion of women in representative bodies was either too low or about right were next asked their opinions on several methods to achieve greater representation of women. There were five methods outlined:

- A. A minimum % of candidates on the candidate list for each party must be women.
- B. Special training is provided for women aspiring to be candidates.

- C. Each political party places at least one woman among its top three candidates in its candidate list for each electoral district.
- D. Additional financial assistance from political parties is provided to women candidates.
- E. A minimum % of each party's representatives in the DPR, DPRD I, and DPRD II must be women.

The percentage that agrees and disagrees with these methods is presented in Figure 28.

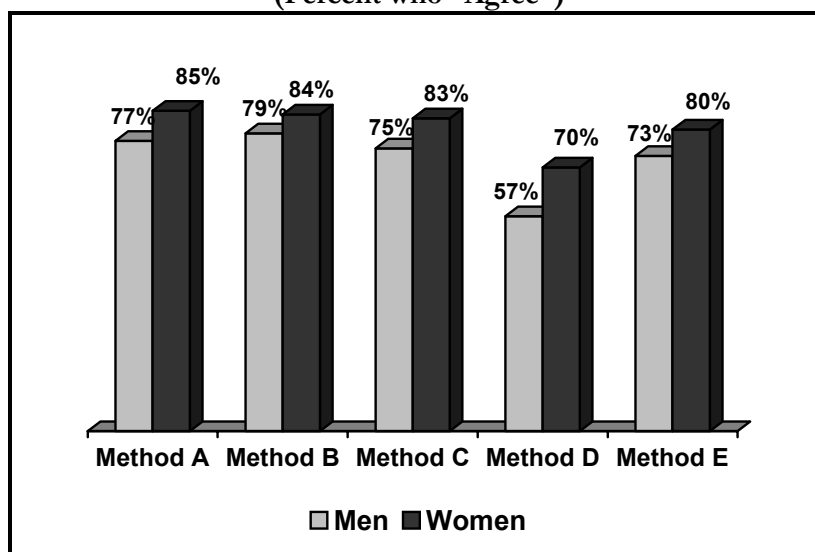


“For the 2004 election for the DPR and DPRD, each party will propose a list of candidates for each electoral district. In your opinion, do you agree or disagree that the following methods are appropriate to facilitate women’s representation in the DPR and DPRD?” (n=1946)

Each method enjoys majority support from the respondents. The two methods with the highest support would require a compulsory minimum percentage of women on each candidate list for each party (Method A, 81%), and would provide training for women candidates (Method B, 82%). There is slightly less support for a proposal that would significantly increase the prominence of women in the candidate lists by placing at least one woman candidate in the top three positions on the candidate list for each party for each district (Method C, 79%). Method E, which proscribes that a certain compulsory percentage of each political party’s seats in the legislative bodies go to women, gets 76% support. The least agreement is with the proposal that would actually provide additional funding to women candidates (Method D, 64%). It should be noted that even though this question was not asked of all respondents, a majority of the overall sample supports Methods A, B, and C while 50% of the overall sample supports Method E. Groups advocating greater proportion of women in parliament should keep these methods in mind when gathering support for their initiatives.

Women are more likely to agree with each of these methods than men, but both men and women display the same basic hierarchy of support as described above (Figure 29).

**Figure 29. Gender Difference in Support for Methods
(Percent who “Agree”)**



Respondents who favor a minimum percentage of women on candidate lists and a minimum percentage of each party’s seats in parliament were asked what percentage would be appropriate. In each case the majority of respondents would like a minimum of 20% of candidate positions (55% of respondents) or seats (59% of respondents) set aside for women candidates.

The election law for the 2004 Indonesian general elections requires that parties consider placing women in at least 30% of the positions on their candidate lists. Forty-five percent of those who favor a compulsory minimum proportion of women candidates think that this minimum proportion should be at least 30%.

Thirteen percent say that at least half the positions on candidate lists should be reserved for women. Women are more likely to voice this sentiment than men (17% versus 9%). There is a similar difference for those advocating a minimum of 50% of each party’s parliamentary seats for women. Overall, 11% advocate this position. Among women, this figure is 16% and among men, it is 7%.

CHAPTER V REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (DPD)

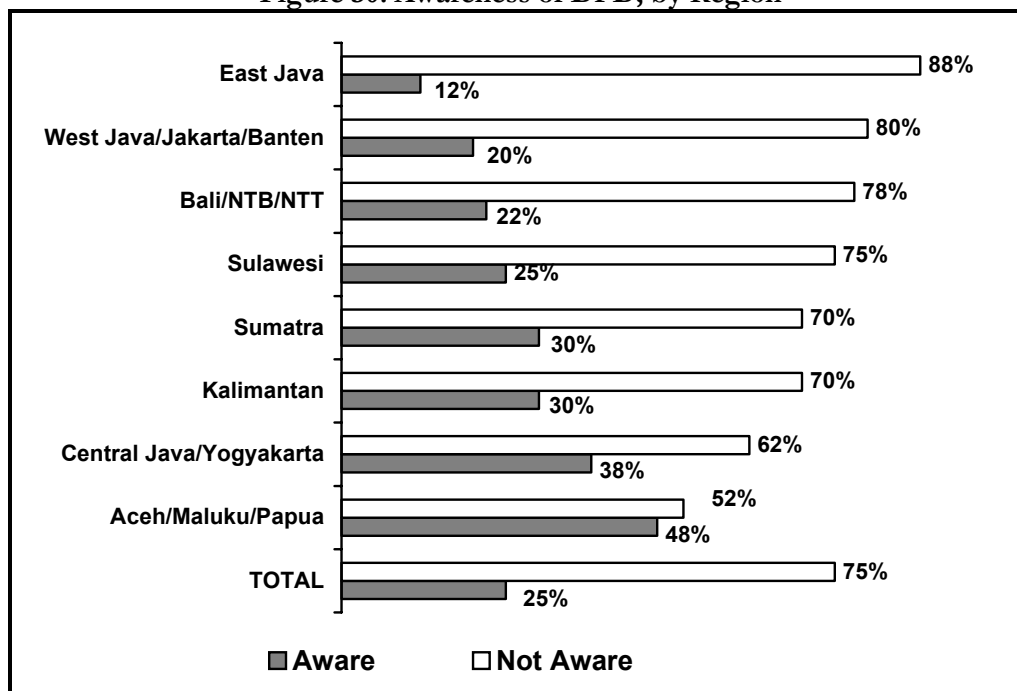
Three-quarters of Indonesians are unaware of the new national parliamentary chamber, the DPD, which they will be voting for next year. This indicates the need for a civic education campaign that familiarizes Indonesians with the DPD, its functions, and the method of election for its members. A majority of those who are aware of the DPD are also aware of its powers, and a majority also expects the DPD to have a positive impact in Indonesia. Most Indonesians support residency requirements for DPD candidates, with those in Aceh/Maluku/Papua especially supportive of these requirements.

Awareness of DPD

In the 2004 general elections, Indonesians will vote for the first time for a second chamber of the national parliament, the Regional Representative Council (DPD). This assembly has been formed primarily to provide a direct voice for the regions in the Indonesian parliament. As such, it may serve as a conduit for voicing regional views about the bills and issues affecting the regions that are discussed by the national parliament.

Respondents to the survey were asked whether they have heard or read about the DPD. A quarter of Indonesians (25%) have heard of or read about the DPD, 48% state that they have never heard of or read about it, and the rest (27%) state that they do not know or did not respond to the question. Awareness of the DPD is slightly higher in urban areas than in rural areas (29% versus 22%). Awareness of this institution is highest in the conflict regions (Aceh/Maluku/Papua) (Figure 30). In this figure, those who answer 'No' or do not give an opinion or answer have been combined into the 'Not Aware' category.

Figure 30. Awareness of DPD, by Region



“Have you heard of or read about the DPD?”

Those aware of the DPR or MPR are much more likely to be aware of the DPD (27%, each) than those not aware of these two bodies (5% and 6%, respectively). The difference in awareness of the DPD is even greater between those aware of DPRD I and DPRD II (34% and 36%, respectively) and those not aware of the two regional bodies (7% each). Awareness goes up with education, with a majority of those with post-secondary education being aware of the DPD (53%). As with most other matters in this survey concerning information about government, men are more likely to be aware of the DPD than women (30% versus 20%).

Awareness of the Powers of the DPD

Respondents who are aware of the DPD were asked whether they were aware of certain powers granted to the DPD. A small majority of these respondents are aware of each of these powers. A listing of these powers and the percentage of those aware of the DPD that know of these powers are shown in Figure 31.

Figure 31. Awareness of DPD Powers

Powers	Aware	Not Aware
Propose to the DPR draft laws related to regional issues	60%	40%
Participate in the discussion of draft laws related to regional issues	57%	43%
Provide advice to the DPR on draft laws on the State budget, taxation, education, and religion	55%	45%
Oversight of the implementation of these above laws and report on this to the DPR	52%	48%

“Do you know that the DPD has powers under the Constitution to:” (n=750)

It is interesting to note that those who are aware of the DPD are more aware of its general function of providing and participating in discussions of bills related to regional issues, than they are of its responsibility towards oversight and reporting on the implementation of these laws to the DPR.

Regionally, those in Aceh/Maluku/Papua have higher awareness of each of these powers than the national percentages reported above. Residents of Kalimantan, Bali/NTB/NTT, and the western part of Java (including West Java, DKI Jakarta and Banten) are also more likely than the national average to know of these powers. Residents of East Java are least likely to be aware of each of these powers of the DPD.

Figure 32. Awareness of DPD Powers, by Region (Percent “Aware”)

Powers	Aceh Maluku Papua	Sumatra	West Java Jakarta Banten	Central Java Yogyakarta	East Java	Bali NTB NTT	Kali- mantan	Sulawesi
Propose to the DPR draft laws related to regional issues	84%	56%	71%	52%	38%	64%	84%	57%
Participate in the discussion of draft laws related to regional issues	71%	55%	69%	51%	24%	68%	80%	46%
Provide advice to the DPR on draft laws on the State budget, taxation, education, and religion	71%	54%	64%	47%	28%	77%	86%	43%
Oversight of the implementation of the above laws and report on this to the DPR	65%	50%	66%	43%	24%	68%	82%	39%

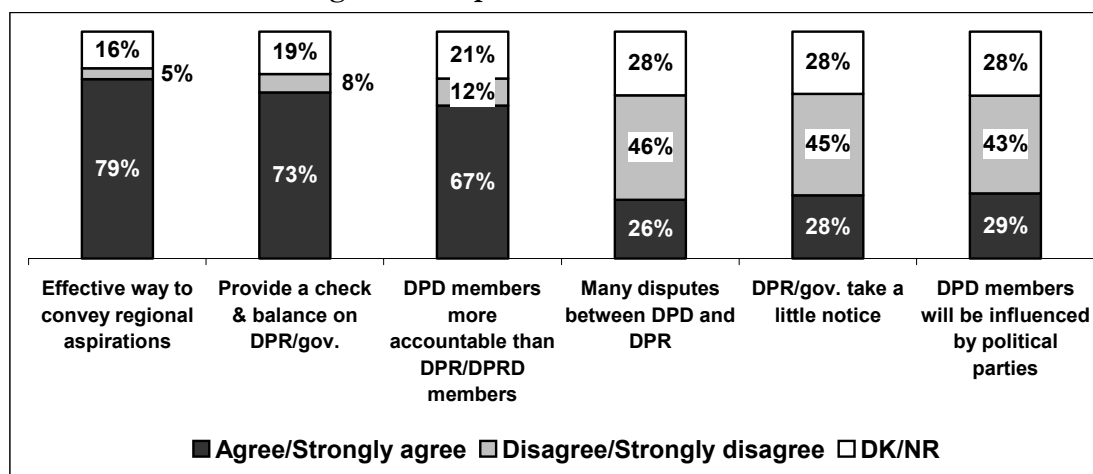
Opinions about the DPD

Those who are aware of the DPD were next asked a series of questions that assessed their attitudes toward how effective they think the DPD will be in its operations. The respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements about the DPD. The statements were as listed below:

- A. DPD will be an effective means of conveying the aspirations of the provincial peoples to the national government.
- B. DPD will provide a check and balance on the actions of the DPR and the government.
- C. As the members of the DPD are elected as individuals, they will be more accountable to the people than the party representatives who are members of the DPR and DPRD.
- D. There will be many disputes between the DPD and the DPR.
- E. The DPR and the government will take little or no notice of the views and considerations provided by the DPD.
- F. The members of the DPD will be influenced to act in favor of political parties in their provinces.

Agreement with A, B, and C can be thought of as a positive evaluation of the possible impact of the DPD, whereas disagreement with D, E, and F reflects a positive evaluation of the processes of the DPD's operations. Based on this typology, most Indonesians who know of the DPD have positive expectations of its likely impact and operations (Figure 33).

Figure 33. Expectations of DPD



Please consider the following statements about the DPD and indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or Strongly disagree with each them

Of the people that are aware of the DPD, two-thirds or more agree that:

- The DPD will be an effective means to convey the aspirations of the people at the provincial level to the central government.
- The DPD will perform close supervision of the steps taken by the Parliament and central government.
- Because the members of the DPD are elected individually, they will show more responsibility to the people than the political party representatives in the DPR and DPRD.

