

Democracy in Indonesia

A Survey of the Indonesian Electorate 2003

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The Asia Foundation

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Preface

This report presents the findings of The Asia Foundation's third national survey of the Indonesian electorate. The aim of the research was to assess voter knowledge and opinion, and to identify key issues and challenges facing election administrators and assistance providers in advance of the 2004 National Elections. The survey was conducted between June 25 and August 10, 2003, in 32 of Indonesia's 33 provinces, and consisted of a random, nationally representative sample of 1,056 in-person interviews, plus an over-sample of 230 people to allow some regional analysis. The survey was funded with generous support from the U.S. Agency for International Development.

This is the eighth in a groundbreaking series of democracy assessment surveys sponsored by The Asia Foundation in Asia. The first was a national voter education survey conducted in Indonesia in advance of the 1999 elections. The second was a follow-up survey in Indonesia in August 1999, the third was in Cambodia in 2000, the fourth was a survey of the Indonesian justice sector in 2001, the fifth and sixth were in East Timor in 2001 and 2002, and the seventh was again in Cambodia in 2003. (These surveys, in English and local languages, can be found at <http://www.asiafoundation.org/publications/surveys.html>).

The specific objectives of the survey were to determine how much of the knowledge of democracy and elections gained by the Indonesian electorate during the last election in 1999 had been retained, and to clearly identify specific gaps in knowledge so that voter education providers could accurately target them. The survey also sought to measure opinion and attitudes related to democracy and democratic values in Indonesia, and to compare those findings with data collected during the 1999 surveys in order to identify democratization trends, and quantify change over time.

The survey results will be of practical benefit to the Komisi Pemilihan Umum (the election commission) and civil society organizations as they develop their civic and voter education campaigns. By clearly identifying areas of greatest need, the survey will enable voter and civic education providers to effectively target their limited resources to achieve the greatest possible impact. The survey will also provide a baseline from which assistance providers and election administrators can accurately measure the efficacy of specific program interventions. In addition, the survey will be useful for policy makers, academics and students interested in developing a greater understanding of the current state and development of democracy in Indonesia.

Douglas E. Ramage
Representative Indonesia
The Asia Foundation
Jakarta, November 2003

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Executive Summary

This report presents the findings of The Asia Foundation's third national opinion survey of the Indonesian electorate. The aim of this nationally representative survey is to provide detailed information on the knowledge and attitudes of Indonesian voters regarding politics and elections so that NGOs and other providers of voter education can more accurately plan their efforts for the 2004 elections. The current survey builds on two previous Foundation election surveys that were conducted before and after the 1999 elections to guide the development of voter education programs, and then measure their impact. The survey repeats a few questions from the 1999 surveys in order to track the progress of democratization in Indonesia and the effects of voter education programs four years after the first fully democratic elections.

The survey was conducted between June 25 and August 10, 2003 and consisted of a random, representative sample of 1,056 in-person interviews with Indonesian citizens eligible to vote (either 17 or older or married), conducted in 32 of Indonesia's 33 provinces. There was also a random oversample of 230 people; 104 respondents in Papua, 72 in Kalimantan and 54 in Sulawesi; to allow analysis of results from those islands (oversample data is weighted down to the correct proportions of the national sample in all national results). The survey was commissioned by The Asia Foundation and conducted by Charney Research, New York and AC Nielsen Indonesia.

This study builds on the findings of an earlier phase of qualitative research, involving in-depth interviews and focus groups with the general public and Indonesian elites in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and rural locations in West Java. The qualitative research was conducted between January 6 and 15, 2003.

This report also references the 1999 pre-election survey of the Indonesian public, which consisted of 1,204 interviews and was conducted between December 24, 1998 and January 24, 1999, and the 1999 post-election survey of 1008 interviews, conducted between July 8 and 31, 1999.

The survey summary below begins with a bulleted list of the key findings of the study, followed by short summaries of each section of the main report.

Key Findings

- The survey results show that Indonesia has made noteworthy advances in consolidating its democratic transition since 1999. Although many Indonesians are critical of their leaders and institutions, they have gained confidence that elections make a difference, still want to participate in massive numbers, and retain most of what they learned about democracy during the voter education campaign four years ago.
- However, there are clearly areas where further civic and voter education efforts are needed. Most Indonesians remain unfamiliar with the new electoral procedures, the roles of elections and representatives, and core democratic principles and values including political tolerance.
- A plurality of the electorate still believes that Indonesia is headed in the right direction, although voters are markedly less optimistic than after the 1999 election.
- The largest single factor influencing voter's judgment of the state of the country is related to the economy, including poverty,

jobs and prices. Despite macro-economic stabilization, more than half of the public feels that their buying power has declined over the last four years.

- Violence and social unrest are seen as the country's second biggest problem, but concern for this ranks well below concern for the economy.
- Indonesians have a mixed but moderately positive view of the job performance of President Megawati, much as they do of the country as a whole. They are also positive about their own provincial representatives, but more negative about the People's Representatives Assembly (DPR).
- Almost everyone intends to vote in 2004, as in 1999, with no sign of a protest boycott (*golput* in Indonesian). Voters are more likely to think elections will make a difference than before the last election, showing that confidence in election fairness and significance has grown.
- Indonesians lack information about the upcoming national elections, which voter education should provide. Most do not know when the election will take place, what offices will be contested, or what registration deadlines exist, and some do not even know they need to register again.
- Indonesians have low expectations of politics. Few think they can influence government decisions or know how elections or representatives can be used to express their views or advance their interests.
- Party support tends to be based largely on emotional identification. Most voters have weak party ties and see few differences among the parties.

- Despite their apparently low levels of interest in politics and political discussion, voters are quite interested in voter education programs that could offer opportunities to compare or question parties and candidates.
- Gains from 1999 voter education efforts have persisted regarding understandings of democracy, women's independent political participation, and political tolerance.
- The majority of Indonesians still cannot name any characteristics of a democratic country or recognize more than three out of seven major democratic principles, so these remain civic education priorities. Large minorities also still need education on tolerance of unpopular parties or candidates from out-groups.
- Voters split on gender lines on whether they would support a female DPR candidate, or on those who made "women's needs" their main campaign theme.
- Both men and women think women have common interests and they respond favorably to candidates raising women's issues, such as girls' education and family planning, or a party with a 30% quota for women on its candidate list. However, when asked to choose candidates who prioritize either "women issues" or other issues, voters split on gender lines with women choosing the first and men the latter. Albeit, Indonesians of all political and religious viewpoints want women to move ahead, not go backwards.
- The incidence of crime and fear of crime reported in the survey are relatively low, despite the widely reported increases in recent years. There is a moderate degree of confidence in the police and courts.
- Most Indonesians believe official corruption is common and one in three knows someone who has bribed an official or policeman.

- TV remains the most important medium for voter and civic education, while RT/RW leaders have a role to play in spreading information about the electoral process. Social and religious organizations are the most credible source of voter education and key for the face-to-face contact needed to reach voters without TV or literacy.

THE NATIONAL MOOD:

Democracy in Indonesia is Wobbly but Working

The Indonesian electorate still views the state of the country positively, but is no longer as optimistic as in the post-election honeymoon of 1999, when seven in ten voters felt the country was headed in the right direction. Now, a plurality of voters (44%) still believes things are on the right path, while a third (34%) are pessimistic and 18% are uncertain. The groups who have soured in the past four years are principally younger, educated, better-off Indonesians, while disadvantaged groups have become more positive in their attitude.

Most voters base their assessment of the country on the economy, while a smaller proportion cites violence and unrest. The economy – including jobs, poverty, and prices – is seen as the biggest problem facing the country by a majority almost as large (59%) as four years ago. Indonesia's progress in macro-economic stabilization since then has not been matched by progress in living standards. Over half the Indonesian public (52%) reports that they have less buying power than in 1999.

Violence and unrest represent the second major issue facing the country, cited by 20%. Concern about several other issues has grown in the past four years, notably the conflict in Aceh, cited by 16% as one of Indonesia's two biggest problems, corruption (9%) and crime (7%). Although the economy and violence are clearly major worries, the

evolving issue agenda facing the country is not unusual for developing democracies and a sign of the gradual normalization of Indonesian politics. Four years ago, the central issues related to the economic crisis and political transition so preoccupied the electorate that “ordinary” issues such as crime and corruption barely registered among the top national concerns.

Indonesian voters tend to view the President’s job performance favorably, with 48% positive and 37% negative, corresponding to their positive but mixed view of the country’s condition. These figures are characteristic of a democratic leader who is having problems, but not in a crisis, with a reasonable possibility but no certainty of re-election. Voters are more critical of the DPR (39% positive, 36% negative), but 54% are satisfied with the performance of their own province’s representative, also a pattern typical of other democracies.

The proportion of Indonesians who says that government does not pay attention to their ideas almost doubled between 1999 and 2003 to 47%, while 39% say government does pay them attention. The growth in disenchantment is largest among better educated and younger voters, but the current level is not far from comparable figures for other democracies.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

Levels Still High, No Sign of Election Boycott

As in 1999, overwhelming majorities of Indonesians intend to participate in the 2004 elections for President (93%) and DPR (91%), regarding it as a civic duty and a chance to choose their leaders. There is no sign of a protest boycott (*golput*), despite the existence of significant disaffection with politicians and politics. The main reason given by the few not planning to vote was their ignorance about politics and elections, suggesting a need for further voter education rather than a refusal to participate.

Some 48% of the voters think voting in the election will make a difference. This is up significantly from our findings prior to the 1999 election, although down somewhat from the post-election period. Only 30% think the vote will not matter. While advantaged groups in the electorate (well-educated, younger, urban, high income) are more optimistic their vote has an impact, the greatest gains in confidence in the vote occurred among disadvantaged groups (less educated, older, low income, rural). Thus, since the 1999 vote elections have acquired a reputation for fairness and importance among Indonesians they did not have under Suharto's New Order, particularly among the most disadvantaged Indonesians.

While voting participation remains high, only 28% of the public says they are interested in politics, 16% would consider running for office, and 8% discuss politics often. The principal reasons voters cited for disinterest in politics suggest political alienation: they say they have been turned off by politics or dislike it. Those who would not stand for office tended to be uninterested in politics and political discussion, and felt they lacked the requisite education and money.

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS ABOUT ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCEDURES:

Basics for Everybody, More for Some

Generally speaking, Indonesians are uninformed about the 2004 National elections. Seven in ten do not know in which month the People's Representatives Assembly (DPR) election will occur or if they will be voting for any institution besides the DPR. Nine out of ten voters have not heard about the new parliamentary body that will be created through this election, the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), or do not know what it will do. Voters are confused as to whether they will cast ballots for a party, a candidate, or both. Very few know how the

candidates declared elected from a given province will be chosen. Although most know the next president will be directly elected, few know what will happen if no candidate receives a majority of the vote in the initial election.

Most voters expect to be required to register before the upcoming elections, but a minority (17%) are not sure if they will have to. Of even greater concern is the fact that the majority of voters (56%) are unsure if a registration deadline exists.

Most voters do not know where to complain if they see election irregularities. Twenty-three would go to the local election committee. Few (less than a third) are familiar with key election organizations such as the KPU (General Elections Commission) or Panwaslu (Elections Monitoring Committee). Reflecting this ignorance, most voters think the only recourse for election complaints unresolved at the local level is “citizens” themselves.

Reflecting the common belief that “money politics” will have a substantial impact on the upcoming election, about four voters in ten think that voters will be influenced if political parties offer money, food, or other gifts to voters, but only 15% think a gift would influence their own vote, while 24% are unsure.

These findings point to a need for basic education regarding the elections – dates, procedures, offices for election, and complaints procedures – for almost all voters. They also suggest a need for targeted educational programs oriented towards the overlapping minorities unsure about registration requirements and open to vote buying.

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS ABOUT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND PARTIES:

What Can They Do for Us?

Indonesian voters have very low expectations for politics and politicians, and very few (15%) think they can influence government decisions. This reflects a lack of awareness of how they can use elections or representatives to their benefit to voice their views or advance their interests.

Few voters can spontaneously cite any purpose other than choosing officeholders that elections can serve for voters, such as offering an opportunity to express their feelings or voice demands. The idea that elections might offer an opportunity to defeat unpopular officials or change governments goes almost unmentioned. These are not roles that elections have often played in Indonesia.

Indonesians say the DPR is a check on the President, mindful no doubt of the impeachment and removal from office of the former President Abdurrahman Wahid, and the history of conflict between the DPR and both Megawati Sukarnoputri and former President Habibie, yet few can mention unprompted the DPR's role in making laws, expressing their views, passing the budget, or representing the interests of constituents. This may not be surprising, considering the DPR's perceived role as a rubber stamp during the New Order period.

Rather than supporting the parties or representatives they think can advance their ideas or interests, Indonesians tend to support parties on the basis of emotional identification. Few perceive differences among the parties; three in four cannot name any difference at all, and most of the differences that are cited are vague. As a result, nearly half the electorate (47%) is unsure which party they would support if the election were held today. The parties themselves have relatively small clusters of strongly identified base voters, but the vast majority of the electors (66%) are swing voters without any strong party identity.

The fact that the parties have not differentiated themselves in the eyes of Indonesians is a problem for electoral campaigns and for Indonesian democracy. It is difficult to hold officeholders accountable for their performance or to support those who promote people's ideas and interests when the parties themselves have failed to communicate differences along these lines. There could be a large number of votes from swing voters available to parties who do so in 2004, rather than focusing on mobilizing their base voters.

Even those parties voters perceive as Islamic are not sharply distinguished from the rest in the voters' eyes. Four voters in ten are unsure what sets an Islamic party apart from others and over half are uncertain what to expect from an Islamic party. Those who mention ways that Islamic parties are distinct tend to refer to religious generalities: they believe its members are Muslim, it stands for Islam, and is moral and pious. Only a small minority, even among their own supporters, say Islamic parties stand in favor of Sharia law or an Islamic state, so votes for Islamic parties can not be seen as mandates for those ideas.

Although fewer than 30% of Indonesians say they are interested in politics, almost two thirds would like to learn more about candidates and party positions, suggesting that the low level of interest in "politics" may be more related to negative connotations of the word itself than actual disinterest in the process. More than 60% of voters expressed interest in seeing television broadcasts of Ministers being questioned by DPR members or ordinary people, and in attending a meeting with their DPR representative, while almost 60% were interested in watching non-partisan political debates or forums.

These findings suggest the need for a voter education campaign a dressing political institutions and parties. One aspect would involve education on the ways elections and representatives can enable the public to express their views and promote their interests, while the other would provide opportunities for citizens to question candidates and party representatives, and for parties to question each other.

CIVIC EDUCATION ISSUES:

Signs Of Progress, Need For More

Most Indonesians are still not well versed in democracy, but there are significant signs of progress evident in the survey. In the current poll, over half of voters (53%) are unable to articulate any characteristic of democracy, but the gains scored during the 1999 civic education campaign (which brought the number down from 60%) have persisted. Moreover, those who can volunteer traits of democracy are more sophisticated now. They mention as characteristics of democracy elections, justice and rights, and responsive government, while four years ago few associated the idea of democracy with anything other than basic freedoms (primarily freedom of speech).

When members of the public were asked about seven specific principles of democracy, it was encouraging that substantial majorities – from 55% to 65% of the citizenry – were able to identify whether six of them were part of democracy. These were equality before the law, competitive elections, press freedom, freedom of association, public consultation before legislation, and religious freedom. Nonetheless, large minorities remained unfamiliar with each of these ideas, and only one-third of the voters correctly identified four or more of them. This indicates a substantial task still remaining for civic education.

Voters divided evenly on the seventh democratic principle, civilian control of the military, one-third seeing it as part of democracy, one-third not, one-third unsure. There was another even split (40% for, 39% against) on letting the commander of TNI deploy troops without Presidential authorization in an emergency.

A narrow majority of voters (53%) supports strong government that would restore order even if it reduces rights and freedoms. However, this may reflect frustration at poor governmental performance more than it does a rejection of democracy as a system, since the sentiment

is felt most precisely among the groups that express the strongest democratic values. Thus the demand for strong government may indicate a desire for better governance rather than anti-democratic sentiment.

Our 1999 post-election survey found that civic education efforts had increased acceptance of women making their own political choices, and these gains have persisted. Some three-fourths of the electorate, among both men and women, continue to hold that opinion. Nonetheless, with one-fourth of the electorate unconvinced, more clearly remains to be done, particularly among older and less-educated voters.

Some of the gains in political tolerance measured after the 1999 civic education campaign have eroded, but a solid majority (57%) of Indonesians still say they would let unpopular parties meet in their area. This figure remains well above the 49% who said they would allow meetings prior to the 1999 campaign, but it has fallen off from the post-election level of 70%. Other findings related to political tolerance indicate that only 46% of voters would consider supporting a candidate who was a woman, only 8% would consider support for a Chinese Indonesian, and only 6% would consider supporting a former political prisoner.

These findings suggest two major themes for civic education:

- 1) promoting democratic values, including the meaning and principles of democracy, encouraging women to make their own choices, encouraging political discussion.
- 2) enhancing political tolerance, of unpopular parties and of candidates who are members of out-groups, including women.

Primary targets for these messages would be less educated, rural, low-income voters, and those with limited access to electronic or print media.

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

Power in Women's Issues

The main problem facing Indonesian women, cited by 36% of respondents, is poverty, which is the same as the primary problem cited by Indonesians in general. After poverty, the problems facing women become more specific to the gender, and include family problems and domestic violence, education, women's rights, rape, and declines in sexual morality. These gender-specific problems rate almost equally as high (35%) as poverty, if regarded as a whole. Women and men have similar views on these issues.

In the eyes of Indonesian voters of both sexes, women are seen as a legitimate political interest group, but there is a gender split in support for candidates who explicitly label themselves as standing for "women's needs", with men generally being less supportive. However, a number of women's issues proved potential vote-winners among both men and women, including girls' education and family planning. This was true for voters of all partisan and religious outlooks.

This finding highlights an important fact about Indonesians today: urban or rural, religious or secular, they want to see women advance into the modern world, not retreat into a traditional past.

As noted in the section on political tolerance, there is considerable reluctance to vote directly for women as individuals, as less than half (46%) the electorate would consider voting for a woman for any political office. While there is a noticeable gender gap on this issue, the proportions of both women (51%) and men (46%) who would consider voting for a woman is fairly low. More than six in ten voters prefer a male representative in the DPR as well, including the majority of women, although men feel that way in even larger proportions. Men are considered "stronger", "tougher", "smarter" and "natural leaders".

Yet despite their preference for male representation when presented with an either/or choice, the survey results do indicate that Indonesia's voters are receptive to increased participation by women in politics. Almost half of all voters (49%) are more likely to support a political party that enforces a 30% quota for women candidates, while only one in four is less likely to support such a party. This held true across party lines. It thus appears that such quotas on party lists, rather than individual contests for specific districts or offices, offer the best chance to increase women's political representation at this time.

CRIME, JUSTICE, AND CORRUPTION

Indonesians rarely fear for their personal safety or the safety of their families. Although the media have reported a rise in crime since the economic crisis began in 1997, only one citizen in six (17%) says they fear for their personal security and just 5% have been victims of crime in the past year. These figures are low by international standards and well below comparable figures for the United States.

There is a moderate degree of confidence in the police and regular courts. Some 49% say the police will enforce the law fairly, compared to 43% who doubt it, while 54% say the courts will enforce the law fairly, against 34% who think they will not. These figures have changed little since 1999. Doubts are most common among those with the most to lose: high-income, better educated, and big city voters.

