

**SUMMARY OF PUBLIC OPINION
PRECEDING THE
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS
IN INDONESIA - 1999**

Analysis by
Steven Wagner

Survey Implemented by
**The International Foundation
for Election Systems**



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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a survey of public opinion conducted in Indonesia from December, 1998 to February, 1999. Interviews were completed with a sample of 1507 randomly selected adults (18+ years of age) throughout the country. In keeping with the standard practice of the IFES survey research program, this survey was intended in so far as possible to be nationally representative of the entire adult population of Indonesia. What this means, practically, is that every adult citizen of Indonesia ought to have had the same chance of being selected for participation in the survey. Great effort was made to conduct interviews in all regions of the country; in both cities and rural areas; in Indonesian and local languages. These measures were intended to keep to a minimum the size of any population which was systematically excluded from the survey. (Some regions were excluded for security and practical reasons: East Timor, Irian Jaya, Central Kalimantan, Central Sulawesi, and East Nusa Tenggara.)

The survey questionnaire was written by IFES consultant Steven Wagner, in collaboration with the staff of IFES Jakarta and the Indonesia team at IFES Washington. Sample design and interviewing was accomplished by the private survey research firm Insight (PT. Insightindo Arya Dharma) of Jakarta. The analysis of survey results was conducted by Mr. Wagner.

It is useful for readers to bear in mind that throughout this report, the variable "settlement size" is a condensation of Indonesia's many administrative units into three categories: cities larger than 100,000, urban areas of less than 100,000, and rural areas — everything else. The text of the report often refers to these areas of residence as "urban," "suburban," and "rural," respectively.

When referring to sex and age categories, it is important to note that females over the age of forty repeatedly have significantly higher incidences of "don't know" responses. This is understandable considering they are by far the least educated of the sex-age categories, with fully two-thirds (66%) having less than an economy education. The other three sex-age categories are males under forty, males over forty, and females under forty. Readers should also know that "don't know" responses are more common among rural respondents, and this may have a bearing when comparing data between urban and rural areas.

A N OVERVIEW OF INDONESIAN PUBLIC OPINION

The questionnaire for this survey, which was conducted in respondents' homes, consisted of nearly 140 questions. We find, in a survey of this size, that it is useful to draw some summary characterizations of public opinion, based on a condensation of numerous questions.

This survey questionnaire was designed to serve several information-gathering purposes. But the core purpose was to assess public opinions on a set of fundamental principles related to the political and economic evolution of Indonesia. Namely, IFES sought to assess:

- the public's degree of political liberalism, measured by their embrace of democracy;
- the public's degree of satisfaction with the performance of government at various levels, including officials' responsiveness to public opinion;
- the degree of religious commitment (including a question on whether the quality of government would be enhanced if more officials were very religious — 73 percent say it would);
- the public's economic experience;
- the public's perceptions concerning the change occurring in Indonesian society today;
- the extent of information consumption and awareness of public policy issues.

IFES' experience in conducting now more than a dozen surveys in developing countries is that these six indicators, taken together, yield a robust portrait of the public opinion landscape, at least insofar as the political and economic evolution of the nation is concerned. Doubtless subsequent national surveys will probe each of these areas more deeply than we were able to, and will identify additional dimensions of the opinion climate which are politically significant. Still, we have found this combination of opinions to yield valuable insights.

The IFES research strategy is to avoid dependence on any single question when measuring these fundamental dimensions of public opinion. This survey asked, for example, ten questions concerning democracy (as a concept) and political liberty, including an open-ended question, "what does it mean to you to live in a democracy" (an open-ended question is one which does not impose response options on the respondents, but instead records their verbatim response, including the response, "I have no idea"). These questions were drawn from the IFES core questionnaire, which consists of generic questions concerning political and economic values, honed through our repeated surveys.

These multiple questions on a single, fundamental aspect of public opinion — such as attitudes toward democracy — are then combined, utilizing the statistical technique of factor analysis. Factor analysis confirms the legitimacy of combining various questions into a single measure, (we call these composite or multi-question measures the IFES "opinion indicators"), and then generates a score for each respondent, indicating where he or she falls along the scale of, for example, favorability or aversion toward democracy.

In the final analytic step, the respondents are grouped according to the similarity of their scores on the six IFES indicators, using the technique of cluster analysis. Cluster analysis groups respondents based on the similarity of their responses. But the outcome of the analysis — in terms of the number of groups which cluster analysis creates — is specified at the beginning of the process. In the case of this survey in Indonesia, we settled on five as the number of groups we wanted to define. A larger number of groups could have been selected, but this would not have improved the clarity of our findings. By experimenting with different outcomes in terms of the number of groups which the cluster analysis generates, we can find the minimum number of groups with the greatest explanatory power.

Figure 1. Key Constituencies in Indonesia

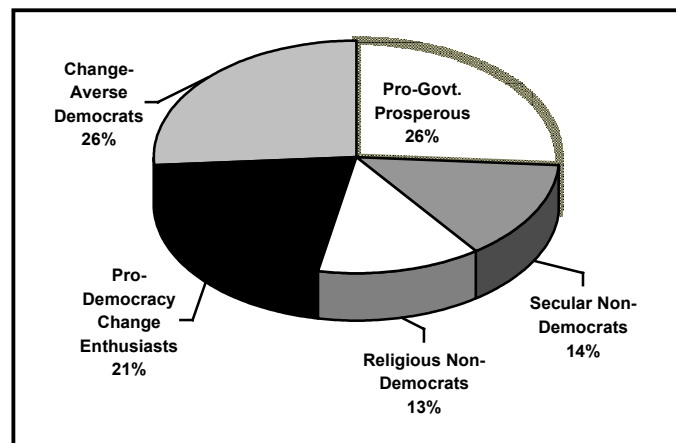


Figure 1 illustrates the relative size of the five key constituencies that emerge from this analysis. These constituencies, with their most salient characteristics are:

The Pro-Government Prosperous (26% of the national population)

- perceive the economy to be good;
- perceive change as improving the quality of life in Indonesia;
- most favorable in assessing government services;
- avid consumers of information and opinionated;
- young (under 40).

This constituency is one of two with high levels of support for Golkar.

Secular Non-Democrats (14%)

- one of the most tepid in support for democracy;
- the least religiously committed;
- perceive changes to be diminishing quality of life in Indonesia;
- not avid consumers of information, intellectually disengaged from national developments;
- rural;
- disproportionately older females.

This is the second constituency with high levels of support for Golkar.

Religious Non-Democrats (13%)

- the most religiously committed constituency;
- the most tepid in support for democracy;
- perceive changes to be diminishing quality of life in Indonesia;
- not information consumers;
- favorable in assessment of government services;
- the most rural constituency;
- disproportionately older females.

While this constituency has much in common with the *Secular Non-Democrats*, its religious fervor renders it much more favorable toward opposition parties.

Pro-Democracy Change Enthusiasts (21%)

- perceive change as improving the quality of life in Indonesia;
- favorable in assessment of government services;
- intensely pro-democracy;
- avid consumers of information and opinionated;
- disproportionately young.

Persons in the constituency tend to favor opposition parties.

Change Averse Democrats (26%)

- intensely pro-democracy;
- perceive economy to be bad;
- most acutely perceive change to be diminishing the quality of life in Indonesia;
- avid consumers of information and opinionated;
- favorable in assessment of government services;
- disproportionately young, disproportionately urban.

Persons in the constituency tend to favor opposition parties.

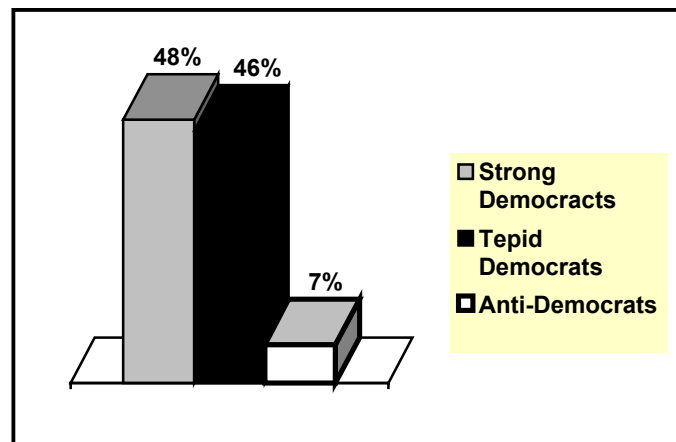
As noted above, there are distinct differences in the pattern of party support (whether for Golkar, an “opposition” party, or none) evident among these five groups. What is more striking, however, is the extent to which party allegiance can NOT be explained by reference to constituency membership alone, even though the constituencies were defined by characteristics which in other countries would be very predictive of partisan orientation. Doubtless this is partially a function of the newness of most parties and of Indonesia’s political openness.

It is possible to make a few generalizations. Religious commitment favors the opposition parties. Intense Democratic sentiment favors the opposition parties. The experience of economic prosperity favors Golkar, although Golkar also draws support from a constituency not experiencing prosperity. A lack of information about parties in general favors Golkar. Other characteristics such as age, sex, place of residence (urban or rural communities) are not politically predictive.

POLITICAL LIBERALISM, ATTITUDES TOWARD DEMOCRACY

As Indonesia prepares to go to the polls this summer for multiparty legislative elections, this survey finds a people unusually committed to democracy. Statistically combining six separate questions concerning democracy in principle reveals a tiny minority (7%) which can be categorized as anti-democratic. But the majority of Indonesians are either strongly (48%) or mildly (46%) supportive of democracy.

Figure 2. Political Constituencies



This composite measure of attitudes toward democracy was constructed from six individual questions:

- Should Indonesia strive to be a democracy (it should in the opinion of 70%, Question 75);
- Does democracy promote the solution of economic problems (it does, say 65%, Q79);
- Whether democracy benefits most people or just a few (most, in the opinion of 66%, Q80);
- Whether voting provides an opportunity to influence national decision-making (it does, report 75%, Q81);
- Do elections make officials more accountable to the public (they do, 81%, Q83);
- Do elections induce officials to respect the rights of citizens (yes again, 84%, Q84).

In surveys in other countries that IFES has conducted, the question regarding the ideal number of political parties (Q97) has proved to be useful for discriminating between democrats and anti-democrats. In Indonesia, however, so many respondents prefer a system of several parties (66%) that it could not be used to construct this scale of democratic sentiment.

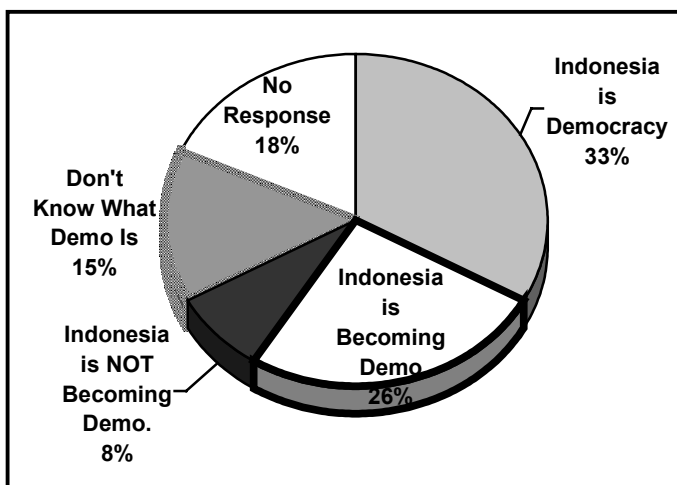
This measure of democratic sentiment is closely related to education. There is a linear relationship between the level of educational attainment of the respondents and their degree

of affinity for democracy: the college-educated are the most pro-democratic, the uneducated are the least. Further, since the better educated are also the better informed and more avid consumers of news and information, affinity for democracy is also closely related to interest in matters of politics and government. Pro-democratic sentiments are also more prevalent in urban areas than in the countryside. And predictably, affinity for democracy also correlates well with attitudes toward the student protests in Indonesia: the more pro-democratic, the more supportive of the students' initiative (and vice-versa).

