

# **PROGRESS REPORT**

July 2006 – March 2007

**PUBLIC EVALUATION ON DEMOCRACY PERFORMANCE IN INDONESIA**

Prepared by:  
INDONESIAN SURVEY INSTITUTE  
(Lembaga Survei Indonesia)

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For:  
JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY (JICA)  
INDONESIA OFFICE

AND  
FOUNDATION FOR INDONESIA DEMOCRACY STRENGTHENING  
(Yayasan Pengembangan Demokrasi Indonesia)

March 2007

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The initial goal of establishment of Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI) is to monitor public opinion on a regular basis and in turn the survey results could serve as political input for political processes and decision making on various policies. By considering that public opinion polls must be independent, then source of funding for these activities is also must come from an independent agency, such as JICA. Support of fund from JICA creates a good ground for LSI to stay independent, and it makes LSI escapes from various political interests.

In period July 2006-March 2007, LSI carried various surveys, indicated by a total 28 surveys consists of 8 national surveys (4 of them funded by JICA) and 20 regional surveys (1 of them funded by JICA). Some of them widely published both in national or international media.

The finding from surveys in 2006-2007 to the performance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and Vice-President M. Jusuf Kalla (MJK) fluctuated due to issues and public satisfaction on Indonesian economy. In the beginning of the year up to March 2007 the performance of SBY was on its lowest point during his term as president. It dropped from 80% on November 2004 to 49,7% only on March 2007. Impact of the decreased seems to be decreasing trend of popularity of SBY. If the presidential election were held today, the votes gained by SBY will not dominant anymore. The absence of alternative political figures or much younger politicians will be likely to set election of 2009 as election in 2004. It means only SBY and Megawati who compete closely for the presidency.

Survey finding on popularity of political parties in 2006-2007 generally there will be only 2 groups of political parties who will likely garner the most votes: upper group and lower group. The first group is PDI Perjuangan (Indonesian democratic Party-Struggle), Partai Golkar (Golkar Party) and Partai Demokrat (democrat Party); and the second group is the political parties that gained vote less than 7% and they are PKB (National Awakening Party), PKS (Prosperous and Justice Party), PPP (United development Party) and PAN (National Mandate Party). Votes for PDI-Perjuangan, Golkar and Demokrat from the surveys in 2006 – 2007 fluctuates, they would likely beat each other. In the beginning of 2006 up to the mid year votes for Demokrat exceeded Golkar and PDI Perjuangan. Yet, in the mid of 2006 up to the end of 2006 Golkar gained more votes and secured its position in the top. The latest survey of LSI in March 2007 indicated that PDI Perjuangan outperformed Golkar and Demokrat. PDI

Perjuangan garnered votes around 19,7%, Golkar 15% and Demokrat 10,4%. While Islamic oriented parties or with support base from Islamic organizations (PKB, PPP, PKS dan PAN) garnered votes less than 7% each. The legislative election will be held 2 years from now, therefore votes for political parties fluctuation this depends on their ability to lift up performance and public evaluation on them: Do they work for the good of the people or not.

How does Indonesian public assess democracy in the country? In the context of study of democracy, public support to the involvement of active military person in politics is an indicator that democracy in a country is still weak. In the public opinion survey, concept of support to an active military person to politics could be measured with a particular question: "do you agree or disagree if an active military person run this country." More further, the survey dig out other information from the public by looking at their support or refusal to the military person to occupy a public offices both at the national and regional level. In general, the public refused involvement of active military persons in politics. This sentiment fluctuates. Yet, there are significant number of people (at average 26.5% in the last seven years) who support involvement of military persons in politics. In the established democratic countries, involvement of military person in politics is supported by less than 10%. In Germany for example, tolerance to the military involvement is only 1%, in the US 7%, in South Korea 4%, Argentina 14%, and in Turkey 26%. The points for Indonesia is on the average of new unstable democracy such as Turkey, and there is a possibility for a *coup d'état* done by the military that had been occurred many times in Turkey. Strong public resistance to military involvement in politics would be likely to prevent military to engage in a political adventure.

In period of July 2006 to March 2007 fund from JICA amounted to Rp. 1591.975.000,- (<sup>≅ 2.100,5</sup>) (One Billion Five Hundred Ninety One Million Nine Hundred Seventy Five Thousand Rupiah) is used to carry out four national surveys and one regional survey (in Aceh and Nias), and six press conferences to launch the results of these surveys.

LSI hopes that our cooperation lasts up to 2010 as it is mentioned in the proposal of LSI to JICA for period 2006-2010.

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## CHAPTER 1

### ACTIVITIES JULY 2006 – MARCH 2007

#### A. RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AND SURVEY

In the period of July 2006 – March 2007, LSI carried out eight surveys, and two of them funded by JICA, while the others were surveys on regional elections (Pilkada) in the six regions (provinces and district/regency).

NO	TOPICS	TIME PERIOD	POPULATION	FUNDING SOURCES
1	Popularity ratings of governor candidates of NAD	Jul-2006	Province	PAN Party
2	Popularity ratings of governor candidates of DKI Jakarta	Jul-2006	Province	Candidate
3	Mapping of Golkar's voter	Aug-2006	Province	Golkar Party
4	Omnibus survei: Anti Terorisme	Aug-2006	Province	Terror Free Tomorrow
5	Popularity ratings of governor candidates of Bangka Belitung	Aug-2006	Province	Partai Golkar
6	Quick Count in West Sulawesi	Sep-2006	Province	Candidate
7	<b><i>Evaluation of government performance</i></b>	<b><i>Sep-2006</i></b>	<b><i>National</i></b>	<b><i>JICA</i></b>
8	Mapping of PAN's voter	Sep-2006	National	PAN Party
9	Popularity ratings of governor candidates of DKI Jakarta	Sep-2006	Province	Golkar Party
10	Democracy Consolidation	Nov-2006	National	Asia Barometer
11	Anti-Americanism	Nov-2006	National	American Embassy
12	Popularity ratings of governor candidates of North Moluccas	Nov-2006	Province	Candidate
13	Popularity ratings of governor candidates of NAD	Nov-2006	Province	IFES
14	Public Satisfaction Index Towards Public Administration in Surakarta, Tegal, Klaten, and Timor Tengah Selatan	November 2006 - January 2007	4 municipalities	GTZ, Germany
15	Popularity of Candidates in Gorontalo Province Elections	November 2006	Province	Candidate
16	Popularity of Candidates in Tasikmalaya City Elections	December 2006	City	PAN Party
17	<b><i>Political and economic outlook 2006-2007</i></b>	<b><i>December 2006</i></b>	<b><i>National</i></b>	<b><i>JICA</i></b>

18	<b><i>Two Years After the Aceh and Nias Tsunami and Prospects for Peace in Post-Elections Aceh</i></b>	<b><i>December 2006</i></b>	<b><i>Province</i></b>	<b><i>JICA</i></b>
19	Popularity of Candidates in South Sulawesi Province Elections	January 2006	Province	Golkar Party
20	Popularity of Candidates in East Java Elections	January 2006	Province	PDIP Party
21	Popularity of Candidates in DKI Jakarta Elections	January 2006	Province	Candidate
22	Popularity of Candidates in Padangsidempuan	February 2006	Province	Candidate
23	Popularity of Candidates in Bekasi City	February 2006	Province	Candidate
24	Popularity of Candidates in North Mollucas	March 2006	Province	Candidate
25	Regionalism and Democracy	March 2006	National	JICA
26	Islam and Nationalism	March 2006	National	PPIM
27	<b><i>Performance of Political Parties</i></b>	<b><i>March 2006</i></b>	<b><i>National</i></b>	<b><i>JICA</i></b>
28	Popularity of Candidates in West Kalimantan	March 2006	Province	Candidate

## **B. TRAINING AND WORKSHOP**

On a routine basis LSI conducts training and workshop for Area Coordinators in order to maintain quality of result of the surveys. The last training was held in Sari Pan Pacific Hotel, Jakarta on **15 – 16 September 2006** and Wisma Syahida, Ciputat on **10- 11 November 2006**

### **Objectives of Training**

1. Socialization of LSI's plan for 2006 - 2007
2. Deepening of survey methodology
3. Preparing for survey with JICA, survey with Asia Barometer and survey with American Embassy in Jakarta which will be conducted on September and November 2006.

## **C. PRESS CONFERENCE**

1. ***National Leadership Prospects: Public Evaluation of the Performance of the President and Vice-president***, Sari Pan Pacific Hotel, 11 October 2006.  
Speakers: Saiful Mujani, Ph.D. (LSI Executive Director), Dr. Andi Malaranggeng (Spoke Person of President Yudhoyono), Pramono Anung (PDIP Party) and Anies Baswedan Ph.D (LSI Senior Researcher)

2. ***The Prospect of Political Islam***, Nikko Hotel, 15 October 2006  
 Speakers: Saiful Mujani, Ph.D. (LSI Executive Director), Dr. Bachtiar Effendy (Political Analyst), Sayuti Assyatri (PAN Party), dan Anies Baswedan Ph.D (LSI Senior Researcher).
3. ***Two Years of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Aceh and Nias of Post Tsunami***, Saripan Pacific Hotel, 23 December 2006.  
 Speakers: Anies Baswedan, Ph.D. (Researcher of LSI), Dr. Kuntoro Mangkusubroto (Chairperson of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Body in Aceh), Teuku Nurlif (House of Representatives)
4. ***Reflektion and Hopes 2006 – 2007: Economy and Politics***, Saripan Pacific Hotel, 27 December 2006  
 Speakers: Anies Baswedan, Ph.D. (LSI Senior Researcher), Dr. Sunardi Rinangkit (Political observer), Umar Juoro (Economist)
5. ***Regionalism and Nationalism in a Democracy A Political Economy Perspective***, Saripan Pacific Hotel, 20 March 2007  
 Speakers: Anies Basweda (LSI Senior Researcher), Dr. Alfitra Salam (Researcher of LIPI)
6. ***Three Years of Political Parties : The Problems of Voters' Aspiration Representation*** , Saripan Pacific Hotel, 27 March 2007  
 Speakers: Saiful Mujani (LSI Executive Director), Anies Basweda (LSI Senior Researcher), Yasonna Laoly (Member House of Representative of PDI Perjuangan), Anas Urbaningrum (Chairman of Demokrat Party), Syamsul Muarif (Chairman of Golkar Party).

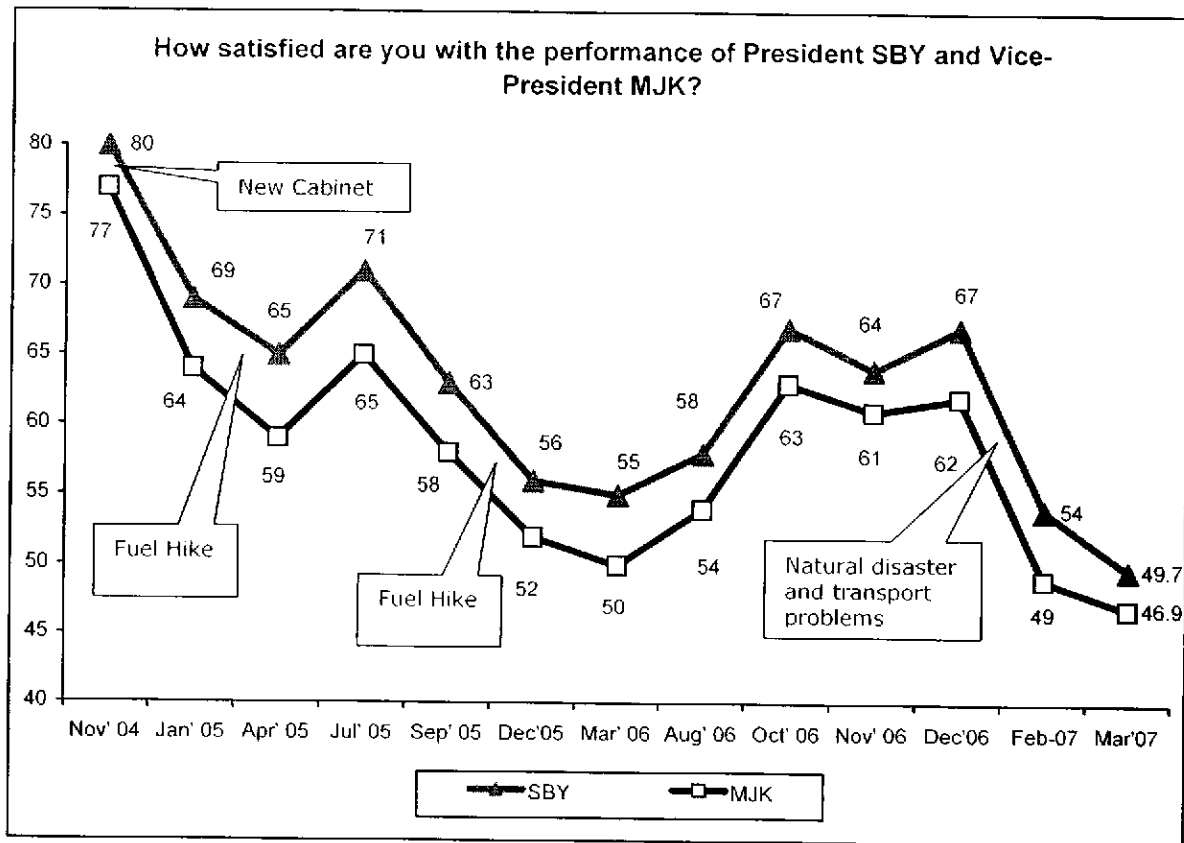


## CHAPTER 2 SURVEY FINDINGS

### A. NATIONAL SURVEY : JULY 2006 – MARCH 2007

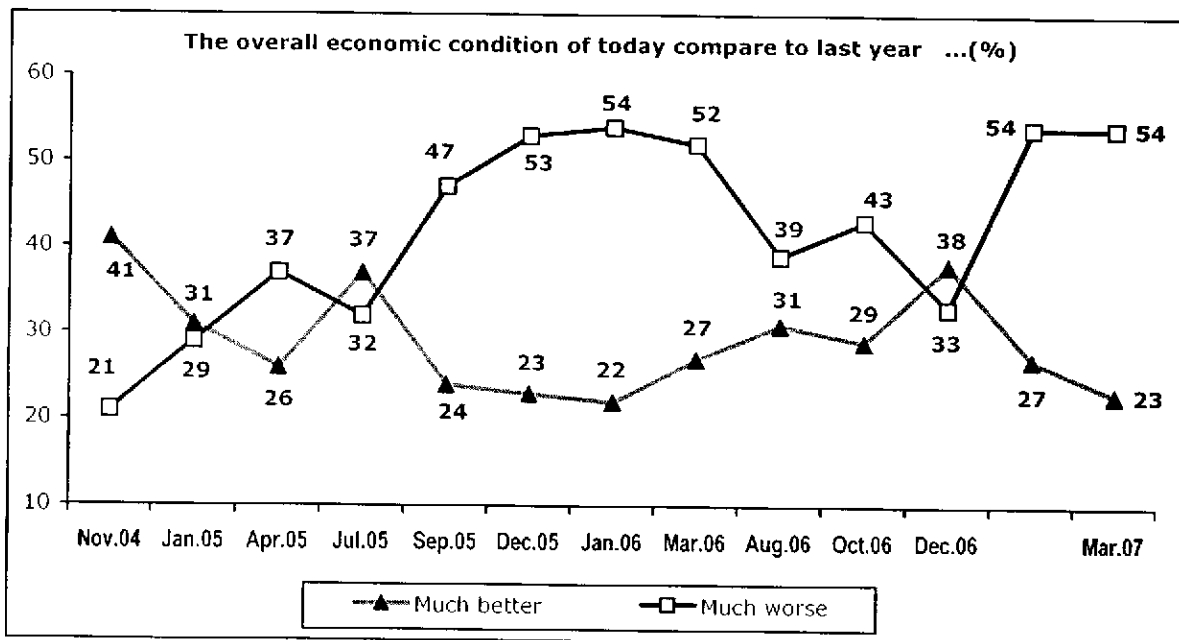
#### PERFORMANCE OF PRESIDENT

Generally there is a declining trend regarding the performance of the President and Vice-President within one year period (March 2006 – March 2007). The latest survey points out that only 50% of the public who are satisfied with the performance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and only 46% who are satisfied with the performance of Vice-President Muhammad Jusuf Kalla (MJK).



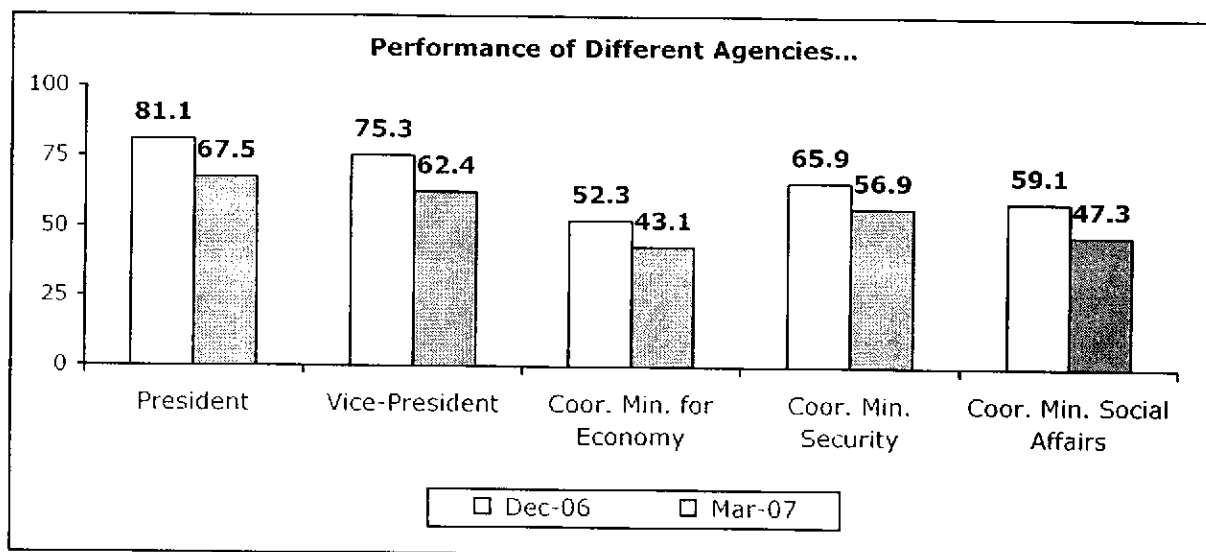
Satisfaction level of the public is influenced by government policies and disaster in transportation system. The increasing price of fuel and a row of disaster in transport system could be causes that drag public satisfaction to President and Vice-President down.

Another factor that influences the level of public satisfaction is economic factor. It could be seen by responses of the public on economic condition of today if it is compared with economic condition of last year.



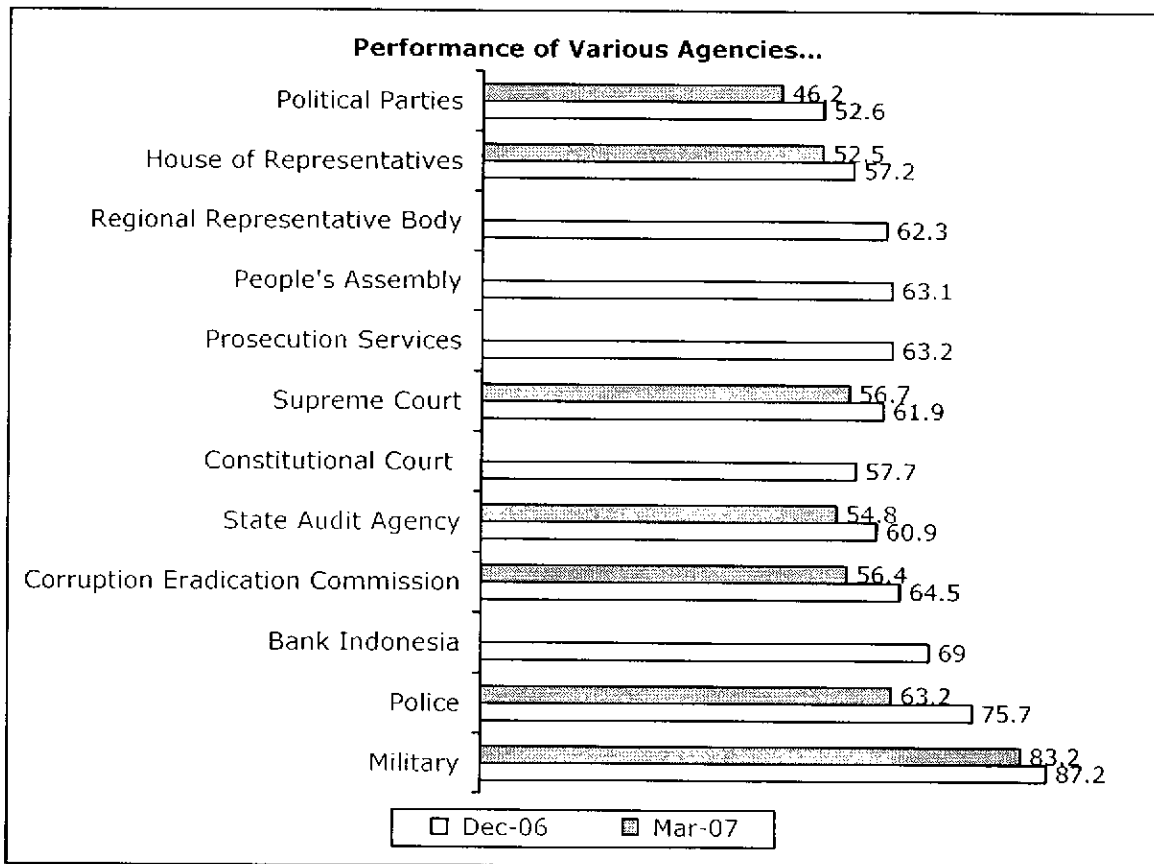
Survey in March 2007 finds that more people see national economic condition today is much worse compared to last year.

### Performance of Government and Various State Agencies



The public currently sees the Indonesian military (TNI) and President as the best performing organizations, while only 52% are satisfied with the performance of political parties and Parliament. This may indicate public disappointment with political parties and

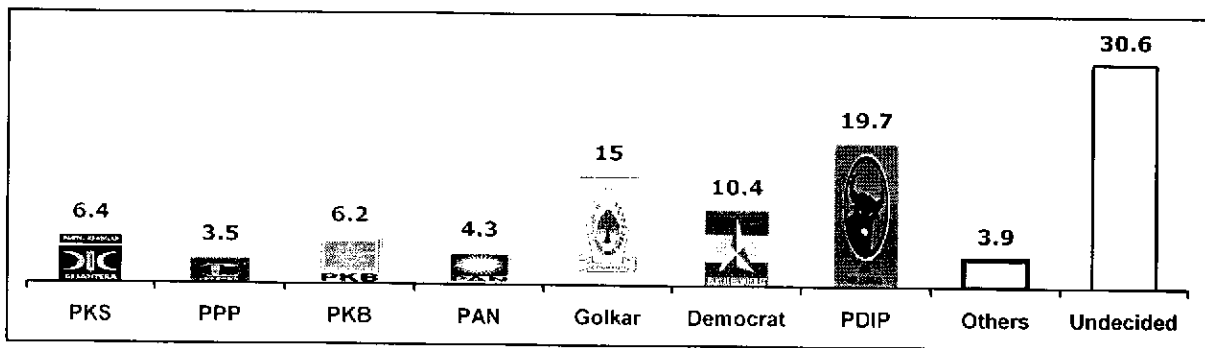
Parliament with regards to representing constituents. Some people believe that political parties and Parliament are instead busy with their own personal agendas (e.g., frequent overseas visits by members of Parliament and allowance increases).



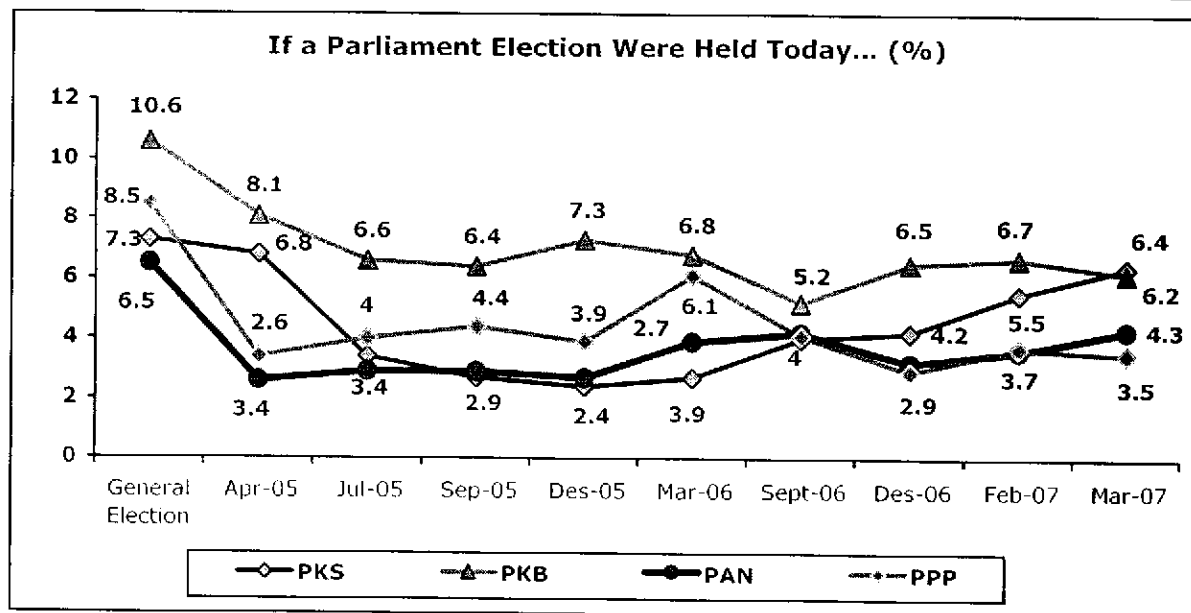
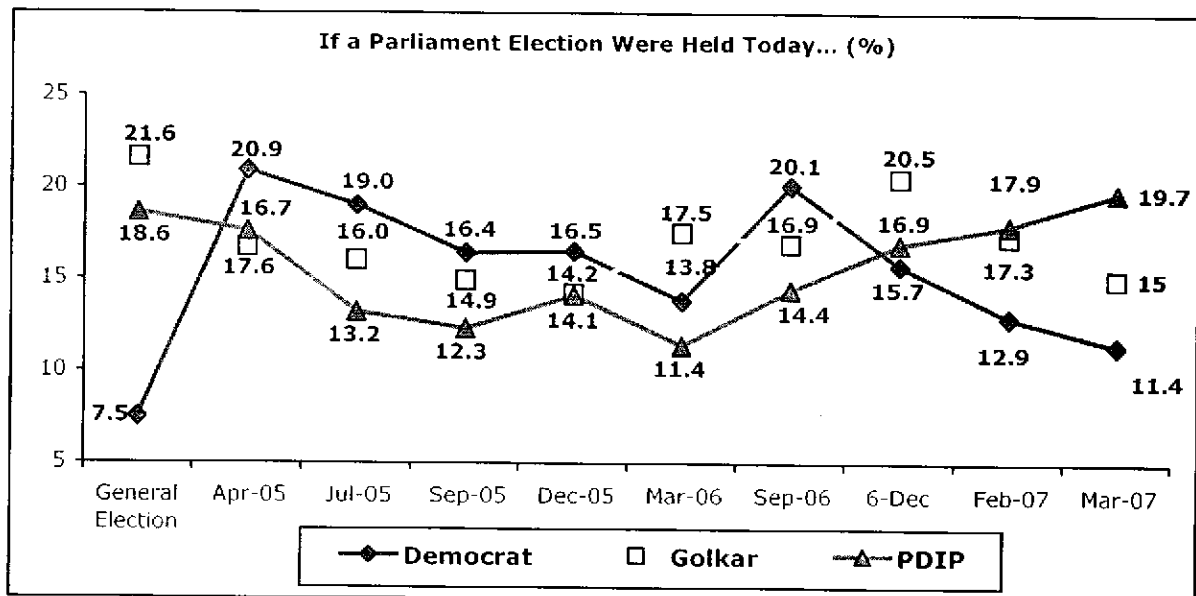
The survey respondents considered the military to be performing well. This may be because of positive images of the military seen by large numbers of people during certain important events such as natural and manmade disasters. The military has been responsive in offering help to people in need, in part because they have the ability to move fast and they are well-trained. There is recognition, however, that disaster assistance is not main task of the military; rather it is maintaining the country's integrity and unification.

**IF A PARLIAMENT ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY**

The finding of the latest survey in March 2007 points out that only two political grouping in garnering the votes: the first is the top gainer such as Indonesian democratic Party-Struggle (PDI Perjuangan) which garnering 17,8% of votes, Golkar Party (Partai Golkar) with 17,1%, and Democrat Party (Partai Demokrat) with 12,8%. Second, the lower group which are in electoral threshold, such as National Awakening Party (PKB) with 6,7%, Prosperous and Justice Party (PKS) with 5,4%, United development Party (PPP) with 3,6%, and National Mandate Party (PAN) with 3,4%. Those who are undecided is 27,2%.

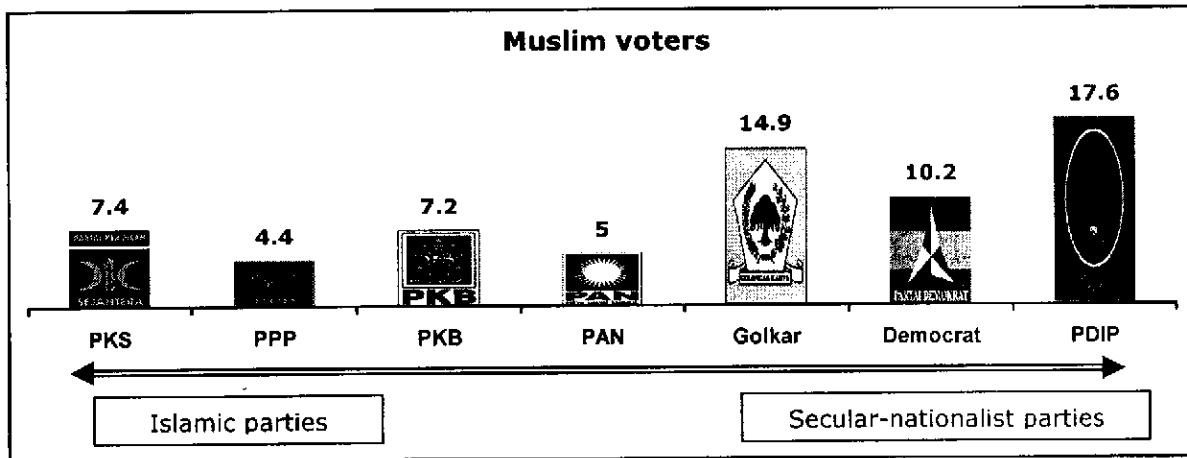


Secular-nationalist political parties garnered more votes than Islamic-oriented or Islamic political parties or political parties with Islamic organizations. It is a backward for those Islamic-oriented political parties in garnering votes. Election in 2009 will be a testing ground for PDI Struggle, Golkar Party and Demokrat Party to gain votes from the voters. Below is serial data from survey of LSI from 2005 to March 2007.



## MUSLIM VOTERS

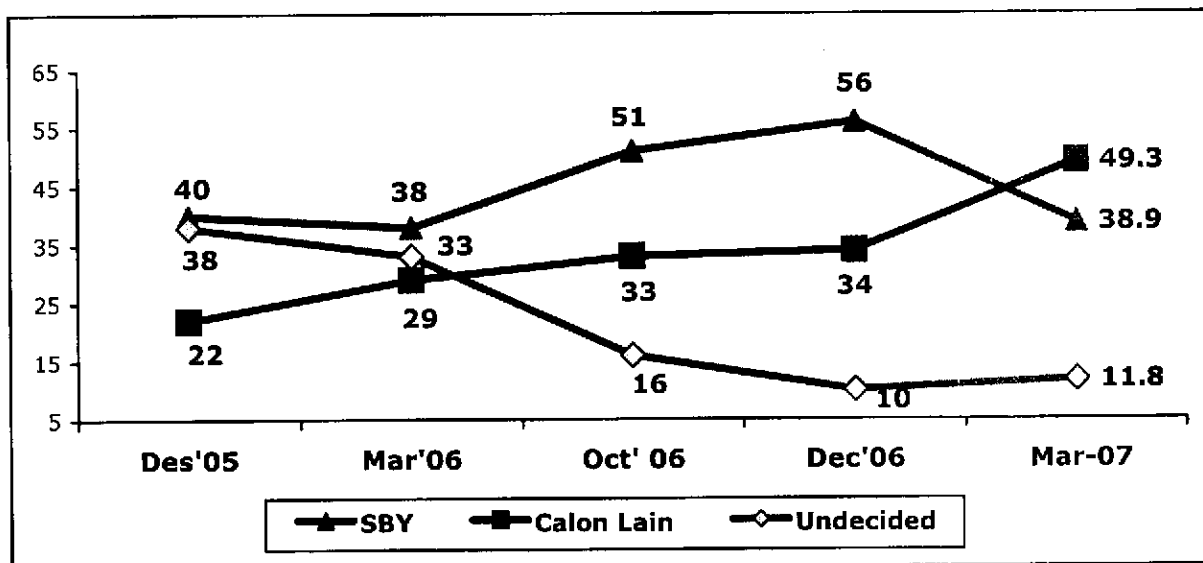
Muslim is majority in Indonesia. Are they vote for Islamic political parties or secular-nationalist political parties ?

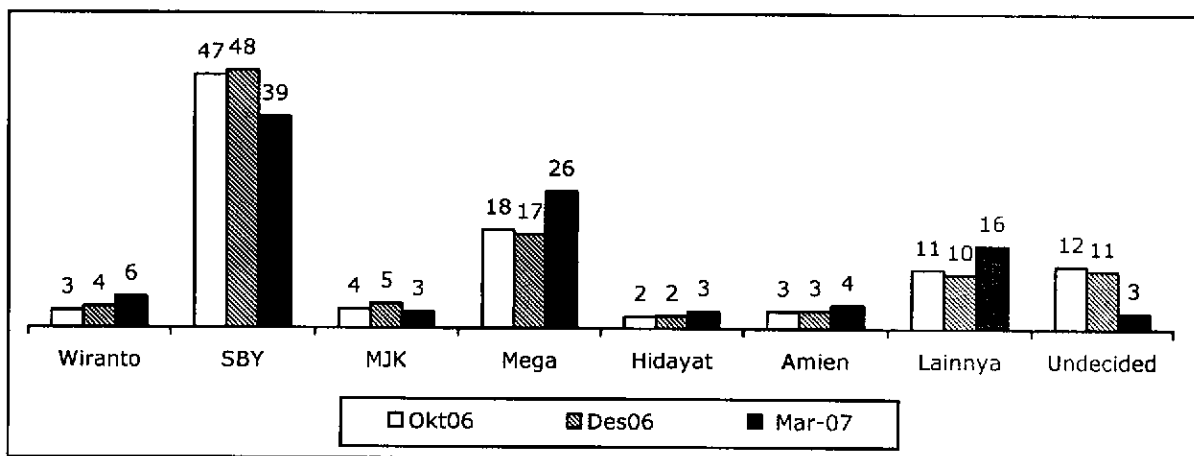


Political Islam at the electoral level and real politics have not shown improvement. Prosperous and Justice Party (PKS), United development Party (PPP), National Awakening Party (PKB) and National Mandate Party (PAN) have not pointed out their ability to gain votes. They are left behind by secular-nationalist parties (Golkar, PDIP, Demokrat).

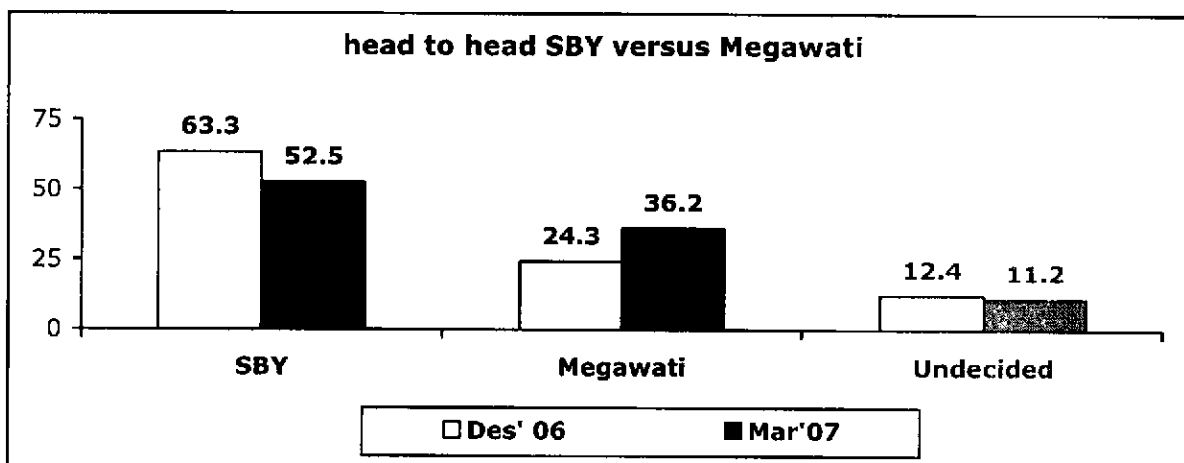
## IF A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WERE HELD TODAY

Generally, popularity of President SBY in 2007 is decreasing. In survey by LSI in 2006 popularity of President SBY was high, differences with that of Megawati (former president) was 31%, however survey by LSI on March 2007 the differences is becoming closer to 14%.





If a presidential election were held today the event in 2004 occurs again. Perhaps election would be carried out in two rounds in which incumbent President SBY competes with Megawati. If it is happen, then Megawati would likely loose the battle as in 2004.



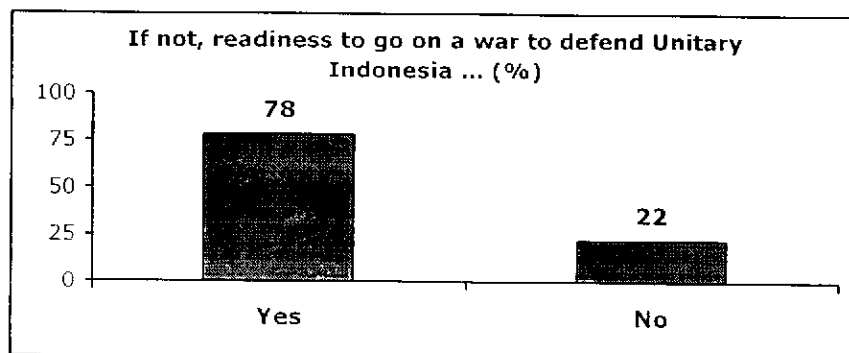
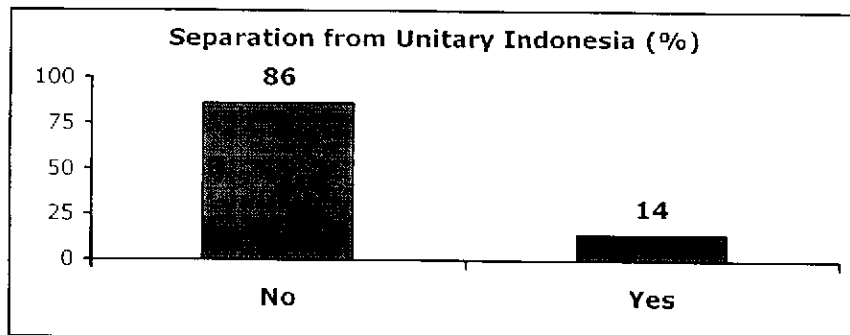
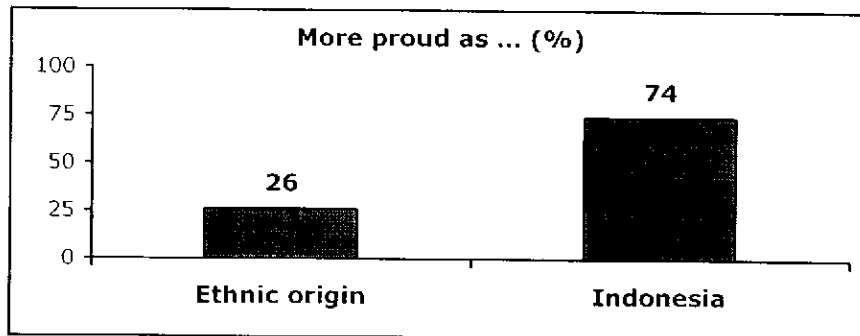
## REGIONALISM AND NATIONALISM IN A DEMOCRACY

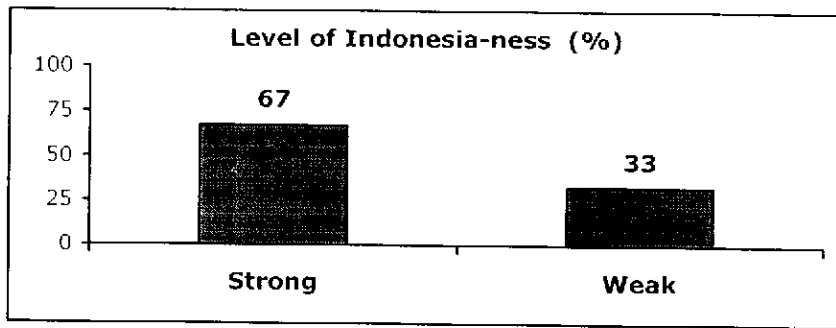
Regional autonomy introduced along with political reform. It is a break through to strengthen Indonesia as a nation state by accommodating regional pluralism. It designed not to weaken, but strengthen Indonesia. In this context regional autonomy is a system to establish a congruent relation between the center and the region. To what extent this relation establishes?

Viewed from citizen political behavior, regional autonomy has not bridged regionalism and Indonesia-ness. The relation between regionalism and Indonesia-ness is still negative, and those maintain regional sentiment is larger than those who maintain Indonesian-ness. Regional autonomy is far from absorbing pluralism in Indonesia. Main source of inability the regional autonomy to bridge regionalism and Indonesian-ness, and inability to establish a congruent political system between the region and the center, is

performance of regional autonomy which is considered by the public is unable to create a better system of governance compared to the centralized one as practiced in the past.

Root of less performed regional autonomy is related to public evaluation on performance of regional government. Positive evaluation depends on performance of the regional government whether it becomes better or worse. If it is worse, then negative attitude to regional autonomy is strong, and in turn will distance the region from the center, regionalism and Indonesia-ness. However, disconnection between regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness is helped by democracy. Democracy grinds down regionalism, not regional autonomy. It also systemically connected to regional autonomy. Democracy become a meeting point between regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness, hence empowering democracy is prerequisite to form a congruent between regionalism and Indonesia-ness, between regional autonomy and Unitary Indonesia. If democracy weakens, mainly its performance, then regional autonomy is weaken the Unitary Indonesia.

