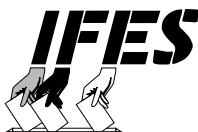


Survey of the Indonesian Electorate Following the June 1999 Elections

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Indonesian Electorate
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Fieldwork Conducted by PT. Taylor Nelson Sofres, Jakarta



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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a survey of public opinion conducted in Indonesia from August 14-29, 1999. Interviews were completed with a sample of 1520 randomly selected adults (17+ years of age) throughout the country.

In keeping with the standard practice of the IFES survey research program, this survey was intended insofar as possible to be nationally representative of the entire adult population of Indonesia. What this means, as a practical matter, 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 (although some regions were excluded for security and practical reasons), 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 participation in the survey. In the end, we conducted interviews in 22 of 27 provinces; excluded were Dista Aceh and East Timor (for reasons of interviewer safety), and Central Kalimantan, Maluku and Irian Jaya (for logistical reasons).

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 PT. Taylor Nelson Sofres/Indonesia of Jakarta. The analysis of survey results was conducted by Mr. Wagner.

The sample size of the survey was 1,520, with a margin of error for the national sample of ± 2.5 percent. Some figures in the text might not add up to 100 percent or might exceed 100 percent due to rounding error. Other figures do not present data for all possible responses to a question but limit reporting to the most pertinent responses.

SYNOPSIS

This survey covered a lot of ground. All of the questions are discussed in thematic order in the report that follows. The appendix provides the entire questionnaire text. This statement is intended to make a few broad generalizations concerning the most salient features of the survey results.

The DPR election in June was a watershed event, both in the history of Indonesia and in the impact on public opinion. The experience of the election was positive for most Indonesians, because the actual voting was well executed and because of the more general perception that this election was real, ushering in a new Democratic era. As an apparent consequence, pro-Democratic sentiment has solidified in Indonesia. The percentage of Indonesians who consider Indonesia to be primarily a democracy more than doubled, from 33 percent at the beginning of the year to 74 percent after the election. The percentage who says Indonesia should be a democracy rose from 70 percent to 86 percent during the same period.

But on the other hand, the fact that the election system worked to popular satisfaction may have caused some erosion in electoral reform sentiment: only a minority of 40 percent now want a direct election of the President (down from a plurality of 46 percent); only a minority of 35 percent want to vote directly for DPR representatives (down from a plurality of 44 percent). The urgency of change in these areas might have been undermined by the very success of the DPR election, on the grounds that if it isn't broken, don't try to fix it.

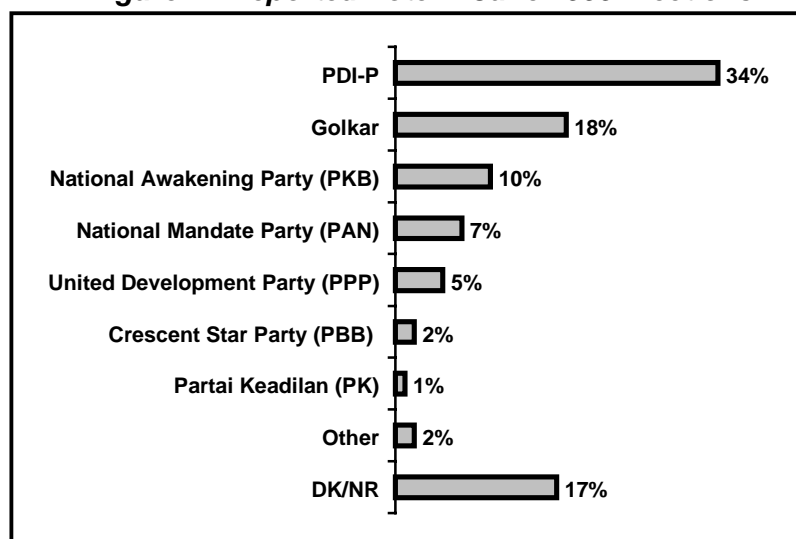
The second most significant feature of this survey is the evidence of an abatement of the economic crisis. The percentage of Indonesians describing the economic situation in their community as good increased from 41 percent in January to 66 percent in August. Consequently, more Indonesians are optimistic about their economic futures, and support for an economy with little government involvement (our test for pro-market economy sentiment) has doubled to 62 percent in this survey. These two results portray a society open to both political and economic liberalization.

THE JUNE 7TH ELECTION

In this survey conducted two months after the June 7, 1999 DPR elections, a vast majority of respondents report that they participated in that election (96 percent, question 71).

A plurality of Indonesians indicated that they supported the Indonesian Democratic Party – Perjuangan (PDI-P), with 34 percent of the vote (question 88). Of the remaining parties that participated in the election only five exceeded one percent of the vote in this survey. The remaining 42 political parties all obtained less than one percent in the survey, as they did in actuality. Seventeen percent of the electorate indicated that they did not know for whom they voted in the election.

Figure 1. Reported Vote in June 1999 Elections¹



There were few surprises in the patterns of voting. PDI-P was especially strong in Bali and Sumatra, and weak in Sulawesi. On Java, PDI-P's share of the vote was about the same as its national share. GOLKAR was particularly strong on Sulawesi and Flores. Almost all the PKB vote came from Java. PAN performed well on Kalimantan, but most of its vote also came from Java.

Sex of the voter played almost no role in how votes were cast. GOLKAR did a bit better among women (25 percent) than among men (20 percent). PDI-P did a bit better among men (44 percent) than women (41 percent). In its pre-election survey analysis, IFES discussed the conservatism evident among many female voters.

There is no apparent age effect in the support for either GOLKAR or PDI-P; these parties generally enjoyed the same level of support among all age groups. GOLKAR was only slightly stronger in rural areas (24 percent) than urban (19 percent).

In the report on the IFES Indonesian survey conducted at the beginning of this year, we pointed out that political allegiances have little to do with demographic characteristics. From the preceding discussion, it is clear that this generalization held true through the DPR election:

¹ [IF VOTED] "For which party did you vote?" (n=1460)

voting behavior could not be predicted by demographic characteristics such as age, sex, or place of settlement (urban or rural).

In that earlier analysis, we created a political typology based on several attitudinal characteristics:

- Satisfaction with the performance of government;
- Commitment to democracy;
- Intensity of religious affiliation;
- Perception of the economy;
- Degree of information consumption;
- Aversion to change.

In a different society, these attitudinal characteristics would be very predictive of partisan affiliation; not so in Indonesia. Of these characteristics, only the intensity of religiosity is significantly related to the vote. The PKB and PAN parties ran especially well among the most religiously active (getting 30 percent and 18 percent, respectively – far higher than their national averages), while the PDI-P performed best among the religiously inactive (getting in excess of 50 percent from these voters). GOLKAR, on the other hand, did equally as well at both ends of the religious activism continuum.

These results indicate that other factors, such as traditional loyalties, are more influential than partisan affiliation in Indonesia. We noted the significant effect island of residence had on the DPR vote. Also of interest in this regard is that many voters had their minds made up prior to the beginning of the election campaign. All of which is to say, there is more work to be done in understanding the vote dynamic in Indonesia. Voting behavior – vote choice – does not appear to be substantially a rational reaction to events or circumstances in Indonesian society.

Indonesians React Favorably to Election Experience

The majority of Indonesians indicated that they were happy with the results of the DPR election. Specifically, the majority of respondents (57 percent) noted that they were “somewhat satisfied” with the results of the election; another 27 percent said they were “very satisfied” with the results (question 73). A minority of only 14 percent indicated that they were somewhat or very disappointed with the results of the election. A vast majority (96 percent) of respondents said – correctly – that the Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P) received the most votes (question 72).

An improved country is expected to be one result of the June 7th elections, according to the majority of survey respondents. Seventy-eight percent indicate that the country will improve as a result of the election, while 5 percent feel no improvements will occur. Sixteen percent do not know if the country will improve as a result of the election (question 98).

Despite this optimism, the vast majority of voters believe that the newly elected parliament will not have the power to make changes in the country (question 99): 94 percent indicate that the newly elected DPR will have “no real power” to bring about change, while only 6 percent of respondents indicate that they will have such power. This apparent dichotomy suggests that the institution of the DPR is perceived as subordinate to other institutions and forces in Indonesian society, but that the DPR election signals a new era of government responsiveness to public aspirations. The DPR election also injects a measure of democracy into the process of presidential selection (since DPR members participate in the MPR).

Figure 2. Power of New DPR Members and Election's Effect on Indonesia²

<i>"In your opinion, will things in Indonesia improve or not improve as the result of these elections?" (n=1520)</i>		<i>"Do you think the newly elected DPR will have real power to make beneficial changes in Indonesia, or do you think it will not have that power?" (n=1520)</i>	
Will improve	78%	Will not have	94%
Will not improve	5%	Will have	6%
DK/NR	16%		

The majority of those who voted (75 percent), indicated that they believe the election was administered fairly well, plus an additional 15 percent of voters said the election was run very well. Only 5 percent said that the election was run fairly poorly, while less than one percent viewed the administration of the election as very poor (question 86). In a related question, all respondents were asked if they were satisfied with the way the elections are conducted generally, and the results are similar. Most are somewhat or completely satisfied: 75 percent indicated that they were somewhat satisfied with the performance of the government in conducting elections while 13 percent say they are completely satisfied with the conduct of elections. Twelve percent of respondents noted that they were either somewhat dissatisfied or completely dissatisfied with the administration of the election (question 28).

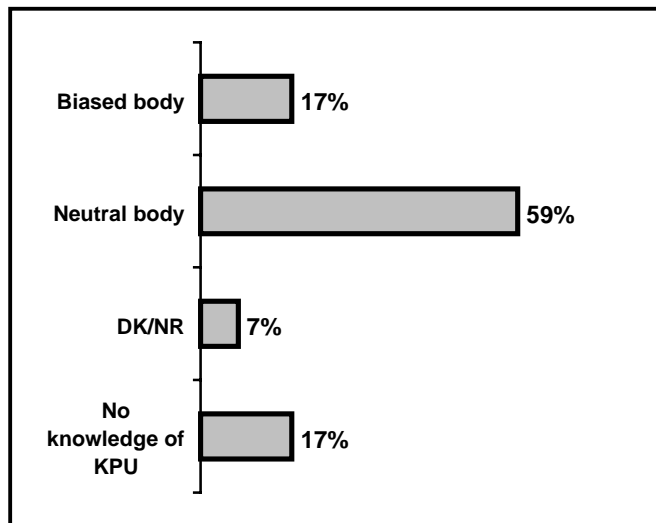
Figure 3. Satisfaction with Elections in General and Administration of 1999 Elections

<i>"Please tell me how satisfied you are with each of the following programs of our government: The way elections are conducted." (n=1520)</i>		[ASK IF VOTED] <i>"What was your overall impression of how well this election was administered?" (n=1520)</i>	
Completely satisfied	13%	Very well	15%
Somewhat satisfied	75%	Fairly well	75%
Somewhat dissatisfied	11%	Fairly poorly	5%
Completely dissatisfied	1%	Very poorly	0%

Regarding the DPR election, a majority of voters believe that the election was fair to all candidates and parties. Nineteen percent agreed completely that the election was fair, while 64 percent agreed somewhat that the election was fair. Twelve percent of respondents disagree somewhat, and only one percent disagree completely that the election was fair, with 5 percent not knowing or not responding (question 75).

Concerning the vote count, again a vast majority believe that the count was honest. Eighty-six percent agree either completely or somewhat that the vote count was honest, while only 12 percent disagree completely or somewhat that the vote count was honest (question 76).

² Percentages in some figures might not add up to 100percent due to rounding error.

Figure 4. Perceived Integrity of KPU³

The KPU – the National Election Commission in Indonesia, which played a key role in the administration of the June 7th election – gets generally high marks for its role in the conduct of the elections. Asked, “do you believe that the KPU is a neutral organization guided only by law, or do you feel that the KPU makes decisions that favor particular candidates or parties,” the majority of respondents (59 percent) believe that the KPU is a neutral organization. Seventeen percent feel that the KPU is not neutral, while 17 percent have never heard of the KPU and 7 percent did not respond to this question (question 83).