There is little difference in the level of agreement with the last statement on the members of the DPD being more accountable to the people, between those who are satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the DPR and DPRD.

More respondents in each case disagree than agree that:

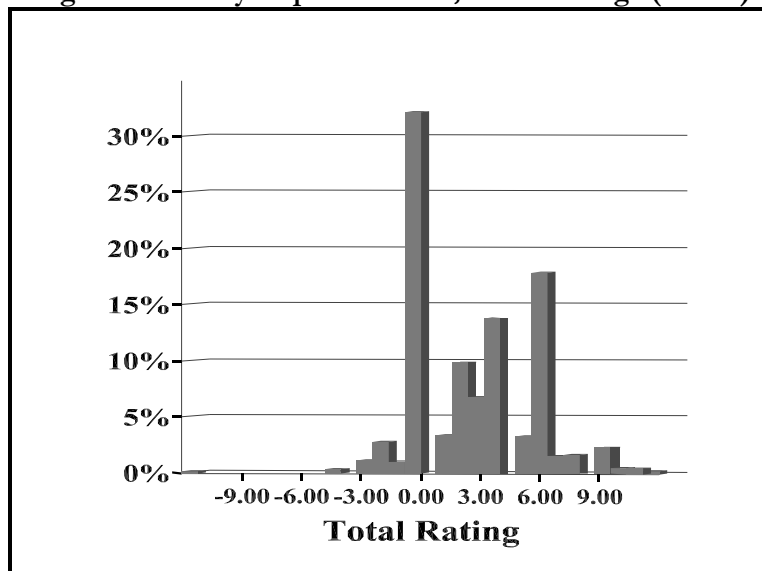
- There will be many disputes between the DPD and the Parliament.
- The Parliament and government will pay little or no attention at all to the suggestions and recommendations made by the DPD.
- The steps taken by the DPD will be influenced by political parties at the provincial level.

However, there is greater uncertainty about these primarily political processes of the DPD than there is in the first set of three statements that deal more with the impact of the DPD. For each of these primarily political processes, the number who have a negative opinion or who do not know enough to answer outnumbers those who have a positive outlook.

Nevertheless, most Indonesians who are aware of the DPD are generally positive about its possible impact. This can be illustrated by assigning a positive or negative rating to the response of every person who answered these six questions, aggregating the ratings and determining the final rating each person gave to the possible impact of the DPD. For more details, please see the footnote².

Figure 34 displays a histogram of the total ratings given by each respondent. Any rating of above 0.00 on the histogram indicates an overall positive expectation of the impact of the DPD. Conversely, a rating of less than 0.00 on the histogram denotes an overall negative expectation of the impact of the DPD. Figure 34 clearly shows that a majority of respondents have a positive expectation of the DPD's impact, and few have a negative expectation.

Figure 34. Likely Impact of DPD, Total Ratings (n=750)



² For statements A, B, and C, if a respondent strongly agreed, he was given a rating of +2; for those who agreed, a rating of +1 was assigned; -1 for those who disagreed; and -2 for those who strongly disagreed. For those who answered "Don't know" or did not provide an answer, a 0 was assigned. For statements D, E, and F, the scale was reversed.

Attitudes on DPD Candidacy

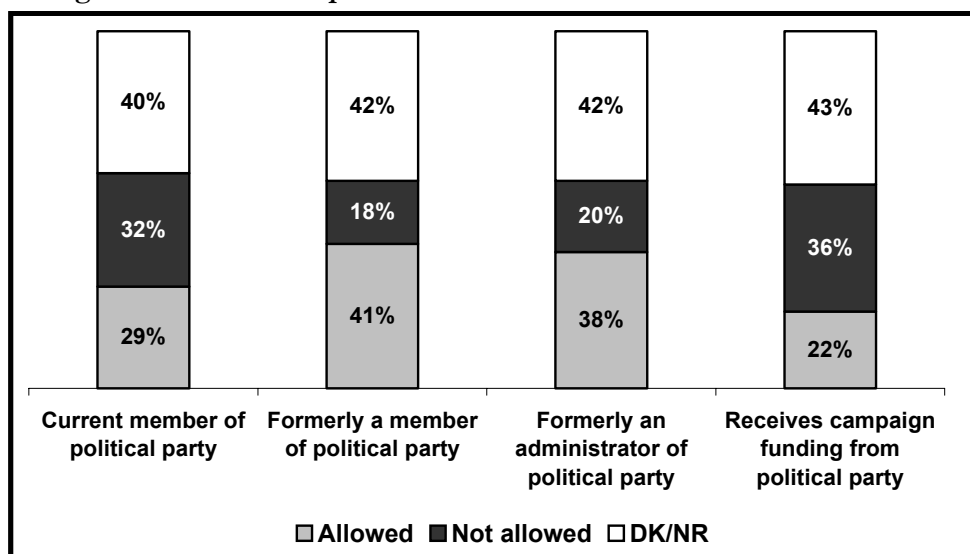
All respondents of the survey, not just those who were aware of the DPD, were asked a series of questions on the relationship between candidates for the DPD and political parties. Given that 75% of all respondents were not aware of the DPD, it is not surprising that this series of questions elicited a high percentage of “Don’t know” answers.

The series of questions asked the respondents whether it should be allowed or not allowed that a:

1. DPD candidate is a member of a political party.
2. DPD candidate was formerly a member of a political party.
3. DPD candidate was formerly an administrator of a political party.
4. DPD candidate accepts election campaign funding from a political party.

Responses to these questions are presented in Figure 35 below³.

Figure 35. Relationship between DPD Candidates and Political Parties



In your opinion, should the following conditions be allowed or not allowed for DPD candidates?

More of those who give a definitive answer to these questions do not want DPD candidates to have an existing relationship with political parties. Past relationships with political parties are allowable by most of those who give definitive answers to the questions. Indonesians would like the law to apply even tighter restrictions than it currently applies on the relationship between DPD candidates and political parties (see footnote 3).

Those respondents who are aware of the DPD are generally more likely than those in the overall population to accept a relationship between DPD candidates and political parties (Figure 36). Only in the case of a DPD candidate accepting campaign funding from a political party does a majority of those who are aware of the DPD (51%) think this should not be allowed (27% think it should be allowed).

³ Law 12 of 2003 on elections allows former administrators of a political party to be candidates for the DPD if they have resigned their position by a specified deadline (question 3). The law is silent on the issues raised by question 1, 2, and 4.

**Figure 36. Relationships between DPD Candidates and Political Parties
(Among those aware of DPD)**

Relationship	Acceptable	Not Acceptable	DK/ NR
DPD candidate is a member of a political party.	40%	43%	17%
DPD candidate was formerly a member of a political party.	55%	26%	19%
DPD candidate was formerly an administrator of a political party.	51%	30%	19%
DPD candidate accepts election campaign funding from a political party.	27%	51%	22%

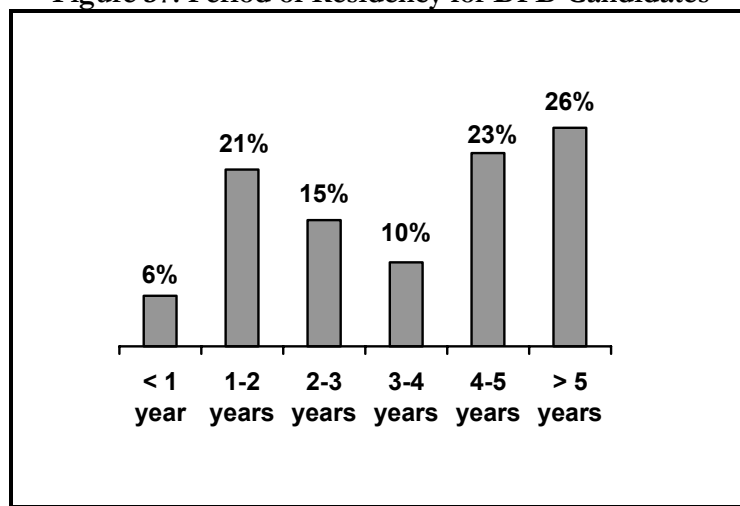
Residency Requirement for DPD Candidates

More than half of the people (58%) think that a DPD candidate from a province should have lived in this province for a specific time⁴. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (71%) and Bali/NTB/NTT (69%) are more likely to want this requirement than residents of Sumatra (65%), Sulawesi (63%), Kalimantan (59%), Central Java/Yogyakarta (58%), West Java/Jakarta/Banten (54%), and East Java (51%).

Opinions on this question are strongly related to opinions on whether DPR and DPRD members should be residents of the electoral districts for which they run. Of those who think that DPR and DPRD candidates should be residents of their electoral districts, 82% think that DPD candidates should be residents of the province for which they run. Only 3% do not think they should be residents. On the other hand, a majority of those who do not think DPR and DPRD members should be residents of electoral districts, also do not think that DPD candidates should be residents of the province (57%, whereas 25% think they should be residents).

Those who think that DPD candidates should be residents of the province were next asked how long a DPD candidate should have resided in the province he/she seeks to represent. Results are in Figure 37.

Figure 37. Period of Residency for DPD Candidates



“[IF RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT] For how long?” (n=1741)

⁴ Law 12 of 2003 on elections requires that DPD candidates have lived in the province, which they seek to represent for at least 3 consecutive years before nomination, or for a total of 10 years since the age of 17.

As in the case of residency for DPR/DPRD candidates, residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua would set a longer residency requirement. Seventy-four percent of those who want residency requirements in these regions would want residence of at least four years before candidacy for the DPD. A majority of residents of Kalimantan (66%) and Sulawesi (67%) would also want this same residency threshold for candidacy.

Recall of DPD Members

Overall, 52% of Indonesians agree that DPD members should be able to be recalled from their positions, 13% disagree with this, and a large proportion (35%) answer “Don’t know” to this question. The highest level of agreement with the proposition that DPD members could be recalled from their positions is in Bali/NTB/NTT (75%), and the lowest is in Sumatra (44%).

Those respondents that agree that DPD members should be able to be recalled were next asked what method could be used to recall the member:

- Recall by the provincial DPRD
- Recall by a specific percentage of voters in the province
- Recall by the provincial governor

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with each choice. Of those who agree with recall of DPD members, the percentage that agrees that DPD members should be recalled by the provincial DPRD (58%) is slightly higher than for those who agree with a recall by voters (55%). Forty-two percent agree that the DPD members could be recalled by the Governor. Recall by the voters is the most popular option in Aceh/Maluku/Papua (66%), Sumatra (62%) and Central Java/Yogyakarta (61%), while recall by the provincial DPRD is the most popular option in Kalimantan (73%), Sulawesi (71%), and West Java/Jakarta/Banten (62%, Figure 38).

Figure 38. System for Recall of DPD Members by Region
(Percent of supporters of recall who say ‘Yes’ to each system)

Systems for Recall	Aceh Maluku Papua	Sumatra	West Java Jakarta Banten	Central Java Yogyakarta	East Java	Bali NTB NTT	Kali- mantan	Sulawesi
Provincial DPRD	46%	57%	62%	55%	40%	41%	73%	71%
Percentage of Voters	66%	62%	50%	61%	60%	53%	59%	59%
Provincial Governor	18%	44%	52%	44%	29%	22%	54%	51%

“Which of the following methods should be used to recall a DPD member?”

CHAPTER VI

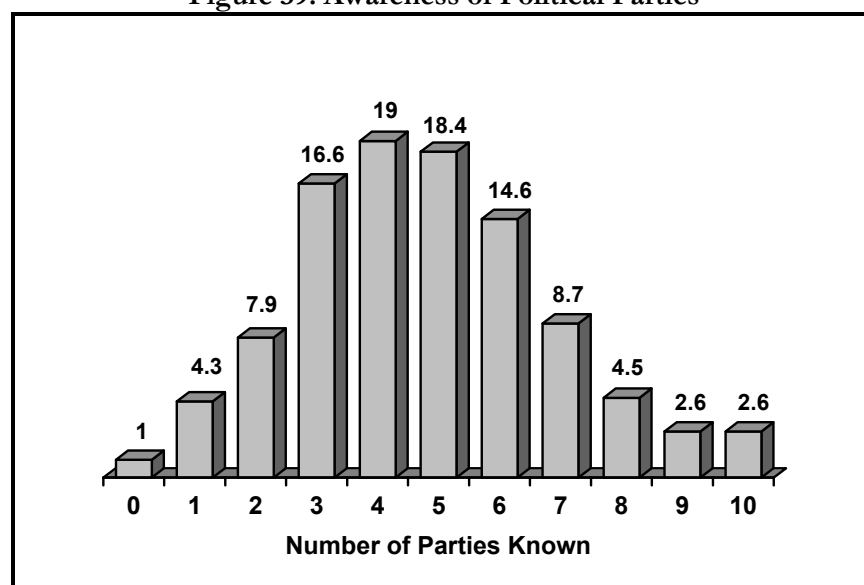
AWARENESS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICAL PARTIES

There is a generally high level of awareness of major political parties in Indonesia, with Golkar and PDI-P being the two most widely known parties in the country. Although there is majority awareness of the major parties, trust in these parties has declined over the past year. The largest decrease in trust since 2002 has been recorded for PDI-P and PPP. Perhaps because of the decrease in trust in the major parties, many Indonesians are uncertain about their party choice at the present time. A plurality of Indonesians also takes a cynical view of parties with the belief that parties mainly think of their own interests. Nearly two-thirds of Indonesians support the idea that political parties should make their finances public.