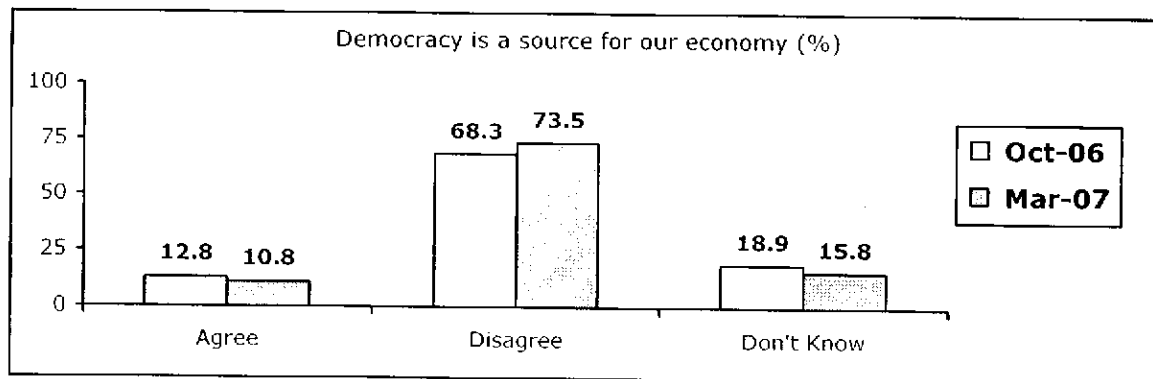
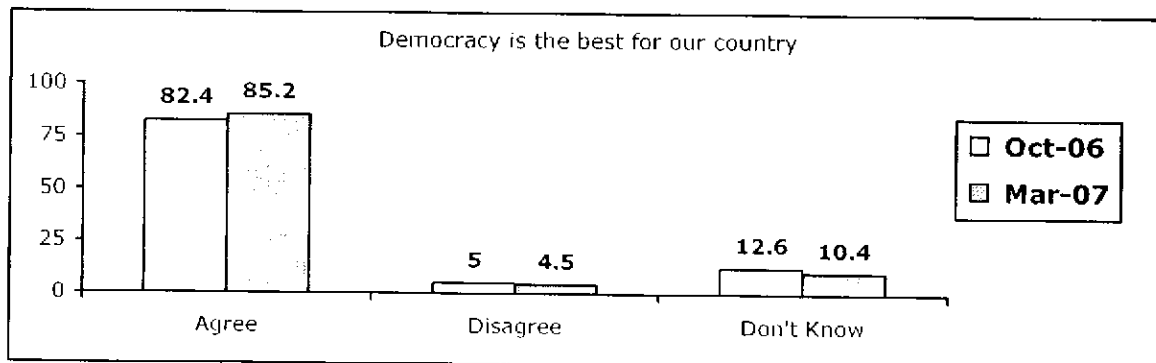




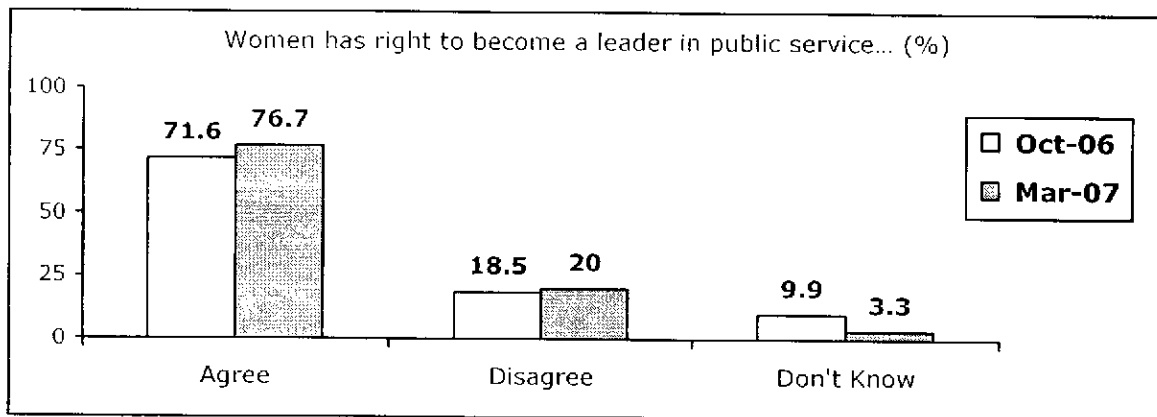
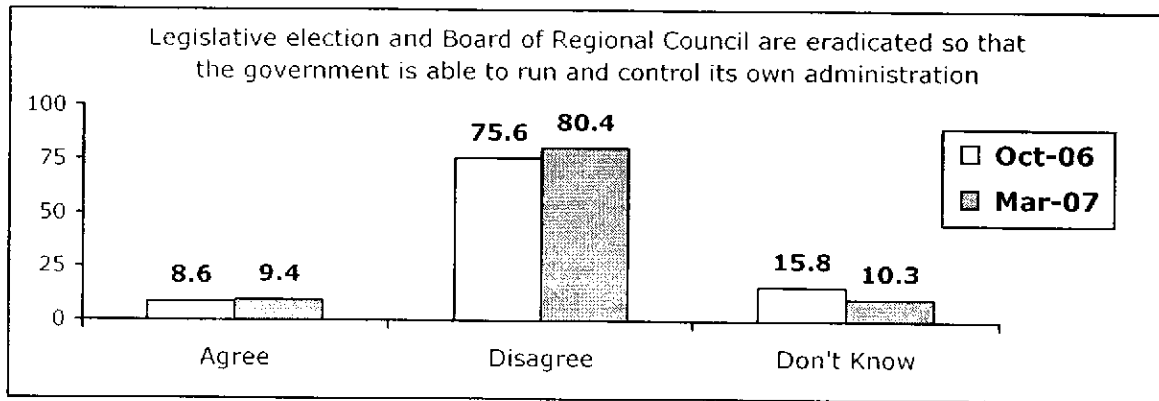
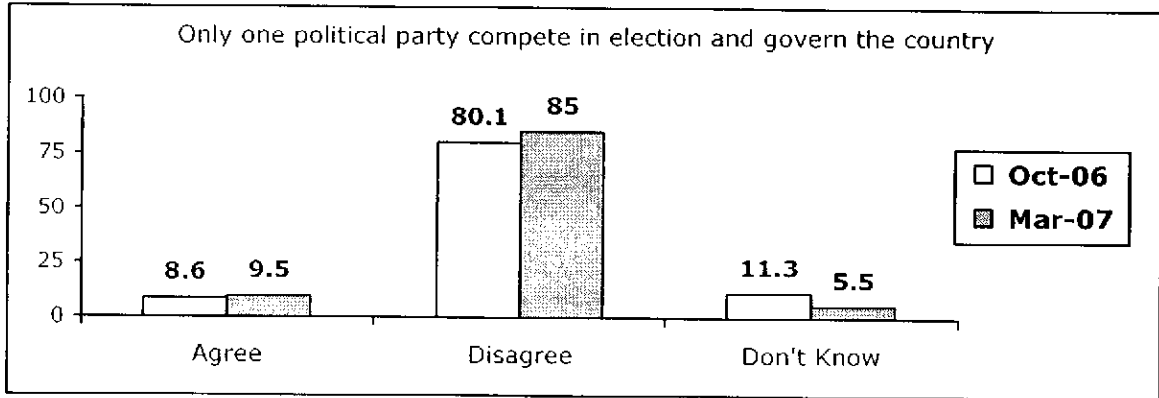
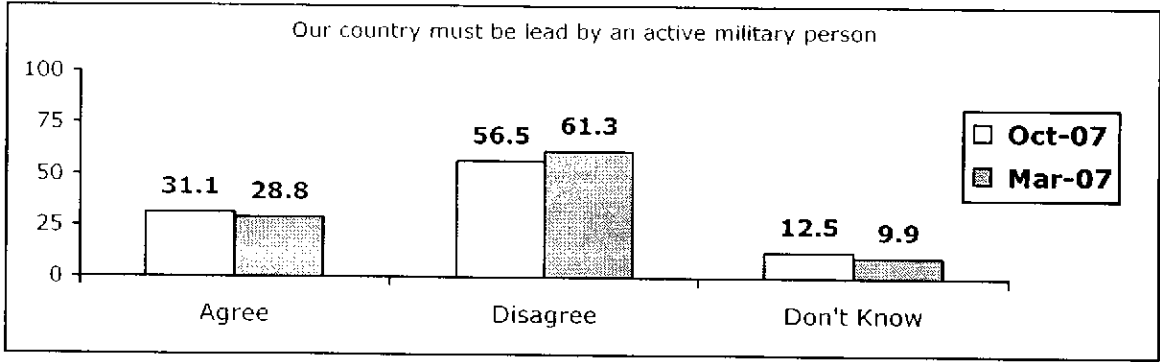
Sentiment of Indonesia-ness is belonged to many Indonesians. More than half of the population is proud to become Indonesian than member of ethnic of origin, less tolerant to separation, and ready to go on a war to defend the Unitary Indonesia. Indonesians in general are not only nationalist, but also patriot. Does sentiments of Indonesia-ness coherent with support to regional autonomy?

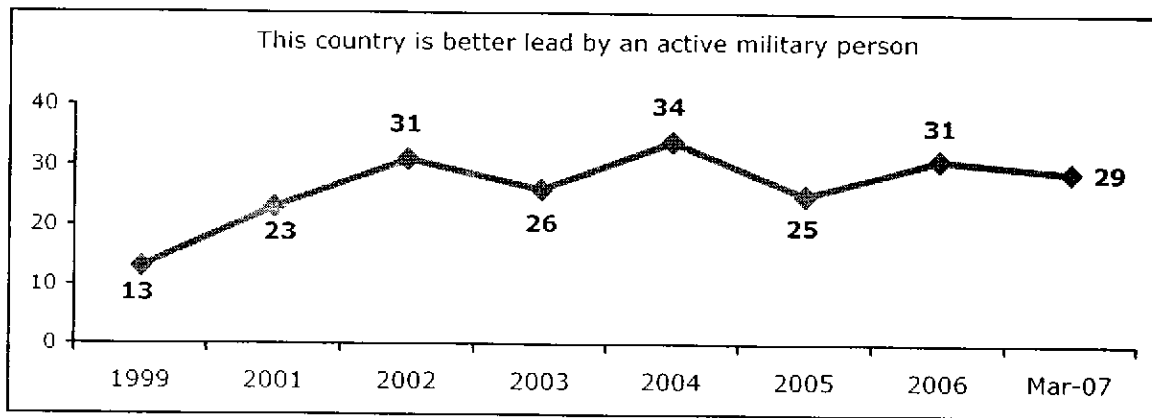
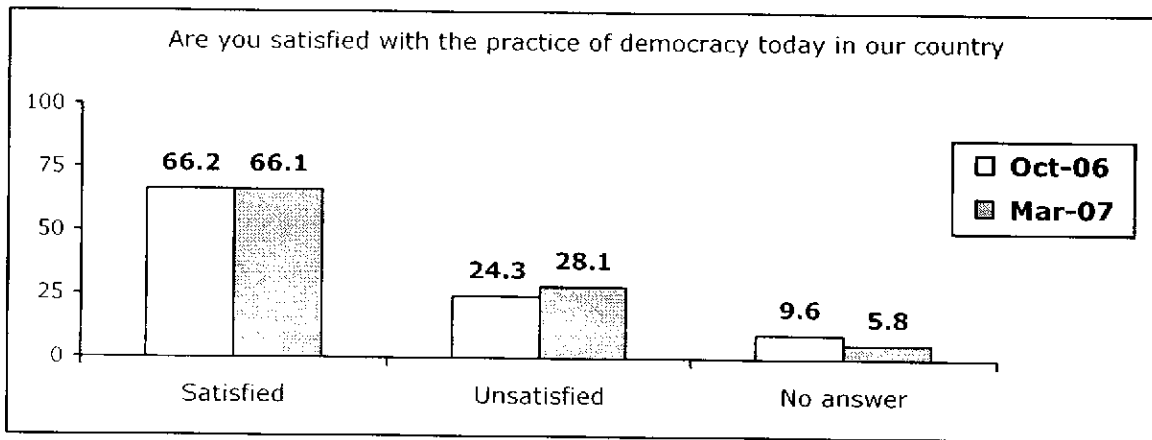
### EMPOWERMENT OF DEMOCRACY

Public support to empowerment of democracy is still strong. Democracy is viewed as the best governing system for Indonesia.







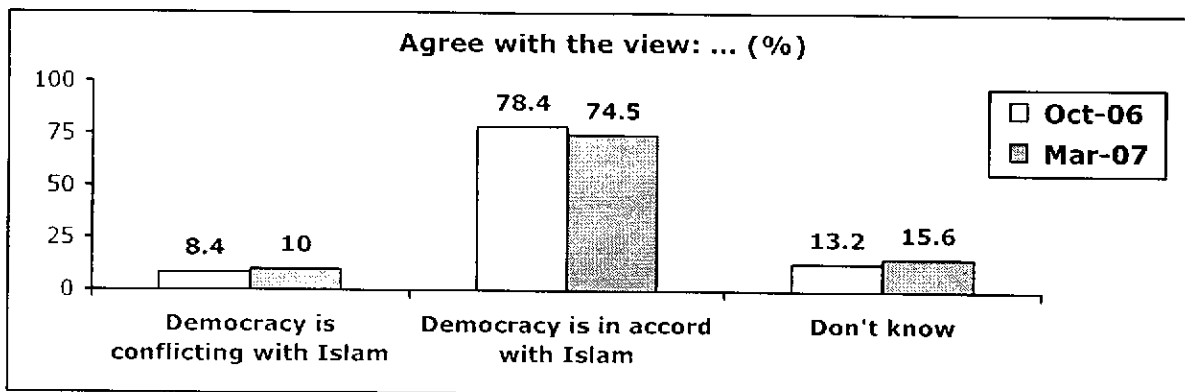
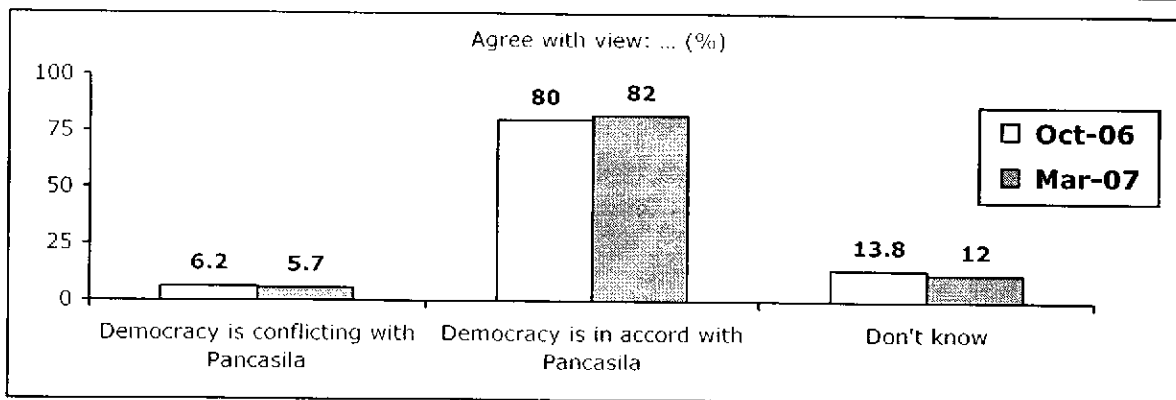
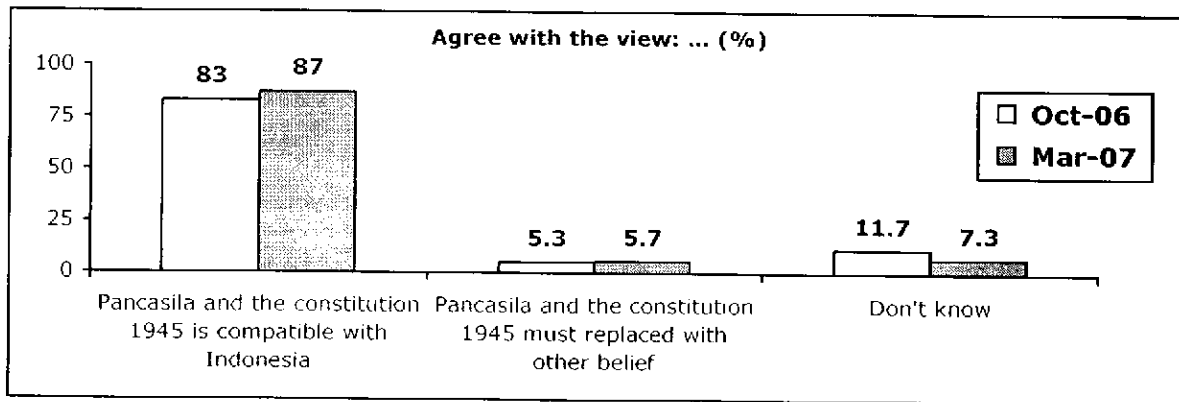


In general, the public refused involvement of an active military person in politics. This sentiment is fluctuated over time. However, there are some members of public (with average 27% within the last seven years) who are agreeing with the involvement of an active military person in politics. For the future, the numbers who are agreeing with such involvement must be reduced. In the stable democratic countries, support to the involvement of active military person to politics is less than 10%.

### ISLAM, PANCASILA AND DEMOCRACY

Almost all Muslims Indonesia do not problematize relation between Islam and Pancasila or democracy, or Pancasila and democracy. These three concepts for Muslims Indonesia are accord and have no contradiction. Only 1 out of 10 Muslims who contradict these three concepts. However, in the context of social movement, the mentioned number is significant. For a movement, public support has not to be massive. Considering that Muslims Indonesia do not problematize Islam, Pancasila and democracy reflect a cognitive constitutional condition which is supportive for maturity of democracy in Indonesia, and as such should be a foundation to consider for political Islam at the national level, parties and government that have interests with mass support. This kind

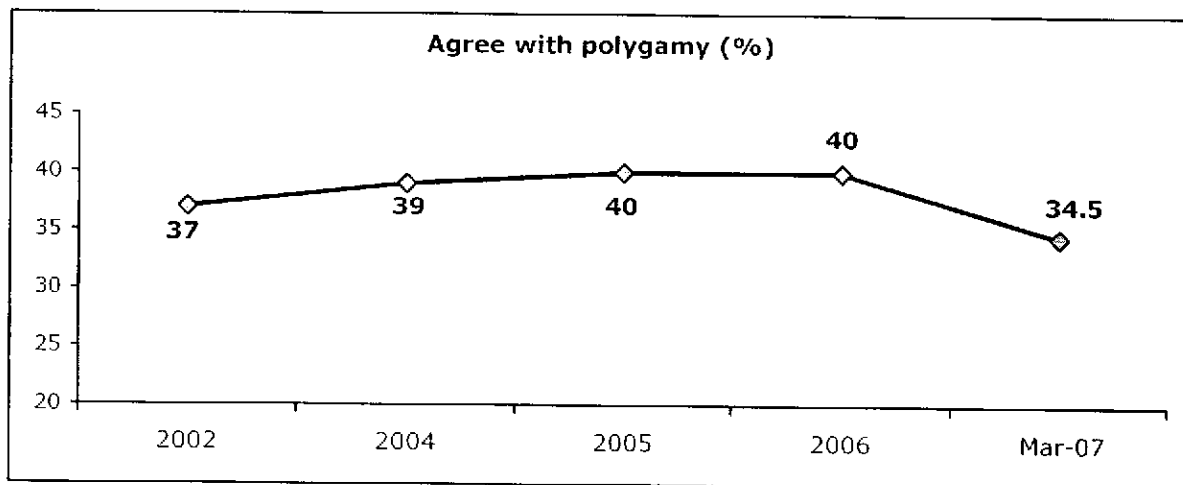
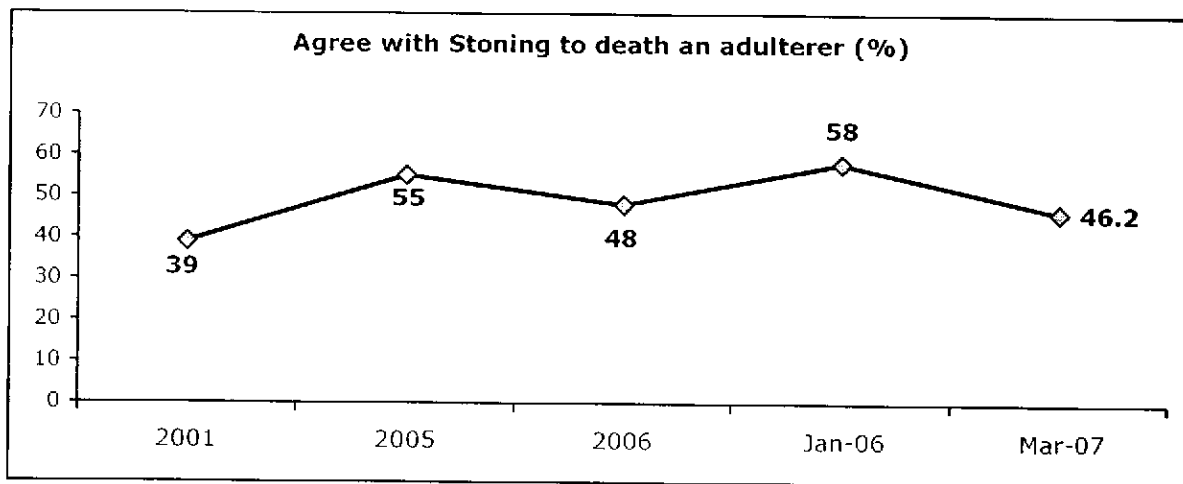
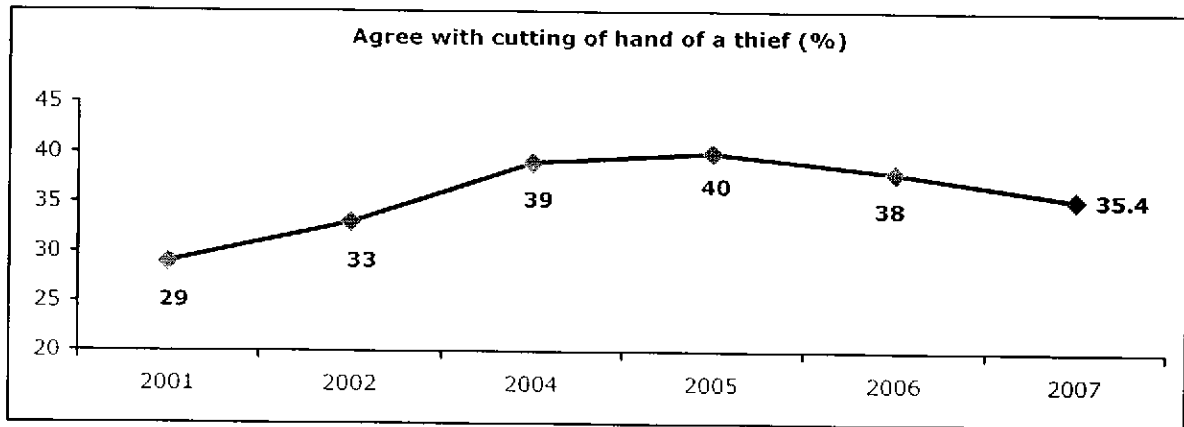
cognitive among the Muslims will hinder the development of political Islam that contradict Islam and democracy, Islam and Pancasila

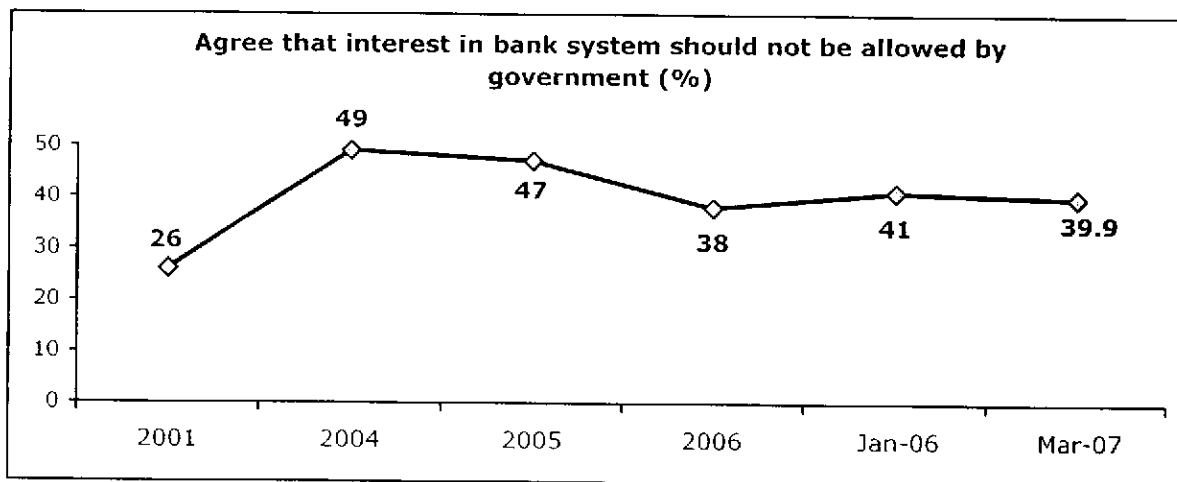
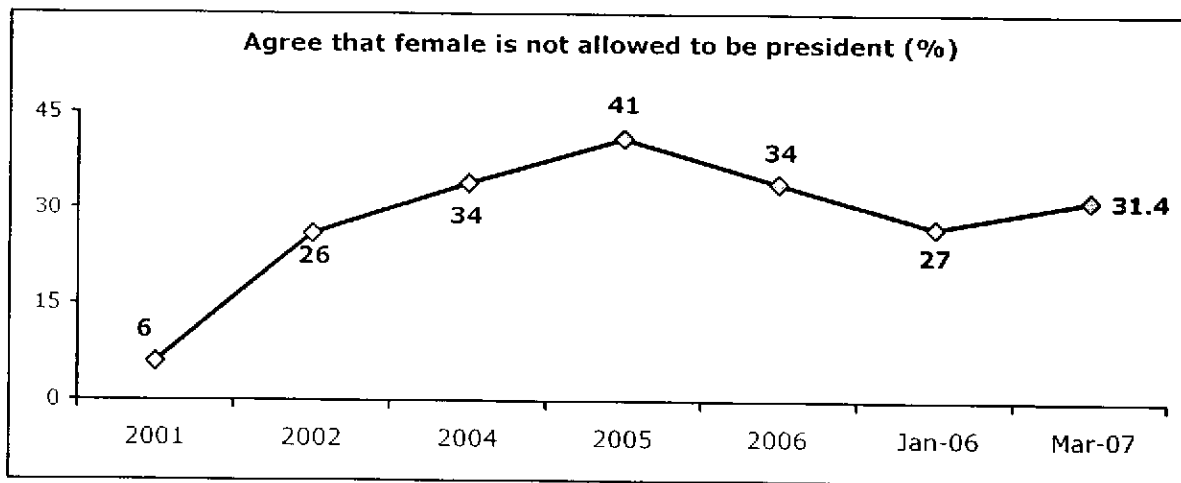


### SUPPORT OR REFUSAL TO ISLAMIC LAW

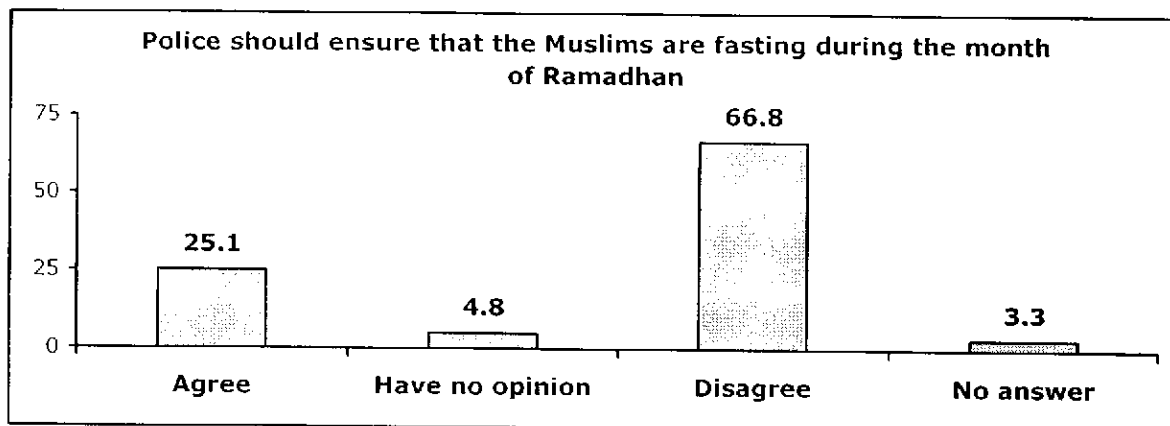
Views to several ideas of Islamic Law show interesting patterns. On the themes that do not relate relations man and woman, Muslims in general relatively express their similar views. Even though these ideas about women such as heritage and president, but they are not about man-woman relation, the views of those groups are similar. However, in polygamy issue or adultery, there is a significant difference. It means that, support or refusal to the ideas rooted in Islamic law is not only a reflection of religious piety, but also other reflection of other factors.

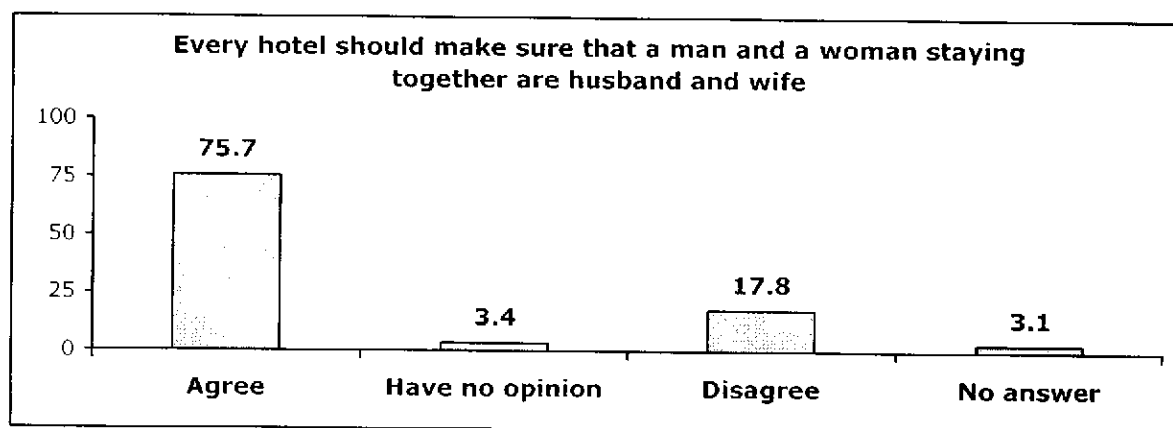
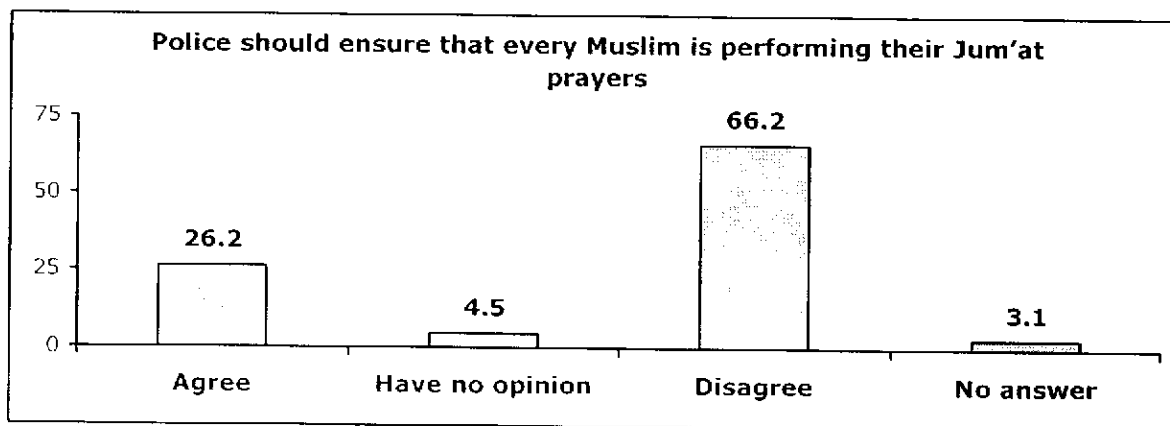
Approval to the ideas rooted from Islamic Law is relatively high. Yet, these matters are not reflected to support of political parties that struggling to implement Islamic law. It means approval to the ideas is not similar to the willingness for their implementation.





- January 2006, March 2007 : Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)
- November 2005: Freedom Institute dan Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM), UIN Jakarta
- 2001, 2002, 2004: PPIM



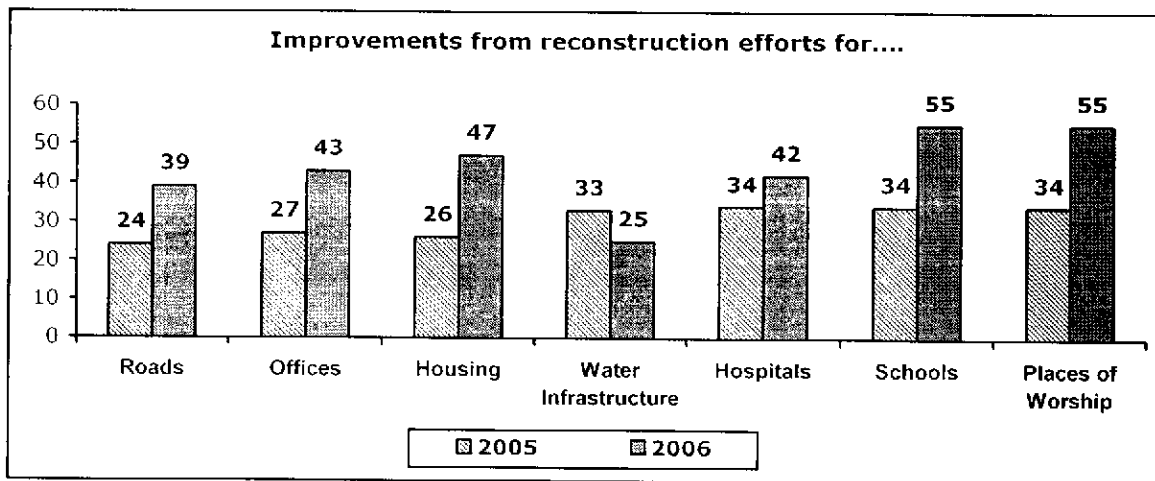


## B. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THE TSUNAMI IN ACEH-NIAS AND THE POST-REGIONAL ELECTIONS IN ACEH

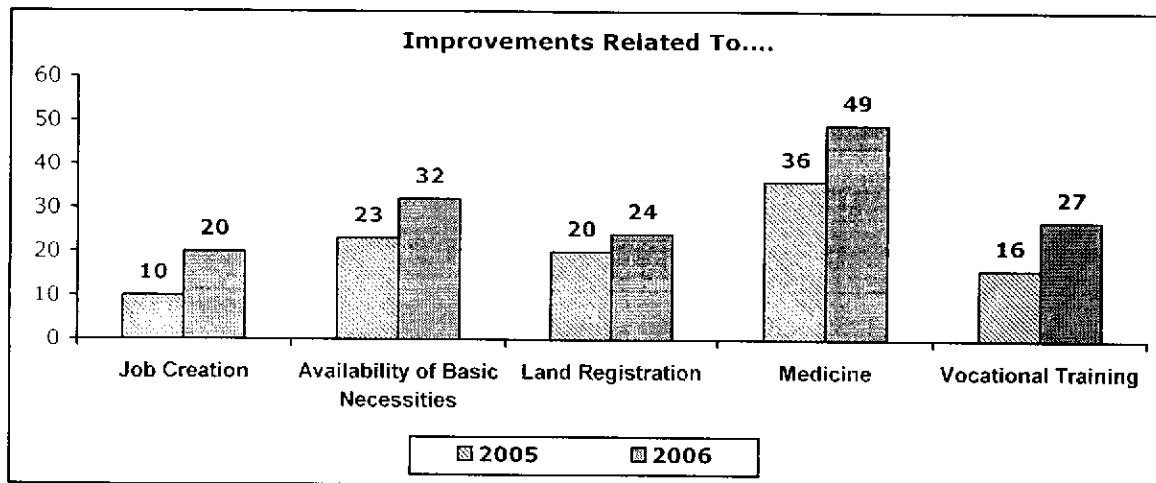
LSI carried out a survey in Aceh and Nias to measure public perceptions concerning reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts by several different parties, but particularly by the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Body (BRR), which has worked there for two years. The survey also served to measure the prospects of peace in the region, as well as evaluate government and development matters related to the December 11, 2006 elections. LSI conducted the survey December 12-18, 2006 in the Province of Aceh and Nias Island, with a total sample of 1,228 respondents (Aceh = 809 respondents and Nias Island = 419 respondents).

### Reconstruction in Aceh and Nias Island

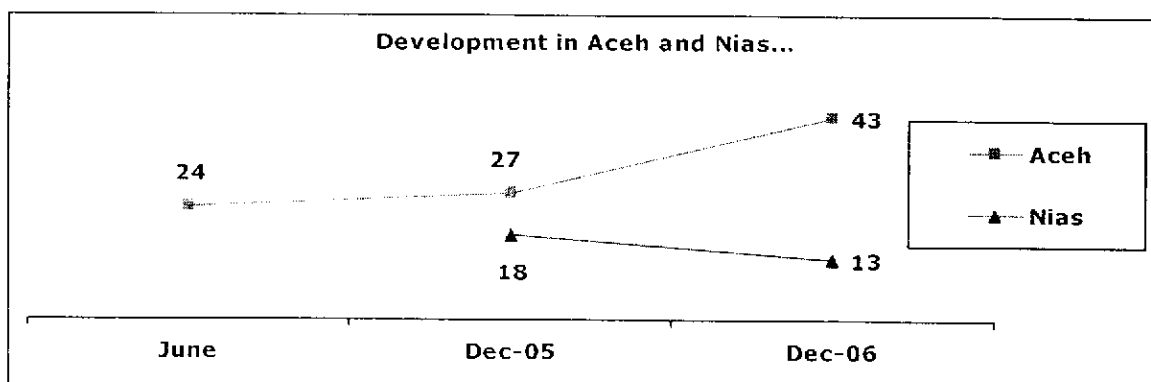
In general, the public mentioned that there are improvements from the reconstruction efforts, mainly those in infrastructure. The Acehnese respondents believed there to be improvements in infrastructure such as the building of roads, government buildings, schools, places of worship, and housing. Public perceptions actually decreased concerning the development of water infrastructure, however.



The aforementioned positive opinions did not carry over to social and economic indicators, though. Respondents felt there were fewer improvements in the areas of job creation, basic necessities, land legislation, and vocational training. The tables below show some increases from opinions gathered in 2005, but there are no significant improvements, especially for land ownership regulations.

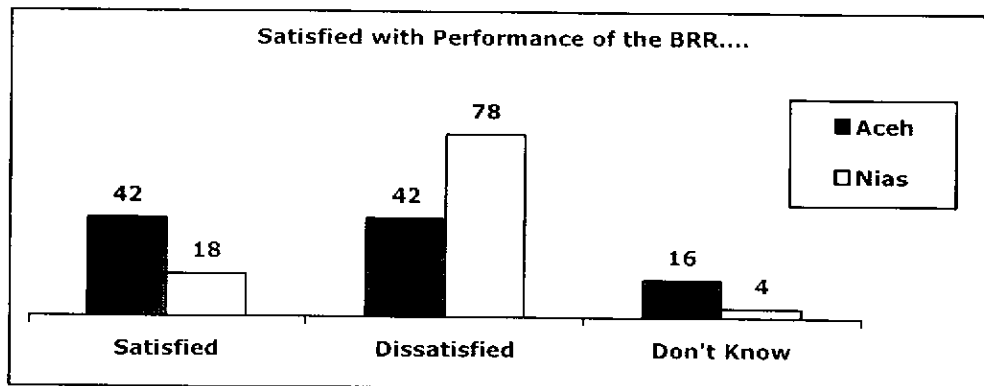


The Acehese and Nias Islanders see reconstruction efforts differently. In Aceh, the total number of respondents who thought there were improvements after reconstruction increased from 27% in December 2005 to 43% in December 2006. On the contrary, opinions from Nias Islanders decreased from 18% to 13% in the same period. The Nias Islanders essentially did not feel there were significant improvements, especially from government efforts.

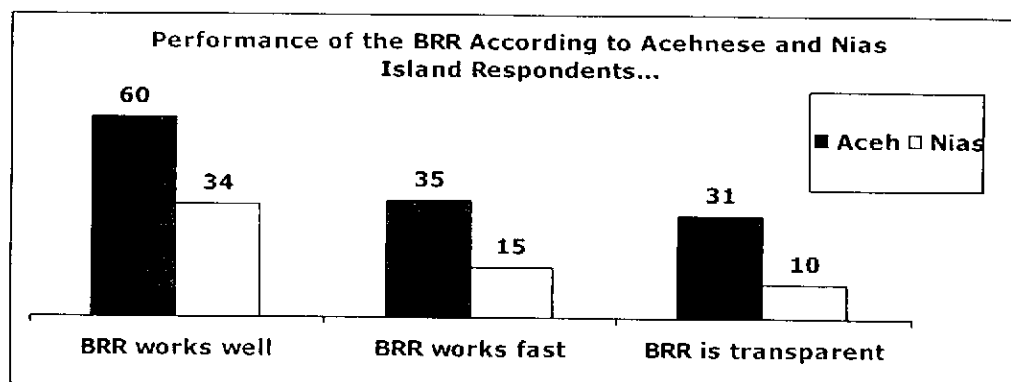


## Evaluation of BRR's Performance in Nias

Overall, public satisfaction in Nias is different from that of Aceh. A majority of the Nias Island respondents were not satisfied with the performance of the BRR (78%), while only 18% were satisfied.



On the topic of performance in specific sectors, the Aceh respondents were more positive than those from Nias Island. A majority of the Aceh participants said that the BRR has done a good job (60%), while only 30% of participants in Nias considered the BRR to be performing well and in a transparent manner. For Nias Islanders, only 34% of the respondents expressed that the BRR has done its job well, and only 15% mentioned that the BRR has worked fast. Only 10% also stated that the BRR is transparent.



## Peace Prospects in Aceh after the Elections

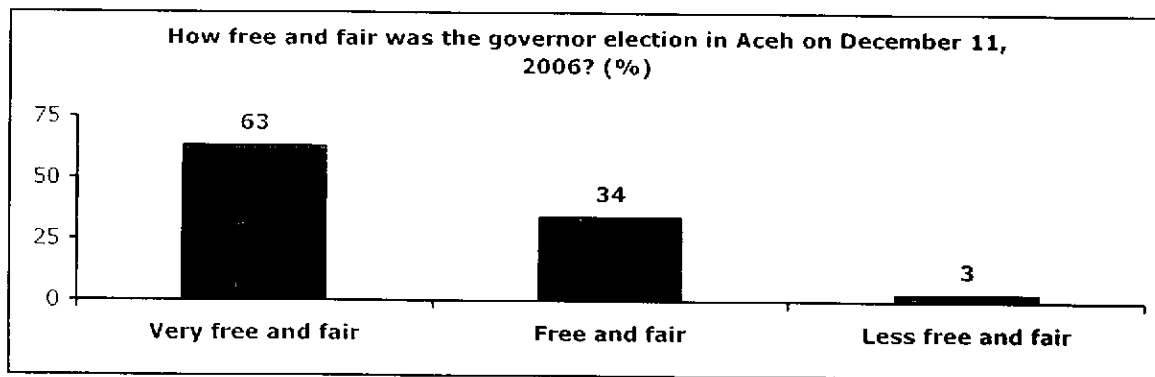
Direct regional elections (Pilkada) were carried out in the Province of Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) on December 11, 2006. The Pilkada were held to elect 15 regents, 4 district heads, and one Governor, along with a Vice-Governor. It was the largest Pilkada in Indonesian history.