However, despite this public confidence in the neutrality of the KPU, general knowledge of the organization is somewhat limited. The majority of the respondents, 65 percent, indicated that they either do not know very much or know nothing about the KPU. Twenty-four percent of the respondents cite only a fair amount of knowledge of the KPU, while only 5 percent say they have a great deal of knowledge about the organization (question 82).

The role of international aid and technical support for the KPU was questioned. A plurality of Indonesians (32 percent) felt that this outside help was an example of other countries' desire to help support the political development of Indonesia. Nineteen percent saw this outside help as interference in their political system, while 27 percent thought that this aid was both interference and willingness to support political development. Twenty-two percent did not know or did not respond (question 84).

Respondents were asked if there was any violence before the election aimed at supporters of a particular political party. An overwhelming majority (99 percent) indicated that they witnessed no such acts of violence. One percent indicated that they did witness such acts of violence (question 96).

Another question focused on acts of violence witnessed on the day of the election against election workers or monitors. Again, the vast majority of respondents indicate that they saw no such violence. This figure came to 99 percent. One percent indicated they experienced such violence, and one percent did not respond to the question (question 97).

Reasons for Party Support

The reason most frequently cited by voters (in an opened-ended question) for why they selected the party they did was that “the candidate had good economic programs.” This response was given by 34 percent (question 89).

³ “Which of the following two statements is closest to your view about the Commission: (1) The KPU is a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law; or (2) the KPU makes decisions which favor particular candidates or parties.” (n=1520)

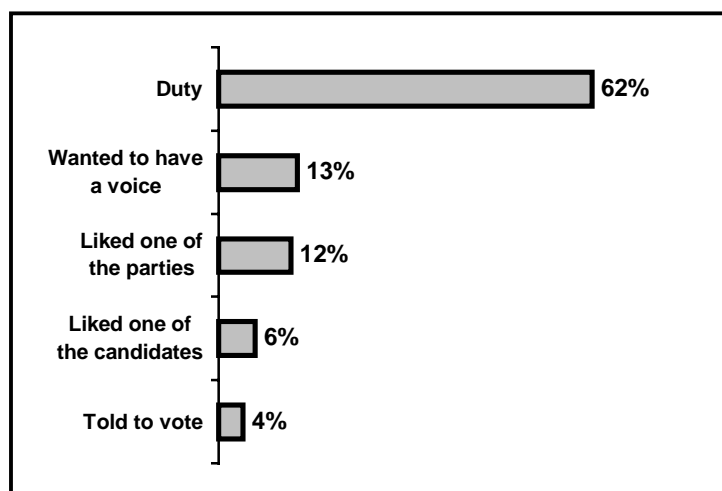
A number of other reasons for party support were cited by between 5 and 10 percent. Religious affiliation of parties had some influence on voter choice: 9 percent said that the party being Islamic was the main reason they voted for that party; the fact that the party is deeply religious was cited as the main reason that 6 percent of the electorate voted for a particular political party.

Promoting the rights of citizens was mentioned by 10 percent of voters, 8 percent cited trust of a party, 8 percent noted the main reason for their vote was their parties had new programs to offer. Six percent of respondents said that their vote for a party was mainly motivated by a desire to eradicate corruption (question 89).

Reasons for Electoral Participation

We examined motives for the very high degree of electoral participation, and answers were concentrated on a single response (chosen from a provided list of options): because respondents felt they had a duty to vote – cited by a majority of 62 percent. The reason cited for voting by the second largest percentage (in a distant second place at 13 percent), was because they wanted to have a voice in the future of their country. Voters were not primarily turned out by loyalty to a candidate or party (6 percent and 12 percent respectively). Few (4 percent) were told to vote (question 92).

Figure 5. Major Reasons for Voting⁴



A separate question in the survey (question 87) asked voters if they were told by a local official or community leader for whom they must vote. The vast majority of those who voted (93 percent) indicated that they were not told for whom they must vote by a local official or community leader. Taken together, the results of these questions minimize the impact of undo or inappropriate influences on voters.

As mentioned, 4 percent of the respondents decided not to participate in the DPR election. While this is a very small percentage of the survey, non-voters were asked why they did not go to the polls. The two reasons for not voting that were mentioned most often by non-voters were

⁴ [IF VOTED] "Here are several reasons why individuals say they voted in the last election. Please tell me the main reason why you decided to vote." (n=1520)

that they were not registered to vote and were not living in the place in which they were registered to vote (question 85). Each of these responses was given by slightly over one percent overall, or about ¼ of non-voters (a statistically insignificant number). Other reasons given by less than one percent of respondents as to why they did not vote include that they were not able to get to the polling place, or they felt as though they were being told what to do. Others mentioned that they lacked information about the candidates, they disliked the parties or candidates, were confused by the voting process, did not know of a location of a polling place, and were disappointed with the leadership of the republic. Others felt that voting would change nothing, they knew what the results of the election would be, voting lines were too long, or they feared that their vote would be made public. But again, given the trivial number of non-voters in the sample, nothing definitive can be reported about impediments to voting.

Impact of Campaigning and Media on Vote Decision Making

The impact of activities such as campaigning and the role the media played in the election were examined. In general, it can be said that direct campaigning played a minimal role in the decision making process, and that media was relied on to a far greater extent to win votes for candidates.

We asked voters if they had any direct personal contact with individuals who attempted to influence their vote, such as the following (question 95):

- A candidate or supporter of the DPR
- A candidate or supporter of the DPR I or II
- A representative of a political party
- A representative of a religious organization
- A representative of a Union or Cooperative
- A representative of another kind of organization
- A government official

No more than 2 percent had contact with any one of these political activists. It appears that traditional, person-to-person, direct campaigning played a minimal role in the Indonesian election.

In a related question, voters were asked if they used information gained from personal contact with a representative or candidate, or information that a representative or candidate related to them at a public meeting. In both instances the responses for such direct campaign contact remained low: 2 percent obtained information they used in making their vote decisions from direct contact with a candidate or party representative, while 5 percent gained useful information from a public meeting with a candidate or party representative – substantially less than other sources of information.

By contrast, television advertisements were used by many survey respondents when deciding for whom to vote. In fact, TV ads were the only information source utilized by a majority of respondents: fifty-nine percent of voters received information from a television advertisement which helped them decide for whom to vote. Slightly less (50 percent) used information from a television news report (question 93).

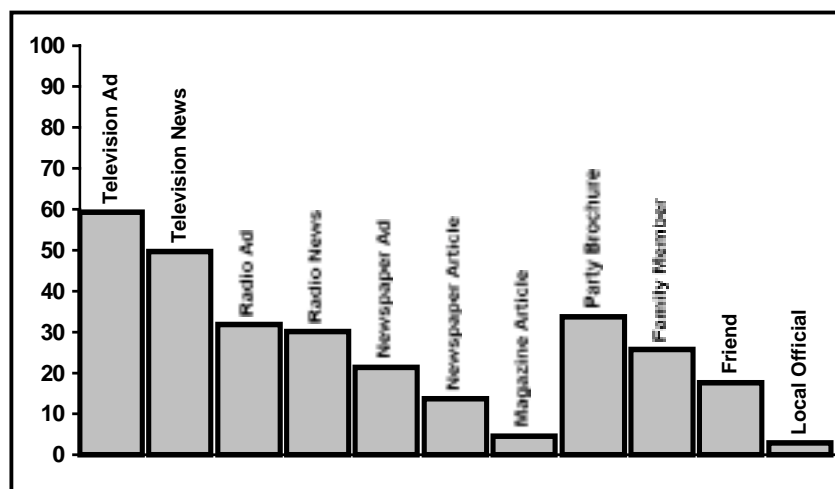
Radio was used by far fewer. Thirty-two percent of voters indicated that they used information from a radio advertisement in making their voting decision, while 30 percent used information from a radio news program. Newspaper provided useful information to fewer voters than either

radio or television: twenty-three percent said a newspaper ad provided information useful to their voting decision, while 14 percent indicated they obtained useful information from a newspaper article. Five percent reported obtaining useful information from a magazine article (question 93).

An interesting observation that is embedded in the media data is that advertisements, in any medium, were utilized as a source of information in making voting decisions by more voters than were straight news reports.

Other sources of information cited by voters as sources of useful information included party brochures and handouts, as well as contact with friends, family, and local officials. Party brochures were the second highest utilized source of information cited by respondents as helpful in their vote decision. Interestingly, this information source was utilized by more respondents than both radio and print media. Thirty-four percent of voters indicated that they used a party brochure or handout when they made their decision about whom to vote for (question 93). Information gained from a family member was cited by twenty-six percent of respondents. Slightly less – 18 percent – indicated that they relied on information gained from a friend for this same purpose. However, only 3 percent of voters indicated that they used information offered by a local official when deciding for whom to vote, confirming the results of other questions that few voters were unduly influenced by local leaders in making their ballot choices.

Figure 6. Information Sources for June 1999 Elections⁵

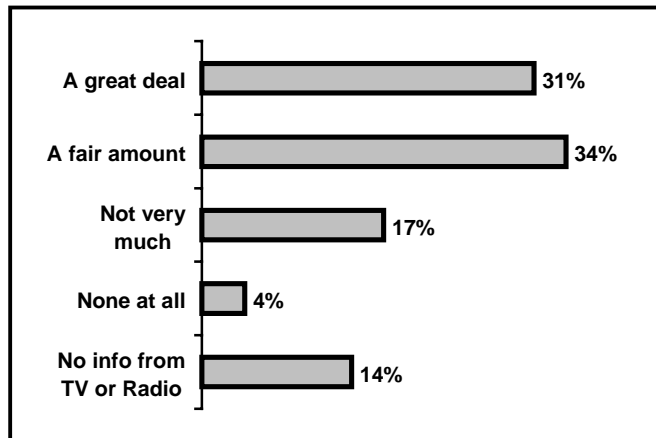


In a separate set of questions, among the broadcast media television edged out radio as a source of election information, taking together news programs, discussion shows, and advertisements. Eighty-four percent of respondents indicated that they obtained election information from television prior to the June 7th elections (question 78). Slightly less, 70 percent of voters, said that they received election information from radio (question 77). Election coverage on radio and television was viewed as fair to all candidates and parties: sixty-two percent indicated that the news coverage of the election was fair to all candidates (question 81). Respondents also reported that electronic media election coverage conveyed the impression

⁵ [IF VOTED] "Did you receive information from any of the following sources which helped you decide for which party to vote?" (n=1520)

the upcoming election would be fair. Seventy-six percent of voters believed that the media conveyed the impression the election would be free and fair (question 80).

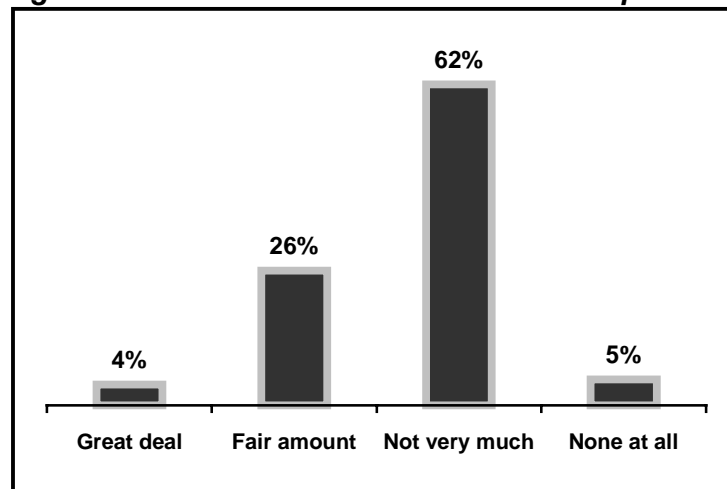
Figure 7. Influence of TV and Radio on Vote Decision⁶



Of those who were exposed to radio or television prior to the election, a majority (65 percent) said that this information had either a "great deal" or "fair amount" of influence on their vote. A combined 21 percent noted that media had no or not very much influence on their vote (question 79).

A large percentage of respondents to the survey indicated that they viewed a half-hour television program the week before the election dealing with procedures of voting and the roles of poll workers and voters. (This program was produced by the KPU and IFES.) Seventy-eight percent of the respondents indicated that they watched the election program before they voted (question 74).