Awareness of Political Parties

Almost all Indonesians are aware of at least one political party (99%, Figure 39). The median number of parties known amongst Indonesians is 5. In all, there are 77 (seventy-seven) parties that are known by respondents to this survey.

Figure 39. Awareness of Political Parties



“Could you name the parties you are aware of – including both the parties that are represented in the DPR and other political parties that you have heard of?” (n=3000)

A majority of Indonesians (51%) can name five or more parties, while 33% can name 6 or more parties. At the low end, 4.3% can only name one party while 7.9% can name only two parties.

As for the parties that are most likely to be named by respondents, Figure 40 provides the percentage of people aware of each party nationally, and in different regions of the country.

Figure 40. Awareness of Political Parties (in percent)

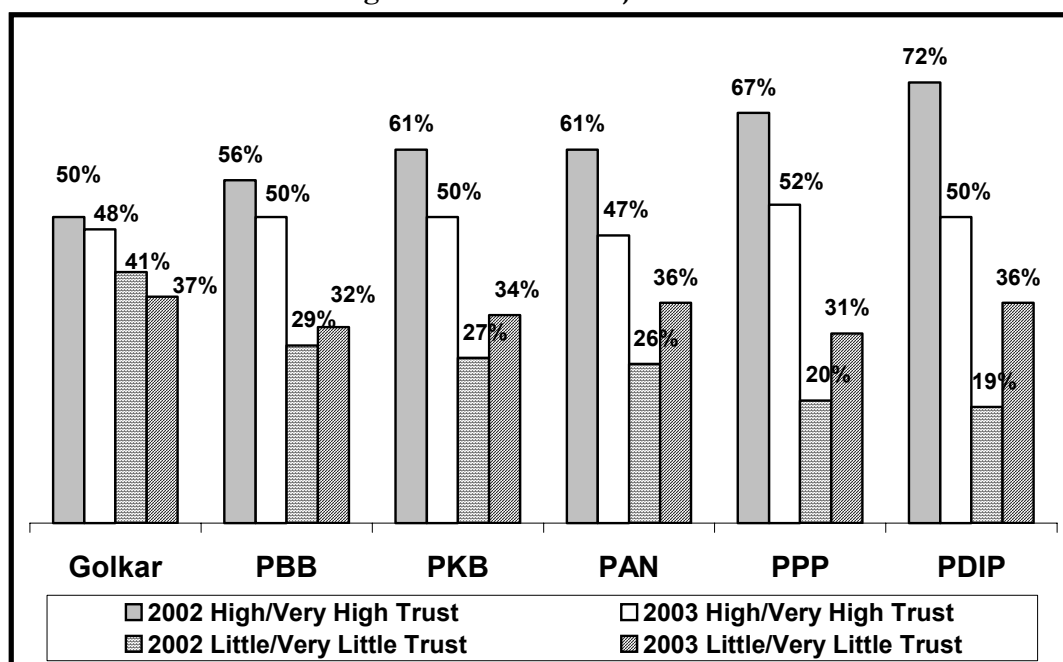
Political Parties	Total	Aceh Maluku Papua	Suma tra	West Java Jakarta Banten	Central Java Yogyakarta	East Java	Bali NTB NTT	Kali man tan	Sula wesi
Golkar Party	88	94	94	93	80	73	96	94	95
Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)	84	79	79	82	91	82	95	81	89
United Development Party (PPP)	68	87	64	75	70	55	63	61	91
National Awakening Party (PKB)	58	53	44	57	68	79	43	42	48
National Mandate Party (PAN)	57	83	63	56	62	49	47	42	71
Crescent & Star Party (PBB)	33	53	35	30	39	27	29	19	48
Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)	29	61	38	29	22	16	25	34	48
Justice Party (PK)	17	11	13	22	29	14	9	7	6

Golkar and PDI-P are the two parties that have the highest rates of awareness, and the levels of awareness of these two parties are generally well spread throughout the regions of Indonesia. However, there are regions in which they have significantly greater awareness than other regions. With the exception of Jakarta and West Java, awareness of Golkar is significantly higher in regions outside Java. Awareness of PDI-P is higher in Central Java/Yogyakarta, Bali/NTB/NTT, and Sulawesi.

Trust in Political Parties

Respondents who could name a political party or parties were next asked to state their level of trust in these parties. Trust as a concept was not defined for the respondents nor were respondents instructed to rate the trustworthiness of the party on any specific aspects of its activity or structure. Thus, responses to this question can be thought to be a respondent's general impressions of the parties of which he or she is aware. The level of trust in the major parties in 2003 and 2002 is shown in Figure 41.

Figure 41. Trust in Major Parties



“For the parties that you just mentioned, what is your level of trust? Will you say it is very high, high, little, or very little?”

According to Figure 41, trust among those aware of the major political parties has decreased significantly since the 2002 survey. The only exception to this phenomenon is Golkar which has managed to somewhat maintain the trust level of 2002, albeit from a relatively low point in 2002. The decrease in trust in political parties may be another sign of a general lack of confidence in governing institutions in the country as indicated by increased dissatisfaction with political institutions, leaders, and policy implementation.

An interesting result of the decrease in trust in most of the major parties over the past year is that levels of trust are now at about the same level for all of these parties (within 5%). In 2002, there was a clear delineation, with PDI-P and PPP having the highest levels of trust followed by PAN and PKB. Respondents were less likely to have a high level of trust in Golkar. In this year’s survey, the ‘pack’ has come down to the level of Golkar. Even with this trend, however, there are more people who have high trust in each of these parties than those who do not.

The largest decrease in trust has been for PDI-P. The proportion of those having a high level of trust in this party, among those who know of the PDI-P, has fallen 22 percentage points from its 2002 figure of 72%. Having a low level of trust in PDI-P is related to dissatisfaction with the government’s actions. Those who do not think the government’s actions have brought improvements are much more likely to have little trust in PDI-P (43%) than those who think the government’s actions have brought improvements (16%). More people have little trust in PDI-P than those who have a high level of trust in the party in Sulawesi (55% versus 33%). The provinces with the highest proportion of people with a high level of trust in PDI-P are Kalimantan (62%) and Sumatra (60%).

Golkar attracts about the same level of trust from those who know the party as in 2002. The provinces with the highest proportions of people who have little trust in the party are Aceh/Maluku/Papua (55%) and in East Java (51%). Golkar is in exactly the opposite position to PDI-P in Sulawesi where 57% of those who know Golkar have a high level of trust in it and 35% have little trust in it. Golkar is more widely trusted in Sumatra and Kalimantan, where 61%

of people have a high level of trust in it. Women are more likely to have a high level of trust in Golkar (51%) than men (45%).

The level of trust in PPP has also decreased significantly since 2002. Its margin of those who have high trust in it over those who have little trust in it has also dwindled from plus 47% in 2002 to plus 21% this year. Higher proportions of people who have a high level of trust in PPP are recorded in Kalimantan (62%), Sulawesi (60%), and West Java/Jakarta/Banten (58%). Dissatisfaction with the government's actions appears to have a negative impact on the level of trust in PPP, but not to the extent of the impact on PDI-P. Thirty-six percent of those who think the government's actions have not brought improvements have little trust in PPP compared to 17% of those who think the government's efforts have brought improvements.

The level of trust in PDI-P, Golkar, PAN, and PPP is directly related to the level of satisfaction with the party leader (Megawati, Akbar Tanjung, Amien Rais, and Hamzah Haz, respectively). A majority of those who are satisfied with the performance of the relevant party leader have a high level of trust in the party, and a majority of those who are dissatisfied have little trust in the party.

Membership of Political Parties

Almost all Indonesians (93%) state that they or their family members are not cadres (active members) of political parties. Only 2% state that they are active members of political parties. Golkar and PDI-P account for more than half of these members. Another 2.5% state that their family members are active members of political parties. Golkar and PDI-P again account for more than half of these members.

Attendance at Political Party Meetings

Ninety-two percent also report that they or their family members have never attended meetings or other programs conducted by political parties in the last six months. Nearly five percent report that they (2.3%) or their family members (2.4%) have attended political party meetings. Golkar and PDI-P account for most of the functions or meetings attended. PKB, PPP, and PAN account for a smaller percentage.

Party Choice

This year's survey presents a unique difficulty not observed in the 2001 and 2002 IFES surveys in Indonesia. In 2001 and 2002, respondents were asked which party they had voted for in the 1999 general election. In both years, approximately a third of the respondents did not give an answer because they considered their vote secret or because they did not want to tell the interviewer. The same question was asked in this year's survey along with another question on which party the respondent would vote for if an election were held now. Forty-four percent of the respondents on the 1999 vote question and 48% on the current party choice question did not give the name of a party because they consider their choice secret. A further 12% on the 1999 vote question and 23% on the current party choice question stated that they either did not vote or do not know for whom they voted in 1999, or for whom they would now vote.

Thus, 56% of respondents did not provide the name of a party when they were asked to name the party they voted for in the 1999 election, and 70% did not name their current party choice. IFES asked its fieldwork contractor to conduct substantially more re-interviews than warranted under quality control procedures in order to ascertain whether interviewer behavior may have caused reluctance on the part of respondents to answer. No such problems were discovered and

respondents at the re-interviews confirmed their responses to these questions. But this does leave a problem with analysis of the data and hence the reader is forewarned that some of the statements made in the following few paragraphs may not completely capture current reality in Indonesia.

When respondents are asked which party they voted for in 1999, most parties' share of the vote is understated by the respondents (Figure 42).

Figure 42. Actual and Reported Vote in 1999

Political Parties	Actual Vote During 1999 Election	Survey Result
Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)	33.73%	16.2%
Golkar Party	22.43%	13.7%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	12.60%	4.4%
United Development Party (PPP)	10.70%	3.7%
National Mandate Party (PAN)	7.11%	1.9%
Crescent & Star Party (PBB)	1.94%	0.6%
Justice Party (PK)	1.36%	0.1%
CONFIDENTIAL/NON-DISCLOSABLE		44%
Not voted / do not remember		12%
DK / NR		0.1%

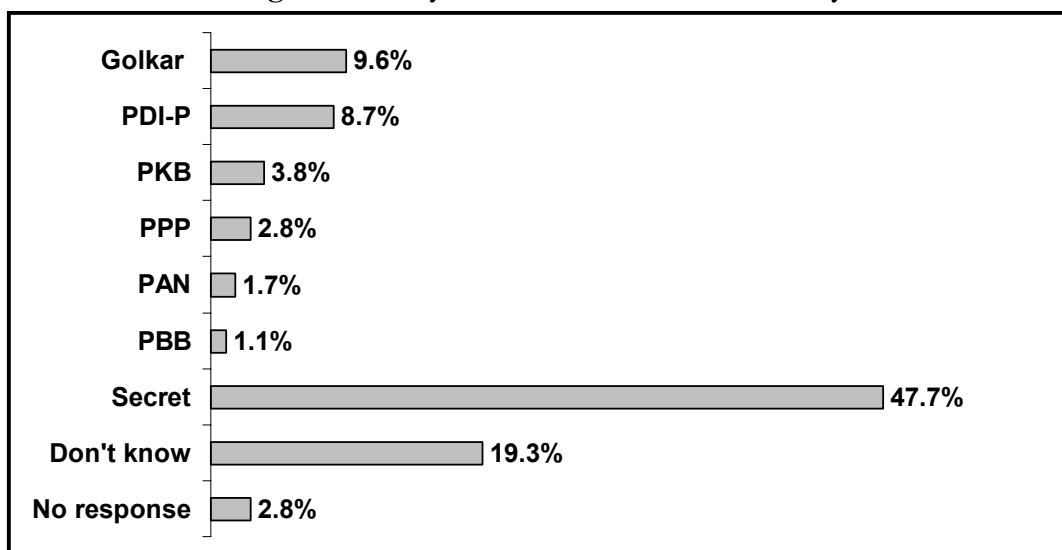
"If I may know, what party did you vote for in the 1999 general election?" (n=3000)

There are far fewer respondents who report having voted for a party than actually voted for that party in the 1999 general election. Even though the percentages differ markedly for each party, the ranking of reported voting is the same as was observed in the actual results of the 1999 election.

The majority of respondents who report having voted for PPP, PDI-P, PAN, and PKB are men, while for PBB and Golkar, the majority are women. The majority of voters who report having voted for PKB reside in East Java, the majority for Golkar are in Sumatra & West Java, for the PBB in Sulawesi, and for PDI-P in Central Java.

When respondents were asked about the party they would vote for if there was an election today, the vast majority either refused to answer or did not know for which party they would vote (Figure 43).

Figure 43. Party Choice If Election Held Today



"If there were an election today, which political party would you give your support to/vote for?"