The local elections in Aceh were conducted peacefully. Independent candidates were allowed to compete for offices for the first time in Indonesia as well. Some of the



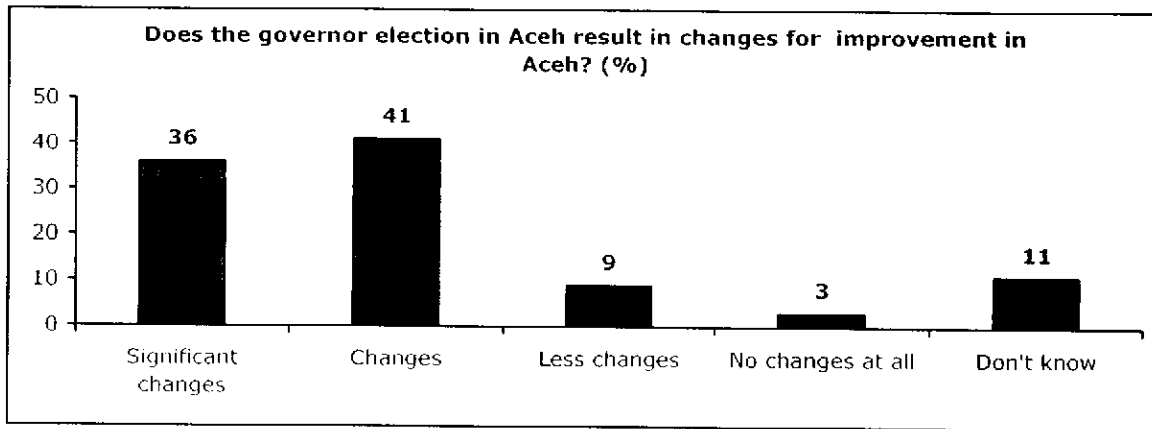
independent candidates won the election, most notably for the post of Governor. The Independent Election Committee (KIP) Aceh declared Irwandi Yusuf and Muhamad Nazar as the winners for Governor and Vice-Governor. Those in Jakarta have accepted the victory of Irwandi-Nazar, who were former members of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), as the elections were held democratically.

Based on a LSI survey carried out December 12-18, 2006 in the entire Aceh province with a total of 809 respondents, a majority of the Acehnese participants (63%) said that the governor election was conducted in a free and fair manner. 34% of them said that it was quite just and fair, and only 3% said that it was less free and fair. Based on this finding, it is very difficult for anybody to oppose the results of these elections. Public opinion matched fact, too, in that the elections were indeed held peacefully and in a free and fair manner.



The Pilkada in Aceh had several aims. First, the elections aimed to transform violent conflict from the past 30 or so years to peaceful, democratic political conflict. Second, the local-level elections were a form of institutionalized conflict placed in the larger context of democratization and in an era of special regional autonomy for Aceh. Third, the elections were meant to provide a viable answer to the challenge of development and people's welfare after the tsunami disaster two years ago. A question must be asked, however: Did the electoral results provide the answers for improvement in Aceh and in the future?

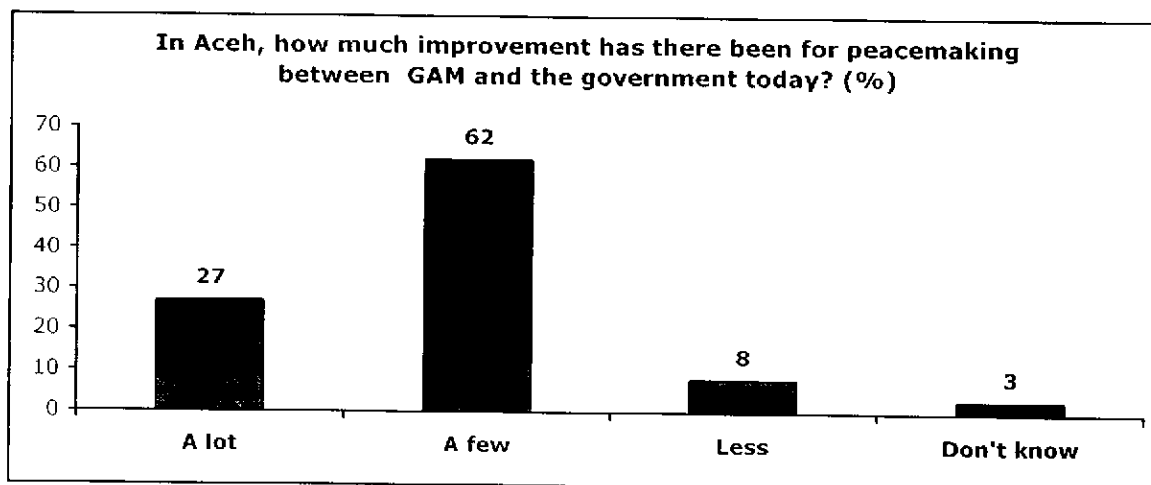
36% of the public stated that the governor election in Aceh will result in a big change. 41% believed that it would result in a number of changes for Aceh. Those who are pessimists are a smaller group (9%), and 3% stated that the election of new leaders will not offer a change.



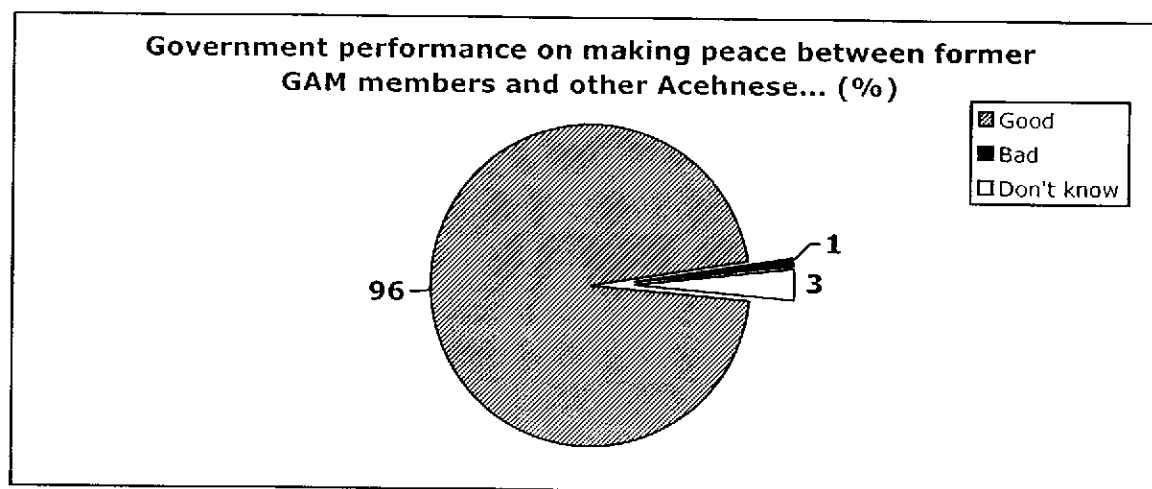
The worry and doubt felt by several parties, mainly political elites in Jakarta, regarding the ability of former GAM members to leave their separatist agenda, has no grounding if we look at the views by the Macanese themselves. A majority of the Macanese respondents (88%) are confident that GAM is likely to make peace and accept Aceh as part of a unified Indonesia. Only 18% of the public are less confident about GAM's intention to make peace.



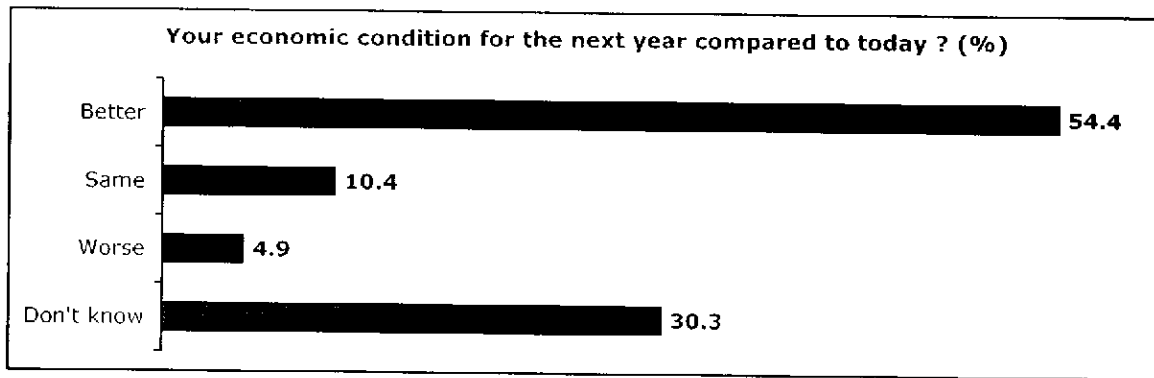
The general public was also positive concerning the peacemaking process between the government and GAM. A majority of the Acehnese respondents stated there was improvement (62%), and even 27% of them thought that there was a lot of improvement. Only 8% of the public stated that there is only little improvement. Though there are perceived difficult challenges for the two parties, public opinion is relatively positive.



Additionally, in a post-armed conflict that split Aceh into different sides, the reintegration agenda is a very important matter. A sustainable peace between GAM members and other members of society requires real action to present actual peace. The establishment of the Aceh Reintegration Body (BRA), which has representatives from the Indonesian government and GAM, is a realization of such integration efforts. BRA's efforts to strengthen the reintegration process includes developing communication, eradicating negative prejudice with conflicting parties, compensation for victims, and developing social understanding in Acehese society. The public generally supports this effort. For example, government performance on reintegration is positively valued, where 96% of the public stated that the government had done a good job, and only 1% stated that the government did not perform well.



If there is peace and new leaders elected freely and fairly, what are hopes of the society in an economic sense in Aceh and in the future? A majority of the Acehese respondents are optimists (54.4%) in looking at the economic prospects for Aceh in the coming year. They feel that the economy for the next year will be better compared to today. Only 10.4% are skeptical, that is that there will be no changes at all. Only a few are pessimists (4.9%). They anticipate that the economy will worsen.



Acehnese optimism should not be underestimated for democracy, peace, and sustainable economics. It indicates the potential and hope to transform violent conflict into lasting peace with an institutionalized form of political conflict. It will be up to the newly-elected leaders to see how they can facilitate such potential and hope.

## **METHOD**

Polling implements the probability principles in drawing samples. The selection of the samples is done through the method, which is commonly known as sampling technique that enable every member of the population to have the same chance to be chosen or not to be chosen as the respondents. With this principle, opinion measurement can be done by only involving few people. Although it does not involve the whole population, polling result can be generalized as the representation of the majority.

Probability principle requires the polling samples to be selected randomly by using several variance of *random sampling* technique. Respondents must act passively. One is chosen, not proposing oneself. The current polling trend commonly used on TV is by using SMS, which is not a suitable polling to be verified statistically. Everyone can become the respondents and is free to send the answers through a given phone number. Since this kind of SMS polling involves its respondents to be active, thereby mobilization might occur. This was proven, as none of the results of the 2004 election SMS polling was accurate although there were more than 100,000 respondents. SMS polling is more a business oriented activity, and not as an expression of public opinion.

Polling can be regarded as following scientific rules if it has the following principles:

1. Total sample must be adequate.
2. Respondents are chosen randomly that enable every population member to have the same chance to be chosen or not to be chosen as respondent.
3. In formulating the questions, they must be neutral, clear (easy to be understood) and not tendentious. Polling questions must describe the context of the matter, specific, easy to be understood, and relevant because fabrication on polling for

political or certain business interest, can be done through biased questions formulation.

4. The realization time must be within the same period so that the information obtained by respondents is relatively the same.

All surveys that are organized by LSI always use the above principles. In collecting the sample, LSI survey uses *multistage random sampling* technique. First, the population is organized based on the total population in each province in Indonesia so that the samples are obtained proportionally from each province. Second, it is classified based on the area of residence: rural or city, for which the proportions are 42% (city) compared to 58% (rural). Then classification is also done based on population proportion according to gender: 50% male, and 50% female.

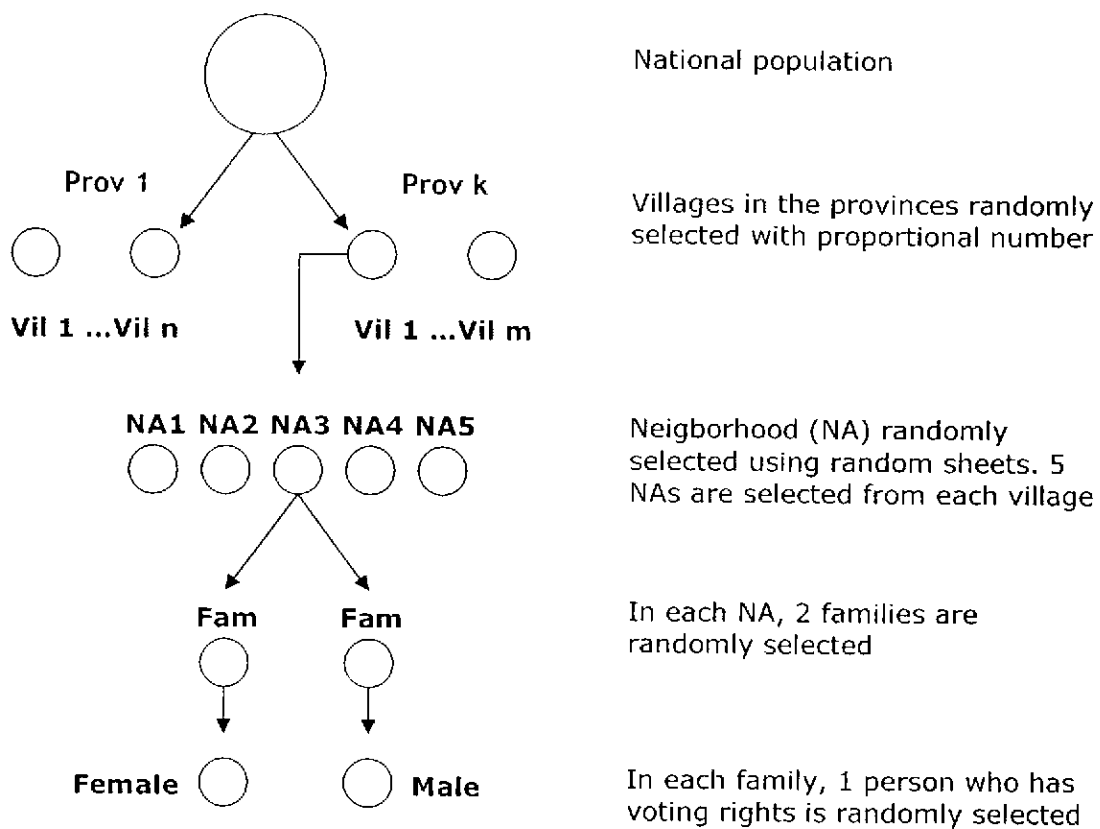
After this classification is done, the next step is to determine the villages that are going to be used as the *primary sampling unit (PSU)*. For that purpose, a systematic random method is used to pick the villages within each province according to the proportion of population in each province. In each of the selected village, all the neighborhood associations are listed and then five (5) are picked at random. In each chosen neighborhood association, the family cards are registered, and two (2) will be selected randomly. From each family, data is taken on each family member who is 17 year-old or older, or those who are married, men and women. If a female respondent is chosen from one family, then a male respondent will have to be chosen from the next family within the same neighborhood association. After registering the family members, male or female, one is then chosen randomly (assisted by Kish Grid) to be interviewed directly face to face. During direct interview on site, there are many obstacles that have to be solved; there are respondents who are not willing to be interviewed, there are invalid interview results, there is wrong respondent selection process in village or family level, there are also interview result that cannot be analyzed further because too many parts are left blank, or the answers "do not know" are too dominant.

Interviewers who are previously trained by the area coordinator do face-to-face interviews. They are supervised by the area coordinators, who are dispersed in all areas of Indonesia. The number of area coordinators is adjusted according to district complexity (density, area size, capacity to be reached, and respondents' distribution). For instance, West Java, that has large population, therefore large number of respondents, needs three (3) area coordinators. Meanwhile, for certain areas, such as Jambi, South Sumatra, and Bengkulu, that are reachable and have populations that are relatively smaller, then only one (1) area coordinator is needed. On the other hand, Papua is different. Although the total number of respondents is little and proportional to the total population, it needs one (1) full coordinator, just for supervising three (3)

interviewers (for about 30 respondents), because the area is vast and difficult to be reached.

These area coordinators, before conducting the training for interviewers in his/ her own area, do three full day workshops in Jakarta together with LSI researchers. Besides that, the area coordinators are responsible for taking care of the permit in their own area, clean up the interview results, and help the researchers from LSI to do spot-check/quality control on the interviews that were done. Spot-checks are conducted to about 20% of all respondents, that are randomly selected. Spot-check will also be conducted by LSI researchers in some areas that have a large number of respondents.

**Flow Chart**



## CHAPTER 3

### PUBLICATIONS AND MEDIA COVERAGE

#### A. MEDIA COVERAGE AND PUBLISHED PAPERS

1. *Dialog Hasil Survei LSI dalam Program Save Our Nation, Metro TV* – 11 Oktober 2006 : 18.05-19.10 WIB (satu jam). Panelis : Saiful Mujani, Ph.D. (Direktur Eksekutif LSI), Dr. Andi Malaranggeng (Juru Bicara Kepresidenan), dan Cahyo Kumolo (Ketua DPP PDIP), Moderator : Najwa Shihab
2. *Indonesian President Still in Favor with Majority of Voter : Poll, International Herald Tribune Asia-Pasifik, October 11, 2006*
3. *Hasil Survei LSI : Popularitas Yudhoyono Naik, Sinar Harapan, 11 Oktober 2006*
4. *Yudhoyono Still Popular at Home, [www.gulf-times.com](http://www.gulf-times.com), October 12, 2006 – 11:02 AM Doha Time*
5. *Masyarakat Masih Tetap Percaya kepada Yudhoyono : Survei LSI, Kompas, 12 Oktober 2006*
6. *Kinerja SBY-JK Dinilai Memuaskan, Fajar-Makassar, 12 Oktober 2006*
7. *Survei LSI angkat Citra SBY, Republika, 12 Oktober 2006*
8. *Kinerja Kabinet : Prestasi Menteri Tidak Mengesankan, Suara Karya, 12 Oktober 2006*
9. *Hasil Survei LSI : SBY Belum Punya Pesaing, Koran Seputar Indonesia, 12 Oktober 2006*
10. *Kalau Soal Popularitas, Jubir Presiden Senang, Rakyat Merdeka, 12 Oktober 2006*
11. *SBY Popular Again Near End of Second Year in Office : Poll, The Jakarta Post, October 12, 2006*
12. *Survei LSI : Public Puas atas Kinerja Pemerintah, Media Indonesia, 12 Oktober 2006*
13. *Susilo-Kalla Tetap Populer, Warta Kota, 12 Oktober 2006*
14. *Survei LSI : SBY-JK Gagal Atasi Kemiskinan dan Pengangguran, Detik Com : 12 Oktober 2006 : 22.33 WIB*
15. *Popularitas SBY Naik Menjadi 67 Persen, The Daily NNA (News Network Asia), 13 Oktober 2006*
16. *LSI : Kinerja SBY-JK Membaik, Detik Com : 13 Oktober 2006 : 10.22 WIB*
17. *Sebut Kinerja SBY-JK Membaik, Survei LSI Dituding Pesanan, Detik Com : 13 Oktober 2006 : 11.51 WIB*
18. *Survei LSI Soal Presiden Dikritik, Koran Tempo, 13 October 2006*

19. *Kredibilitas Penelitian LSI Dipertanyakan*, Detik Com : 13 October 2006 : 14.26 WIB
20. *Kinerja SBY-JK Belum Maksimal karena Menteri Tidak Optimal*, Detik Com : 13 Oktober 2006 : 15.58 WIB
21. *Akbar : Kinerja SBY-JK Membaik, Cuma Sekedar Citra*, Detik Com : 13 Oktober 2006 : 16.11 WIB
22. *SBY Jangan Kaitkan Survei LSI dengan 2009*, Detik Com : 13 Oktober 2006 : 18.20 WIB
23. *Presiden Criticized on Survey*, Tempo Interaktif, October 13, 2006 – 14:59 WIB
24. *Agung : Kinerja SBY-JK Belum Seperti yang Diharapkan*, Detik Com : 15 Oktober 2006 : 01.02 WIB
25. *Survei LSI : 43% Ummat Islam Pilih Partai Sekular*, Detik Com : 15 Oktober 2006 : 21.53 WIB
26. *Yudhoyono Masih Banyak PR*, Kompas, 14 Oktober 2006
27. *Rating Improvement for Susilo in Indonesia*, [www.angusreid.com](http://www.angusreid.com), October 15, 2006
28. *Modal Politik Presiden Yudhoyono*, by Saiful Mujani, Media Indonesia, October 16, 2006
29. *PKS Anggap Survei LSI sebagai Tantangan*, Detik Com : 16 Oktober 2006 : 09.19 WIB
30. *Amien Rais: LSI Tak Ada Bedanya dengan SBY*, Detik Com : 16 Oktober 2006 : 14.02 WIB
31. *Some Indonesia Support Islamic Attack*, [www.theage.com.au](http://www.theage.com.au), October 16, 2006 – 7:31 PM
32. *Gloomy Outlook for Islamic Parties*, The Jakarta Post, October 16, 2006
33. *Pemilu 2009 : Partai Islam Diprediksi Tak Dapat Suara Signifikan*, Suara Karya, 16 Oktober 2006
34. *Survei LSI : Partai Islam Kurang Diminati*, Koran Seputar Indonesia, 16 Oktober 2006
35. *PAN-PKS Terima sebagai Masukan*, Koran Seputar Indonesia, 16 Oktober 2006
36. *Tren Partai Sekular Unggul*, Pikiran Rakyat, 16 Oktober 2006
37. *Partai Islam Terancam*, Rakyat Merdeka, 16 Oktober 2006
38. *Poll Shows 9 Percent of Indonesians Support Violence to Defend Islam*, International Herald Tribune Asia-Pasifik, October 16, 2006
39. *Partai Islam Sebaiknya Rubah Pendekatan*, Kompas, 17 Oktober 2006



40. *Refleksi Dua Tahun SBY-JK* by J Kristiadi, Kompas, 17 Oktober 2006
41. *Cash for Votes Deal a Blow to Development of Democracy*, The Jakarta Post, October 18, 2006
42. *New Polling Data in Indonesia Shows "Significant" Support for Terrorists*, by Zachary Abuja in [counterterrorismblog.org](http://counterterrorismblog.org), October 18, 2006
43. *Islamist Party, No?*, The Jakarta Post, October 19, 2006
44. *Irwandi, Kinerja Pemerintah dan Politik Etnonasionalis*, by Saiful Mujani, Media Indonesia, 24 Desember 2006
45. *Prospek Dwitunggal SBY-JK*, by Saiful Mujani, Media Indonesia, Januari 2007
46. *Demokrasi dan Kebijakan Pemerintah*, by Saiful Mujani, Media Indonesia, Januari 2006
47. *Aceh Reconstruction Agency Seen Performing Better-Poll*, Indonesia Embassy Ottawa, Canada, 22 December 2006
48. *Survey finds Nias survivors feel abandoned*, The Jakarta Post, 23 December 2006
49. *Pascpilkada Aceh Akan Ada Perubahan Besar*, Media Indonesia, 23 Desember 2006
50. *Pusat Gagal, Irwandi Menang*, Media Indonesia, 23 Desember 2006
51. *Yang Berseri dan Lelah Menanti*, Koran Tempo, 26 December 2006
52. *Indonesia President's Popularity Rising, Opinion Poll Shows*, Herald Tribune Asia-Pacific, 28 December 2006
53. *SBY Rides Stable Economy to high ini popularity*, The Jakarta Post, 29 December 2006
54. *SBY Kalahkan Megawati dan Kalla*, detik.com, 28 December 2006
55. *2007, Tantangan Berat Oposisi*, kompas 29 December 2006
56. *Partai Oposisi Gagal*, Republika, 29 December 2006
57. *Golkar Menang, Jika Pemilu Digelar Sekarang*, Suara Karya 29 December 2006
58. *SBY Masih Ungguli Oposisi*, Investor Daily, 29 December 2006
59. *Popularitas SBY Kalahkan Mega dan Kalla*, Media Indonesia, 29 December
60. *Popularitas SBY Belum tertandingi*, Indo Pos, 29 December 2006
61. *Survei LSI Unggulkan SBY*, 29 December 2006
62. *Pilpres, Susilo Tak Ada Lawan*, Wartakota, 29 December 2006
63. *Presiden SBY: The Unthouchable*, by Anies Baswedan, Majalah Tempo, 29 October 2006
64. *Indonesia president's popularity rising*, The China Post Online, 29 December 2006

65. *Kalla Isyaratkan Gandeng Yudhoyono*, *Media Indonesia*, 30 December 2006
66. *President must correct 2006 policies in new year*, *Antara News*, 1 January 2007
67. *Koreksi Kinerja Presiden*, *Media Indonesia*, 2 Januari 2006
68. *Steady Number for Susilo in Indonesia*, *Angus Reid Global Monitor*, 4 January 2007
69. *74 Persen Rakyat RI Bangga Jadi Orang Indonesia*, *Detik.com*, 20 March 2007
70. *Survei see rising tide of regionalism*, *The Jakarta Post*, 21 March 2007
71. *Demokrasi Kedaerahan, Otonomi Daerah Belum Sesuai dengan Harapan Masyarakat*, *Kompas*, 21 March 2007-03-21
72. *Otda Gagal Jembatani Pusat dan Daerah*, *Investor Daily*, 21 March 2007
73. *Survei: Otonomi Belum Memuaskan*, *Koran Tempo*, 21 March 2007
74. *Dianggap belum Mampu Searp Keragaman, Otonomi daerah Dinilai Gagal*, *Media Indonesia*, 21 March 2007
75. *Survei LSI: Rakyat Tak Ingin Ada Daerah Pisah dari NKRI*, *Suara Karya*, 21 March 2007
76. *Hasil Survei LSI: Otonomi Daerah Didukung Rakyat*, *Koran Seputar Indonesia*, 21 March 2007
77. *Survei LSI, Otonomi Daerah Dinilai Gagal*, *Indo Posm* 21 March 2007
78. *Tinjauan Politik: Kedaerahan dan Keindonesiaan*, by Saiful Mujani, *Media Indonesia*, 24 March 2007
79. *LSI: Popularitas SBY-JK Anjlok, PDIP Paling Diuntungkan*, *detik.comm*, 27 March 2007
80. *Otonomi Daerah Hanya Bagus Dalam Konsep*, *Media Indonesia*, 27 March 2007
81. *Survey finds President's popularity on the wane*, *The Jakarta Post*, 28 March *Partai*
82. *Demokrat dan Golkar Diperkirakan Menurun*, *Kompas*, 28 March 2007
83. *Popularitas SBY-JK Anjlok hingga Batas Psikologis*, *Media Indonesia*, 28 March 2007
84. *Bila Seorang Presiden Semakin Tidak Populer*, *Editorial*, *Media Indonesia*, 28 March 2007
85. *Popularitas Yudhoyono-Kalla Anjlok*, *Koran Tempo*, 28 March 2007
86. *Popularitas SBY-JK Anjlok*, *Republika*, 28 March 2007
87. *Hasil Survei LSI: Popularitas SBY-JK Terus Merosot*, *Rakyat Merdeka*, 28 March 2007
88. *LSI: Popularitas Presiden Yudhoyono Merosot Tajam*, *Pelita*, 28 March 2007

89. *LSI: PDIP Melejit*, Warta Kota, 28 March 2007

90. *Survei LSI: Parpol Belum Akomodasikan Aspirasi Rakyat*, Suara Karya, 28 March 2007

## CHAPTER 4

### FINANCIAL REPORT

#### A. SURVEYS EXPENDITURES FOR JULY 2006 – MARCH 2007

ACTIVITIES	AMOUNT
<b>1. WORKSHOP</b>	
1. Workshop	Rp. 54,713,700
2. Workshop	Rp. 33,065,500
<b>2. SURVEY COST</b>	
1. Annual evaluation of Yudhoyono government	Rp. 302,099,000
2. Prospect of government performance 2007	Rp. 259,338,900
3. Annual evaluation of post-tsunami recovery	Rp. 227,668,200
4. Regionalism and Nationalism in a Democracy	Rp. 265,924,550
5. Annual evaluation of political party performance	Rp. 249,937,200
<b>3. PRES CONFERENCES</b>	
1. National Leadership Prospects	Rp. 10,843,500
2. The Prospect of Political Islam	Rp. 10,580,000
3. Public Evaluation : Reflection and Hopes: Economy-Politics 2006-2007	Rp. 12,131,500
4. Public Evaluation : Two Years of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction in Aceh-Nias of Post-Tsunami	Rp. 11,685,000
5. Regionalism and Nationalism in a Democracy a Political-Economic Perspective	Rp. 9,678,000
6. Public Evaluation on the Perfomance of Political Parties	Rp. 11,798,000
<b>SUB TOTAL COST</b>	<b>Rp. 1,459,463,050</b>
<b>4. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION COST</b>	<b>Rp. 132,511,950</b>
<b>TOTAL COST</b>	<b>Rp. 1,591,975,000</b>

**B. TABLE OF CASH FLOW FOR JULY 2006 - MARCH 2007**

<b>SOURCES</b>	<b>AMOUNT</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>
<b>JICA</b> (July 2006 – March 2007)	Rp. 1,591,975,000	16.7%
Commercial Survey (April 2006 – March 2007)	Rp. 7,936,893,475	83.3%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Rp. 9,528,868,475</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Average profit from commercial survey is about 30% which is used to run office, salaries for researchers and staffs and other research activities.*

In periods 2007-2008, LSI proposes to have fund from JICA only for **Data Collecting Survey and Publication**. LSI will finance the day-to-day operational activities from its profits from commercial surveys.

**C. TABLE OF ESTIMATED INCOME OF LSI FOR 2007-2008**

<b>SOURCES</b>	<b>AMOUNT</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>
<b>JICA</b> (April 2007 – March 2008)	Rp. 1,787,500,000	15.2%
Commercial Survey (April 2007 – March 2008)	Rp. 10,000,000,000	84.8%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Rp. 11,787,500,000</b>	<b>100%</b>

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **JOINT SURVEYS BETWEEN LSI – JICA IN 2007-2008**

#### **A. TOPICS OF SURVEYS**

The following five activities are annual tracking surveys which are carried out on a regular basis to monitor the latest information of public opinion to issues below:

##### **1. Trends in anti-terrorism support and other international issues**

Radical religious attitudes and behaviors that claim to act on the behalf of Islamic values are complex problems in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto. The LSI plan to do a survey to observe the public in order systematically to obtain data regarding the real picture of their support or opposition to those radical Islamic organization.

Those people who advance radical Islam planned to change the existing socio-political structure with the one they thought as a better system based on Islamic teachings. This survey refers to those people who forward Islamic fundamentalism as 'radical Islam'. Are anxiety toward radical Islam and Islamic behaviors well grounded in Indonesia? How big is support toward radical Islam in Indonesia?

The surveys on the trends in anti-terrorism are of national concern; therefore LSI needs to traces the trends over time. In order to obtain series data, LSI needs to conduct surveys in a periodical basis. The result of these surveys will help the policy maker to consider the kind of necessary actions to reduce terrorism in this country.

##### **2. Annual evaluation of Yudhoyono government performance**

The government of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Muhammad Jusuf Kalla has been two years in the office. The LSI plans to evaluate this administration after two years in the office. In general are the public satisfied or unsatisfied with their performances? Specifically, the LSI plans to gather information on the performances of this administration in issues such as politics, law, social and economy.

This opinion survey will be held at national level so that it could generate picture at the national level on the performance of the administration of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.

Series data on evaluation of Yudhoyono government performance helps the government to examine its efforts of governing this country. The evaluation will portray illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of this administration in dealing with

issues in economy, social and politics, as well as law. The data is input for the government to deal with the most pressing problems face by the population at large.

### **3. Annual evaluation of political party performance**

Indonesia has seven major political parties as the result of election on 4 April 2004. LSI plans to conduct a survey designed to gather relevant information from the public at large regarding the performance of those political parties. This survey seeks to collect information regarding function of those political parties as intermediary that connects voters' interests and the parliament, and the kind of policy decided by the parliament. Other than that, the survey asks whether those policies are accountable so that the voters have significant access in terms of information regarding their attitude and behavior in the parliament. How big is the public psychological involvement with those political parties so that it helps to stabilize political system? Is there any chance for a deeper political fragmentation due to differences of interests of those political parties?

Series data on evaluation of political party performance helps those political parties to know perception from the public at large. That information could also be used to evaluate their standing on various political issues, therefore they have choices either to support or oppose these issues. In addition to that, this evaluation could boost participation from the public at large to give a significant pressure to those political parties to listen to their constituents.

### **4. Prospect of government performance 2008**

This survey aims to gather information from the public on governance, which is also means development management, on several elements such as: (1) accountability; (2) participation; (3) predictability; (4) transparency. Those four elements will be employed to predict the performance of government for the next one year in sector such as economics, public services, and law enforcements. Based the respondents' knowledge, this survey aims to seek information which could be used to evaluate the performance of government for next year.

The survey will seek those aspects on sector such as economy, public service, and law enforcements to describe the performance of the government.

The series data on prospect of government for the next year illustrates the perception of public at large regarding the performance of the government in the previous years on particular issues. The importance of the data is to collect the information from the public on their prediction for the next year, so that the decision makers have relevant information to design their next year's programs.

## 5. Annual evaluation of post-tsunami recovery (Aceh and Nias)

After two years of disaster in Aceh various parties have paid attention to the reconstruction. Up until now these efforts of reconstruction is still underway. In December 2005, the LSI conducted survey to assess the reconstruction efforts.

This survey aims to collect information on the performance of Aceh Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Body (BRR); the condition of the public after two years of reconstruction, the level of satisfaction in the public sectors such as education, health and economy. The data on annual evaluation of post-tsunami recovery illustrates the level of satisfaction from the public in Aceh so that they serve as basis for evaluation for many agencies such as the government, international donors and the public themselves.

### B. BUDGET FOR APRIL 2007 – MARCH 2008

	ACTIVITIES	AMOUNT
<b>A. WORKSHOP</b>		
1.	Workshop	55,000,000
<b>B. SURVEY COST</b>		
1.	Trends in anti-terrorism support and other international issues (1200 respondents)	302,000,000
2.	Annual evaluation of Yudhoyono government performance (1200 respondents)	302,000,000
3.	Prospect of government performance 2008 and other national issues (1200 respondents)	302,000,000
4.	Annual evaluation of political party performance (1200 respondents)	302,000,000
5.	Annual evaluation of post-tsunami recovery (1200 respondents)	302,000,000
<b>C. PRES CONFERENCES</b>		
1.	Terrorism	12,000,000
2.	Yudhoyono government performance	12,000,000
3.	Prospect of government performance 2007	12,000,000
4.	Political party performance	12,000,000
5.	Annual evaluation of post-tsunami recovery	12,000,000
<b>SUB TOTAL COST</b>		<b>1,625,000,000</b>
<b>D. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION COST</b>		<b>162,500,000</b>
<b>TOTAL COST</b>		<b>1,787,500,000</b>



## **CHAPTER 6**

### **ORGANIZATION**

#### **STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION**

**Chair** : Djunaedi Hadisumarto  
**Members** : Theodore Permadi Rachmat  
Oentoro Surya  
Joyo Winoto

#### **Academic Advisers:**

Dr. Sri Adiningsih (University of Gajah Mada, Indonesia)  
Professor Takashi Shiraishi (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, Japan)  
Professor R. William Liddle (The Ohio State University, United States of America)  
Dr. Harold Crouch (Australian National University, Australia)

#### **Personal Assignment**

Director : Saiful Mujani, PhD  
Program Manager : Iman Suhirman, SSi  
Public Afair : Muh. Isra Ramli, SKom  
Statistician : Moh. Adam Kamil, SSi  
Finance : Intan Bayduri, SE  
Marketing Officer : Fauny Hidayat, SSos  
Office Boy : Udin Wahyudin

#### **Senior Researcher**

Saiful Mujani, PhD (Political Science)  
Anies Baswedan, PhD (Political Science and Public Policy)  
Wahyu Prasetyawan, PhD (Political Science and Public Policy)

#### **Junior Researcher**

Iman Suhirman (Statistics)  
Adam Kamil (Statistics)  
Isra Ramli (Communication)

#### **Field Resea cher / Area Coordinators**

1. M. Nasir : Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam
2. Elfanda Ananda : North Sumatra
3. Edi Enrizal : West Sumatra, Riau and Jambi

4. Maria Rahmatika : South Sumatra, Bengkulu and Bangka Belitung
5. Rezi Sabata : Lampung
6. Zezen Mutaqin : Jakarta and Banten
7. M. Dahlan : West Java
8. Uthu Munjung : Central Jawa and Yogyakarta
9. Sunardi Atmoko : East Jawa
10. Joni Rudwin : West Kalimantan
11. Irma Suryani : South and Central Kalimantan
12. Andi Ade : East Kalimantan
13. Herman Heizer : South, South-East Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku
14. Isni : Central and West Sulawesi
15. M. Jabir : North Sulawesi and Gorontalo
16. Jahroni : Papua and Irian Jaya Barat
17. Apriyanto Cahyono : Bali
18. Zulkifli : NTB
19. Petrus Ymone : NTT

# **PUBLIC EVALUATION ON THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT**



**Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)  
Jakarta, October 2006**

**[www.lsi.or.id](http://www.lsi.or.id)**



## INTRODUCTION

- People have voiced their support democratically for President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) and M Jusuf Kalla (JK) to govern this country since 2004.
- For the past two years, the people have had the right to evaluate whether or not the President and Vice-President have taken care of their aspirations and interests.
- Assessing public opinion regarding national leadership and its performance is necessary to determine the extent to which leaders' actions match public aspirations and interests, as well as to provide a type of accountability mechanism for the government.
- If there is significant deviation from public interests, there will be feeling of public disappointment and distrust with the government. These feelings can trigger people to seek alternatives to solving problems outside of formal institutions and avenues, including the use of violence. This can essentially weaken democracy.
- Surveys are one type of accurate, systematic methodology that can provide national-level public opinion. They can act as a means of communication between the people and political elites in Jakarta.
- Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI) periodically conducts surveys to facilitate such communication.

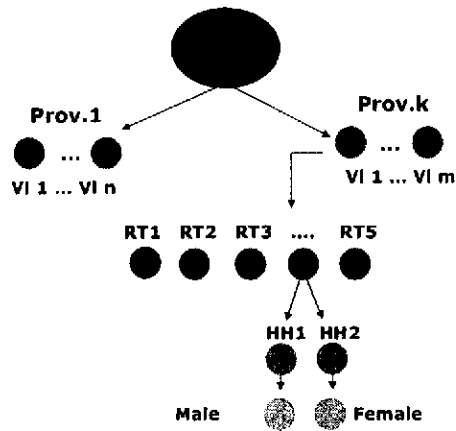


## METHODOLOGY

- **Survey Population:** Indonesian citizens with voting rights, those who are 17 years old or above, or those individuals who are currently married.
- **Sample:** 1,239 respondents
- **Margin of error:** +/- 2.8% with a confidence level of 95 percent.
- **Method:** Multistage random sampling.
- **Interviews:** Skilled interviewers conduct face-to-face interviews with selected respondents. Each interviewer only works in one village and only interviews 10 respondents.
- **Quality Control:** Quality control for the interview results is done on a random basis. A supervisor checks 20% of the total sample by re-visiting selected respondents (i.e., "spot-checks"). No significant errors were.



## Sampling Procedures



Population of villages (kelurahan) at the national level

Village (kelurahan) at the provincial level are randomly selected proportionally

From every village (kelurahan), 5 neighborhoods (RT) are chosen randomly

2 households (HH) are randomly chosen from every selected neighborhood (RT)

One person – male or female – is randomly chosen from each selected household



## DEMOGRAPHICS

Category	Sample	BPS
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	50.2	50.0
Female	49.8	50.0
<b>Urban-Rural</b>		
Rural	60.2	59.0
Urban	39.8	41.0
<b>Age Group</b>		
< = 19 year	3.0*	15.1
20-29 year	19.8	27.1
30-39 year	31.9	22.4
40-49 year	22.6	15.8
>= 50 year	22.6	19.6
<b>Income</b>		
< 400 thousand	39.2	42.0
400-999 thousand	39.1	38.0
>= 1 million	21.7	20.0

Category	Sample	BPS
<b>Education Group</b>		
<= Primary	48.4*	60.0
Secondary	19.9	19.0
High School	23.7	18.0
University	8.0	4.0
<b>Religion</b>		
Islam	88.2	87.0
Christianity	8.7	10.0
Hinduism	2.7	2.0
Others	0.5	1
<b>Ethnicity</b>		
Jawa	39.4	41.6
Sunda	13.2	15.4
Melayu	5.7	3.4
Madura	2.9	3.4
Bugis	2.4	2.5
Betawi	2.5	2.5
Minang	3.6	2.7
Others	30.4	28.5

- LSI's sample are citizens with voting rights and/or older than 17 years of age.
- The BPS Census includes people who are younger than 17 years old.



## DEMOGRAPHICS CONTINUED...

Category	Sample	BPS
PROPINSI		
Aceh	2.4	1.9
North Sumatra	4.8	5.3
West Sumatra	3.2	2.1
RIAU	2.4	2.2
JAMBI	0.8	1.3
South Sumatra	3.2	3.2
BENGKULU	0.8	0.8
LAMPUNG	3.2	3.4
BABEL	0.8	0.5
Riau Archipelago	0.8	0.6
Jakarta	4.0	3.5
West Java	14.5	17.4
Central Java	12.9	15.2
Yogyakarta	1.6	1.6
East Java	13.7	16.7
BANTEN	4.0	4.1

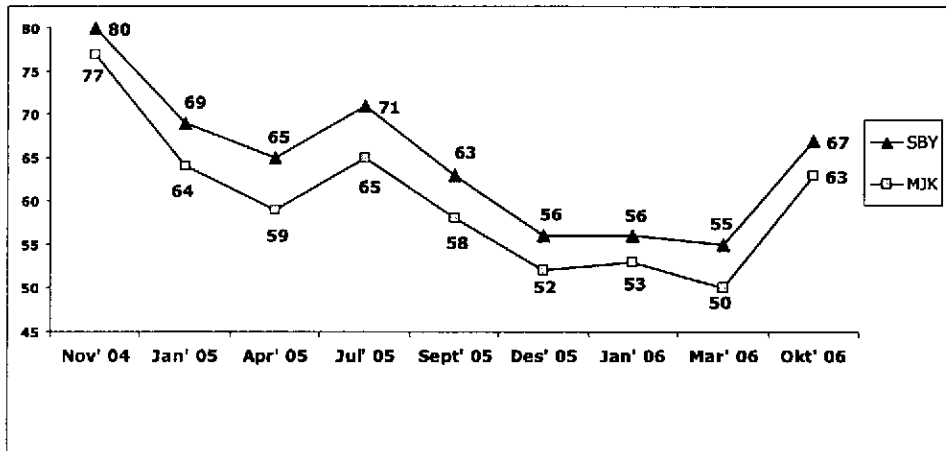
Category	Sample	BPS
PROPINSI		
BALI	2.4	1.5
West Nusa Tenggara	2.4	2.0
East Nusa Tenggara	2.4	2.0
West Kalimantan	2.4	1.9
Central Kalimantan	1.5	0.9
South Kalimantan	2.4	1.5
East Kalimantan	1.6	1.4
North Sulawesi	1.6	1.0
Central Sulawesi	0.8	1.1
South Sulawesi	3.2	3.5
Southeast Sulawes	0.8	0.9
GORONTALO	0.8	0.4
West Sulawesi	0.8	0.5
MALUKU	0.8	0.6
North Maluku	0.8	0.4
Papua	0.8	0.9
	0.8	0.3

## SURVEY FINDINGS

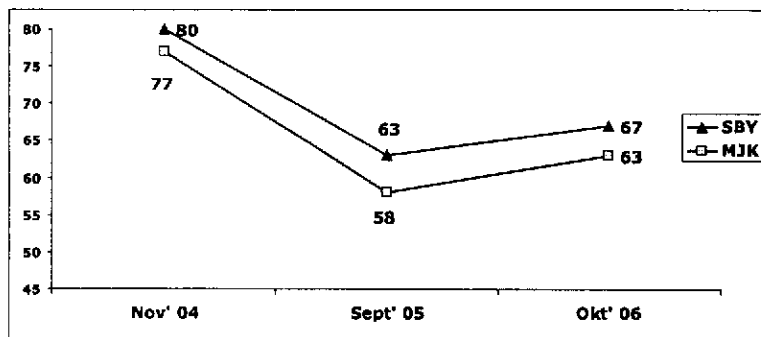


lembaga survei indonesia

**SATISFIED WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PRESIDENT and VICE-PRESIDENT (%)**



**SATISFIED WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PRESIDENT and VICE-PRESIDENT (%)**



## **SATISFACTION WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF SBY-MJK**

- SBY-MJK started their administration in October 2004 with significant political support (61%), with high expectations and optimism from the public at large. After a month in power (November 2004), the general public was satisfied with SBY-MJK's job performance (80%).
- Optimism decreased sharply within one year (September 2005), however, and satisfaction levels decreased to 64% (a decline of 16%). At the end of 2005 and in the beginning of 2006, dissatisfaction with SBY-MJK's work decreased further to a level of 55% (March 2006). This dissatisfaction was a negative short-term effect of fuel price changes at the end of 2005.
- Due to the fuel price increase, the number of poor increased to 4 million people compared to that of previous years (2004-2005). This was an increase of 1.79% (National Economic Survey (Susenas), March 2006).
- Unemployment increased from 10.51 million (2005) to 11.1 million (March 2006), which was a 0.35% increase. According to BPS National Economic Survey (Susenas, March 2006), public satisfaction with SBY was at its lowest level after 1.5 years in power.