One of the factors accounting for Indonesians' lopsided support of democracy in principle is that there is no competing and widespread anti-democratic ideology. Certainly Pancasila is not inconsistent with democracy, either in its particulars or in the extent of democratic sentiment among its enthusiasts (those who regard Pancasila as a unifying force in Indonesia, numbering 86%, are just as democratic as the population as a whole, Q99).

Politics is not a favorite pastime of most Indonesians. Nationwide, slightly more say that they are not interested in politics and government (43%) as say that they are (38%). Generally, urbanites are more likely to express interest in politics than are rural residents (48% of urban but only 30% of rural residents). Also, men are more interested in politics than are women, with lowest overall interest recorded for women over 40 years of age (only 20% are and 60% are not interested, Q46).

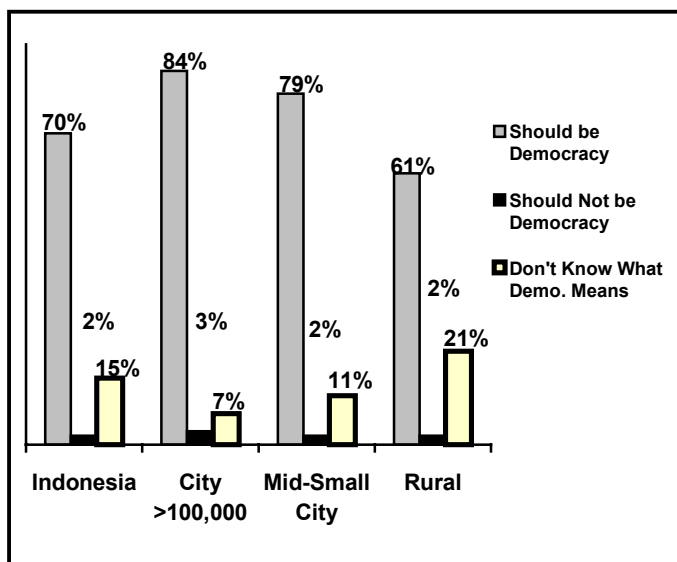
Figure 3. Indonesian Democracy¹



One-third (33%) of Indonesians say their country is currently a democracy [Q76]. Another third (36%) say Indonesia is not a democracy. Finally, 31 percent either don't know what democracy means, or don't know if their country is one or not. Urbanites are twice as likely as their rural countrymen to say Indonesia is not a democracy (52% to 26%).

However, three-fourths (73%) of those who say Indonesia is not a democracy believe it is moving towards becoming one [Q77]. This view is not distinct among any particular settlement, age, or gender group. It is interesting to note, however, that those who have not heard or read much about the student protests are somewhat less likely to be of the opinion that Indonesia is becoming a democracy compared to those who have heard or read about the protests (62% to 76%).

¹"Would you say that Indonesia is primarily a democracy today, or is it not primarily a democracy?" (n=1507)
[IF NOT A DEMOCRACY] "Is Indonesia moving toward becoming a democracy, or is it not?" (n=543)

Figure 4. Indonesia Should Strive for Democracy²

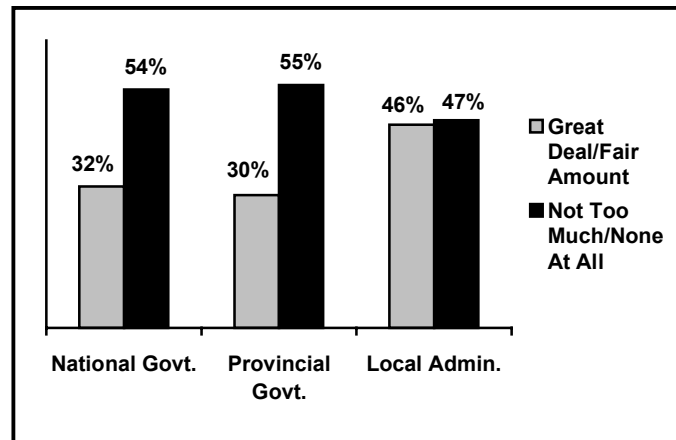
Indonesians overwhelmingly (70%) believe their country should strive to be a democracy [Q75]. This attitude is more prevalent in the urban areas (84% urban, 79% suburban) than in the rural parts of the country (61%). The incidence of those who do not know what democracy means also shifts according to settlement size, from 7 percent in the large cities to 21 percent in the rural areas. Gender and age are also significant factors: men under 40 are the most supportive sex/age group with 82 percent desiring their country to be a democracy. Only 45 percent of females over age 40

want democracy but it should be noted that the "don't know" responses for this group are consistently higher throughout the survey (26% in this instance).

Sixty-five percent believe democracy promotes the solution of economic problems [Q79]. Likewise, 66 percent say democracy benefits most of the people instead of just a few people at the top [Q80]. Seventy-five percent of the people, regardless of their settlement size, agree that voting gives them a chance to influence decisions [Q81]. On the other hand, one-third (33%) of Indonesians agree that it is necessary to limit the political rights of individuals to establish order [Q82]. Forty-seven percent disagree with this fundamentally undemocratic proposition.

While Indonesians are strongly supportive of democracy, they do not seem to feel that governing institutions play a large part in their lives. Regarding attitudes toward the national government, most Indonesians (54%) do not believe that the national government has much affect on their life [Q40]. One-third (32%) say the national government has either a great deal or a fair amount of influence on their life. Urbanites feel especially estranged from the national government where 67 percent say it has little affect on their life. Similarly, 55 percent say the provincial government does not have too much affect or no affect at all on their lives [Q41, figure 5 next page].

² "In your opinion, should Indonesia strive to be a democracy, or should it strive to be something other than a democracy?" (n=1507)

Figure 5. Affect of Governments on Peoples' Lives³

By comparison, Indonesians are more evenly divided over how much the local administration affects their lives. Forty-six percent (46%) say the local administration affects their life either "a great deal" or "a fair amount." Forty-seven percent say it affects them "not too much" or "not at all" [Q42]. There is very little variance in this view across educational levels, with one notable exception — 71 percent of those who completed academy studies feel their local administration has little affect on them. While there may be some dispute that government affects their lives, an overwhelming 86 percent of Indonesians say that Pancasila brings people together [Q99].

³ "How much does the (national government of Indonesia/provincial government/local administration) affect your life?" (n=1507)

CURRENT SITUATION, CHANGES, AND SATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT

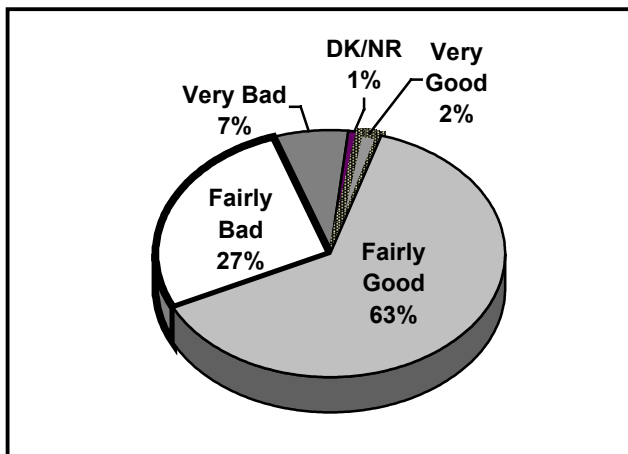
Indonesia is a country with a large rural population (represented by 51% of the sample in this survey), many residents of which are distant from urban centers where unrest has occurred, and who do not participate in the monetary economy. Yet, while most Indonesians live far from the political and societal tumult underway in Indonesia, they still are aware of the changes taking place in Indonesia and of the affects these changes have on their lives.

Sixty percent (60%) of respondents say there are many changes taking place in Indonesia today while 37 percent do not believe many changes are occurring. Of those who say many changes are taking place, most (65%) say those changes are making their quality of life worse. In fact, only 16 percent say those changes are making their quality of life better. This sentiment ranges across all geographic, gender, and age groups [Q9-10].

Figure 6. Perception and Affect of Changes

<i>Perception of Changes</i> ⁴		<i>Affect of Changes on Quality of Life</i> ⁵ (if perceive changes)	
Many Changes are occurring	60%	For the better	16%
Not many changes are occurring	37%	For the worse	65%
Don't know	3%	Both equally	17%
		Don't know	3%

Figure 7. Current Quality of Ilife⁶



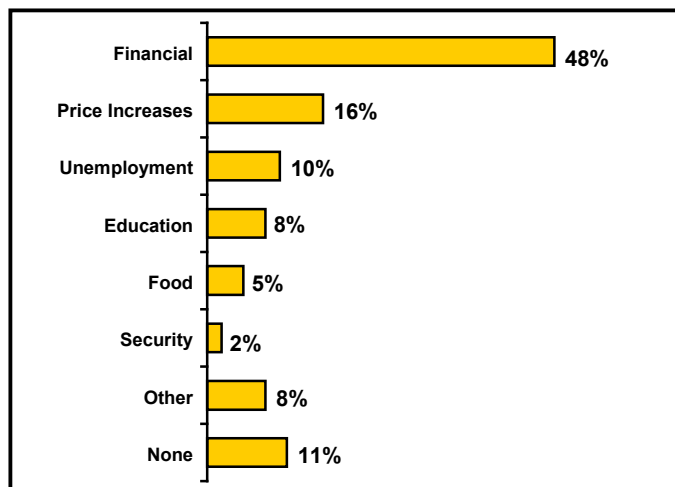
Two-thirds (65%) of Indonesians rate their current quality of life as good while one-third (34%) rate it as bad [Q8]. Indonesians are more evenly split over their current personal economic situation: 41 percent rate their current economic situation as good while a majority, 54 percent, say it is bad [Q14]. In fact, when asked about the biggest problem facing their family, economic concerns topped the list. Forty-eight percent cited a generic concern about the economy as their biggest problem and another 16

percent cited price increases specifically [Q11]. Ten percent cited worries about employment while 8 percent named education as their primary concern (figure 8 next page).

⁴ "In your opinion, are there many changes occurring in your way of life today, or are there not many changes occurring in your way of life today?" (n=1507)

⁵ "And are these changes mainly making your quality of life better or mainly making your quality of life worse?" (n=904)

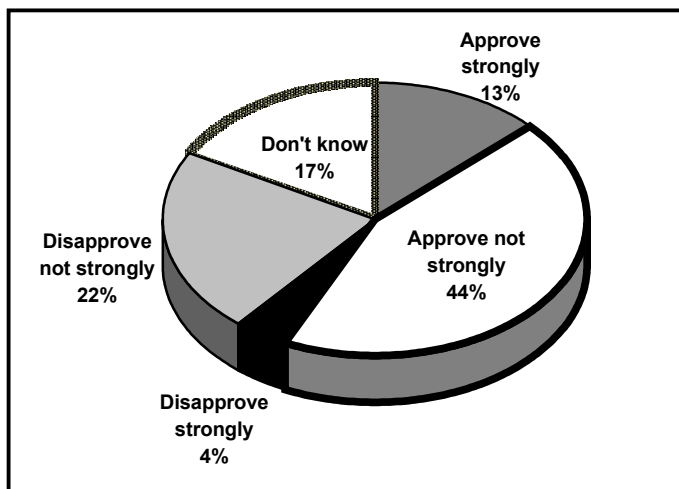
⁶ "How would you describe the quality of your life today -- is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?"(n-1507)

Figure 8. Biggest Problems Facing Family⁷

Yet in some ways, life is improving for Indonesians, who overwhelmingly (62%) agree that compared to a year ago they now have greater freedom to talk about government officials [Q12]. Once again there is a significant split according to settlement size. Seventy-five percent of those in large cities say they have greater freedom while 54 percent of rural citizens agree, a 21-point difference. Only 4 percent say they now have less freedom to speak freely about government officials.