Many Indonesians are uncertain about their party choice at this time. Based on the limited number of people who actually name a party in response to this question, more people name Golkar as their current party of choice (9.6%) than PDI-P (8.7%). PKB is the next highest party with 3.8%, followed by PPP with 2.8%. PAN and PBB receive around 1%.

The large number of people not naming a party in all regions means that any regional projection may not be reliable. Still, a majority of respondents in Aceh/Maluku/Papua, Sumatra, Central Java/Yogyakarta, and West Java/Jakarta/Banten are reluctant to name a party because it is a confidential choice. Respondents in East Java, Bali/NTB/NTT, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi are less reluctant to name a party. Golkar enjoys higher levels of support in Sulawesi, West Java/Jakarta/Banten, and Sumatra than other parties. PDI-P gains the most support in Central Java/Yogyakarta, Kalimantan, and Bali/NTB/NTT, and PKB enjoys the most support in East Java.

Opinions on the government's efforts have some impact on those indicating current voting intention for PDI-P. The likelihood of voting for PDI-P is higher for those who think the government's efforts have brought improvements than for those who take the opposite view (13.3% versus 7.5%). Dissatisfaction with President Megawati also pulls down the likelihood of voting for PDI-P. While 14.4% of those satisfied with Megawati's performance prefer PDI-P, 5.3% of those dissatisfied with her performance have this preference.

Even though definitive responses for both questions are low, comparing respondents who reported their 1999 vote with their current preferences may give an indication as to the parties that are holding on to their support. The reader should be cautioned once again that because of the low number identifying parties on these two questions, this analysis may not be robust. Figure 44 reports on the percentage of reported 1999 vote being held on to by the major parties, as well as the percentage going to other parties, and the percentage secret or undecided.

Figure 44. Current Preferred Vote Compared to 1999 Reported Vote

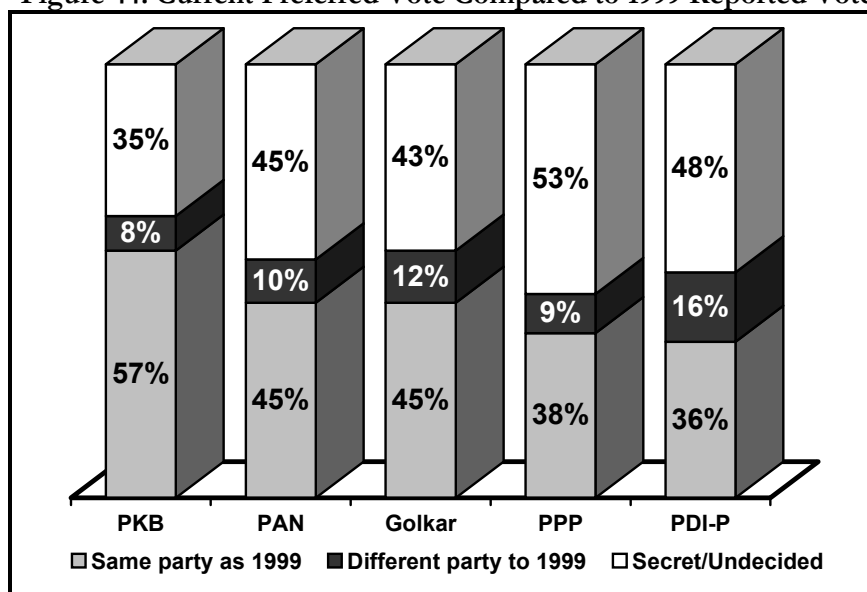


Figure 44 indicates that PDI-P holds on to a lower percentage of its reported 1999 voters than the other 4 parties above. While 48% of voters who reported voting for PDI-P in 1999 keep their current choice secret or are undecided, sixteen percent do prefer other parties. Vice-President Hamzah Haz's PPP also has a lower retention rate of reported 1999 voters. These two parties also have the highest percentage of their reported 1999 voters who did not reveal their current preference. This seems to indicate that the PDI-P and PPP may be in greater danger than the other major parties of losing more of their 1999 support.

Opinion about the Behavior of Political Parties

Respondents to the survey were asked whether they believe political parties are more interested in participation and inputs from the people, or whether they are more interested in following their own interests. Forty-four percent of Indonesians think that political parties are interested more in their own political interests, compared to 27% who think that the parties are interested in the participation of and inputs from the people.

Cynicism about political party goals has increased since the 2002 IFES survey. In that survey 37% thought that parties only cared for their own interests, compared to 27% who thought parties value people's participation. The gap between the negative and positive opinion of political parties has increased from 10% in 2002 to 17% this year. This may be one reason why levels of trust in the major political parties have decreased since last year.

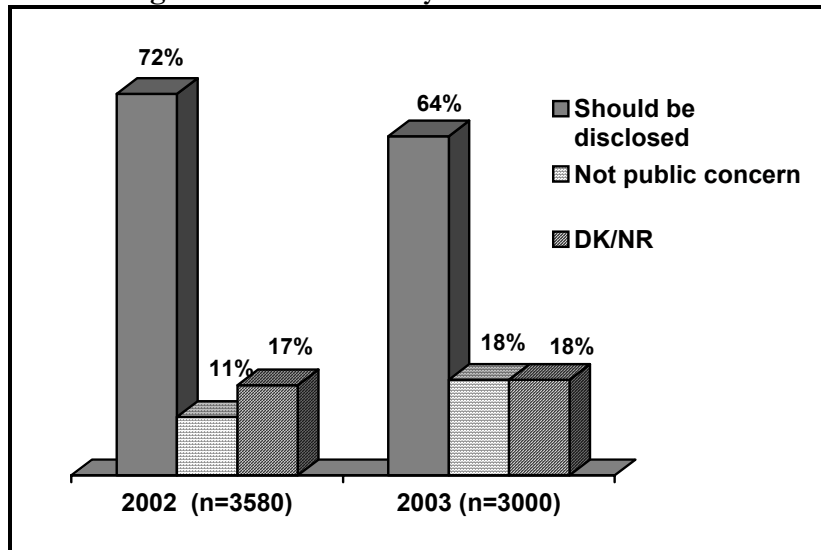
For all the major parties (PDI-P, PPP, Golkar, PAN, PKB), those who think that parties only care for their own interests are more likely to have little trust in every major party than those who think parties value people's participation. The same finding was also obtained in the 2002 survey.

Campaign Finance

When asked whether political party funding and financial accounts should be subject to public disclosure, a majority (64%) thinks that parties should be required to disclose their finances.

Only 18% do not think this is necessary. A majority or plurality of all major sub-groups in the population support public disclosure of political party finances. The percentage of the population that supports public disclosure has decreased somewhat since the 2002 survey (72% in 2002), whereas the percentage saying this is not necessary has increased since last year's survey (11% in 2002).

Figure 45. Political Party Financial Disclosures



"In your opinion, should political party funding and financial accounts be reported publicly by the concerned political party and subject to public disclosure?"

CHAPTER VII

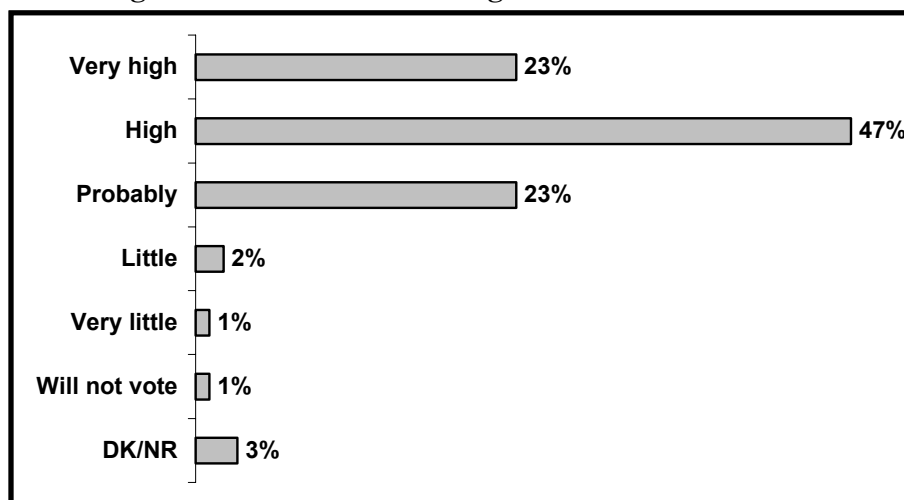
2004 GENERAL ELECTION & THE KPU (NATIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION)

Most Indonesians state that it is at least probable that they will vote in the 2004 general election. Respondents have various reasons for voting for a particular party or candidate. While more than a third will base their vote on a party or candidate's policies or record in the DPR/DPRD, a significant percentage say that they will be influenced in their vote choice by the opinions of others. Women and older Indonesians are most likely to be influenced by others' opinions when making their voting choice. Nearly two-thirds of Indonesians believe that the 2004 election will be either definitely or probably fair. Most Indonesians have heard or read at least a little about the KPU, and among those aware of the KPU, around two-thirds are satisfied with its performance and think that it is a neutral organization. Nearly 94% of respondents report having been registered to vote for the 2004 general election.

Likelihood of Voting at the 2004 General Election

Voter turnout for the 1999 general election in Indonesia was over 90% of registered voters. Judging by responses to a question on the likelihood of voting in the 2004 general election in this year's survey, voter turnout could approach the same level at the next general election (Figure 46).

Figure 46. Likelihood of Voting in 2004 General Election



"As you might know, Indonesia will have an election that will be held in April 2004 to elect parliament members for the DPR, Provincial DPRD, Regency/City DPRD, and DPD. What is the likelihood that you will vote in the 2004 election?" (n=3000)

Seventy percent express a high or very high likelihood of voting and a further 23% say it is probable that they will vote. Only 4% say that there is little likelihood they will vote or that they will not vote at all.

Residents of the regions of Aceh/Maluku/Papua are the least likely to say they have a high or very high likelihood of voting (38%). A plurality of these respondents (48%) indicates that they will probably vote. About 8% indicate that there is little or no likelihood that they will vote.

The only other region with less than a majority of the respondents indicating a high or very high likelihood of voting is Bali/NTB/NTT (43%). Almost an equal percentage of these respondents (44%) indicate that they will probably vote in the 2004 general election. Residents of Sumatra (79%) and Kalimantan (76%) are most likely to ascribe to themselves a high or very high likelihood of voting in the 2004 general election.

There are only small differences in the likelihood of voting among different age groups. This is noteworthy only in that in most countries, the youngest eligible age group is usually significantly less likely to show up at the polls than older age groups. In the case of Indonesia, 71% of those 17-25 say there is a high or very high likelihood they will vote in the 2004 general election compared to 65% for those 45 and older.

Men and women are equally as likely to vote in 2004. Women in urban areas are slightly more inclined to say there is a high or very high likelihood they will vote (73%) compared to women in rural areas (68%). Men in rural areas, on the other hand, are slightly more inclined to say there is a high or very high likelihood they will vote (72%) than men in urban areas (67%).

Those who were eligible to vote in 1999 (based on age) but did not vote in that election are much less motivated to vote in 2004 than those who did take part in the 1999 election. Fifty percent of those who were eligible but say they did not vote in 1999, say that they are highly likely to vote in 2004, compared to 70% of those who did vote in 1999. These eligible non-voters in 1999 are far more likely than voters in 1999 to say that there is little or no likelihood of them voting in 2004 (17% versus 3%).

Reasons for Voting for a Party at the 2004 General Election

Those respondents who expressed at least a little likelihood that they will vote at the 2004 general election were asked what the most important consideration would be when making a decision for which party or candidate they will vote. The two most-frequently mentioned considerations are the policies of the party and the record of the party or candidates in representative bodies (Figure 47).

Figure 47. Most Important Considerations in Vote Decision

Most Important Consideration	Percentage
Party or candidates' policies and programs	19%
Record of the party and candidates in the DPR/DPRDs	19%
Leadership of the party	13%
Quality of the candidates in respondent's electorate district	10%
Suggestions from family members	9%
Family history of voting for a party	5%
History of a party's or candidate's actions	5%
Suggestions from other people (outside the family)	4%
Relationship of the party with respondent's religious organization	3%
According to own will	1%
DK / NR	11%

"What will be the most important consideration when making your decision about which party and candidates to vote for in the 2004 election?" (n=3000)

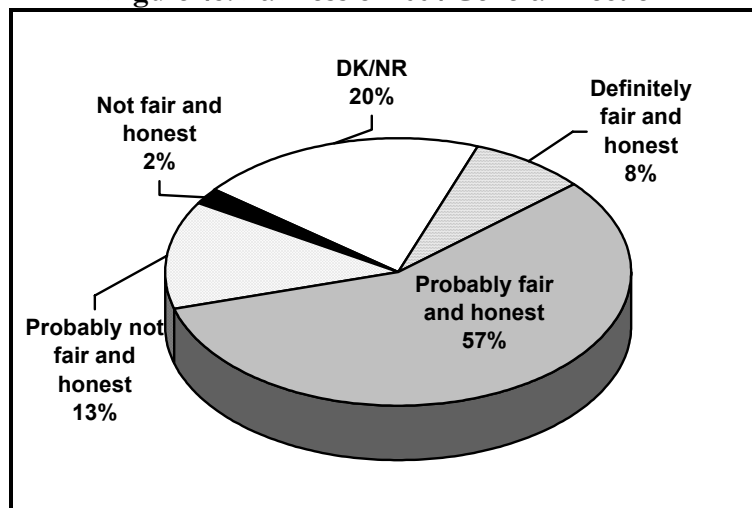
It is interesting to note that 18% of voters say that they will make their voting choice based on the opinions of others (family history of voting, suggestion from family members and others) rather than other factors.