## **SATISFACTION WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF SBY-MJK CONTINUED...**

- There is indication that economic activities have slowly increased since March 2006.
- Macro-economic indicators have improved. Until the second quarter of this year, economic growth is 5.2%, and it is predicted to grow at 5.8%. This economic development is much better compared to the previous year, which showed growth at 5.4%. We do not yet know the impact of these economic improvements for poverty and unemployment, and therefore must wait for the next National Economic Survey (Susenas).
- Other macro-indicators are decreasing interest rates and a stable Rupiah against foreign currency.
- Fuel shortages and fuel price increases were dominant issues last year. In 2006, a number of people did not consider the fuel price hike and fuel shortages as problems.
- Does the general public know about the economic improvements? Has public opinion changed and improved concerning those who think the overall economic condition is much better after March 2006 compared to last year?
- The national economic condition is much better compared to last year, and this increase parallels the level of satisfaction with the performance of SBY-MJK.



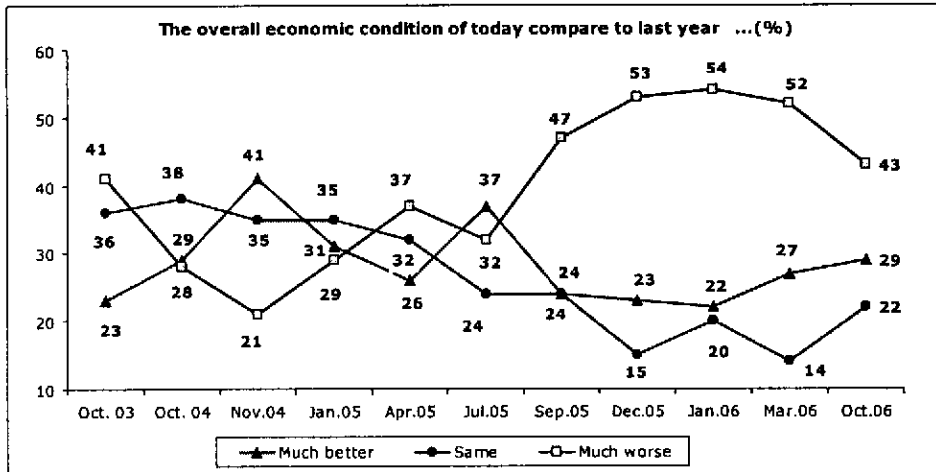
## **SATISFACTION WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF SBY-MJK CONTINUED...**

- In 2005, the public satisfactory level of SBY stayed at 63%. After one year, however, the level increased to 67%.
- This increase is significant compared to March 2006 (55%). The satisfactory levels of SBY-MJK was relatively stable during the past year. The level actually recovered after it reached a low point of 55% in March 2006.
- The increase for SBY-MJK's performance in October 2006 is smaller compared to data from September 2005 (63%). This increase is consistent with the public evaluation of the national economic condition and the level of optimism for next year's economic condition.
- SBY-MJK have until now been very popular, and the general public appears to be satisfied with their performance. This is important political capital for the two leaders to make decisive public decisions without fear that their popularity will decrease.

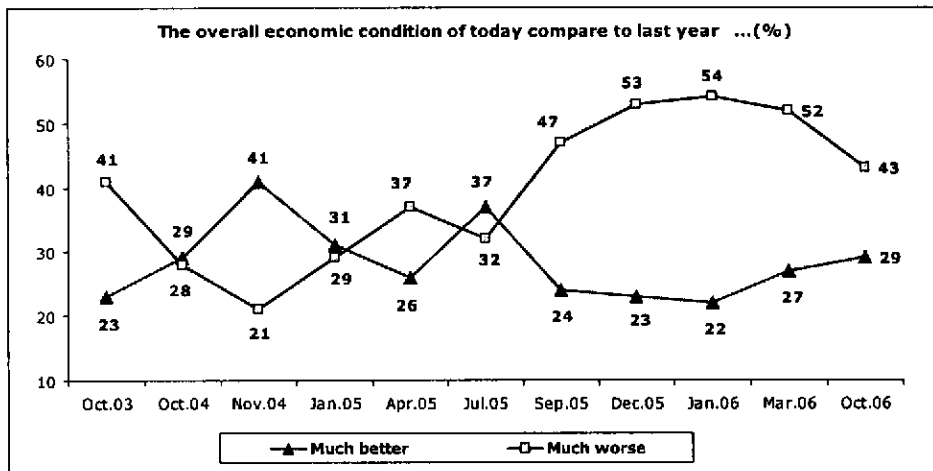
## **ECONOMIC SECTOR PERFORMANCE**

- Evaluation of the present overall national economic condition compared to last year and optimism regarding the economic condition for next year.
- Evaluation of the performance of government in handling various economic problems.

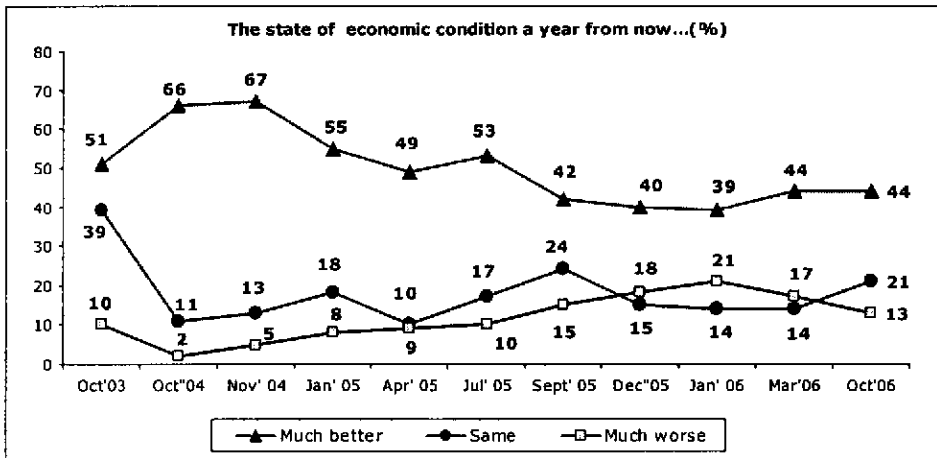
## Economic Sector Performance



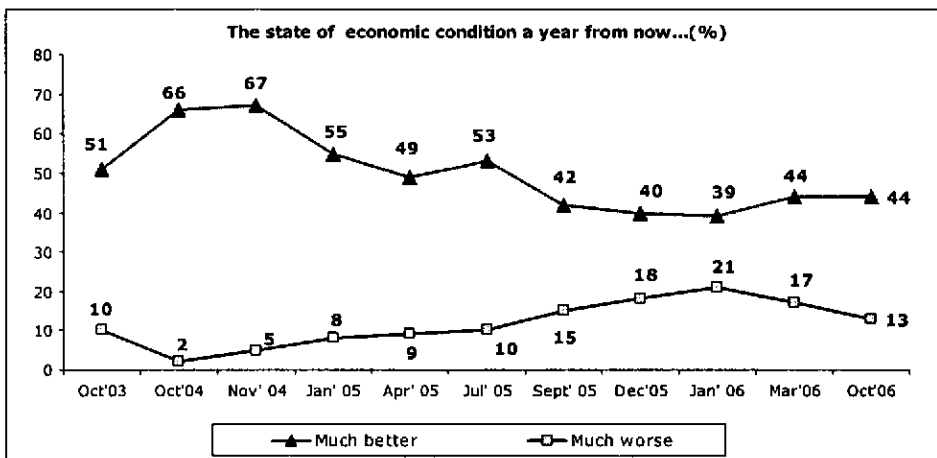
## Economic Sector Performance Continued...



## Economic Sector Performance Continued...



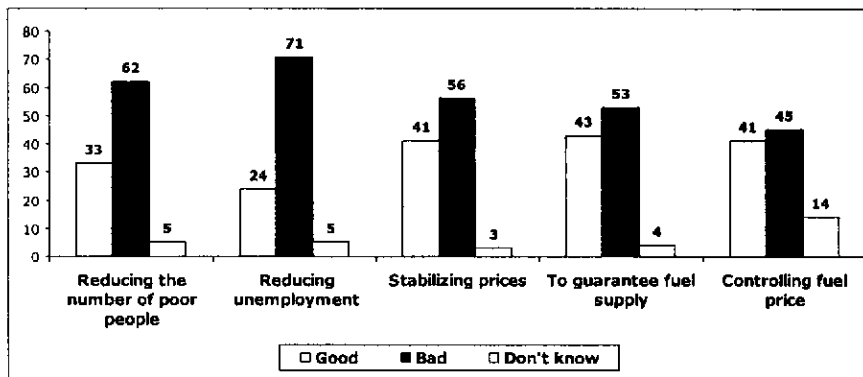
## Economic Sector Performance Continued...



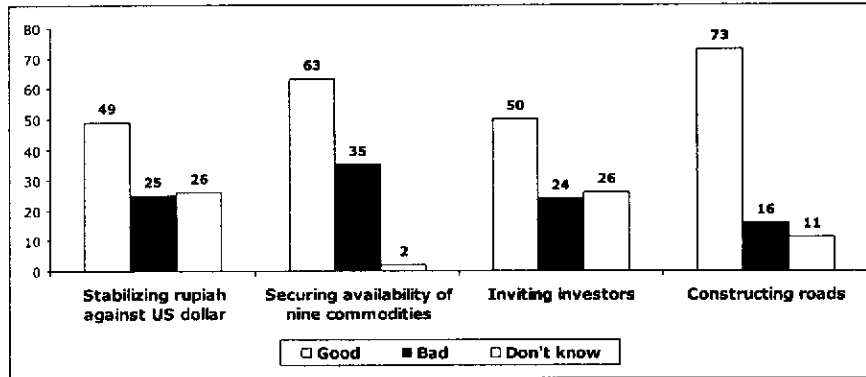
## General Economic Sector Performance

- In September 2005, the number of people who think the overall national economic condition of today is much better compared to that of last year was 24%, and in 2006, it is now 29%. The number of people who think the overall national economic condition was much worse in September 2005 compared to last year was 47%, and now it is 43%. The number of people who think the overall economic condition of today is much worse compared to last year is bigger than those who think it is much better. There is little improvement for SBY-JK on this matter as there is little improvement in the general economy, as pointed out by technocrats (not the public).
- In general, the people who are optimists about national economic prospects under the SBY-MJK administration is relatively similar to the previous year. Within the last nine months, this trend is stronger. The percentage of people who think the national economy will be much better next year increased from 39% in January 2006 to 44% in October 2006. Those who think the economic condition will worsen next year decreased from 21% in January 2006 to 13% in October 2006.
- A little improvement in the economic sector has an impact towards people's satisfaction levels regarding SBY-MJK.

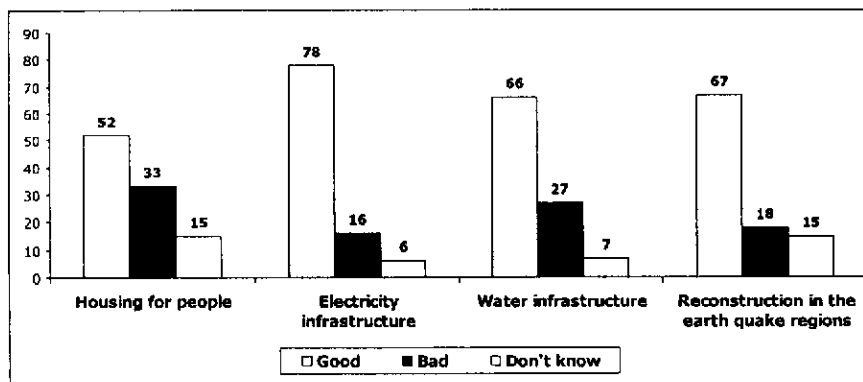
## Government performance in handling problems related to poverty, unemployment, prices, and supplies (%):



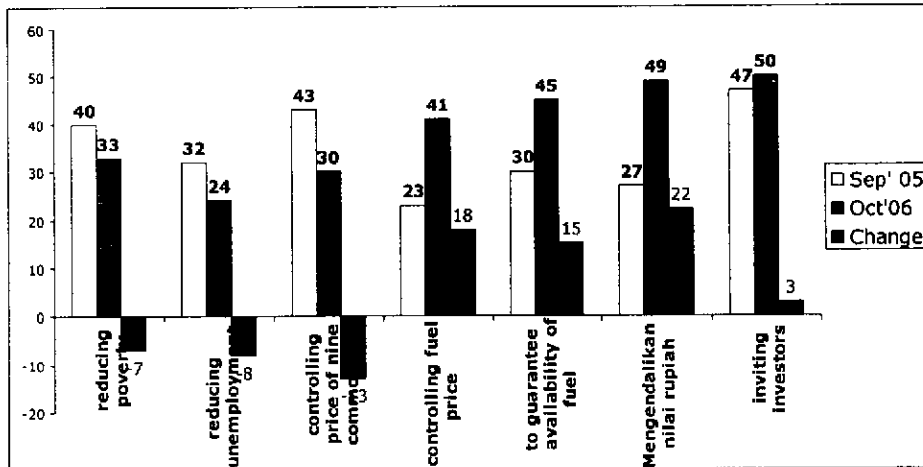
**Government performance in handling problems concerning currency, commodities, investors, and roads (%):**



**Government performance in handling problems regarding housing, electricity, water, and reconstruction (%):**



**Change in government performance in handling certain issues ("Good" or "Very Good") Sept. 05 – Oct. 06 (%):**



**Correlation between economy and public satisfaction of SBY-MJK's performance**

- Correlation between economic condition and public satisfaction of SBY-MJK's performance:  $r = .24$  ( $P < .01$ )
- Correlation between the efforts of government to handle economic problems and public satisfaction SBY-MJK's performance:  $r = .38$  ( $P < .01$ )

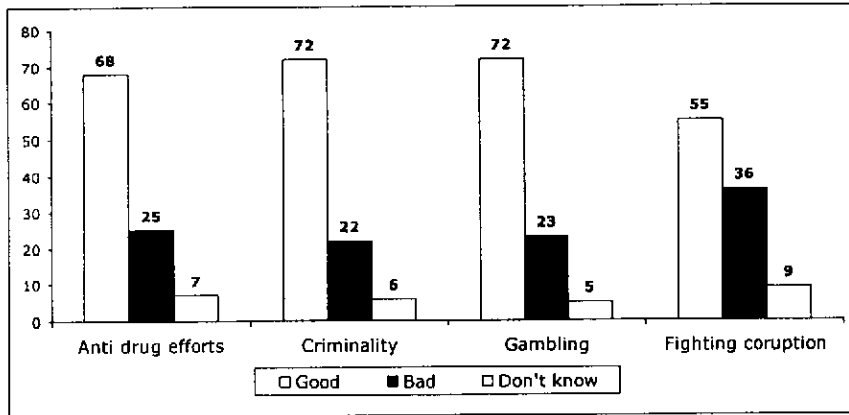
## **ECONOMIC ISSUES**

- The government must resolve certain economic issues: poverty, unemployment, price stability for nine basic commodities, and fuel prices.
- The number of people who think the government has done its job very well in controlling fuel prices and guaranteeing fuel availability in the market is increasing. The number of people who think the government can handle the Rupiah's value against the U.S. dollar and to invite foreign investors is also increasing.
- The general public perceives the government as performing its job well? in infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and water.
- In the eyes of the public, government performance in the economic sector is a little better compared to last year, and it has an impact on the increasing satisfaction of people towards SBY-JK.
- Public satisfaction towards SBY-JK is also supported by SBY-JK's ability to handle political and security problems.

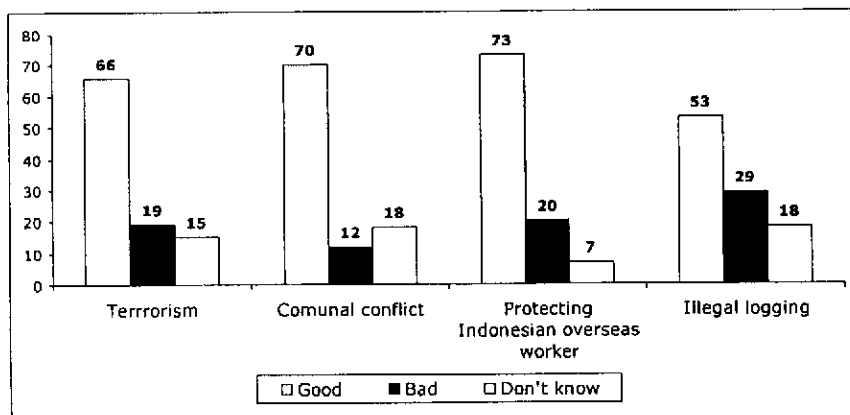
## **LAW and POLITICS**



**Government performance in handling anti-drug efforts, criminality, gambling, and corruption (%):**

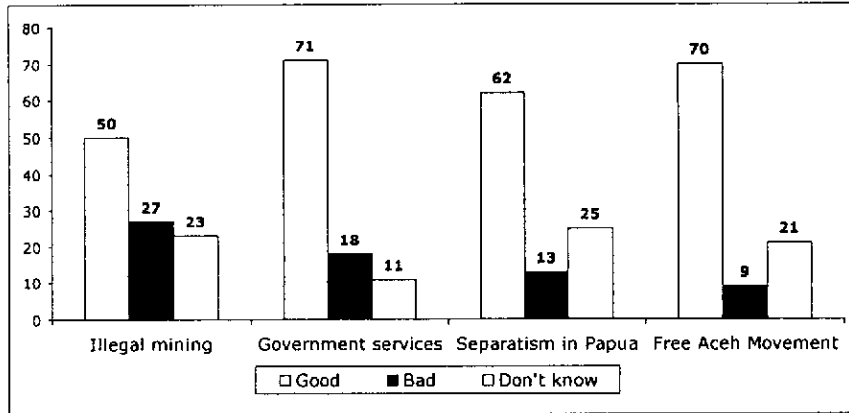


**Government performance in handling terrorism, communal conflict, Indonesian overseas workers, and illegal logging (%):**

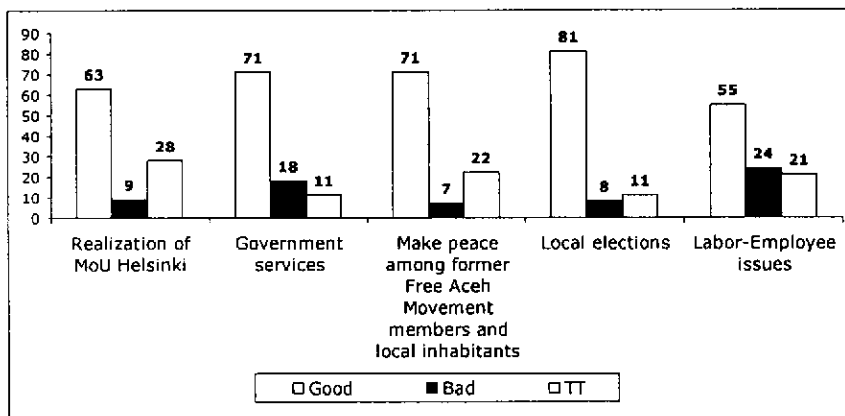




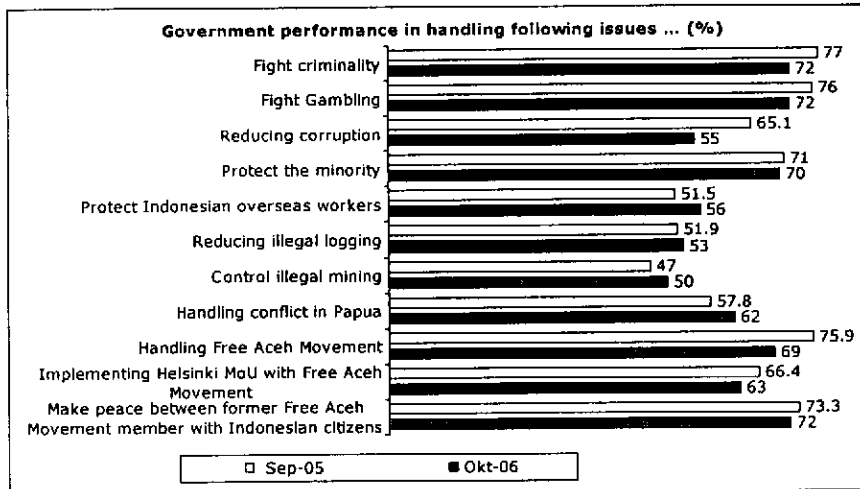
**Government performance in handling illegal mining, government services, separatism in Papua, and the Free Aceh Movement (%):**



**Government performance in handling MoU Helsinki, government services, peace in Aceh, local elections, and labor-employee issues (%):**



## Performance in Politics-Law-Security Issues



## Correlation between politics-law-security issues and satisfaction performance with SBY-JK

$$r = .27 (P < .01)$$

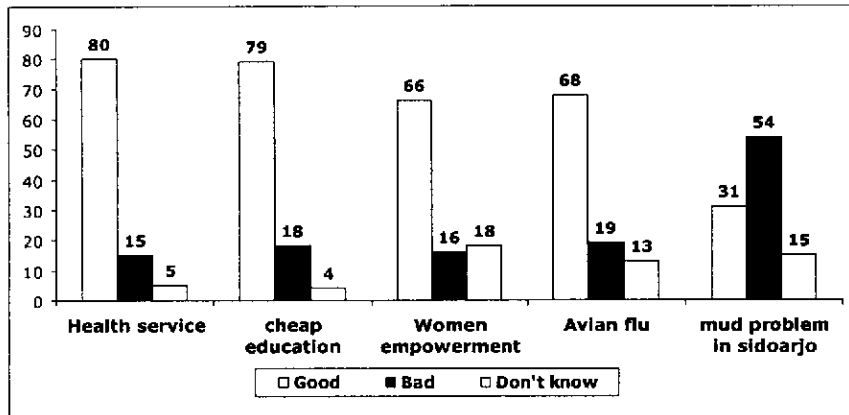
## **Influence of Politics and Security**

- General public evaluations show that the government has done a good job in handling politics and security issues such as order, criminality, terrorism, separatism, communal conflict, corruption, etc.
- The indicators for government performance for effort to reduce corruption is decreasing compared to last year. In September 2005, the number of people who think the government has done a good job in reducing the number of poor people was 65%, and now (October 2006) it is 55%.
- Government performance in handling political and security problems contributed to an increase for public satisfaction towards SBY-JK.

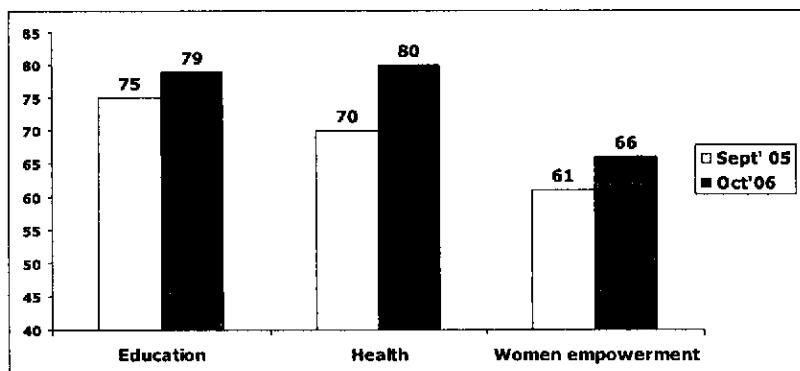
## **SOCIAL AFFAIRS ISSUES**



**Government performance in handling health, education, women's empowerment, avian flu, and the Sidoarjo mud problem (%):**



**Government performance in handling education, health, and women's empowerment ("Good" or "Very Good"), Sept. 05 - Oct. 06 (%):**



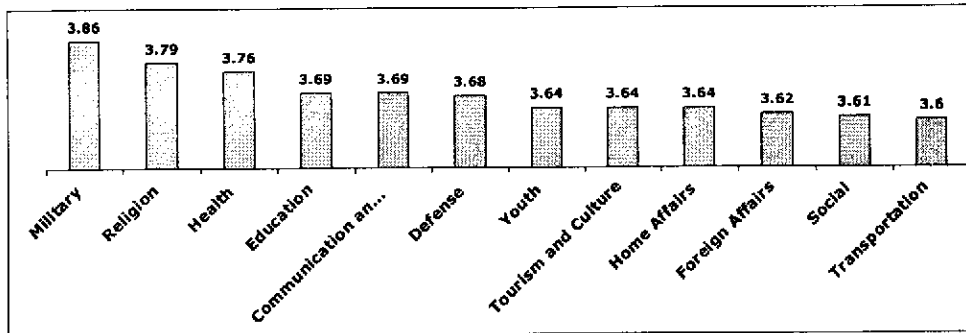
**Correlation between performance in social affairs and satisfaction level of SBY-JK**

$r = .27 (P < .01).$

**Performance of Ministries and Departments (Cabinet)**



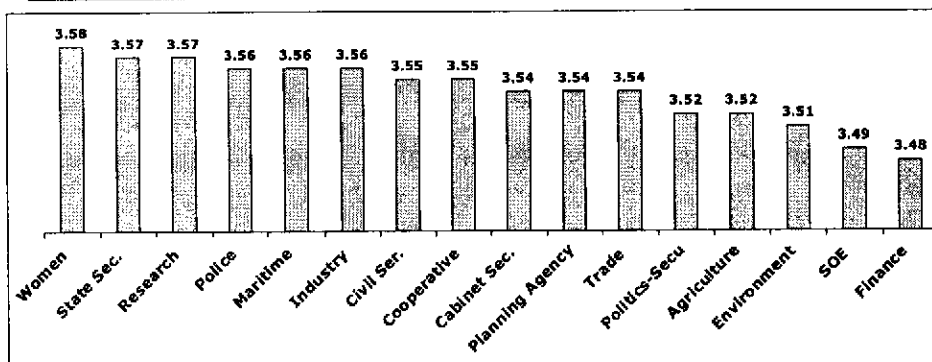
## Performance of departments and ministries:



### Average score from a scale of 1 - 5:

- Very bad : 1 - 1.50
- Bad : 1.51 - 2.50
- Middle : 2.51 - 3.50
- Good : 3.51 - 4.50
- Very good : 4.51 - 5.0

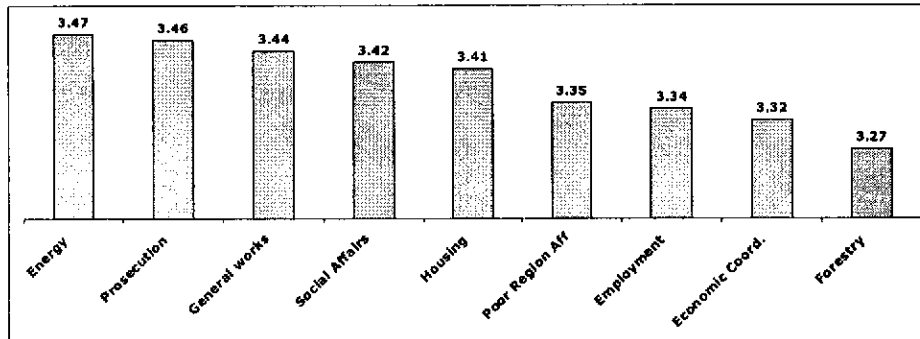
## Performance of departments and ministries:



### Average score from a scale of 1 - 5 :

- Very bad : 1 - 1.50
- Bad : 1.51 - 2.50
- Middle : 2.51 - 3.50
- Good : 3.51 - 4.50
- Very good : 4.51 - 5.0

## Performance of departments and ministries:



### Average score from a scale of 1 - 5

- Very bad : 1 - 1.50
- Bad : 1.51 - 2.50
- Middle : 2.51 - 3.50
- Good : 3.51 - 4.50
- Very good : 4.51 - 5.0

## Performance of departments and ministries:

- Some ministries and departments received very good grades, and none received very bad grades.
- In general, the performance of all ministries and departments falls between "middle" and "good." Their overall grade is "moderate."
- Within this range from middle to good, the military received the highest points and forestry the lowest.
- However, from the entire list of ministries and departments, the office that has strong relations with the performance of SBY-JK is the Economic Coordinating Ministry and departments under it.
- Consistent with the aforementioned facts, public opinion on economic issues has a strong relationship with the performance of SBY-JK, while political and security problems or social affairs have little relation to the performance of SBY-JK.

## **Impact of evaluation on performance of SBY-JK**

Multivariate Analysis (Only show the issues that are statistically significant at  $P < .05$ )

	Standardized regression coefficients (Beta)
Economic Issues	.231
Ministry/Economic Coordinating Department	.154
Ministry/department politics-security	.143
National economic condition	.105
Citizen living in the less developed villages	.096
Choose Democrat Party	.076

## **ELECTORAL IMPLICATIONS**





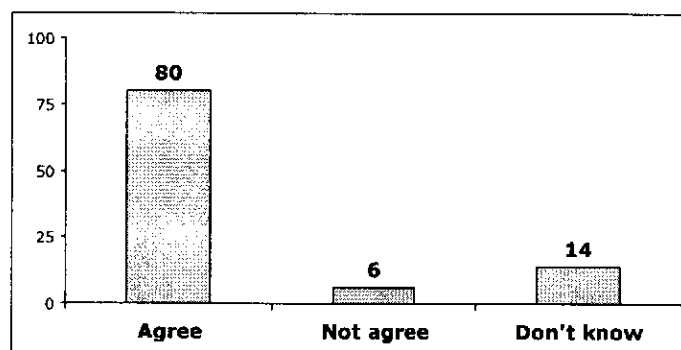
## ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP

### QUESTIONS/MEASURES:

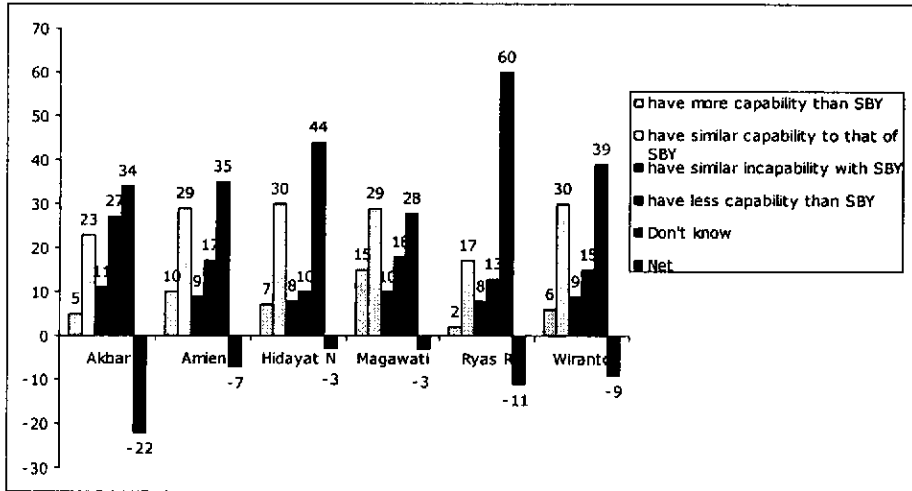
- Many believe that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration must be criticized and watched by individual or political parties outside the government to pressure his administration to "work for the people." Do you agree with this opinion?
- A number of national figures express their criticisms towards the government. If they are given a chance to run the government, do you think they are more competent than SBY, or have similar capacity to SBY, or less competent than SBY to handle problems faced by our nation? They are: Amien Rais, Hidayat Nurwahid, Megawati, Akbar Tandjung, Ryas Rasjid, and Wiranto.
- Among the names listed above, in your opinion, who are capable to lead Indonesia for the future in handling problems faced by our nation? Semi-open answer.

## OPPOSITION

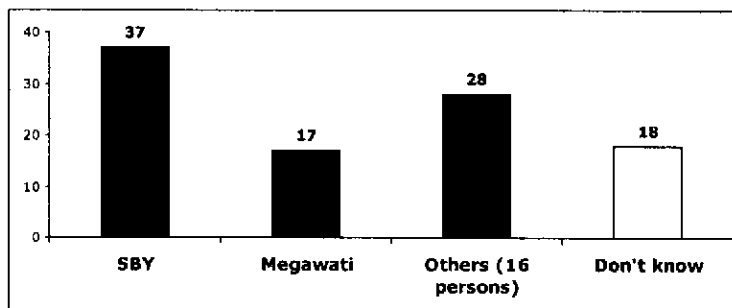
The necessity of opposition outside the government with task to criticize and control, so that the government will work much better for the people ...(%)



**The following national leaders, if they are given a chance to run the government will ...(%)**



**National leaders who are perceived as having more capability to run Indonesia for the future (%):**



## **There is no substitute for national leadership...**

- Almost all people see the importance of opponents to criticize and control the SBY-MJK government so that the government will make decisions which reflect the interests of the people.
- There is no one from the national figures list who has the ability to play an opposition role or has received recognition from the people as having the capability to lead Indonesia.
- In general, a number of people think those national leaders are less capable than SBY to lead Indonesia.
- SBY is still perceived as the main figure who is capable in leading Indonesia that faces many problems.
- The big gap between SBY and other national leaders in perceiving who are capable to lead Indonesia for the future points out a failure of political recruitment in the political party and cadre formation.
- SBY has no substantial rival at this time.

## **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

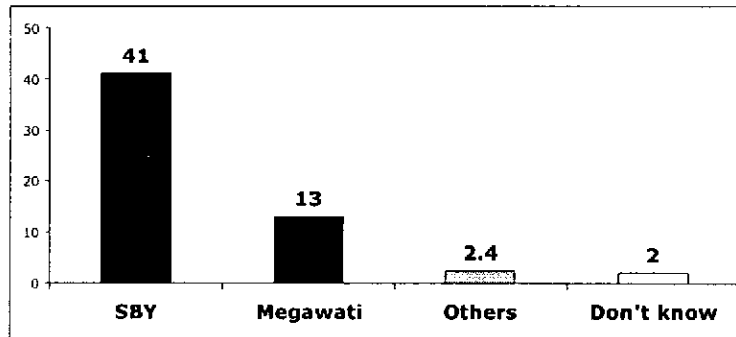
### **QUESTIONS/MEASURES:**

- If an election were conducted today, which presidential candidate would you vote for? Open-ended answer.
- If an election were conducted today, which presidential candidate would you vote for? Would you vote for SBY or other candidates?

## PRESIDENT VOTE

If an election were conducted today, which presidential candidate would you vote for?

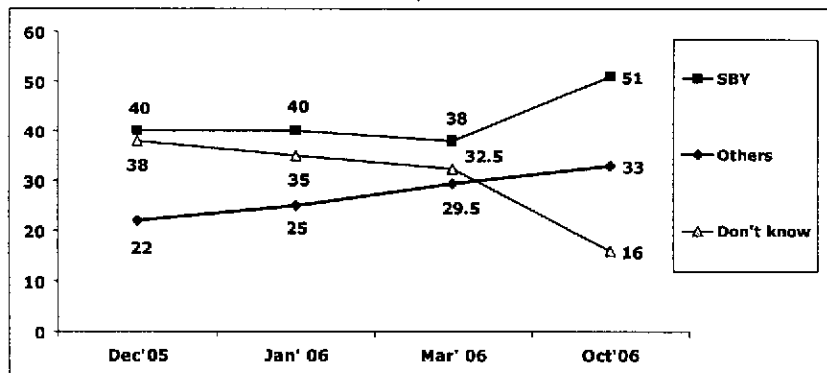
Open question... (%)



## PRESIDENT VOTE

If an election were conducted today, which presidential candidate would you vote for?

SBY vs Other figures ... (%)  
Closed question



## **NO RIVAL**

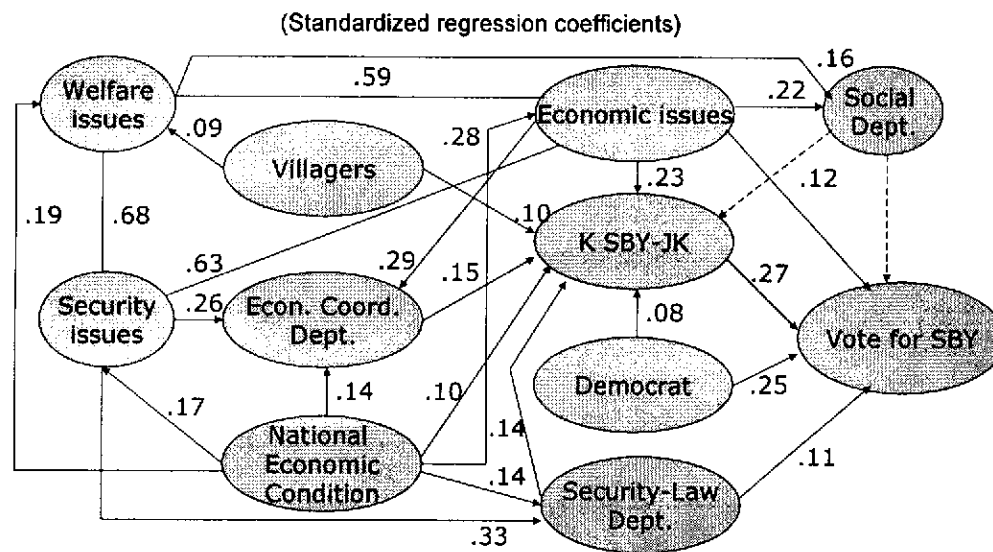
- The weakness of opposition from important figures against SBY, and the failure from political parties to produce alternative figures from that of existing today, offers a big opportunity for SBY to be reelected as the president if an election were conducted today (that is, when the survey was conducted).
- One potential SBY rival is Megawati, with a wider margin of more than a half for SBY.
- Why does SBY has a big chance to be reelected as president?

## **Impact on vote for president (SBY vs other)**

Multivariate Analysis (significant at  $P < .05$ )

	Standardized regression coefficients (Beta)
Performance of SBY-JK	.267
Economic Issues	.119
Ministries/department politics-law-security	.112
Vote for Partai Demokrat	.246

## Path analysis performance of SBY-JK and vote for SBY



## Determinant voting for SBY compared to others

- Statistical analysis pointed out that satisfaction with SBY's performance as president is an important factor for him to be reelected. Contribution of this satisfaction compared to other factors is around 27%.
- The contribution from Democratic Party participants is about 25%.
- The evaluation of the capability of the government to handle economic issues is around 11%, and the performance of departments and ministries for politics-law-security issues is around 10%.
- Satisfaction with SBY-JK's performance is closely related to their ability to handle economic issues, the performance of the Coordinating Ministry of Economic Affairs and politics-law-security issues, and the evaluation of the national economic condition.
- The Department of Social Affairs, an expenditure side of government, has little influence on the satisfaction level of people concerning SBY-JK's performance (after controlling factors from economics; and politics, law, and security).
- These patterns point out that economics and politics are important factors that determine weak or strong support for SBY. If the level for performance in economy and politics are weak, then SBY will not be reelected. On the contrary, if the scores from economy and politics are strong, SBY has a strong probability to be reelected.

## **CONCLUSION**

- There is a standstill in recruiting and promoting national leaders by political parties other than the incumbent. Parties are tied to veteran figures from the 2004 election, and they were beaten by SBY-JK. As a consequence of this, SBY is still very popular due to the lack of alternative figures. If an election were conducted today, the public would vote for SBY.
- A big gap within electoral margins between SBY and national figures is uncommon in democracy, and political elites should consider this gap.
- A number of people want national figures to play an opposition role, but the people do not see potential figures who are more capable than SBY. These national elites were unable to convince the public that they were much better than SBY.
- SBY-JK's political power is located in the public approval of or satisfaction with their performance. 7 out of 10 citizens with voting rights (67%) are satisfied or very satisfied with SBY-JK's performance as president and vice-president. The level of satisfaction increased significantly compared to early 2006 (55%). Compared to September 2005, this increase is not significant; it was only a 4% increase.

## **CONCLUSION CONTINUED...**

- Sources of fluctuation on the level of satisfaction is located on SBY-JK's performance in the national economy (measures: Is the national economic condition of today much better or worse compared to last year, and is the national economic condition for next year much better or worse compared with today's condition?).
- The level of satisfaction on SBY-JK's performance decreased when the number of people who think the economic condition is good also decreased, or when the number of people who think the national economic condition is bad increased as it happened in December 2005, January 2006, and March 2006.
- Positive-negative fluctuations concerning economic conditions is associated with how the public assesses government performance in handling specific economic issues such as reducing poverty and unemployment, availability and control over the price of nine basic commodities (mainly fuel), controlling currency, investments, and development in infrastructure sector.
- Evaluation of government performance in handling economic issues is related to public evaluation of the performance of ministries and departments of economic affairs. In general, the performance of those offices in the eyes of the public is MIDDLE, though not bad, and they contribute to increases in the level of public satisfaction towards SBY-MJK.

## CONCLUSION CONTINUED...

- Politics-law-security factors are also important for positive public evaluation of SBY-MJK's performance. The government's handling of communal conflicts, separatism, drugs, order, etc. are seen by the public as a good job. Compared to the offices under the coordinating minister for economic affairs, the department of politics, law, and security were considered as doing a good job by the public, yet the impact of the department law and security is not as big as in the department of economic issues.
- A standstill in recruiting political elites, a GOOD performance of the incumbent in the politics, law, and security sectors, and a MIDDLE performance in the economic sector make SBY popular in the eyes of public. If these three factors turn out to be negative for SBY, then public satisfaction levels will decrease.
- Political parties have three years left to offer alternative figures, which will be evaluated by the public.
- SBY-MJK have huge political capital (67%), and it could be a foundation to take decisive technocratic decisions in order to recover certain economic conditions. This may have direct impacts later for SBY's political career in 2009.



# **THE PROSPECT OF POLITICAL ISLAM**



**Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)  
Jakarta, October 2006**

**[www.lsi.or.id](http://www.lsi.or.id)**

## **Conceptualization "Prospect of Political Islam"**

- Prospect of political Islam is a strengthening or weakening probability for Islam to be fought through political channel within national politics in the future.
- "Islam to be fought" is specific agendas that is fought through electoral politics, social movement, party politics, and in policy by the government.
- Those specific agendas at the constitutional level is the extent to change a constitution is fought, and the extend to which this possibility gain support from the public as it is seen from mass support of changing or replacing the existing constitution with Islam because Islam is being opposed to Pancasila and the constitution; or Islam is opposed to democracy; support to Islam social organization that struggle for specific agenda of Islam, and support to political party wit Islamic platform.