Figure 8. Information about Political Developments⁷



Despite the numerous sources of information that Indonesians have cited above, many report themselves ill informed concerning political developments in Indonesia. A majority of respondents, 67 percent, indicated that they have either "not very much" or "no information at all" about political developments occurring in their country (question 21). A slightly smaller but nonetheless substantial majority of 62 percent report having "not very much" or "no information at all" about economic developments in Indonesia (question 19).

Indonesians generally support aggressive media coverage of all issues and people but oppose news coverage that they deemed to be overly offensive. Sixty-six percent agree that the news

⁶ "Thinking of all you heard on radio or saw on TV before the June 7th elections, how much did this information help you decide for whom to vote?" (n=1520)

⁷ "How much information do you feel you have about political developments in Indonesia?" (n=1520)

media should report on all important issues and people even if this causes discomfort or anger among some groups. Twenty-eight percent disagree with the notion that media coverage should be so aggressive (question 111).

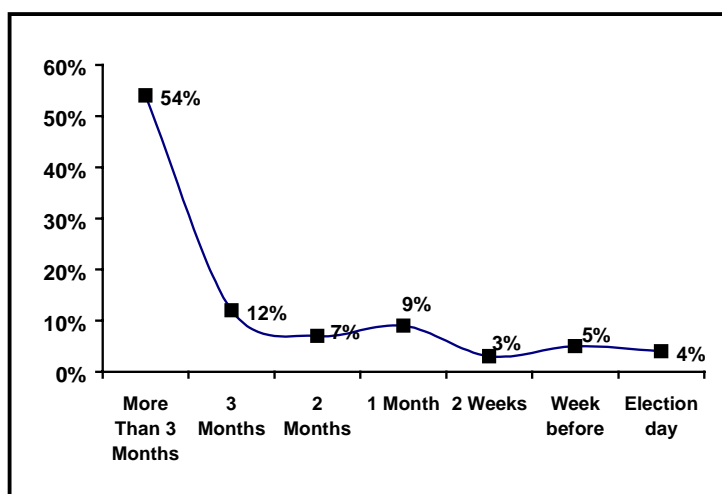
Despite the majority's interest in comprehensive news coverage, most are opposed to reporting that offends. A majority (59 percent) indicates that they agree strongly or somewhat that "the news media should not print or broadcast anything that might offend people" (question 110). What might be considered offensive remains to be defined.

Timing of the Vote Decision

The survey also finds that, for the majority of respondents, once their mind was made up they did not consider changing their vote. Voters were asked if there was ever a time during the election that they thought they would vote for a different party. Of those who voted, 75 percent indicated that they had never thought they would vote for a different political party (question 90).

Plus, most voters made up their minds more than three months before the election (question 91). Fifty-four percent of those who voted indicated that they had made their voting decision prior to three months before the election – that is, before the campaign actually occurred. New information revealed between one and three months apparently would have influenced only 28 percent of voters. Last minute information, revealed between two weeks before the election and the day of the election, would have only affected only 12 percent of voters.

Figure 9. Timing of Vote Decision⁸



Party Name Recognition

With 48 parties participating in the election, Indonesia has a vast number of political parties for voters to try to distinguish. Very few parties enjoy any significant level of name recognition (question 69). Levels of party identification may be classified into three levels of visibility: high name recognition (75 percent+), moderate name recognition (10-40 percent), and low name recognition (less than 10 percent).

⁸ [IF VOTED] "When did you make your decision about which party you were going to vote for?" (n=1520)

Five political parties have name recognition above 75 percent. In order of greatest recognition, these parties are:

- Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDI-P) (99 percent)
- Partai Golongan Karya (GOLKAR) (92 percent)
- Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) (84 percent)
- Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB) (82 percent)
- Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) (76 percent)

In the second tier of political party name recognition (10-40 percent), there are five political parties. These are: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI) with 47 percent name recognition; Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB) at 46 percent; Partai Keadilan (PK) at 22 percent; Partai Keadilan Dan Persatuan (PKP) with 22 percent; and Partai Nudlatul Ummat (PNU) with 10 percent name recognition.

The final tier of party name recognition includes 38 parties that have only a minimum level of name recognition. Specifically, they are known by less than 10 percent of the respondents. Examples of these with minimal name recognition – even after having participated in the DPR election – are the Partai Aliansi Demokrat Indonesia (PADI) at 3 percent, the Partai Indonesia Baru (PIB) with 2 percent, and the Partai Massa Marahren with name recognition of 2 percent.

Indeed, the number of commonly identified political parties appears to fall exactly into the range of the number of political parties that Indonesians feel would be ideal for their political system. The number of competitive political parties, defined as the ability to generate greater than 40 percent name recognition, is seven. And according to the vast majority of respondents (84 percent, question 70), the ideal number of political parties would fall between three and nine.

Public Figures' Name Recognition and Favorability Ratings

Many public figures enjoy higher name recognition in Indonesia than do the political parties. Of 12 public figures whose public visibility was assessed in the survey, all have established name recognition levels above 60 percent, including 6 who can be identified by over 90 percent of the Indonesian respondents. The President, B. J. Habibie, is recognized by 99 percent. Megawati Soekarnoputri is also recognized by 99 percent. Amien Rais is familiar to 97 percent; Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) to 96 percent, Akbar Tandjung to 95 percent, and General Wiranto to 93 percent in name recognition (questions 49-60).

Those with somewhat lower levels of name recognition – but still identified by the majority of the Indonesian respondents – were: the Sultan of Yogyakarta, recognized by 86 percent of the people; politician Yusril Ihza Mahendra, recognized by 76 percent; Abdul Djalil and Hamzah Haz at 73 percent; Nurcholis Majid at 67 percent; and finally, Marzuki Darusman at 64 percent name recognition (Figure 10).

Most of these public figures enjoy positive images. Only Akbar Tandjung had a net unfavorable image (more with an unfavorable opinion than favorable). At 40 percent unfavorable and 35 percent favorable, he also had the highest unfavorable rating of any of the 12 figures tested in the survey. The person viewed most favorably is Megawati Soekarnoputri, of whom 71 percent have a favorable impression and 17 percent have an unfavorable impression. Other figures with high favorable ratings include B. J. Habibie at 58 percent, the Sultan of Yogyakarta at 52 percent, Gus Dur with 49 percent, Amien Rais at 43 percent, and General Wiranto with 40 percent. Persons that fell below 40 percent favorable include Hamzah Haz with 31 percent

favorability, Akbar Tandjung and Yusril Ihza Mahendra with 35 percent, Matori Abdul Djilil at 29 percent, Nurcholis Majid with 29 percent, and Marzuki Darusman at only 18 percent favorability.

Figure 10. Opinion of Major Political Figures⁹

Person	% heard of	% w/opinion	% favorable	% unfavorable
Megawati Soekarnoputri	99%	88%	71%	17%
Habibie	99%	87%	58%	29%
Amien Rais	97%	81%	43%	38%
Gus Dur	96%	79%	49%	30%
Akbar Tandjung	95%	75%	35%	40%
Wiranto	93%	69%	40%	29%
Sultan of Yogyakarta	86%	61%	52%	9%
Yusril Ihza Mahendra	76%	50%	35%	15%
Abdul Djilil	73%	46%	29%	17%
Hamzah Haz	73%	47%	31%	16%
Nurcholis Majid	67%	39%	29%	10%
Marzuki Darusman	64%	34%	18%	16%

Desired Presidential Traits – Majority Open to Female President

When respondents were asked which traits they desire in the next Indonesian president (from a provided list), the trait mentioned by the greatest percentage of respondents, 73 percent, was “honest and trustworthy.” The second most popular trait was “strong leader,” mentioned by 58 percent. “A deeply religious individual” was also favored by half (53 percent). About one third (31 percent) of respondents cited “tolerant” as a trait they are looking for in their president, while slightly less, 30 percent, desire a well-educated leader (question 107).

Other traits that received mention include: “someone who is a reformer” (22 percent); and, “someone who cares about the needs of people like you” (12 percent). Traditionalist characteristics, such as “protects the cultural heritage,” or “keeps things the way they are,” or “has traditional values,” were mentioned by less than three percent of the respondents. Less than one percent indicated that “not from Java” would be a good trait for a president to possess.

Few respondents (7 percent) indicate that the trait of being a male is one of their priorities for the next president. These results are consistent with a separate question in which the majority (64 percent) indicate that it is possible for a woman to be an effective president. Half as many (30 percent) believe that the next president should definitely be a man. Six percent did not have an opinion about the gender of the next president or chose not to answer the question (question 48).

⁹ “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.” (n=1520)

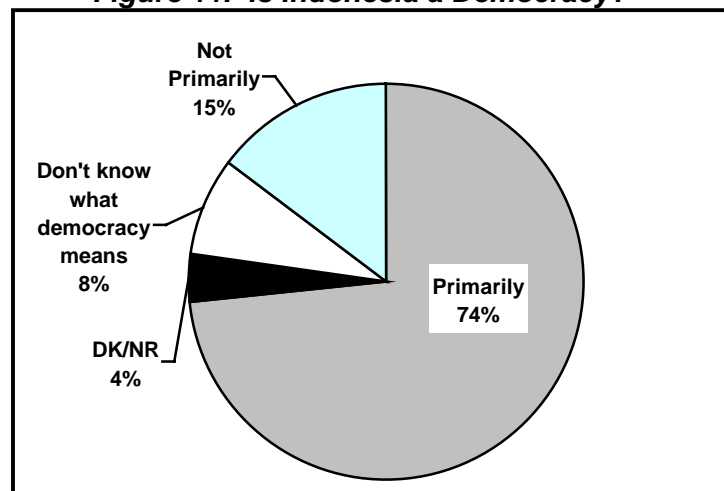
GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY, AND REFORM

This section of the analysis deals with views on democracy and its future in Indonesia, perceptions of the economy, the power and impact of various levels of government, trust in the judicial system, and the role of elected officials and the military in governance.

System of Government

The experience of a successful (or at least satisfying) election has solidified democratic sentiment in Indonesia. Seventy-four percent of the respondents believe that Indonesia is, currently, already primarily a democracy. And 86 percent believe that Indonesia should strive to be a democracy. Of those respondents who said that their country was not a democracy, more believe than not, nonetheless, that Indonesia is becoming one: fourteen percent believe that Indonesia is not a democracy but is moving in that direction, while one percent indicate that it is neither a democracy nor moving in that direction (questions 62, 63, 64).

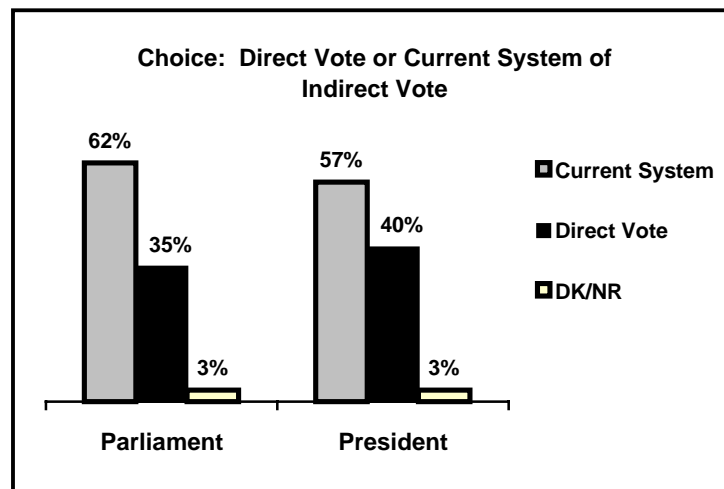
Figure 11. Is Indonesia a Democracy?¹⁰



But the fact of a successful election may also have dampened support for certain political reforms. The survey finds that Indonesians generally do not desire a direct vote for their DPR representative, but rather prefer the current system of voting for parties which then select the members of the DPR. A majority (62 percent) would rather vote for a party than directly for a candidate; voting for a candidate was the preference of 35 percent (question 101).

Similarly, the current presidential electoral system, one that is indirect, is favored by a majority of Indonesians over direct election of the president. A slight majority (57 percent) favor the current method for selection of the president, while 40 percent of respondents prefer a system which would allow them to directly elect their president, and 3 percent have no preference or did not respond (question 102).