A large majority of voters (72%) have a high degree of confidence that the religious courts will fairly enforce the law. They clearly approve of the performance of religious courts to date, however it should be noted that the jurisdiction of religious courts in Indonesia is limited to issues related to marriage and inheritance, thus it would not be correct to assume that based on this finding voters would have equal confidence in the enforcement of civil or criminal law by religious courts.

Government corruption is considered extremely prevalent in Indonesia. Seven in ten voters believe it to be commonplace, including four in ten who regard corruption as very common. This perception appears to be based on experience. More than a third of Indonesians admit to knowing someone who paid a bribe to a public official or policeman in the last five years.

INFORMATION SOURCES, MEDIA USE, AND LANGUAGE:

TV is Primary Source, But In-Person Communication Key for Disadvantaged Groups

The preferred sponsors of election information are religious and social organizations. Older, rural, less educated voters and those without TV prefer religious groups; younger and educated voters prefer social groups. Fewer voters favor sponsorship by the KPU, political parties or non-partisan voter education groups, although these still receive substantial support.

Television is the primary source of information for Indonesians, whether it is information about national events or elections. Three-quarters of the electorate learn about current events from TV and close to half use TV to find out about registration and elections, higher proportions than in 1999. Two-thirds of all Indonesians now watch TV every day or almost every day. Only voters over 50, those with less than primary education, low income, or rural voters have significantly lower viewing rates. Four TV viewers in ten watch Indosiar, two in ten watch RCTI and SCTV is watched by just over one in ten. Early evening (5-9pm) is the peak viewing time in Indonesia and an especially effective time to reach older women, less educated voters and rural voters.

RT/RW (Rukun Tetangga/Rukun Warga or Neighborhood Head/Village Chief) leaders are the next most likely source for election information. Women, especially older women, less educated, and lower income voters are as or more likely to get election information from their RT/RW leader as they do from television.

Radio is not the most effective means of communicating with large numbers of Indonesians in general. Stations are small and local and almost half the electorate (45%) never listens to the radio, but in some outlying regions, such as Papua, radio remains dominant source of information. Radio can also be useful for reaching audiences at the provincial level with locally relevant information, like candidate forums or debates.

Most voters prefer house visits to radio as a means to receive election information; this is particularly true among members of the target groups for voter and civic education. Other sources of voter education that are accepted by at least 30% of the public include public meetings, newspapers, local election officials, and religious leaders.

Seven of ten voters agree that Bahasa Indonesia is the preferred language for election communications. However, significant minorities would prefer other languages, particularly Javanese and Sundanese, and these minorities form a larger share of the priority voter and civic education targets than of the general population.

CONCLUSION:

Voter Education Campaign Plan for the 2004 National elections

Two overlapping education campaigns should be run before the election – one addressing voter education, and the other focusing on civic education. These campaigns should involve both general messages for the entire population and specific messages for target populations.

The voter education campaign should have as its initial focus the mechanics of the elections, including timing and requirements for voter registration.

Themes for all voters would include election timing, the DPD, electoral procedures, registration deadlines, and election complaint procedures. There should also be messages targeted at voters with little education, without TV or literacy, and older women on the need for voter registration, and to discourage vote selling. This phase of the campaign should begin as soon as possible, relying on TV and RT/RW leaders for the all-voters aspect, as well as social and religious organizations, particularly for the targeted voter group.

The second phase of voter education will focus on helping voters learn about the institutional roles of elections and representatives and take advantage of the election campaign. One aspect would be information about the ways voters can use campaigns and their elected representatives to express their views and advance their interests. Another should offer them opportunities to compare and question candidates, both via the media and in person. This phase, oriented towards all voters, would involve TV, radio, and public meetings, and run after the first phase, beginning in February.

We also suggest a targeted civic education drive, oriented towards disadvantaged groups of voters. These would include illiterates, voters without TV, farmers, voters with less than primary education, and low income voters. The principal aims would be the promotion of democratic values, including the meaning of democracy, women's autonomous participation, and political tolerance. This would run after the conclusion of or together with the targeted part of the voter education campaign, since the target groups substantially overlap. It would rely on TV, religious and social organizations, and public meetings.

In conclusion: the survey shows that democracy has begun to take root in Indonesia – but also that the need for voter and civic education persists. Four years after the first post-Suharto election, Indonesians have more confidence in free elections, a deeper understanding of democracy, and are reasonably positive about the state of the country, despite

serious problems and criticisms of their leaders. Yet much more can and should be done to help strengthen the workings of democracy as the next round of elections approach.

However, voter and civic education needs for 2004 are different from those in the first democratic election in 1999. In the first vote, the priority for voter education was assuring the voters that the elections would be free and fair, unlike those under Suharto's New Order regime. This time, voter education needs involve explaining the changes that have occurred in the electoral system, so that voters understand how the system now works, and promoting issue-based electoral competition, so that voters feel they can make a difference. Civic education needs to move from the basics of democracy, inter-party tolerance, and women's equality to include democratic principles and the acceptance of candidates from out-groups. In this new stage, the priority is no longer establishing the credibility of the electoral process in a founding election, but promoting the consolidation of democracy in a context where free elections are an established fact.

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of opinion research conducted to assess the development of democracy in Indonesia, and to assist in planning voter and civic education campaigns for Indonesia's forthcoming 2004 National elections. Results of this survey will also provide a baseline from which it will be possible to measure the impact of voter and civic education programs, and changes in understanding of election processes and democratic principles over time. This national findings section of the report has nine parts:

- The National Mood
- Political Participation
- Voter Education Needs: Elections and Electoral Procedures
- Voter Education Needs: Efficacy, Institutions, and Parties
- Civic Education Needs
- Gender and Political Participation
- Crime, Justice and Corruption
- Information Sources, Media Use and Language
- Campaign Recommendations

It concludes with an appendix containing target group demographics for the educational campaigns.

Methodology

The research was conducted in two phases:

- Phase 1: Qualitative -- 30 in-depth interviews and 3 focus groups conducted in early January 2003 among the general public and among Indonesian elites. Research took place in the cities of Jakarta and Yogyakarta and in peri-urban and deep rural villages in West Java.

- Phase 2: Quantitative --A national survey, involving a random national sample of 1,056 in-person interviews in 32 provinces and oversamples totaling 230 interviews in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Papua. Interviewing was conducted from June 25 – August 10, 2003.

From AC Nielsen Indonesia, Farquhar Stirling, Achala Srivasta, Eko Wicaksono, Safril Faried, Dindin Kusdinar, Rocky Hatibie, designed and conducted the fieldwork. Craig Charney of Charney Research, New York did the sample design, questionnaire, and qualitative report, and wrote the quantitative survey report together with Nicole Yakan and Amy Marsman. Adriana Best managed this project and provided research assistance. From the Asia Foundation Douglas Ramage, Roderick Brazier, Robin Bush, Hana Satriyo, Zacky Husein, Kelly Deuster, Wandy N. Tuturoong, Sandra Hamid, Tim Meisburger provided substantive guidance in the development of the survey and editing of the survey report, particularly on the Indonesian social and political environment and election context.

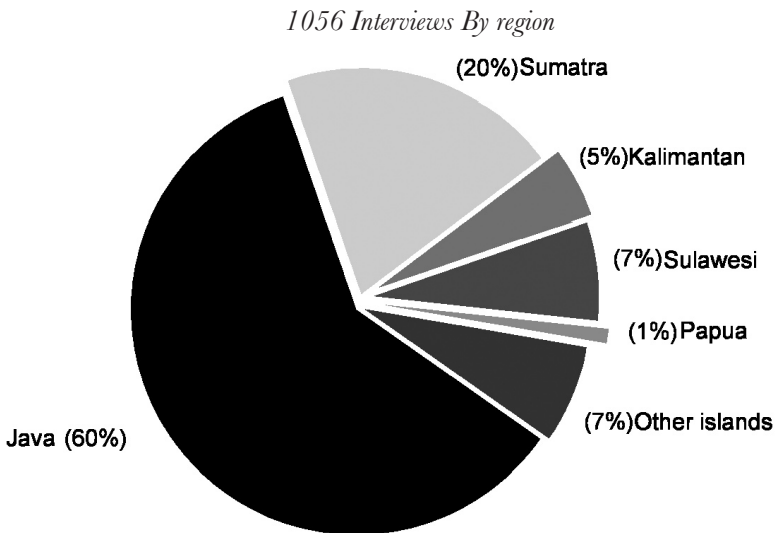
The National Sample

The survey is based on a representative national sample of 1,056 in-person interviews, randomly drawn in proportion to the eligible voter population of each region and province, and has an error margin of +/- 3%.

A two-stage process in proportion to the eligible voter population of each region was used to draw the sample. In the first stage interviewing points were distributed randomly among the provinces in proportion to their population, and in the second stage households and individuals were randomly selected for interview. Through this process, every voter in the country had an equal chance of being interviewed.

Interviews were conducted in 32 of Indonesia's 33 provinces, the only exception being Aceh, which contains around 2% of the eligible electorate, and where the military situation did not permit interviews. Thus, the survey represents the views of almost all potential Indonesian electors.

The largest share of the national sample interviews (60%) was conducted in Java. Sumatra provided 20% of the sample, 7% came from Sulawesi, 5% from Kalimantan, and 1% from Papua. The remainder (7%) came from other Indonesian islands.



Representativeness of the Sample

After slight adjustments for weighting, the sample used for the survey mirrored the adult population of Indonesia as a whole when compared to the results of the 2000 National Census. In gender terms the breakdown of the sample is 50% male, and 50% female, which reflects the 2000 Census precisely. Some 44% of the respondents live in urban areas, 56% in rural areas, which is comparable to census data showing 43% of the population living in urban areas and 57% in rural. In terms of age, 52% of the sample is between 17 and 35, while the other 48%

is over 35, compared to 52% under age 35 and 47% who are over age 35 in the 2000 Census. Thus, the survey sample provides an accurate reflection of Indonesia's electorate.

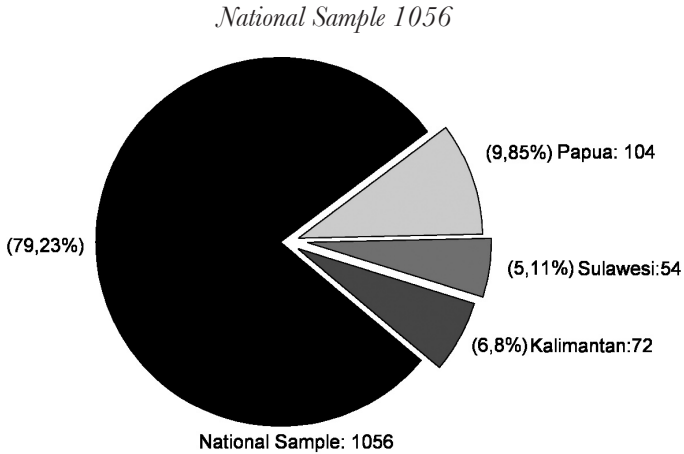
Since the sample is truly national and random, the survey results represent all parts of the population in their correct proportions. As a result, the survey findings correctly reflect the public in terms of gender, urban-rural balance, and age. Therefore the findings regarding public opinion are likely to be representative as well, within the survey's margin of error. The margin of error is +/- 3% for the full national sample, although it is somewhat higher on questions using sub-samples.

| | Actual | Sample |
|--|--------------------|--------------------|
| Gender Male/Female | 50% / 50% | 50% / 50% |
| Area Urban/Rural | 43% / 57% | 44% / 56% |
| Education < Primary/Primary/ Secondary + | 22% / 37% / 40% | 22% / 37% / 41% |
| Age 17 - 35/35 + | 52% / 47% | 52% / 48% |

National Sample and Oversamples

In addition to the random national sample, several areas of particular interest were over-sampled in order to present meaningful results for these regions. Without the over-samples, the sub-samples in these regions would otherwise be too small for analysis.

The over sampled areas in this survey are Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Papua. A total of 230 additional interviews were conducted in these regions, raising the total sample to 1286. This yields regional samples of 127 for Sulawesi, 122 for Kalimantan, and 113 for Papua. However, when national results are presented here, the over-sampled areas are weighted down to their correct proportion of the national population, so that they are not over represented.



THE NATIONAL REPORT

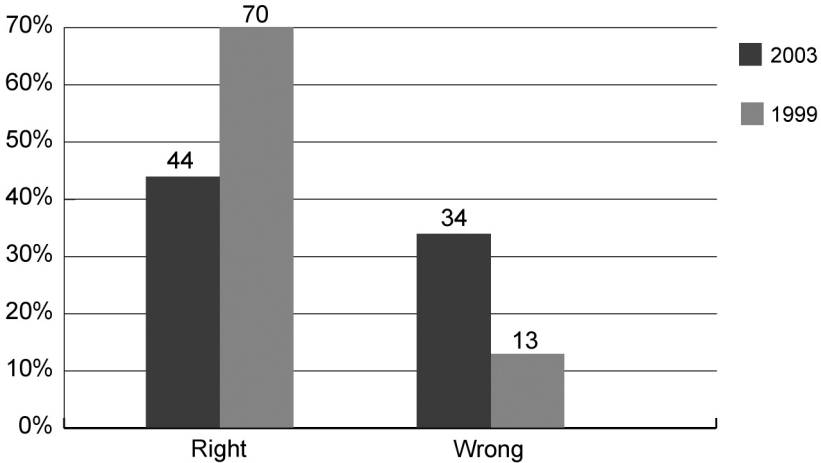
Chapter 1

The National Mood

1. Direction of the Country
2. Right Direction Reasons
3. Wrong Direction Reasons
4. Indonesia's Biggest Problem
5. Economic Situation
5. Differences in Mood
6. The President's Job Performance
7. DPR Job Performance
8. Job Performance of DPR Provincial Representatives
9. Political Alienation
10. Summary

Direction Of The Country

Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? [Q.29]



Indonesia's national mood is still moderately positive, though it has dampened considerably since July 1999 as the initial euphoria of the democratic transition has worn off and the economy has remained a concern. Four years ago, seven voters in ten (71%) felt the country was headed in the right direction. Now the proportion who feel that way is down to 44%, while 34% (up from 13% in 1999) believe things are going down the wrong path, and 18% are uncertain.

Though this decline in optimism reflects the real problems facing Indonesia, it is important to note that a plurality of voters still feel hopeful about the direction of the country. Indeed, Indonesia's voters are more optimistic than those in some established democracies. For instance in a recent poll in the US, only 38% said the country was headed in the right direction and 50% said it was on the wrong track.¹ The decline in optimism, although cause for concern, is hardly catastrophic. Younger, educated Indonesians are considerably more pessimistic

¹ NBC News-Wall Street Journal poll, Sept 2003

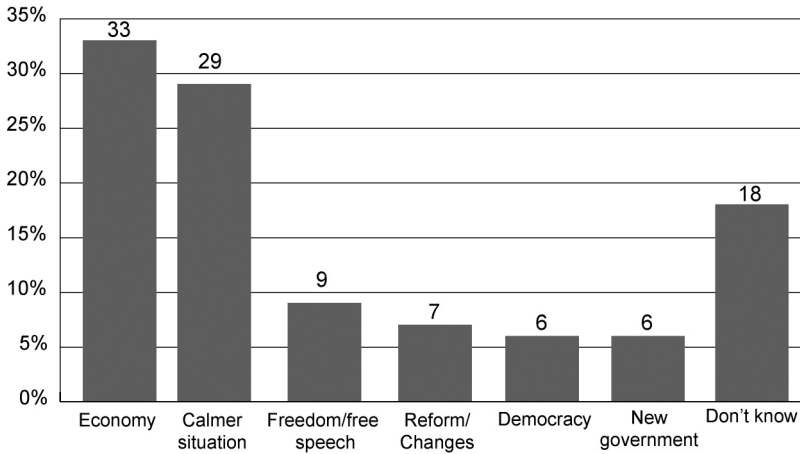
than their older, less educated counterparts. Almost four voters in ten (39%) under age 35 believe the country is headed in the wrong direction, compared to just 29% of those 35 and older. In 1999, only 14% of voters under 35 believed this to be the case, revealing a 25-point jump in the proportion of young Indonesians who believe the country is headed down the wrong path.

Among Indonesians with secondary education, 38% are unhappy with the direction of the country, compared to just 24% of those who did not finish primary school. Indonesians who attended Islamic religious schools (pesantrens and madrassas) (40% wrong direction) or wear Islamic dress (44%) are equally dissatisfied with Indonesia's path. Unsurprisingly, The unemployed are also among the most unsatisfied with the country's direction, with 50% of the unemployed saying the country is moving in the wrong direction. In 1999, flush with optimism engendered by the political transition, only 15% of the unemployed said the same.

In contrast to the pessimists, Indonesians who have frequent political discussions tend to believe the country is moving in the right direction (57%). The same is true among people who are interested in politics, of whom 50% are optimists.

Right Direction Reason

Why do you say that? (Reasons given by 5% or more) [Q.30 base 364]

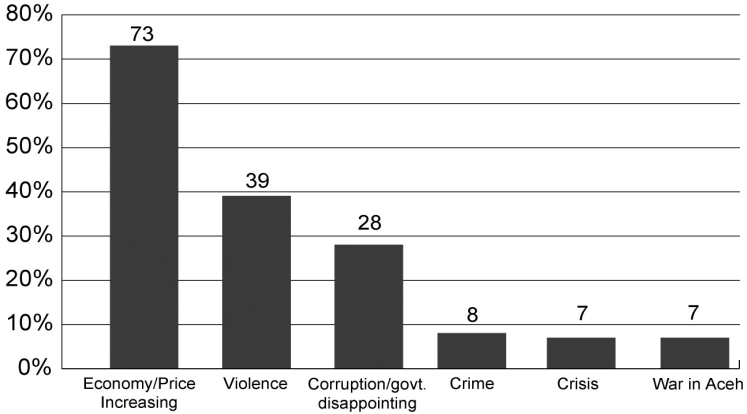


Those who are optimistic about Indonesia's direction attribute their positive outlook to economic recovery (33%) and a calmer situation in the country (29%). Political factors driving optimism are cited by 21 percent, including freedom and free speech, the advance of democracy and new government. In 1999, over half of those who felt the country was headed in the right direction noted reform or political changes (53%), while a quarter (25%) mentioned the economy.

Older and less educated voters consider the calmer situation the most important reason for hope. In contrast, younger and more educated Indonesians are most encouraged by signs of economic recovery.

Wrong Direction Reasons

Why do you say that? (Reasons given by 5% or more) [Q. 31 base 364]

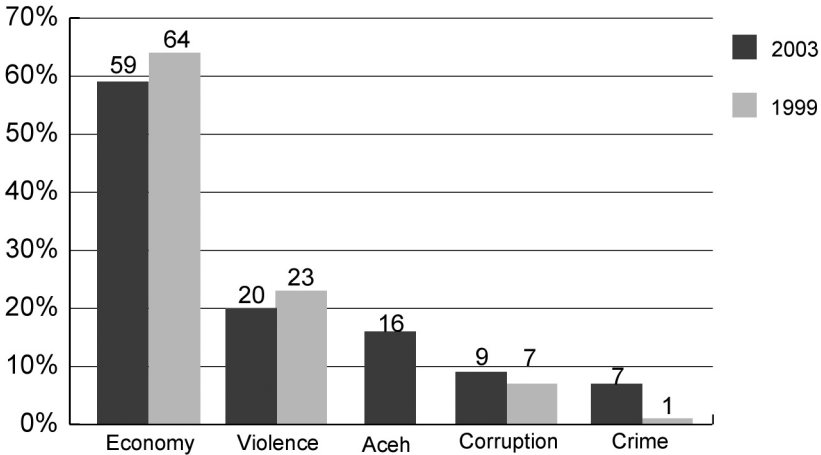


Pessimism about the direction of the country is overwhelmingly due to the state of the economy, particularly high unemployment and rising prices. Two-thirds (67%) of those unhappy with Indonesia's direction cite economic concerns. Next comes political violence: nearly four in ten (49%) mention violence or unrest. Behind these comes a second tier of issues, including ineffective government, referred to by 11%, corruption (10%), crime (8%) and the conflict in Aceh (7%).