## **Indicators at the constitutional level**

- Agree or disagree that democracy is the best governing system in our country: disagree
- Agree or disagree with opinion that democracy is a source for bad economic development : disagree.
- There is an opinion that Pancasila and the existing constitution is the best one for Indonesia an a nation. However, there is an opinion saying that Pancasila and the existing constitution 1945 is not in accord with us as a nation therefore it must be replaced with new idea or other teaching that is considered fit. To these two opinions, which one is closest to your view? Choose the first option
- There is an opinion that democracy is conflicting with Pancasila and the constitution 1945; and on the contrary, there is an opinion that both of them are in accord. According your view, are they very conflicting, conflicting, in accord, or very in accord? Conflicting or very conflicting

## **Continue**

- There is an opinion that democratic value is conflicting with Islamic values, and on the contrary, there is an opinion that both of them are in accord. In your view; are they very conflicting, conflicting, in accord, very in accord? Conflicting or very conflicting
- There is an opinion that Islamic values are in conflict with Pancasila values and the constitution 1945, and there is opinion saying they are in accord. In your opinion, are they very conflicting, conflicting, in accord, very in accord? Conflicting or very conflicting.
- Agree or disagree with an opinion that as man, women has right to become a political leader such as village chief, head of sub-district, regent, governor, member of parliament, and President?
- Agree or disagree that women is not allowed to become president: agree

## **Indicators at social organization level**

- At social organization level: To support struggle of Islamic social movement that are fight for implementation of Islamic law in public domain.
- Aware and support Jamaah Islamiyah, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), and/or Hijbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)

### **Agree with Jihad as it is interpreted in form of violence**

- The number of people as Imam Samudra, Amrozi, Dr. Azahari, Noorudin M. Top, are believed to bomb Bali which thought as a form of jihad to uphold Islam. In your opinion, do you agree with their faith? Agree and strongly agree

### **Loyalty to parties (partisanship) and electoral politics**

- Many people feel close to a political party, and some feel not. Do you close to a particular political party compare to other parties? If yes, which one? Parties with Islamic platform (PBB, PPP, PKS)
- If election for parliament member is held today, are going to vote? If yes, which political parties? Parties with Islamic platform (PBB, PPP, PKS)

## **Approach strategy : Political Islam and public opinion**

- In a democratic polity as in our country, processes and decisions making related to the public interest are related to aspiration of the people.
- In a democratic country, whether "Political Islam" has a prospect or not is determined by the extent to which the people support or refuse "Political Islam" with its dimension as it has been explained above.
- The fate of Political Islam at the national level, for example the fate of political parties with Islam as platform, more or less is determined by support from the people; are their agenda reflects aspiration of the people.
- Therefore evaluating aspiration of the people in a correct way is becoming a strategic effort to answer the prospect of political Islam.
- One way to dig systematically aspiration of the people shall be public opinion survey which is conducting a rigid manner.



## **METHODOLOGY**

- National Survey 23 September – 3 October 2006.
- Population : Muslims with voting right (17 years old or above) at national level (from Sabang to Merauke)
- Sample: national, randomly selected with a multistage random sampling: proportional on population at the province, urban-rural, and gender.
- Total sample Muslims:1092
- Margin of error: +/- 3% at confidence level 95%.

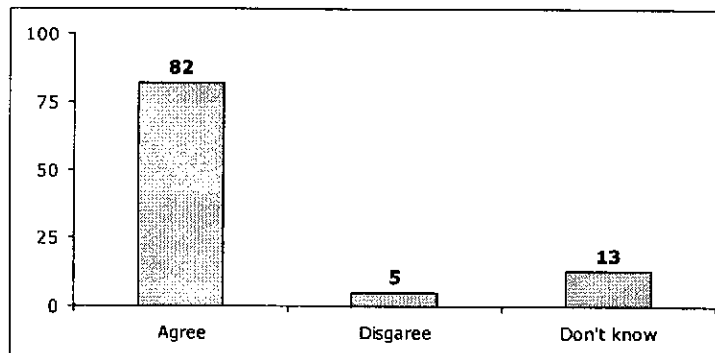
# FINDING



## Constitutional level



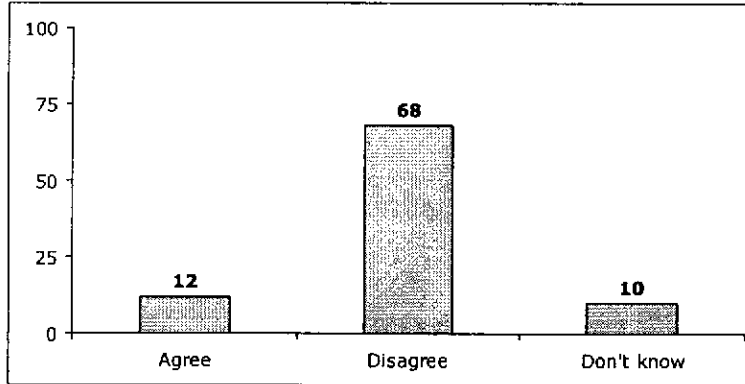
Democracy is the best for our country ...(%)



## Constitutional level



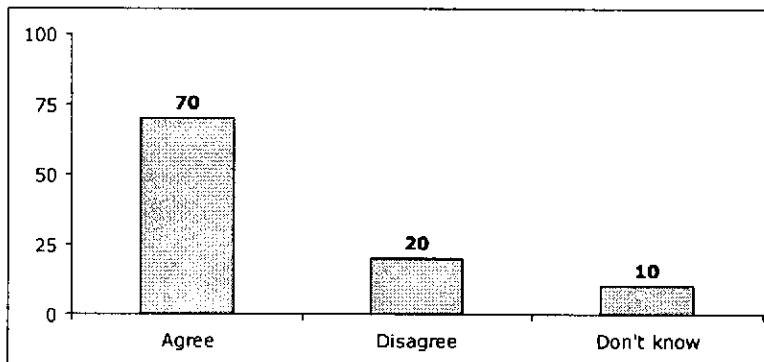
Democracy is a source for our economy (%)



## Constitutional level



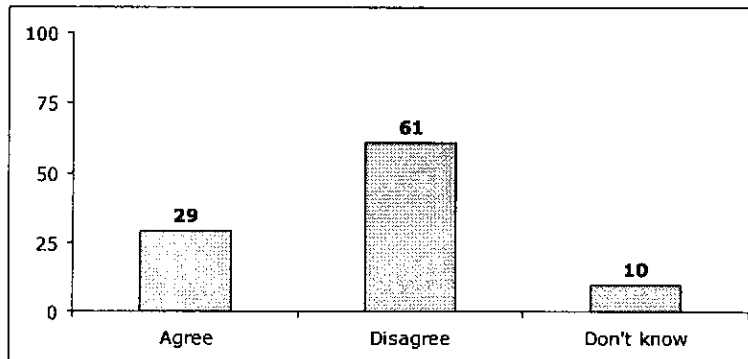
Women has right to become a leader in public service... (%)



## Constitutional level



Women is not allowed to become president (%)



## Support to democracy

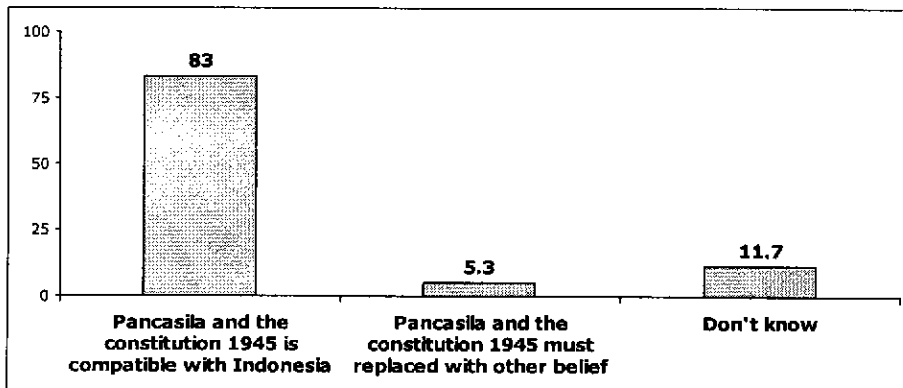


- At the constitutional level, Muslim in general, 8 out of 10 person, believe that democracy is the best political system.
- This fact is consistent with capability to separate principle of democracy and disturbances on economic activities.
- This fact is also consistent with support to gender equal right in politics.
- There is no problem at the constitutional level for Indonesian Muslim with democracy.



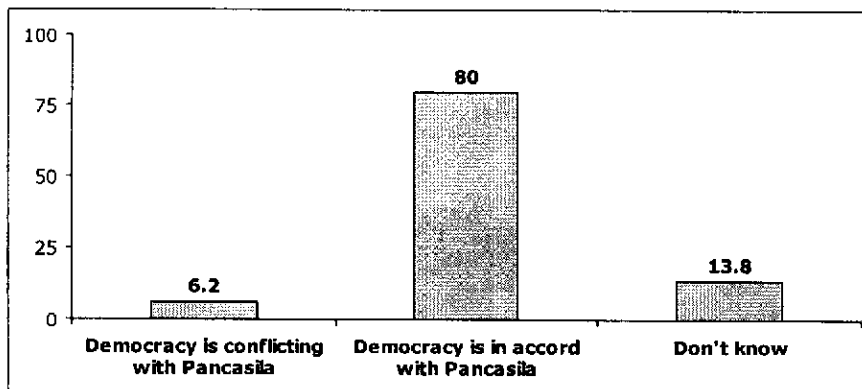
## Islam, Pancasila and Democracy

Agree with the view: ... (%)



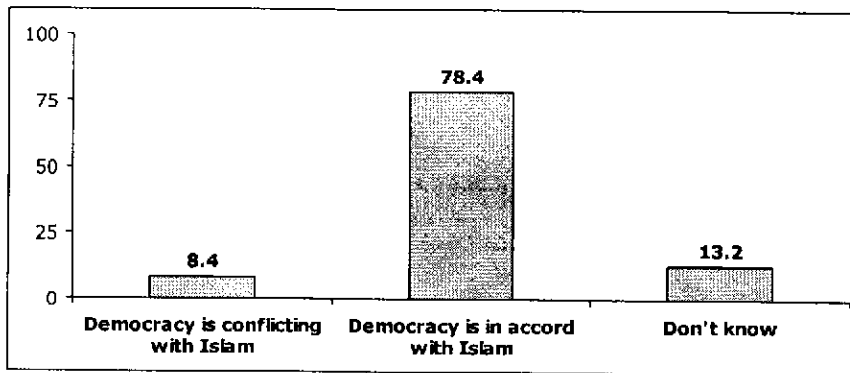
## Islam, Pancasila and Democracy

Agree with view: ... (%)



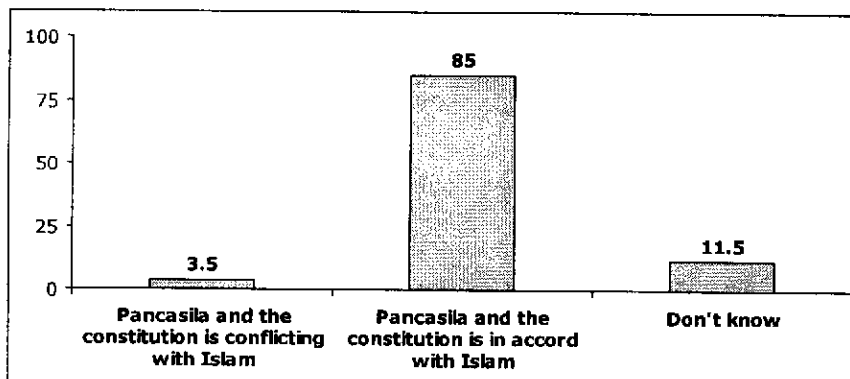
## Islam, Pancasila and Democracy

Agree with the view: ... (%)



## Islam, Pancasila and Democracy

Agree with the view: ... (%)

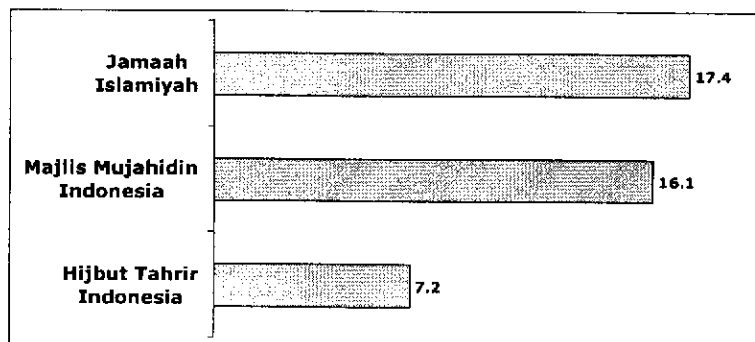


## Islam, Pancasila and Democracy

- Almost all Muslims Indonesia do not problematize relation between Islam and Pancasila or democracy, or Pancasila and democracy.
- These three concepts for Muslims Indonesia are accord and have no contradiction.
- Only 1 out of 10 Muslims who contradict these three concepts.
- However, in the context of social movement, the mentioned number is significant. For a movement, public support has not to be massive.
- Considering that Muslims Indonesia do not problematize Islam, Pancasila and democracy reflect a cognitive constitutional condition which is supportive for maturity of democracy in Indonesia, and as such should be a foundation to consider for political Islam at the national level, parties and government that have interests with mass support.
- This kind cognitive among the Muslims will hinder the development of political Islam that contradict Islam and democracy, Islam and Pancasila.

## Support to Islamic movement that has a plan to implement Islamic law

Know and agree with the idea fought by the following Islamic movement ... (%)

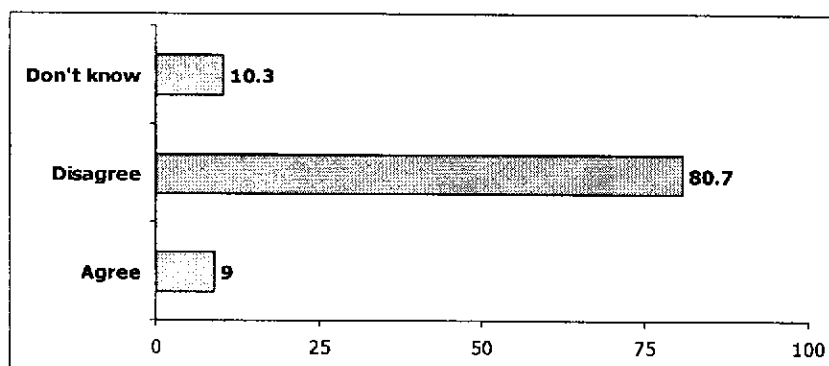


## Power of Islamic movement that plans to implement syariah law

- At the mass level there 2 out of 10 Muslim who support MMI and JI, and 1 out of 10 for HT.
- From the electoral politics these number is small, yet for Islamic movements with their specific agenda, these number is relatively big.
- Do not see their significant from an electoral politics, but from political Islam at the movement level.

## Understanding Jihad with violence

Bombing such as done by Imam Samudra in Ball Is a form of jihad to defend Islam ... (%)

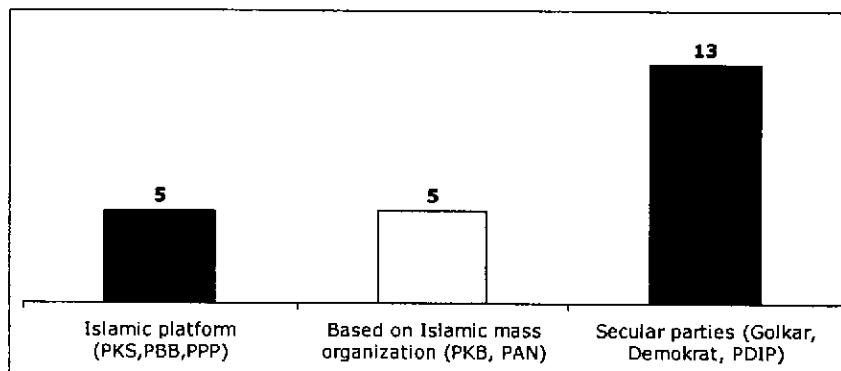


## Understanding of Jihad

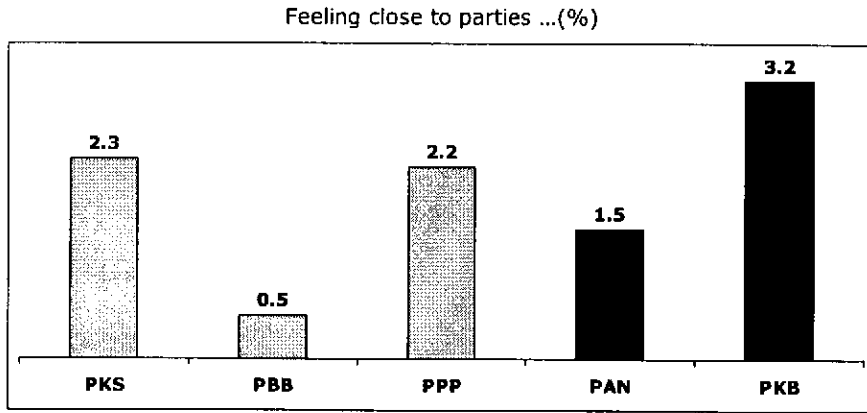
- Jihad is understood as an activity which could not be dissociated from violent behavior; this understanding is held by 1 out of 10 Muslims Indonesia. They think Imam Samudera did the right thing in Bali in order to defend Islam.
- To the support of this extreme violent behavior such as in Bali,, 9% is a very significant number.

## Partisanship and support to political parties with Islamic platform

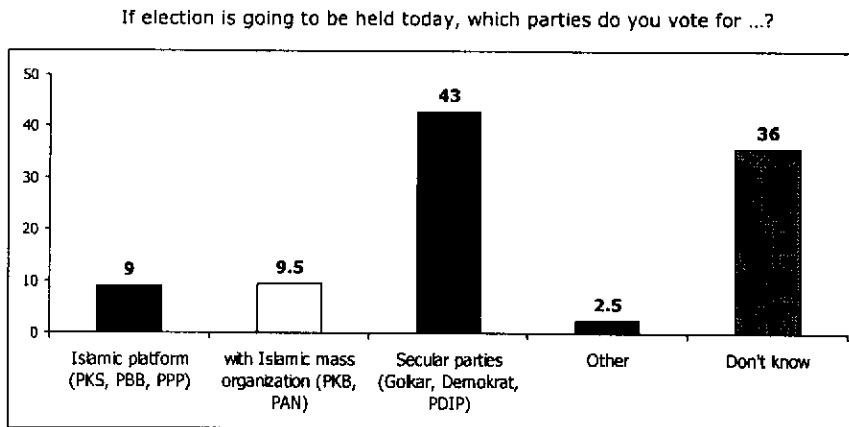
Close to political parties ... (%)



**Power of political parties with Islamic platform Islam and the parties that based on Islam mass organization ... (%)**

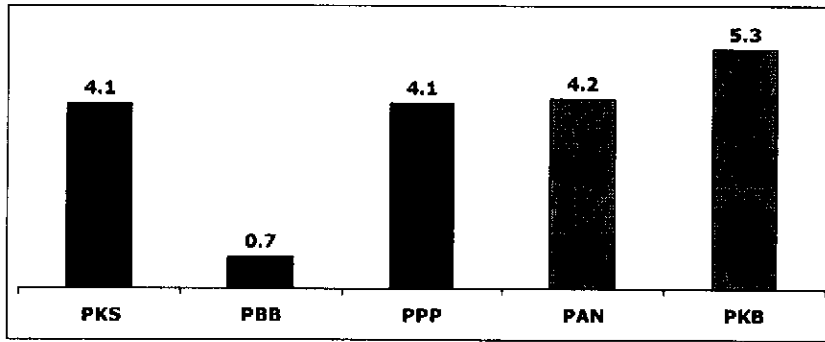


**If election is to be held today, choose parties ... (%)**

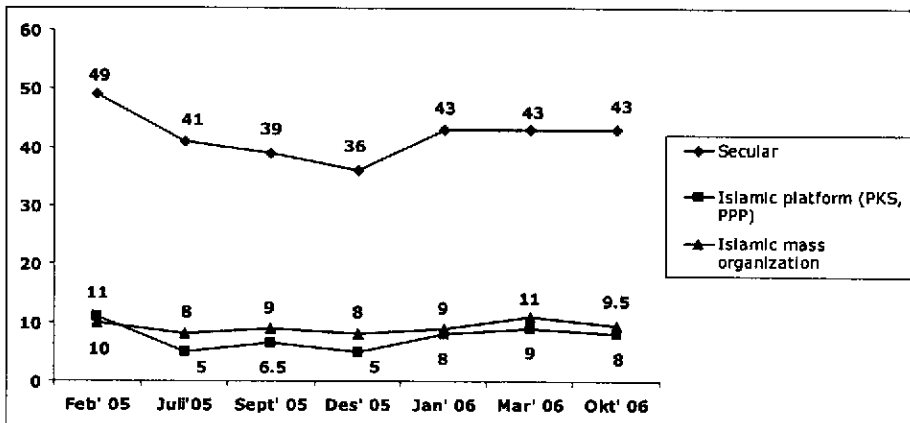


### Power of parties with Islamic platform and based on Islamic mass organization ... (%)

If election is going to be held today, which parties do you vote for ...?



### Trend of voting to three type of parties (%)



## **MEDIAN VOTER**

- Political Islam in electoral politics and party politics have not pointed out their improvement.
- PKS, PBB, and PPP are in standstill position. They were left behind by the secular parties (Golkar, PDIP, Demokrat) as it was pointed out in election in 2004. In the 2004 election these three parties gained votes for only 18%. At present, their power is less than 10% (minus who do not decide). While three secular parties (Golkar, PDIP, Demokrat), are stable at 43% (minus who do not decide).
- Because awareness at the constitutional level the voters do not problematize Islam and democracy or Islam and Pancasila, therefore this matter must not be political agendas of parties with Islamic platform if they want to increase their support base in the future.
- These parties do not sympathize to the mass organization with agenda to implement Islamic law or sympathize to jihad with a violent behavior if they want more vote.
- Only with moderate political agenda these three parties will enter to median voter, where voters are grouping, and will gain more voters in the future.
- The problem is that those parties are labeled with Islamic platform, and it become a liability except they only want compete in a segment less than 20% out of total voters.

## **Conclusion**

- Looking from the awareness of Muslims in relation between Islam and Democracy, and relation between Islam and Pancasila and the constitution, in reality political orientation of Muslims Indonesia are pluralistic and secular.
- Muslims Indonesia do not contradict Islam and democracy or with Pancasila which is the mainstream view indicate that Muslims Indonesia in general accept politics and a nation with heterogenic religious background and receive plural view of Islam.
- Muslims Indonesia do not support mass Islamic organization that plan to implement Islamic law in public domain. This is also reflects that Muslims Indonesia prefer that public domain is not regulated by syariah.
- Muslims Indonesia have secular orientation in politics which are pointed out by their preference to vote for secular parties.
- Looking at this trend, prospect of political Islam is slim except they will adapt and reorient their platform to be more secular and pluralistic.



**PUBLIC EVALUATION:**

**TWO YEARS OF REHABILITATION AND  
RECONSTRUCTION IN ACEH AND NIAS OF  
POST-TSUNAMI**



lembaga survei indonesia

**Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)**  
**Jakarta, December 2006**

[www.lsi.or.id](http://www.lsi.or.id)



## Problem and Focus of the Survey

- It has been two years since the Tsunami tragedy hit Aceh and Nias. The tragedy has since received close attention from the government, Indonesian society and foreign communities and governments. The recovery process is still underway. Many evaluations on the recovery process have been done however there has not been a systematic evaluation done by the Acehnese or local Nias Islanders. Ordinary citizens are also directly affected by the tragedy as well as its recovery process however, those who were directly affected need their feelings, perceptions and experiences to be heard and used as a benchmark to measure the recovery process in the two provinces.
- For this, a systematic public survey was done on the Acehnese and Nias Islanders.
- What are the implications from the evaluation survey especially on the political choices in the local government elections and the national identity of the Acehnese?

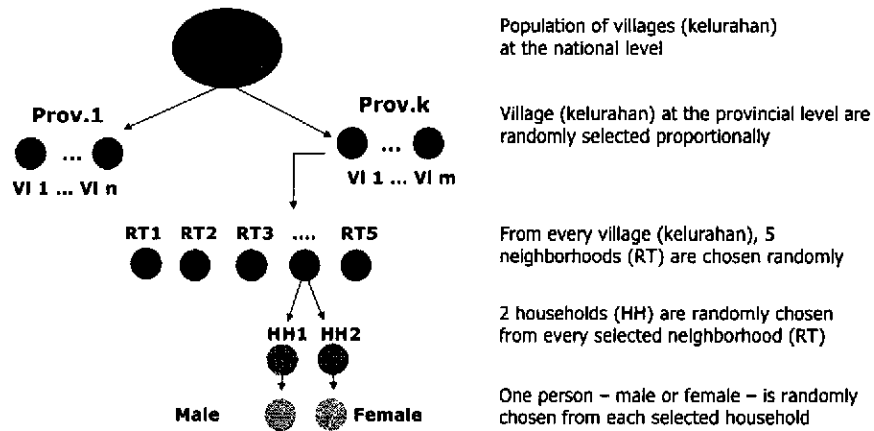


## Population, Sample and Methodology

- The survey was done on Acehnese and Nias Islanders from the age of 17 years and above.
- Sample: The sample size in Aceh was 809 and the survey was done from the 12-18 December 2006. In the Island of Nias, the sample size was 419 and the survey was done from the 12-18 December 2006.
- Method: Samples are drawn by using multistage random sampling with proportional in every districts in province of NAD and sub-districts in Nias Island. Primary sampling unit (PSU) are village/urban ward. In every village/urban ward are randomly drawn to select 10 respondents, prior to that 5 RT (neighborhood association) or its equal randomly selected, and then select randomly 2 households, in each selected household randomly select 1 person either male or female.
- Margin of error: Aceh +/- 3,5, and Nias +/-4,9. with confidential level 95%.
- Interview: Skilled interviewers conduct face-to-face interviews with selected respondents. Each interviewer only works in one village and only interviews 10 respondents
- Quality Control: Quality control for the interview results is done on a random basis. A supervisor checks 20% of the total sample by re-visiting selected respondents (i.e., "spot-checks"). No significant errors were found.



## Sampling Procedures



Population of villages (kelurahan) at the national level

Village (kelurahan) at the provincial level are randomly selected proportionally

From every village (kelurahan), 5 neighborhoods (RT) are chosen randomly

2 households (HH) are randomly chosen from every selected neighborhood (RT)

One person – male or female – is randomly chosen from each selected household

Demographic profile of respondent

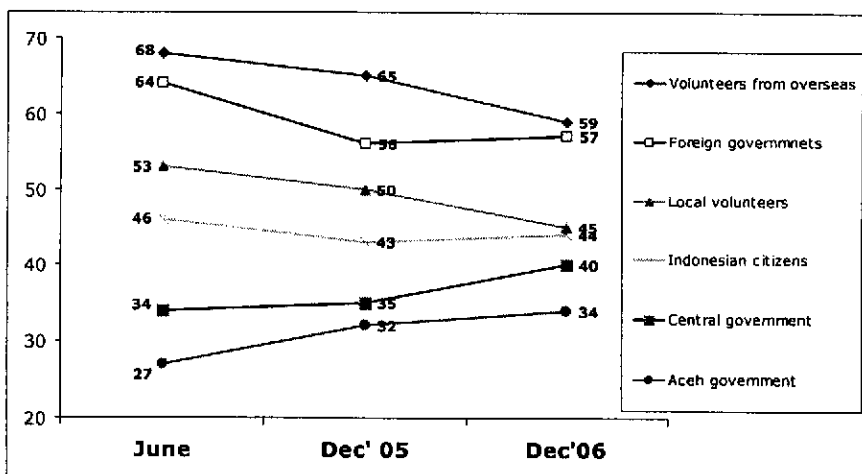
ACEH	CENSUS BPS	LST (N=830)	NIAS	CENSUS BPS	LST (N=430)
ACEH	63.8	80.4	NIAS	95.3	96.3
JAWA	15.9	7.5	BATAK	0.3	1
GAYO LOR	6.8	6.8	JAVANESE	0.1	0.2
BATAK	2.3	0.7	MALAY	0.1	0.2
OTHERS	11.2	4.6	OTHERS	4.2	2.3
ISLAM	97.3	99.5	ISLAM	4.4	5.4
PROTESTANT	1.9	0.2	PROTESTANT	81.2	81.3
CATHOLIC	0.4	0.2	CATHOLIC	14.1	13.1
HINDU	-	-	HINDU	-	-
BUDDHA	-	0.1	BUDDHA	0.1	-
PRIMARY	61.9*	40.9	PRIMARY	83.8*	57.2
JUNIOR HIGH	17.6	24.3	JUNIOR HIGH	9.5	25.1
SENIOR HIGH	17.5	26.5	SENIOR HIGH	5.9	13.3
UNIVERSITY	2.9	4	UNIVERSITY	0.8	4.4
<19 years	16.4*	6.5			
20 - 29 years	26.6	26.3			
30 - 39 years	21.5	29.9			
40 - 49 years	16.5	19.8			
>50 years	19	17.6			

\* Including children with no voting right

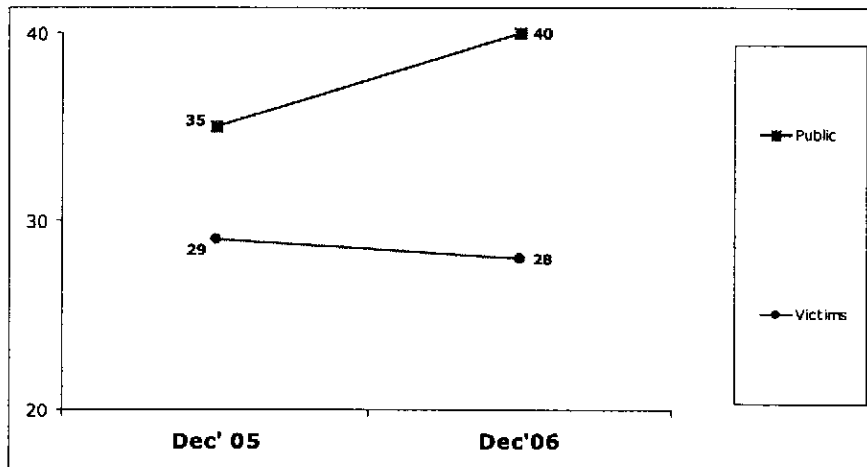


## Findings

Perception of the Acehnese: Is there enough help or assistance from... for the recovery process in Aceh due to the tsunami, June and December 05-06 (%)



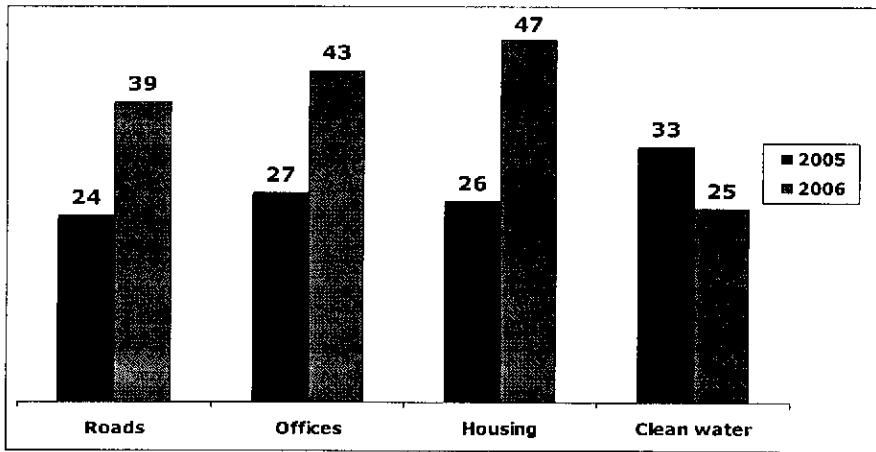
**Perception of Acehnese: There is enough help from...for the recovery process in Aceh due to the tsunami, June and December 05-06 (%)**



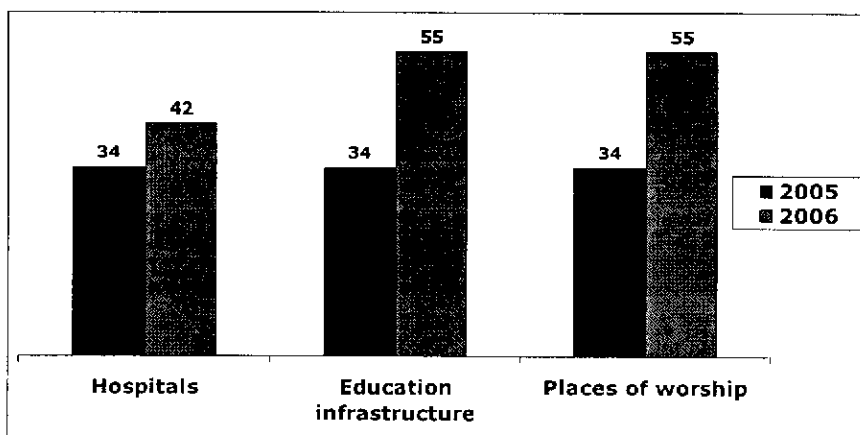
## Aid Update in Aceh 2006

- Now (2006), compared to the previous year(2005), a smaller percentage of the Acehnese feel that they are receiving sufficient or more than sufficient aid from local and foreign NGOs as well as foreign governments, however, more Acehnese feel that they are receiving sufficient or more than sufficient aid from the Indonesian government to tackle post-tsunami problems but the aid has not reached the majority of the Acehnese.
- For victims of the tragedy, the above mentioned premise is a half-truth. Many feel that the government aid for the victims is insufficient or very insufficient.

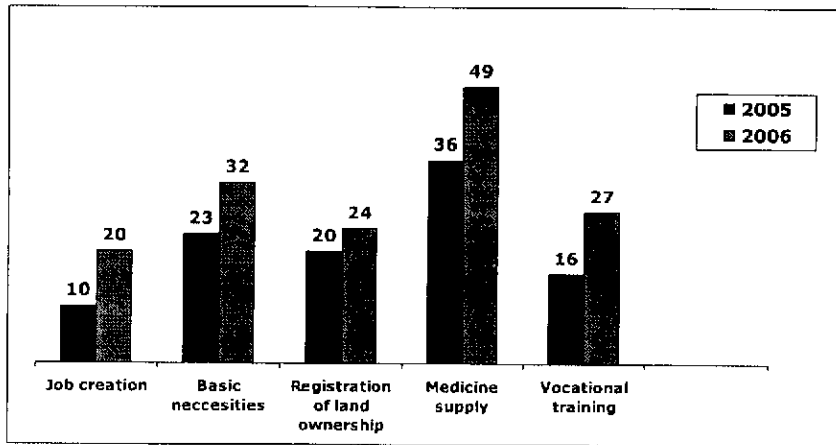
“ There is progress” in the reconstruction of....according to the Acehnese, Dec 05-06 (%)



“ There is progress” in the reconstruction of....according to the Acehnese and Nias Islanders, Dec 05-06 (%)



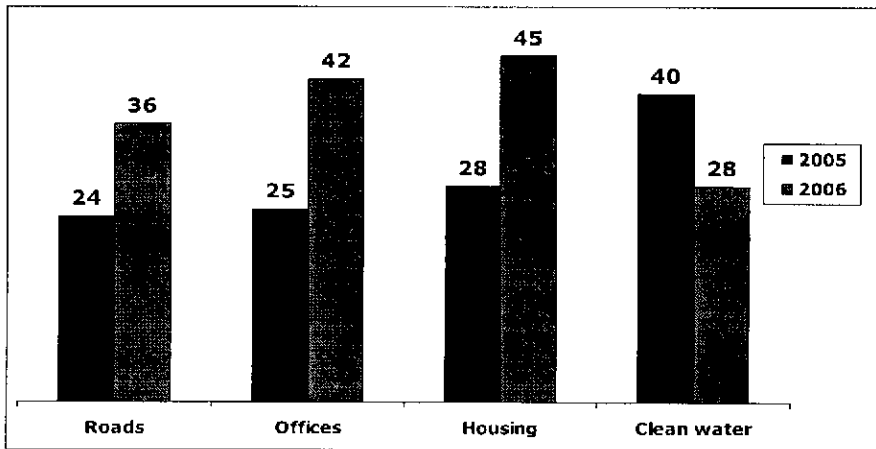
**" There is progress" in ... For victims of the tsunami according to the Acehnese, Dec 05-06 (%)**



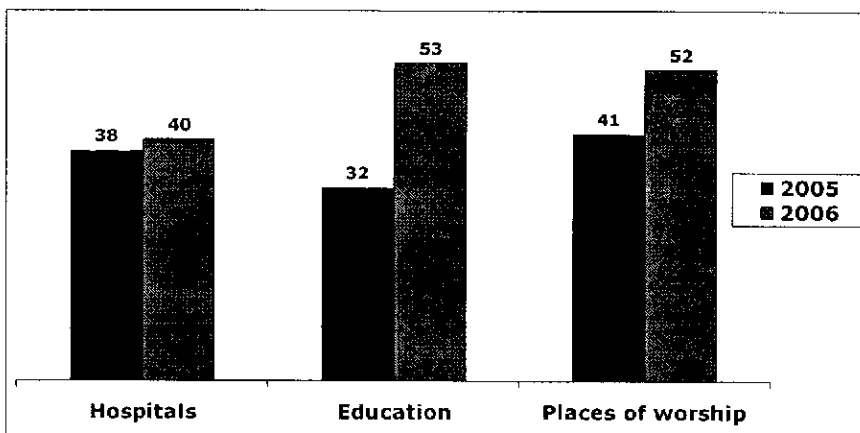
## Process of Recovery

- Completion compared to the previous evaluation (December 2005), the Acehnese feel that there is significant improvement in the reconstruction of infrastructure, for example schools, roads, government buildings, places of worship and housing. However, there are still problems in obtaining clean water. In fact, the water situation received negative feedback.
- The increase in positive perception by the victims are also related to issues of employment, basic necessities and vocational training.
- There is negative perception in issues regarding returning of land ownership.

■ **" There is progress" in the reconstruction of....according to the Acehese who were victims of the tsunami, Dec 05-06 (%)**

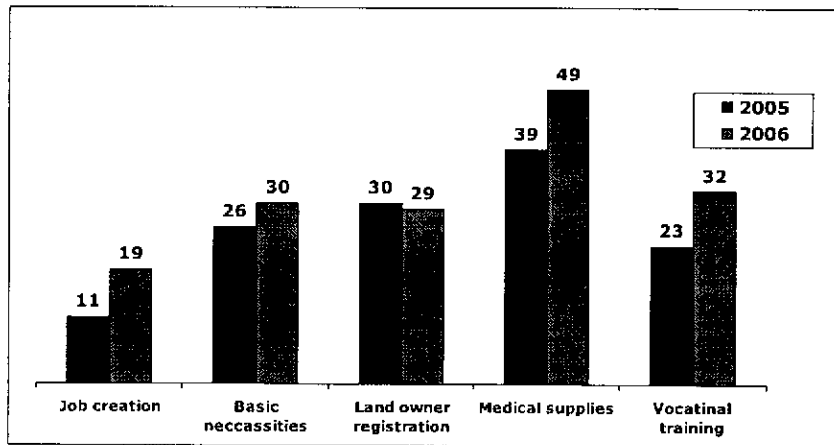


■ **" There is progress" in the reconstruction of....according to the Acehese who were victims of the tsunami, Dec 05-06 (%)**





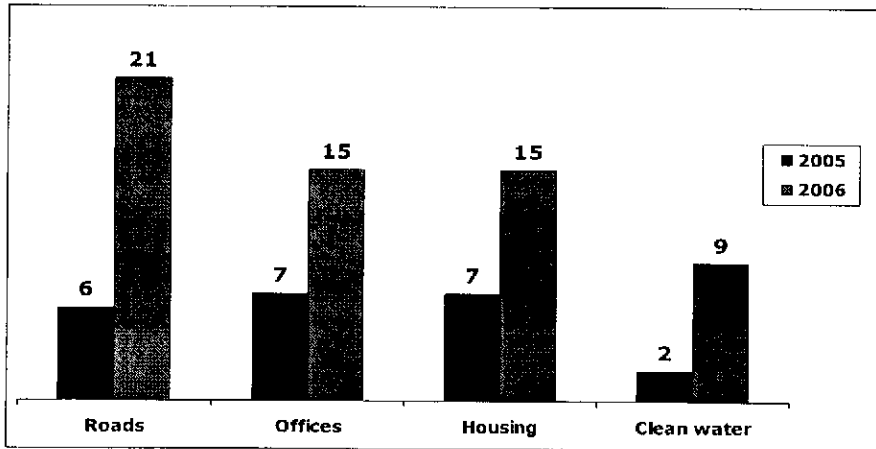
**" There is progress" in the reconstruction of....for the victims according to the victims in Aceh, Dec 05-06 (%)**



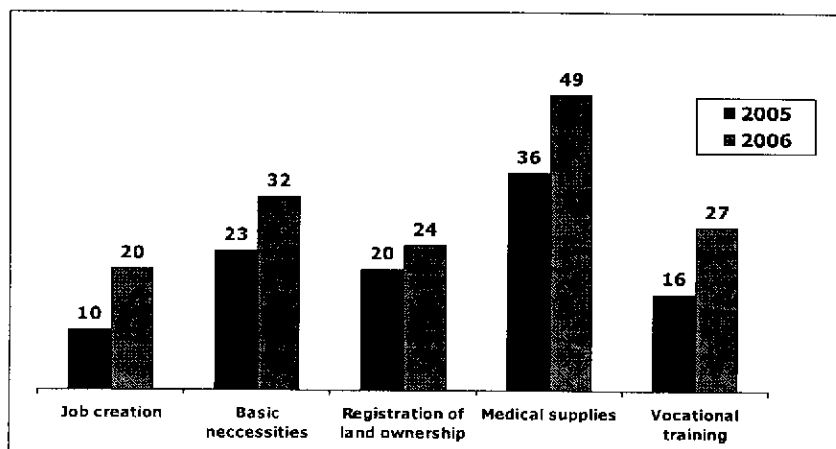
## Recovery process for the victims

- If the analysis was focused on the victims or those whose families were affected by the tsunami, as a whole, there is an increase in positive perception in relation to the reconstruction of infrastructure, for example, housing, roads, schools, hospitals and places of worship. However, the positive perception have not reached majority of the victims.
- To be specific, there are no significant change for the victims in relation to the issues regarding the registration of land ownership.
- As a whole, there is an increase of positive perception by the victims in the reconstruction process in Aceh over the last two years since the tragedy, but have not been felt by the majority of the victims.