Respondents younger than 35 are more likely than older voters to be most influenced by a party or candidates' policies or record in the DPR/DPRDs when deciding how to vote. Respondents older than 55 are more likely to use the opinions of others as the major basis for making a decision (27%). Women are also more likely than men to rely most on the opinions of others when making a voting decision (23%). Respondents who are likely to support PAN and PKB if an election were held now, are more likely to base their decision on the leaders of a party (32% and 31%, respectively).

Opinion about Fairness of the 2004 General Election

Most Indonesians think that the 2004 general election will be fair and honest, although a majority are not absolutely certain this will be the case (Figure 48).

Figure 48. Fairness of 2004 General Election



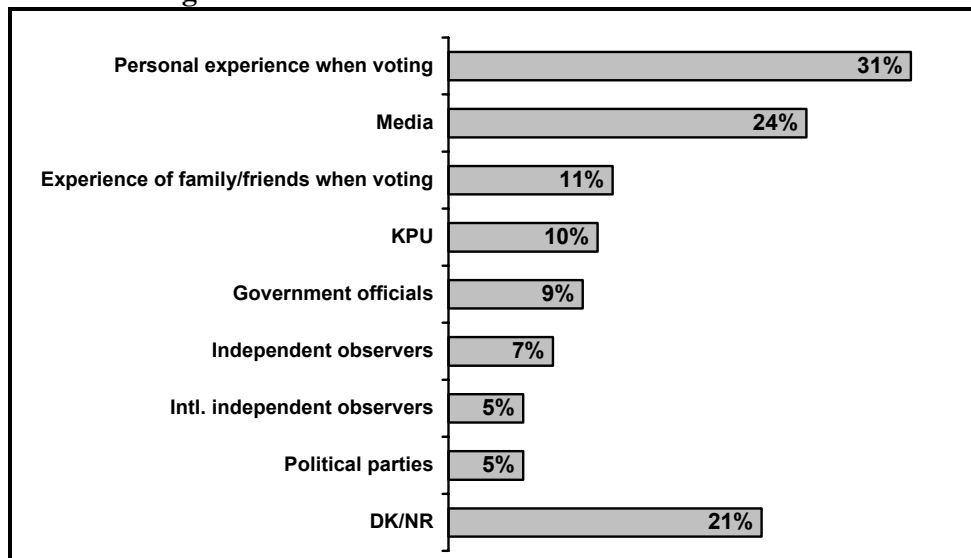
"In your opinion, how fair and honest will the 2004 election be?" (n=3000)

About two-thirds of Indonesians (65%) think that the 2004 election will definitely or probably be fair and honest. Residents of Bali/NTB/NTT (21%) are most likely to say that the 2004 election will probably not be fair and honest. A positive sign for the upcoming election is that current supporters of any one major party are not disproportionately more likely to say that the election will not be fair and honest.

Opinions on the fairness of the upcoming election do have an impact on likelihood of voting in the election. Eighty percent of those who definitely think the election will be fair are highly likely to vote. This compares to 73% of those who think the 2004 general election will probably be fair, 62% of those who think it will probably not be fair, and 52% of those who do not think the election will be fair and honest.

When asked how they would determine whether the 2004 election has been fair and honest, more people say that they will gauge fairness by the voting experience, either their own personal experience while voting (31%) or the experience of their friends and family (11%), than any other source (Figure 49).

Figure 49. Sources to Determine Fairness of Election



“When the 2004 election is conducted, how will you determine for yourself if it was a fair and honest election? Will your consideration be based on...?” (n=3000)

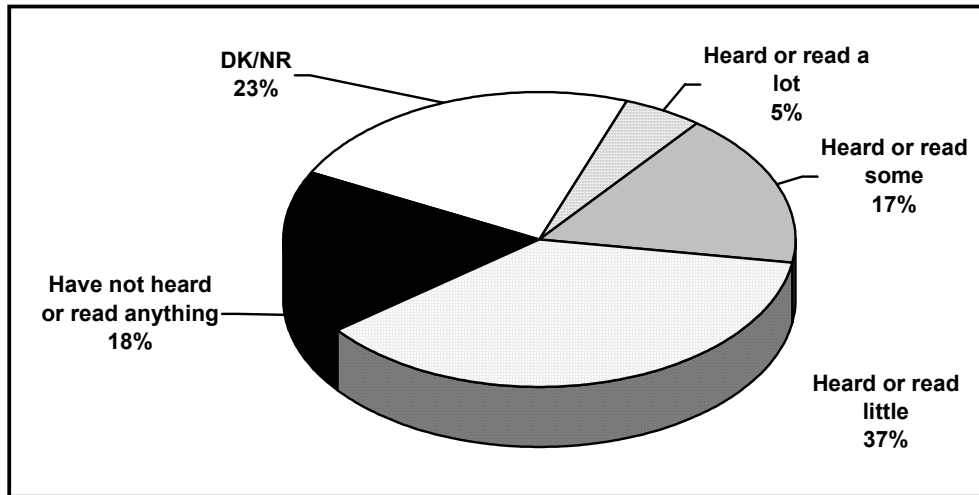
Only 10% will rely on the views of the National Election Commission (KPU), the election authority of Indonesia, to gauge the fairness of the election. The media will be relied upon by 24% of the respondents. The use of the media for this purpose declines with age, the youngest age group (17-25) being most likely of all age groups to use this source (29%). The older the age group, the more likely they are to use personal or family experiences to gauge fairness. The 55 and over group is most likely to use personal or family experience when voting (48%).

While 12% of the overall population is likely to rely on the views of independent election observers, domestic or international, to gauge the fairness of the election, residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (25%), Kalimantan (24%), and Sulawesi (17%) are more likely than other regions to use these sources. Residents of Central Java/Yogyakarta and East Java are less likely to rely on government officials than other regions (5% and 2%, respectively).

Awareness of and Satisfaction with the KPU

Even though a majority of the Indonesian population (59%) has heard or read at least a little about the General Election Commission (KPU), few (5%) have heard or read a lot about this body (Figure 50). Figure 50 seems to indicate that only about a quarter of the population (22%) may have enough information about the KPU to be familiar with its activities. This relative paucity of awareness about the KPU is evident throughout much of the nation. The only exception is Bali/NTB/NTT where 38% of residents have at least ‘some’ information on the KPU. Residents of urban areas are more likely to have at least some information about the KPU (27%) than rural respondents (18%).

Figure 50. Awareness of KPU

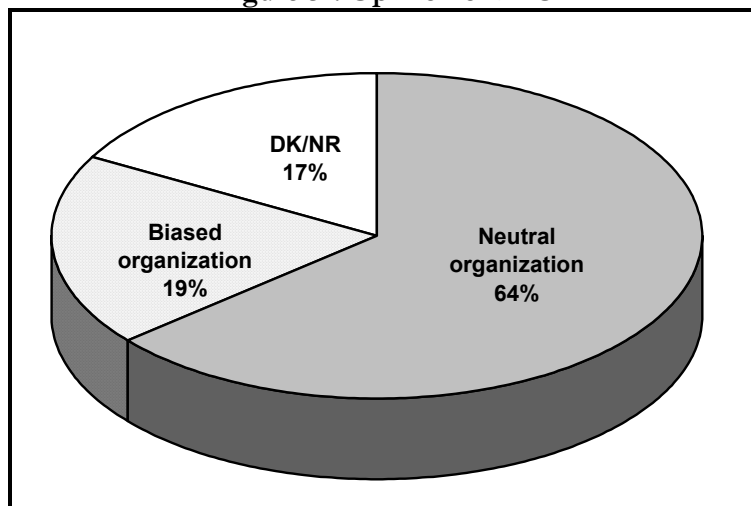


*“How much have you heard of or read about Komisi Pemilihan Umum (KPU) Indonesia?”
(n=3000)*

Lack of awareness of the KPU increases with age. Whereas 35% of those 17-25 has no information or reply “Don’t know” to the question, this figure is 45% for those 45-54 and 51% for those 55 and above. Awareness of the KPU increases with education. Those with a post-secondary education are the most likely to say they have heard or read at least some information about the KPU (54%).

Awareness of the KPU also leads to increased satisfaction with the KPU. Those who have heard or read at least a little about the KPU were next asked their level of satisfaction with the KPU. Of these respondents 69% are very or somewhat satisfied with the KPU, while 14% are dissatisfied. The level of satisfaction with the KPU is significantly higher than the levels of satisfaction with other government institutions. One reason may be because most people aware of the KPU judge it to be a neutral organization (Figure 51).

Figure 51. Opinion of KPU



*“In your opinion, which of the following statements is the closest to your views of the KPU:
1. KPU is an independent, neutral organization and works based on the Law.
2. KPU ‘s decisions and actions bring benefit to certain parties or candidates.”*

Opinions about the KPU's neutrality influence satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the organization, but do not completely dominate evaluation of the KPU. Satisfaction with the KPU is a little lower among those who do not think the KPU is neutral (65%). But the majority satisfaction among this group seems to indicate that those aware of the KPU use other criteria besides neutrality to determine their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the body.

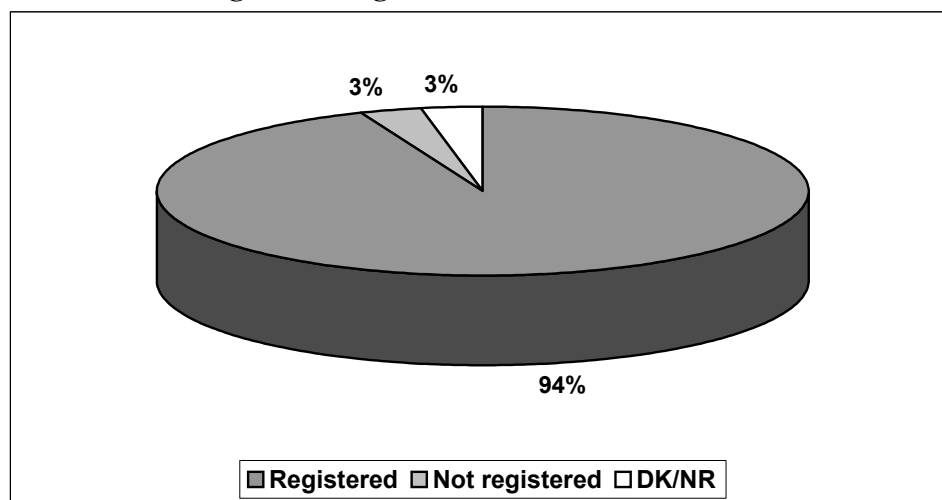
The relatively few respondents who are dissatisfied with the KPU list the following reasons (n=247):

- Poor implementation of the various election stages (29%)
- The KPU is not transparent (19%)
- General dissatisfaction with the political system (14%)
- Election results are dishonest (11%)
- Problems with registration (10%)
- KPU not impartial (5%)

Registration of Voters for the 2004 Election

One of the reasons listed for dissatisfaction with the KPU is a problem with voter registration. However, the data from another question in the survey indicates that almost all Indonesians had been registered by the time the survey was conducted (Figure 52). The lowest rate of registration was reported in Aceh (77%). The ongoing integrated operation has had an impact on the registration drive in this province. Registration is also significantly lower among the 25 and under group (89%) and this has an impact on the likelihood of voting. The 25 and under group is the one most likely to say there is a high or very high likelihood they will vote. However, among those members of this group who are not registered, the percentage indicating a high likelihood of voting drops to 55% (from 71% for the entire group).