While Indonesians feel that their freedom of speech has expanded, they are somewhat less sure that government officials are now more likely to observe their legal rights. Still, 40 percent say government officials are now more likely to observe their rights compared to a year ago [Q13]. One-quarter (25%) say there is no change and another quarter (23%) say they don't know. Settlement size plays no role in this instance.

⁷ "In your opinion, what is the biggest problem facing your family today?" (n=1507)

Figure 9. Attitude toward Student Protests⁸

A large majority (68%) of Indonesians have heard or read about the student protests in Jakarta. Whereas 80 percent of urbanites and suburbanites have heard or read about the protests, only 57 percent of rural respondents have. Overall, 57 percent approve of the protests and 26 percent disapprove [Q57-58].

Soeharto's resignation is considered a good thing by 57 percent of those surveyed. One-fifth (22%) consider it a bad thing [Q107]. Sixty-seven

percent of urbanites believe his resignation is a good thing while that figure drops to 50 percent among rural Indonesians. Of those who've heard or read something about the student protests — people who tend to be more urban and more pro-democratic — 66 percent support Soeharto's resignation.

Apparently there has been little change in the ranks of local officials. Only one in five respondents say that since Soeharto's resignation, local officials have also changed (19%), while a majority of 54 percent say that their local officials are the same [Q108].

Satisfaction with the Performance of Government

Although two-thirds of Indonesians (65%) say there are things the government could do to improve their lives, many seem to be satisfied with their government's performance in a number of areas [Q44]. They are most satisfied with the quality of healthcare services (76% satisfied - 19% unsatisfied) and with the quality of public schools, (71 percent - 19%) [QUESTIONS 30 & 32]. Seventy-six percent of those in rural areas are satisfied with their public schools versus 62% of those in large cities. The quality of drinking water is also a source of satisfaction for 57 percent of Indonesians although those in large cities are far more satisfied with it than those in rural areas (65% vs. 47%) [Q34].

Indonesians are most *dissatisfied* with the moral character of their leaders (47% dissatisfied) and the fight against crime (45% dissatisfied) [QUESTIONS 33 & 29]. More also say they are dissatisfied with the way elections are conducted, 39 percent to 36 percent [Q31]. However, those in rural areas are significantly *more* satisfied with the way elections are conducted than their countrymen in urban areas, 40 percent to 23 percent.

⁸ "Do you approve or disapprove of what the student protesters in Jakarta have been doing? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?" (n=1507)

Figure 10. Satisfaction with Government Services⁹

Government Service	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
Quality of healthcare services	76%	19%
Quality of education	71%	19%
Gov't. efforts to help poor	59%	34%
Quality of drinking water	57%	21%
Respect for rights of citizens	50%	29%
Fight against crime	45%	45%
Way elections are conducted	36%	39%
Moral character of national leaders	32%	47%

Whether or not a respondent or their family receives government assistance does not affect their satisfaction, with one anticipated exception: sixty percent of those who receive assistance are satisfied with the government's efforts to assist the poor.

The President of Indonesia is seen as the most responsive arm of the government (see chart below). The DPR (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat*) is viewed as the least responsive branch [QUESTIONS 35 -39].

Figure 11. Responsiveness of Governing Institutions¹⁰

Entity	Responsive	Not Responsive
President	52%	27%
Armed Forces	46%	34%
Provincial Government	43%	29%
National Police	42%	39%
DPR (Parliament)	37%	38%

While settlement size does not play a significant role in how Indonesians view the responsiveness of certain institutions, education does. More than half of academy graduates and those with some or completed university education view the Parliament as unresponsive (62 percent academy graduates and 54 percent those with some university education). Higher educated Indonesians also are more likely to view the armed forces as unresponsive (50% of academy graduates and 53% of college educated). Likewise, 53 percent of academy graduates and 52 percent of college educated Indonesians say the national police are not responsive. As with the satisfaction levels in the section above, the rate of "don't know" responses increases significantly as educational level decreases.

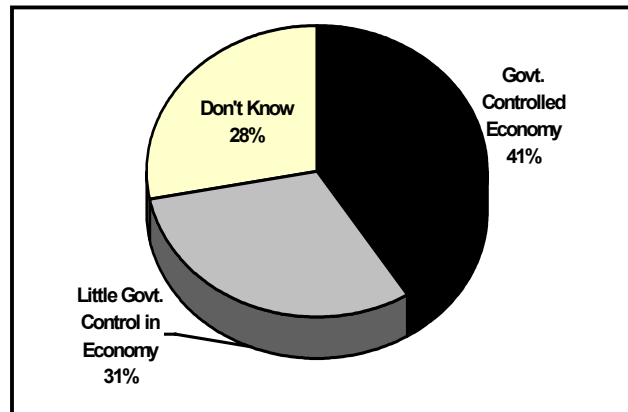
⁹ "Please tell me how satisfied you are — completely satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied — with each of the following programs of our government?" (n=1507)

¹⁰ "Thinking of the various levels of national and local government, in your opinion how responsive are the following to the needs and concerns of the people — very responsive, somewhat responsive, not very responsive, or not at all responsive." (n=1507)

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM AND SUPPORT FOR MARKET ECONOMY

While Indonesians are decidedly pro-democratic, they are clearly ambivalent about the free market — apparently unconscious of the practical relationship between political and economic liberalism. Asked whether they prefer to have an economy with little government control, or one which is essentially controlled by the government, 41 percent select the latter (31% the former, 28% don't know, Q23). This can be interpreted to mean that 39 percent of the Indonesian public is both pro-democracy and anti-free market.

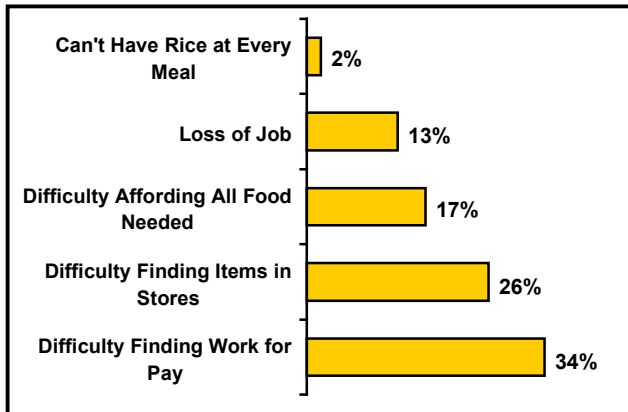
Figure 12. Preferred Economic System¹¹



Just over half of Indonesians (54%) view their community's current economic situation as bad; 41% rate it as good [Q14]. Of those who say the economic situation is bad, 47 percent believe it is a result of mistakes made by their leaders [Q15]. Only 16 percent believe their country's economic problems are mainly due to factors beyond their control. Closer to home, 52 percent say the economic situation in their community is getting worse, 11 percent believe it is getting better, and 34 percent say it is staying the same [Q16].

¹¹ "When thinking about our economic future, should our country strive to develop a free or market economy — that is, an economy with little government control — or should we strive for an economy which is basically controlled by the government?" (n=1507)

Figure 13. Types of Economic Difficulties¹²

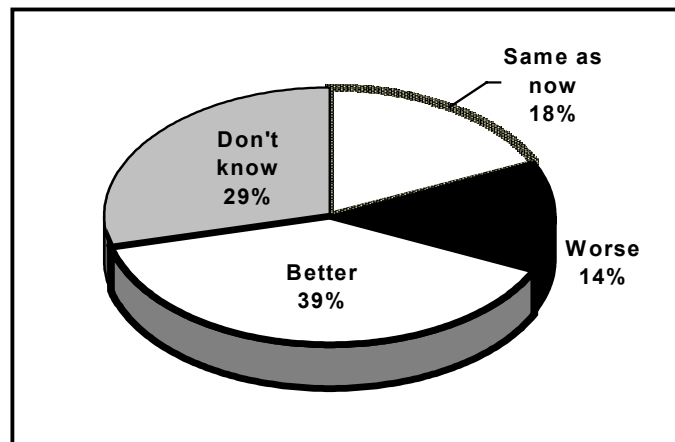


One-third (34%) of Indonesians have had difficulty finding enough work to do for monetary remuneration in the last year while 62 percent have not had that problem [Q18]. Thirteen percent have lost a full-time job in the last year [Q19]. However, practically all (97%) report they would be able to afford rice at every meal if they so chose [Q17]. One quarter (26%) of Indonesians have had difficulty finding things they need to buy [Q20]. Seventy percent report having no such

problems. Seventeen percent have had problems affording enough food in the last year [Q21]. Forty-two percent of Indonesians report receiving assistance from the government [Q43]. This is much more prevalent in the rural areas than in the cities (28% urban, 38% suburban, 50% rural). Younger citizens are just as likely to receive assistance as older Indonesians (41% - 43%).

However, despite the poor economic circumstances in their country, there is a significant level of optimism. Thirty-nine percent believe the economic situation in twelve months will be better [Q22]. Only 14 percent expect it to get worse and 18 percent suspect it will remain the same. Comparable levels of optimism can be found in both urban and rural areas, as well as among men and women.

Figure 14. Economic Situation in One Year¹³



Fifty-three percent of Indonesians say they have either a 'great deal' or 'fair amount' of information about economic developments in their country [Q24]. Thirty-eight percent feel

¹² "In the past year, have you experienced any of these things..." (n=1507)

¹³ "Twelve months from now, do you expect the economic situation in your community will be better than it is now, will be worse than it is now, or will be about the same as it is now?" (n=1507)

uninformed about economic developments. Men under 40 tend to be the most informed about economic developments (65%). Philosophically, more Indonesians prefer an economy basically controlled by the government than an economy with little government involvement, 41 percent to 31 percent [Q23]. By a margin of 37 percent to 25 percent, men are more supportive of a free-market economy. While most say they prefer a government-controlled economy, almost half (48%) believe that the presence of foreign companies in Indonesia is mainly beneficial [Q25]. Only 17 percent cite them as harmful. Here again, younger males are the most supportive group (57%). Indonesians believe the oil of Indonesia belongs to the them, not the Indonesian government, 60 percent to 25 percent [Q26].

ELECTIONS AND OPINION OF LEADERS

Eighty-one percent of Indonesians agree with the proposition that elections make officials accountable [Q83]. Those with a higher level of education are substantially more likely to agree. While 55 percent of those with no formal education agree, 92 percent of academy graduates and 98 percent of those with at least some college education agree that elections make officials accountable. Similarly high numbers (84%) believe that elections make officials respect individual rights [Q84]. Men are more apt to agree than women (89% to 79%).

Ninety-two percent of those surveyed voted in the May, 1997 elections [Q85]. Of those who voted, 56 percent say the elections were administered well while 34 percent say they were administered poorly [Q86]. Males under age 40 were most likely to say that the elections were administered poorly (47%). One in five (21%) of those who voted say local officials told them who to vote for in the 1997 elections [Q87]. Likewise, 18 percent say the elections were not at all honest and fair [Q88]. Of all Indonesians, whether they voted or not, 54 percent describe the elections as "mostly" or "partially" fair and honest. Only 8 percent say they were conducted completely fairly and honestly.