¹⁰ "Would you say that Indonesia is primarily a democracy today, or is it not primarily a democracy?" (n=1520)

Figure 12. Indonesians' Views on Direct Election of Parliamentarians and President¹¹

One reason for the support for indirect election may be the citizens' trust of the intermediary institution, the MPR. The majority of respondents, 81 percent, note that they have a great deal or a fair amount of trust in the MPR to select the most capable candidate as the next president. Fourteen percent indicate that they have not much or no trust at all in the MPR, while 5 percent do not know or had no response to the question (question 106).

In addition, rejection of the direct election of the president is evident in a question of whether the president should come from the parliamentary party that gained the most votes in the DPR election, or should the MPR elect the president whom they feel is best for the country. The majority, 57 percent, side with allowing the MPR to elect the most qualified candidate from any party without regard for which party received the most popular support in the June 7 election. Slightly less, 40 percent, support the president coming from the party with the largest percentage of the parliamentary vote (question 105).

Still, there is keen interest in the MPR deliberations over the next president. When respondents were asked if they would watch the MPR proceedings on television or listen on radio, 92 percent said they would be very or somewhat likely to watch or listen. Five percent of voters said that it would be somewhat unlikely that they would watch or listen to the proceeding, while less than one percent believe that they would not (question 104). The vast majority of Indonesians – 90 percent – feel that these proceedings in the MPR should be broadcast over electronic media (question 103).

Indonesians also embrace the benefits of elections. A majority of Indonesians agree with the statement, “when government officials must be elected by the people in order to keep their position in government, they have more respect for the rights of the people” (question 68).

Seventy-seven percent either agree somewhat or completely with this statement, while only 20 percent disagree, either somewhat or completely. Similarly, a majority (74 percent) of Indonesians contend that elections make officials more responsive. Fifty percent “agree

¹¹ "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, or would you prefer to vote for the actual person who would represent your area in the DPR?" (n=1520)

"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?" (n=1520)

somewhat" that elections cause officials to do what the people want, while 24 percent "agree completely" with this proposition. Twenty-two percent either somewhat or completely disagree with the idea that elections compel officials to be more concerned with doing what the people want (question 67).

Elections also have the benefit of giving citizens a voice in the country's decision-making process, according to the Indonesians surveyed. A majority, 93 percent, agree completely or somewhat that voting results in citizen influence in the decision making process, while five percent disagree somewhat or completely (question 65).

Figure 13. Voter Efficacy

	"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." (n=1520)		
	A. "Voting gives people like me a chance to influence decision-making in our country."	B. "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."	C. "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	43%	24%	27%
Agree somewhat	50%	50%	50%
Disagree somewhat	4%	17%	14%
Disagree completely	1%	5%	6%
DK/NR	3%	4%	3%
	101%✓	100%	100%

✓=rounding error

While Indonesians generally evince politically liberal and democratic attitudes, contrary evidence is found in their willingness to limit civil liberties in order to maintain order. The majority (61percent) indicate that they completely or somewhat agree that it is necessary to limit civil and political rights in order to establish order and discipline in society. Disagreement with this notion was expressed by only 35 percent of respondents (question 66).

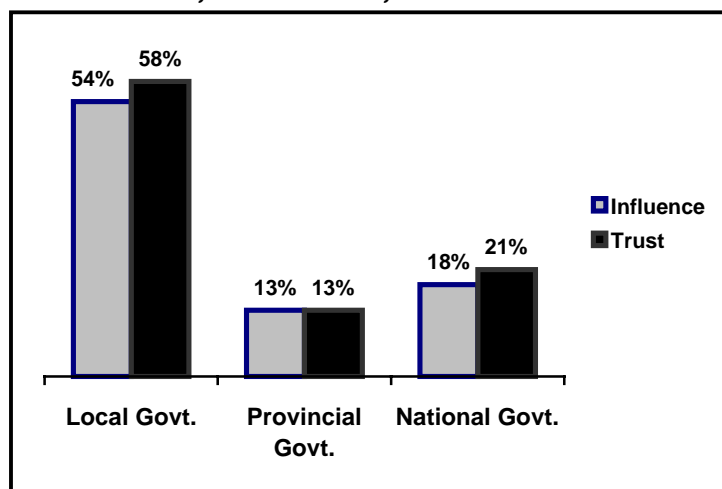
Government Power

Between the national government, the provincial government, and local government, a majority (54 percent) of Indonesians report that local governments have the greatest impact on their lives. Eighteen percent hold that the most influence on their lives comes from the national government, while just 13 percent cite provincial governments (question 33).

Besides being more influential, many see the local government as more effective than the national government. Half of respondents, 53 percent, believe that the local government is more able to get things done than the national government. Alternatively, 32 percent of respondents view the national government as more able to get things done than the local government, with 15 percent of respondents not responding (question 34). Based on that finding, it is perhaps not surprising that more Indonesians trust local government "to manage economic development...so that the most number of people benefit." Fifty-eight percent selected local

government, while fewer than half as many (21 percent) selected the national government as the more trustworthy. Only 13 percent trust the provincial government the most on this criterion (question 35).

Figure 14. Influence of, and Trust in, Different Levels of Government¹²



On another reform matter, respondents were asked if, as the result of newly elected DPRD I and II bodies, governors who were in office before the election should resign to allow the new legislative bodies to appoint their own governors and officials (question 36). The majority of respondents, 62 percent, favor allowing governors to finish out their terms. Twenty-seven percent say that the governors should resign, while those that did not know, or did not respond, reached 11 percent.

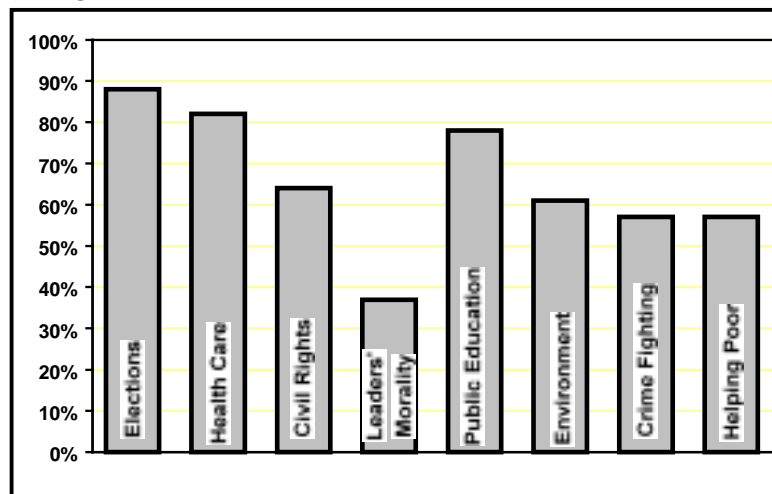
Many Indonesians believe the president has too much power. A plurality of respondents, 47 percent, indicate that the power which is given to the president is excessive. Thirty percent believe that extent of presidential power is proper, while only 17 percent feel that this power is not great enough. Six percent of respondents did not know or did not answer (question 109).

Government Administration

The survey also gauged how well the government is performing its responsibilities, in the perception of the people. Overall, the majority of respondents indicate that they were satisfied with the way that the government does its job. At 56 percent, the majority of those surveyed indicated that they are somewhat satisfied with how the government carries out its responsibilities, and another 4 percent were completely satisfied (question 23). Alternatively, 40 percent of respondents indicated that they were either somewhat or completely dissatisfied with the way that the government performs its responsibilities. One percent did not know about the performance of government, or chose not to respond to the question.

¹² "Which level of government has the greatest effect on your life and the life of your family?" (n=1520)

"Which level of government do you trust the most to manage economic development in this area so that the most number of people benefit?" (n=1520)

Figure 15. Satisfaction with Government Services¹³

The question of government performance was asked in relation to a number of specific activities (questions 24 - 32). Respondents expressed high satisfaction with the conduct of elections, public education, and health services, moderate satisfaction with poverty programs, civil rights, crime fighting, and protection of the environment, and low satisfaction with the moral character of the nation's leaders.

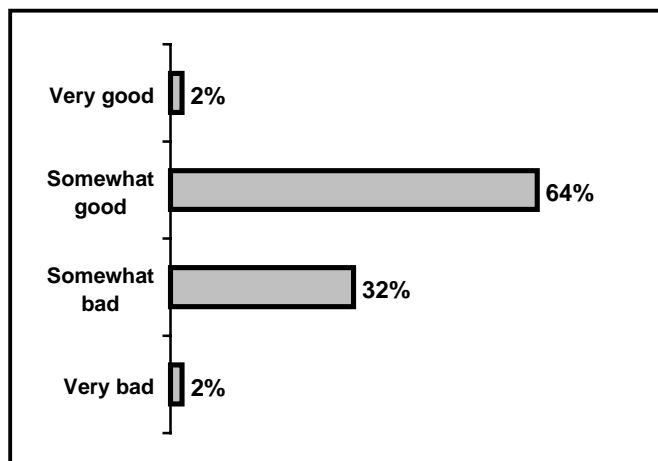
In a question which sought to assess the validity of survey research on political matters, a vast majority of Indonesians, 86 percent, believe that they are free to express their political opinions in Indonesia today. Only 9 percent of respondents felt that this expression would be dangerous to them, with 5 percent not knowing or not responding (question 22).

An additional area where the government tends to do a good job according to citizens is in the distribution of identification cards, which is viewed as an important function. A majority of respondents, or 79 percent, report no difficulty in obtaining an identification card (question 40). Only 13 percent have experienced any inconvenience in getting an identification card. Seventy-seven percent indicate that it is very important for "someone like them" to be able to obtain an identification card more easily, while 23 percent believe that it is somewhat important. Less than one percent of those surveyed believed that it is not important that they be able to obtain an identification card. Somewhat less than one percent did not respond (question 41).

Economic Conditions

The view of the economy in Indonesia by its citizens may be characterized as general satisfaction, but not overwhelming enthusiasm. In addition, many believe that there is no immediate change occurring, either positively or negatively, in economic performance. However, many anticipate economic improvement over the long term.

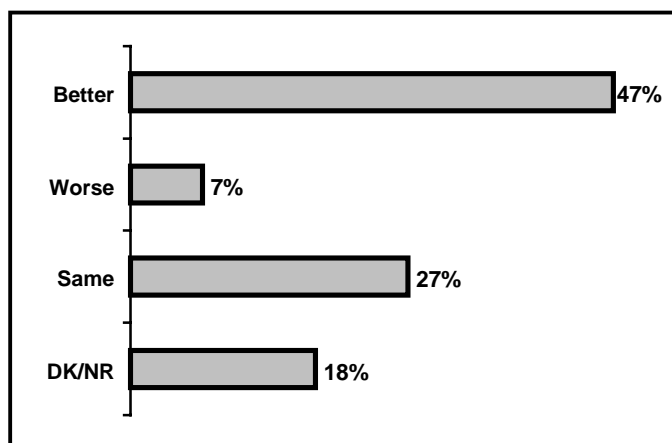
¹³ "Please tell me how satisfied you are with each of the following programs of our government." (n=1520)

Figure 16. Current Economic Situation¹⁴

The majority of respondents, 64 percent, believe that the economic situation in their community is somewhat good, while only 2 percent would rate the economy as very good. Those who believe that the economy is somewhat bad make up 32 percent of the respondents, leaving slightly over one percent who see the economy as very bad (question 12).

Along with the moderate rating of the economy comes a sense that the state of the economy is not changing. Respondents were asked if the economic

situation in the country was getting better, worse, or staying the same. Staying the same was the response selected by slightly less than half of respondents, or 48 percent. Twenty-six percent believe the economy has been getting worse, while the same number, 25 percent, see it as improving. But compared with the survey results from January, half as many report the economy is getting worse. Two percent of the respondents did not know the direction of the economy or did not respond to the question (question 13).

Figure 17. Future Economy¹⁵

But over the next year, a plurality of Indonesians are rather more optimistic about the direction of the economy. One year from now, slightly less than half of respondents, 47 percent, said that they believe the economy will be better than it is currently. Twenty-seven percent indicated that they expect the economy to be about the same as it is now, while only 7 percent think that it will be worse. Eighteen percent of those surveyed did not respond to this question (question 14).

Respondents were invited to name the problem which concerns them the most (question 11). Overwhelmingly, economic problems were named. Only 7 percent identified a crime or security concern. But the economic issues mainly had to do with the high cost of living and inflation, rather than with job opportunities and employment problems, which were cited by 16 percent. This is consistent with the large number of Indonesians who are not in the money economy and are self-sufficient. Thirty percent (a plurality) expressed concern over the high cost of basic staples, followed by 24 percent concerned about "personal financial problems" generally.