Figure 52. Registration for the 2004 Election



“During April and May this year, Pendaftaran Pemilih dan Pendataan Penduduk Berkelanjutan – P4B – was conducted throughout Indonesia. For P4B, an enumerator was instructed to visit each household to register the population for the 2004 Election. Have you been registered during P4B by an enumerator?” (n=3000)

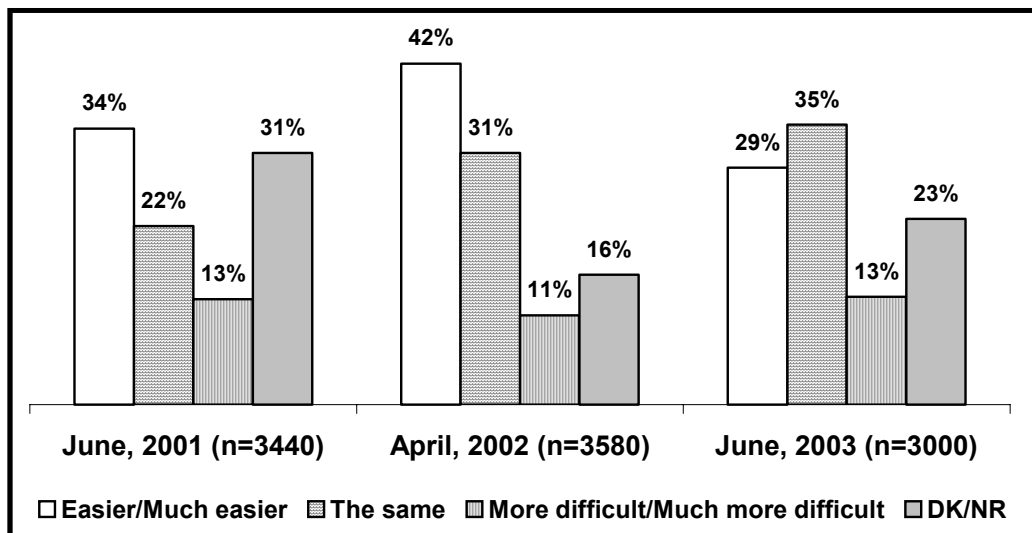
CHAPTER VIII REGIONAL AUTONOMY

Indonesia has embarked on a course of greater regional autonomy over the past few years that has seen local governments assume greater responsibilities in the management of their province or regency/district. The survey finds most Indonesians believe that controlling their local governments after implementation of regional autonomy will be easier or no more difficult than before, although the specific percentage saying it is easier has gone down since the 2002 survey. More Indonesians, a majority, are worried about the misuse of power by local government officials under regional autonomy than in previous surveys. The percentage of Indonesians who would like direct elections of regional and local officials has risen markedly in the last year with three-quarters now preferring this method of election.

Popular Control of Local Governments after Regional Autonomy

Most Indonesians believe that controlling the actions of their local governments after the implementation of regional autonomy will be easier or will present the same level of difficulty as before regional autonomy (Figure 53).

Figure 53. Control of Local Governments



“Do you think it is much easier, easier, the same, more difficult, or much more difficult for the people of [NAME OF REGENCY/CITY] to control the actions of local government once full regional autonomy has been achieved?”

The percentage of respondents indicating that control of local officials is easier or the same has decreased from 73% in the 2002 survey to 64% in 2003. However, the percentage saying control is more difficult has not increased significantly (11% in 2002 to 13% in 2003). More people are uncertain than last year. Another notable change from 2001 and 2002 to this year’s survey is that those who thought it is or easier to control local governments formed a plurality in both 2001 and 2002. In this year’s survey, respondents are not as optimistic and a plurality says that controlling local governments presents the same level of difficulty under regional autonomy as before regional autonomy.

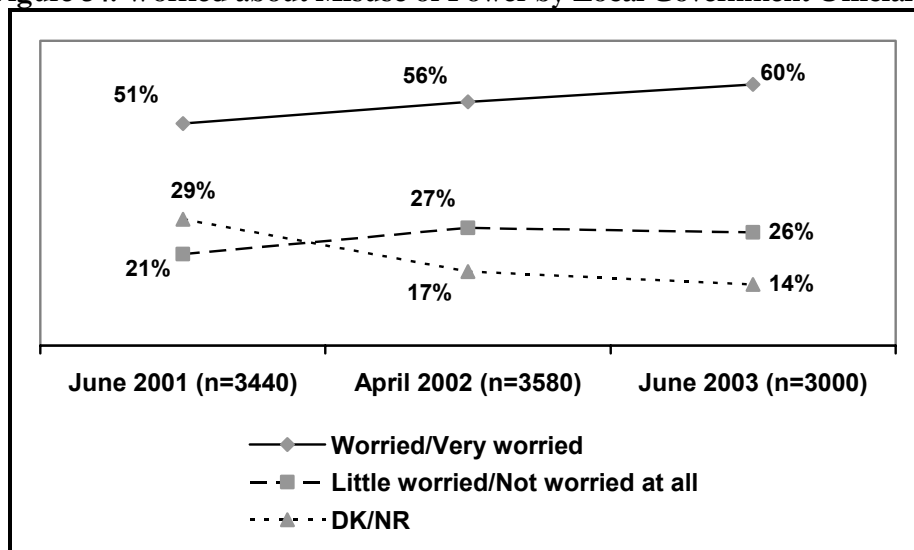
People living in urban areas tend to take more extreme attitudes on this issue than those living in rural areas. Urbanites are more likely to think that it is easier to supervise the actions of the regional government after the implementation of regional autonomy (34%) than those living in rural areas (26%). But urbanites are also more likely to say that this task is more difficult (16% versus 11%). Rural respondents are more likely to say the difficulty of the task remains the same (37% rural versus 30% urban).

A plurality of the residents of Java (30%) and Sulawesi (35%) think that it is easier to control local governments under regional autonomy. A plurality of residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (39%), Sumatra (48%), Bali/NTB/NTT (48%), and Kalimantan (36%) think the level of difficulty is the same.

Misuse of Power by Local Government Officials

One reason why fewer respondents this year believe that it is easier to control local government under regional autonomy may be because more respondents in this year's survey are worried about the misuse of power by local government officials than in 2001 and 2002 (Figure 54).

Figure 54. Worried about Misuse of Power by Local Government Officials?



“Are you very worried, worried, little worried, or not worried at all about the misuse of power by local government officials in [NAME OF REGENCY/CITY]?”

Concern about the misuse of power has risen from 51% in 2001 to 60% in this year's survey. Most of this change has been the result of people being less uncertain about local officials' misuse of power (those who did not know or did not answer this question have declined from 29% in 2001 to 14% in 2003). Some of this decrease in uncertainty has also resulted in more people than in 2001 saying that they are little or not worried about misuse of power (21% in 2001 versus 26% in 2003).

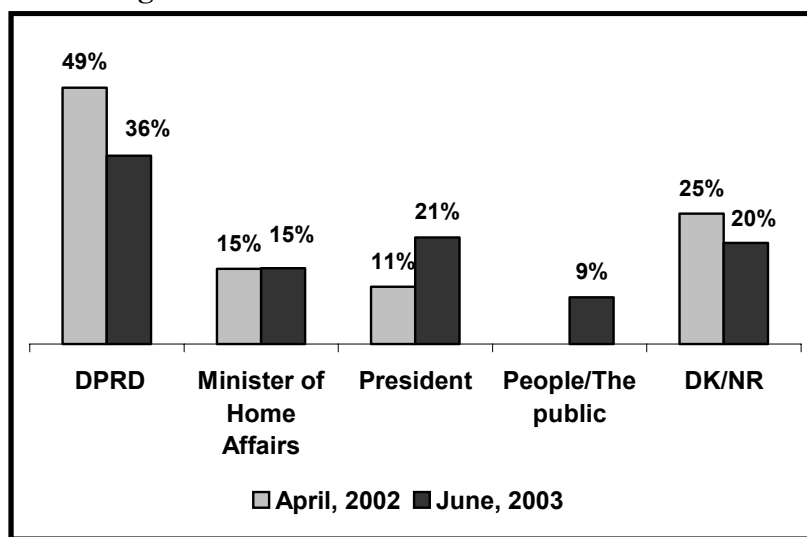
Those who are little or not concerned about the misuse of power by local officials are more likely to say that it is easier to control local officials (37%) than those who are more concerned about the misuse of power (29%). Those more concerned about the misuse of power are more likely to think that it is more difficult to control local officials (18%) than those little or not concerned about the misuse of power (9%).

A majority of respondents in each region are worried about the misuse of power by their local officials. This majority is larger in Central Java/Yogyakarta (75%), Kalimantan (64%), and Aceh/Maluku/Papua (64%).

Responsibility for Dismissing District Heads

Indonesians are split on whether regional or national authorities should have the responsibility to dismiss governors, mayors, or regents (Figure 55). Thirty-six percent would prefer the DPRD in their region to dismiss these officials while an equal 36% would prefer either the President (21%) or the Minister of Home Affairs (15%) to be responsible for this. This breakdown could also represent preferences for either legislative or executive control of the dismissal of district heads, but the survey does not provide the context to judge this issue. The percentage that prefers the president has nearly doubled since the 2002 survey while the percentage that prefers the DPRD has fallen by a quarter in 2003. Nine percent of the respondents voluntarily stated that the people should be responsible for dismissing these officials.

Figure 55. Who Should Dismiss District Heads?

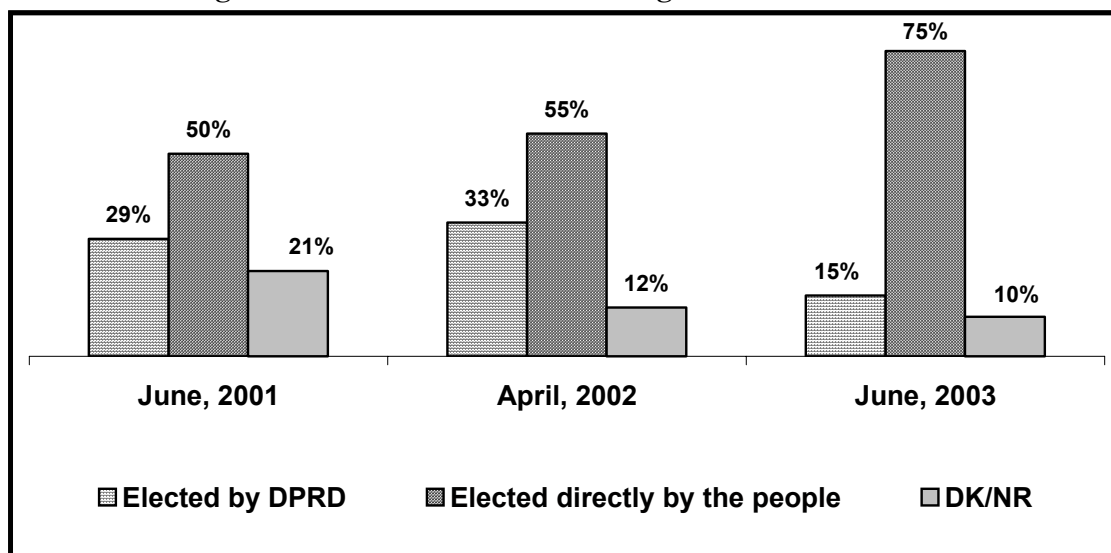


“People in some regions are confused about who has the right to fire ineffective district heads (Governor, Mayor or Regent). In your opinion, who should have the right to dismiss a district head that has not been performing his/ her duties satisfactorily?”

Method of Election for Governor, Mayor, and Regent

Over the past three years, Indonesians have increasingly voiced the sentiment that their regional and local officials such as the governor, mayor, and regent should be elected directly by the people rather than indirectly by the relevant DPRD (Figure 56). In fact, in this 2003 survey, three-quarters of Indonesians say that their governor, mayor, or regent should be elected directly by the people. This percentage has increased every year for this option (2001: 50%; 2002: 55%), but the increase was especially dramatic from 2002 to 2003 with more than a one-third increase in the percentage of people wanting direct elections. Conversely, the percentage of people that prefer that local officials be elected by the DPRD has decreased considerably compared to the previous two years.

Figure 56. Method of Election for Regional/Local Officials



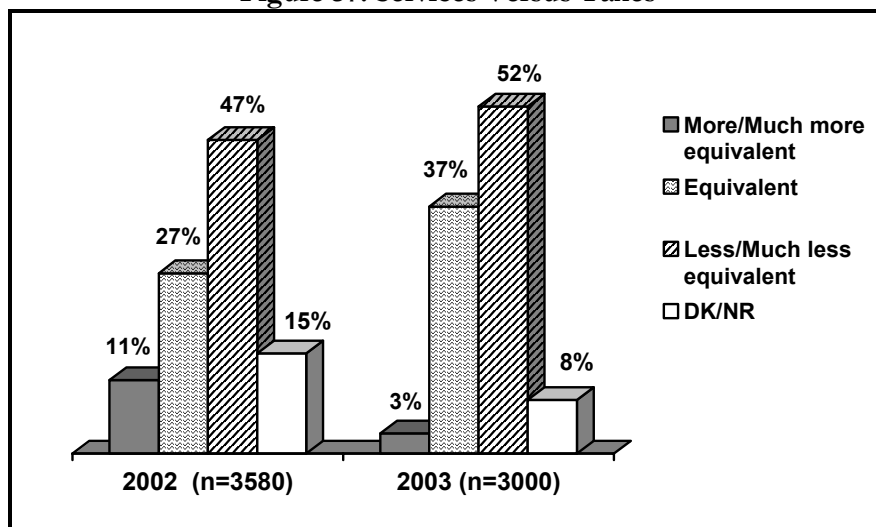
"How do you think the governor, mayor or bupati should be elected in the future?"

A majority of respondents in each region prefer a direct election with the strongest support for this option in Sulawesi (86%), Kalimantan (83%), Bali/NTB/NTT (82%), and Aceh/Maluku/Papua (82%).