Figure 15. 1997 Elections

<i>Voted?</i> ¹⁴		<i>Fairness of Elections?</i> ¹⁵		<i>Told How to Vote?</i> ¹⁶	
Yes	92%	Completely fair	8%	Yes	21%
No	7%	Mostly fair	26%	No	78%
Don't know	-	Somewhat fair	28%	Don't know	2%
		Not at all	18%		
		Don't know	20%		

The LPU (*Lembaga Pemilihan Umum*) has only been heard or read about by one-quarter (25%) of Indonesians [Q89]. Fifty-three percent have not read very much or have heard nothing at all about the LPU. Information about the LPU does not seem to be any more or less salient in the urban, suburban, or rural groups. Of those who have heard or read something about the LPU, 70 percent believe they are neutral while 17 percent say the LPU favors certain candidates [Q90]. Indonesians over the age of 40 are more likely to see the LPU as a neutral body than those under age 40 (75% to 67%).

When it comes to the elections in June 1999, 72 percent say they are certain to vote [Q100]. Seventeen percent are very likely to do so. Intent to vote remains strong across age, sex, and settlement categories. Overall, 59 percent believe that these elections will be

¹⁴ "As you may recall, elections were held in May 1997 to elect Members of the DPR (Parliament). Did you happen to vote in those elections?" (n=1507)

¹⁵ "From what you have heard about the May 1997 elections for the DPR (Parliament), how honest and fair were these elections: completely, mostly, partially, or were they not honest and fair at all?" (n=1507)

¹⁶ "[If Voted in 1997] In the election of May 1997, did a local official or community leader tell you who you must vote for?" (n=1386, those who voted in 1997)

completely or somewhat fair and honest [Q101]. Younger Indonesians tend to be a little more confident that the elections will be fair and honest than their elders, 63 percent to 54 percent. When asked if they think someone will tell them how to vote in the elections this June, 90 percent say that they will decide how to vote for themselves [Q103].

When it comes to deciding the fairness of the elections, one-quarter of Indonesians (25%) will decide if the June elections are fair and honest through their own experience with voting [Q102]. Another 20 percent plan on basing their evaluation on what independent election monitors say. Twelve percent will listen to what the media says about the conduct of the election.

Figure 16. 1999 Parliamentary Elections

<i>Intend to Vote?</i> ¹⁷		<i>Fairness of Elections?</i> ¹⁸		<i>Will Be Told How to Vote?</i> ¹⁹	
Absolutely certain	72%	Completely fair	13%	Yes	7%
Very likely	17%	Somewhat fair	46%	No	90%
Fairly likely	8%	Somewhat unfair	5%	Don't know	4%
Not too likely	1%	Completely unfair	1%		
Not likely at all	-	Don't know	36%		

Opinion of Leaders

We tested the public's recognition and opinion of nine leading political figures. The two most widely known also enjoy an overall favorable opinion. Almost all Indonesians have heard of:

President B.J. Habibie (4% have not heard of him), and
Megawati Soekarnoputri (7% have not heard of her)

Of the two, President Habibie enjoys the more favorable name identification, by a margin of five-to-one (56% favorable to 11% unfavorable). Ms. Soekarnoputri also has a favorable name identification, by a margin of four-to-one (49% favorable to 11% unfavorable). About one-third have neither a positive nor negative opinion about these two leaders (Habibie 29%, and Soekarnoputri 32%). As already noted, only one-in-ten have an unfavorable opinion of these two national leaders. The distribution of overall opinion, that is, favorable opinion prevailing by a very wide margin with sizeable proportion expressing no opinion (neither favorable nor unfavorable), is characteristic of men and women, across age groups and among both rural and urban residents.

¹⁷ "You may know that next summer Indonesia will conduct an election for the DPR (Parliament). How likely is it that you will vote in these elections? (n=1507)

¹⁸ How fair and honest do you think these elections next year will be: completely fair and honest, somewhat fair and honest, somewhat unfair and dishonest or completely unfair and dishonest? (n=1507)

¹⁹ "If you do vote in the elections next May, do you expect someone will probably tell you how you should vote, or will you decide how to vote for yourself?" (n=1507)

Somewhat less known than these two leaders, but still familiar to over three-fourths of Indonesians are National Mandate Party (PAN) leader Amien Rais, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) head Abdurrahman Wahid (aka Gus Dur), ARBRI head General Wiranto, and GOLKAR Chairman Akbar Tandjung. In all but one instance, the prevailing opinion of these leaders is favorable, or at worst opinion is evenly divided between favorable opinion and no opinion. The one exception is Akbar Tandjung, of whom slightly more have an unfavorable than a favorable opinion.

Amien Rais (29% favorable to 23% unfavorable; 35% no opinion and 13% have not heard of him)

Abdurrahman Wahid (37% favorable to 15% unfavorable; 33% no opinion and 15% have not heard)

General Wiranto (32% favorable to 17% unfavorable; 33% no opinion and 18% have not heard)

Akbar Tandjung (20% favorable to 24% unfavorable; 36% no opinion and 20% have not heard)

Far less well known is the Sultan of Yogyakarta (31% have not heard the name), Yusril Ihza Mahendra (56%) and Matori Abdul Djilil (58%). Of the respondents who have heard of these leaders, most tend to have a favorable opinion of them, with few holding unfavorable opinions.

Sultan of Yogyakarta (33% favorable to 4% unfavorable; 31% no opinion and 31% have not heard)

Yusril Ihza Mahendra (19% favorable to 6% unfavorable; 19% no opinion and 56% have not heard)

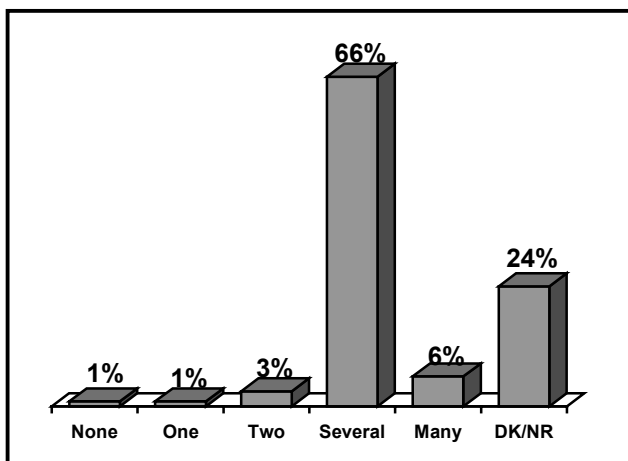
Matori Abdul Djilil (13% favorable to 7% unfavorable; 21% no opinion and 58% have not heard)

The lesser-known leaders, that is other than Habibie and Soekarnoputri, enjoy roughly the same overall favorable image among key demographic groups as they do nationwide. The one notable difference is that the proportion of those who "have not heard about a leader" increases with age and is higher among rural than urban residents. Also, many more women than men have not heard about any given leader. For example, a comparison of "have not heard" responses among men and women for each candidate yields: Amien Rais – 6 percent men and 15 percent women; Abdurrahman Wahid – 7 percent men and 17 percent women; General Wiranto – 6 percent men to 21 percent women; Akbar Tandjung – 9 percent men and 23 percent women; Sultan of Yogyakarta – 17 percent men and 30 percent women; Yusril Ihza Mahendra – 41 percent men and 58 percent women; and Matori Abdul Djilil -- 42% men to 62% women).

SUPPORT FOR A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM AND OPINIONS ABOUT POLITICAL PARTIES

The survey shows that most Indonesians support a multi-party system and are familiar with political parties. Generally, Indonesians can name the three or four leading parties and most identify with a political party.

Figure 17. Preferred Number of Parties²⁰



A large majority (75%) agrees that there should be at least two political parties. The preference is to have three or more parties -- two-thirds (66%) say that the ideal number of parties for Indonesia is to have "several parties," an additional few say "many parties" (6%) and a few opt for a two-party system (3%). Few respondents express support for a single party (1%). One-fourth (24%) expressed no opinion on this issue. The widespread support for a multiparty system is characteristic of all age groups, shared by

men and women, and expressed by urban and rural residents. Although in all demographic groups definite majorities support a multiparty system, there are notable differences in the non-response rate. The level of non-response is higher among women than among men, increases with age, and is higher among rural than among urban residents. [Q97]

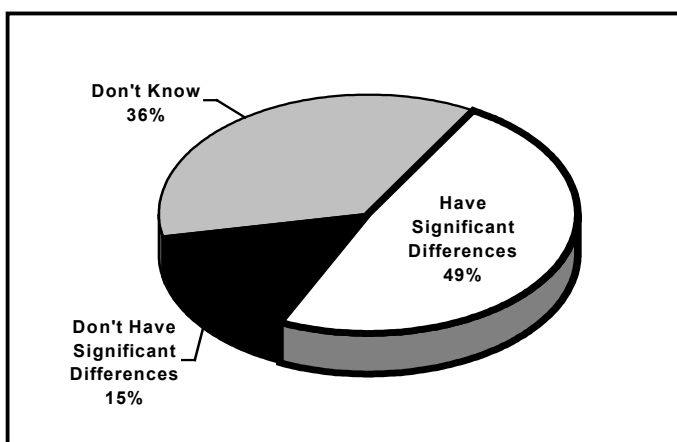
Notwithstanding this broad support for a multiparty system, there is no agreement as to whether and how parties impact on developments in the country. Nationwide, one-third (34%) agree that political parties make things better in the country and fewer say that political parties make things worse (28%). An additional one-in-ten (9%) maintain that parties have no effect on developments in the country. A sizeable proportion -- over one-fourth (28%) -- express no opinion on this issue. Generally, urban residents and men have a more positive assessment of how parties affect the country: the perception that parties make things better prevails among urban residents, whereas in rural areas opinion is evenly split among those who say that parties improve conditions as say they worsen the situation. Also, opinion is evenly divided among women (29% say improve and 28% worsen), whereas among men the view prevails that parties improve conditions (39% improve to 28% worsen) [Q98].

Information about political parties appears on the whole available to the public. One-half (53%) say they have at least a fair amount of information about political parties, and an additional one-third (35%) report they have "not very much" information. Only a few (6%)

²⁰ "What do you think is the ideal number of political parties to have in Indonesia: none, one, two, several, or many?" (n=1507)

say they have not heard or read anything about political parties (7% give no response). There are notable differences in how demographic groups assess the availability of information about political parties. A clear majority of urban residents say they have at least a fair amount of information about political parties, whereas opinion is evenly split among rural residents (46% have at least a fair amount and 47% have not very much or nothing at all). Majorities of men and adults under 40 say they have sufficient information about political parties, whereas among women and older adults as many say they have as do not have sufficient information [Q91].

Figure 18. Differences between Political Parties²¹



By a margin of three-to-one, the public agrees that political parties “have significant differences in how they would solve the country’s problems” (48% agree); one-third as many maintain that there are no significant differences between the parties (15%). The rest -- over one-third (36%) -- do not respond to this question. This high non-response rate reinforces the many who say that they do not have sufficient information about political

parties. The three-to-one ratio asserting that political parties differ significantly is typical of men and women, of all age groups, and of urban and rural residents, with one exception. Residents of Indonesia’s major urban centers are much less convinced that parties differ significantly. Although in these urban centers the view prevails that parties differ significantly, it does so by a much smaller margin than in smaller towns or in rural areas (large urban centers -- 40% parties significantly differ to 30% do not; small urban centers 54% to 17% and rural areas 48%-to-9%) [Q92].