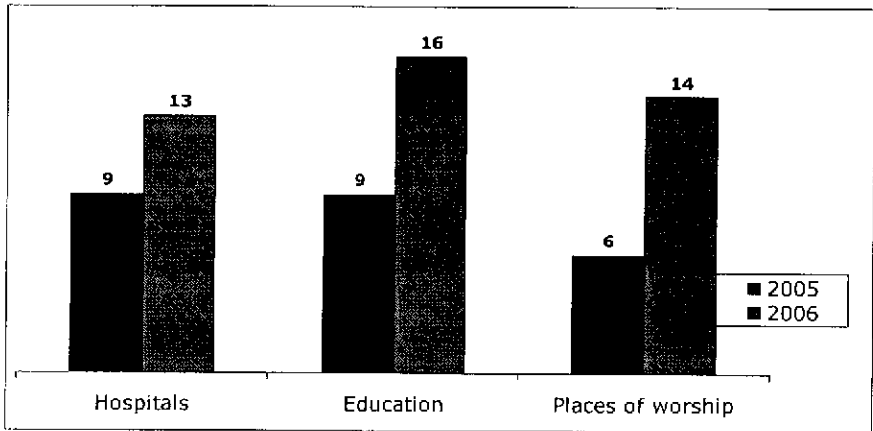
**" There is progress" in....for victims of the tsunami according to Nias Islanders, Dec 05-06 (%)**



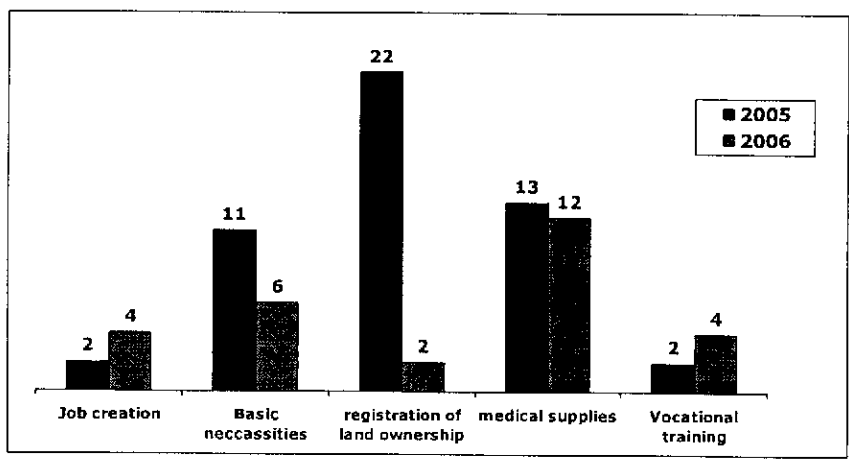
**" There is progress" in the reconstruction of....according to the Acehnese, Dec 05-06 (%)**



**" There is progress" in the reconstruction of...according to Nias Islanders, Dec 05-06 (%)**



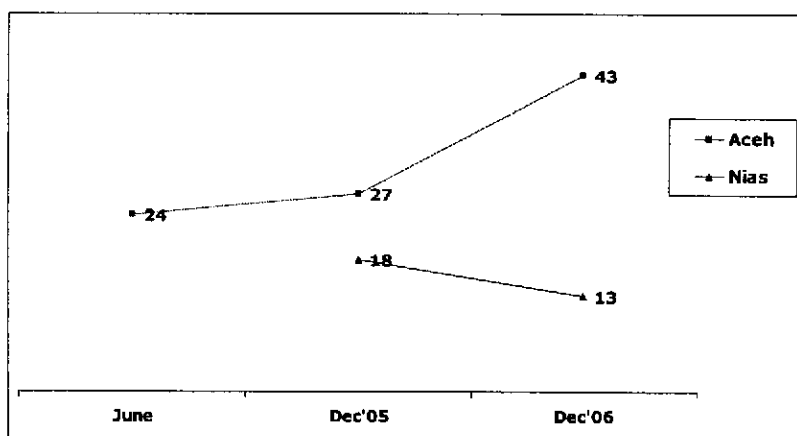
**" There is progress" in...for the victims according to Nias Islanders, Dec 05-06 (%)**



## Recovery in Nias

- Similar to Aceh, there is positive perception in the recovery process post-earthquake in Nias.
- However, the majority of the earthquake victims have not been directly affected by the positive perception.
- If viewed from the perception of Nias respondents, many feel that they receive less attention in the recovery process of the earthquake compared to Aceh. The situation can be seen through the recovery process. Although it has been a year since the earthquake, there have been little improvement in the reconstruction of infrastructure.

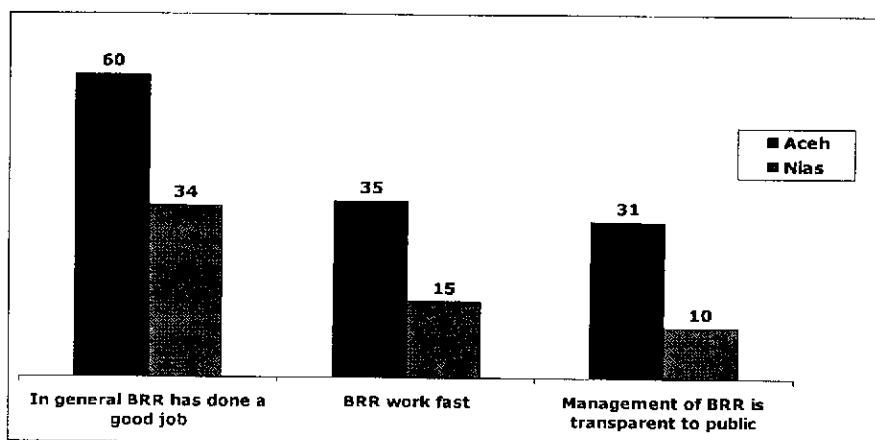
**"There is significant" improvement done by the local government in the reconstruction of Aceh and Nias due to the tsunami, according to the opinion of Acehnese and Nias Islanders, 2005-2006 (%)**



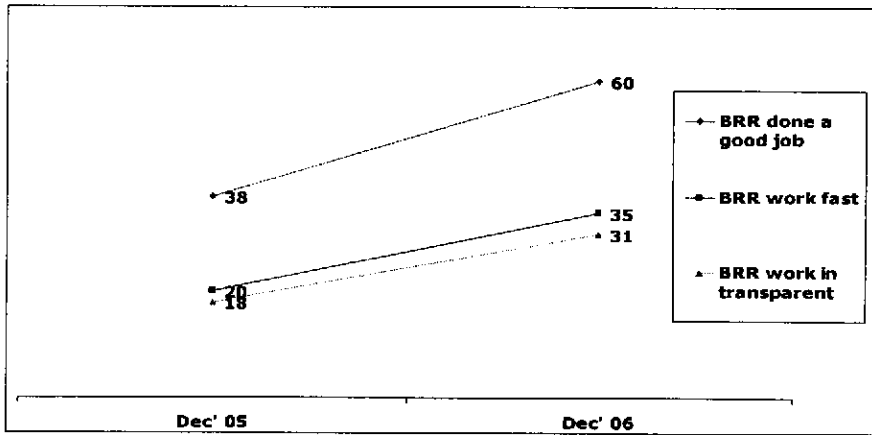
## There is an increase in progress in Aceh but a decrease in Nias

- Positive perception of the local government in increased in Aceh from 27% in December 2005 to 43% in December 2006. On the other hand, in Nias, there is a slight decrease in the same time period, from 18% 13%.
- Apart from the differences, improvement done by the central government have not been felt by majority of Aceh people and Nias Islander.

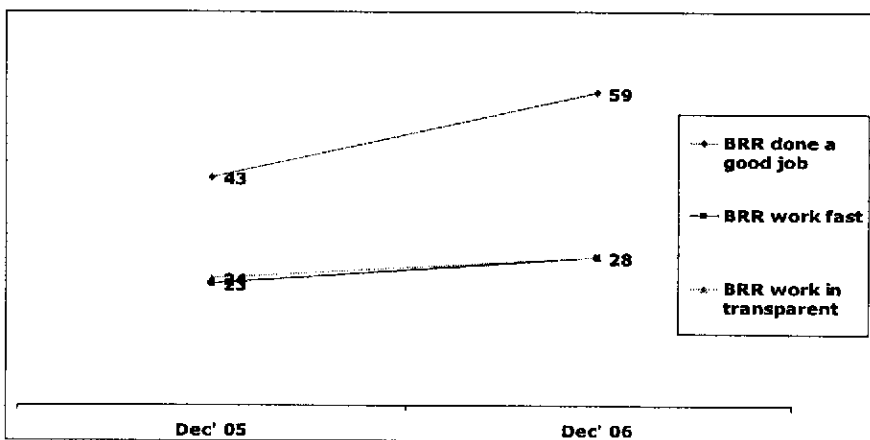
## BRR performance in the eyes of Acehnese and Nias Islander, December 2006 (%)



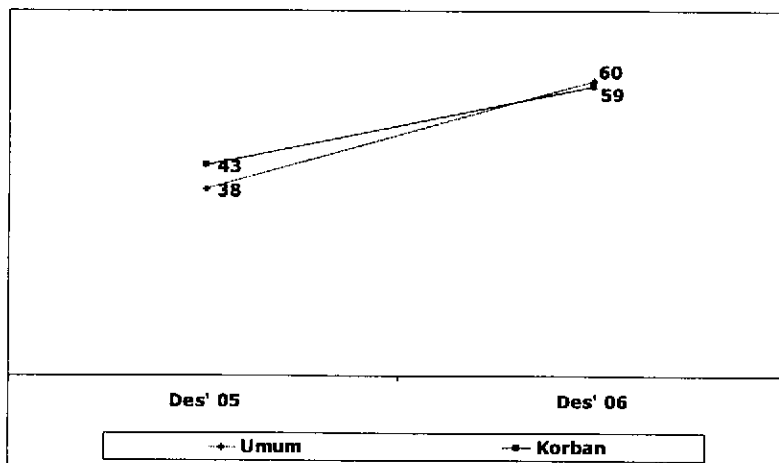
### Performance of BRR in the eyes Acehnese in general, Dec 05-06 (%)



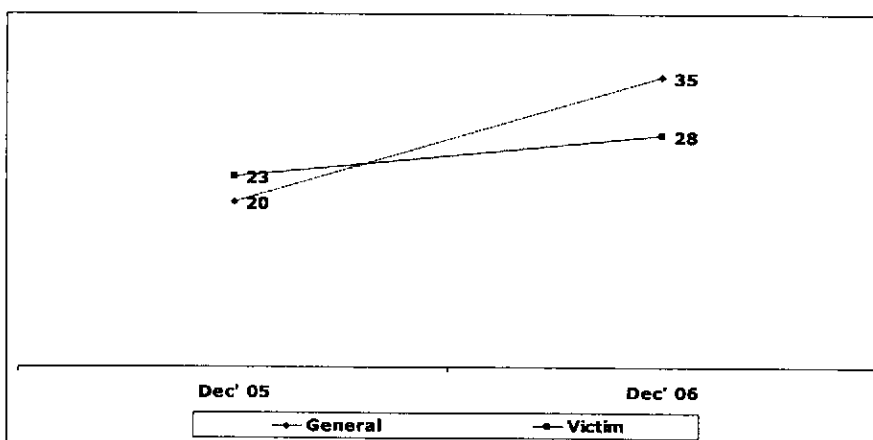
### Performance of BRR in the eyes tsunami victim in, Dec 05-06 (%)



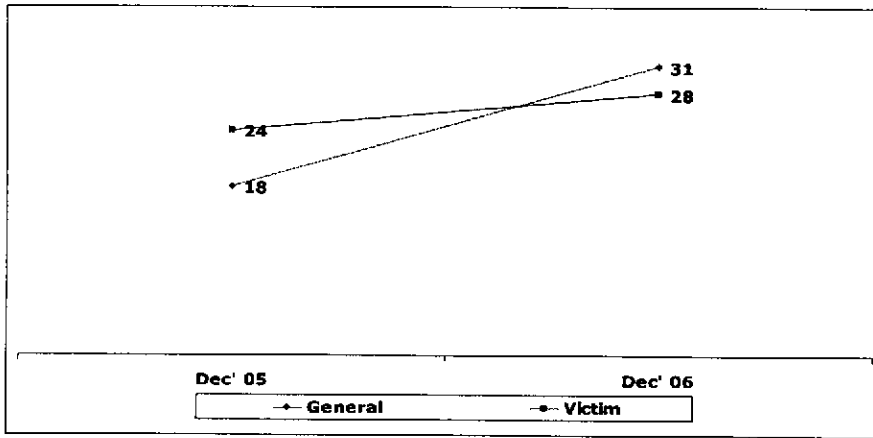
**BRR bekerja dengan baik menurut warga Aceh secara umum dan korban tsunami, Des 05-06 (%)**



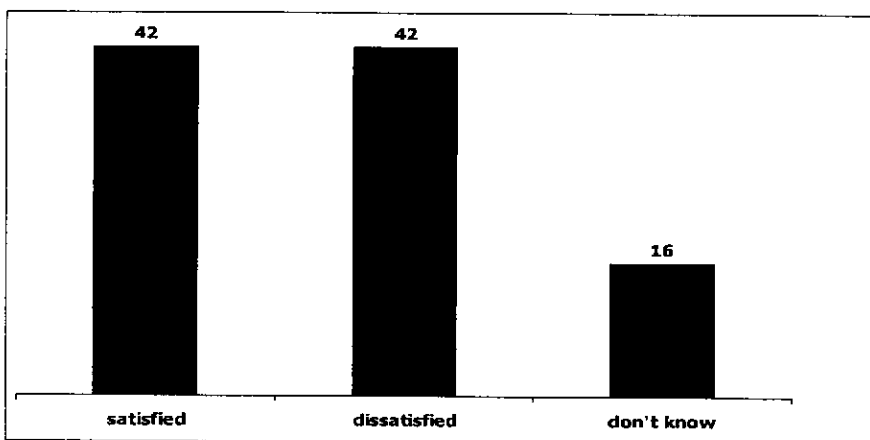
**BRR work fast according to Acehnese in general and tsunami victim, Dec 05-06 (%)**



**BRR work in a transparent manner according to Acehnese in general and tsunami victim, Dec 05-06 (%)**

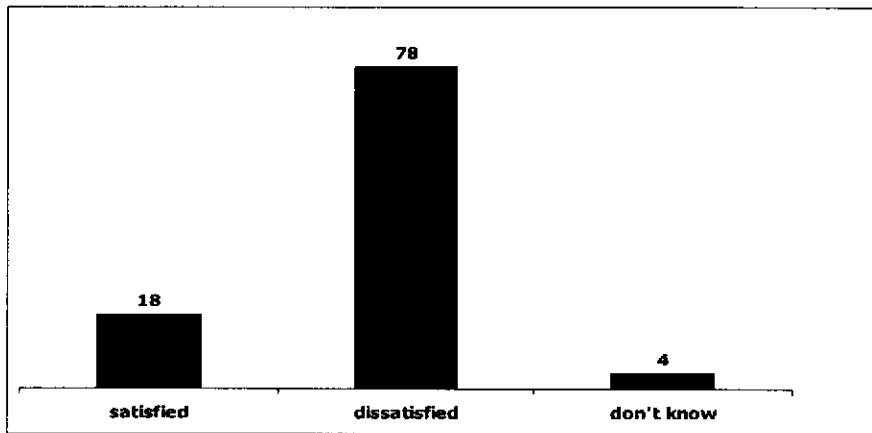


**Satisfaction on work of BRR in the eyes of Acehnese, December 2006 (%)**





## Satisfaction on work of BRR in the eyes of Nias Islander, 2006 (%)



## Performance of BRR

- Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Body (BRR) present in Aceh and Nias for one year. Positive perception on works of BRR significantly increase compared to the last year.
- In Aceh, both general public and tsunami victim, BRR is perceived has done a good job by majority. There is an increase on positive perception on Acehnese in general from 39% in 2005 to 60% in 2006, and similar increase from victim or family with victim.
- Specifically, there is an increase from public who perceived that BRR work fast, from 20% (2005) to 35% (2006).
- Public perception on BRR transparency also increased in December 2005 it was 18%, and jump into 34% in December 2006.
- Even though there are increase on positive perception on fastness and transparency of BRR from Acehnese in general and tsunami victims Aceh, the improvements have not been experienced by majority of population.
- In Nias Island the number of people who perceived on improvement on performance of BRR is smaller compared to that of BRR in Aceh.
- In general public satisfaction in Aceh on performance of BRR plits. Some satisfied, and some dissatisfied.
- In Nias almost the entire public dissatisfied with BRR performance.

## Index on performance in reconstructing Aceh and Nias of Post-Tsunami 2005-2006

(1 = a lot of improvement, 4 = No improvement at all)

	Aceh	Nias
2005	2.782	3.410
2006	2.690	3.330

### General finding

- Index on government performance in Aceh and Nias of post-tsunami reconstruction is an average score from a total score from items on perception on government performance. Index scored 1-1.5 = a great deal of improvement, 1.5-2.49 = improvement, 2.5-3.49 = less improvement, and 3.5-4 = no improvement.
- Based on the index, within two year time work if government for reconstruction and rehabilitation in Aceh and Nias Post-Tsunami have little improvement. In general there is an increase for about 10 points between performance in 2005 and 2006, yet it is within category "less improvement". In the category "less improvement" Aceh is much better than Nias. Public in Nias almost judged "no improvement" on government effort for reconstruction in Nias of Post-Tsunami, on the contrary public Aceh in December 2006 almost judged "improvement" on government effort for construction in Aceh of Post-Tsunami. This condition is reflected from public satisfaction on performance of BRR. In Aceh public is split: some satisfied and some dissatisfied with works of BRR. In Nias, almost all public dissatisfied, 8 out of 10 Nias people dissatisfied with works of BRR. Does it a reflection because there is less attention in Nias compared to Aceh?

## General finding

- In general, there is an improvement done by government and BRR in Aceh, yet the development is still experienced only by a little portion of public. Part of it maybe substantive, and some communication between government and BRR with the public in general.
- Perhaps communication problems are reflected from positive attitude toward government performance for reconstruction in Aceh from the educated people compare to those less educated one. Those with good education are exposed to Information, including development of the reconstruction programs.

## Regress logistic on effect of Aceh reconstruction on governor election : Irwandi versus other candidates

	Parameter	Logit	Std. Error
Iskandar	Intercept	-2.062	2.058
	Performance Index	-.498	.675
	Education	.101	.149
Tamlicha	Intercept	-.418	2.334
	Performance Index	-.858	.782
	Education	-.113	.190
Mallk	Intercept	-.518	1.066
	Performance Index	-.735*	.354
	Education	.204**	.078
Humam	Intercept	-3.001	1.064
	Performance Index	.250	.331
	Education	.213**	.071
Djall	Intercept	-5.245	3.108
	Performance Index	.404	.958
	Education	.110	.205
Azwar	Intercept	-4.290	1.571
	Performance Index	.443	.482
	Education	.185	.103
Ghezali	Intercept	-2.698	1.071
	Performance Index	.055	.336
	Education	.245**	.073

\*\* and \* statistically significant at P<.01 and P<.05

## **Implication**

- Statistical analysis points out several implications from perception on performance on reconstruction in Aceh.
- Respondents who consider positive on government performance in Aceh tend to vote Malik Raden compared to Irwandi, and vice versa.
- A large number of public who negatively judged on government performance benefited Irwandi than Malik, yet do not influence on competition among Irwandi and others candidates.
- Other than that positive perception on reconstruction performance in Aceh increased the level of pride of Acehnese to be Indonesia, and on the contrary reduced the pride to be Indonesian.
- Government performance in Aceh contributed to change on political constellation in Aceh with the election of Irwandi, and also on the Indonesia-ness of Acehnese.

**PUBLIC EVALUATION :**  
**REFLECTION AND HOPES: ECONOMY-**  
**POLITICS 2006-2007**



**Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)**  
**Jakarta, December 2006**

**[www.lsi.or.id](http://www.lsi.or.id)**

## Summary



- Generally-speaking, there is an increased trend from 56% to 67% in public satisfaction regarding the performance of the President and Vice-President in 2006 compared to 2005. If the presidential election were held today, the probability for SBY to be re-elected as president increased from 40% in December 2005 to 56% in December 2006.
- The main source of the aforementioned trends appears to be the slight increase in positive perceptions towards the national economic condition. Though the majority of the public feel that there are economic problems, 33% of respondents in December 2006 had positive economic perceptions compared to only 22% in December 2005. In December 2006, 48% of survey respondents were optimistic about next year's economy (2007), while 40% of respondents in 2005 were optimistic regarding the next year's economy (2005).
- The majority of Indonesians still struggle with economic problems, but those opposed to President SBY did not able to articulate this situation very well. As such, a certain percentage of respondents are still optimistic about both the economy and the President and Vice-President.
- Opposition (candidates or parties) with high credentials have yet to emerge. If they were, they were usually veterans from the 2004 Presidential elections and thus are less credible in the eyes of the public. This factor improves perceptions and opinions towards President SBY.
- Should no credible oppositions that represent future-oriented aspirations present itself in 2007, then we will see a continuation of positive public opinions towards SBY. The question before us now is "Are there any new political figures who are younger and more reformist to fill a political space that is on par with President SBY in 2007?" We shall see.

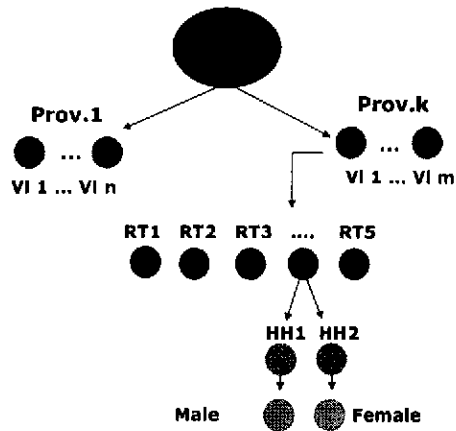
## National Public Opinion Survey



- Time : 18 - 22 December 2006
- Sample 1227 respondents, with margin of error +/- 3,0% at confidence level 95%.
- Method: multistage random sampling
- Respondents are spread in 33 provinces with proportion to population size in each province.
- Interview: Skilled interviewers conduct face-to-face interviews with selected respondents. Each interviewer only works in one village and only interviews 10 respondents
- Quality Control: Quality control for the interview results is done on a random basis. A supervisor checks 20% of the total sample by re-visiting selected respondents (i.e., "spot-checks"). No significant errors were found.



## Sampling Procedures



Population of villages (kelurahan) at the national level

Village (kelurahan) at the provincial level are randomly selected proportionally

From every village (kelurahan), 5 neighborhoods (RT) are chosen randomly

2 households (HH) are randomly chosen from every selected neighborhood (RT)

One person – male or female – is randomly chosen from each selected household

## PROFILE OF RESPONDENT

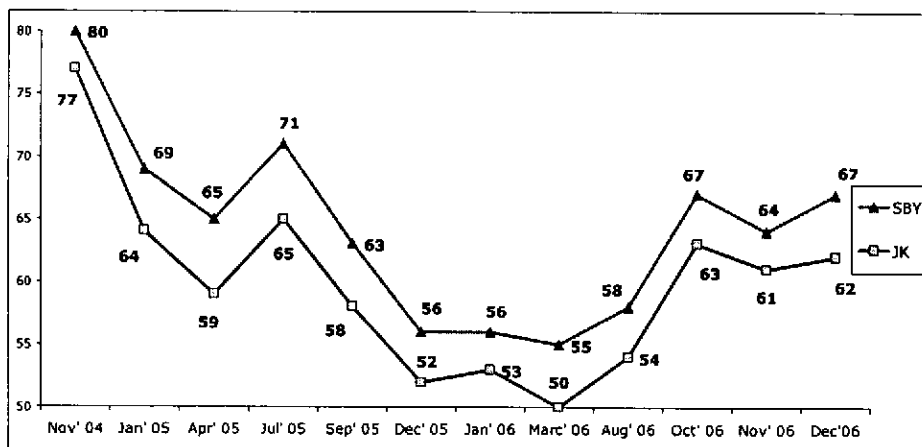
	Survey LSI (n = 1227)	BPS		Survey LSI (n = 1227)	BPS
Male	49.7	50	Islam	85.4	87
Female	50.3	50	Protestant	7.3	5.9
			Catholic	3.8	3
Primary school or less	52.6	60 *	Hindu	2.4	0.2
Junior High School	19.4	19	Buddha	0.3	0.2
Senior High School	20.4	18			
University	7.6	4	Javanese	41.7	41.6
			Sundanese	15.4	15.4
19 years old or less	3.7	9.7	Madurese	2.4	3.4
20-29 years old	19.9	28.8	Minang	4.2	2.7
30-39 years old	30.9	23.8	Bugisnese	2.7	2.5
40-49 years old	21.3	16.8	Others	33.6	33
> 50 years old	24.3	20.9			
< 400 thousand	37.4	42			
400 thousand - 1 million	38.6	38			
> 1 million	24.0	20			

\* Including children who do not have voting right

# FINDING

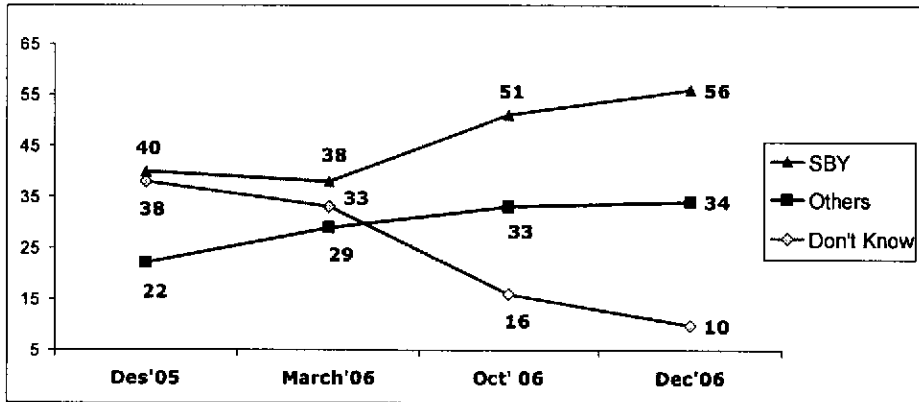


Public satisfaction regarding the performance of the President and Vice-President

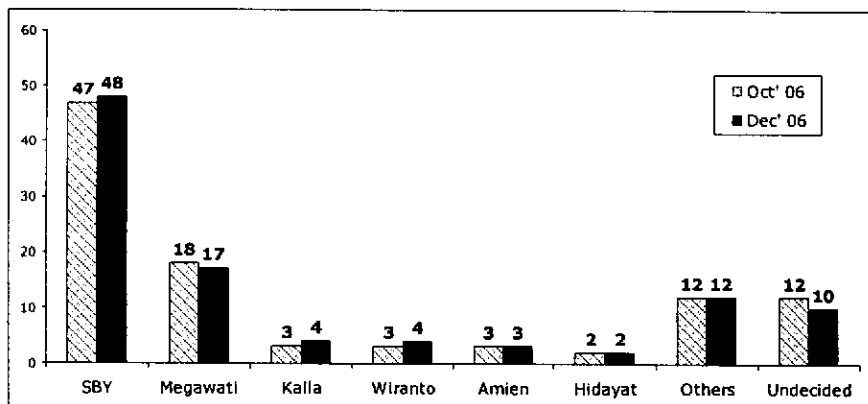




If the presidential election were held today (%)



If the presidential election were held today, who do you vote for from the following name? (%)



## **FINDING : Popular Legitimate is strong**

- In National Survey on December 2005, 56% of the public satisfied with performance of president SBY, and 52% satisfied with the performance of vice president MJK. It was the lowest rating for the performance towards SBY in one year.
- On December 2006, the rating changed. Those who satisfied with the performance of President SBY and Vice President MJK are respectively 68% and 62%. Rating for SBY increased 12%, and for MJK around 10%. The year of 2006 SBY and JK reached their electoral vote around 61% (in the second round presidential election in 2004).
- This satisfactory rating is an indicator for popular legitimation to the leadership of SBY-JK, it is also an important political capital to lead this nation to get out from various crises quickly.

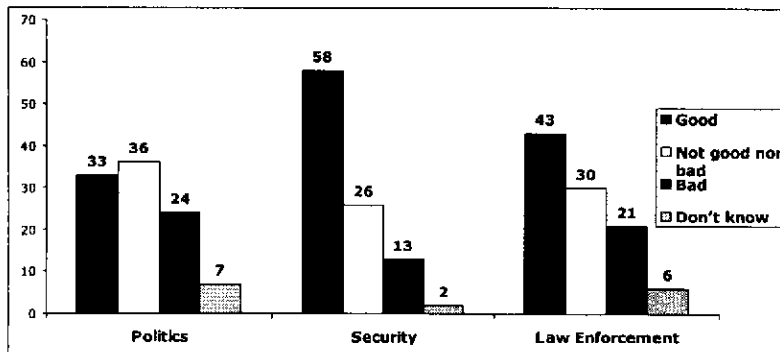


## **Opposition**

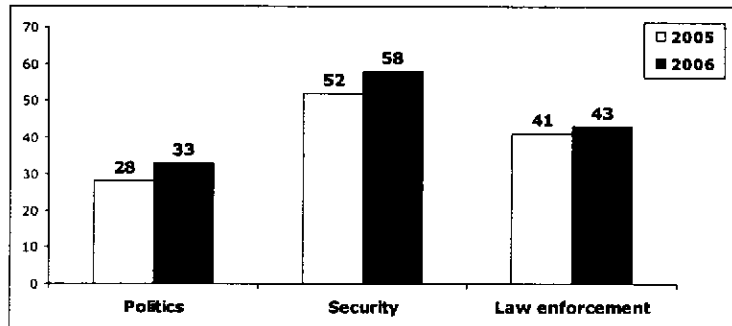
- There is no other figures who emerge and have capability to challenge the popularity SBY, therefore if election were held today SBY would win the election. Even if MJK were the competitor.
- It was a bad news for the opposition. The opportunity for other national political figures who may run for presidential candidates such as Megawati, MJK, Wiranto, Amlen Rais, Hidayat Nurwahid, etc, are slim. Opposition groups who plan to take out people mandate from SBY are not in line with the wish of the people.
- The opposition has 2,5 years of time to change political support to SBY. Public opinion is dynamic, and part of it depends on what SBY will do for the next 2,5 years.
- What makes people support to SBY increase?

## Condition on Politics, Law Enforcement, and National Security

Condition on politics, law, and national security (%)



### Condition on politics, law, and national security: Good or very good (%)



### Finding : Only little improvement on politics, law, and national security

- The public who rated good on political condition is 33%, good on law enforcement 43%, and good on security and order is 58%. The rest rated that the conditions are not good nor bad, or bad. With this proportion, political condition and law are not good nor bad. Only security and order are rated good by the public in the last one year.
- Compared to the last year result on December 2005, political condition, law enforcement and security and order record little improvement. The public who rated good political condition generally increased from 28% to 33%; good condition on national security increased from 52% to 58%. While the respondent rated that law enforcement is stagnant.



## Politics

- There was no important political event that may paralyzed the government.
- There was a tension at the elites level when President established UKP3ER, a body that designed to push reform agenda, between President and Vice President. This tension also spilled to the supporting parties. Yet, this tension did not escalate and therefore did not affected national politics seriously.
- Several regional elections were conducted with no political tension at the national level. Even election in Aceh was conducted in free and fair manner as it felt by the Aceh people. This event added credit to the national political condition as to public satisfaction towards SBY-JK.
- For national politics the score is C or C+.

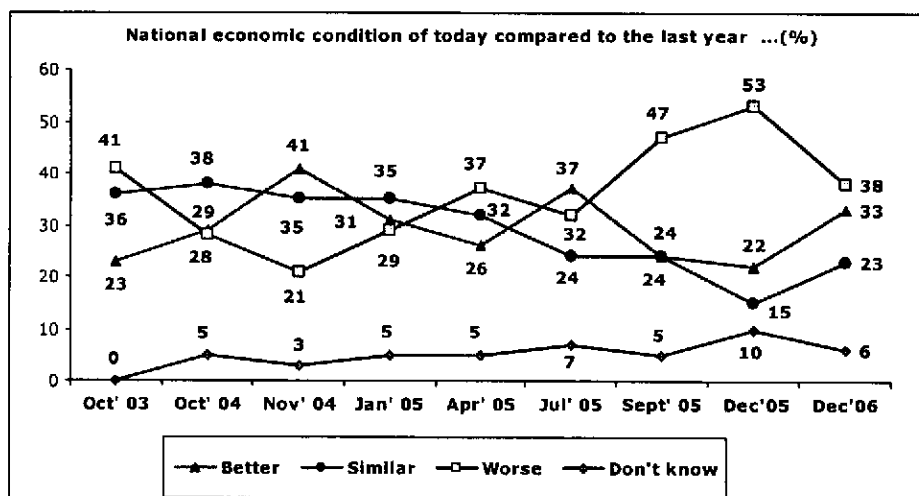
## Security

- Separatist movements is one of the sources of national insecurity. The ability of government to solve separatist movement in Aceh added positive score to the national security condition.
- There was no terror actions in 2006, which help to establish national security condition.
- While the government was able to solve Aceh, there are securities problem related to the separatist movements such as in Papua and Poso. However, these movement are not reducing the stability of national security because they are not getting worse in 2006.
- For the national security score is B.

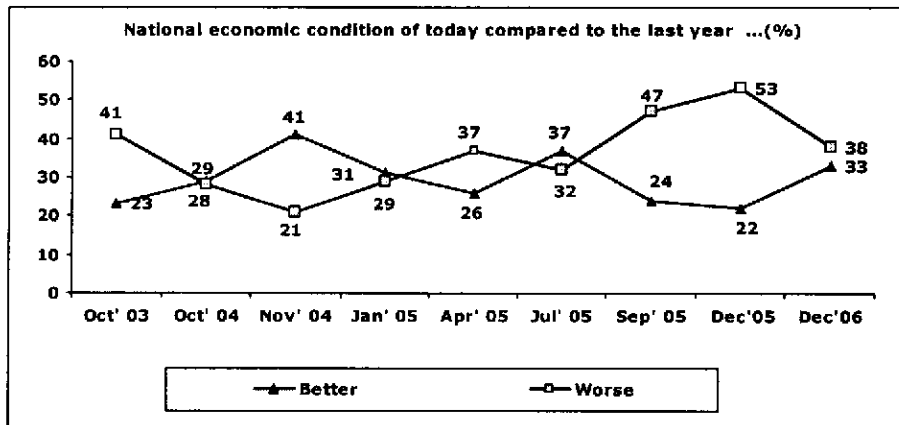
## Law

- Compared to security and politics, the public rated law enforcement as stagnant. The respondents evaluation on law enforcement did not change in the last two years. Law enforcement is a crucial for improving the government's performance. In this field of enforcing law, the government has to perform better because it is the main source of problem in this nation.
- The score for law enforcement is C or C+.

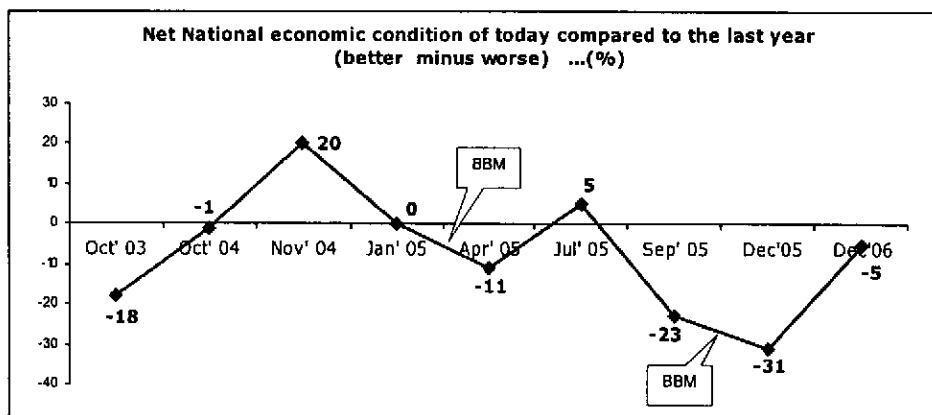
## National economic condition



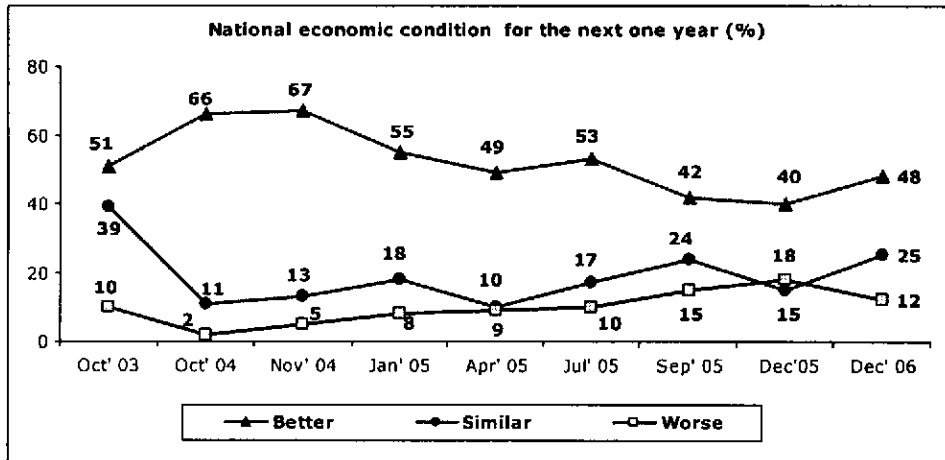
## National economic condition



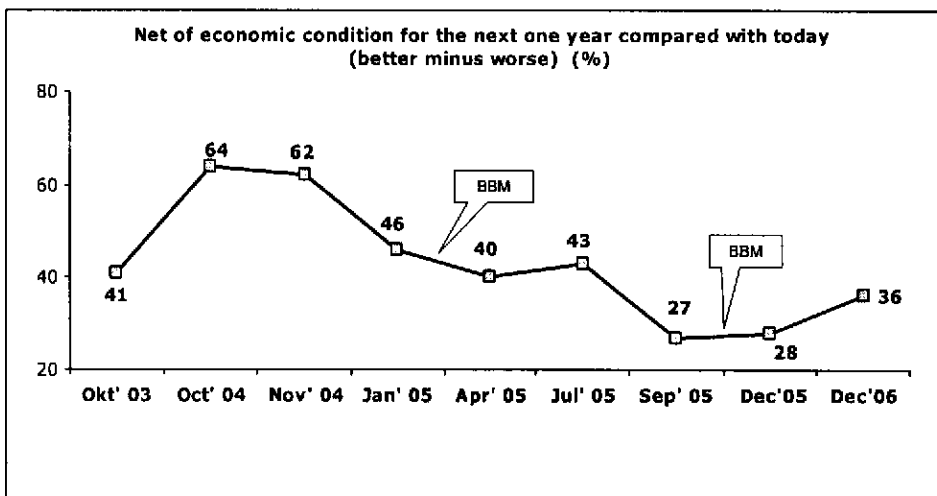
## National economic condition



## Economic prospect, level of optimism



## Prospect of economy-national





## **Finding: National Economy**

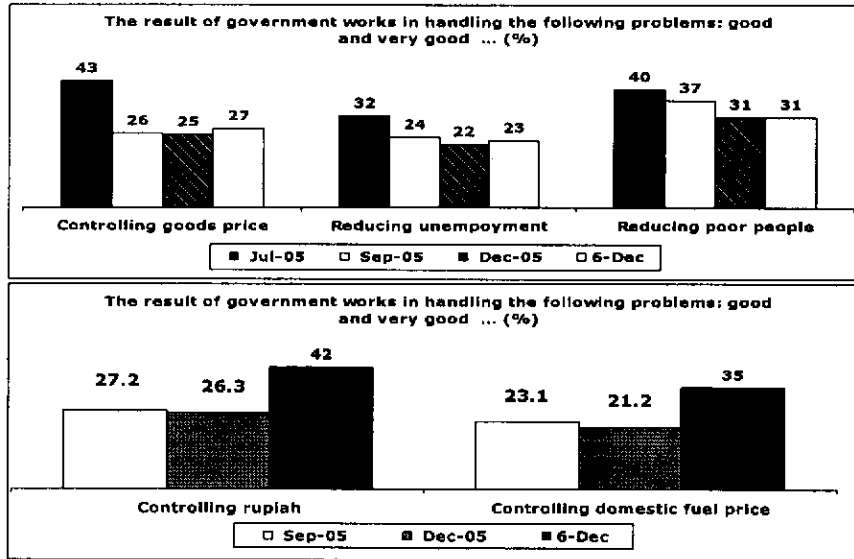
- On December 2005, majority of the public (53%) felt that national economic condition was worst compared to the previous year. At the moment, the public who feel that economic of today (December 2006) worse than the previous year (December 2005) decreased significantly, 15%. On the contrary, the public who feel that economic condition of today is better than the previous year increased 11%.
- However, this increase has yet given a majority positive perception to the national economic condition. Public in general feel that national economy is far from good, even though there was a more positive change compared to the last year. There was an improvement, yet still very little.
- Evaluation on the level of optimism points out similar result. There was a little improvement from the public who were optimist compared to the last year (8%) from 40% in December 2005 to 48% in December 2006. However, this improvement has yet reached the majority.



## **National economic condition**

- There was an increase on positive perception towards national economic condition 2006 compared 2005 and increased on number of respondent who are optimist on national economic for the next year is in line with national economic growth, which experienced a little improvement in the last one year, from 5.4% in 2005 to (predicted) 5.6% in 2006.
- The public felt that national economic condition is little improvement. Score for national economic condition D.
- However, this little improvement is not enough to lift serious economic crises, for example can be looked from the increased number of poor people and unemployment.

## Performance in Economy



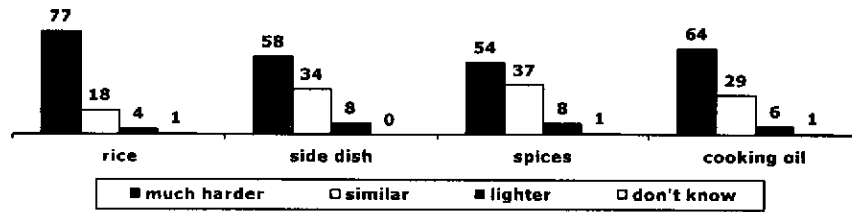
## FINDING : Economic Performance

- The little increase on perception on national economy has little impact to the real economic problem such as reducing open unemployment (10 million) and number of poor people (39 million). In these two problems, the public in general did not feel any progress compared to the last year.
- Control on basic necessities remained as last year performance. There was improvement on controlling rupiah against dollar, and controlling fuel price as the result of increase on international price.
- Take consideration on positive correlation between view on economic national and public satisfaction on performance of President. If the number of people who consider bad-economic performance is large, therefore, those who satisfied with the SBY government performance is low, and vice versa. It points out that impressive performance political sector (able to to solution for Aceh-GAM) and security (able to supress terrorist networks), has little impact to the public. Even though performance in political and security sector were impressive, while economic problems have not been solved, the public tended to have low level of satisfaction.

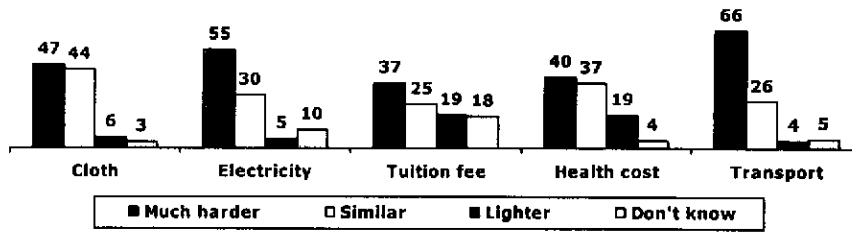


## PUBLIC PURCHASING POWER

Only for user. Compared to several months ago, does your family feel much harder, similar, or lighter to buy ... (%)



Only for user. Compared to several months ago, does your family feel much harder, similar, or lighter in purchasing ... (%)

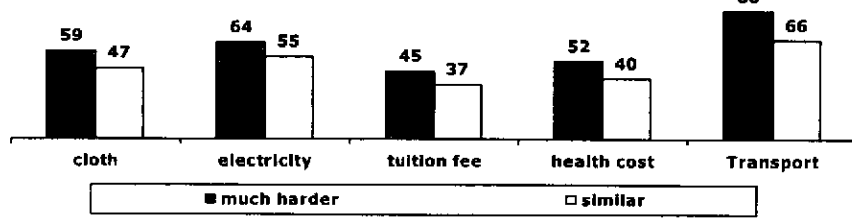


## PUBLIC PURCHASING POWER

For user only. Compared to several months ago, do you feel much harder to buy ... (%)

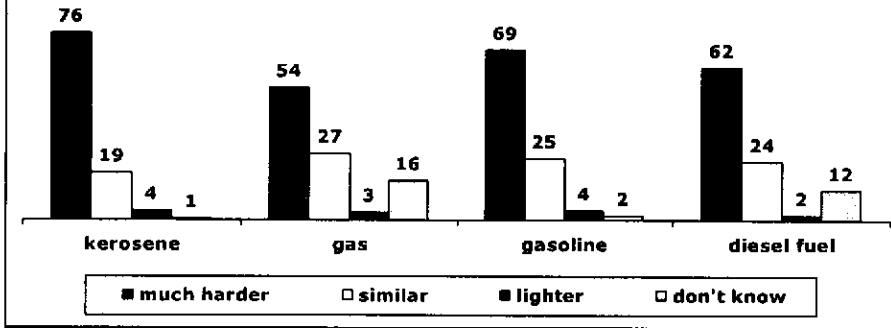


For user only. Compared to several months ago, do you feel much harder to pay ... (%)



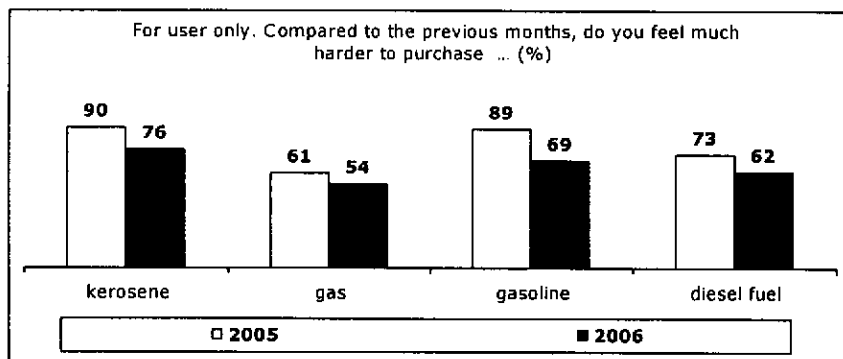
## PUBLIC PURCHASING POWER

Only for user. Compared to the previous months, does your family feel much harder, similar, or lighter to buy ... (%)



## PUBLIC PURCHASING POWER

For user only. Compared to the previous months, do you feel much harder to purchase ... (%)



## **Finding : Purchasing power**

- Economic hardship is reflected in this survey. Consumption of basic necessities such as rice, side dish, cooking oil, spices, etc are become more expensive. Majority of population complained that the rice is expensive this year. The price of side dish, spices and cooking oil are also expensive. These complained showed that the government is less able to reduce burden of the public. This point is more clearly by looking at the public who did not affected by the expensive price, which was only less than 5%. This also pointed out that only small number of the public who perceived positively on economy.
- There was a serious grief from the public on the energy sector. In all types of energy, majority of the respondent felt the increasing hardship. The biggest percentage was on kerosene (76%), and the smallest was on gas (54%). It pointed out that price increase on kerosene hard hit the public compared to the increase on gas price. Those who use kerosene were the one who suffer most, and some of them were public with low income.