Equality of Services Received with Taxes Paid

A majority of Indonesians believe that they receive less equivalent in services than they pay in taxes and fees to the government (Figure 57). Thirty-seven percent believe that they receive an equivalent amount back in services (as against 27% in 2002), 3% believe that receive more in services than they pay in taxes (as against 11% in 2002). More respondents to the 2003 survey are likely to say that they receive less equivalent in services than they pay in taxes (52%) than in 2002 (47%).

Figure 57. Services Versus Taxes



“As we know, taxes and fees you paid to government are targeted at providing public services. According to you, are the services you already receive much more equivalent, more equivalent, equivalent, less equivalent, or much less equivalent to your taxes and fees?”

Surprisingly, there is not much difference on this question by Socio-Economic Status (SES). Those with high SES do not differ markedly from medium or low SES respondents with regard to opinions on this question.

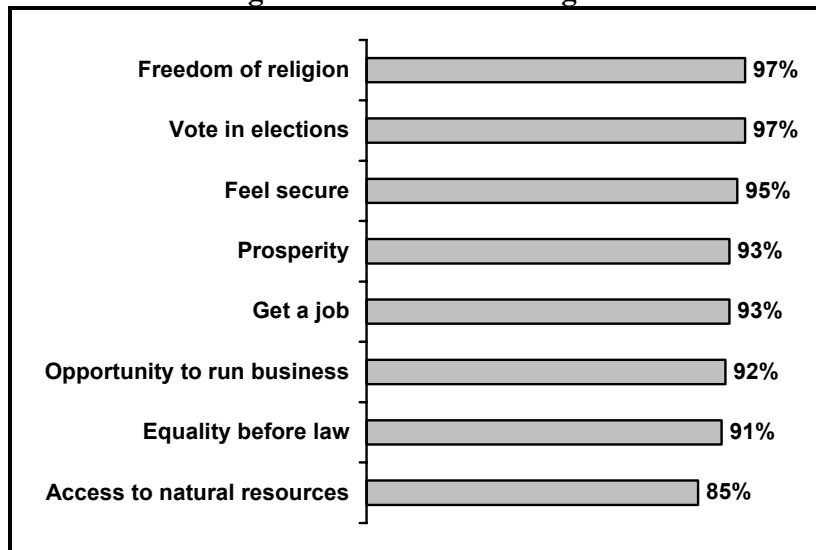
CHAPTER IX

AWARENESS OF RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

Awareness of Rights as Citizens

Almost all Indonesians are aware of their rights as citizens of Indonesia. The right of religious freedom (97%) and the right to vote in general elections (97%) are known by the highest percentage of respondents. The right to utilize natural resources is the right that the people are least aware of, as compared to the other rights, although it still has a high percentage (85%) of awareness. Figure 58 details the percentage awareness of all rights about which respondents were asked.

Figure 58. Awareness of Rights



"In a democratic Indonesian state, do you think as an Indonesian citizen you have the right to [RIGHT]?" (n=3000)

The awareness about their rights of the people in areas suffering from ethnic or sectarian conflict (Aceh, Maluku, and Papua) is lowest, in most instances, compared to the awareness of people in other regions (Figure 59). The awareness of respondents in East Java also tends to be lower than in other regions beside the conflict regions.

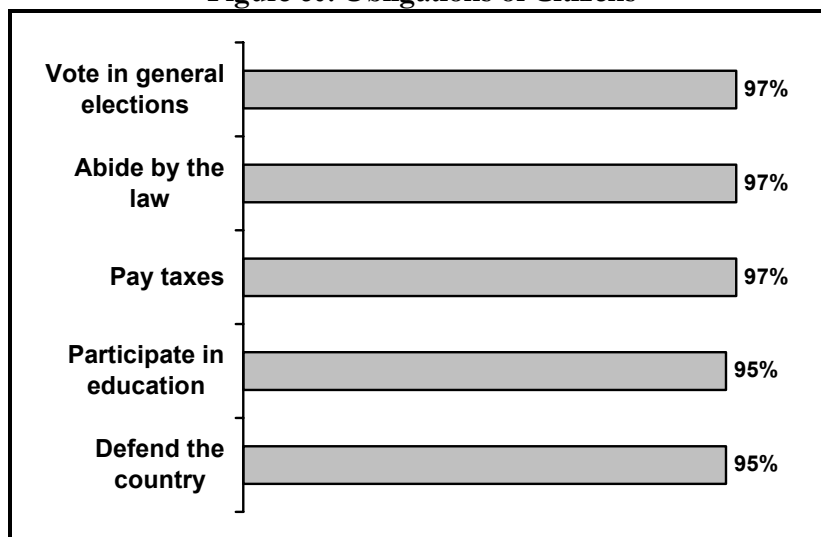
Figure 59. Awareness of Rights, by Region

Rights	Aceh Maluku Papua	Sumatra	West Java Jakarta Banten	Central Java Yogyakarta	East Java	Bali NTB NTT	Kali- mantan	Sula- wesi
Freedom of religion	99%	99%	98%	98%	90%	99%	100%	100%
Vote in elections	86%	99%	98%	99%	91%	99%	98%	98%
Feel secure	79%	98%	96%	98%	89%	99%	97%	97%
Have education	97%	99%	96%	96%	87%	96%	98%	97%
Be prosperous	81%	98%	94%	92%	85%	94%	97%	94%
Get a job	73%	97%	94%	96%	86%	93%	92%	93%
Opportunity to run business	77%	99%	94%	91%	86%	94%	97%	92%
Equality before laws	73%	97%	93%	93%	85%	93%	91%	83%
Access to natural resources	73%	87%	85%	87%	82%	82%	86%	90%

Awareness of Obligations as Citizens

Most Indonesians are also aware of their obligations as citizens of Indonesia. Almost all people think that they have an obligation to abide by the law (97%), to pay taxes (97%), to participate in education (95%) and to defend their country (95%). A percentage equal to that for awareness of the right to vote at general elections also thinks that this is an obligation (97%), a positive indicator of electoral participation in the country.

Figure 60. Obligations of Citizens



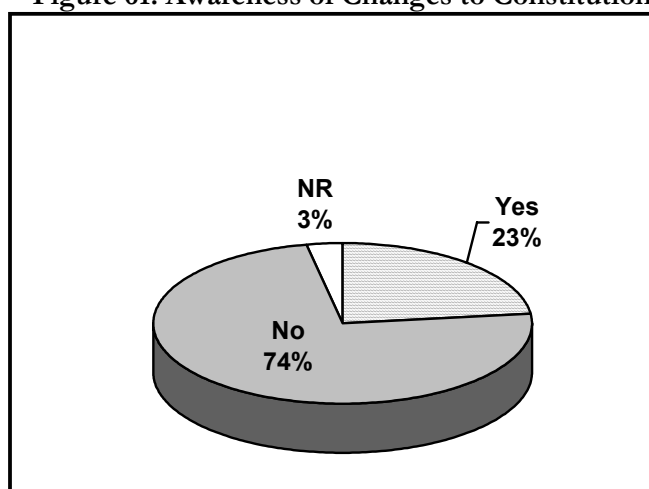
“In a democratic Indonesian state, do you think as an Indonesian citizen you have the obligation to...?” (n=3000)

Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua are less likely than those from other regions of the country to think that they have an obligation to vote in general elections (89%), to pay taxes (89%), or to defend the country (85%).

Awareness of Amendments to the Constitution

During the past four years, the Indonesian parliament has passed a series of amendments to the country's constitution. These amendments impact a whole series of issues ranging from the method of election for the president and vice-president to important human rights safeguards being enshrined in the constitution. In this year's IFES survey, respondents were asked whether they are aware that changes have been made to the constitution. The results are not encouraging (Figure 61).

Figure 61. Awareness of Changes to Constitution



“Are you aware that the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia has been amended since the 1999 election?”

Less than a quarter of Indonesians know that amendments have been made to the constitution. This survey has already shown that 25% of Indonesians are aware of the DPD, a body that was created through a constitutional amendment. These findings seem to indicate that a concerted campaign of public information needs to be undertaken to acquaint most Indonesians with the changes that have been instituted that affect the way, and by whom, they are governed.

As further evidence of the need for this type of campaign, one need look no further than the responses to the follow-up question. Those who indicated that they were aware that constitutional changes had taken place were next asked to name the changes that they knew of. Sixty-one percent of these respondents either replied that they did not know any of the changes or did not answer this question. Twelve percent say they have forgotten what the changes are, and 11% mentioned an issue that was not the subject of a constitutional amendment adopted in the past four years. Only 16% of these respondents, or 3.7% of the entire population, are able to correctly identify an issue addressed by the constitutional amendments passed in the last four years.

Those amendments that were correctly identified are listed below. Respondents could name more than one amendment so the total of the items will be higher than the percentage of respondents that provided answers (n=704):

- Direct election for president and vice-president (7%)
- Process for future constitutional amendments (5%)
- Inclusion of human rights safeguards in constitution (4%)
- Sovereignty of the people made absolute (3%)
- Economic institutions and processes (1%)

Even though more than three-quarters of the Indonesian population do not know that there have been changes to the constitution, some groups are even less informed than others. Women are less likely to know that there have been amendments to the constitution (20%) than men (27%). This is particularly true of rural women as only 15% of them are aware that there have been changes to the constitution. Rural respondents in general are far less aware that changes have been made than urban respondents (18% versus 31%).

Awareness that there have been amendments to the constitution is highly dependent on education. Nine percent of those with an elementary level of education are aware that changes have been made compared to 32% of those with a secondary level of education and 59% of those with post-secondary education. The youngest age group (17-25) has higher awareness of the fact that the constitution has been amended (28%) than those 35 or above. This suggests that discussion of the changes in the educational curriculum may be an effective way to impart information.

Awareness hovers around the national level in most Indonesian regions, although residents of Bali/NTB/NTT (32%) and Aceh/Maluku/Papua (31%) do have a higher awareness that the constitution has been amended than the other regions in the country.

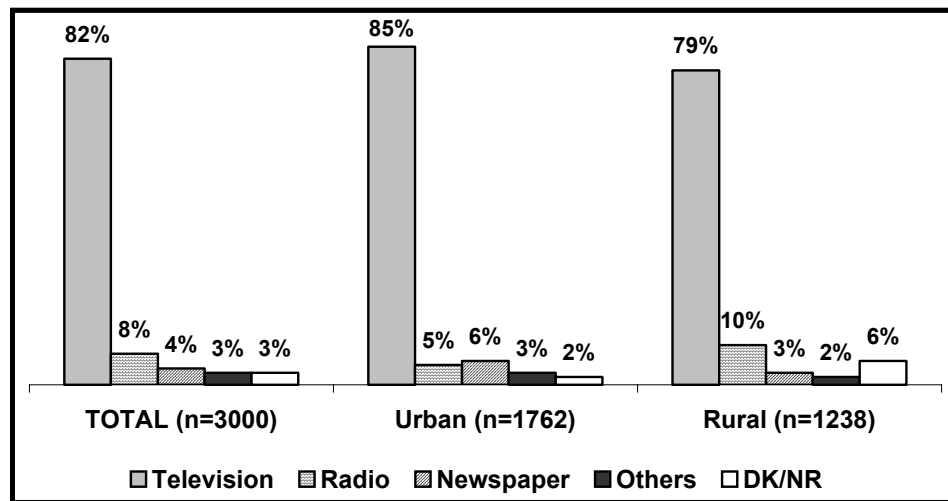
CHAPTER X MEDIA AND INFORMATION

Most Indonesians use television as their primary source for information. TVRI is viewed by 58% of the Indonesian population while RRI is used by one-third of Indonesians. More Indonesians use both of these sources primarily for news than any other type of programming. Awareness of local TVRI is significantly higher than awareness of other local TV channels.

Primary Sources of Information

Television is the primary source of information for the vast majority of Indonesians (82%, Figure 62). Radio and newspapers are also used as sources by a significant percentage of people in Indonesia.

Figure 62. Sources of Information



“Which of the following media provides the main source of your information?”

Radio is more likely to be used in rural areas than in urban areas. In rural areas, economic status has some impact on whether people rely on TV or radio as primary media sources. Ninety percent of those at SES levels A and B in rural areas use television as their primary media source. This compares with 84% of those at SES level C and 76% of those at SES levels D and E. Conversely, radio as a primary source in rural areas is higher for those at SES D and E (12%) compared to SES C (7%) and SES A and B (4%).

Use of television as the primary media source is lower among those 55 and over (72%) than other age groups (83%). Members of this age group are more likely to use radio as their primary media source (12%) than other age groups (7%).