In 1999 the proportion of pessimists who were concerned about the economy was similar to that in the current poll, however since 1999 worry about violence, though still in second place, has declined by 10 points (36% now, 46% then). In 1999, the only other widely held reasons for pessimism related to the democratic transition: general crisis and fear of repression. The rise of mentions of misgovernment, corruption, crime, and regional conflicts as public concerns in the current poll reflects real problems facing Indonesian society. At the same time, these concerns are typical of developing democracies, and their arrival on the public agenda is also a sign of the gradual "normalization" of Indonesian politics.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia?
And after that, what is the next biggest problem?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more) [Q.32/33]*

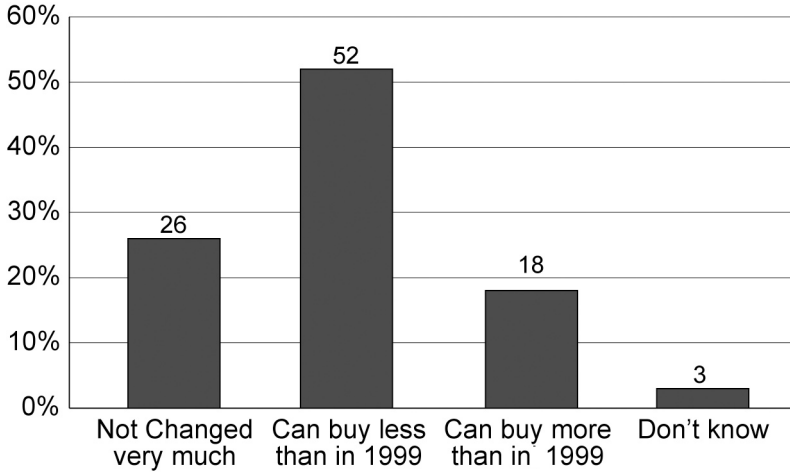


The economy remains the biggest problem Indonesians see facing their country, as in 1999. A clear majority – almost six in ten (59%) – mention the economy or prices as one of the two top problems facing the nation. One fifth (20%) cite violence as a top concern. While the economy and violence continue to outpace other concerns, the numbers mentioning them have declined slightly since 1999 (by 5 points and 3 points respectively). However, 16% are now focused on the Aceh conflict, not mentioned at all in our 1999 research but which flared up in the period just before the 2003 poll. Corruption (up 2 points to 9%) and crime (up by six, to 7%) are also getting more attention now than four years ago.

Younger, more educated and higher income Indonesians are the most focused on the economy. Younger voters, especially younger men and younger urban men are most concerned with the Aceh crisis, while violence poses special worries for young women, particularly younger rural women and those who have completed primary school.

Economic Situation

If you think about what your family can afford to buy now, compared to the time of the 1999 election, please tell me which of these statements fits your family the best. [Q. 41]



Although the macro-economic picture has improved somewhat in the past four years, the situation of the majority of Indonesia's households has not. Over half of the electorate (52%) feels they can afford less than they could in 1999, a time when almost half of Indonesians said they were reducing luxury purchases and four in ten were cutting back on essentials. One quarter of the voters (26%) believe their family's economic situation has remained unchanged since 1999. Only 18% feel their situation has improved.

Nonetheless, one positive development is that the situation of the poorest Indonesians appears to have stabilized somewhat. Over half those spending under 300,000 rupiah monthly (53%) report that their purchasing power has either not changed since 1999 (30%) or has improved (23%). These households make up the poorest tenth of Indonesians. But even in this group the minority that reported a decline in purchasing power remained substantial at 42%, and the situation was worse in all other income groups, among whom the majority reported a decline in purchasing power.

Differences in Mood

There continue to be distinct advantaged and disadvantaged groups within the national Indonesian electorate, as in 1999. Compared to then, the differences in mood between these two categories have shifted. The lines between these groups have begun to blur somewhat, as the government has failed to meet the higher expectations of better-off Indonesians and the overall mood of the country has soured.

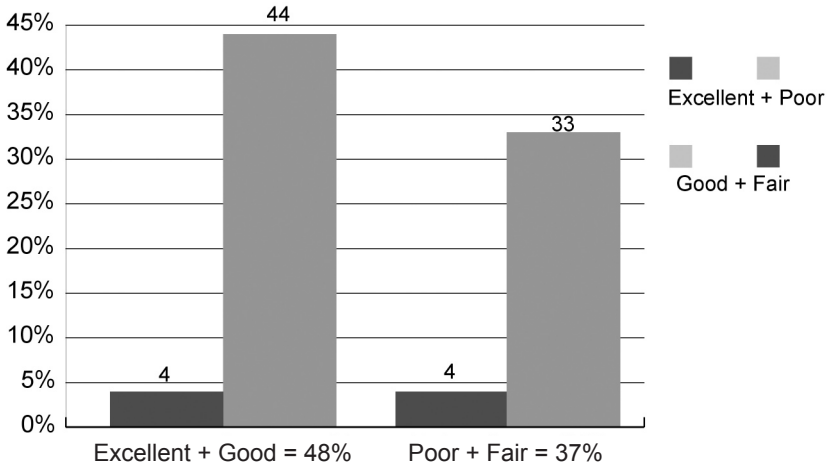
The advantaged groups are men, youth, urbanites, the secondary educated, high-income people, and TV viewers. The disadvantaged are women, older and rural people, the low education and income groups, and those without TV.

Four years ago, in 1999, the advantaged were more optimistic about the country than the disadvantaged, focused more on politics and tended to cut back on luxuries more than necessities in the economic crisis. In contrast, the disadvantaged were more uncertain about the future and uneasy about political reforms, had more immediate concerns and were forced to cut essentials.

Now, in 2003, the advantaged are pessimistic about the direction of Indonesia. They are focused on the economy more than politics and are personally feeling the economic pinch. The disadvantaged groups in Indonesia are still uncertain about the future, but they are more hopeful about it.

The President's Job Performance

How would you rate Megawati Sukarnoputri's performance of her job as President – excellent, good, fair, or poor? [Q. 43]



Indonesians have a mixed but moderately positive view of Megawati Sukarnoputri's job performance as President, much as they do of the country as a whole. Almost half the electorate (48%) rates her work positively (good or excellent), while just over one-third (37%) rates her negatively (fair or poor). However, very few voters are extremely dissatisfied (4% rate her as poor) or extremely satisfied (4% rate her excellent); most are bunched in the middle (good or fair), and 16% do not express an opinion.

These figures are characteristic of a democratic leader who is having problems, but not in a crisis, with a reasonable possibility but no certainty of re-election. For instance, the latest poll on American President George Bush shows results comparable to our findings on Megawati. Some 50% of American voters approve of his job performance and 40% disapprove.²

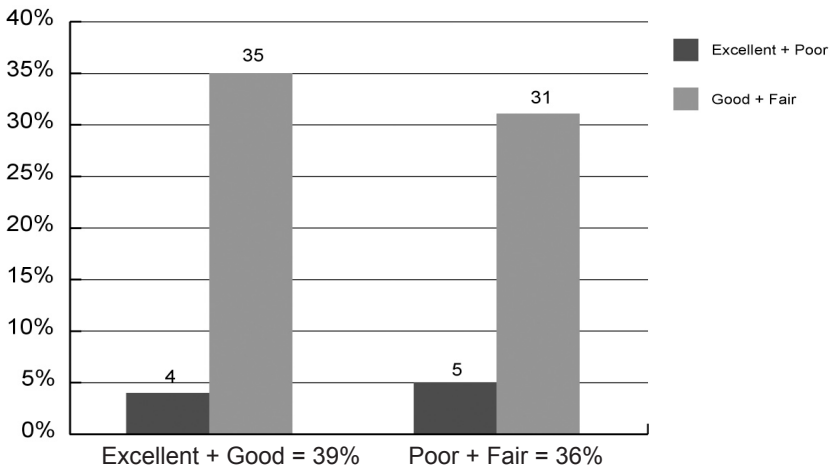
² Fox News/Opinion Dynamic Poll, Sept. 23-24, 2003

The voters most satisfied with Megawati's performance as President are older men (53% good or excellent), educated women (54%), and farmers (54%). Younger men (47% fair or poor), especially younger urban men (54%) and educated men (45%) are the most dissatisfied. Undecided voters tend to be older women, uneducated women and voters without TV.

In general, approval of Megawati's job performance is closely associated with perceptions of the direction of the country. Those who say the country is headed in the right direction are satisfied with the president, 63% to 28%, while those who say it is going in the wrong way are not, 56% to 33%.

DPR Job Performance

How would you rate the DPR's performance of its job – excellent, good, fair, or poor? [Q. 42]



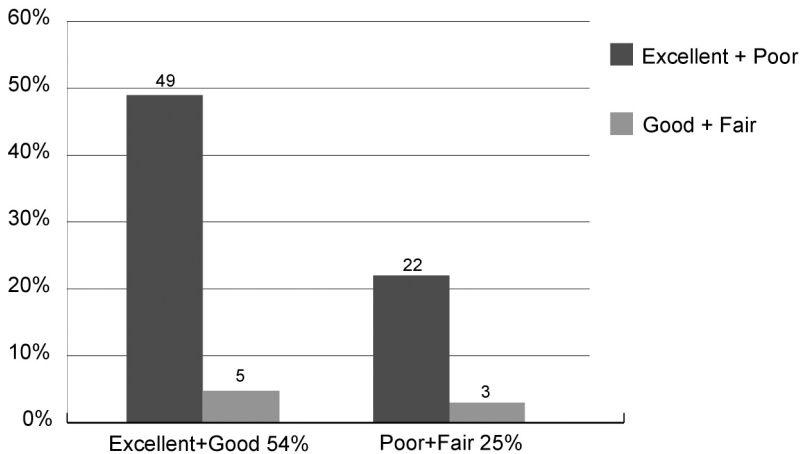
Indonesians are more ambivalent and evenly divided in their assessments of the DPR (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, or People's Representative Assembly) than they are in their views of their President. Some four

in ten (39%) are satisfied with it, rating the legislature’s job performance as excellent or good, while almost as many (36%) are dissatisfied, rating it fair or poor. A quarter of the voters are unsure about the legislative body’s performance. Once more, few of those with opinions are extreme in their views, rating it poor or excellent; most rate it fair or good.

The strongest supporters of the DPR contrast somewhat with those of the president. Younger voters (48% good or excellent), especially younger women (45%) and rural voters (45%) are the most satisfied. Secondary educated voters (48% fair or poor) and younger men (44%), religious men (43%) and urban men (52%) are the most dissatisfied. Higher-income voters, spending more than Rp.700,000 monthly, also tend to judge the DPR more harshly than lower-income voters. The undecided tended to be the same as concerning the president: older women (38% don’t know), less educated voters (43%) and those without TV at home (45%), all among the least politicized voters.

Job Performance of DPR Provincial Representatives

How would you rate the job performance of your province’s representatives in the DPR – excellent, good, fair, or poor? [Q.57 base 528]

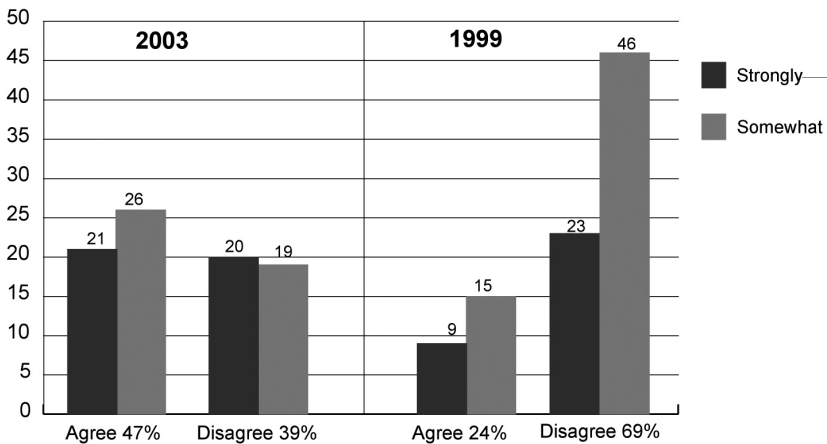


Following the typically observed pattern of legislative job performance assessments in democratic countries, Indonesians rate their own provincial representatives higher than the DPR as a whole. More than half of the voters (54%) believe their provincial representatives are handling their job well, while only a quarter (25%) are dissatisfied. Just over one in five (21%) does not offer a rating for their representatives.

Younger voters are likelier to rate their representative's job performance higher than are older voters (60% of under-35s are satisfied, compared to 50% of their elders). Young men, those with a post-secondary education, and upper-income voters are the most likely to express an opinion about their representatives, giving the highest positive and negative ratings of any group. In each of those cases about six voters in ten is positive, and around a third is negative. Those most uncertain about their representative's performance are voters over age 50 (34% don't know), less educated voters (37%) and those without TV (33%).

Political Alienation

Some people say, "I don't think that the government cares very much about what people like me think." Do you agree or disagree? Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.80 base 528]



Reflecting their increasingly mixed judgment of government performance, political alienation among Indonesians has grown substantially over the past four years, though it is still not a majority sentiment. Some 47% of the electorate say that government does not care about what they think, while 39% thinks it does. The alienated portion of the population has almost doubled from the 24% found in 1999, while the proportion who feel government cares what they think has fallen a similar amount, from 63% in 1999 to just 39% in 2003. Thus, alienation is up noticeably since the post-election period, even if far from universal.

Younger and urban Indonesians (51% respectively) are most likely to feel alienated from their government. Secondary educated voters are the most evenly divided on this subject. Middle income voters feel more alienated from government than the richest voters or poorest voters.

The voter groups in which political alienation has grown most since 1999 include women, those under 35 and the unemployed. Alienation from the government is also linked to approval of President Megawati's job performance and, even more strongly, opinion on the country's direction. Some increase in alienation may have been inevitable when the glow of the post-election honeymoon faded.

Summary

- A plurality of Indonesians remains hopeful about the future of the country, although pessimism about the country's direction has increased significantly since 1999, especially among younger, educated voters.
- The principal factor associated with pessimism is continuing economic problems, followed by worry about violence and unrest.

- Those optimistic about the direction of Indonesia cite the same issues – the economy and violence – but feel things are improving.
- Indonesians still consider the economy and prices to be the main problem facing the country, followed by violence. However, concern about several issues – particularly the Aceh conflict, corruption and crime – has grown in the last four years.
- The majority of the electorate says its purchasing power has dropped since 1999.
- In 1999, better-off Indonesians were optimistic about the country’s direction while disadvantaged citizens were more apprehensive. In 2003, the opposite is true.
- In line with their views on the direction of the country, Indonesians have a moderately positive view of the job performance of President Megawati, while the DPR gets mixed reviews. Very few rate either’s performance as “poor.”
- Voter opinions on their own provincial representatives in the DPR are generally positive.
- Although alienation from government has grown significantly among Indonesians since 1999, reflecting disappointment with the country’s conditions and government performance, as well as the end of democracy’s honeymoon, a majority still does not voice such feelings.

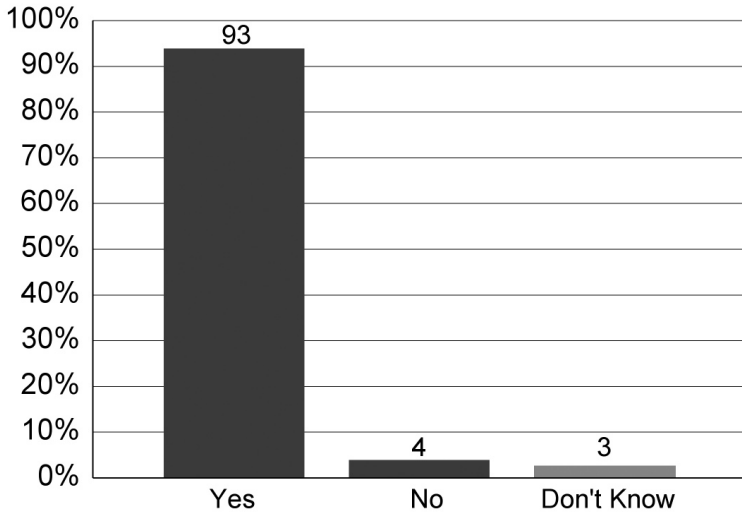
CHAPTER 2

Political Participation and Efficacy

1. Turnout in Presidential Election
2. Reasons for Voting in Presidential Election
3. Reasons for Non-Voting in the Presidential Elections
4. Turnout in DPR Election
5. Reasons to Participate in DPR Election
6. Expectations of the 2004 Elections
7. Differences in Expectations for Elections
8. Interest in Politics/Reasons for Disinterest in Politics
9. Political Discussion
10. Running for Political Office
11. Summary

Turnout in Presidential Election

Do you think you will vote in this Presidential election? [Q.19 base1056]



Despite somewhat mixed feelings about the direction of the country, Indonesians are determined to participate in their government. More than nine out of ten voters (93%) expect to vote in the 2004 presidential election, when they will elect a President directly for the first time. Voters from all demographic groups expect to turn out at the polls. This participation rate is consistent with that in the 1999 elections.

Thus, even if substantial proportions of the Indonesians public are dissatisfied with government performance, the survey shows that they are not turning away from participating in elections. Our findings indicate no evidence of voter apathy or “golput” (an electoral protest boycott).

As in 1999, the results again indicate that voter education aimed at motivating people to vote is not necessary. Although there are needs for voter education about the workings of the election and the political system, as indicated in the following sections of this report, building turnout is not required.

Reasons for Voting in Presidential Election

What is the most important reason why you want to vote in the Presidential election? (Reasons cited by 5% or more) [Q. 20 Base 982]

| | Total |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| To choose the President | 37% |
| Civic duty | 33% |
| Improve the economy | 7% |
| Direct election | 5% |
| other/don't know | 18% |

Indonesians say they will vote for president because it is both their right and duty as citizens.

More than a third of Indonesians (37%) want to participate in the upcoming presidential election because they feel it is their right to choose the president. This attitude is particularly prevalent among older men and voters with a secondary education (40% respectively).

Another 33% of voters cite civic duty as the most important reason to vote. Young men (35%), especially young urban men (37%) and young voters with less education (35%) are most likely to view voting as an obligation.

Very few do so on grounds of personal gain. Only 7% say they want to participate in the presidential election to elect a president who will address economic problems. Another small minority (5%) cites a preference for direct elections.

No other reason for voting is cited by more than 5%.