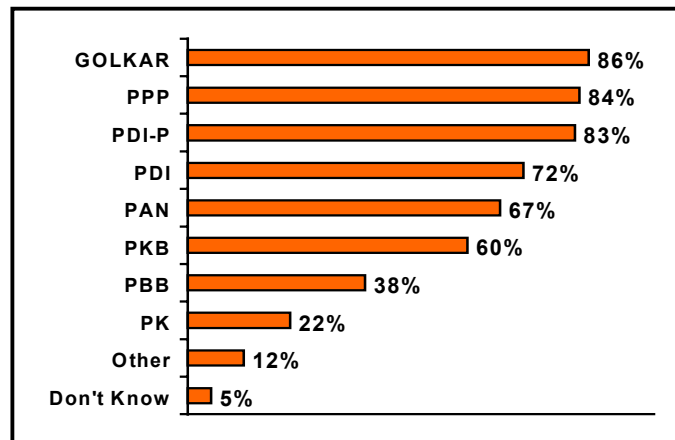
Familiarity and Identification with Political Parties

Public familiarity with political parties is also evidenced by the fact that a definite majority of the public can name six parties. The most widely known parties are GOLKAR (named by 86%), the United Development Party (PPP, named by 84%), and the Indonesian Democratic Party Perjuangan (PDI-P, named by 83%). Large majorities mention the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI, 72%), the National Mandate Party (PAN, 67%), and the National Awakening Party (PKB, 60%). Comparatively few name the Crescent Star Party (PBB, 38%) and the Partai Keadilan (PK, 22%). Generally, the six leading parties are as frequently mentioned by men as by women, by urban and rural residents, and by all age groups, with one exception – women over 40 are somewhat less familiar with these political parties than

²¹ "Some people say that the various political parties have significant differences in how they would solve the country's problems. Others say there are not significant differences between the parties in how they would solve the country's problems. Which of these views is closer to your own?" (n=1507)

others. The less known parties, specifically the Crescent Star Party and the Partai Keadilan, are mainly mentioned by residents of large urban centers (Q93, figure 19).

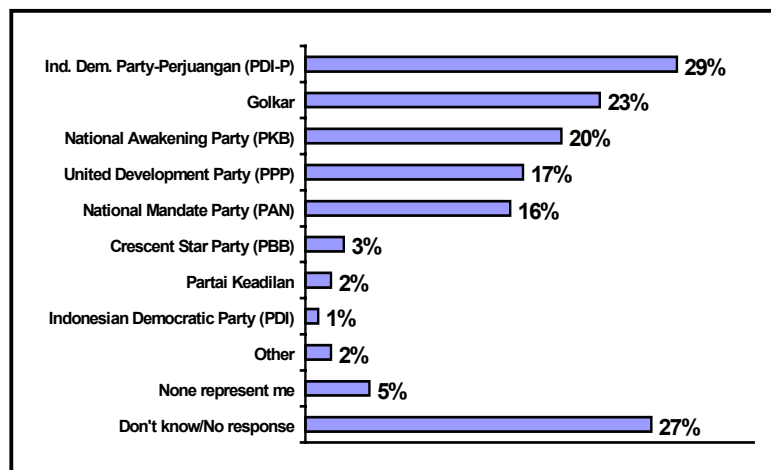
Figure 19. Familiarity with Political Parties²²
(percent familiar with party)



A large majority of Indonesians identify with a political party, naming at least one party as representing interests and views coincident with their own. Notwithstanding the widespread identification with political parties, the survey results present a party system that is diffused at best, for none of the parties elicits broad popular support. We invited respondents to name up to two political parties that represent the views and interests of people like themselves. Adding the first and second mentions yields the following results of party affinity:

²² "Please tell me the names of all the political parties -- if any -- that you have actually heard of?" (Multiple responses allowed, n=1507)

Figure 20. Parties which Represent Views and Interests²³
(combines first and second choices)



- The lead party is the Indonesian Democratic Party Perjuangan, the PDI-P, selected by 29%;
- In close second place is GOLKAR, with 23 percent seeing their interests being best represented by this party;
- The National Awakening Party (PKB) is in third place (20%);
- The United Development Party (PPP) is at 17%; and
- The National Mandate Party (PAN) is at 16%.

Other parties are in single digits, such as the Crescent Star Party (PBB, 3%), the Partai Keadilan (PK, 2%), and the non-Megawati faction of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), 1%.

One-fourth nationwide (27%) do not identify with any political party and a few (5%) volunteer that none of the parties represent their views and interests. Generally, the proportion of those who do not identify with a party is higher among women than among men, with women over 40 recording a much higher non-response rate than other groups (compare 38% of women over 40 but only 25% of those under 40) [Q94].

When asked why they selected a political party, the factor that stands out is the policies and ideology of a party. Given five possible reasons for identifying with a party, the reason most frequently selected is – “I like what the party stands for” (33%). Far fewer select as the main reason the party leader (11% -- “I like the party leader”). Recommendations of local leaders, family members, and friends were selected by very few – one or two percent nationwide (1% selected as main reason “I have been told this party is the best by a local official or leader,” 2% because of a recommendation by a family member or friend, and 1% because of the local party candidate or the local party official).

²³ “Please tell me which of these political parties or movements best represents the views and interests of people like you?” (n=1507)

Figure 21. Reasons for Picking Party²⁴

What the party stands for	33%
Party leader	11%
Friend/family	2%
Like local candidate	1%
Local official	1%
Other reason	5%
Don't know	16%
NOT ASKED	32%

The main reason for selecting a party -- “what the party stands for” -- is given as frequently by men as by women, by all age groups, and by urban and rural residents. These data underscore the importance of substantive issues and suggest that personal leadership, though important, is not as critical a factor as the policies advocated by a political party [Q96].

Direct Candidate Vote Preferred over Party Vote

The public leans in favor of direct election of candidates rather than voting for a political party that would in turn appoint the person who would sit in parliament. Given two options, the preference by a clear margin is “to vote for the actual person” (44%) than “to vote for the political party which then picked who would actually sit in the DPR” (34%). A sizeable proportion, one-fifth (21%), express no opinion on this abstract issue. The preference for a direct vote for a candidate is most broadly supported in middle-sized urban centers (50% prefer a direct vote and 31% vote for party) and by a comparatively small margin in rural areas (41% prefer a direct vote on candidate and 34% for party). In contrast, in large urban centers opinion was nearly evenly split (45% candidate to 40% party). Opinion also divides evenly among women over 40 years of age (30% candidate to 26% party). What also distinguishes this group of women is the unusually high non-response – 44 percent did not express an opinion, at times twice as many as among other demographic groups. [Q104]

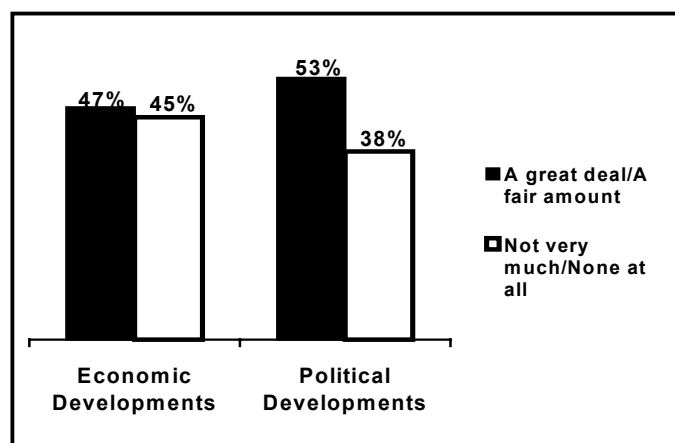
The public also favors a direct popular vote for the President. Given the option of the current system or a direct vote, far more agree that “it would be better if the President were elected directly by the people” (46%), rather than continue the current practice of having the president elected by the MPR (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*, 35%). Support for direct election is particularly widespread among residents of large urban centers (56% direct vote to 26% current system). The least informed on this issue are women over 40 (40% give no response) and among the rest opinion is roughly evenly split (29% for direct vote and 31% for current system). [Q105]

²⁴ “What is the main reason you selected the first party you mentioned to me?” (n=1507)

A AVAILABILITY AND SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Nationwide, there is no consensus on whether there is sufficient information on political and economic developments. Overall, Indonesians are slightly more satisfied with information on economic than on political developments. On political developments, roughly as many say that they have at least a fair amount of information (47%) as say that they do not (45%). Level of satisfaction with information on economic issues is slightly better – one-half (53%) say that they have a sufficient amount of information and far fewer say they do not (38%) [Q47 & Q24].

Figure 22. Information on Economic and Political Developments²⁵



On political issues, residents of urban centers are more likely to say they have a sufficient amount of information as say so in rural areas (58% of urban but 37% of rural residents have at least a fair amount of information). Also, men are more likely than women to say that they have information, with women over 40 particularly critical of the availability of information (among the over 40 women, 20% have and 59% do not have information on political developments).

A similar pattern emerges on the availability of information on economic developments. Residents of urban areas are more likely to say that they have sufficient information than do rural residents. Also, men are more likely to say they have enough information than women, with women over 40 years of age the least satisfied with the amount of available information (among women over 40, 33% have and 46% do not have enough information on economic developments, whereas among men of the same age group, 53% have and 39% do not).

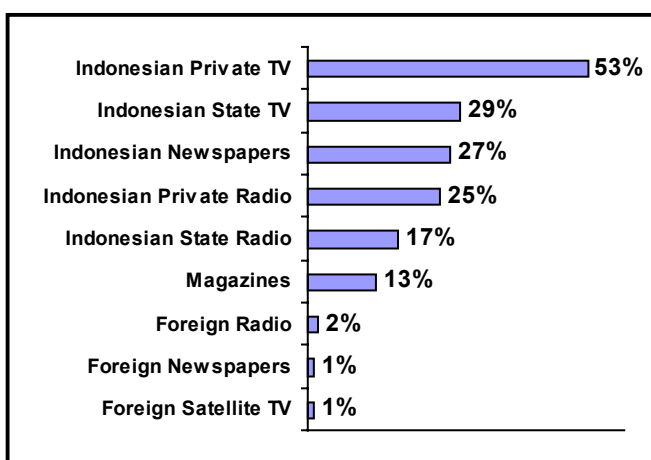
²⁵ "How much information do you feel you have about (political/economic) developments in Indonesia — a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?" (n=1507)

Sources of News and Information

Indonesians are heavy consumers of mass media, especially of television as a news source. All who have a television set use it to keep abreast of events and developments; similarly, those who own a radio rely on it for news. Generally, domestic media are the source of news for almost all Indonesians. Small proportions of the public, not more than one-in-ten, rely for news on foreign television and radio programs broadcast in Indonesian as well as other languages.

Nationwide, three-fourths of Indonesians have televisions sets; ownership is nearly unanimous in the major urban centers (91% have a television set) and declining to two-thirds (65%) in rural areas. Ownership of an AM/FM radio is slightly lower nationwide – two-thirds have a set (69%) and, here again, ownership is far larger in the major urban centers than in villages (own a radio – 90% in major urban centers, 73% in urban areas, and 60% in rural regions) [Q59 & Q60].

Figure 23. Sources of News Used Often²⁶



Television dominates as the source of news, with the independent stations more frequently used than the state station. Almost all who own a television set (76% nationwide) rely on Indonesian Private TV for news — half (53%) turn to the stations often and an additional one-fifth (19%) sometimes. Indonesian State TV is less frequently used as a news source, though it still is highly popular: 29% turn to the station often and 41% sometimes. Additionally, one-in-ten (11%) turn to foreign language

television programs received by satellite (1% often and 10% sometimes). The reliance on television stations is similar among other demographic groups (when one takes into account the availability of sets, see paragraph above), except that – rural residents and women over 40 have almost no exposure to foreign television broadcasts.