¹⁴ "How would you describe the current economic situation in your community today?" (n=1520)

¹⁵ "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 it be about the same as it is now?" (n=1520)

Speaking in more theoretical economic terms, the survey also sought to determine the support that exists in Indonesian society for a free or market economy as opposed to one that is more centrally planned. The results of the survey indicate that the majority of respondents, 62 percent, favor an economy in which there is little government involvement, or a market economy. Approximately half of that amount or 30 percent prefer an economy that is primarily controlled by the government, with slightly over 9 percent of the respondents not knowing or choosing not to respond (question 15).

Yet contrary to the desire for an economy free of government control is the desire for the government to set the price of basic staples. Price controls on basic staples would be acceptable to the large majority of respondents, 77 percent. Alternatively, 21 percent of the respondents prefer to be able to negotiate the price that they pay for basic staples. No response was given as an answer by 2 percent of the respondents (question 16).

In the category of social services (providing food and medical care), family precedes government. One third of respondents consider that helping someone in need with food and medical care is primarily the responsibility of family and neighbors (35 percent). The same percentage believe that both public and private sources should be responsible for providing these necessities. Finally, the government was seen as having principle responsibility for supplying these goods and services by 20 percent (question 37).

Figure 18. Attitudes toward Desired Economic System

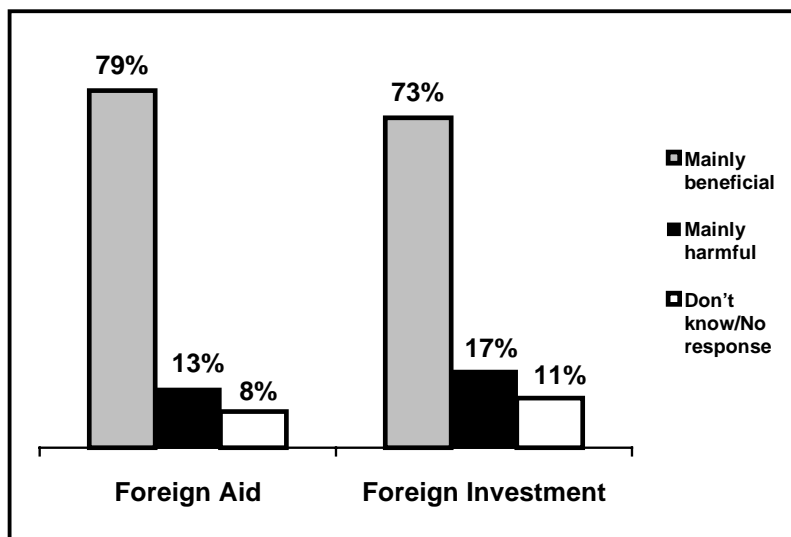
"When thinking about our economic future, should our country strive to develop a free or market economy – that is, an economy with little government control – or should we strive for an economy which is basically controlled by the government?" (n=1520)		"If you or your family needed food or medical care, should it be the responsibility of the government or the responsibility of your family and neighbors to give you what you need?" (n=1520)	
Little government control	62%	Government's responsibility	20%
Economy basically controlled by state	30%	Family's responsibility	35%
DK/NR	9%	Neither	9%
	101%✓	Both	35%
		DK/NR	2%
			101%✓

✓=Rounding error

In general, outside influences on the Indonesian economy are viewed favorably by the majority of the respondents. Both international aid and foreign companies are believed to have positive effects on the country's economy.

Many of the respondents to the survey welcomed the influx of foreign aid into the economy (question 17). A large majority, 79 percent, said the international aid was mainly beneficial to Indonesia. Thirteen percent of respondents expressed fear that this type of aid was harmful to their country. The effect of international aid was not known by 8 percent of the respondents.

Similarly, the effects of international companies inside Indonesia are considered to be positive. A large majority (73 percent) describe the presence of foreign companies in Indonesia as beneficial, while only 17 percent view foreign firms as harmful. Eleven percent of respondents did not know the impact of foreign firms on the economy of their country (question 18).

Figure 19. Attitudes Toward Foreign Aid and Investment¹⁶

Judicial System

This survey sought to evaluate Indonesians' perceptions of their judicial system. The survey asked the respondents if they had a disagreement with someone over something of value or money, would they consider using the court system to resolve this dispute. A large majority, 70 percent, would consider using the courts. Only 25 percent would not consider the courts as a way to resolve the dispute, while 6 percent did not know (question 39).

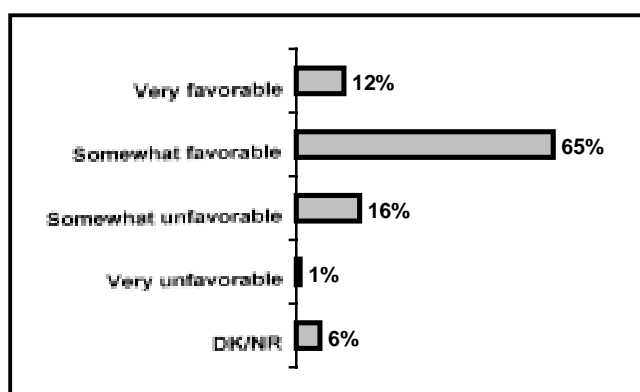
Confidence declined somewhat in moving from the tort to the criminal justice system. Most respondents, 57 percent, believe that the average Indonesian would receive a fair trial, if accused of a crime. But about a third (36 percent), say that the average citizen could not get a fair trial. Seven percent of respondents did not know (question 38).

¹⁶ "Indonesia receives money from international organizations to help us with our economy. Overall, do you think that such help from international organizations has mainly been beneficial or mainly been harmful to Indonesia?"

"Many foreign companies are also active in Indonesia. Do you think that the involvement of foreign companies in our economy has mainly been beneficial or mainly been harmful to Indonesia?" (n=1520)

Figure 20. Use and Fairness of Judicial System

"If you had a disagreement with someone over money or something of value, would you consider taking the matter to a court of law, or would you not consider taking the matter to a court of law?" (n=1520)		"If an average Indonesian is accused of a crime, in most cases will this person be able or not able to receive a fair trial?" (n=1520)	
Would consider	70%	Would receive a fair trial	57%
Would not consider	25%	Would not receive a fair trial	36%
DK/NR	6%	DK/NR	7%
	101%✓		100%

The Armed Forces of Indonesia (TNI)**Figure 21. Overall Impression of TNI¹⁷**

Overall, Indonesians have a favorable opinion of the Indonesian armed forces (question 42). A majority of respondents, 65 percent, rate the TNI as somewhat favorable, while 12 percent saw the military as very favorable. A minority, 17 percent, saw the TNI as either somewhat or very unfavorable. The percentage of respondents who did not know about the TNI or did not answer the question was 6 percent.

Yet there is some opposition to the TNI role in the DPR. Half reject the appointment of TNI members to parliament without election: fifty-four percent of respondents disapprove of this practice, while only 34 percent accept the practice (question 43).

The respondents to the survey seem to be split on the question of whether or not those members of the TNI already in the parliament should be able to elect the next president. A plurality of 48 percent are in favor of allowing TNI members of the DPR to vote for president. Slightly less, 42 percent, oppose letting these appointed members of the military cast ballots for the next president. Ten percent of respondents did not know or chose not to answer the question (question 44).

Yet most Indonesians would allow a TNI member to become either president or vice president. A majority of 63 percent support allowing a member of the military to be elected president. Thirty percent opposed this idea, with 8 percent not answering the question (question 45). Slightly more (68 percent) would permit a TNI member to be elected vice president. The percentage that would not allow a TNI member to be elected vice president reached 24 percent (question 46).

¹⁷ "What is your overall opinion of TNI, the armed forces of Indonesia, which used to be known as ABRI?" (n=1520)

Indonesians are evenly split on the question of whether the TNI should be allowed to own businesses, as it currently does. About as many favor the current practice (45 percent) as oppose it (42 percent, question 47).

Figure 22. Views on Various Questions Related to TNI (n=1520)

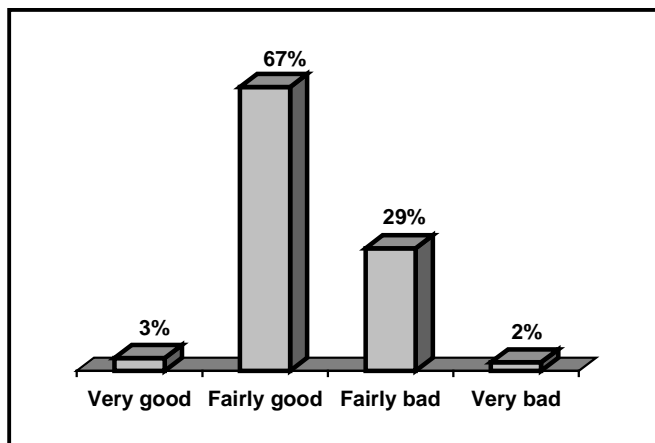
Do you approve or disapprove of TNI members being appointed to the DPR without being elected?	<u>Approve</u> 34%	<u>Disapprove</u> 54%
Do you favor or oppose members of the TNI being able to help select the next president?	<u>Favor</u> 48%	<u>Oppose</u> 42%
Should a member of TNI be able to be elected president of Indonesia, or should a member of TNI be barred from becoming president of Indonesia?	<u>Able</u> 63%	<u>Barred</u> 30%
Should the TNI be allowed to operate businesses in Indonesia, or should it not be able to own and operate businesses?	<u>Able</u> 45%	<u>Not Able</u> 42%

SOCIETAL VIEWS

One indicator used in the survey to measure the strength of national affiliation was how respondents felt about being a citizen of Indonesia. Slightly less than a majority of respondents, 50 percent, note that pride was the feeling that they had as a citizen. Nineteen percent describe their sentiment as content, while twenty-seven percent noted that they were indifferent about being an Indonesian citizen. Only 2 percent describe their feeling toward the country as not content, and 3 percent are ashamed to be citizens of their country. Less than one percent decided not to answer the question or did not know their feeling about their country (question 125).

Overwhelmingly, Indonesians feel their citizenship more strongly than their ethnicity. Asked which group membership they feel is the strongest, 82 percent cite citizenship in a nation, while 4 percent cite their ethnicity. Thirteen percent volunteered that ethnicity and citizenship were equally important, and one percent had no opinion or did not respond (question 126).

Figure 23. Quality of Life¹⁸

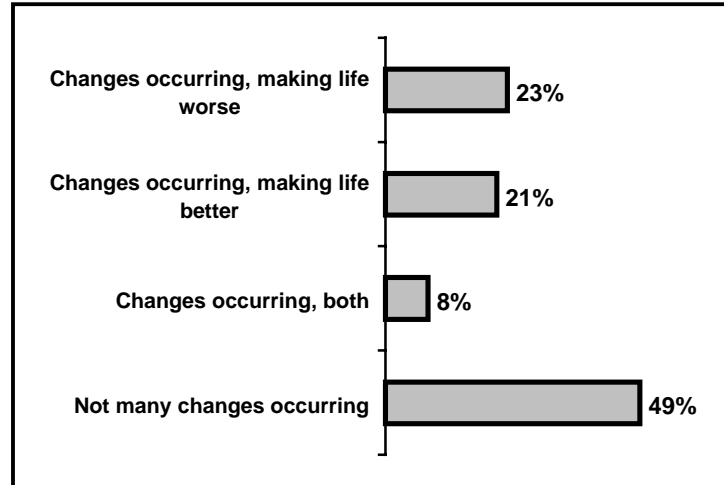


Overall, it appears that respondents have a good feeling about the quality of their lives. "Fairly good" was the rating that the majority of Indonesians (67 percent) gave when assessing the quality of their lives. But only 3 percent of respondents believe that their quality of life is very good. A minority of respondents, 31 percent, believe that their quality of life is either fairly poor or very bad, with less than one percent not responding to this question (question 8).

In order to assess the degree of societal change, respondents were asked if there are many changes occurring in their way of life today, or not (question 9). That many changes are occurring was the response of 52 percent. Slightly less, 48 percent, perceive that not many changes are occurring in their lives, while just 1 percent did not know or did not answer.