Reasons for Non-Voting in the Presidential Elections

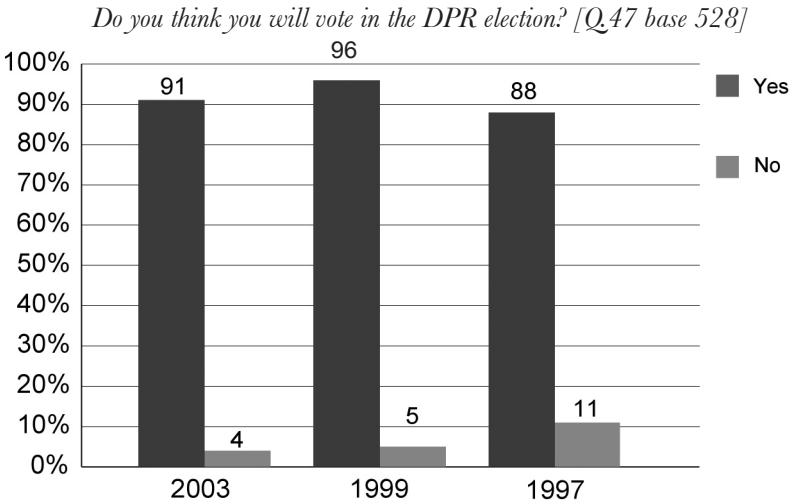
What is the most important reason why you may not vote in the Presidential election? (Reasons cited by 5% or more) [Q. 21 base 74]

| | Total |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Don't understand politics | 16% |
| My vote won't make a difference | 11% |
| Don't know how elections work | 8% |
| Don't enough about the parties | 7% |
| Personal reason (too old,sick,etc) | 6% |
| Not intrested | 6% |
| Don't know | 47% |

Only 4% of those surveyed stated that they did not intend to vote in the Presidential elections. The principal reasons cited for non-participation involve lack of information: they said they “do not understand politics” (16%), “don’t know how elections work” (8%) or “don’t know enough about the parties” (7%). Just 11% of non-participants, or less than 1% of eligible voters, say they will not cast a ballot because their vote “won’t make a difference.” Another 6% cite personal factors such as age or illness. Almost half – 47% -- of the non-participants either offered no reason or one shared by fewer than 5% of the non-voters.

In short, the major reasons cited for non-participation further underlined the need for voter education about the electoral and political processes noted above. It does not appear to result from alienation about politics or a rejection of the system. These potential non-voters say they need to learn more about the political system and the parties, not to be “sold” on voting.

Turnout in DPR Election



Indonesians expect to participate in the upcoming DPR election in numbers almost equal to those in the presidential contest. Fully 91% of voters think they will vote in the DPR election. This rate is down only slightly from the 96% of 1999, but up by 3 points on turnout in the government-controlled election of 1997 under Suharto. Thus, even though there is more discontent with the legislature than with the performance of the president, there is no sign of a rejection of participation in legislative elections or a need to make efforts to encourage voter turnout.

Reasons to Participate in DPR Election

What is the most important reason why you want to vote in the DPR election? (Reasons cited by 5% or more) [Q.48 base 483]

| | Total |
|---|--------------|
| Civic duty | 42% |
| To choose leaders / to participate | 36% |
| Influence on an issue (economy, violence) | 6% |
| Other / don't know | 21% |

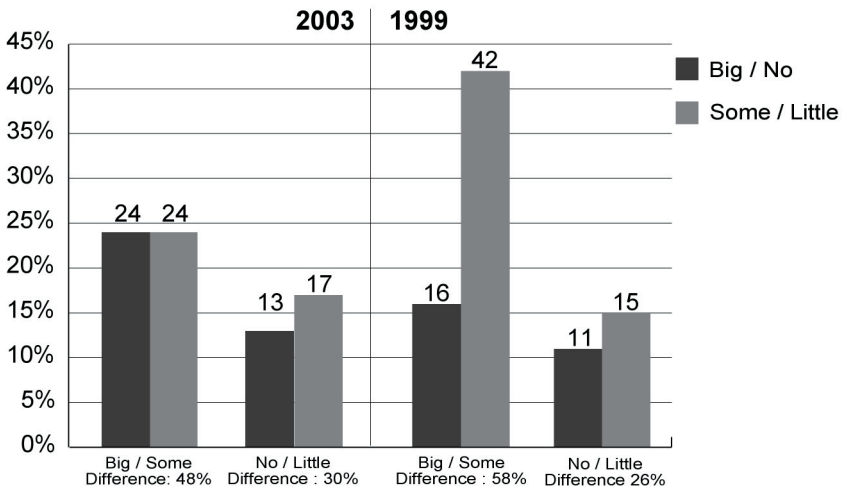
Reasons for voting in the DPR election resemble those for the presidential elections.

Four Indonesians in ten (42%) say that participation in the DPR election is a civic responsibility. Another 36% believe that choosing their leaders is a right. Only about 6% of voters see voting as a means to influence a particular issue like the economy or violence. No other reasons, including social pressures, were cited by more than 5%.

There were too few likely non-participants in the DPR election to permit analysis of their reasons for not voting.

Expectations of the 2004 Elections

Do you think that voting in the election will make a big difference, some difference, little difference, or no difference at all? [Q. 52 base 528]



Almost half of Indonesia's electorate (48%) believes voting in the 2004 election will make a difference, while 30% says it will not. This result suggests somewhat more optimism among Indonesians about the democratic process than about the state of the country at the moment. The proportion that thinks the vote will make

a difference next year is significantly higher than in our 1999 pre-election poll, when it was 40%. The 1999 election appears to have resolved the doubts many Indonesians held beforehand regarding the fairness of the electoral process (reflecting their experience of government-influenced elections under the New Order regime), and to have convinced them of the importance of the electoral process.

Positive expectations regarding elections have declined 10 percentage points since our 1999 post-election survey, when 58% of voters thought their participation had a considerable impact in the afterglow of Indonesia's first democratic election.

Belief in the effectiveness of the vote is most strongly correlated with the level of education. More than six in ten voters (62%) with a secondary education think their vote makes a difference, including 31% who feel their participation makes a big difference. In comparison, among voters with a primary school education, only 44% believe they have an impact (21% feel it is a big impact) and among those who did not finish primary school, just 29% think their vote makes a difference (18% big difference).

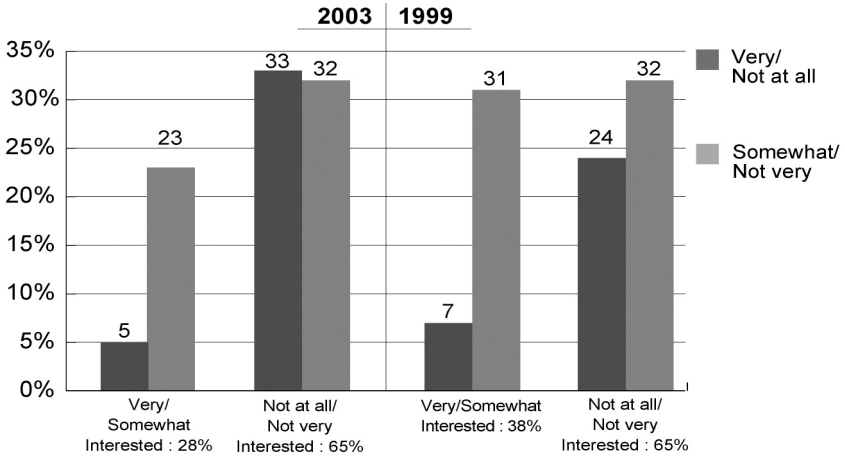
Differences in Expectations for Elections

Advantaged groups in the electorate (well-educated, younger, high earners, those with TV access) are more optimistic that their vote makes a difference. Among the disadvantaged (less educated, older, low income, rural and from non-TV homes), uncertainty dominates. Such voters are much less likely to feel their participation makes a difference.

About 30% of voters 25-49 years old felt their vote made no difference. This marks a significant change from 1999 when only 17% of people in that age range said the same.

Interest in Politics

How interested are you in politics? Very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not interested at all? [Q. 85 base 528]



In 2003, Indonesians indicated less interest in politics than even the low level found at the time of the first democratic elections in 1999. Two-thirds of voters (65%) now say they are not interested in politics, while fewer than three in ten (28%) express interest in it. This represents a growth in disinterest compared to four years ago, when 56% said they were not interested in politics. At present, only 5% say they are very interested in politics, while one-third are not at all interested.

Gender, age and education, income and media exposure all influence voters' interest in politics. Advantaged voters -- men, along with younger, educated, wealthier voters and those with access to radio or TV -- remain much more likely to be interested in politics. In contrast, the disadvantaged -- women, older, less educated and lower income voters, as well as those lacking access to broadcast media -- show less inclination to follow politics.

Disinterest in politics rose most sharply among the high school college educated – by 22% - from the July 1999 poll. Disinterest also rose by 15 points among urban residents, of whom 67% are not interested in politics. Of those under the age of 35, disinterest rose 14 points to 63%. Disinterest also increased among women, to 67%, an increase of 12 points.

Reasons for Disinterest in Politics

If not interested in politics, why not? [Q. 86 base 376]

| | |
|------------------------------|-----|
| • Don't like politics | 37% |
| • I'm not educated/too poor | 30% |
| • Politics is dirty | 13% |
| • Waste of time/I'm too busy | 8% |
| • Other | 5% |
| • Don't know | 16% |

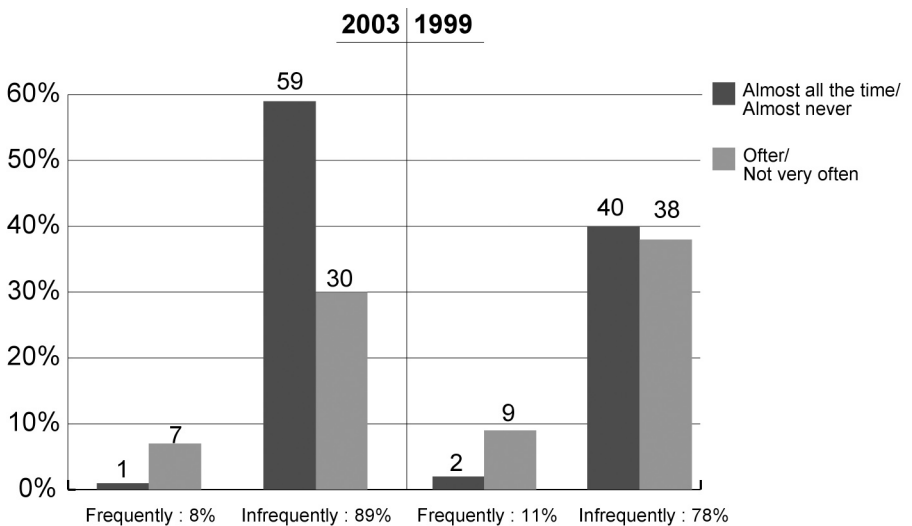
The majority of the voters (58%) who say they lack interest in politics provide reasons that suggest alienation from the political process rather than an inability to participate in politics. The largest proportion (37%) – especially younger, educated and urban voters – seem to have been turned off by what they have seen: they say they “don't like politics.” An additional 13% say “politics is dirty” – an apparent reference to the widespread perceptions of corruption in Indonesian political life. Another 8% say that politics is a waste of time or that they are too busy for it.

On the other hand, fewer voters mention a lack of capacity to deal with politics. Some three in ten (30%) – particularly older, less educated and lower income voters – blame their apathy on their lack of education or money.

Thus, the principal reasons given for political disinterest appear to relate to disaffection from the political scene at present. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that voters who gave alienated reasons for their disinterest also tended to say that government pays no attention to the views of people like them, while those who gave other reasons did not. This also suggests that improving political campaigning and official responsiveness might help arouse interest in politics. If people have been turned off by unresponsive politics, then political discourse, activity, and accomplishments that citizens perceive as relevant could stimulate their interest in politics.

Political Discussion

How often do you discuss politics with friends? Almost all the time, often, not very often, or almost never? [Q. 87 base 528]



Consistent with our findings in 1999, Indonesians continue to have little exposure to political discussion. A mere 8% of voters discusses politics often or all the time. Almost nine in ten (89%) are not involved in politi-

cal discussion: 30% do not discuss politics often and six voters in ten (59%) never do. These figures have changed little since four years ago.

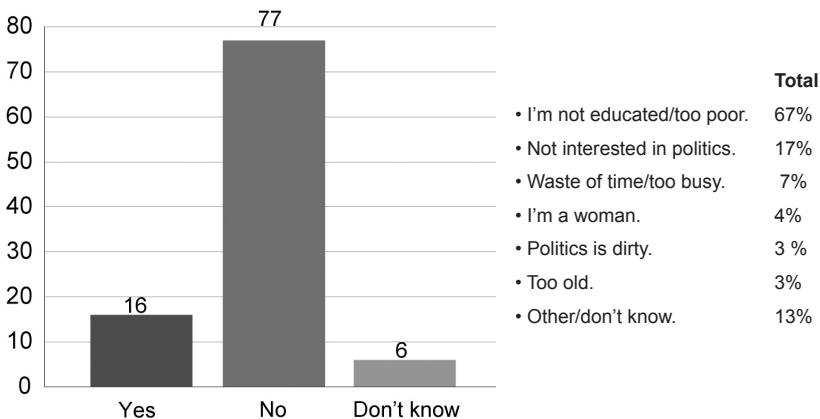
Younger men, the secondary educated, along with voters who frequently attend religious services, went to Islamic schools, or wear Islamic dress, are the most likely to discuss politics. Women and secular voters are least likely to discuss politics.

Not surprisingly, political discussion is much less frequent among those uninterested in politics (2%) than among voters with an interest (24%), though it is still surprisingly rare in the latter group. Even Indonesians with an interest in politics seem to have relatively few opportunities to participate in informal political dialogue that builds their civic competence and influences fellow citizens. Most do not seem to regard the offerings of the political parties as relevant to their lives.

Running for Political Office

If a political party was willing to nominate you to become a member of People's Consultative Assembly at central or regional level, would be willing to run?

[Q. 82 base 407] If not-why? [Q. 83 base 407]



Around one-sixth (16%) of the electorate would be willing to run for central- or regional-level political office if offered the chance by a political party. More than three-quarters of voters (77%) would not run if nominated and 6% are unsure. Men are more willing than women to run for office; especially young men and those with secondary education. Rural residents and voters under 35 are also more likely to be interested, particularly if they have a post-primary school education. Interest and involvement in politics were key requisites: some 30% of those interested in politics and 54% of those who discussed it frequently were willing to run for office.

Overwhelmingly, the issue in running for office is a feeling of political competency. The primary reason voters give for not wanting to run for political office – far more important than any other factor – is their lack of education or money (67%). Anti-political views are cited by far fewer. Just 17% specifically mention a lack of interest in politics, 7% say politics is a waste of time, and 3% say that it is dirty. Some 8% of women cite their gender as a reason for not running, while 3% of the voters say they are too old.

Summary

- The vast majority of Indonesians intend to participate in the 2004 National elections for President and DPR. There is no sign of a protest boycott and no need for voter education to motivate people to vote.
- The few who do not plan to vote primarily cite ignorance about politics, parties and elections as the main factors that keep them away from the polls. This points to a need for information about the political system and party platforms.

- Voters are motivated to vote by civic duty and the desire to choose their leaders. Very few participate in order to exert influence on a particular issue or hold leaders accountable.
- Almost half of Indonesian voters believe participation in the national election will make a difference. This represents an increase compared to our polling before the 1999 vote, pointing to greater confidence in the fairness and significance of elections.
- Nevertheless, there has been a drop in the proportion who think voting makes a difference since our post-election poll, as the afterglow of Indonesia's first election has waned, especially among young, urban voters. Advantaged groups tend to be more optimistic that their vote has an impact.
- Most Indonesians still do not discuss politics and show little interest in the subject. Disinterest has grown in the past four years, reflecting the growth of political alienation.
- Most voters would not want to run for political office even if they could be nominated, mainly citing lack of education or money.

CHAPTER 3

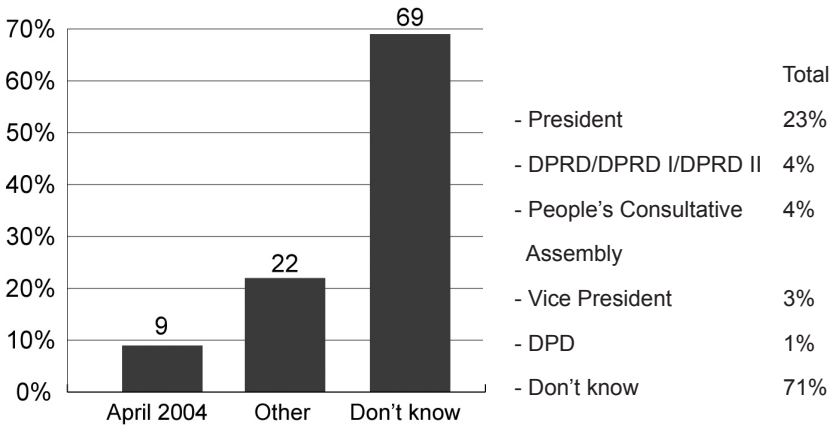
Voter Education Needs: Elections & Electoral Procedures

1. Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
2. Awareness of DPD
3. Knowledge of Electoral Procedures
4. Knowledge of Presidential Election
5. Who Needs to Register?
6. Action Likely if No Registrar Visits
7. Awareness of Registration Deadline
8. Knowledge of Election Organizations
9. Recourse for Election Problems
10. Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes
11. Election Complaint Process Index
12. Impact of Party Gifts to Voters
13. Presence of Militia or Security at Public Meetings
14. Voter Education Recommendations for All Voters
15. Voter Education Recommendations for Specific Target Groups
16. Summary

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

Many people are not sure when the next election for the DPR will take place. Which month do you think it will be? [Q. 12]

And do you happen to know if anyone besides the members of the DPR will be elected on the same day? [Q.13]



Most Indonesians are poorly informed about the 2004 national elections. More than 90% do not know when the People’s Representative Assembly elections will take place (69% do not know in which month the election will take place, while a further 22%) mention the wrong month).

Less than one voter in ten (9%) is conscious that the DPR election will be held in April 2004. Men with post-primary schooling (17%), older voters with post-primary education (21%), and those with monthly spending over Rp1, 500,000 (17%) are most likely to have knowledge of the upcoming DPR election date. (However, even among these groups, many members profess awareness but cite an incorrect date.) Women (76%), especially those who did not finish primary school (83%) and those with no access to TV (88%) or radio (76%) are most likely to admit they lack knowledge about the 2004 National elections.

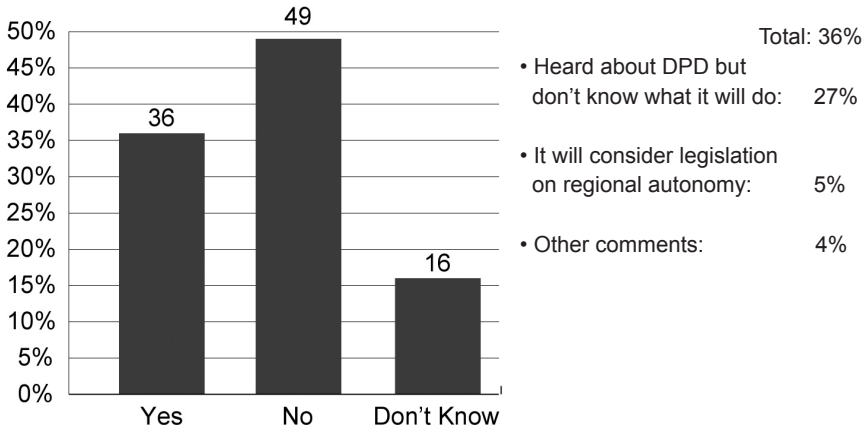
Similarly, seven voters in ten (71%) are unsure if they will cast a vote for anyone besides the members of the DPR when it is next elected, while most of those who mention another simultaneous election (23%) incorrectly suggest that it will be for president. Very few are aware of the other ballots to be cast simultaneously with the DPR election (4% mentioning voting for the DPRD and 1% elections for the DPD).