Radio is also a useful news source and those who own a radio generally listen to radio news at least sometimes. Indonesian State and Private Radio Stations are equally popular, with a slightly more frequent use of private radio stations as a source of news:

- Indonesian Private Radio Programs, -- 59% listen to news, with 25% often and 34% sometimes;
- Indonesian State Radio Programs -- 57% listen to news, with 17% often and 40% sometimes; and

²⁶ "Now I am going to read to you several sources of news about events here in Indonesia which you might use. For each, please tell me if you use the source often, sometimes, or never." (n=1507)

- Radio broadcasts from foreign countries are not a news source for many Indonesians.

Only one-in-ten nationwide listen to Indonesian language radio programs from other countries, with most having the exposure only sometimes (8% sometimes and 2% often). Exposure to other foreign radio broadcasts is minimal – only 6% listen to such programs (5% sometimes and 1% often) [Q64-67].

Readership of Indonesian newspapers for news varies. One-fourth (24%) nationwide say they never use Indonesian newspapers as a news source and an additional 12 percent do not have access to newspapers. Among the rest, slightly more rely on newspapers sometimes as do often (36% and 27% respectively). As would be expected, use of newspapers as a news source is more widely expressed by urban than rural residents, by men more than by women, and by younger adults.

The reliance on Indonesian magazines as a news source is typical of the use of newspapers. Nationwide, about one-third (33%) do not consider magazines as a news source and an additional 14 percent do not have access to magazines. Those who do read the magazines for news are more likely to do this sometimes than often (37% sometimes and 13% often). Least likely to rely on magazines are women over 40 years of age (42% have never used a magazine as a news source and an additional 24% have no access to such).

Foreign publications, newspapers as well as magazines, are a news source for only a few Indonesians. About 5 percent use foreign newspapers (1% read such often and 4% sometimes) and exposure to foreign magazines is roughly comparable (5%, with 1% often and 4% sometimes).

The use of internet is very limited in Indonesia. Only a few have access to this as a news source – 1 percent said they sometimes use the internet [Q72].

Personal discussions are an important source for news. Vast majorities (82%) of Indonesians consider friends and family as a news source, with over one-third (38%) saying they use these personal relations often and an additional 44 percent use them sometimes. This reliance on personal sources is as widespread among men and women, among the young and the old, and among urban as well as rural residents [Q73].

Perceived Media Independence of Government Control

Asked whether the various mass media are “mostly free of government control,” the Independent Television Programs have a far more independent image than other domestic electronic media:

- One-fourth (24%) say that Indonesian Private TV Programs are mainly free of government control; and
- One-in ten say so about the Indonesian State TV Programs (10%) or the Indonesian Private Radio Programs (11%); only 6% cite Indonesian State Radio programs.

Nor is the printed media seen as independent of government control. Small proportions say that the Indonesian newspapers and Indonesian magazines are free of state control (15% and 9% respectively).

These perceptions are generally shared by all demographic groups, with one exception: in rural areas Indonesian State TV is more likely to be seen as mainly free of government control (12%) than it is in the major urban centers (4%).

Not only does the public hold the view that domestic media is not free of state control, Indonesians appear to judge the same way of foreign information sources. Roughly one-in-ten believe that foreign media are mainly free of government control (13% say so about Foreign Language TV Programs broadcast in Indonesia, 17% Foreign Language TV Programs received direct from satellite, 12% Indonesian language programs from other countries, 16% foreign newspapers, and 16% foreign magazines) [Q74.1 - 74.12].

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE POPULATION

One of the most important demographic variables, in terms of anticipating political attitudes, is whether the respondent lives in an urban area with a population over 100,000 such as Jakarta [Q5]. This describes 18 percent of the sample. Those in small to medium cities make up another 31 percent while rural residents constitute 51 percent of the survey [Q5].

Females under age forty slightly outnumber males of the same age group. However, males over forty outnumber females over forty 61 percent to 39 percent [Q6 & Q117]. Overall, the survey is 52 percent male and 48 percent female.

Fifty-nine percent of those surveyed experienced education beyond the elementary school level. This falls to 50 percent in rural areas. Six percent have no formal education, eight percent in rural areas. Fifteen percent of those in large cities have at least some university-level education compared to only 3 percent in rural areas.

Predictably, education level decreases with age [Q118]. One of the most interesting educational aspects of the data is the education of older women. Sixty-six percent of women over 40 did not even complete junior high school (compared with 46% of men over 40). Thirty-three percent of women under age 40 have not had at least some junior high education. This indicates a high level of social change taking place in the society as women become more educated.

Seventy-two percent of respondents do not participate in the cash economy, a variable that corresponds to the size of settlement, with 33 percent of urbanites working for money and only 20 percent of rural dwellers doing so [Q119]. Overall, 20 percent report being employed at one full-time job. Thirty-six percent are self-employed (including farmers), with three times as many being self-employed in the rural areas as in the cities (47% to 15%) [Q120]. Students make up 7 percent of the sample and retirees make up another 3 percent. Those in cities over 100,000 people are twice as likely to be unemployed and looking for work than their rural counterparts (13% to 6%). Of those who were asked about their work, a plurality of 14 percent are farmers or fishermen. One out of five (22%) rural residents are farmers or fishermen. Overall, white-collar government workers make up 13 percent of the sample [Q121].

Three-fourths of the respondents are married (74%) and 71 percent are married with children. Another 19 percent are single and have never been married. As one would expect, urbanites are more likely to be single than those in rural areas. Only 6 percent are either widowed or divorced [QUESTIONS 122 & 123].

Ninety percent of those surveyed are Muslim. Hindus make up 2 percent of those surveyed while Catholics represent 3 percent and other Christian denominations comprise 4 percent [Q128]. Eighty-four percent say that their religious beliefs play an important role in their life [Q129]. Overall, 30 percent of those with school-age children send their children to a

Mosque school with rural citizens more likely than urbanites to do so (38% to 20%) [Q130]. When it comes to government officials, 73 percent believe government would be better if officials were religious [Q131].

Seventy-two percent of respondents are from the area in which they currently live. Twenty-seven percent have moved to their current location from elsewhere. Those in rural areas are more likely to have grown up there than their counterparts in mid-size or large cities, 81 percent, 63 percent, and 63 percent respectively [Q125].

Fifty-three percent of respondents are proud to be Indonesian citizens while 22 percent are content and another 20 percent are indifferent [Q126]. Few Indonesians say they have stronger feelings about their ethnicity than their citizenship. Forty-three percent say their citizenship is their strongest group identity whereas only 8 percent feel more strongly ethnically identified. Forty percent say ethnicity and citizenship are equally important [Q127].

The vast majority of survey respondents fall into the moderate to low income categories. Fully 96 percent fit this description with those in rural areas more likely to be on the lower end of the scale [Q133].

Figure 24. Household Amenities

Household Contains....	
Electricity	94%
Television	76%
AM/FM Receiver	69%
In-House Plumbing	45%
Telephone	16%
Car	10%

Relations between Ethnic Groups

Seventy-one percent of those sampled describe relations between ethnic groups as good, while 21 percent rate them as "somewhat bad" or "very bad" [Q115]. A vast majority believes that all nationalities ought to enjoy the same rights, while a statistically insignificant 2 percent say that rights are different for certain groups. This positive attitude of equality is slightly less prevalent in the rural areas (83%) than in the urban areas (94%) [Q116].

APPENDIX: TOPLINE DATA

All percentages based on n=1507

Q5. Kind of Settlement

Jakarta	5%	
Kotamadya of 500,000+	5%	
Kotamadya of 250,00 - 500,000	1%	
Kotamadya of 100,000 - 250,000	7%	
Kotamadya of fewer than 100,000	2%	
Kota Administratip	11%	
Kabupaten - Kota	1%	
Kabupaten - Kota Kecamatan	18%	
Kabupaten - Kota Desa	51%	
	101%✓	

Q6. Sex

Male	52%
Female	48%
	100%

Q7. How many people live in this house, including you?

1 or 2	10%
3 to 5	62%
6 to 9	26%
10 or more	2%
	100%

Q8. How would you describe the quality of your life today — is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?

Very good	2%
Fairly good	63%
Fairly bad	27%
Very bad	7%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q9. In your opinion, are there many changes occurring in your way of life today, or are there not many changes occurring in your way of life today?

Many changes are occurring	60%
Not many changes are occurring	37%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q10. [If perceive changes in Q9] And are these changes mainly making your quality of life better or mainly making your quality of life worse?

Better	10%
Worse	40%
Both equally (Volunteered)	11%
DK/NR	2%
Not Asked	37%
	100%

Q11. In your opinion, what is the biggest problem facing your family today — that is, the problem which you are most concerned about?

Financial/Economic problems	48%
Price increases	16%
Unemployment	10%
Education	8%
Food	5%
Security	2%
Other	8%
None, no problems	11%

Q12. Compared with one year ago, is there now greater freedom to say what you think about government officials in general, or is there less freedom to say what you think in public about government officials, or is it the same as one year ago?

Greater freedom	62%
Less freedom	4%
Same as before	16%
DK/NR	18%
	100%

Q13. Compared with one year ago, are government officials more likely to observe the legal rights of individuals, or are they less likely to observe the legal rights of individuals, or has there been no change compared with one year ago?

More likely	40%
Less likely	12%
No change	25%
DK/NR	23%
	100%

Q14. How would you describe the current economic situation in your community today? Is it:

Very good	1%
Somewhat good	40%
Somewhat bad	46%
Very bad	8%
DK/NR	4%
	99%✓

Q15. [If Bad to Q14] Are the economic problems we are currently experiencing mainly the result of things beyond our country's control, or mainly the result of mistakes made by our national leaders?

Mainly result of things beyond our control	9%
Result of mistakes made by national leaders	28%
DK/NR	21%
Not Asked	42%
	100%

Q16. Right now, is the economic situation in your community getting better, getting worse, or is it staying the same?

Getting better	11%
Getting worse	52%
Staying the same	34%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q17. If you wanted to, would you be able to eat rice at every meal?

Yes	97%
No	2%
DK/NR	2%
	101%✓

In the past year, have you experienced any of these things:

Q18. Difficulty finding enough work to do for pay?

Yes	34%
No	62%
DK/NR	4%
	100%

Q19. The loss of a full-time job you used to have?

Yes	13%
No	83%
DK/NR	4%
	100%

Q20. Difficulty finding in stores the things you need to buy?

Yes	26%
No	70%
DK/NR	4%
	100%

Q21. Difficulty being able to afford all the food you need to eat?

Yes	17%
No	80%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q22. Twelve months from now, do you expect the economic situation in your community will be better than it is now, will be worse than it is now, or will be about the same as it is now?

Will be better than it is now	39%
Will be worse than it is now	14%
Will be about the same as it is now	18%
DK/NR	29%
	100%

Q23. When thinking about our economic future, should our country strive to develop a free or market economy — that is, an economy with little government control — or should we strive for an economy which is basically controlled by the government?

Economy with little government involvement	31%
Economy controlled by government	41%
DK/NR	28%
	100%

Q24. How much information do you feel you have about economic developments in Indonesia — a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

A great deal	17%
A fair amount	36%
Not very much	32%
None at all	6%
DK/NR	9%
	100%

Q25. In your opinion, has the presence of foreign companies in Indonesia mainly been beneficial to the economy of Indonesia, or have foreign companies mainly been harmful to the economy of Indonesia?