## **Purchasing power**

- In general, in the last one year there was a decrease from the public who consider very expensive in buying basic necessities, especially these related to energy and transport cost. In general, public still consider a burden to purchase to the items for basic necessities.

## **Conclusion and Implication**

- In general there was an increase from public on the performance of President and Vice President in one year (December 2005 to December 2006). When this survey is carried out, 67% of the public were satisfied with the performance of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Vice President M Jusuf Kalla. This point is above their "electoral number" that they reached in election in 20 September 2004 (about 61%). This point is the highest public satisfaction level in one year. It is an increase 12% compared to the result of survey in December 2005 (56%).
- If the presidential election is held today, SBY were maintain his chance to win the election. The trend increases in one year, from 41% (2005) to 53% (2006).
- The main sources for the improvement were stable political and security condition in 2006, and public optimism in these sectors for the next year. Economy is also important. Even though economic sector still have not much improved, now more people are optimist toward economic prospect for next year. If in December 2005 majority of public (53.4%) rated that economic condition of today was worse than last year, then this negative point decreased at the end of 2006 to become 38%, which was still not majority.

## **Conclusion and Implication**

- The fuel price hike directly reduced the purchasing power of the public. Majority of the respondent complained that they face burden to purchase rice. They also experienced difficulty to buy side dish, spices, and cooking oil. In the energy sector, majority of the respondent experienced of price hike. The highest price hike was kerosene, and some 76% say that.
- Compared to last year, number of people who faced difficulty to buy basic necessities reduced.
- Perception on economic condition is much better compared to last year (2005), and optimism on economic condition for next year increases. This contributed to the increase rate on performance of SBY-JK.
- Little improvement on economic condition, and stable political condition plus the absence of alternate political leader make public at large support SBY to run this country.
- Dissatisfaction of the public expressed in economic sector, mainly related to basic necessities, have not been well translated by the opposition. As such make the public still not sure with the alternate leader.

## **Implication**

- In 2006, there was a kind of inability from the opposition. They were not able to go against the President, and if they did it, they could not win the battle.
- Opposition come out from outside the parliament, and they are veterans from who failed in the election in 2004. That make opposition has less credibility in the eyes of public.
- If there is no alternative opposition, probably SBY would dominate political life in 2007.

# **REGIONALISM AND NATIONALISM IN A DEMOCRACY A POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE**



**lembaga survei Indonesia**

**Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)  
Jakarta, 20 March 2007**

**[www.lsi.or.id](http://www.lsi.or.id)**



## Summary

- Regional autonomy introduced along with political reform. It is a breakthrough to strengthen Indonesia as a nation state by accommodating regional pluralism. It designed to weaken, but strengthen Indonesia.
- In this context regional autonomy is a system to establish a congruent relation between the center and the region. To what extent this relation establishes?
- Viewed from citizen political behavior, regional autonomy has not bridged regionalism and Indonesia-ness.
- The relation between regionalism and Indonesia-ness is still negative, and those maintain regional sentiment is larger than those who maintain Indonesian-ness.
- Regional autonomy is far from absorbing pluralism in Indonesia.
- Main source of inability the regional autonomy to bridge regionalism and Indonesian-ness, and inability to establish a congruent political system between the region and the center, is performance of regional autonomy which is considered by the public is unable to create a better system of governance compared to the centralized one as practiced in the past.

1

## Summary (cont.)

- Root of less performed regional autonomy is related to public evaluation on performance of regional government. Positive evaluation depends on performance of the regional government whether it becomes better or worse. If it is worse, then negative attitude to regional autonomy is strong, and in turn will distance the region from the center, regionalism and Indonesia-ness.
- However, disconnection between regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness is helped by democracy. Democracy grinds down regionalism, not regional autonomy. It also systemically connected to regional autonomy.
- Democracy become a meeting point between regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness, hence empowering democracy is prerequisite to form a congruent between regionalism and Indonesia-ness, between regional autonomy and Unitary Indonesia. If democracy weakens, mainly its performance, then regional autonomy is weaken the Unitary Indonesia.

2

## **Background**

- Indonesia will become a strong nation if it is established on a congruent system, systemic interaction among its components, including regional and center relation.
- Regional autonomy is a concept to strengthen this congruency where Indonesia will be established strongly on the basis of regional pluralism and its ethnic.
- Regional autonomy is a concept to better regional development, increase people welfare, and in turn to strengthen Indonesia.
- Regional autonomy is a concept to refute separatism, and its success in turn strengthens Indonesia as a nation-state.
- Regional autonomy is established in a context of democracy, and it has to strengthen democracy.
- Almost eight years regional autonomy introduced, and up until today many doubts that it strengthens Indonesia as a nation-state.

3

## **Approaches and strategies**

- One approach to understand a congruency Indonesia and the supporting regions is political behavior in a political-economy perspective.
- Political behavior is related to view, attitude, and behavior of the citizens to political objects, including Indonesia and region as political communities.
- Behavior of citizens in relation to regionalism and Indonesia-ness, in a political economy perspective, is depending on the extent it benefits Indonesians, and increase people welfare.
- Evaluation on a much better situation from population is related to positive evaluation on socio-economy and politics of regions compared to the previous government system.
- Positive evaluation in turn has positive impact to regional autonomy as a government system.
- Positive evaluation on regional autonomy would strengthen support to Unitary Indonesia, and if the contrary happens, then regional autonomy is not a system that strengthen Unitary Indonesia.

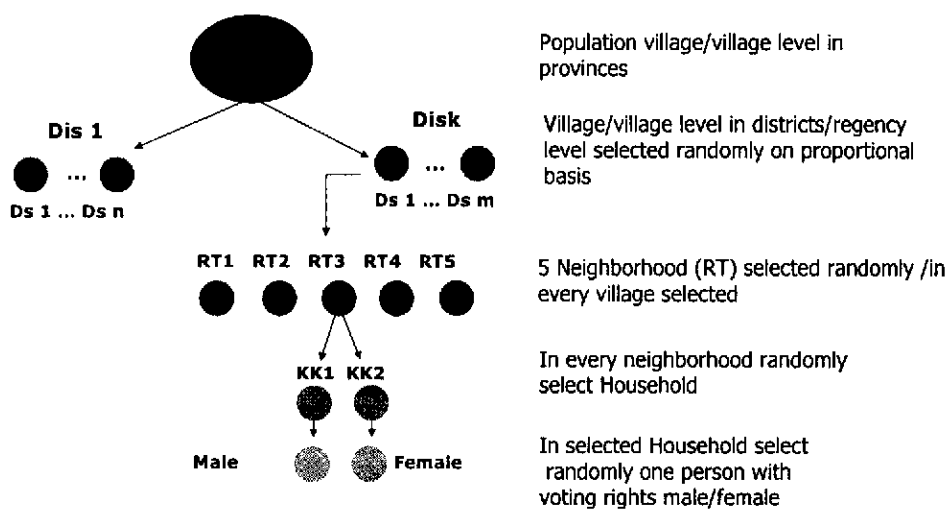
4

## Method and Data

- Survey period : 5 – 15 March 2007
- Total sample 1240, with margin of error +/- 3,0% at significance level 95%.
- Methodology: multistage random sampling
- Respondents are on 33 provinces on a proportional basis based on the total population of each province.
- Interview: interviews are done by skilled interviewer.
- Quality control: is conducting by means of spot check on 20% respondents at a random basis, and there are no significant mistake.

5

## Multistage Random Sampling



6

### PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

	Survei LSI (n = 1109)	BPS		Survei LSI (n = 1109)	BPS
Male	50	50	Islam	85.2	87
Female	50	50	Protestant	8.1	5.9
			Catholic	4.3	3
Primary School or less	55.1	60 *	Hindu	1.8	0.2
Graduate Junior High	17.6	19	Buddha	0.6	0.2
Graduate High School	19.3	18			
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			Sundanese	16	15.4
19 years old or less	4.5	5 *	Madurese	3.5	3.4
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40-49 years	21.9	17	Other	31.7	33
More than 50 year	25.8	20			
< 400 thousand	49.1	42			
400 thousand - 1 million	32.1	38			
> 1 million	19.8	20			

\*Sensus BPS mencakup warga yang belum berumur 17 tahun, maka proporsinya menjadi lebih besar.

7

## Survey Finding

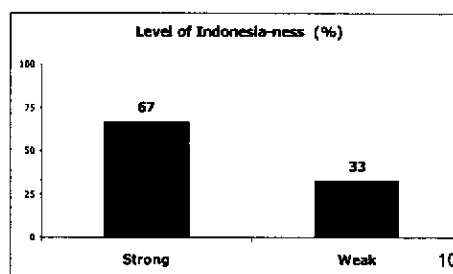
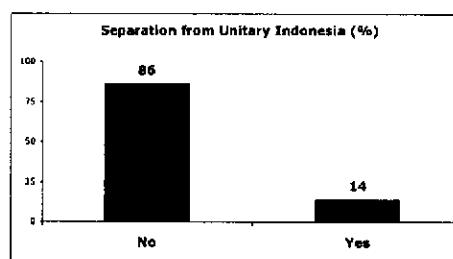
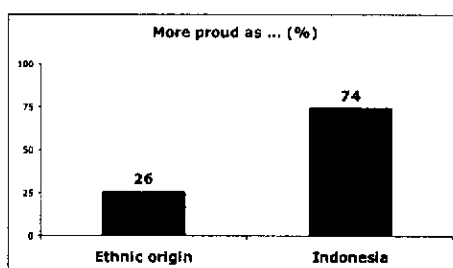
8

### Political community: Commitment to Nationhood (Indonesia-ness)

- More proud as Indonesia than as a member of ethnic origin
- Refused a secession from Unitary Indonesia
- Readiness to go on a war to defend Unitary Indonesia

9

### Commitment to Nationhood (Indonesia-ness)



## **Finding**

- Sentiment of Indonesia-ness are belonged to many Indonesians.
- More than half of the population is proud to become Indonesian than member of ethnic of origin, less tolerant to separation, and ready to go on a war to defend the Unitary Indonesia.
- Indonesians in general are not only nationalist, but also patriot.
- Does sentiments of Indonesia-ness coherent with support to regional autonomy?

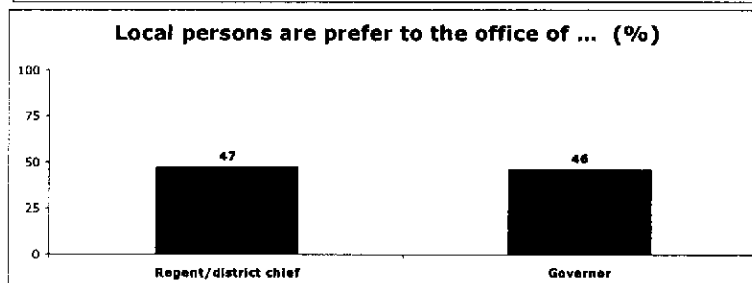
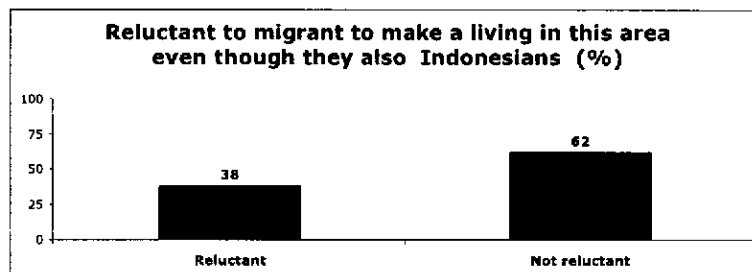
11

## **Regional sentiment**

- Reluctant to other domestic migrant to make a living in the areas of respondents because they are Indonesians.
- Prefer to have a governor from their origin (local person)
- Prefer district chief/regent from their origin (local person)

12

## Sentiment of regionalism



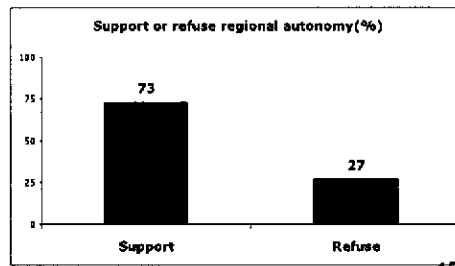
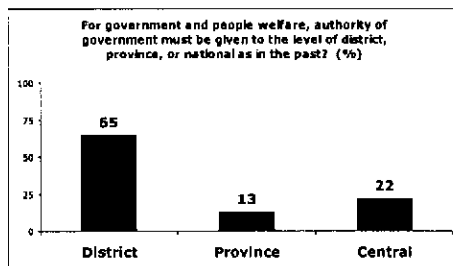
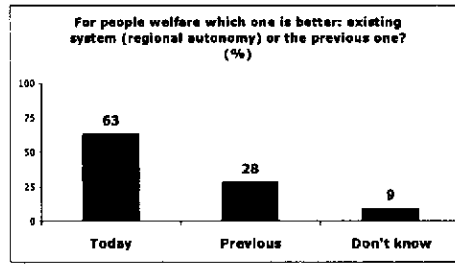
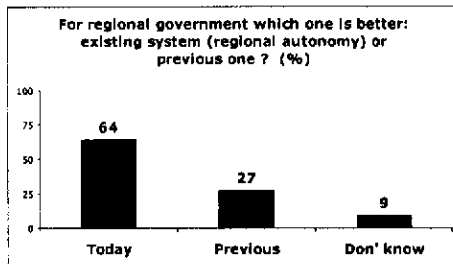
13

## Finding

- Many of population who have more oriented on regional than national.
- Half of the population are less tolerant to the migrant even though they are Indonesians.
- Almost half of the population are prefer local person to serve as district chief/regents or governors, those who are living in the area for generations.
- Statistical analysis points out that sentiment of regionalism correlate negatively to Indonesia-ness ( $r = .14$ ;  $P < .01$ ).

14

## Support to principles of regional autonomy



15

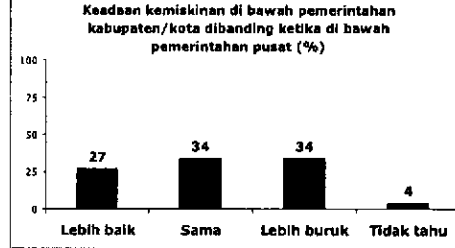
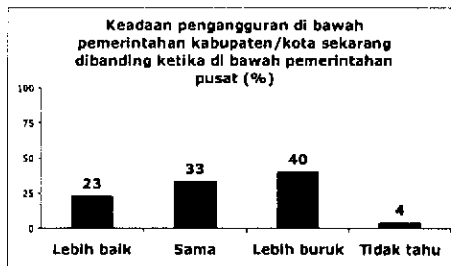
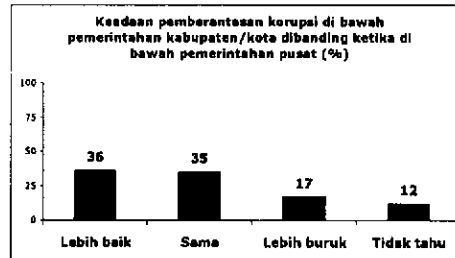
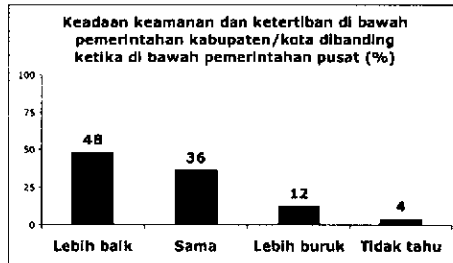
## Temuan

- Secara umum warga mendukung atau lebih suka dengan otonomi daerah dari pada sistem hubungan pusat dan daerah sebelumnya.
- Warga pada umumnya lebih memilih pemerintahan di bawah pemerintahan tingkat kabupaten dan kota seperti sekarang ketimbang pemerintahan langsung dari pusat untuk mengurus banyak hal yang berkaitan dengan kesejahteraan warga di daerah.
- Apakah dukungan terhadap otonomi daerah tersebut membantu menjembatani daerah dengan pusat? Sebelum menjawab ini kita eksplorasi bagaimana publik mengevaluasi pelaksanaan otonomi daerah itu sendiri.

16

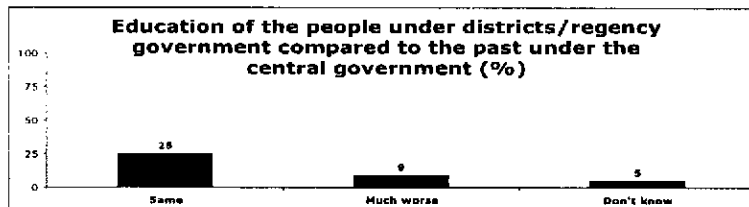
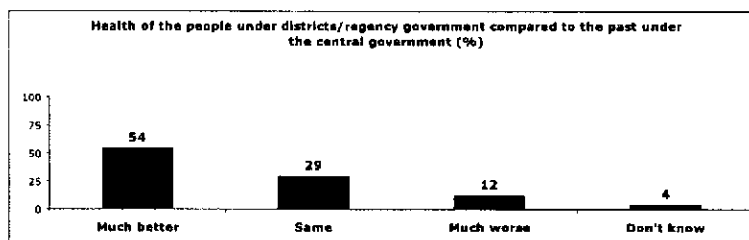


## Evaluasi terhadap kondisi daerah sebelum dan setelah otonomi daerah



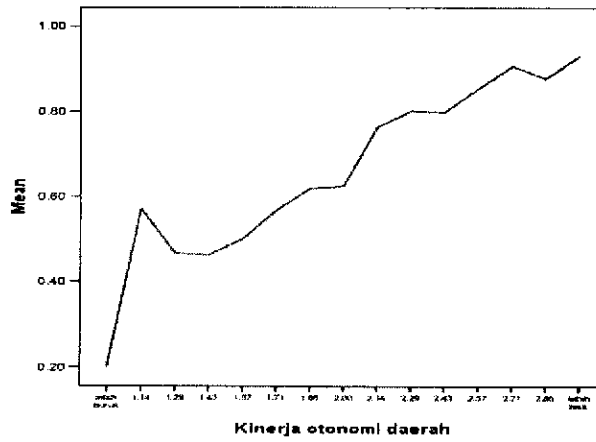
17

## Evaluation on regional condition before and after regional autonomy



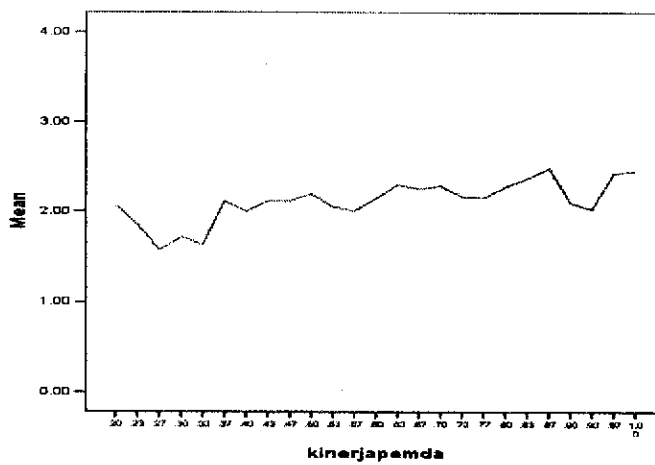
18

**Correlation performance of regional autonomy and support to it (r = .40; P<.01)**



19

**Correlation regional government and regional autonomy (r = .19; P<.01)**



20

## **Finding**

- In general population see no differences on government system under regional autonomy or the previous system for their life.
- There is no change in the region after regional autonomy introduced. It indicates regional autonomy is still far from public expectation.
- Performance of regional autonomy correlated to public support on system of regional autonomy. If it performs bad then public will question the system.
- Which one that has influence to public evaluation on performance of regional autonomy? Performance of regional government?

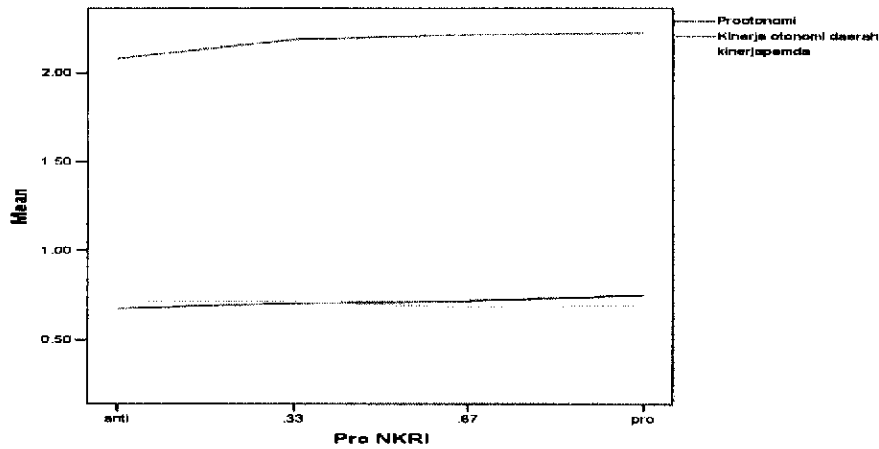
21

## **Influence of performance of regional government**

- For public fate of regional autonomy depends on how regional autonomy is practiced to better or worse condition.
- Part of public evaluation shows that performance of regional autonomy is influenced by how regional government works.
- System of regional autonomy depends on performance of regional governments.

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## Indonesia-ness, Regional Autonomy, and performance of regional government



23

## Regional autonomy and nationhood

- Performance of regional autonomy have positive impact on regional autonomy.
- Performance of regional autonomy strengthens support on regional autonomy.
- Yet, support to regional autonomy has little impact to support to strengthen on Indonesia-ness. It indicates that initial goal of regional autonomy has not achieved. There is a distance between regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness, and it must be bridged to make regional autonomy congruent with national political community, Unitary Indonesia.
- Democracy could be a bridge. Democracy can be a way to absorb public aspiration to implement government of Indonesia.
- Regional autonomy is a translation of democracy. Therefore, democracy is hoped to be a meeting point between regional autonomy and Unitary Indonesia.

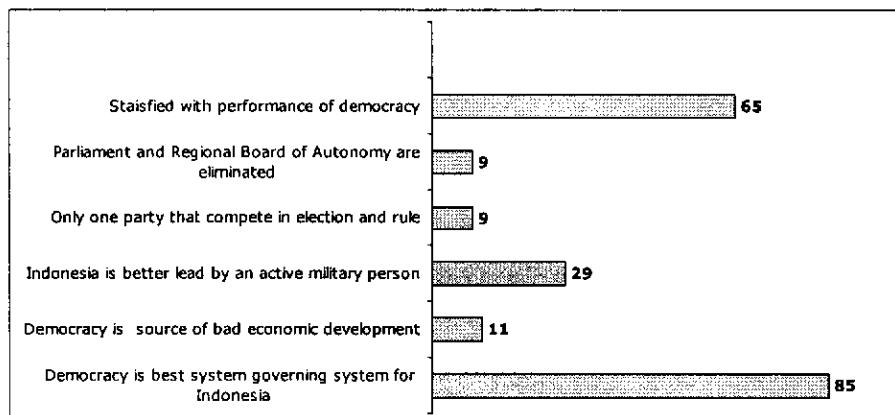
24

## Commitment to Democracy

- Strong commitment to democracy as a best system for our country.
- Democracy is not a cause of economic development
- Refuse leadership by an active military person
- Refuse single party system
- Support check and balances mechanism between government and political power outside the government.

25

## Attitude to democracy and performance of democracy (%)



26

## **Support to democracy**

- In general support to democracy is strong.
- More than 80% of the public value democracy as the best governing system for Indonesia.
- Along with it, only small who see democracy as source of bad economic development; only small tolerate a single party; and small who tolerate leadership by military person.
- Does this main capital could bridge regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness?

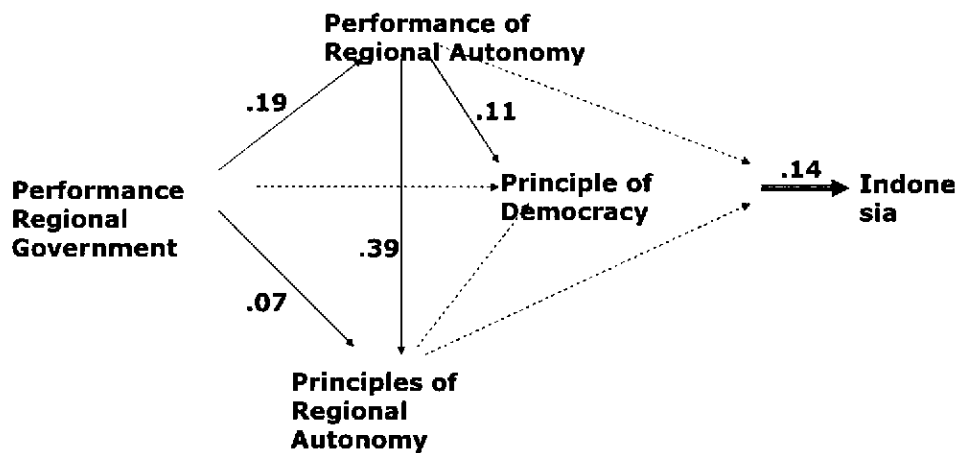
27

## **Correlation of democracy, Unitary Indonesia, and regional autonomy (P<.01)**

	Principles of democracy
Unitary Indonesia	.14
Performance of democracy	.07
Support Regional Autonomy	.07
Performance of Regional Autonomy	.14
Performance of Regional Government	.07

28

## Path Analysis Regional Government, Regional Autonomy, Democracy, and Unitary Indonesia



29

## Finding

- Gap between regional autonomy and Unitary Indonesia is bridged by democracy.
- Without strong support by strong democracy therefore regional autonomy could not help to strengthen Indonesia-ness, and the other way around.
- Empowerment of democracy depends on practices or performance of democracy, and importantly performance of regional autonomy and regional government influence performance of democracy.
- Good performance of regional autonomy and government could support performance of democracy and it has impact on support to democracy.
- Normative support to democracy strengthen Unitary Indonesia.

30

## **Conclusion**

- Viewed from political behavior of public, regional autonomy has not bridged regionalism and Indonesia-ness.
- Relation between regionalism and Indonesia-ness is negative, and those who have regional sentiment are many.
- Regional autonomy could not absorb pluralism in Indonesia.
- Main source of inability of regional autonomy to bridge regionalism and Indonesia-ness, unable to create congruent political system between region and central, is performance of regional autonomy which in the eyes of public has not created better situation compared to centralized system.
- Root of less performed regional autonomy by public is related to performance of regional government. Positive evaluation on performance of regional autonomy depends on performance of government. If it is poor, then negative attitude will strong, and in turn will distance region from the center, regionalism and Indonesia-ness.

31

## **Conclusion**

- However, disconnection between regional autonomy and Indonesia-ness is helped by democracy. Democracy grinds down regionalism, not regional autonomy. Democracy is systematically connected to regional autonomy.
- Democracy is a meeting point between democracy and Indonesia-ness, and therefore support to democracy is prerequisite to form a congruent relation between Indonesia-ness and regionalism, between regional autonomy and Unitary Indonesia. If democracy weakens, mainly its performance, then regional autonomy is not strengthen Unitary Indonesia, on the contrary its weakens Unitary Indonesia.

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***Three Years of Political Parties :***  
**The Problems of Voters' Aspiration**  
**Representation**



Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI)  
15-24 March 2007

## Summary

- Representation on interests, aspiration, or hopes of the voters by political parties or other national political elite are basic component for a democracy.
- Representation of voters aspiration by political parties or other political power will make democracy works.
- An aspiration of voter is represented if voter's want is similar to that of political parties' attitude in making decision. This is the first understanding.
- The second understanding, an aspiration of a voter is represented if the voter's aspiration is relatively similar with that of attitude and behavior provided by political parties or elites as they perceived by voters. This is crucial because representation problem has implication on voter behavior to the political parties (Prezeworki, et al 2000).

## Continue :

- Political parties are one important institution that channel voters' representation.
- To what extent does political parties are able to represent voter aspiration, and what implication on voter behavior, they could be analyzed through a polling.
- To mark three years of political parties, Lembaga Survei Indonesia (LSI) carried out national survey focusing on representation of voters by political parties. Survey is done in 14-24 March 2007.

### Major finding :

- First, generally, there is a big gap (65%) between voters' aspiration and attitude and behavior of political parties as they perceived by voters in various issues: position of social class, ideology and legal system, and economic issues. Only 35% voters' aspiration is perceived to be represented by attitude and behavior of political parties (seven big parties).

### **Continue :**

- In a similar proportion, voters feel that political parties take action that only benefit particular groups, and benefit party leader, and not the voters.
- Due to low level of representation, as perceived by the public, only less voters that have psycho-political ties to political parties. Only 23% of voters identified with political parties. This situation will make political power rather porous, easy to change, and political certainty is low.
- Real implication of this low representation is changes in support to political parties, where Partai Demokrat in the last two years competed with PDI Perjuangan, and now is decreasing if the election were held today. Partai Golkar decreased from top position to second place.

### **Continue :**

- Changes on political parties power associated with level of representation, where Partai Demokrat is viewed of relatively less representation compare to PDI Perjuangan.
- This decreased to Partai Demokrat in the last two years related to public evaluation on performance of President SBY.
- The more positive public evaluation to performance of President, the more public support to Partai Demokrat.
- In this latest survey, public satisfaction to performance of President and Vice President exceeded psychological level of 50%, where less than 50% of voters satisfied with performance of President. This the lowest level of satisfaction to President SBY since two years and half ago.

### **Continue :**

- Compared to the last two years and half ago (November 2004), satisfaction to SBY decreased for about 30%, and compared to December 2006, it decreased for about 17%.
- Main source of this decreasing trend is an increasing trend to negative evaluation from public regarding national economic condition compared to last year. Public who feel national economic today is much better than last year is only 23%. It is lower than public perception when SBY just became President for a month (November 2004), 41%, and much lower than in December 2006, 33%.
- If national economic condition is not improved within the next two years, SBY will not popular, and Partai Demokrat will lose its supporters. PDI-P seems take benefit from this decreasing trend of popularity of SBY and Partai Demokrat.

### **Voters' Representation by political Parties**

- People representation in the national politics is an important component in a democracy. Democracy will grow stronger and effective if attitudes and behaviors of elites is congruent with aspirations, interests and wants of the people.
- Political parties are organizations designed to represent aspiration and interests of the public. If political parties are able to represent interests of public at the national level, then they would likely to help democracy to work.
- Representation is to represent aspirations, interests, or will of the voters by certain political parties.
- The level of representativeness of the public by political parties are defined as the level of similarity between hopes of the voters on position of parties in every issue of policy and perception of the voters on position or attitude of parties to the related issues. If the level of similarity is high, or the margin between the two is small, then the level of representation of voters by the parties are big, and otherwise.
- Representation covers many dimensions and issues, and here is limited to position of social class parties, ideological position, and position on certain issues.
- To dig the level of representativeness of public by the political parties a survey is conducted in 15-24 March 2007.

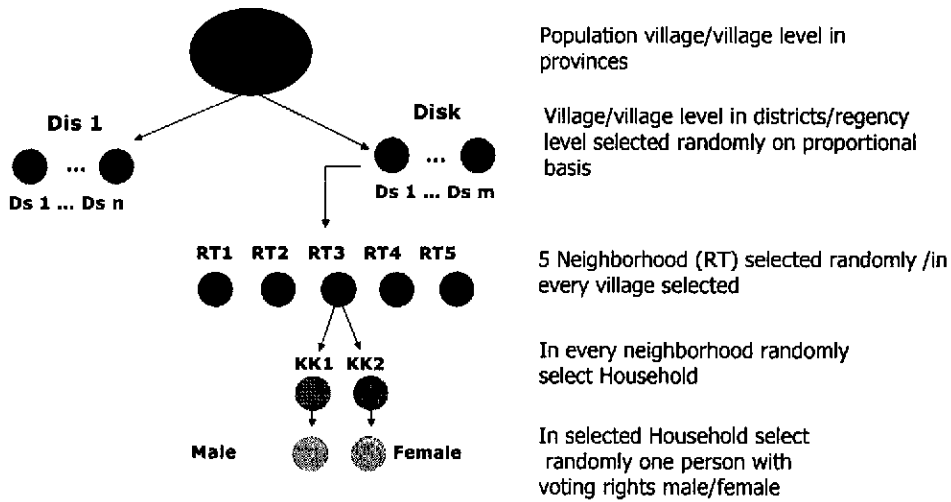
### **Voters Position on parties social class, ideology, and issues**

- Position of parties wanted by the voters could be seen from social class difference: parties accommodate low level society; upper level, or both.
- Ideological position: want to defend Pancasila and 1945 Constitution or change them
- Ideological position : want to change Law (KUHP) with that of Islamic Law or defend It
- Issues: Privatization of SOE: The state has companies to people welfare; or private, not the state, that owns companies, and the state collects taxes from private companies for welfare of the people.
- Issues : Privatization : to lower operational cost, and compete, the state has to sell its companies to private sectors.
- Issues : Investment from foreign companies in mining sector: support or refuse Involvement of foreign companies in extractive sector due limitation in capital and technology.
- Issues: Rice Import : Support rice import to maintain rice price in domestic market; refuse rice import because it is worsen our farmers.
- Representation varies between 0 and 100%: 0 = no difference between hopes of the people to position of parties and perception on position of parties.

### **Method and Data**

- Survey period : 17 – 24 March 2007
- Total sample 1238, with margin of error +/- 3,0% at significance level 95%.
- Methodology: multistage random sampling
- Respondents are on 33 provinces on a proportional basis based on the total population of each province.
- Interview: interviews are done by skilled interviewer.
- Quality control: is conducting by means of spot check on 20% respondents at a random basis, and there are no significant mistake.

## Multistage Random Sampling

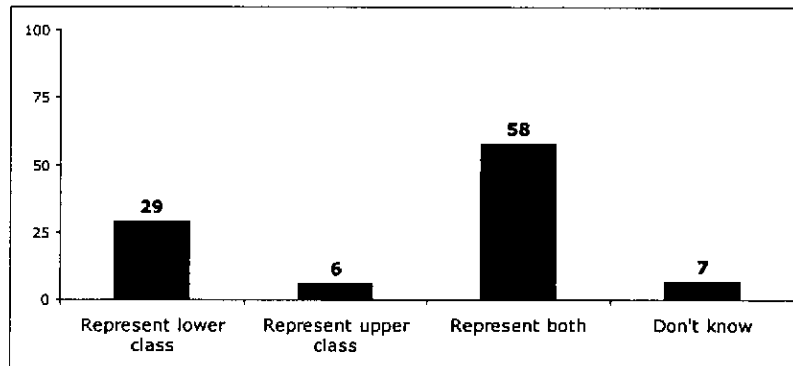


### PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

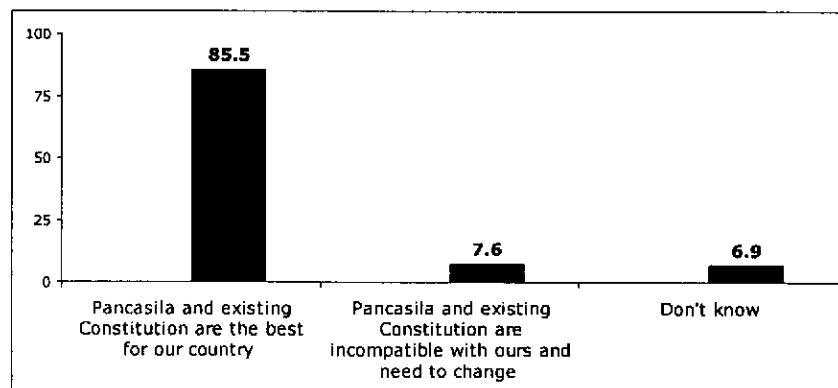
	Survei LSI (n = 1238)	BPS		Survei LSI (n = 1238)	BPS
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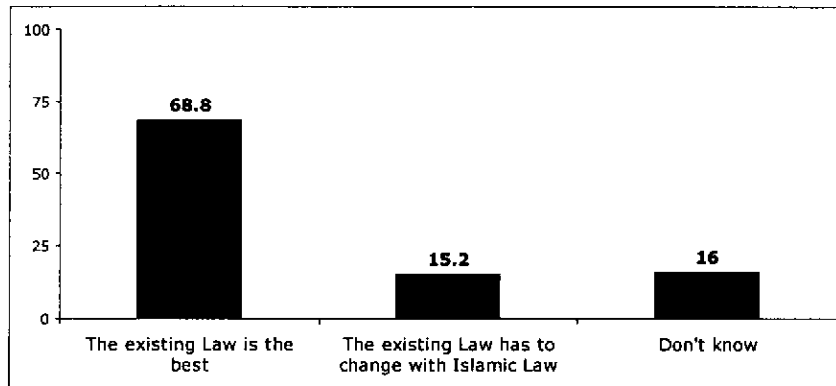
### Public preference on social class of political parties (%)



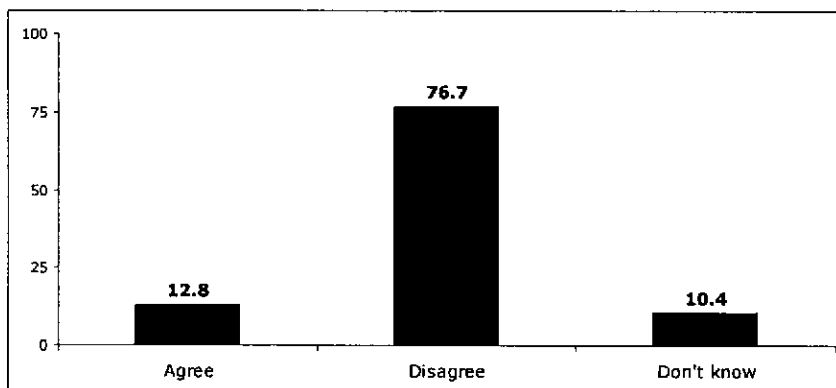
### Public perception on Pancasila Constitution (%)



### Public perception on Law (KUHP) (%)

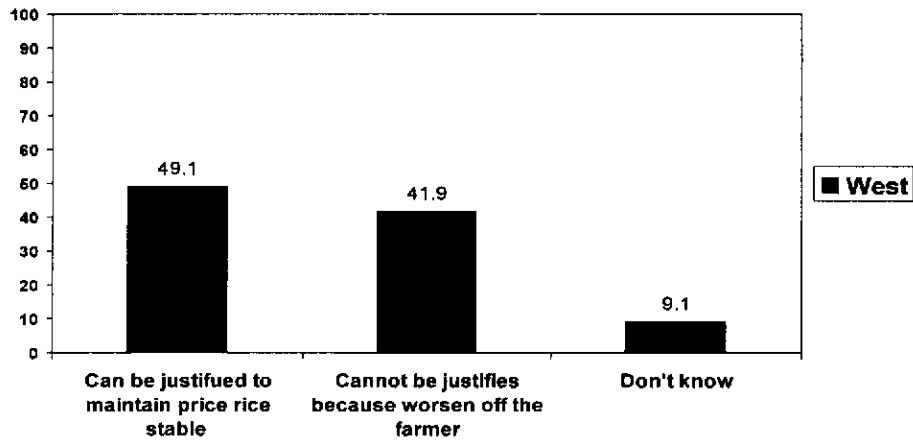


### Agree or disagree to privatization of SOEs by the state to private sectors (%)

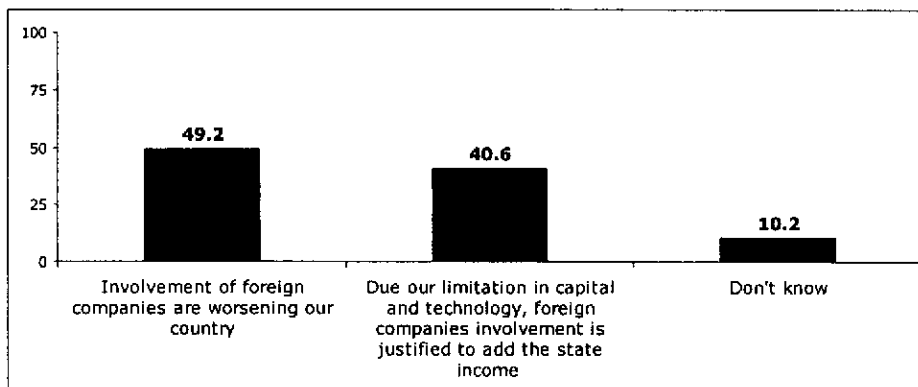




## Public perception on rice import (%)



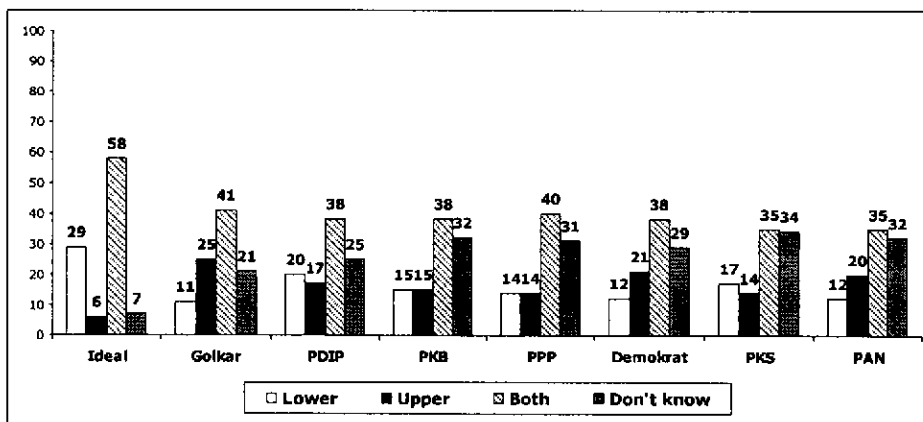
## Public perception on mining our natural resources by foreign companies (%)



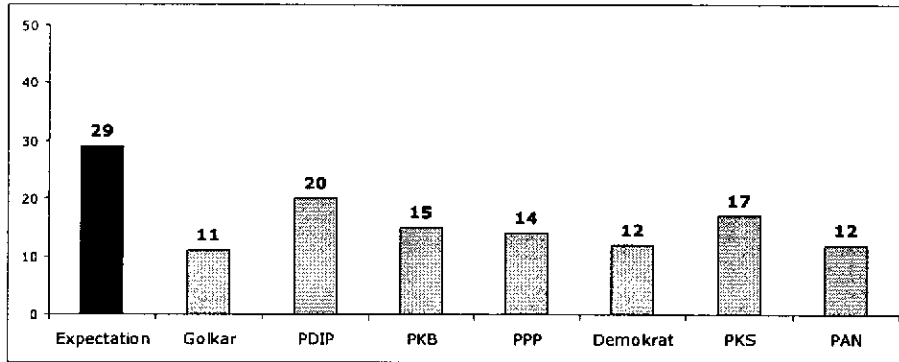
## Public perception on parties social class position, ideology, issues

1. Are political parties represent lower society, upper level or both.
2. Are political parties believe that Pancasila and the existing Constitution is compatible or need to be changed with other belief.
3. Are political parties defend the existing Law or prefer to change it with Islamic Law.
4. Are political parties support or refuse selling of government shares to private
5. Are political parties justified or not justifies involvement of foreign companies in the mining sector.
6. Are political parties justified or refused rice import.