Awareness of DPD

According to the news, the people will elect a new body on the same day as the DPR, called the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, or DPD. [Q.14].

Have you heard anything about this new body?

IF YES: What have you heard about what it will do ?



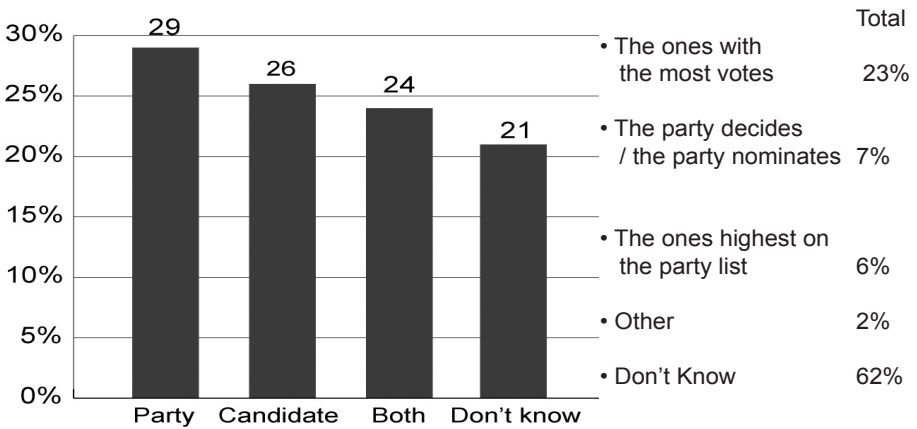
There is very low level of awareness of the DPD, the national Regional Representatives Council, which is a new body to be elected the same day as the DPR. Almost two-thirds of the electorate (65%) have not heard anything about the DPD or are unsure if they have. Only 36% say they have heard of it. Of these, 27% have heard about the DPD but do not know what it will do. Just nine percent (9%) of Indonesians mention unprompted the DPD's powers to consider legislation regarding regional autonomy.

Women (55%), especially older women (61%), those who did not complete primary school (70%) and those without TV access (68%) are the most likely to have heard nothing about the DPD. Men (31%), younger voters (33%), those with high-school or college education (37%) and those with monthly spending above Rp1,500,000 (48%) tend to have heard about the DPD but lack details.

Knowledge of Electoral Procedures

Many people are not sure how the voting for the DPR will work in the next election. [Q.15/16]. Do you happen to know if people will vote for a party, for a candidate, or for both?.

And if a party wins seats in a particular district in the next DPR election, which of their candidates wins the seat?



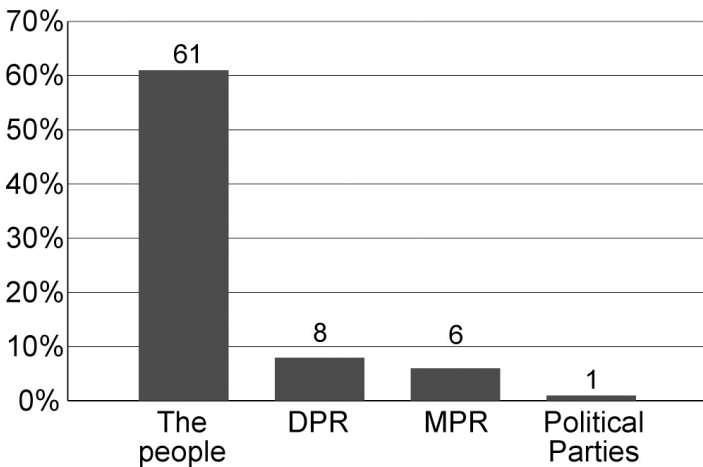
Indonesia’s electors are confused about procedures for the next DPR election. These will differ from past elections, where they voted only for a party: in 2004 voters will choose a party and may also choose a candidate on the party’s candidate list. Only one fourth of the voters (24%) knew they would cast ballots for both. The majority gave incorrect answers (ballots for a party, 29%), for a candidate, 28%), while 21% said they do not know. Vague awareness of the DPD procedures (where voters choose one candidate only) may be clouding the issue.

Those who were least likely to give the correct answer when asked how the DPR election would work were voters over 35 (17%), those who did not complete primary school (14%), and women who completed less than primary school (17%).

Nor are voters sure how their DPR representatives will be chosen, after ballots are cast. More than six voters in ten (62%) do not know which candidate will represent a district if a particular party wins. Almost a quarter (23%) think the candidate with the most votes will win, 7% believe the winning party will decide which candidate will hold a seat, and 6% think the candidate highest on the party list will win the seat. Almost no one (under 1%) chose the correct answer, namely that any candidate with more individual votes than the district quota will be automatically elected, and otherwise seats allocated to a party will be awarded on the basis of order on the party list.

Knowledge of Presidential Elections

*Many People are not sure who will choose the next President. How about you?
Who do you think will vote to elect the next President? [Q.17]*

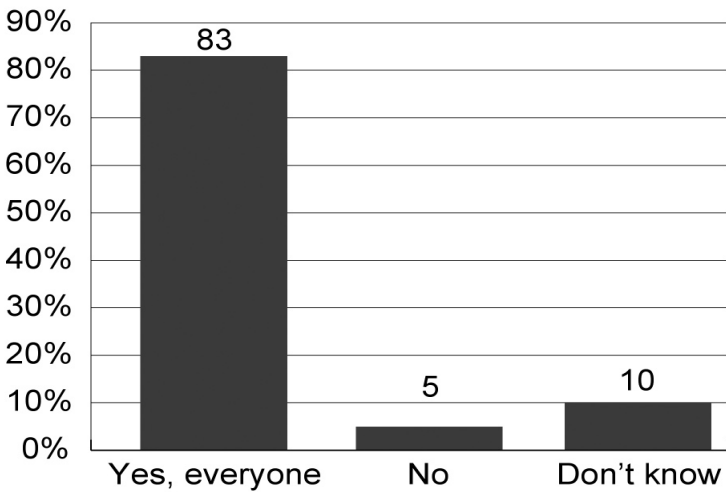


When asked who will elect the president, 61% of voters correctly said the people will do so. Older voters, who experienced the previous system of indirect election via the MPR, and less educated voters, were less sure. Only 50% of voters between the age of 50-85 gave the correct answer, and even fewer of those who do not have a primary education (44%) did so.

However, most Indonesians are not sure what will happen if no candidate has a majority in the first round of the presidential election. Fewer than one-third (31%) are aware that there will be a runoff vote. Some 16% say the top candidate will win, 10% think the KPU will decide, and 39% say they don't know what will happen.

Who Needs to Register?

The press has reported that elections for the DPR will be held in April 2004. Do you think anyone will need to register in order to vote in these elections? [Q.44 base 528]

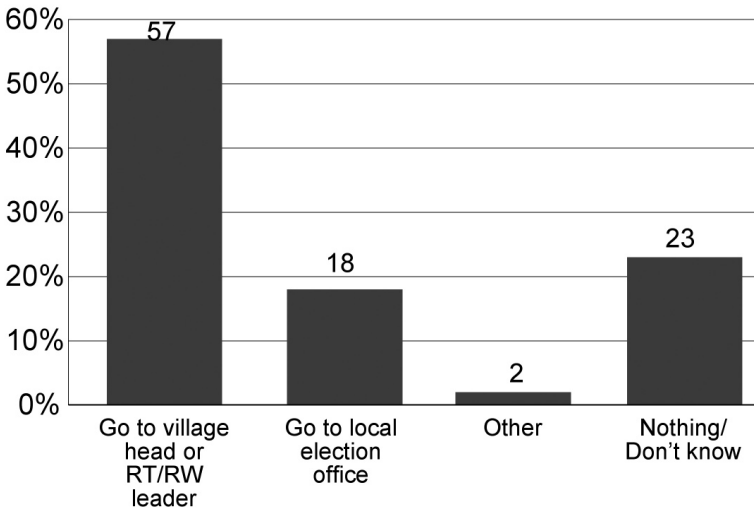


Most Indonesians will not need to be told to register before the 2004 national elections, but a minority will. Almost six voters in seven (83%) know that everyone will need to register in order to participate. Of the 16% who will need education, just 5% are unaware of the need to register and 10% are unsure.

Those with the least awareness of registration requirements were those who are illiterate (53%), those with less than a primary education (69%), urbanites who spend under Rp 500,000 (71%), rural women (72%), and voters aged 50 and over (74%), especially older women (74%).

Action Likely if No Register Visits

If nobody comes to your house to register you, what will you do? [Q.45 base 528]



Most Indonesians will seek other means to register to vote if no one comes to register them, but a large minority may not. More than half of Indonesian voters (57%) say they would go to the village head or the

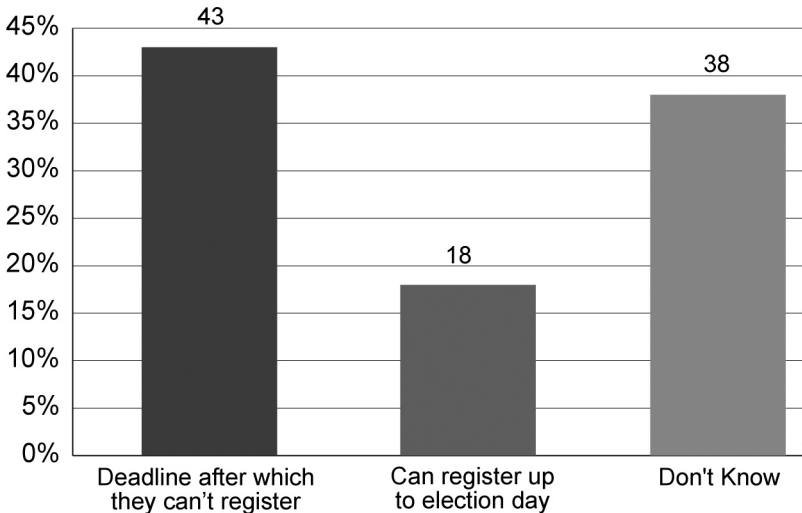
RT/RW leader to find out what to do in that case. Another 18% would go to the local election office. But nearly a quarter (23%) are not sure what to do or would do nothing if no one comes to register them.

Older women (62%), secondary educated women (65%), and voters in the largest urban areas (64%) are most likely to go to the village head or RT/RW leader for registration information. Going to the election office for information is most appealing to men (24%), especially younger (27%) and more educated men (30%).

Those least inclined to take action or not sure what to do include younger voters (30%), women with primary school education (32%), younger voters with primary education (33%) and the illiterate (45%).

Awareness of Registration Deadline

Do you happen to know if people can register up to election day, or will there be a deadline after which they can't register? [Q.46 base]

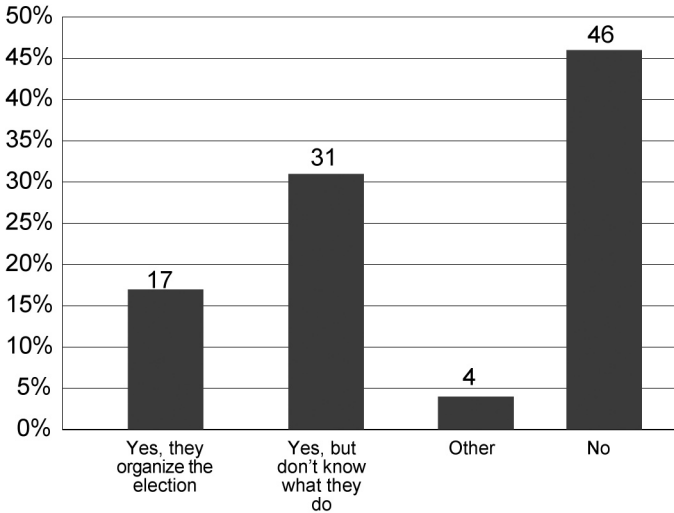


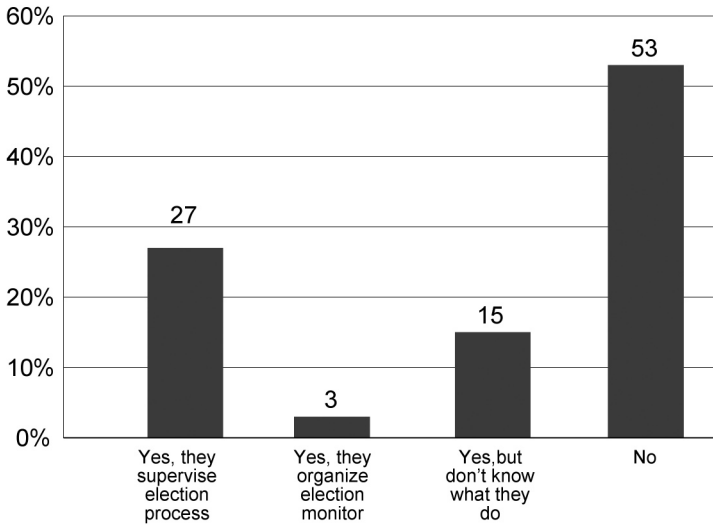
Although most voters know they must register, the majority are not sure when they need to register. While a large minority (43%) has heard there is a deadline after which citizens can no longer register, some 56% have not. Of these, 38% are unsure if there is a deadline, while 18% believe they can register up to Election Day.

In terms of age, the largest proportions of voters unaware of the registration deadline are found among the youngest voters (64% of 17-24 year olds) and the oldest (63% of 58-85 year olds). By gender and education, women with less than a primary school education are most likely (67%) not to know about the deadline. The same is true of 64% of farmers, 67% of those with monthly expenditure under Rp300,000, 70% of voters without TV, and 75% of illiterates.

Knowledge of Election Organizations

Have you heard of the Komite Pemilihan Umum or KPU ?



Have you heard of the Panitia Pengawas Umum or Panwaslu ?

Despite frequent mentions in the media, a large majority of Indonesians are unfamiliar with the organizations responsible for conducting the 2004 National elections. Almost half (46%) have never heard of the General Elections Commission (KPU). The KPU is particularly unfamiliar to women (56%), those over 35 (51%), and voters with primary education (58%) or less (76%).

Just under one-third (31%) have heard of the KPU but do not know what it does. Just 17% know that the KPU is responsible for organizing the upcoming elections. They are likely to be men (25%), educated (33%) and urban (25%).

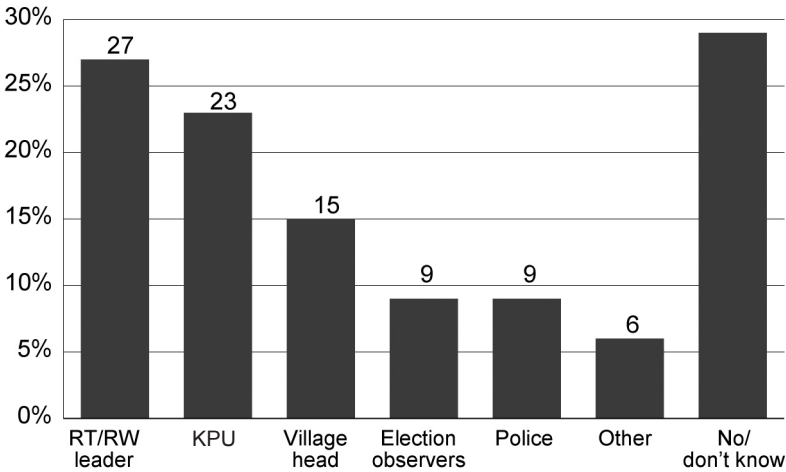
Similarly, over half of voters (53%) have never heard of the Elections Monitoring Committee (Panwaslu). They are likely to be women (64%), and those who did not finish primary school (76%).

Another 15% have heard of the organization but do not know what it does.

About a quarter of voters (27%) know that the Panwaslu supervises the election process. This includes 35% of men, 49% of voters with a secondary education and 56% of men with post-primary education.

Recourse for Election Problems

If there is a problem with the way the elections are run in your area, do you know to whom you could complain? [Q.22]



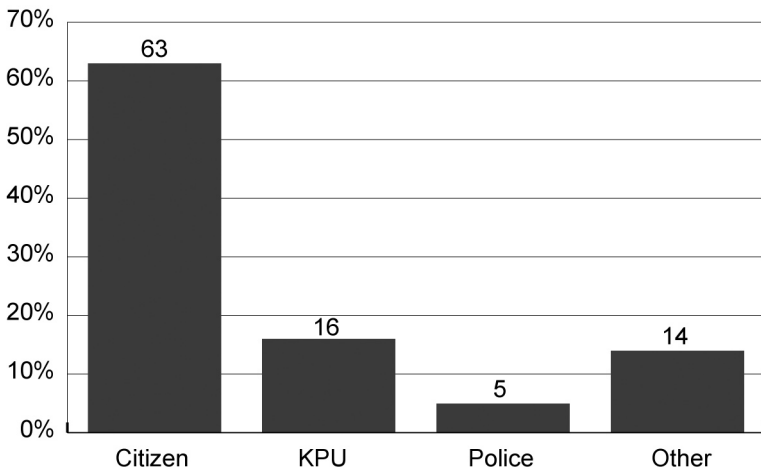
Most voters do not know the appropriate organizations to complain to if there is an election problem in their area. Twenty-three percent say they would go to the local election committee. Those who knew where to take an election complaint are likely to be young men (33%) and have completed high school or college (33%).

The main tendency for respondents is to go to local government officials, with 27% saying they would refer the matter to their RT/RW leaders and 15% to the village head. While these individuals are responsible for solving many local problems, election complaints do not fall into their area of responsibility. Moreover, although they might refer people to the local committee, concerns that they might themselves be involved in irregu-

larities means they are not the most appropriate first recourse. Some 9% of voters said they would go to election observers and 9% mentioned the police. Altogether 29% said they had no idea where to complain.

Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

If the parties and the local election committee cannot resolve election disputes, do you happen to know who will be responsible to do so? [Q.23]

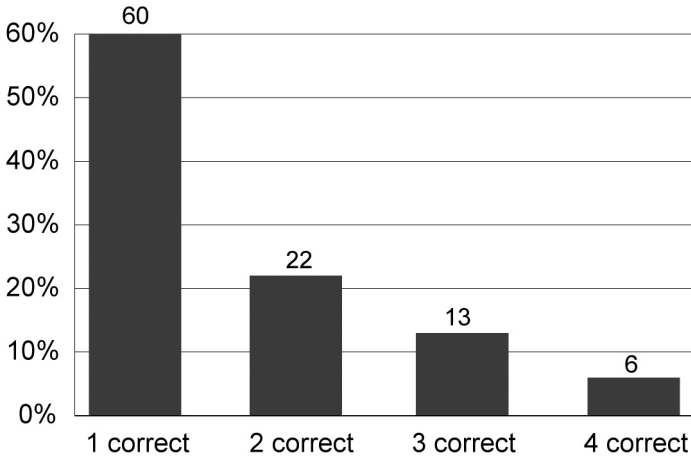


Awareness of election complaint procedures beyond the local level is even lower than that of the role of the local election committee.

More than six of ten voters (63%) believe that citizens would be responsible for resolving an election dispute if the parties and local election committee cannot do so. It is unclear what this would mean – but it may well refer to protest in the streets about election irregularities, as at times in the past. Voters with less than a primary school education (74%), and low-income voters (73%) are the most likely to think an election dispute will be settled by citizens.