Of those who perceive change, opinion is evenly divided over whether this change will improve or worsen the quality of life (question 10). The most often cited response to the question, 23 percent, was that societal changes would worsen the quality of life. Twenty-one percent of respondents feel that these changes will make their lives better, while 8 percent see the changes as both improving and worsening their quality of lives. Less than one percent did not know the effect of change on their quality of life, or chose not to respond.

¹⁸ "How would describe the quality of your life today?" (n=1520)

Figure 24. Change in Indonesia and It's Impact¹⁹

Notwithstanding the welcome mat most Indonesians put out for foreign investment and business, as many see Western culture as a threat to the Indonesian way of life as see it improving things (question 61). Forty-three percent said they thought the West threatens their way of life; forty-one percent saw the West as being a source of things which will improve their lives; 16 percent did not know or did not respond.

¹⁹ "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=1520)
[IF YES] "And are these changes mainly making your quality of life better or mainly making your quality of life worse?"

DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN

A number of questions about respondent characteristics were asked in the course of this survey. These results follow.

Gender

The survey sample consisted of 51 percent females and 49 percent males (question 6).

Age

The age category that had the greatest representation in the survey was between 25 and 34, at 29 percent of the respondents. Those from 35 to 44 represented 26 percent of the respondents, while those that were 17 to 24 made up 19 percent of the sample. Seventeen percent of the sample fell into the 45 to 54 age range. Two percent of the sample was over 65 (question 116).

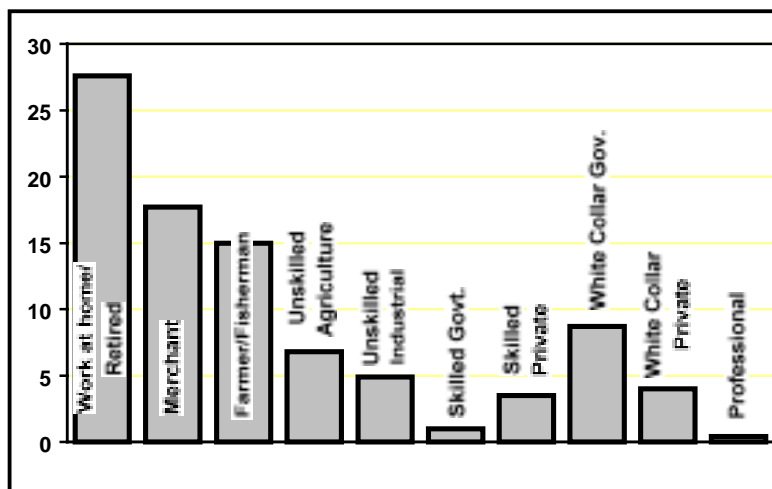
Education

Only 4 percent of the participants had some college experience or completed college, while 3 percent completed academy (question 117). Senior high school was completed by 31 percent of respondents, and 24 percent finished junior high school. The largest educational category at 37 percent were those who completed elementary school or had some elementary school experience. Two percent of the respondents had no formal education. A large majority of respondents, 92 percent, seemed to be literate, as they were able to read a particular survey question on their own (question 108).

Employment

Most Indonesians are not in the money economy. For 70 percent of those surveyed, neither the respondent nor their spouse had a job for which they received money, while 30 percent indicated that they did have such a job (question 118). Fourteen percent of those surveyed indicated that they had a single full time job, while part time employment was held by 6 percent. The self-employed was the largest employment category at 40 percent. Twenty-three percent of respondents noted that they worked in the home only, 5 percent were students, 3 percent were retired and 9 percent were unemployed and looking for a job (question 119).

When respondents were asked their type of work, the most often cited response was that they work at home or are retired, given by 28 percent. The next largest job category was merchant, at 18 percent. Fifteen percent described themselves as a farmer or fisherman, while 7 percent indicated that they are unskilled agricultural workers. White collar government employees made up 9 percent, while unskilled industrial workers were 5 percent, white collar private sector employees were 4 percent, skilled private sector workers (blue collar) were 3 percent, and skilled government workers one percent. Professionals made up less than one percent of the respondents.

Figure 25. Professional Breakdown in Indonesia (in percent)

A plurality of respondents, 40 percent, describe their household income as moderate. Thirty-three percent say that their income is moderate/low, and 19 percent indicated that they have a low household income. Five percent say that their household income is moderate to high, and two percent of respondents believe that they have high incomes. Those that did not know or chose not to answer the question came to less than one percent for this question (question 130).

The majority of the respondents, 85 percent, did not own a telephone. The majority did have electricity, 92 percent. Just 37 percent appeared to have indoor plumbing, and only 5 percent owned a car. Slightly more, 31 percent, owned a motorcycle. However, a majority of 66 percent did have brick walls that were purchased (questions 132-137).

Marriage & Children

The vast majority of those in the survey were currently married (80 percent). Eighteen percent said that they are single and have never been married, while one percent were divorced and 2 percent widowed (question 121).

Three-quarters (77 percent) have children. Thirty-eight percent said that they have one or two children. Thirty-one percent said they have between three and five children; eight percent have six or more children (question 122).

Region and Language

One in five (21 percent) of our respondents came from West Java. Nineteen percent came from East Java, 16 percent from Central Java, 6 percent from West Sumatra, and 5 percent from DKI Jakarta. The remainder of the provinces or islands comprised, individually, less than 5 percent each. The vast majority of respondents, 75 percent, indicated that they are originally from the place where the interview was conducted (question 124).

The language that was most often used to conduct the interview was Indonesian, which occurred 66 percent of the time. A mix between Indonesian and a local language occurred in 28 percent of the cases, while a local language was only used in 6 percent of the interviews (question 131).

Religion

A vast majority – 89 percent – indicated that they are Muslim, while 3 percent are Catholic, and 6 percent say that they are other types of Christians. Two percent identify themselves as Hindu, and less than one percent as Buddhist (question 127).

Religion tends to be important to Indonesians. A majority of 86 percent say that religious beliefs and leaders play an important role in the way they live their lives, while 13 percent said religion did not play an important role, and one percent did not know or did not respond (question 128).

Additionally the importance placed on religion in Indonesian society is indicated by the large majority – 96 percent – who say that the quality of government would improve if government officials were deeply religious individuals. Only 2 percent say that government would not be better with more religious officials. Two percent did not answer (question 129).

As for other group memberships, the survey established that 22 percent are either themselves a member of KORPRI or have an immediate family member who is; 20 percent have a member of the Nadlatul Ulama (NU) in their household; 8 percent are or are related to a member of Muhammadiyah; membership in the armed forces (TNI) touches 9 percent (questions 112-115).

Appendix: Topline Data

Responses to several questions may add up to more or less than 100 percent due to rounding error. This is designated by a "+" next to the total percentage for a question. All responses were rounded to the nearest whole number and this can lead to a discrepancy of up to 2 percent from 100 percent.

Responses which only got a response of less than 0.5 percent are designated by a "**".

In addition, questions which allow multiple responses are not totaled because the responses generally add up to substantially more than 100 percent.

5. Kind of Settlement

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Jakarta	5%
Kotamadya of 500,000+	5%
Kotamadya of 250,000 - 500,000	2%
Kotamadya of 100,000 - 250,000	7%
Kotamadya of <100,000	2%
Kota Administratip	14%
Kabupaten - Kota	2%
Kabupaten - Kota Kecamatan	16%
Kabupaten - Kota Desa	47%
	100%

6. Sex of Respondent

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Male	49%
Female	51%
	100%

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
1-3	29%
4-6	57%
7-10	14%
11+	1%
	101%+

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

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Very good	2%	3%
Fairly good	63%	67%
Fairly bad	27%	29%
Very bad	7%	2%
DK/NR	1%	*
	100%	101%+

9. 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?

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Many changes are occurring	60%	52%
Not many changes are occurring	37%	48%
DK/NR	3%	1%
	100%	101%+

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

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Better	10%	21%
Worse	40%	23%
Both equally (Volunteered)	11%	8%
DK/NR	2%	*
Not Asked	37%	49%
	100%	101%+

11. In your opinion, what is the biggest problem facing your family today - that is, the problem which you are most concerned about? (Open-ended, multiple response allowed)

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
High price of <i>Sembako</i> (Staples)	30%
Personal financial problems	24%
Cost of education is expensive	15%
Prices of goods have risen	11%
Difficulties in job opportunity	8%
Continuing economic crisis	6%
Fertilizer/pesticides price too high	5%
Increased crime rate	4%
Lower security level	2%
Social problems	2%
Other financial/economic problems	8%
Farming/plantation problems	8%
Other employment problems	8%
Other problems	10%
DK/NR	13%

12. How would you describe the current economic situation in your community today?

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Very good	1%	2%
Somewhat good	40%	64%
Somewhat bad	46%	32%
Very bad	8%	2%
DK/NR	4%	1%
	99%+	101%+

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

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Getting better	11%	25%
Getting worse	52%	26%
Staying the same	34%	48%
DK/NR	1%	2%
	98%+	101%+

- 14. 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 it be about the same as it is now?**

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Will be better than it is now	39%	47%
Will be worse than it is now	14%	7%
Will be about the same as it is now	18%	27%
DK/NR	29%	18%
	100%	99%+

- 15. 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?**

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Little government involvement	31%	62%
Economy controlled by government	41%	30%
DK/NR	28%	9%
	100%	101%+

- 16. Should the government set the prices for basic foods (*Sembako*) so that everyone pays the same price, or should you be able to negotiate the price you pay for these foods at the marketplace?**

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Government should set prices	77%
Should negotiate prices	21%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

- 17. Indonesia receives money from international organizations to help with our economy. Overall, do you think that such help from international organizations has mainly been beneficial or mainly been harmful to Indonesia?**

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Mainly beneficial	79%
Mainly harmful	13%
DK/NR	8%
	101%+

- 18. Many foreign companies are also active in Indonesia. Do you think that the involvement of foreign companies in our economy has mainly been beneficial or mainly been harmful to Indonesia?**

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Mainly beneficial	48%	73%
Mainly harmful	17%	17%
DK/NR	35%	11%
	100%	101%+

19. 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?

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
A great deal	17%	6%
A fair amount	36%	31%
Not very much	32%	58%
None at all	6%	4%
DK/NR	9%	2%
	100%	101%+

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

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Very interested	11%	3%
Somewhat interested	28%	33%
Not too interested	33%	53%
Not interested at all	20%	10%
DK/NR	9%	2%
	101%+	101%+

21. 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?

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
A great deal	18%	4%
A fair amount	29%	26%
Not very much	35%	62%
None at all	10%	5%
DK/NR	9%	2%
	101%+	99%+

22. In Indonesia today, do you feel a person is able to freely express his/her opinions on matters of government and politics, or is it dangerous for a person to express his/her opinions on matters of government and politics?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Free to express opinions	86%
Dangerous to express opinions	9%
DK/NR	5%
	100%

23. How satisfied are you with the way the government of Indonesia performs its responsibilities - are you completely satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or completely dissatisfied?

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	4%
Somewhat satisfied	56%
Somewhat dissatisfied	34%
Completely dissatisfied	6%
DK/NR	1%
	101%+

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:

24. Government efforts to help people who are poor

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	15%	7%
Somewhat satisfied	44%	50%
Somewhat dissatisfied	28%	37%
Completely dissatisfied	6%	6%
DK/NR	7%	*
	100%	100%

25. Respect for the rights of citizens by the government

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	9%	6%
Somewhat satisfied	41%	58%
Somewhat dissatisfied	23%	29%
Completely dissatisfied	6%	5%
DK/NR	21%	2%
	100%	100%

26. The fight against crime

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	12%	6%
Somewhat satisfied	33%	51%
Somewhat dissatisfied	34%	34%
Completely dissatisfied	11%	8%
DK/NR	9%	*
	99%+	99%+

27. The quality of health care services

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	21%	10%
Somewhat satisfied	55%	72%
Somewhat dissatisfied	16%	16%
Completely dissatisfied	3%	3%
DK/NR	5%	*
	100%	101%+

28. The way elections are conducted

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	8%	13%
Somewhat satisfied	28%	75%
Somewhat dissatisfied	23%	11%
Completely dissatisfied	16%	1%
DK/NR	25%	*
	100%	100%

29. The quality of education public schools provide

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	15%	7%
Somewhat satisfied	56%	71%
Somewhat dissatisfied	16%	20%
Completely dissatisfied	3%	2%
DK/NR	10%	2%
	100%	102%+

30. Government efforts to reduce pollution and clean the environment

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	3%
Somewhat satisfied	58%
Somewhat dissatisfied	31%
Completely dissatisfied	5%
DK/NR	4%
	101%+

31. The moral character of our national leaders

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Completely satisfied	4%	2%
Somewhat satisfied	28%	35%
Somewhat dissatisfied	33%	42%
Completely dissatisfied	14%	18%
DK/NR	21%	3%
	100%	100%

32. The moral character of our local leaders

DATA NOT AVAILABLE. QUESTION SKIPPED.