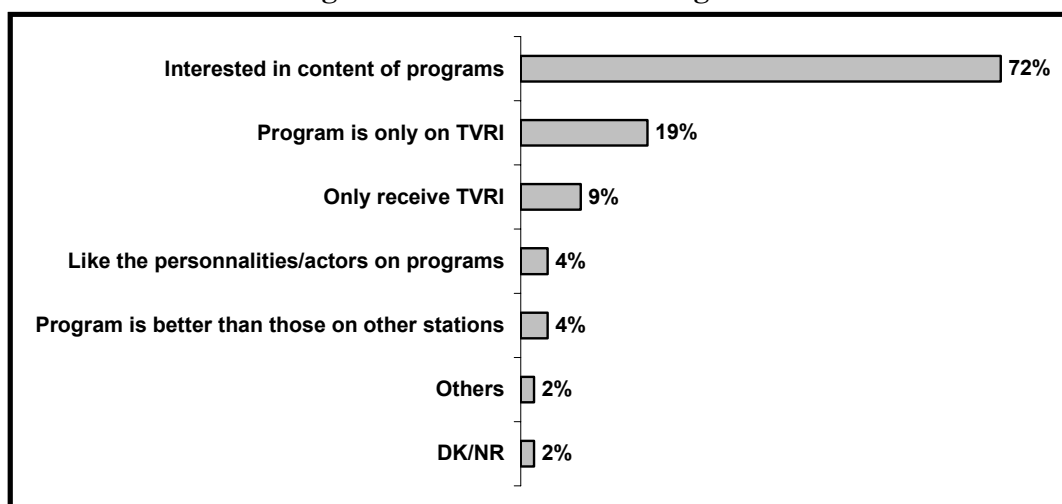
Viewership of TVRI

Overall, 51% of Indonesians report that they have viewed programs on the state-run television channel, TVRI, at least once a month. A quarter of Indonesians watch TVRI on a daily basis while 19% watch it at least once a week. Fourteen percent watch TVRI at least once a month or less frequently. Forty percent of Indonesians report that they never watch TVRI.

Use of TVRI is especially high in Aceh/Maluku/Papua where 94% of respondents report watching TVRI at least once a month. Eighty-one percent of those in Aceh watch TVRI daily. Viewership is also high in Sulawesi (74% watch TVRI at least once a month) and Bali/NTB/NTT (68%). Frequency of viewership, however is much higher in Sulawesi where 46% report watching TVRI daily compared to 15% of those in Bali/NTB/NTT. Use of TVRI is lowest in the western part of Java (West Java/Jakarta/Banten) where 52% report watching TVRI at least once a month.

Those who watch TVRI programs were asked their reasons for watching these programs. The majority of the respondents report watching the programs because they are interested in the content of the programs (Figure 63).

Figure 63. Reasons for Watching TVRI



"Why did you watch the TVRI programs?" (n=3000; multiple responses allowed)

Many also watch the programs because they are only broadcast on TVRI (19%). A few report watching TVRI because it is the only station they can get in their area. This reason is more likely to be voiced in rural areas (13%) than urban areas (4%). There is also a clear distinction between residents of Java and residents of other areas of Indonesia, which indicates that people in Java have access to a greater number of TV channels than other Indonesians. In Java, 2% of respondents say they watch TVRI programs because it is the only channel they receive. By contrast, 34% in Bali/NTB/NTT give this as a reason for watching TVRI, 33% in Sulawesi, 13% in Kalimantan, 12% in Aceh/Maluku/Papua, and 10% in Sumatra.

People who watch TVRI programs were also asked to list the types of programs they watched most frequently. Nearly half of those who watch TVRI, more frequently watch news programs (49%). Nearly a third of those who watch TVRI, more usually watch shows dealing with music (16%) or other cultural entertainment (15%). Six percent report most often watching Sinetron and 5%, movies.

Men are much more likely to watch news programs than women (55% versus 41%), whereas women are more likely to watch TVRI for entertainment such as music and Sinetron programs (29% versus 15%).

Amongst those who watch TVRI, two-thirds are aware of the existence of local TVRI stations but little more than one-third are aware of other local TV stations. The vast majority of those who are aware of local TVRI or other local TV stations find their programs to be useful (Figure 64).

Figure 64. Awareness and Evaluation of Local TV

Awareness of Local TVRI (n=1251)		Awareness of Other Local TV (n=1251)	
	%		%
Yes	66%	Yes	35%
No	34%	No	65%
Usefulness of Local TVRI (n=1146)		Usefulness of Other Local TV (n=607)	
	%		%
Very useful/useful	93%	Very useful/useful	91%
Not very useful/not useful	4%	Not very useful/not useful	3%
DK/NR	3%	DK/NR	6%

“Do you know about the existence of local TVRI and local TV stations in [NAME OF AREA]?”
[IF YES] “What is your opinion about the benefits of programs broadcast by local TVRI and/or local TV in [NAME OF AREA]?”

A majority of people is aware of local TVRI in all regions except Bali/NTB/NTT. Residents of Bali/NTB/NTT, however, are most likely to be aware of other local TV channels (52%). A larger percentage of residents of Java are likely to be aware of other local TV channels (41%) than residents of other regions (except Bali/NTB/NTT). It should be noted that there are few “other local TV stations” in Indonesia at this time, however the number of community or local TV stations is increasing.

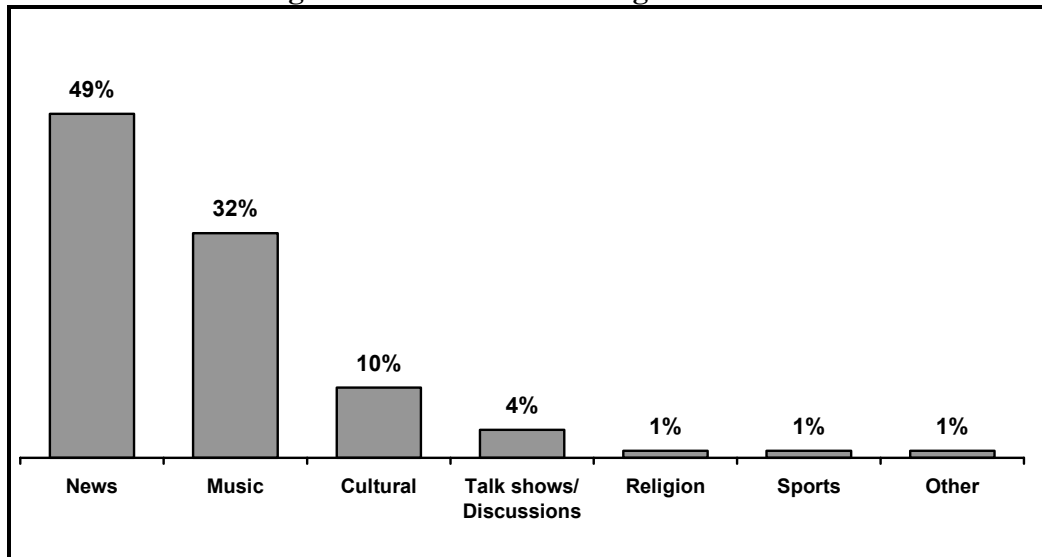
In the case of both local TVRI and other local channels, almost all of those who are aware of these two channels think they are useful.

RRI

Use of RRI - the state-run radio channel - is much lower than the use of TVRI. In total, 33% of Indonesians listen to RRI. A little fewer than 15% listen to RRI on a daily basis, 10% at least once a week, and 4% at least once a month, and a little under 5% less frequently.. Sixty-four percent of Indonesians never listen to RRI. Unlike the primary media sources where radio was reported to be used more frequently by rural respondents, there is no difference between rural and urban respondents in the use of RRI. Residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua overwhelmingly listen to RRI (89% listen at least once a month), with 66% listening on a daily basis. A majority of residents in other regions report that they never listen to RRI.

As with TVRI, news programs are most popular amongst listeners of RRI (49%), however music programs are also quite popular (32%). Cultural programs are less frequently mentioned as the ones most listened to by RRI listeners (10%, Figure 65).

Figure 65. Most Listened Program on RRI

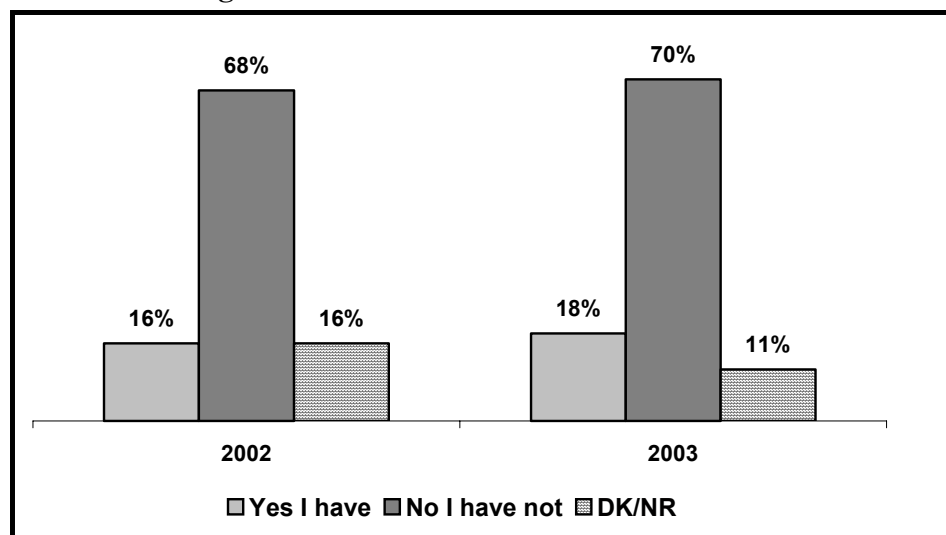


"What type of programs do you listen to the most on RRI?" (n=999)

Awareness of Indonesia Baru (New Indonesia)

Indonesia Baru is a television and radio program broadcast on cable, satellite, local TV stations, and RRI that seeks to inform the public of current politics and policy debates and developments, and is sponsored by both the DPR and the MPR. A significant percentage of Indonesians report watching this program (Figure 66).

Figure 66. Watch or Listen to Indonesia Baru?



"Have you ever watched or listened to the Indonesia Baru talk show?" (n=3000)

Eighteen percent of Indonesians report having watched or listened to *Indonesia Baru*; a slight increase from 2002 (16%). However, the percentage who report that they do not watch the program also increased by the same amount (68% to 70%).

Residents of Sulawesi (25%), Aceh/Maluku/Papua (24%), and Central Java/Yogyakarta (22%) are more likely to have watched or listened to the program than residents of other regions. As

would be expected, the audience for the program increases with the increase in frequency with which respondents watch television or listen to RRI.

The audience for *Indonesia Baru* also increases according to education from a low of 3% among those who have less than an elementary school education to a high of 39% among those with post-secondary education. Not surprisingly, those who watch or listen to *Indonesia Baru* are much more likely to be aware of national leaders and institutions than those who do not watch or listen to the program. Even more important given the relative lack of knowledge of political affairs among women in Indonesia, women who watch or listen to *Indonesia Baru* are just as likely or more likely to be aware of leaders and institutions as men who watch or listen to the program.

Those who watch or listen to *Indonesia Baru* are immensely satisfied with the program. Ninety percent of these respondents rate it as good or very good, while only 5% rate it as bad or very bad. Five percent do not have an opinion.

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	Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam	60	12.65	16.65
2	North Sumatra	200	6.93	9.12
3	West Sumatra	80	10.96	14.42
4	Jambi	40	15.5	20.4
5	South Sumatra	100	9.8	12.9
6	Bangka Belitung	20	21.91	28.85
7	Lampung	80	10.96	14.42
8	Bengkulu	20	21.91	28.85
9	Riau (incl. Riau Islands)	40	15.5	20.4
10	DKI Jakarta	120	8.95	11.78
11	West Java	360	5.17	6.8
12	Banten	140	8.28	10.9
13	Central Java	360	5.17	6.8
14	East Java	440	4.67	6.15
15	DI Yogyakarta	80	10.96	14.42
16	West Kalimantan	60	12.65	16.65
17	South Kalimantan	80	10.96	14.42
18	Central Kalimantan	40	15.5	20.4
19	East Kalimantan	40	15.5	20.4
20	Bali	60	12.65	16.65
21	Nusa Tenggara Barat	60	12.65	16.65
22	Nusa Tenggara Timur	60	12.65	16.65
23	Gorontalo	20	21.91	28.85
24	South Sulawesi	160	7.75	10.2
25	Central Sulawesi	40	15.5	20.4
26	South East Sulawesi	40	15.5	20.4
27	North Sulawesi	60	12.65	16.65
28	Maluku	20	21.91	28.85
29	North Maluku	20	21.91	28.85
30	West Irian Jaya	40	15.5	20.4
31	Central Irian Jaya	20	21.91	28.85
32	Papua	40	15.5	20.4

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	620	3.94	5.18
Central Java/Yogyakarta	440	4.67	6.15
East Java	440	4.67	6.15
Bali/NTB/NTT	180	7.3	9.62
Sumatra	580	4.07	5.36
Kalimantan	220	6.61	8.7
Sulawesi	320	5.48	7.21
Acch/Maluku/Papua	200	6.93	9.12
Rural/Urban			
Rural	1800	2.31	3.04
Urban	1200	2.83	3.72
Gender			
Male	1500	2.53	3.33
Female	1500	2.53	3.33
Age			
Under 25 years old	560	4.14	5.54
25-34 years old	831	3.4	4.47
35-44 years old	786	3.5	4.6
45-54 years old	433	4.71	6.2
55 and up	390	4.96	6.53
Education Level			
Never gone to school	142	8.22	10.83
Elementary	1148	2.89	3.81
Secondary	1484	2.54	3.35
Higher	226	6.52	8.58