Election Complaint Process Index

(Number of correct responses on Q22-Q25)



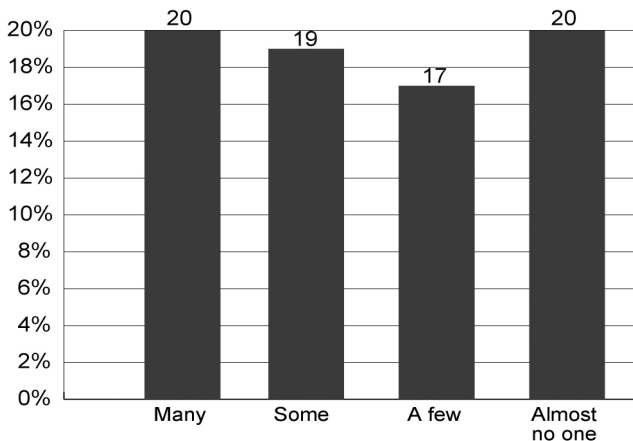
To gauge how much voters know of the set of institutions dealing with electoral complaints, we constructed an election complaint process index, built on questions 22-25 about election complaints, disputes and election organizations. This index shows that most voters are unfamiliar with all aspects of solving election disputes: six in ten voters (60%) are able to correctly answer only one in four of these election-related queries. Just under a quarter (22%) respond correctly on two, while only 13% get three responses right.

A mere 6% of voters are knowledgeable enough to answer all four complaint-related questions correctly. These voters know where to take election complaints, who handles election-related disputes, and what functions the KPU and Panwaslu manage. In short, almost none of the electorate is familiar with the key steps in the dealing with election disputes. Given the history of doubt regarding the fairness of elections in Indonesia, almost all voters will require education on this.

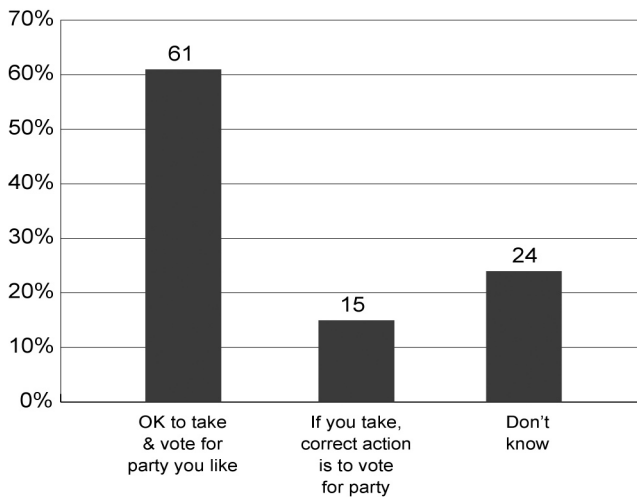
Impact of Party Gifts to Voters

[Q.64/65 base 528]

If a political party offered money, food, or gifts to voters in this area, how many would vote for it because of it: very many, some, a few, almost no one? [Q.64/65 base 528]



Which of these statements is closest to your view?



Reflecting the common belief that “money politics” will have a substantial impact on the upcoming election, about four voters in ten think that voters will be influenced if political parties offer money, food, or other gifts to voters, but only 15% think a gift would influence their own vote, while 24% are unsure.

Some 39% feel that people in their area would be inclined to vote for a party that offered money, food or gifts, while just 36% believe party gifts would influence only a few voters and a quarter of the electorate (24%) is unsure.

Younger, educated and upper income³ voters feel party gifts significantly affect voting choices. Men, especially older men, and those without access to broadcast media do not believe many voters would support a party as a result of a gift.

Although opinions about the impact of party gifts vary, personal sentiments about accepting such gifts are ambiguous. More than six in ten voters (61%) believe it is acceptable to take a party gift and then vote for whichever party you like. However, some 15% think a gift makes the recipient beholden to a party and 24% are uncertain. This suggests that as many as four voters in ten may be open to influence by party bribes.

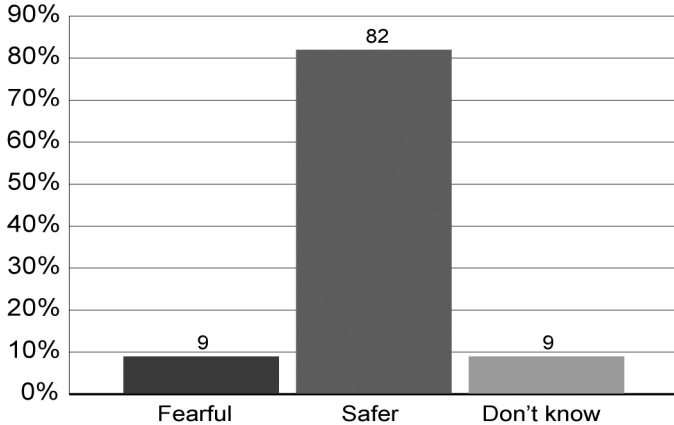
Although younger, more educated and upper income voters feel party gifts are likely to impact voting choices in their area, they are also most likely to feel it is acceptable to receive a gift and still vote for the party of their choice. Older and less educated voters are not as comfortable with the idea of accepting a gift without strings attached.

The highest proportions of voters who would vote for a party that gave gifts or are not sure if they ought to include illiterates (65%), those with less than full primary education (53%), women over 35 (53%), and those who don't watch TV regularly (51%).

³ Upper income respondents are those who spend over Rp 500,000 per month.

Presence of Militia or Security at Public Meetings

During the election campaign, parties have militias or security services at every public meeting. Does the presence of such militias make you feel fearful or safer?



Indonesians feel safer at public meetings where parties have a party-linked militia or security presence. More than eight voters in ten (82%) think the presence of militias makes them feel safer, while 9% are more fearful and 9% are unsure.

A security presence at public meetings is most comforting to men, especially less educated, working class men. Women, particularly less educated women, and rural voters have more apprehension about militias, although these voters are still much more likely to feel safe rather than fearful around party security.

These figures may surprise those concerned that militias or party-linked para-military security organizations represent a potential for intimidation. Opponents of the party holding a meeting might well feel intimidated, but such individuals may be unlikely to attend the meetings of parties they oppose. The party supporters who attend may be reassured by the presence of a security service, given the shadow that inter-party violence continues to cast over Indonesian politics today.

Voter Education Recommendations for All Voters

The wholesale changes planned for 2004 in electoral procedures and elected offices will require substantial voter education programs oriented towards the entire electorate. The survey findings indicate that most voters have little idea about the logistics or details of the upcoming elections, including who will be running and how or when the elections will be held. Voters also lack information about registration deadlines, who will organize and supervise the elections, and procedures for resolving complaints about irregularities.

Thus, a general phase of the voter education campaign should be targeted to the entire electorate and cover essential issues about which most voters are uninformed. All voters should receive opportunities to find out:

- When and for which offices elections will be held
- The nature and role of the DPD
- Electoral procedures, including how to vote and how winners are chosen
- Registration deadlines
- Election complaint and supervision procedures and bodies.

Voter Education Recommendations for Specific Target Groups

The survey findings suggest that part of the voter education campaign should target specific groups of Indonesian voters who need information about some important aspects of voting. These groups are less well informed than the public at large and their lack of information could prevent or mar their opportunity to vote. Given their relatively small size, it is appropriate to target specific efforts at them rather than spray the entire electorate with information familiar to most of it.

For these voters, additional efforts are needed to:

- Ensure that they know they need to register
- Inform them that a gift from a party does not oblige them to vote for it.

The voters in these groups tend to be poorly educated and older women. Many are also hard to reach: the need is greatest among those who are illiterate and lack TV. They will have to be the object of targeted voter education efforts, with a substantial in-person component.

The combination of illiteracy and lack of TV means that these campaigns cannot rely only on TV or print media. In-person contact will be an important source of education.

Voters with Highest Need for Targeted Voter Education

| Voter Education Target | Registration: % not sure needed | Party Gifts: % to vote for or not sure | Voter Ed target index |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Literate | 47 | 65 | 112 |
| < Primary Education | 31 | 53 | 84 |
| Women over | 26 | 53 | 79 |
| No TV | 18 | 51 | 69 |
| All Votes | 17 | 39 | 56 |

Summary

- Voter awareness of the 2004 National elections is limited.
- Most Indonesians do not know what month the election for the DPR will be held or if they will be casting a ballot for anyone besides the DPR. A significant minority of voters believes the presidential election will be on the same day as the DPR contest.
- Nine in ten Indonesians are unfamiliar with the DPD, a new body to be elected the same day as the DPR.
- Most voters are confused about election procedures. Few are certain whether they will be voting for a party, candidate or both. Almost no one knows how candidates will be chosen to represent a district under the new electoral law.
- While the majority of Indonesians know that the next president will be directly elected, few know what will happen if no one gets a majority in the first round.
- Most Indonesians are aware that they will have to register in order to participate in the 2004 elections. However, many voters are unaware of the existence of a registration deadline.
- A large majority of Indonesians is unfamiliar with the organizations responsible for the 2004 national elections, the KPU and Panwaslu.

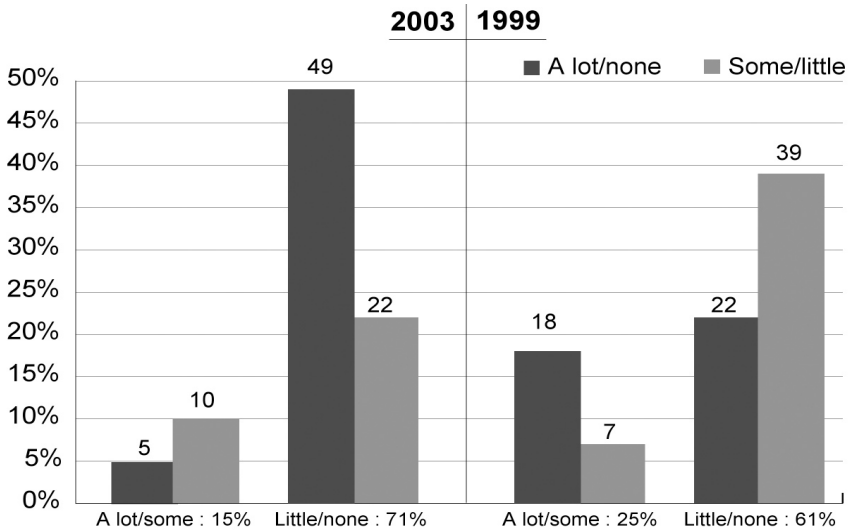
CHAPTER 4

Voter Education Needs: Efficacy, Institutions, and Parties

1. Political Efficacy
2. What Elections Can Accomplish
3. Functions of the DPR
4. Party Identification
5. Vote choice
6. Reason for Vote Choice
7. Differences Among Parties
8. Islamic Party Difference
9. Islamic Party Goals
10. Interest in Voter Education
11. Voter Education Recommendations for All Voters
12. Summary

Political Efficacy

How much influence do you think someone like you can have over government decisions – a lot, some, very little or none at all? [Q.81 base 528]



Most Indonesians do not feel they can influence government decisions. In fact, their feelings of political efficacy have declined since 1999. Currently just 15% of voters believe they can have a lot or some influence over government, compared to 25% four years ago. Similarly, seven out of ten voters (71%) feel they have very little or no influence on official decisions, compared to 61% in 1999. Even among the most empowered groups – young men, educated men, older educated voters and rural men – no more than a quarter feel they have influence.

Both the continuity and change are important: we found low levels of political efficacy during the transition to democracy and lower still after four years of democratic government. The belief that people can make a difference is a key aspect of democratic political culture. Its weakness in Indonesia is connected to voters' low expectations for their elections, candidates, and representatives.

Since the 1999 poll, feelings of efficacy have dropped most (by 16%) among Indonesians under 35. Only 16% of the young believe they can influence the government. Urban residents have also experienced a sharp increase in disaffection, with their feelings of efficacy dropping by 15% since 1999. This is true for women as well, with a 14% drop in efficacy.

What Elections Can Accomplish

What do you think voters can do through elections? [Q. 53 base 528]

- | | |
|---|-----|
| • Choose leaders/president/representative | 77% |
| • Express feelings of the people | 7% |
| • Ask the government for things | 4% |
| • Other | 6% |
| • Don't know | 19% |

Indonesian voters have a narrow view of what they can accomplish through elections: choosing their leaders. More than three-fourths of the voters believe that they can use elections to select leaders (67%), choose representatives (6%), or elect the president (4%). Only about one-tenth can offer any other functions whatsoever that elections might serve, such as letting them voice their feelings (7%) or ask for things from government (4%). A fifth of the electorate (19%) is unsure what voters can accomplish through elections. Thus, Indonesians' expectations for the electoral process are low and limited to its mechanical role: filling public office.

It is not surprising that the only role for democratic elections Indonesians know is circulating their elite leaders. This is the only function that elections and electoral campaigns in Indonesia have consistently fulfilled. Indonesia's voters have rarely had an opportunity to practice the functions that elections routinely perform in other countries – including providing opportunities for people to express their views, seek

changes in policy, hold candidates accountable, change governments, or even demand patronage. This is because the country has experienced few free elections and because (as will be seen below) partisanship is identity-centered rather than issue- or candidate-driven.

If citizens are unaware that electoral processes offer them a variety of ways to make their voice heard, it is hardly surprising that many feel ignored or powerless despite casting a ballot every five years. Yet these omissions also represent important opportunities for non-partisan voter education efforts to give more meaning to the electoral process. If this were to happen, voter education efforts would need to show that elections could be occasions for self-expression, official accountability, or local demands. In turn, the presence of higher expectations on the part of voters could encourage parties to seek to win them over by catering to such desires, rather than merely rallying the faithful.

Functions of the DPR

Different people have different ideas about the functions of the DPR and its members. What do you think their functions are? Anything else? [Q.58 base 528]

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| • Control the president | 57% |
| • Represent their voters | 20% |
| • Elect the President | 12% |
| • Help people solve their problems | 9% |
| • Make/change laws | 8% |
| • Other | 7% |

The majority of Indonesians are spontaneously aware of only one role for the DPR and its members: controlling the president (57%). Another 12% say that the DPR's role is to help elect the president. Those responses run its function together with that of the soon to be defunct MPR, which its members helped choose and served on in the past.)

Picking and checking the president, of course, are the functions that have received the most public attention since the 1999 election, with the selection President Abdurrahman Wahid, his subsequent impeachment and removal from office, and the choice of Megawati Sukarnoputri in his place.

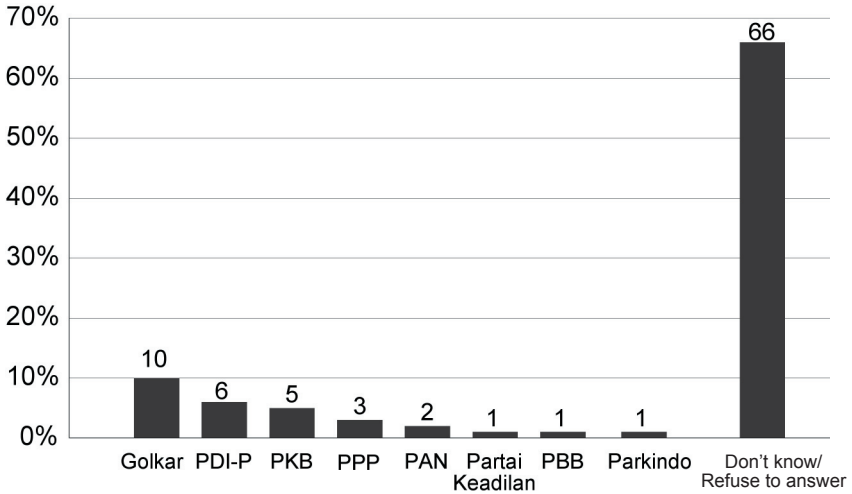
However, few voters can volunteer anything else that the DPR does. Just 20% of the electorate thinks its function is to represent them and 9% say the DPR helps people solve their problems. Surprisingly, a mere 8% notes that the legislature's powers include making or changing laws! Another 7% mention other functions such as developing infrastructure, investigating corruption, protecting citizens, and enacting the budget.

The public's stunted concept of the DPR's role probably reflects both the legacy of the New Order regime, when it was largely a rubber stamp for the executive, as well as its failure to make a mark in public consciousness since then, beyond picking or clashing with presidents. This means that most Indonesians are largely ignorant of the normal representative functions of a legislature, as well as the sorts of demands citizens can make on their representatives. These include representing their views, passing and amending legislation and budgets, and delivering development resources and other patronage.

In other words, not only during elections, but also in the ordinary functioning of the legislature, few Indonesian citizens are aware of the claims they can make upon the country's political leaders. The disconnect between elected officials and citizens today makes Indonesian voters' sense of powerlessness and their low level of expectations of politics easy to understand. It also offers an opening for voter education to help reconnect the leaders and the led, by educating citizens about what they can expect from the legislature.

Party Identification

Do you normally think of yourself as a supporter of any political party?
 [Q.109 base 528] (All parties with 1% or more)



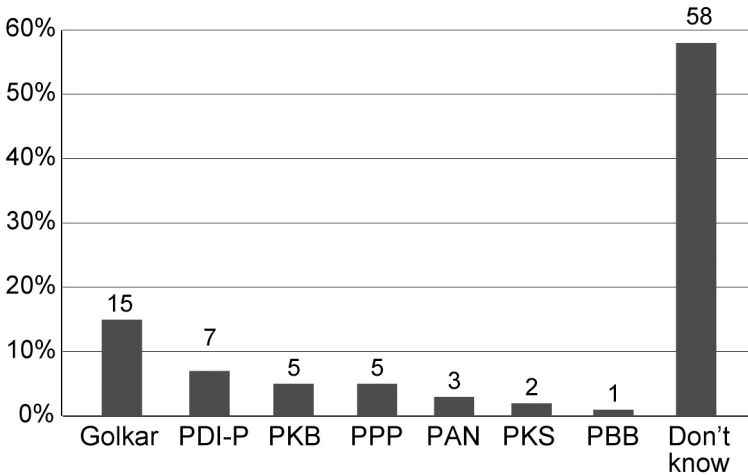
Despite the primacy of party in Indonesia's political system and electoral processes, the party bases in the public at large are relatively limited. The survey found that fully two-thirds (66%) of Indonesians say they do not normally support any party. (This figure undoubtedly includes some who will not say which party they prefer.) The parties with the largest numbers of regular supporters are Golkar, with 10%, the PDI-Perjuangan, with 6%, the PKB with 5%, the PPP with 3%, and the PAN with 2%. The PBB and Parkindo (Partai Kristen Indonesia) each claim the identification of 1% of the electorate.

Men under 35 or with post-primary schooling, white-collar workers, the highest income voters (spending Rp 1,500,000 per month or more), and Christians were the groups most likely to identify with a party. But the most important finding of the poll is the extremely high proportion

of non-identifiers or “swing voters” in the electorate. This is a situation that is typical of new democracies where party loyalties have not yet been established.

Vote Choice

*If the DPR election were held today, which party would you vote for?
 IF UNSURE: If the DPR election were today and you had to decide
 right now, to which party would you lean? [Q.50 base 528]
 (All parties with 1% or more)*



When asked who they would vote for if the DPR election were held today, almost five in ten (47%) didn't know, and a further 12% refused to answer. Consequently, the vote choices expressed by the four in ten (41%) who did respond cannot be viewed as representative of what actual polling results would be if the election were held today. Nevertheless, they are useful in that they suggest a minimum level of support a party is likely to achieve, and indicate that much of the electorate is still in play, and could be swayed by effective political campaigns.