33. Which level of government has the greatest effect on your life and the life of your family - the national government, the provincial government, or the local administration?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
National government	18%
Provincial government	13%
Local administration	54%
DK/NR	15%
	100%

34. In general, do you think local government is more or less able to actually get things done than is the national government?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
More able	53%
Less able	32%
DK/NR	15%
	100%

35. Which level of government - local government, provincial government, or the national government - do you trust the most to manage economic development in this area so that the most number of people benefit?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Local administration	58%
Provincial government	13%
National government	21%
DK/NR	9%
	101%+

36. Now that we have elected DPRD Is and DPRD IIs, should the bupati and gubernors who were in office before the election finish out their terms, or should they resign so that the DPRD Is and IIs can appoint new persons?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Finish out terms	62%
Resign	27%
DK/NR	11%
	100%

- 37. If you or your family needed food or medical care, should it be the responsibility of the government or the responsibility of your family and neighbors to give you what you need?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Responsibility of government	20%
Responsibility of family & neighbors	35%
Neither	9%
Both	35%
DK/NR	2%
	101%+

- 38. If an average Indonesian is accused of a crime, in most case will this person be able or not able to receive a fair trial?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Able	57%
Not able	36%
DK/NR	7%
	100%

- 39. If you had a disagreement with someone over money or something of value, would you consider taking the matter to a court of law, or would you not consider taking the matter to a court of law?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Would consider	70%
Would not consider	25%
DK/NR	6%
	101%+

- 40. Have you ever experienced difficulty in obtaining an identity card or a government permit (*izin*) from local officials? [IF YES] Was this a major inconvenience or a minor inconvenience?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not experienced this	79%
Major inconvenience	13%
Minor inconvenience	8%
DK/NR	*
	100%

- 41. In your opinion, how important is it that it be easier for someone like you to obtain an identity card or a government permit (*izin*): is it very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not important at all?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Very important	77%
Somewhat important	23%
Not too important	1%
Not important at all	H
DK/NR	H
	101%+

- 42. What is your overall opinion of TNI, the armed forces of Indonesia which used to be known as ABRI: very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Very favorable	12%
Somewhat favorable	65%
Somewhat unfavorable	16%
Very unfavorable	1%
DK/NR	6%
	100%

- 43. As you may know, a certain number of seats in the DPR, the parliament, have been set-aside for members of TNI. Do you approve or disapprove of TNI members being appointed to the DPR without being elected?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Approve	34%
Disapprove	54%
DK/NR	12%
	100%

- 44. Those members of the TNI who are in the DPR will also be part of the MPR when it selects the next president of Indonesia. Do you favor or oppose members of the TNI being able to help select the next president?**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Favor	48%
Oppose	42%
DK/NR	10%
	100%

45. Should a member of TNI be able to be elected president of Indonesia, or should a member of TNI be barred from becoming president of Indonesia?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Able to be elected president	63%
Barred from becoming president	30%
DK/NR	8%
	101%+

46. Should a member of TNI be able to be elected vice president of Indonesia, or should a member of TNI be barred from becoming vice president of Indonesia?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Able to be elected vice president	68%
Barred from becoming vice president	24%
DK/NR	8%
	101%+

47. Should the TNI be allowed to own and operate businesses in Indonesia, or should it not be able to own and operate businesses?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Able	45%
Not able	42%
DK/NR	13%
	100%

48. In your opinion, is it possible for a woman to be an effective president of Indonesia, or should the next president of Indonesia definitely be a man?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Possible woman	64%
Definitely a man	30%
DK/NR	6%
	100%

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.

49. 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?

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	12%	4%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	37%	49%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	15%	30%
Have heard of him, no opinion	33%	15%
DK/NR	3%	1%
	100%	100%

50. Amien Rais	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	10%	3%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	29%	43%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	23%	38%
Have heard of him, no opinion	35%	15%
DK/NR	3%	2%
	100%	101%+
51. Akbar Tandjung	2/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	16%	5%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	20%	35%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	24%	40%
Have heard of him, no opinion	36%	18%
DK/NR	4%	2%
	100%	99%+
52. Matori Abdul Djalil	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	51%	27%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	13%	29%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	7%	17%
Have heard of him, no opinion	21%	23%
DK/NR	7%	5%
	99%+	101%+
53. Yusril Ihza Mahendra	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	49%	24%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	19%	35%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	6%	15%
Have heard of him, no opinion	19%	22%
DK/NR	7%	4%
	100%	100%
54. Megawati Soekarnoputri	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of her	5%	1%
Have heard of her, opinion favorable	49%	71%
Have heard of her, opinion unfavorable	11%	17%
Have heard of her, no opinion	32%	9%
DK/NR	2%	1%
	99%	99%+

55. B.J. Habibie	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	2%	1%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	56%	58%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	11%	28%
Have heard of him, no opinion	29%	12%
DK/NR	2%	1%
	100%	101%+
56. General Wiranto	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	13%	7%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	32%	40%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	17%	29%
Have heard of him, no opinion	33%	21%
DK/NR	5%	3%
	100%	100%
57. Marzuki Darusman	8/99-9/99	
	<u>(1520)</u>	
Have not heard of him	36%	
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	18%	
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	16%	
Have heard of him, no opinion	24%	
DK/NR	6%	
	100%	
58. Hamzah Haz	8/99-9/99	
	<u>(1520)</u>	
Have not heard of him	27%	
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	31%	
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	16%	
Have heard of him, no opinion	22%	
DK/NR	4%	
	100%	
59. Nurcholis Majid	8/99-9/99	
	<u>(1520)</u>	
Have not heard of him	33%	
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	29%	
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	10%	
Have heard of him, no opinion	22%	
DK/NR	6%	
	100%	

60. Sultan of Yogyakarta (Sultan Hamerigkubuwono X)

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Have not heard of him	23%	14%
Have heard of him, opinion favorable	33%	52%
Have heard of him, opinion unfavorable	4%	9%
Have heard of him, no opinion	31%	22%
DK/NR	8%	4%
	99%+	101%+

61. Some people say that most Western ways of doing things are not suitable for Indonesia and threaten the Indonesian way of life. Others say we can learn things from the West which will improve our way of life. Which of these views is closer to your own?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
West threatens way of life	43%
West can improve way of life	41%
DK/NR	16%
	100%

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

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Should strive to be a democracy	70%	86%
Shouldn't strive to be a democracy	2%	3%
Don't know what democracy means	15%	7%
DK/NR	13%	4%
	100%	100%

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

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Primarily a democracy	33%	74%
Not primarily a democracy	36%	15%
Don't know what democracy means	15%	8%
DK/NR	16%	4%
	100%	101%+

64. [IF NOT A DEMOCRACY] Is Indonesia moving toward becoming a democracy or is it not?

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Indonesia becoming a democracy	26%	14%
Indonesia not becoming a democracy	8%	1%
DK/NR	2%	0%
<i>Not Asked</i>	64%	85%
	100%	100%

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.

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

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree completely	25%	43%
Agree somewhat	50%	50%
Disagree somewhat	5%	4%
Disagree completely	1%	1%
DK/NR	19%	3%
	100%	101%+

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

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree completely	6%	16%
Agree somewhat	27%	45%
Disagree somewhat	34%	21%
Disagree completely	13%	14%
DK/NR	20%	4%
	100%	100%

67. "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."

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree completely	23%	24%
Agree somewhat	58%	50%
Disagree somewhat	4%	17%
Disagree completely	2%	5%
DK/NR	13%	4%
	100%	100%

68. "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."

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree completely	28%	27%
Agree somewhat	56%	50%
Disagree somewhat	2%	14%
Disagree completely	-	6%
DK/NR	14%	3%
	100%	100%

69. Please tell me the names of all the political parties – if any – that you have actually heard of? (Multiple response allowed)

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
National Mandate Party (PAN)	67%	84%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	60%	82%
Crescent Star Party (PBB)	38%	46%
Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)	72%	47%
Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P)	83%	99%
United Development Party (PPP)	84%	76%
GOLKAR	86%	92%
Partai Keadilan Dan Persatuan (PKP)	22%	22%
Partai Keadilan (PK)	-	22%
Partai Nadlatul Ummat (PNU)	-	10%
Partai Rakyat Demokrat (PRD)	-	3%
Partai Kristen Nasional Indonesia	-	5%
Partai Daulat Rakyat (PDR)	-	3%
Partai Uni Demokrasi Indonesia (PUD)	-	3%
Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI)	-	5%
Partai Aliansi Demokrat Indonesia (PADI)	-	3%
Partai Indonesia Baru (PIB)	-	2%
Partai Massa Marahen	-	2%
Other parties (less than 3%)	12%	22%
DK/NR	5%	*

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

	12/98-1/99 (1508)	8/99-9/99 (1520)
None	*	0%
One	1%	2%
Two	3%	3%
Several (3-9)	66%	84%
Many (10+)	6%	6%
DK/NR	24%	5%
	100%	100%

71. Last June 7th, an election was held to select members of the DPR (the parliament). Did you happen to vote in that election?

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
Yes	96%
No	4%
DK/NR	*
	100%

72. From what you have heard, which political party received the most votes in that election on June 7th?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P)	96%
GOLKAR	2%
United Development Party (PPP)	1%
Other	1%
DK/NR	1%
	101%+

73. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the results of the election on June 7th, overall?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Very satisfied	27%
Somewhat satisfied	57%
Somewhat dissatisfied	13%
Very dissatisfied	1%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

74. Did you happen to see a 30-minute TV program shortly before the election concerning the procedures of voting and the role of poll workers and of voters on election day?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	78%
No	20%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely.

75. "The election last June 7th was fair to all candidates and political parties."

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree completely	19%
Agree somewhat	64%
Disagree somewhat	12%
Disagree completely	1%
DK/NR	5%
	100%

76. "The count of the votes in the June 7th election was honest."

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree completely	23%
Agree somewhat	63%
Disagree somewhat	11%
Disagree completely	1%
DK/NR	3%
	101%+

77. Before the election on June 7th, did you hear anything on the radio concerning the election, such as news or discussion programs, advertisements, or other information?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	70%
No	27%
DK/NR	2%
	99%+

78. Before the election on June 7th, did you see anything on television concerning the election, such as news or discussion programs, advertisements, or other information?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	84%
No	14%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

[IF NO TO BOTH 78 & 79, SKIP TO 82]

79. [IF YES TO EITHER 77 or 78] Thinking of all you heard on radio or saw on TV before the June 7th election, how much did this information help you decide for whom to vote: did it help a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or not at all?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
A great deal	31%
A fair amount	34%
Not very much	17%
Not at all	4%
Did not vote	*
DK/NR	*
Not Asked	14%
	100%

80. [IF YES TO EITHER 77 or 78] Did what you hear on radio or see on TV before the June 7th election make you think the election was going to be free and fair, or did it make you think the election was NOT going to be free and fair?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Was going to be free and fair	76%
Was not going to be free and fair	6%
DK/NR	4%
Not Asked	14%
	100%

81. [IF YES TO EITHER 77 or 78] Apart from advertisements for parties or candidates, did what you hear on radio or see on TV before the June 7th election seem to be fair to all candidates and parties, or did it seem to favor certain candidates or parties?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Fair to all	62%
Favored certain ones	18%
DK/NR	6%
Not Asked	14%
	100%

82. [ALL] How much have you heard or read about the KPU (the General Election Commission) of Indonesia, which ran the election in June – a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or nothing at all?