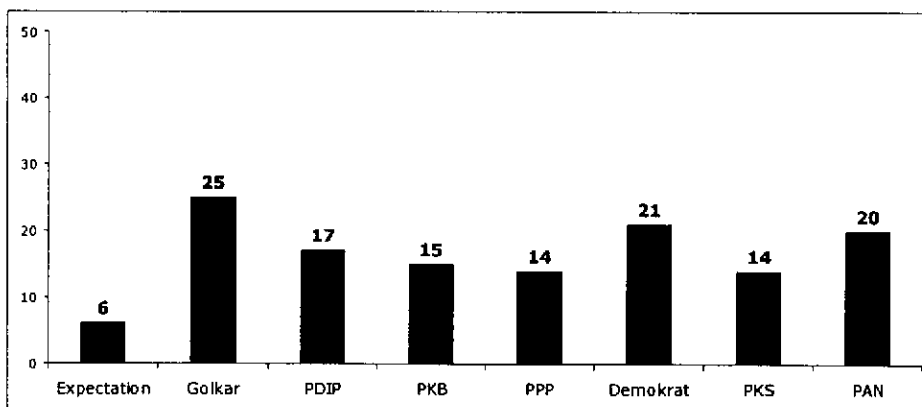
Perception on social class position of parties (%)



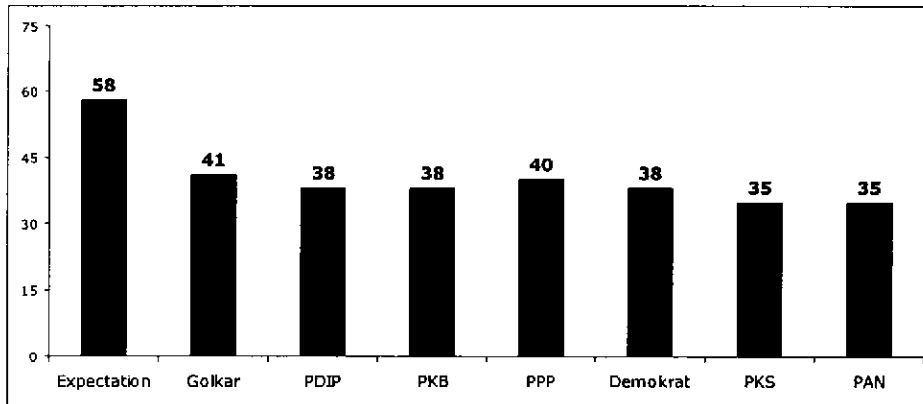
### Perception on Parties that represent lower society (%)



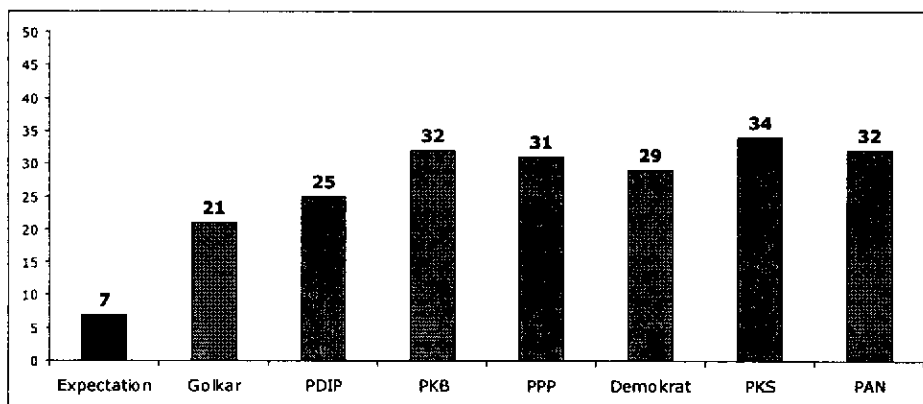
### Perception on Parties that represent upper class (%)



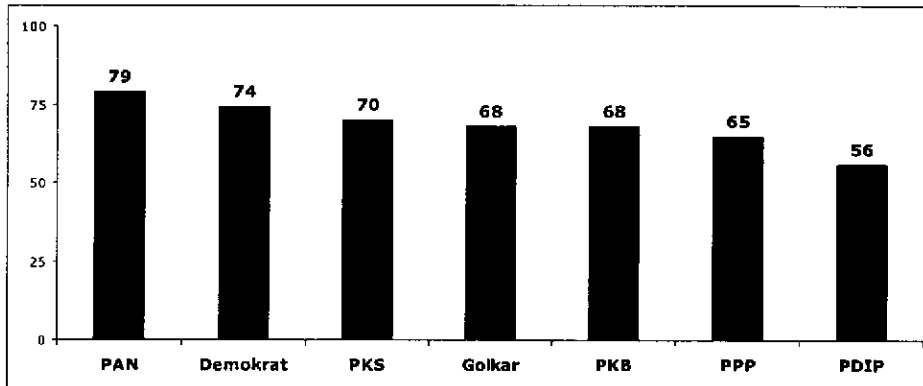
**Perception on Parties that accommodate both lower and upper level class (%)**



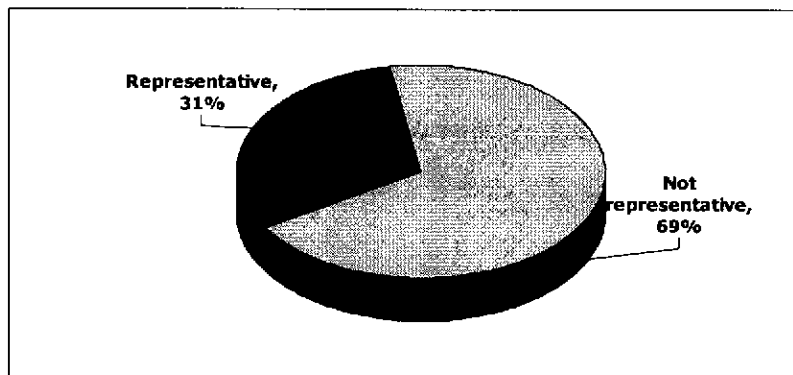
**Have no information on social class of parties (%)**



**Total Gap between public expectation on social class of parties and public perception on social class of parties (%)**



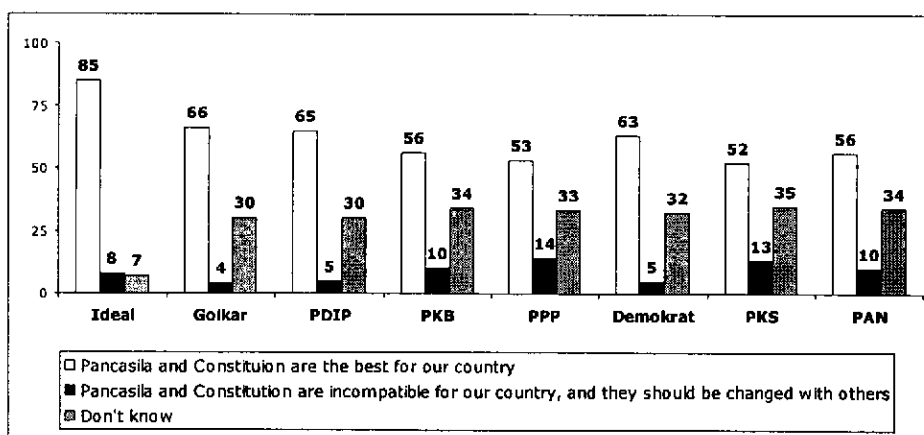
**Average Proportion on social class representation by parties (%)**



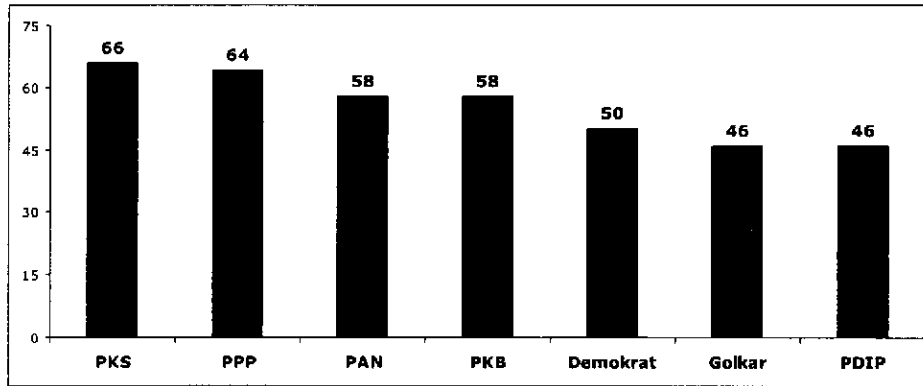
### Social class representation of political parties

- Margin between social class position held by parties and perception on social class position of certain political parties reflected level of representation on social class of parties. If a party has a margin of or gap 0%, then the party is viewed as perfectly represents social class. And if the margin is 100%, the party does not represent social class perfectly.
- In general, level of representation social class of parties is 31%. The rest does not represent social class as it is expected by voters. It indicates that in general political parties is seen of not representing social class of voters, which should be represented by political parties.
- Among 7 big parties, PDI Perjuangan is seen as representing aspiration of certain social class, and PAN is seen as the least representing.

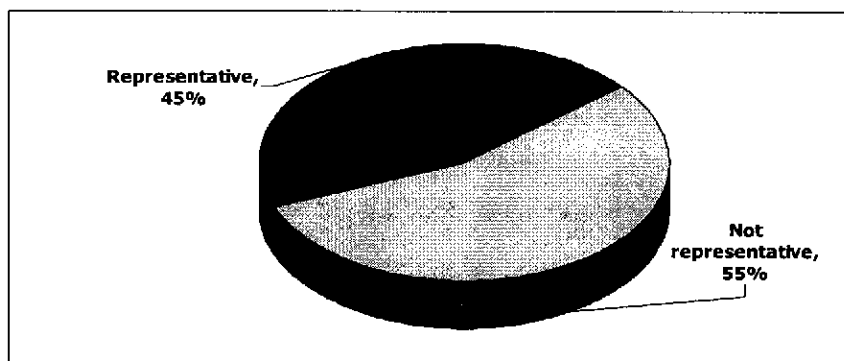
### Perception on Pancasila and Constitution (%)



**Total Gap between public expectation and public perception on parties attitude to Pancasila and Constitution (%)**



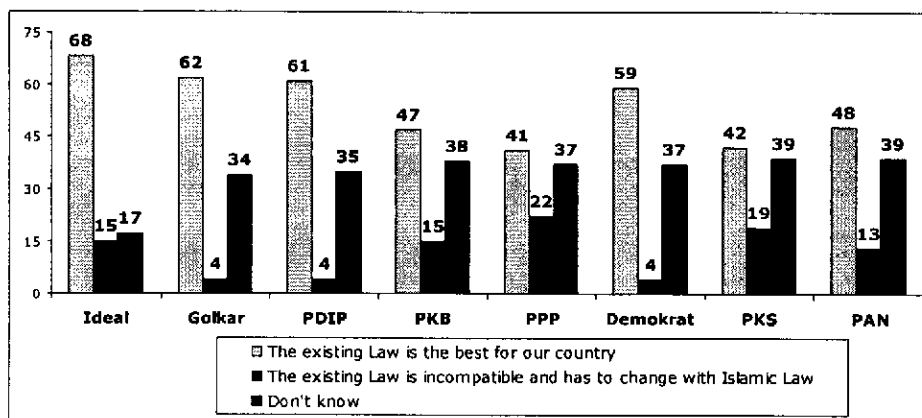
**Average Proportion of representation on Pancasila and Constitution by Political Parties**



### Representation of aspiration on ideology by Political Parties

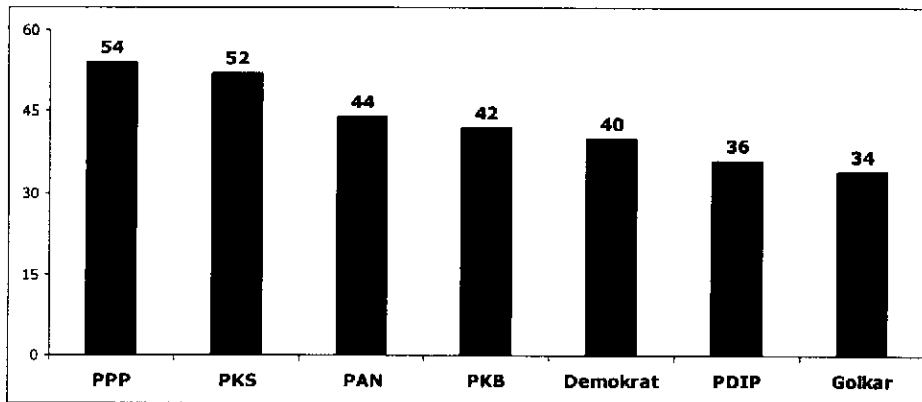
- Generally, level of ideological representation held by the voters, attitude to Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, by political parties is 45%. The rest see that parties do not represent their view and attitude to Pancasila and 1945 Constitution.
- Among parties, PDI Perjuangan and Partai Golkar are seen as the most representing in ideological domain. The least representing parties are PKS, then PPP.

### Public Perception on Law (KUHP) (%)

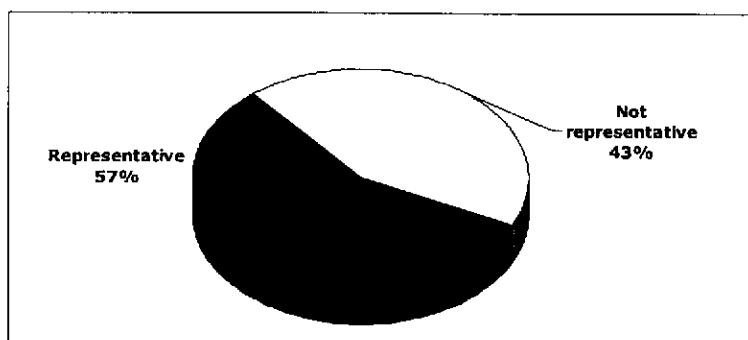




**Total Gap between public expectation and public perception on parties attitude to existing Law (%)**



**Representation of view on Law by Political Parties**



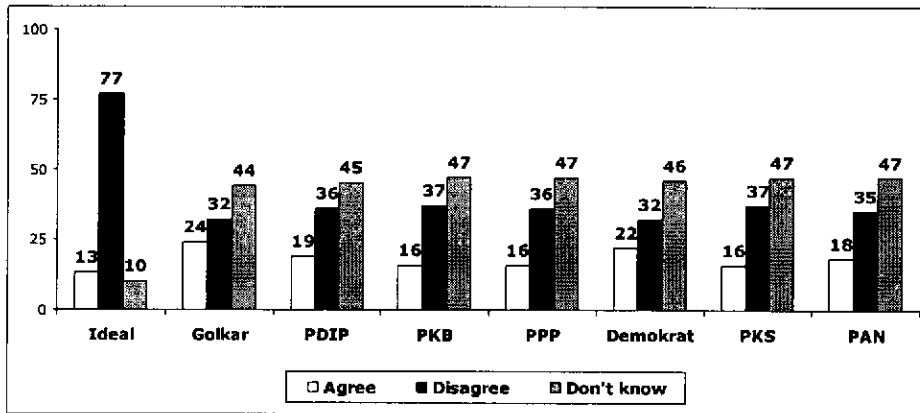
## **Representation on Law (KUHP)**

- Generally, voters are represented in Law (KUHP). Parties generally are having similar views with those of voters that existing Law (KUHP) is the best, and disagree if it is replaced with Islamic Law.
- The most representing parties in this issue is Partai Golkar, and then PDI Perjuangan. The least one are PPP, and PKS.

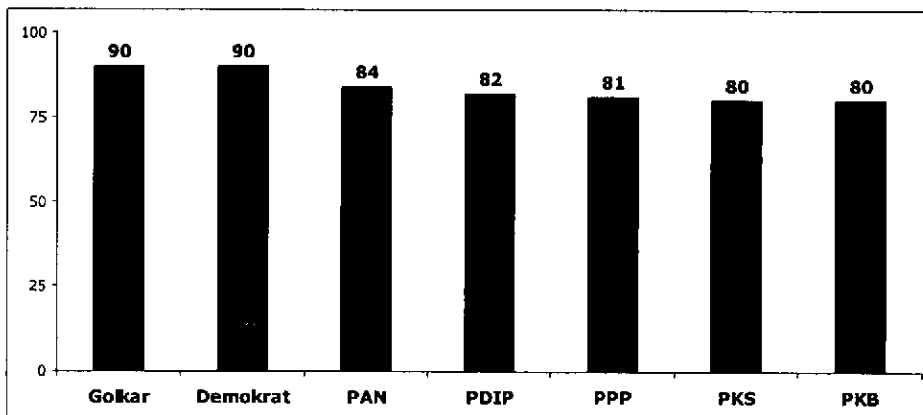
## **Privatization of SOEs**

- Because of low cost if manage by private companies, the government sells state owned companies such as Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI), Indosat, etc., and then government collect taxes from these private companies. Do you agree or disagree that government sell SOEs to private companies?
- Which parties that tend to agree or disagree with government policy to sell SOEs to private sectors?

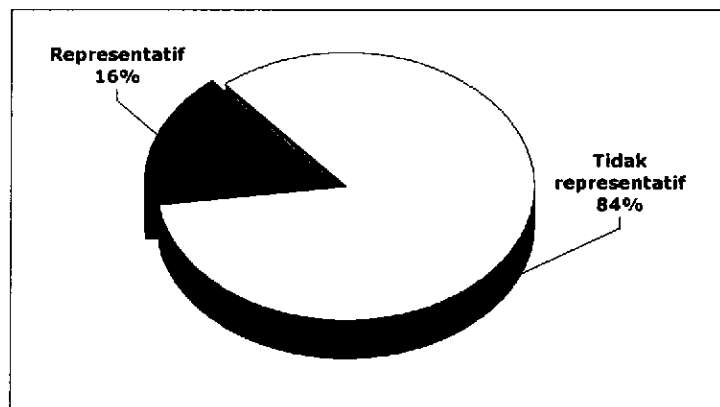
### Attitude to privatization of SOEs (%)



### Total Gap between public expectation and public perception on privatization of SOEs (%)



### **Representation of public aspiration on privatization of SOEs by Political Parties**



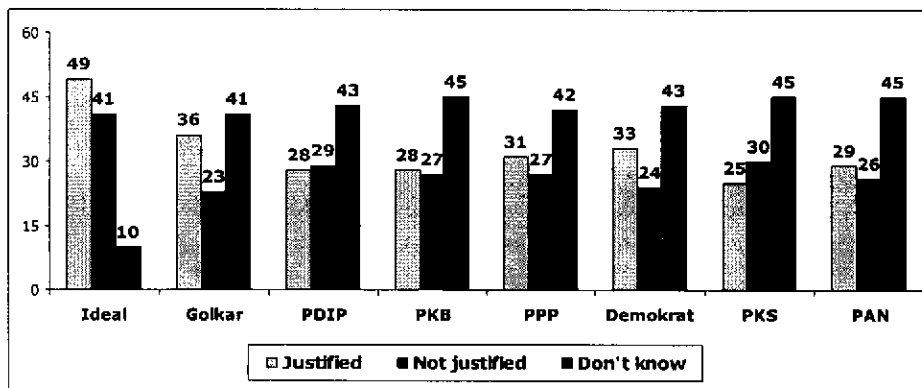
### **Representation on Privatization of SOEs**

- Generally almost all voters perceive that political parties do not represent their aspiration on privatization of SOEs. Only 1 from 10 voters feels otherwise.
- The best parties that perceived of representing the voters are PKB and PKS, while the worst are Partai Golkar and Partai Demokrat.
- In this issue, political parties face a great difficulty because the voters refuse privatization. If parties viewed that this refusal due to lack of voters to understand the issue, therefore they failed to explain and convince the public that privatization is a realistic policy to revive national economy.

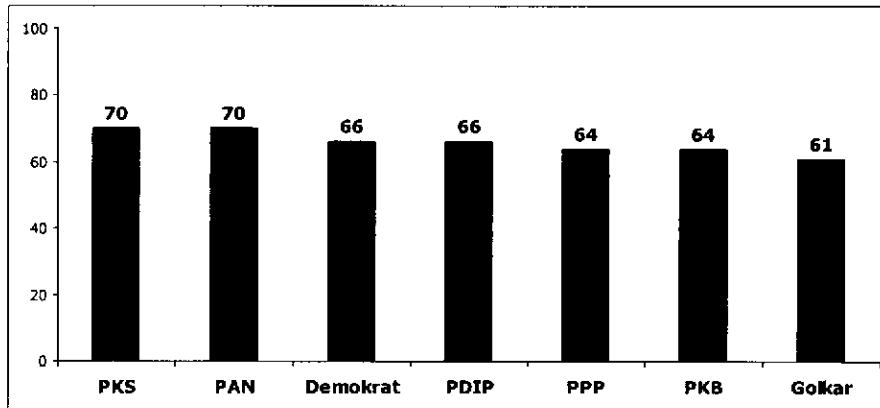
## Attitude to rice import

- There is an opinion that to maintain price rice, the rice reserve should meet the demand of society. When domestic rice harvest is less enough to maintain price rice, then the government has to buy from international market to stabilize price. Then buying rice from other countries (import) is justified. Yet, there is another opinion that purchasing rice from international market will put pressure to our farmer because the price of rice will be low and in turn it damages income of our farmer. Then such import is not justified. To these opinions, which is closer to you?
- Which views do the following parties take?

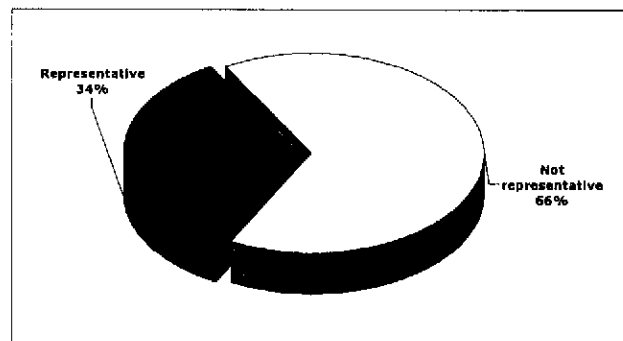
## Attitude to rice import (%)



**Total Gap between public expectation and public perception on rice import (%)**



**Average Proportion of representation by parties on rice import issue**



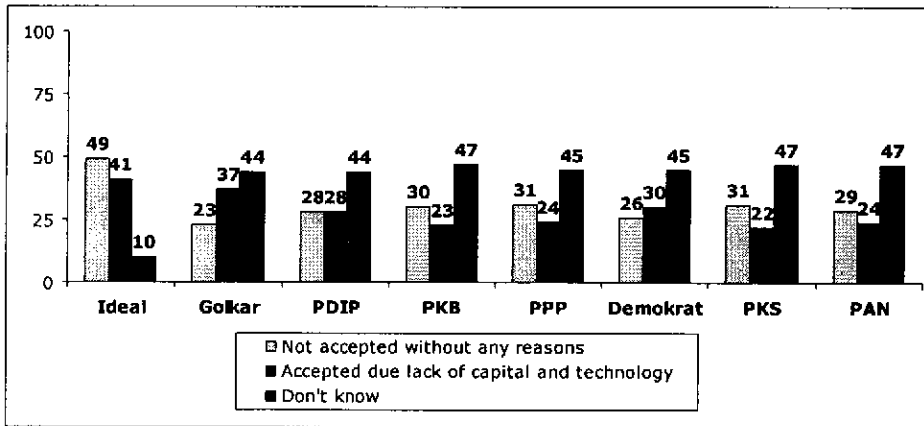
## **Representation by parties on rice import**

- Most of voters justified policy on rice import to maintain price rice in domestic market, or otherwise.
- Generally representation of public aspiration by political parties is less (34%).
- The most representing party in this issue is Partai Golkar, and the least one are PKS and PAN.

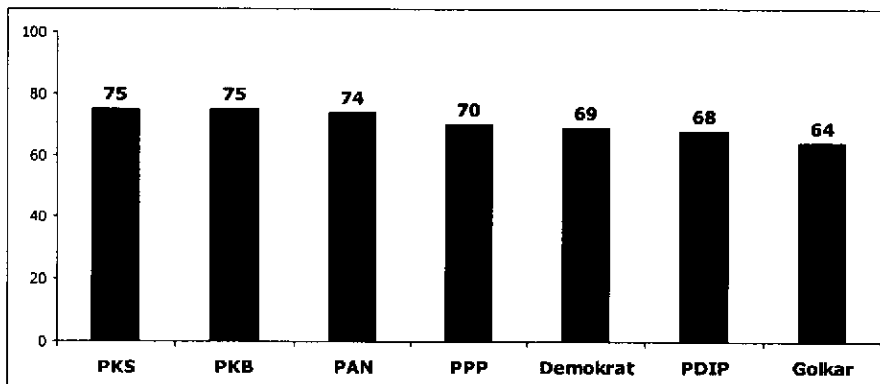
## **Attitude to foreign mining companies**

- Our country has abundant natural resources such as oil, gold, coal, etc. To explore those resources need capital and technology. State if frequently faced by absence of capital and technology. Therefore the state invites foreign companies that have capital and technology. Then the resources should be divided with these companies. To these partnership, there are some people who refused because our country will less benefit; while some approved even though the result of the exploration should be divided, because if the resources have not exploited we cannot take benefit out of it. To these opinion, which one is closer to you?
- The following parties are closer to which opinion? Refused the existence of foreign companies or approved these foreign companies?

### Attitude on foreign mining companies (%)

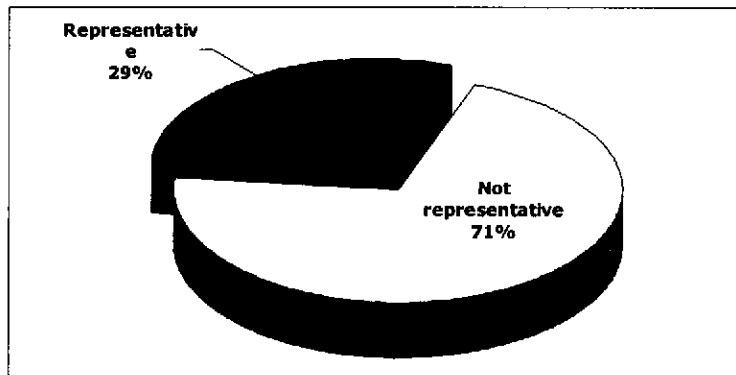


### Total Gap public expectation and public perception parties attitude to foreign mining companies (%)





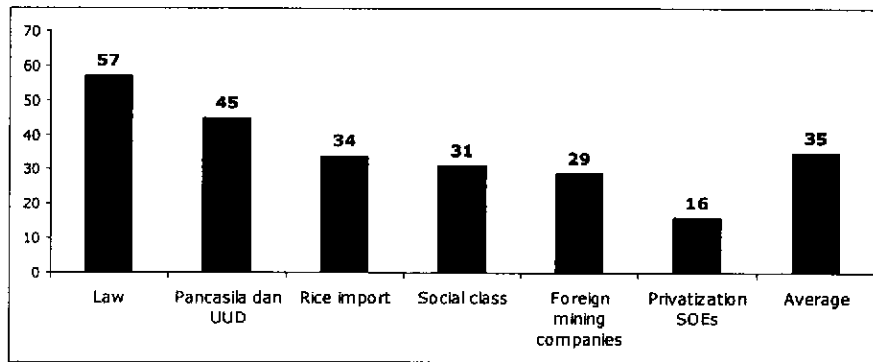
**Average Representation of public aspiration by political parties on issue of foreign mining companies**



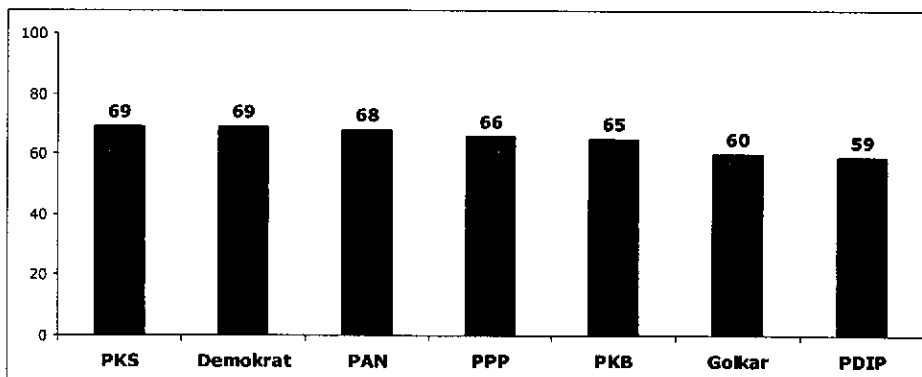
**Representation of public aspiration by political parties on issue of foreign mining companies**

- Public aspiration on issue of involvement foreign companies to explore natural resources is divided. Some of them refused, while some approved it with reason that our country have no capital and technology.
- However, generally political parties are perceived as not representing public aspiration. Level of representation is only 29%.
- The most representing parties in this issue is Partai Golkar, and the least one are PKS and PKB.

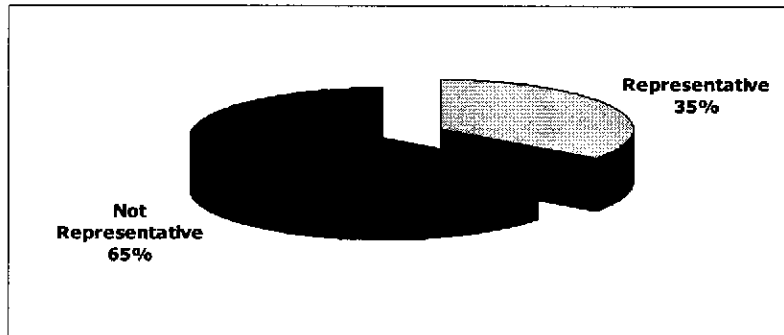
**Representation of voters aspiration on various issues by political parties (%)**



**Total Gap between public expectation on social class, ideology and various issues of political parties and public perception on position and attitude of parties (%)**



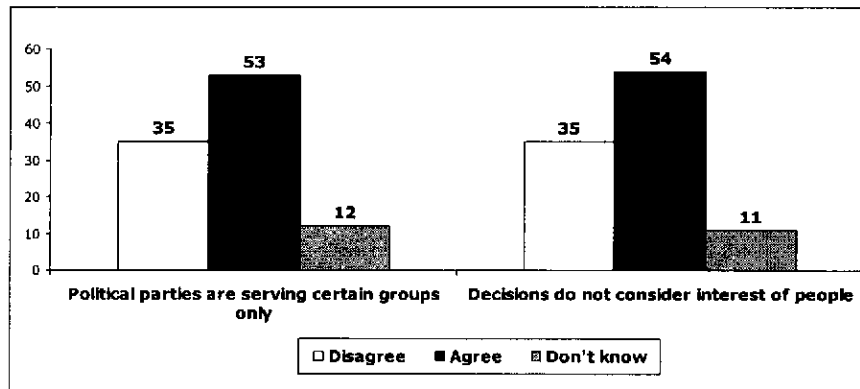
### **Level of Representation of Parties on Voters Aspiration in general**



### **Finding**

- In general, 65% of voters feel that interests, aspiration and their will are not represented by attitude and behavior of political parties.
- Parties are not representing their hopes to accommodate difference in social class, not accommodating their commitment to Pancasila and 1945 Constitution, not representing their will in various issues such as rice import, privatization of SOEs, and mining exploration by foreign companies.
- All parties are not representing interests of voters, and in general the lowest representing parties are PKS, the most representing are PDIP and Golkar.
- This conclusion is consistent with response of voters on direct question on representation as follows.

## Perception on parties behavior (%)



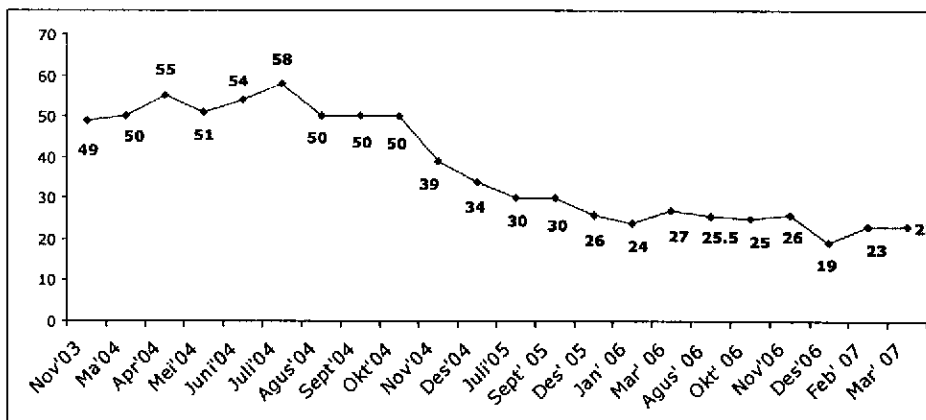
## Electoral Implication

- What are implications from perception on representation of voters interest by parties for the political parties?
- The first implication is that the most representation parties have probability to be chosen, and probability of loyal voters to them could be maintained and increased.

## Self Identification with certain parties

- Representation could boost loyalty to political party. Low representation could weaken psychological relation between voters and parties, and vice-versa.
- Loyalty to parties could be measured from public identification to certain political parties.

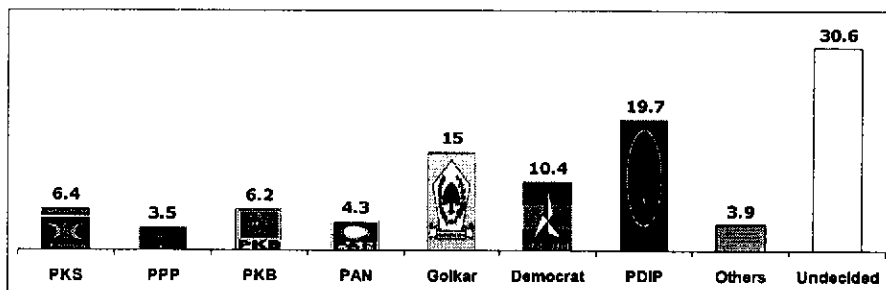
## Self Identification with political parties /feel close to certain political parties (Party ID) (%)



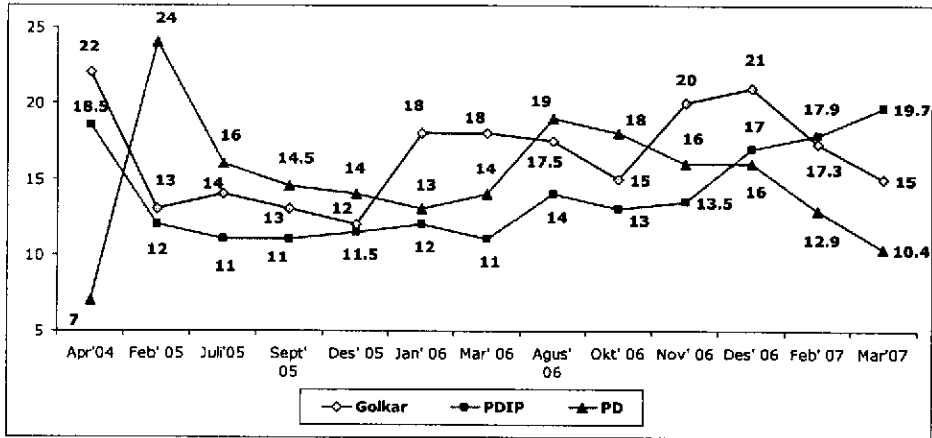
## Self identification level with political parties

- Low level representation on aspiration and interests of the voters by political parties is consistent with low loyalty or self identification to certain political parties.
- This survey points out that only 2 out of 10 voters identified with certain political parties. This situation will create power balance porous. The extent of this porous situation could be evaluated in temporary vote within the last three years.

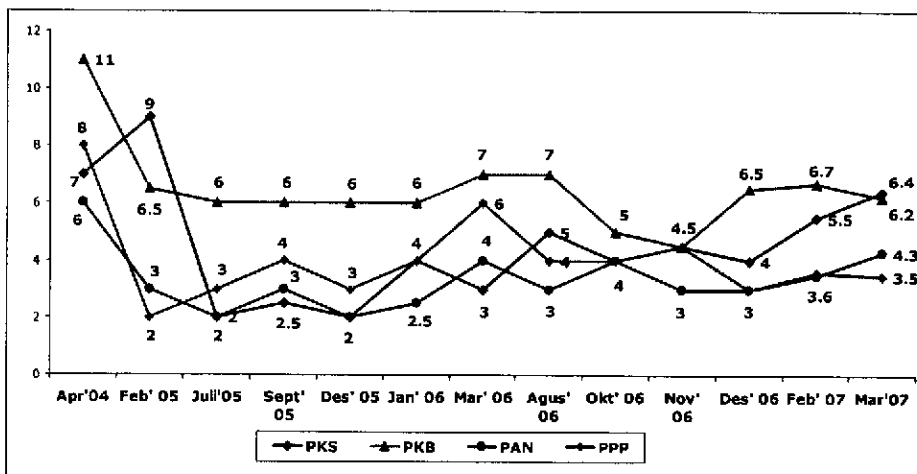
## If election were held today, which parties do you vote for?



**If election were held today, which parties do you vote for?(First layer) (%)**



**If election were held today, which parties do you vote for?**



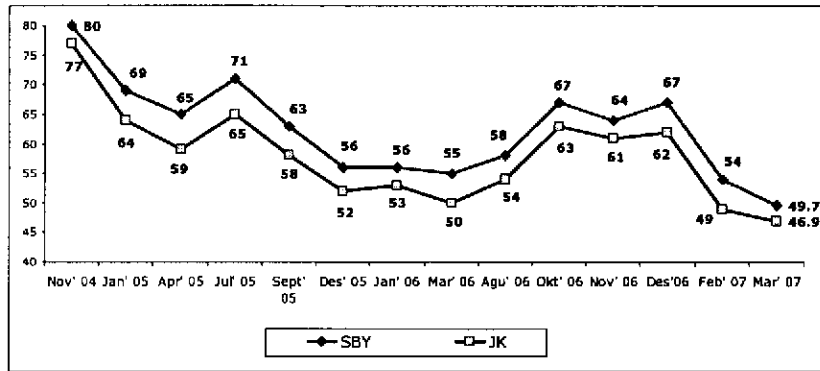
## **PDI Perjuangan and Partai Demokrat**

- In this survey, PDI Perjuangan votes tend to increase if election were held today.
- PDI Perjuangan is on top position (20%), outperformed Partai Golkar (15%). Position of PDI Perjuangan is the highest in the last two years.
- Besides that, power of Partai Demokrat decreased after in the first and second years were on equal terms with PDI Perjuangan. Now votes for Partai Demokrat is around 10%, decreased for about 4% compared to March 2006, and 6% compared to December 2006. Position of Partai Demokrat is the lowest in the last two years.
- This big picture is consistent with political parties representation, where PDI Perjuangan in general is viewed as the most representing, followed by Partai Golkar. The fall of votes of Partai Demokrat, even though is still bigger than its votes in 2004 (7%), is related to its inappropriate position in public perception on representation.
- Other than representation, decreasing support to Partai Demokrat is connected to satisfaction to performance of Presiden Yudoyono and perception on national economic condition, as showed below.

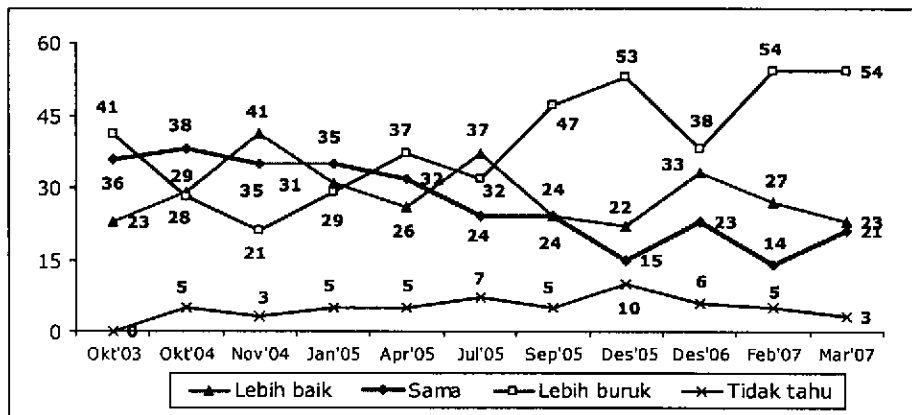
## **Satisfaction on performance of President SBY**



### Satisfaction to performance of President SBY and Vice-President JK (%)



### National economic condition today compared to last three years



**Correlation on national economic condition, satisfaction to performance of SBY, and vote for Demokrat**

	SBY	Support Demokrat
National economy	.75	.79
Support Demokrat	.64	

**Perception on economy gets worse, and satisfactory level to SBY decreases sharply**

- In the last three years, since SBY inaugurated as President, it is the first time that the level of public satisfaction on his performance exceeded psychological level, less than 50%. It is the lowest point for SBY.
- This decreasing trend relates to public perception on unpromising economic condition compared to last year.
- It would likely relate to decreasing trend of votes garnered by Partai Demokrat, if election were held today.
- If the public evaluate that next economic condition will stay bad, then satisfaction level to SBY will decrease, and along with it support Partai Demokrat decreased.

## **Conclusion and Implication**

Major finding of this survey are as follows :

- First, generally, there is a big gap (65%) between voters' aspiration and attitude and behavior of political parties as they perceived by voters in various issues: position of social class, ideology and legal system, and economic issues. Only 35% voters' aspiration is perceived to be represented by attitude and behavior of political parties (seven big parties).
- In a similar proportion, voters feel that political parties take action that only benefit particular groups, and benefit party leader, and not the voters.
- Due to low level of representation, as perceived by the public, only less voters that have psycho-political ties to political parties. Only 23% of voters identified with political parties. This situation will make political power rather porous, easy to change, and political certainty is low.

## **Continue :**

- Real implication of this low representation is changes in support to political parties, where Partai Demokrat in the last two years competed with PDI Perjuangan, and now is decreasing if the election were held today. Partai Golkar decreased from top position to second place.
- Changes on political parties power associated with level of representation, where Partai Demokrat is viewed of relatively less representation compare to PDI Perjuangan.
- This decreased to Partai Demokrat in the last two years related to public evaluation on performance of President SBY.
- The more positive public evaluation to performance of President, the more public support to Partai Demokrat.

### **Continue :**

- In this latest survey, public satisfaction to performance of President and Vice President exceeded psychological level of 50%, where less than 50% of voters satisfied with performance of President. This the lowest level of satisfaction to President SBY since two years and half ago.
- Compared to the last two years and half ago (November 2004), satisfaction to SBY decreased for about 30%, and compared to December 2006, it decreased for about 17%.
- Main source of this decreasing trend is an increasing trend to negative evaluation from public regarding national economic condition compared to last year. Public who feel national economic today is much better than last year is only 23%. It is lower than public perception when SBY just became President for a month (November 2004), 41%, and much lower than in December 2006, 33%.
- If national economic condition is not improved within the next two years, SBY will not popular, and Partai Demokrat will lose its supporters. PDI-P seems take benefit from this decreasing trend of popularity of SBY and Partai Demokrat.