Mainly beneficial	48%
Mainly harmful	17%
DK/NR	35%
	100%

Q26. As you know, Indonesia is a country with great oil reserves and other natural wealth. Some people say that the oil belongs to all Indonesian citizens, and that money made from the sale of oil should be shared with all citizens. Others say the oil belongs to the government of Indonesia, and the money made from the sale of oil should go to the government. Which of these views do you agree with more?

Agree most with first	60%
Agree most with second	25%
DK/NR	15%
	100%

Please tell me how satisfied you are — completely satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied — with each of the following programs of our government:

Q27. Government efforts to help people who are poor

Completely satisfied	15%
Somewhat satisfied	44%
Somewhat dissatisfied	28%
Completely dissatisfied	6%
DK/NR	7%
	100%

Q28. Respect for the rights of citizens by the government

Completely satisfied	9%
Somewhat satisfied	41%
Somewhat dissatisfied	23%
Completely dissatisfied	6%
DK/NR	21%
	100%

Q29. The fight against crime

Completely satisfied	12%
Somewhat satisfied	33%
Somewhat dissatisfied	34%
Completely dissatisfied	11%
DK/NR	9%
	99% ✓

Q30. The quality of health care services

Completely satisfied	21%
Somewhat satisfied	55%
Somewhat dissatisfied	16%
Completely dissatisfied	3%
DK/NR	5%
	100%

Q31. The way elections are conducted

Completely satisfied	8%
Somewhat satisfied	28%
Somewhat dissatisfied	23%
Completely dissatisfied	16%
DK/NR	25%
	100%

Q32. The quality of education public schools provide

Completely satisfied	15%
Somewhat satisfied	56%
Somewhat dissatisfied	16%
Completely dissatisfied	3%
DK/NR	10%
	100%

Q33. The moral character of our national leaders

Completely satisfied	4%
Somewhat satisfied	28%
Somewhat dissatisfied	33%
Completely dissatisfied	14%
DK/NR	21%
	100%

Q34. The quality of the drinking water provided by authorities

Completely satisfied	15%
Somewhat satisfied	42%
Somewhat dissatisfied	11%
Completely dissatisfied	10%
DK/NR	21%
	99%✓

Thinking of the various levels of national and local government, in your opinion how responsive are the following to the needs and concerns of the people — very responsive, somewhat responsive, not very responsive, or not at all responsive.

Q35. The DPR (Parliament)

Very responsive	6%
Somewhat responsive	31%
Not very responsive	29%
Not at all responsive	9%
DK/NR	25%
	100%

Q36. Your Provincial Governor

Very responsive	11%
Somewhat responsive	32%
Not very responsive	23%
Not at all responsive	6%
DK/NR	29%
	101%✓

Q37. The President of Indonesia

Very responsive	13%
Somewhat responsive	39%
Not very responsive	21%
Not at all responsive	6%
DK/NR	21%
	100%

Q38. The Armed Forces of Indonesia (ARBRI)

Very responsive	12%
Somewhat responsive	34%
Not very responsive	26%
Not at all responsive	8%
DK/NR	19%
	99%✓

Q39. The National Police

Very responsive	8%
Somewhat responsive	34%
Not very responsive	27%
Not at all responsive	12%
DK/NR	19%
	100%

Q40. How much does the national government of Indonesia affect your life?

A great deal	13%
A fair amount	19%
Not too much	27%
Not at all	27%
DK/NR	14%
	100%

Q41. How much does the provincial government affect your life?

A great deal	8%
A fair amount	22%
Not too much	28%
Not at all	27%
DK/NR	15%
	100%

Q42. How much does the local administration [Use Kelurahan in rural areas/city in urban areas] affect your life?

A great deal	19%
A fair amount	27%
Not too much	28%
Not at all	19%
DK/NR	6%
	99%✓

Q43. Do you or your family receive any form of assistance, like food, from government authorities?

Yes	42%
No	57%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q44. Are there things the government of Indonesia could be doing which would help improve your family's quality of life, or not?

Yes	65%
No	22%
DK/NR	13%
	100%

Q45. [If Yes to Q44] What things would that be? (Open ended)

Employment	23%
Staple food (rice, sugar, flour, vegetable oil)	20%
Battle inflation	11%
Credit loans	9%
Improve economy	6%
Subsidize pesticide	5%
Improve public facilities	5%
Pay more attention to poor	4%
Other	9%

Q46. How interested are you in matters of politics and government — are you very interested, somewhat interested, not too interested, or not at all interested?

Very interested	11%
Somewhat interested	28%
Not too interested	33%
Not interested at all	20%
DK/NR	9%
	101%✓

Q47. How much information do you feel you have about political developments in Indonesia — a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

A great deal	18%
A fair amount	29%
Not very much	35%
None at all	10%
DK/NR	9%
	101%✓

Next, I will read to you the names of some people who are in the news from time to time. Please tell me first if you have heard of the person I name, and if so, whether your opinion of that person is more favorable or more unfavorable.

Q48. The first person is Abdurrahman Wahid, also known as Gus Dur. Have you heard of this person? [If Yes] Is your opinion of him more favorable or more unfavorable?

Have not heard of him	12%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	37%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	15%
Have heard of him, no opinion	33%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q49. Amien Rais

Have not heard of him	10%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	29%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	23%
Have heard of him, no opinion	35%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q50. Akbar Tandjung

Have not heard of him	16%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	20%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	24%
Have heard of him, no opinion	36%
DK/NR	4%
	100%

Q51. Matori Abdul Djilil

Have not heard of him	51%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	13%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	7%
Have heard of him, no opinion	21%
DK/NR	7%
	99% ✓

Q52. Yusril Ihza Mahendra

Have not heard of him	49%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	19%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	6%
Have heard of him, no opinion	19%
DK/NR	7%
	100%

Q53. Megawati Soekarnoputri

Have not heard of her	5%
Have heard of her, opinion favorable	49%
Have heard of her, opinion unfavorable	11%
Have heard of her, no opinion	32%
DK/NR	2%
	99%✓

Q54. B.J. Habibie

Have not heard of him	2%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	56%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	11%
Have heard of him, no opinion	29%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

Q55. Wiranto

Have not heard of him	13%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	32%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	17%
Have heard of him, no opinion	33%
DK/NR	5%
	100%

Q56. Sultan of Yogyakarta (Sultan Hamerigkubuwono X)

Have not heard of him	23%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	33%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	4%
Have heard of him, no opinion	31%
DK/NR	8%
	99%✓

Q57. How much have you heard or read about the student protests in Jakarta — a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

A great deal	57%
A fair amount	11%
Not very much	25%
Nothing at all	4%
DK/NR	4%
	101%✓

Q58. Do you approve or disapprove of what the student protesters in Jakarta have been doing? Do you feel that way strongly or not strongly?

Approve, strongly	13%
Approve, not strongly	44%
Disapprove, not strongly	22%
Disapprove, strongly	4%
DK/NR	17%
	100%

Q59. [Observation Variable, Ask if Necessary] Does respondent own a television?

Yes	76%
No	24%
DK/NR	0%
	100%

Q60. [Observation Variable, Ask if Necessary] Does respondent own an AM/FM radio receiver?

Yes	69%
No	30%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Now I am going to read to you several sources of news about events here in Indonesia which you might use. For each, please tell me if you use the source often, sometimes, or never.

Q61. Indonesian State TV Programs

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	25%
Often	29%
Sometimes	41%
Never	5%
DK/NR	-
	100%

Q62. Indonesian Private TV Programs

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	26%
Often	53%
Sometimes	19%
Never	2%
DK/NR	-
	100%

Q63. Foreign Language TV Programs Received by Satellite

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	42%
Often	1%
Sometimes	10%
Never	43%
DK/NR	3%
	99%✓

Q64. Indonesian State Radio Programs

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	31%
Often	17%
Sometimes	40%
Never	11%
DK/NR	-
	99%✓

Q65. Indonesian Private Radio Programs

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	31%
Often	25%
Sometimes	34%
Never	9%
DK/NR	-
	99%✓

Q66. Indonesian Language Radio Programs from Other Countries

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	35%
Often	2%
Sometimes	8%
Never	52%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q67. Other Radio Programs from Other Countries

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	35%
Often	-
Sometimes	5%
Never	57%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

Q68. Indonesian Newspapers [Regardless of Language]

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	12%
Often	27%
Sometimes	36%
Never	24%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q69. Newspapers from Other Countries

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	20%
Often	1%
Sometimes	4%
Never	72%
DK/NR	4%
	101%✓

Q70. Indonesian Magazines

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	14%
Often	13%
Sometimes	37%
Never	33%
DK/NR	2%
	99%✓

Q71. Magazines from Other Countries

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	20%
Often	1%
Sometimes	4%
Never	72%
DK/NR	4%
	101%✓

Q72. The Internet

Respondent doesn't own device or illiterate	37%
Often	-
Sometimes	1%
Never	54%
DK/NR	8%
	100%

Q73. Discussions with Friends, Family, and Neighbors

Often	38%
Sometimes	44%
Never	12%
DK/NR	6%
	100%

Q74. Thinking about the sources of news which are widely available to most people in Indonesia — TV, radio, newspapers, magazines — are there any of these sources of news which you consider to be mostly free of government control?

Indonesian state TV programs	10%
Indonesian private TV programs	23%
Foreign-language TV programs broadcast within Indonesia	13%
Foreign-language TV programs received directly	17%
Indonesian state radio programs	6%
Indonesian private radio programs	11%
Indonesian-language radio programs from other countries	12%
Other radio programs from other countries	15%
Indonesian newspapers	15%
Newspapers from other countries	16%
Indonesian magazines	9%
Magazines from other countries	16%
No sources	6%
DK/NR	49%

Q75. In your opinion, should Indonesia strive to be a democracy, or should it strive to be something other than a democracy?

Should strive to be a democracy	70%
Should not strive to be a democracy	2%
Don't know what democracy means	15%
DK/NR	13%
	100%

Q76. Would you say that Indonesia is primarily a democracy today, or is it not primarily a democracy?

Indonesia is primarily a democracy	33%
Indonesia is not primarily a democracy	36%
Don't know what democracy means	15%
DK/NR	16%
	100%

Q77. [If Not a Democracy to Q76] Is Indonesia moving toward becoming a democracy or is it not?

Indonesia is becoming a democracy	26%
Indonesia is not becoming a democracy	8%
DK/NR	2%
Not asked	64%
	100%

Q78. What does it mean to you to live in a democracy? (Open ended)

Freedom to express opinions	24%
Better life	10%
Equal rights for everyone, justice	8%
Freedom	8%
Representatives stand for what people want	3%
Our voice is heard	3%
Transparency on government regulation	2%
Other	4%
DK/NR	26%

Q79. Does being a democracy promote the solution of our economic problems, or does it create obstacles to the solution of our economic problems, or does it not make a difference?

Promotes solutions	65%
Creates obstacles	2%
Doesn't make a difference	3%
DK/NR	29%
	99%✓

Q80. In your opinion, does being a democracy benefit most of the people or does being a democracy benefit just a few people at the top?

Benefit most of the people	66%
Benefit just a few people at the top	6%
DK/NR	29%
	101%✓

Again, I am going to read to you several statements. As before, please tell me whether you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely with each statement I read.

Q81. "Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country."

Agree completely	25%
Agree somewhat	50%
Disagree somewhat	5%
Disagree completely	1%
DK/NR	19%
	100%

Q82. "In order to establish order and discipline in society, it is necessary to limit the political and civic rights of the people."

Agree completely	6%
Agree somewhat	27%
Disagree somewhat	34%
Disagree completely	13%
DK/NR	20%
	100%

Q83. "When government officials must be elected by the people in order to keep their position in government, they will be more concerned with doing what the people want."