Reason for Vote Choice

What is the most important reason why you would vote for the party you chose? [Q.51 base 279]

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| • They are my party | 19% |
| • They've gotten good things done | 14% |
| • Their leader | 11% |
| • Islamic Party | 10% |
| • Will make things better | 8% |
| • Their policies/plans | 5% |
| • Their moral values | 4% |
| • Represent my ethnic group | 3% |
| • Other | 8% |
| • Don't know | 14% |

Not surprisingly, when voters were asked for which party they would vote for if the DPR election were held now, the principal reason mentioned by the few who expressed a voting intention was simply because they identify with that party. Almost a fifth (19%) said they would vote for a party because “they are my party.” Some 10% more said they would vote for Islamic parties because they identified with Islam. Other reasons included achievements (14%), leaders (11%), hope for the future (8%), policies (5%), values (4%), and ethnicity (3%). Some 14% could give no reason why they chose their party.

Breaking down the results by the parties respondents would vote for, party identification was the most important reason given by voters choosing the PDI-Perjuangan and Golkar, the two parties generally identified as “nationalist.” Identification with Islam was the most important reason given by voters who preferred the PKB and PPP, both of which are considered “Islamic” parties. (No other parties had enough supporters in the poll to permit analysis of their votes.)

However, a huge proportion of voters – almost half (47%) – said they had yet to make up their minds regarding voting choice. (Some 12% refused to disclose their party choice.) Most of those who said they did not know for which party they would vote (fully 90%) were voters who did not have a specific party identification. In these circumstances, party campaigns that seek to mobilize existing supporters by rallying the faithful are poorly oriented towards picking up swing voters who do not have pre-existing identifications. Such voters would be likelier to respond to campaigns that appealed to their views concerning issues, their values, or their interests.

Differences Among Parties

What difference do you see, if any, between the different parties in the DPR today? [Q.54 base 528]

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| • Ideology | 10% |
| • Leaders | 5% |
| • Minor division | 4% |
| • Issues they stress | 2% |
| • Religious commitment | 2% |
| • Numbers / power | 2% |
| • Can't specify differences / other | 9% |
| • Don't know | 66% |

The widespread lack of party preferences, other than those based on emotional identification, can largely be explained by the fact that most Indonesians are unaware of differences among the political parties. Two-thirds of the voters (66%) say they do not know what differences exist among the parties or that there are none. Another 9% say there are differences but cannot name any. In other words, the political parties have failed to differentiate themselves in the eyes of three-quarters of the electorate. This is probably an important factor in the lack of political interest and discussion among Indonesians noted above (pp.40-43). If people are unaware of differences between the parties, why should they take an interest in them?

Only one voter in four (25%) can cite any difference whatever among the parties. Those mentioned included ideology (10%), leaders (5%), minor divisions (4%), issues, religious commitment or power (2% respectively), responsiveness, corruption or symbols (1% each). Women, older voters, less educated, and lower income voters, along with those without access to broadcast media, are least likely to be able to specify political party differences.

The failure of Indonesian political parties to differentiate themselves in the eyes of the voters points to a significant problem in the workings of election campaigns, and indeed democracy itself, in Indonesia. Indonesian parties focus excessively on turning out their bases, voters already identified with them, and not enough on seeking swing voters, who make up the majority. This reduces the competitiveness of parties and elections and the responsiveness of the political system.

Where parties do not give voters reasons to support them besides party identification, political activity focuses on emotive identity-based appeals and remains largely issue and interest free. This, in turn, helps to ensure that the electoral process can not become a way to express views or hold officials accountable on the basis of issues or interests. It is strongly in the interest of Indonesian political parties to change their approach to campaigns to a more issue and interest oriented basis. There is a potentially rich harvest of votes among the vast number of swing voters who have little or no impression of what they stand for.

However, this also represents an area where voter education can make a significant contribution, by providing voters opportunities to compare the offerings of parties. Voter education can create non-partisan situations where voters can compare for themselves what all the parties are offering and ask candidates directly about their stances. This, in turn, will offer more of an incentive for parties to use issue and candidate oriented appeals to try to win support of those outside their traditional bases.

Islamic Party Difference

If a party says it is an Islamic party, what is the most important thing that makes it different from others? [Q.55 base 528]

| | |
|------------------------|-----|
| • Islamic values | 13% |
| • Members are Muslim | 12% |
| • Stands for Islam | 11% |
| • For Sharia | 3% |
| • Moral / not corrupt | 2% |
| • Religious leaders | 2% |
| • Other | 4% |
| • Don't know / nothing | 53% |

Most voters cannot identify differences between Islamic parties and other parties. More than half the voters are uncertain what makes an Islamic party different from other political parties (39%), or believe that there is nothing distinctive about an Islamic party (14%).

The principal differences between Islamic parties and other parties mentioned by the minority able to name any are; Islamic values (13%), that their members are Muslims (12%), and that they stand for Islam (11%). These are notably vague responses because there are a variety of values and stands associated with Islam in Indonesia, and the vast majority of members of almost all parties are Muslims in a country that is overwhelmingly Islamic.

Respondents rarely associated specific ideas or policies with Islamic parties. The few mentioned included that such parties were for Islamic law or Sharia (3%), religious leadership (2%), moral or not corrupt (2%). Just 1% respectively said that Islamic parties would encourage religion or favor an Islamic state, symbols, and ideology. Few mentioned concerns that such parties would be traditionalist, fundamentalist, or opposed to women's rights, common critiques of such parties in elite discussion.

Women, older voters, less educated, and poorer voters are the least likely to be able to identify characteristics unique to an Islamic political party. However, aside from their Islamic label, the major finding of the poll about Islamic parties is that they have not proven more successful than other parties in differentiating themselves in the eyes of the voters.

Islamic Party Goals

What would you expect an Islamic party to try to do? Q.56 base 528]

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| • Uphold Islamic values | 23% |
| • Encourage religious observance | 13% |
| • Better law enforcement | 7% |
| • Impose Sharia as law | 6% |
| • Restore the economy | 4% |
| • Clean up corruption | 3% |
| • Impose Islamic state | 3% |
| • Don't know | 55% |

Most Indonesians are also unsure of what Islamic parties might do in power, though those with opinion are somewhat clearer on this. More than half the electors (55%) are unsure what they would expect an Islamic party to try to do. Particularly uncertain on this topic are women (62%), especially older women (69%) and older rural women (70%), less educated voters (70%), lower income voters (71%) and those without broadcast media access (89%).

Among those with an opinion on this question, the principal focus is moral and religious rather than policy. Almost a quarter of Indonesians (23%) believes that an Islamic party would improve morals and uphold Islamic values. Another eighth (13%) mentions encouraging religious observance. In other words, most voters with an opinion on what Islamic parties might do associate them with the promotion of religion

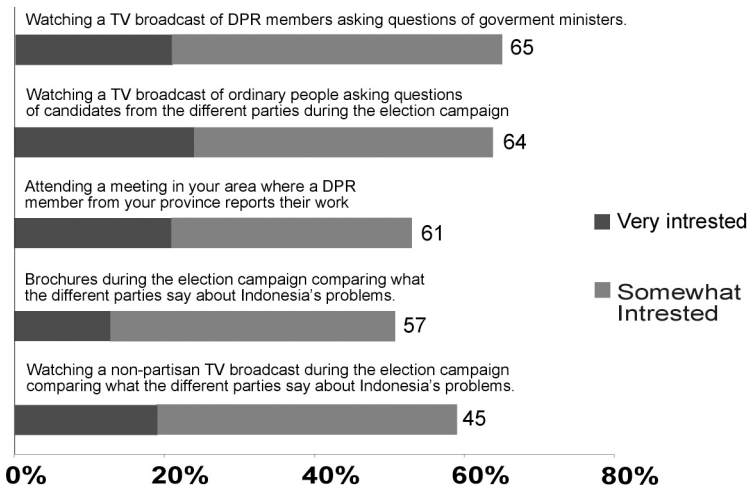
and morality. This is true among avowed supporters of such parties, as well as those who back other parties or support no party.

Very few voters associate Islamic parties with specific policies. Only 7% mention better law enforcement or fair justice, while just 6% refer to the imposition of Sharia, 4% cite the restoration of economy and quality of life, 3% think they would clean up corruption, and 3% think they would establish an Islamic state.

It would thus be a serious mistake to regard support for Islam or Islamic parties as a mandate for the imposition of a formal sharia legal structure, or an Islamic state. Beyond an association with morality and religion, these parties have few specific policy associations in the public mind.

Interest in Voter Education

Please tell me how interested you would be in the following ideas. [Q.59-63base 528]



Indonesia's voters are eager to ask about and compare the ideas and proposals of the contestants in the 2004 elections. This provides an opportunity for programs to promote issue- and interest-oriented electoral competition. It is noteworthy that despite their professed lack of interest in politics, Indonesians report widespread interest in finding out more about the parties and candidates running for office.

Just under two-thirds of the electorate (65%) would be interested in a TV broadcast of DPR members questioning government ministers. Almost as many (64%) would find appealing a TV show with voters asking questions of candidates from different parties during the campaign. Likewise, 61% would be interested in attending a meeting in their areas where a provincial DPR member reported back on their work. A roughly similar proportion (57%) would be interested in non-partisan TV broadcasts comparing the stances of the different parties on the issues facing the country. Some 45% were also interested in non-partisan brochures or voter guides comparing the views of the parties on the issues.

Voter Education Recommendations for All Voters

The low level of political efficacy among voters, their limited awareness of the expressive and instrumental functions of political campaigns and the DPR, and the lack of differences they perceive among the political parties suggest a need for non-partisan voter education programs concerning the political institutions and parties. Such programs would inform the electors about what they can demand from elections and their elected representatives as well as help the voters compare the candidates and parties.

One major step towards improving voters' perceptions of their own political efficacy would be to inform them of what they can demand of candidates during campaigns and from DPR members in office. This

would involve educational efforts whose intertwined emphases should include:

- How voters can use campaigns for instrumental and expressive purposes (voicing their views on issues, demanding policies and resources they want, supporting candidates whose views they approve, seeking to defeat officials of whom they disapprove, etc.)
- What DPR members can do and thus what voters can demand of them (expressing their views, making laws, changing policies, helping them solve problems with the administration, questioning ministers, obtaining resources, etc.)

Such efforts, by increasing the electorate's expectations of their representatives, would help encourage more rigorous electoral competition, where the contestants make appeals based on issues, policy, and interests rather than just party identity.

More issue-oriented party competition could also be fostered by non-partisan voter education efforts that help voters to compare the policies and positions of the parties. The survey findings show that roughly three-fifths of the electorate would be interested in forms of voter education such as:

- TV broadcasts of DPR members questioning ministers in Parliament.
- TV broadcasts of ordinary voters asking questions of candidates from the different parties.
- Meetings where DPR members report back on their work to voters in their provinces.
- Non-partisan TV broadcasts comparing what the different parties say about Indonesia's problems.

There was also a substantial but lower level of interest, roughly 45%, in non-partisan brochures comparing the platforms of the different parties.

The aim of these programs would be to help the voters connect with their representatives and encourage campaigns to become more attuned to the issues and interests that the electorate cares about. In this way, there will be a chance to turn the vote into something more than merely exchanging one set of elite leaders for another. Elections will be an opportunity for voter expression and will enhance both the quality of political representation and political accountability.

Summary

- Few Indonesian voters think they can influence government decisions – somewhat fewer, in fact, than the low proportion who thought they had influence in 1999.
- Few have any unprompted idea of what elections can let voters accomplish other than choosing leaders (such as raising issues, expressing opinions, or holding officials accountable).
- The DPR is viewed as primarily a check on presidential powers rather than as a legislative body responsive to voters.
- More than half of Indonesia's voters are not regular supporters of a political party. Since party identification is the main force determining voting intentions many are not sure for which party they would vote.

- Most of the electorate feels there are no differences among the parties or is not sure of the distinctions.
- Most are not sure what sets an Islamic party apart and or what to expect from an Islamic party.
- There is widespread interest in voter education programs that would help voters compare the positions of parties and ask questions of candidates, via TV or in person. TV programs that show DPR members questioning Parliament Ministers holds the most broad-based appeal, followed by a broadcast of ordinary people questioning candidates from different parties.

CHAPTER 5

Civic Education Issues

1. Characteristics of a Democratic Country
2. Personal Consequences of Democracy
3. Principles of Democracy
4. Democratic Knowledge Index
5. Support for Expanded Military Powers
6. Support for Autocratic Leadership
7. Women Making Their Own Voting Decision
8. Political Tolerance: Party Meetings
9. Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups
10. Lifting the Ban on Former PKI members
11. Civic Education Recommendations
for Specific Target Groups
12. Summary

Characteristics of a Democratic Country

*If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?
Anything else? [Q.67 base 264]*

- Don't Know / No Response: 53%
- Political Rights: 49%
 - *Freedom: of speech, of association, of demonstration, of religion, of criticism, all aspects: 24%*
 - *Elections: choice in elections, freely choosing leaders, government of/by/for people, elections: 15%*
 - *Equal rights: equal justice for all, protect citizens rights, human rights: 5%*
 - *Responsive government: discussion, listening to others, to people, mistakes corrected: 5%*
- Peace, Safety: 5%
- Ecomic Gains - Jobs, free rice : 2 %

Although many Indonesians continue to have relatively limited knowledge of the nature of democracy, they have to large degree retained the knowledge they picked up during the civic education campaigns conducted prior to the 1999 elections, when those unable to cite any characteristic of a democracy dropped from 61% to 50%⁴. But, as more than half the voters (53%) are still unable to name any characteristic of a democracy, including large majorities of women, older and less educated voters, and those without media access there remains significant need for further civic education programs.

Political rights remain the main association for those who can cite a meaning for democracy, mentioned by a total of 49%. Freedom – above all of speech, but also in its other forms – still takes pride of place. However, democracy is more likely to be associated with elections than in 1999, although the proportion making this link is still low. In our

⁴ For a discussion of these gains, and evidence demonstrating their connection to voter education efforts, see our previous report, Follow-Up Survey: Indonesian National Voter Education Campaign (Jakarta, The Asia Foundation: 1999).

post-election survey four years ago, only 3% connected the two ideas, while in the current survey, 15% cite “freedom to choose in elections politics,” “government by, from and for people,” and “people freely choose their leaders.” Some 5% mention equal rights, and a new theme has emerged, responsive government, also mentioned by 5%.

The proportion of Indonesians who define democracy in terms of peace and safety has declined from 15% to 5%, while only 2% associate democracy with economic gains, down from 11% in 1999

Personal Consequences of Democracy

What, if anything, is the most important thing that a democracy in Indonesia will bring you personally? Anything else? [Q.68 base 264]

- Don't Know / No Response: 52%
- Political Rights: 39%
 - *Justice and rights: equal justice, equal law enforcement, human rights, end corruption, honesty, obey laws, equal development, end rape: 19%*
 - *Responsive government: fight for people's voice, cooperate for people, Pancasila, consensus, different opinions: 10%*
 - *Freedom: of speech, religion, all aspects: 8%*
 - *Elections: free to vote, government of/by/for people: 3%*
- Economic Gains: 19%
 - *Economic stability, prosperity, farmers helped, no price increases, jobs, welfare, recovery, education*
- Peace, Stability, Security: 9%

Half of Indonesia's electorate (52%) still does not have any idea of how democracy could affect them personally. However, this also shows the retention of most of the improvement noted on this score after the civic and voter education campaign in 1999, when the proportion unable to

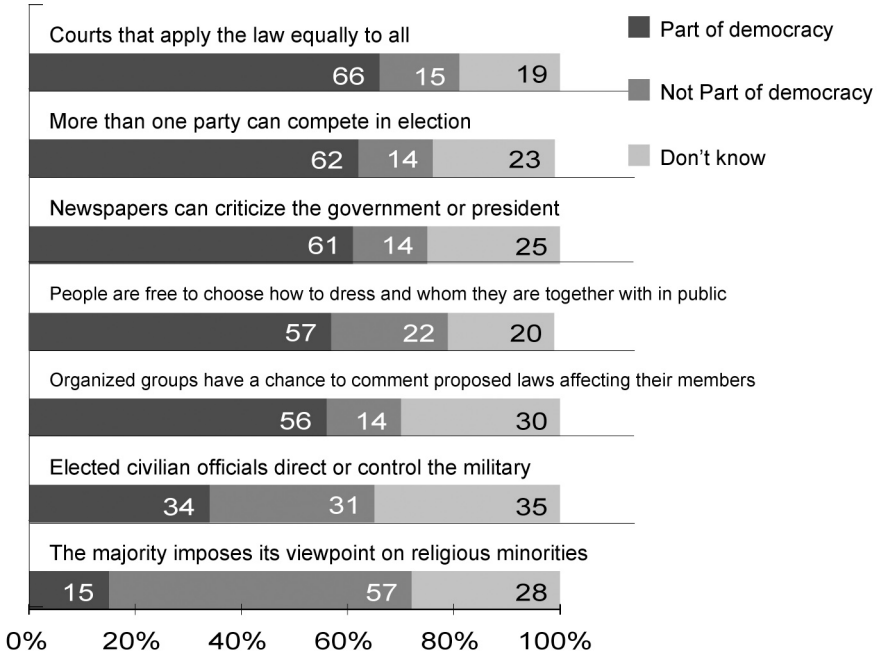
respond dropped from 63% to 49%. Women, less educated voters and those without media access continue to be the least informed about and the least connected to the personal consequences of democracy.

Of those who mentioned something that democracy in Indonesia could bring them, the most frequent response is political rights (39%). New themes not even mentioned in 1999 emerged within this topic. Justice and rights – including equal law enforcement and an end to corruption – received the most mentions, followed by governmental responsiveness – reflecting public concern with these issues. Freedom, the main political right mentioned previously, comes next, while elections rank lower in the personal meaning of democracy than at the level of the country as a whole.

Economic gains now are in second place overall, mentioned by 19%, reflecting the lower expectations for the economic consequences of democracy after economic difficulty continued under the new democratic government. Peace, stability, and security rank next, mentioned by 9%. These results differ markedly from four years ago, when economic gains far outpaced political rights in voter perceptions of how democracy could affect them personally.

Principles of Democracy

Now I'll mention a few ideas. Many people are not sure if they are part of democracy. Tell me if you think they are. If you're not sure, please say so. [Q.69-75 base 528]



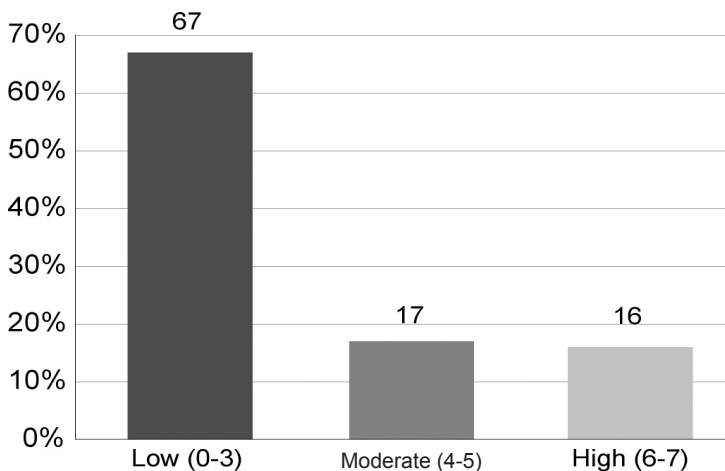
When Indonesians are asked about specific basic principles of democracy, it is encouraging to find that a majority can identify most of them, but there is still considerable room for growth in knowledge about them. From 55% to 65% of the public is able to correctly identify whether each of six major principles is part of democracy. However, this still means that large minorities don't know whether these concepts are part of democracy, and on one other principle, this was true of two-thirds. The largest proportion correctly identified the principle of "courts that apply the law equally to all." Two-thirds (66%) of voters believe this is part of democracy, while 15% do not think it applies and 19% are unsure. More than six voters in ten (62%) think that democracy means competitive elections, while 14% disagree and 23% are uncertain.