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
A great deal	7%	5%
A fair amount	18%	24%
Not very much	30%	53%
Not at all	23%	12%
Don't know	22%	6%
	100%	100%

83. [IF AWARE, ABOVE (OPTIONS 1-3)] Which of the following two statements is closest to your view about the Commission: (1) The KPU (the General Election Commission) is a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law; or (2) the KPU (the General Election Commission) makes decisions which favor particular candidates or parties.

	12/98-1/99	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1508)</u>	<u>(1520)</u>
Statement 1	38%	59%
Statement 2	9%	17%
DK\NR	7%	7%
Not asked	46%	17%
	100%	100%

84. Some international organizations and foreign governments gave the KPU money and experts to help run the elections. In your opinion, was this help:

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
An example of foreign interference in Indonesia's affairs	19%
An example of other countries' desire to support Indonesia's political development	32%
Both	27%
DK/NR	22%
	100%

85. [ASK ONLY IF DID NOT VOTE] What was the main reason you did not vote in the June 7th election? (Open ended precodes)

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Not registered	1%
Not living in area registered to vote	1%
Other	2%
<i>Not Asked</i>	96%

86. [ASK ONLY IF VOTED] What was your overall impression of how well this election was administered: very well, fairly well, fairly poorly, or very poorly?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Very well	15%
Fairly well	75%
Fairly poorly	5%
Very poorly	*
DK/NR	*
Did not vote	4%
	99%+

87. [ASK ONLY IF VOTED] In the June election for the DPR, did a local official or community leader tell you who you must vote for?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	3%
No	93%
DK/NR	*
Did not vote	4%
	100%

88. [IF VOTED] For which party did you vote? READ OPTIONS ONLY IF NECESSARY

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Indonesian Democratic Party-Perjuangan (PDI-P)	34%
GOLKAR	18%
National Awakening Party (PKB)	10%
National Mandate Party (PAN)	7%
United Development Party (PPP)	5%
Crescent Star Party (PBB)	2%
Partai Keadilan (PK)	1%
Other	2%
DK/NR	17%
Did not vote	4%
	100%

89. [IF VOTED] What would you say is the main reason you voted for this party? [Open-ended]

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Has good economic plan	34%
Reform-minded	3%
Eradicate corruption	6%
Islamic	9%
New programs	8%
Can be trusted	8%
Longtime member	6%
Public construction	4%
Promote rights	10%
Deeply religious	6%
Recommendation	6%
Close to people	2%
Stand for people's aspirations	4%
Has many supporters	4%
Improve security	4%
Experience	3%
Well-behaved	2%
Intelligent	2%
Liked the candidate	3%
Other leaders support	7%
Other programs	2%
Charismatic	1%
Improve politics and economics	1%
Tolerant	1%
Authoritative	1%
An old party	1%
Other party principles	2%
Other characteristics	15%
Other	10%
DK/NR	2%

90. [IF VOTED] Was there ever a time before the election when you thought you would vote for a different party?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	20%
No	75%
DK/NR	1%
Did not vote	4%
	100%

91. [IF VOTED] When did you make your decision about which party you were going to vote for?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
More than 3 months before election	54%
3 months before election	12%
2 months before election	7%
1 month before election	9%
2 weeks before election	3%
The week before the election	5%
On election day	4%
DK/NR	1%
Did not vote	4%
	99%+

92. [IF VOTED] Here are several reasons why individuals say they voted in the last election. Please tell me the main reason why you decided to vote:

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
I liked one of the candidates	6%
I liked one of the parties	12%
I was told to vote	4%
I felt I had a duty as a citizen to vote	62%
Wanted to have voice in future of country	13%
Other	0%
DK/NR	*
Did not vote	4%
	101%+

93. [IF VOTED] Did you receive information from any of the following sources which helped you decide for which party to vote?

	8/99-9/99 (1520)
TV advertisement	59%
TV news report or opinion of journalist	50%
Radio advertisement	32%
Radio news report/opinion of journalist	30%
Newspaper advertisement	23%
Newspaper article/Opinion of newspaper journalist	14%
Magazine article/Opinion of magazine journalist	5%
Party brochure or handout	34%
Personal contact with party representative or candidate	2%
Public meeting with candidate or party representative	5%
Opinion of friend	18%
Opinion of family member	26%
Opinion of local official	3%
Other	5%
DK/NR	1%

94. [IF VOTED] Did you encounter any of these problems when you voted (please just tell me yes or no for each problem I read to you).

	8/99-9/99 (1520)	
	Yes	No
A. Ballot was confusing	9%	87%
B. Election officials tried to tell me for whom to vote	*	96%
C. Election officials at voting place not helpful	1%	94%
D. Felt that ballot was not kept secret	*	95%
E. Polling place was not convenient	3%	93%
F. Polling place did not have necessary equipment/supplies	3%	93%
G. Saw groups of people voting w/out secret ballot	*	95%
H. Know of people who voted on behalf of family members	0%	94%
I. Campaigning occurred at polling place on election day	*	95%
J. Someone had already voted for me	*	96%
K. Gifts or money offered to voters	*	95%
L. Voters intimidated by supporters of a certain party	*	95%

95. [ALL] During the election campaign, did any of these persons contact you personally, in order to persuade you to vote a particular candidate or party:

8/99-9/99
(1520)

	Yes	No
A. Candidate for DPR	*	100%
B. Supporter of a candidate for DPR	*	100%
C. Candidate for DPRD I or II	1%	99%
D. Representative of a political party	2%	98%
E. Representative of a religious org.	1%	99%
F. Representative of a union/cooperative	*	100%
G. Representative of other organization	1%	99%
H. Government official	*	100%

96. During the election campaign – that is, before election day – were there any acts of violence in your community against the supporters of a particular party?

8/99-9/99
(1520)

Yes	1%
No	99%
DK/NR	0%
	100%

97. On election day, were there any acts of violence in your community against election workers or election monitors?

8/99-9/99
(1520)

Yes	1%
No	99%
DK/NR	0%
	100%

98. In your opinion, will things in Indonesia improve or not improve as the result of these elections?

8/99-9/99
(1520)

Will improve	78%
Will not improve	5%
DK/NR	16%
	99%+

99. Do you think the newly elected DPR will have real power to make beneficial changes in Indonesia, or do you think it will not have that power?

8/99-9/99
(1520)

Will have real power	6%
Will not have real power	94%
	100%

100. What one thing would you most like the new government to change about Indonesia, if anything? [OPEN ENDED]

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Lower price level	92%
Improve the economy	8%
Other	*

101. 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 person who would represent your area in the DPR?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Prefer party vote	62%
Prefer direct vote	35%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

102. 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?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Direct election better	40%
Current system better	57%
DK/NR	3%
	100%

103. Some people say that when the MPR elects the next president of Indonesia, it should make its decision in private. Others say the MPR should allow news organizations to report on everything that goes on. Which of these views is closer to your own?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
In private	6%
Allow media coverage	90%
DK/NR	3%
	99%+

104. If the discussions in the MPR about who should be the next president were broadcast on radio and television, how likely is it that you would watch or listen to this program – is it very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Very likely	49%
Somewhat likely	43%
Somewhat unlikely	5%
Very unlikely	1%
DK/NR	3%
	101%+

105. Some people say that because the PDI-P got more votes in the June 7th election than any other party, the next president should come from the PDI-P. Others say the MPR should pick the best person for president regardless of which party got the most votes. Which of these views is closer to your own?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Should come from PDI-P	40%
Should pick best person	56%
DK/NR	5%
	101%

106. How much trust do you have in the MPR to pick the most capable person to be president of Indonesia – do you have a great deal of trust, a fair amount of trust, not much trust, or no trust at all?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
A great deal	16%
A fair amount	65%
Not so much	13%
None at all	1%
DK/NR	5%
	100%

107. Here on this card [HAND CARD] are some qualities which the next president of Indonesia might have. Please tell me the three qualities on this list which you think are the most important for our president to have. [OFFER TO READ OPTIONS IF NECESSARY]

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Honest and trustworthy	73%
Strong leader	58%
Religious	53%
Tolerant	31%
Educated	30%
Reformer	22%
Cares about needs of people	12%
Islamic ties	8%
Male	7%
Protector of culture	3%
Other	4%
DK/NR	*

108. [OBSERVATION VARIABLE, DO NOT SHOW RESPONDENT] Was respondent able to read card on his/her own?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Able	92%
Not able	8%
	100%

109. Does it seem to you that the president of Indonesia has too much power, or not enough power, or has about the right amount of power?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Too much power	47%
Not enough power	17%
Right amount of power	30%
DK/NR	6%
	100%

My next two questions concern the news media – meaning television news programs, radio news programs, newspapers and news magazines.

110. Please tell me if you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement: “the news media should not print or broadcast anything that might offend people.”

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree strongly	25%
Agree somewhat	34%
Disagree somewhat	22%
Disagree strongly	14%
DK/NR	5%
	100%

111. Please tell me if you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement: “the media should investigate and report on all important people and issues – even if this makes some people and groups uncomfortable or angry from time to time.”

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Agree strongly	33%
Agree somewhat	33%
Disagree somewhat	19%
Disagree strongly	9%
DK/NR	5%
	99%+

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

	8/99-9/99		
	<u>(1520)</u>		
	Yes	No	DK/NR
112. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	20%	80%	1%
113. Muhammadiyah	8%	91%	1%
114. TNI, the Armed Forces of Indonesia	9%	91%	*
115. KORPRI	22%	77%	1%

DEMOGRAPHICS**116. Age**

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
17-24	19%
25-34	29%
35-44	26%
45-54	17%
55-64	8%
65+	2%
	101%+

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
No formal education	2%
Some or completed elementary school	37%
Completed junior high school	24%
Completed senior high school	31%
Complete academy	3%
Some or completed university or higher	4%
	101%+

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	30%
No	70%
	100%

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Employed full-time at one job	14%
Employed part-time at one job	5%
Employed part-time at >1 job	1%
Self-employed, including farmer	40%
Work in home only	23%
Student	5%
Retired	3%
Unemployed, looking for work	9%
NR	*
	100%

120. [IF NOT 5,6] What kind of work do you do? [FOR RETIRED/UNEMPLOYED, ASK "What kind of work did you do?"]

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Professional (lawyer, doctor, engineer) *	
White collar, private sector	4%
White collar, government	9%
Skilled laborer, private sector	3%
Skilled laborer, government	1%
Unskilled laborer, industrial	5%
Unskilled laborer, agricultural	7%
Farmer/fisherman	15%
Merchant	18%
Business owner	0%
Other	12%
Work at home/Retired	28%
NR	1%
	103%+

121. What is your marital status?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Currently married	80%
Single and never married	18%
Divorced	1%
Widowed	2%
	101%+

122. Do you have any children? [IF YES] How many children do you have?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
None	24%
1-2	38%
3-5	31%
6+	8%
	101%+

123. [ASK IF ONE OR MORE CHILDREN] How many of your children live with you?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
None	28%
1-2	47%
3-5	23%
6+	2%
	100%

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
From this place	75%
Moved here	25%
	100%

125. Which of the following best describes your feeling about saying you are a citizen of Indonesia – proud, content, indifferent, not content, or ashamed?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Proud	50%
Content	19%
Indifferent	27%
Not content	2%
Ashamed	3%
DK/NR	*
	101%+

126. 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?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Citizenship	82%
Ethnicity	4%
Equally important (Volunteered)	13%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

127. Do you belong to a religious group? [IF YES] What is your religion?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Muslim	89%
Hindu	2%
Buddhist	*
Catholic	3%
Other Christian	6%
Other	*
	100%

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	86%
No	13%
DK/NR	1%
	100%

129. 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?

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Would make better	96%
Would not make better	2%
DK/NR	2%
	100%

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

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
High	2%
Moderate/high	5%
Moderate	40%
Moderate/low	33%
Low	19%
DK/NR	*
	99%+

131. Language of interview

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Mainly in Indonesian	66%
Mixed, Indonesian and local language	28%
Mainly in local language	6%
	100%

132. Own a telephone

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	15%
No	85%
	100%

133. Have electricity

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	92%
No	8%
	100%

134. Have in-house plumbing

	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	37%
No	63%
	100%

135. Own a car	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	5%
No	95%
	100%
136. Own a motorbike	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	31%
No	69%
	100%
137. Have purchased brick walls	8/99-9/99
	<u>(1520)</u>
Yes	66%
No	34%
	100%