Agree completely	23%
Agree somewhat	58%
Disagree somewhat	4%
Disagree completely	2%
DK/NR	13%
	100%

Q84. "When government officials must be elected by the people in order to keep their position in government, they will have more respect for the rights of the people."

Agree completely	28%
Agree somewhat	56%
Disagree somewhat	2%
Disagree completely	-
DK/NR	14%
	100%

Q85. As you may recall, elections were held in May, 1997 to elect Members of the DPR (Parliament). Did you happen to vote in those elections?

Yes	92%
No	7%
DK/NR	-
	99%✓

Q86. [If Voted in 1997] What was your overall impression of how those elections were administered: very well, fairly well, fairly poorly, or very poorly?

Very well	6%
Fairly well	46%
Fairly poorly	24%
Very poorly	7%
DK/NR	9%
Not asked	8%
	100%

Q87. [If Voted in 1997] In the election of May, 1997, did a local official or community leader tell you who you must vote for?

Yes	19%
No	72%
DK/NR	2%
Not asked	8%
	101%✓

Q88. From what you have heard about the May 1997 elections for the DPR (Parliament), how honest and fair were these elections: completely, mostly, partially, or were they not honest and fair at all?

Completely	8%
Mostly	26%
Partially	28%
Not honest and fair at all	18%
DK/NR	21%
	101%✓

Q89. How much have you heard or read about the LPU (the General Election Institute) of Indonesia — a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

A great deal	7%
A fair amount	18%
Not very much	30%
Nothing at all	23%
DK/NR	22%
	100%

Q90. [If 1-3 in Q89] Which of the following two statements is closest to your view about the Commission: (1) The LPU (the General Election Institute) is a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law; or, (2) the LPU (the General Election Institute) makes decisions which favor particular candidates.

Statement 1	38%
Statement 2	9%
DK\NR	7%
Not asked	46%
	100%

Q91. Thinking of all the parties and movements that are currently in existence, how much have you read or heard about political parties in general — a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

A great deal	25%
A fair amount	28%
Not very much	35%
Nothing at all	6%
DK/NR	7%
	101%✓

Q92. Some people say that the various political parties have significant differences in how they would solve the country's problems. Others say there are not significant differences between the parties in how they would solve the country's problems. Which of these views is closer to your own?

Parties have significant differences	48%
Parties have no significant differences	15%
DK/NR	36%
	99%✓

Q93. Please tell me the names of all the political parties — if any — that you have actually heard of [Pre-Coded Open Ended].

National Mandate Party (PAN)	67%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	60%
Crescent Star Party (PBB)	38%
Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)	72%
Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P)	83%
United Development Party (PPP)	84%
Golkar	86%
Partai Keadilan	22%
Other	12%
DK/NR	5%

Q94a. I want to read to you a list of political parties or movements which will probably offer candidates in the next election. Please tell me which of these political parties or movements best represents the views and interests of people like you?

National Mandate Party (PAN)	7%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	12%
Crescent Star Party (PBB)	1%
Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)	*
Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P)	20%
United Development Party (PPP)	9%
Golkar	17%
Partai Keadilan	1%
None of these represent me [Do Not Read]	5%
DK/NR	27%
	99%✓

Q94b. And which political party or movement is second best at representing the views and interests of people like you?

National Mandate Party (PAN)	8%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	7%
Crescent Star Party (PBB)	2%
Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)	1%
Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P)	9%
United Development Party (PPP)	9%
Golkar	6%
Partai Keadilan	2%
None of these represent me [Do Not Read]	14%
DK/NR	41%
	99%✓

Q96. What is the main reason you selected the first party you mentioned to me:

I like the party leader	11%
I like a local party candidate or official	1%
I like what the party stands for	33%
I have been told this party is best by a local official or leader	1%
I have been told this party is best by a friend or family member	2%
Another reason	5%
DK/NR	16%
Not asked	32%
	101%✓

Q97. What do you think is the ideal number of political parties to have in Indonesia: none, one, two, several, or many?

None	*
One	1%
Two	3%
Several (3-9)	66%
Many (10+)	6%
DK/NR	24%
	100%

Q98. Overall, does it seem to you that political parties help make things better in our country, or do they make things worse, or do they not have much effect either way?

Better	34%
Worse	28%
Not much effect either way	9%
DK/NR	28%
	99%✓

Q99. Now on a different subject: some people say that Pancasila brings us together as a people. Others say Pancasila doesn't do anything to bring us together. Which of these views is closer to your own?

Brings us together	86%
Doesn't do anything to bring us together	5%
DK/NR	9%
	100%

Q100. You may know that next summer Indonesia will conduct an election for the DPR (Parliament). How likely is it that you will vote in these elections?

Absolutely certain	72%
Very likely	17%
Fairly likely	8%
Not too likely	1%
Not likely at all	*
DK/NR	1%
	99%✓

Q101. How fair and honest do you think these elections next year will be: completely fair and honest, somewhat fair and honest, somewhat unfair and dishonest or completely unfair and dishonest?

Completely fair and honest	13%
Somewhat fair and honest	46%
Somewhat unfair and dishonest	5%
Completely unfair and dishonest	1%
DK/NR	36%
	101%✓

Q102. When we have the elections in May, how will you decide for yourself whether the elections are free and fair? Will you rely most on...

What the media says	12%
What independent election monitors say	20%
What international election monitors say	3%
What government officials say	6%
Your own impressions formed by actually voting	25%
The impressions of your family and friends	8%
Other [Do Not Read]	2%
None of these [Do Not Read]	3%
No Response [Do Not Read]	21%
	100%

Q103. If you do vote in the elections next May, do you expect someone will probably tell you how you should vote, or will you decide how to vote for yourself?

Told how to vote	7%
Decide how to voter for self	90%
DK/NR	4%
	101%✓

Q104. In an election for members of the DPR (Parliament), would you prefer to vote for a political party which then picked who would actually sit in the DPR (Parliament), or would you prefer to vote for the actual who would represent your area in the DPR?

Prefer party vote	34%
Prefer direct vote	44%
DK/NR	21%
	99%✓

Q105. As you may know, the President of Indonesia is currently elected by the MPR. Do you think it would be better if the President were elected directly by the people, or is the current system better?

Direct election better	46%
Current system better	35%
DK/NR	19%
	100%

Q106. On this CARD is a list of qualities which any President of a country might or might not have. Please take this list and indicate the three qualities which you think are the most important for a President to have.

A person with traditional values	2%
A strong leader who can get things done	67%
Has close ties to other Islamic countries	8%
Promotes tolerance between all people of Indonesia	30%
A deeply religious person	29%
Cares about the needs of people like you	60%
Protects the cultural heritage of the Indonesian people	10%
Honest and trustworthy	88%
Preserves that way things are	1%

Q107. All things considered, in your opinion was Soeharto's resignation as President last May a good thing or a bad thing for Indonesia?

A good thing	57%
A bad thing	22%
DK/NR	21%
	100%

Q108. Since Soeharto resigned last May, are some of the local officials in your community new, or are the local officials generally the same people?

Changed	19%
Same	54%
DK/NR	27%
	100%

Are you, or a family member who lives with you, a member of:

Q109. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

Yes	28%
No	71%
DK/NR	2%
	101%✓

Q110. Muhammadiyah

Yes	6%
No	93%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q111. The PGI

Yes	2%
No	97%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q112. The KWI

Yes	1%
No	98%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q113. ARBRI, The Armed Forces of Indonesia

Yes	9%
No	90%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q114. In your community, are there any organizations of people working to make things better, which are not a part of the government?

Yes	18%
No	63%
DK/NR	19%
	100%

Q115. How would you describe the state of current relations among the various ethnic groups in Indonesia — are relations very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad?

Very good	18%
Somewhat good	53%
Somewhat bad	19%
Very bad	2%
DK/NR	8%
	100%

Q116. Some people say that the members of all ethnic groups in Indonesia should have the same rights as citizens. Others say that the rights as citizens should be different for members of certain ethnic groups. Which of these views is closer to your own?

All groups should have same rights as citizens	87%
Rights as citizens should differ for different groups	2%
NR	10%
	99%✓

Finally, I have a few questions to ask about you, so that we may do our statistical analysis of the results.

Q117. In what year were you born?

Age	18 to 29	32%
	30 to 39	27%
	40 to 49	18%
	50 to 64	17%
	65+	6%
		100%

Q118. What is the highest level of education you received?

No formal education	6%
Some or completed elementary school	34%
Completed junior high school	18%
Completed senior high school	30%
Completed academy	6%
Some or completed university or higher	6%
NR	1%
	101%✓

Q119. Do you or your spouse work in a job for which you receive money?

Yes	24%
No	72%
DK/NR	4%
	100%

Q120. What is your current employment situation? As I read to you the possible answers, please tell me which one applies to you personally.

Employed full-time at one job	20%
Employed part-time at one job	5%
Employed at more than one job	*
Self-employed, including farmer	36%
Work in the home only	21%
Student	7%
Retired	3%
Unemployed, looking for work	7%
NR	1%
	100%

Q121. [If not Retired or Unemployed] What kind of work do you do [For Retired, ask "What kind of work did you do?"] Once again, as I read to you the possible answers, please tell me which one applies to you personally.

Professional (Lawyer, Doctor, Engineer)	1%
White collar, private sector	6%
White collar, government	13%
Skilled laborer, private sector	2%
Skilled laborer, government	1%
Unskilled laborer, industrial	2%
Unskilled laborer, agricultural	7%
Farmer/fisherman	14%
Merchant	10%
Business owner	2%
Other	4%
NR	3%
Not asked	35%
	100%

Q122. What is your marital status? Are you currently married, single and never married, divorced, or widowed?

Currently married	74%
Single and never married	19%
Divorced	*
Widowed	6%
DK/NR	0
	99%✓

Q123. Do you have any children? [If Yes] How many children do you have?

None	23%
1 or 2	36%
3 to 5	32%
6 to 8	8%
9 or more	*
	99%✓

Q124. [Ask if One or More Children] How many of your children live with you?

None	31%
1 or 2	45%
3 to 5	23%
6 or 7	2%
8 or more	*
	101%✓

Q125. Are originally from this place, or did you move here?

From this place	72%
Moved here	27%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

Q126. Which of the following best describes your feelings about saying you are a citizen of Indonesia — proud, content, indifferent, not content, or ashamed?

Proud	53%
Content	22%
Indifferent	20%
Not Content	1%
Ashamed	2%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

Q127. We all are a part of many groups, including a nation and an ethnicity. Which group membership do you feel is the strongest — your citizenship in a nation, or your ethnicity?

Citizenship	43%
Ethnicity	8%
Both are equally important (Volunteered)	40%
None of these	1%
DK/NR	8%
	100%

Q128. Do you belong to a religious group? [If Yes] What is your religion?

Muslim	90%
Hindu	2%
Buddhist	1%
Catholic	3%
Other Christian	4%
Don't belong to any church or religious group	*
DK/NR	-
	100%

Q129. Do your religious beliefs or your religious leaders play an important role in the way you live your life, or not?

Yes	84%
No	12%
DK/NR	4%
	100%

Q130. [If Muslim and has Children] Do your children attend a Mosque school?

Yes	30%
No	41%
DK/NR	3%
Not asked	25%
	99%✓

Q131. In your opinion, would the quality of our government be better if more government officials were very religious persons, or would this not make the quality of government better?

Would make better	73%
Would not make better	5%
DK/NR	21%
	99%✓

Q132. How would you describe the income level of your household?

High	0%
Moderate/High	2%
Moderate	41%
Moderate/Low	41%
Low	14%
DK/NR	1%
	99% ✓