Similarly, 61% agree that in a democracy “newspapers can criticize the government or President,” while 14% do not believe this principle is relevant and 23% do not know. There is almost equal recognition that freedom of press and association are part of democracy, mentioned by 57%. Prior consultation of interests affected by legislation is seen as part of democracy by 56%. And 57% support freedom of religion, rejecting the notion that it would be democratic for the majority to impose its viewpoint on religious minorities, a view accepted by just 15%.

Nonetheless, depending on the principle, between 34% and 44% fails to recognize it as part of democracy. Moreover, on one principle – civilian control of the military – Indonesians are almost evenly divided: 34% say it is part of democracy, 31% not, and 35% are unsure. This is understandable, given the long and controversial role that the military has played in Indonesian politics. However, these figures suggest that civic education still has work to do in promoting understanding of the basic principles of democracy in Indonesia.

Democratic Knowledge Index

[Based on responses to questions 69-75, base 528]



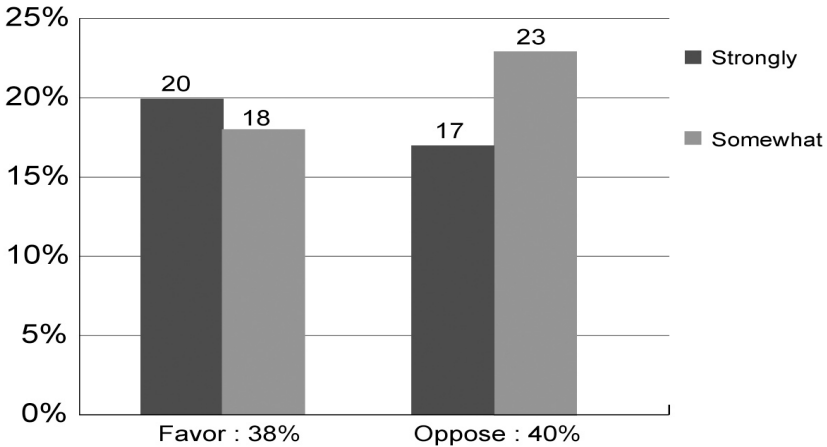
We constructed a democratic knowledge index, based on the number of correct answers each respondent gave to seven questions, Nos. 69-75, the battery on the principles of democracy. This showed that, even though majorities are able to recognize all but one of the seven democratic concepts, only one-third of the electorate is familiar with four or more of them. Fully two-thirds (67%) of Indonesians were able to correctly recognize only one to three of them. Less than a fifth of voters (17%) have a moderate understanding, meaning they recognize four or five democratic fundamentals. Only 16% have a high level of understanding of democratic basics, recognizing at least six of the seven democratic principles.

Illiterate Indonesians form the group with the lowest awareness of democracy, with 96% falling into the low category on the index. Other groups scoring low include voters over age 35 (71% ranking low on the index), especially older women (76%), voters without primary education (87%) and those without access to television (82%). Almost eight of ten less than primary educated women (78%), and low income voters (79%) fall in this category.

Interestingly, the groups in the poll with the highest awareness of democratic principles were those who said they discussed politics (47% high knowledge, 22% low) and were interested in politics (44% high, 20% low). This suggests that efforts to promote interest and discussion of politics, as well as those to make campaigns more competitive, may also put people in a better position to absorb democratic principles.

Support for Expanded Military Powers

TNI (the Indonesian military) has proposed a law that would let the commander of the military deploy troops in a time of emergency without the approval of the elected President. Would you favor or oppose such a law? Strongly or somewhat [Q78 base 528]



Indonesian voters are almost evenly divided on the proposed law that would let the commander of the military deploy troops in a time of emergency without the approval of the elected President. Four in ten (40%) oppose the law (23% strongly), while 38% favor it (18% strongly). More than a fifth (22 percent) of voters are unsure. This finding is another reflection of the controversy and division regarding the military's role in politics that runs through Indonesian society.

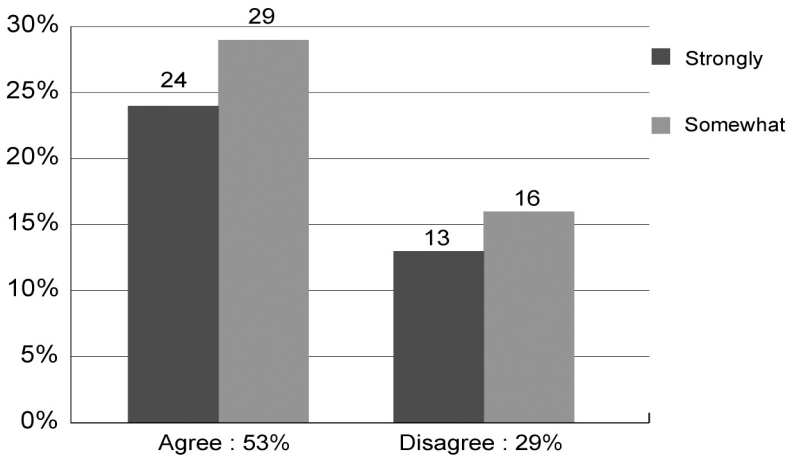
Educated voters are most divided on the expansion of military powers. Educated men and older educated voters are most likely to oppose expanded military powers while educated women and younger educated voters are more likely to support the proposed law.

Support for expanded military powers also comes from younger voters (43%), especially young men and urban men (45% respectively), and

high-income voters (48%). Religiously observant voters are opposed (47% against). Uncertainty about this issue is prevalent among those voters without a primary school education (46%), low income voters (39%), older rural women (44%) and those without radio access (31%).

Support for Autocratic Leadership

Some people say, "This democratic government is too weak. We need a strong leader like Suharto, who can make decisions and restore order, even if it reduces rights and freedoms." Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.79 base 528]



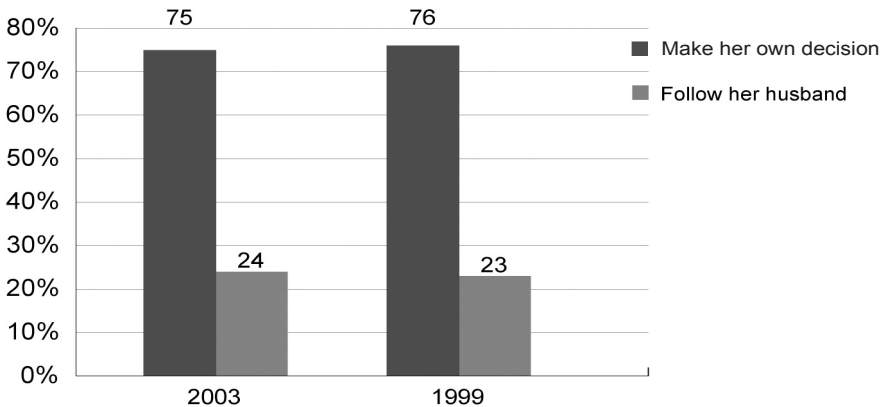
Despite four years of democracy, a narrow majority of Indonesians favors a decisive government that can restore order, even at a cost to freedom. Some 53% of the electorate prefers a strong leader like Suharto, even if rights and freedoms are reduced. Three in ten (30%) disagree and 17% are unsure.

Educated voters, the likeliest to have opinions, are the most polarized on this issue. Almost six in ten (58%) of those who have a high school education or more support stronger government, even at the expense of rights and freedoms. This includes 64% of educated women. Meanwhile, 38% of educated voters are opposed, including educated men (44%).

This finding, while disturbing, should probably be seen as a repudiation of what is perceived as ineffective governance, not of democracy itself. Nor would it be correct to associate it with a desire to return to Suharto's repressive dictatorship. Indeed, what is striking is that support for decisive government is actually stronger among those who score high on the democratic principle index than among those scoring low. The same is true among those who can say what democracy means to them as opposed to those who cannot offer a personal meaning of democracy. In other words, the Indonesians who know and care the most about democracy are also those who give the highest priority to the establishment of effective, decisive government.

Women Making Their Own Voting Decision

Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband? [Q.93]



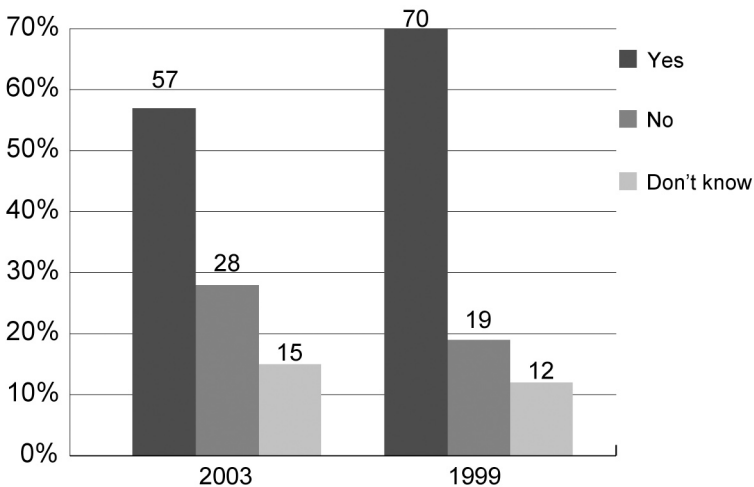
The gains that voter education efforts scored in 1999 in encouraging women to make their own voting choices persist four years after the first election. Some three-quarters of the electorate (75%) still believe that a married woman should make her own voting decision, even if it differs from her husband. Just under one quarter (24%) disagree.

These figures are almost identical to the 1999 post-election poll, when 76% thought a woman should make up her own mind and 23% thought she should follow her husband. The same survey found that the proportion of those who favored women's political autonomy was significantly higher among those who had been exposed to the USAID supported TV and print campaign that urged women, "Make up your own mind!"

Age and education drive support for women making their own decisions more than gender. Nearly nine out of ten secondary educated voters (88%) defend women's political autonomy, compared to just 57% of those who did not finish primary school. Eight of ten voters under age 35 (81%) are supportive, compared to 69% of those older than 35. Younger men (86%) are more in agreement than younger women (78%).

Political Tolerance: Party Meetings

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? [Q.84 base 528]



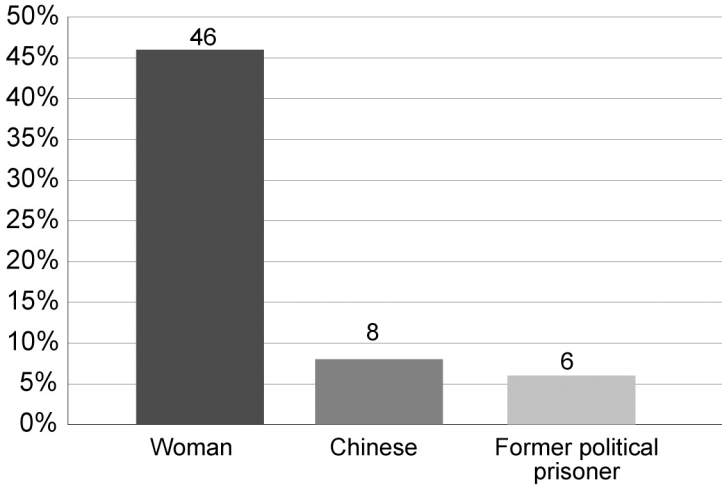
In the area of political tolerance, there has been an erosion of the gains produced by voter education prior to the 1999 election, though their effects are still present. After the education campaign and the last national election, a massive 70% of voters said that all parties, including unpopular ones, should be allowed to hold meetings in their areas. This proportion has dropped to 57% in the new survey. This result represents a 13-percentage point drop over the past four years, but it remains significantly higher than the figure before the 1999 educational campaign (49%). The decline probably reflects the continued concern about violence and political conflict, which our previous research found to be most strongly associated with intolerance of unpopular parties.

Age and education drive political tolerance more than any other factors. Younger, educated voters are more accepting of different political parties. Older voters are less tolerant, though a plurality still supports allowing parties to hold meetings freely. Those without media access are most uncertain about this issue.

Since 1999, political tolerance dropped most among the illiterate (by 26 points). Four years ago, 57% of illiterate Indonesians would allow unpopular parties to meet in their area, but only 31% would allow that today. Other drops in tolerance were found among rural residents (a 17 point decline), and those over 35 (15 point drop).

Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups

*For any office, would you consider voting for:
A woman? A Chinese person? A former political prisoner?
[Q.76 base 528] (percentage answering yes)*



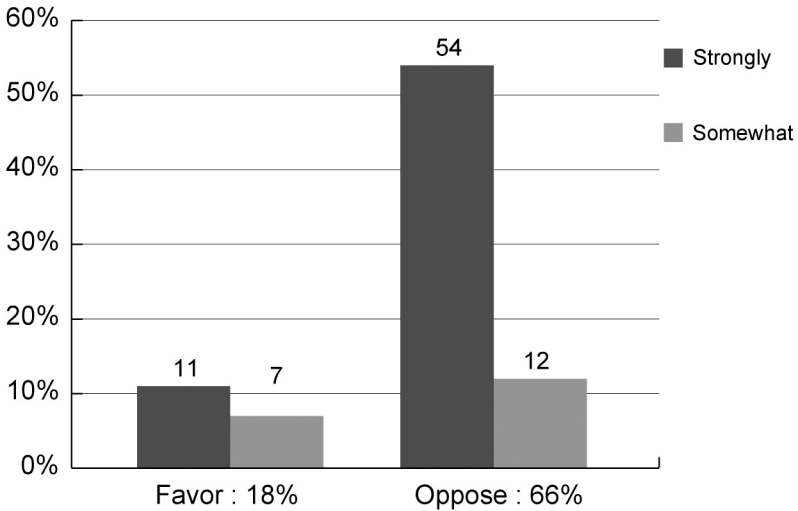
Indonesians are less tolerant of unpopular groups than they are of political parties. Less than half the electorate (46%) would consider voting for a woman. Only 8% would ever support a Chinese candidate and just 6% would back a former political prisoner. Nearly four in ten (37%) would not vote for any of these candidates and another 15% do not respond on this question.

Women, younger voters, urban, educated and wealthy voters are the most tolerant towards unpopular groups. Men, especially less educated and rural men, lower income voters, religious voters and those without access to broadcast media are the least likely to support a candidate from an unpopular group.

These results suggest that civic education efforts need to move beyond promoting inter-party tolerance to a greater openness to vote for qualified candidates from out-groups.

Lifting the Ban on Former PKI members

It has been proposed that for the 2004 election the ban on former members of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) running for the DPR should be lifted. Would you favor or oppose lifting the ban? Strongly or some what? [Q.77 base 528]



Despite the notable increase in political tolerance since the Suharto era, Indonesians are not ready to accept totally open politics. Two-thirds of voters (66%) oppose allowing former members of the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) to run for the DPR, and over half (54%) are strongly opposed. Just 18% favor lifting the ban on former members of PKI, and 16% are undecided.

More than seven out of ten young men, educated voters and high income voters are opposed to putting former PKI members on the ballot, although some of the most tolerant voters come from these same demographic groups. Older voters, especially older women, less educated and low income voters are most likely to be uncertain.

Civic Education Recommendations for Specific Target Groups

The survey results suggest that for civic education, there are two overlapping yet distinct themes. One would involve programs oriented towards promoting democratic values:

- the characteristics and meaning of democracy
- the principles of democracy
- encouraging women to make their own vote choices
- encouraging political discussion

The second would be oriented towards increasing political tolerance:

- tolerance of unpopular parties
- tolerance of candidates from out-groups
(women, Chinese, etc).

We constructed a targeting index based on those questions. The groups with the highest proportion of problematic responses on them become the civic education targets. This makes the targets for civic education illiterates, voters without TV, farmers, voters with less than primary education, and low-income voters.

This will be a low-end target group. The combination of illiteracy and lack of TV means that these campaigns cannot rely only on TV or print media. In-person contact will be an important source of education. The need to reach farmers and less media-oriented people also means that this campaign will need to reach out to rural areas and islands that are more difficult to access.

Voters with Highest Need for Civic Education

| Groups | Democracy Characteristics % Don't Know | Democratic Principles % Low awareness Women's Vote | Women's Vote Choice - % husband/DK | Political Discussion - % Never | Party tolerance % No/Don't Know | Out-Group Tolerance % Vote for None of them | Dem Values Target Index Score | Tolerance Target Index Score |
|--------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Illiterate | 80 | 96 | 45 | 76 | 69 | 39 | 297 | 108 |
| < Primary Education | 76 | 87 | 43 | 77 | 57 | 38 | 283 | 95 |
| No TV | 79 | 82 | 45 | 71 | 62 | 42 | 277 | 104 |
| Farmer | 66 | 71 | 33 | 67 | 57 | 45 | 237 | 102 |
| Income un- der Rp500K | 64 | 72 | 30 | 64 | 52 | 43 | 230 | 95 |
| All Voters | 53 | 67 | 25 | 59 | 43 | 37 | 204 | 80 |

Summary

- A majority of Indonesians remains unable to cite any characteristics or personal consequences of democracy, although the gains in these areas due to civic education in 1999 have been retained.
- Those voters who can volunteer traits of democracy are more sophisticated now, including references to elections, justice and rights, and responsive government as well as the theme of freedom predominant four years ago.

- Majorities of the electorate recognize six out of seven basic principles of democracy. These include equal justice, competitive elections, press freedom, free association, consultation and debate, and religious freedom.
- However, large minorities remain unfamiliar with all those principles and only one-third of the electorate is familiar with four or more.
- Voters split as to whether civilian control of the military is part of democracy and on whether TNI's commander should be able to deploy troops without presidential approval in an emergency.
- A slight majority would favor strong government even at the expense of rights and freedoms, although this reflects frustration at poor governance more than a rejection of democracy.
- The results of civic education efforts in 1999 to encourage women's political autonomy remain, with broad support for the concept, but a large enough minority remains unconvinced that further work is warranted.
- Although the gains in inter-party tolerance produced by the education campaign four years ago have eroded somewhat, the majority of Indonesians still would let unpopular parties meet.
- However, large minorities are intolerant both of unpopular parties and of candidates from out-groups (women, Chinese Indonesians, and former political prisoners).
- A substantial majority opposes lifting the ban on candidates formerly associated with the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia).

CHAPTER 6

Gender and Political Participation

1. Problems Facing Women
2. Gender Issues in Politics and Elections
3. Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision
4. Women's Issues and the Vote
5. Voting for Women Candidates
6. Gender and Electoral Representation
7. Why Prefer Male/Female Representative?
8. Support for Parties With a 30% Women's Quota
9. Summary

Problems Facing Women

What do you think is the biggest problem facing women in this area today? [Q.88]

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| • Poverty | 36% |
| • Family problems / domestic Violence | 9% |
| • Education | 8% |
| • Women's rights | 6% |
| • Rape | 5% |
| • Too much freedom | 4% |
| • Prostitution | 3% |
| • Other | 6% |
| • No problems | 23% |
| • Don't know | 25% |

Interestingly, women and men are largely in agreement on the problems facing Indonesian women. Both cite all the same problems in almost the same order. Although men are slightly less likely to mention poverty and slightly more likely to say that women have no problems, the differences are not significant.

Overall, 36% of all voters believe that poverty is the major problem facing Indonesia's women. This includes four women in ten (41%). Young women (46%) and secondary educated women (45%) are the most concerned about the economic pressures women face. These findings are not surprising, since the economy is seen as the major problem facing the country as a whole.

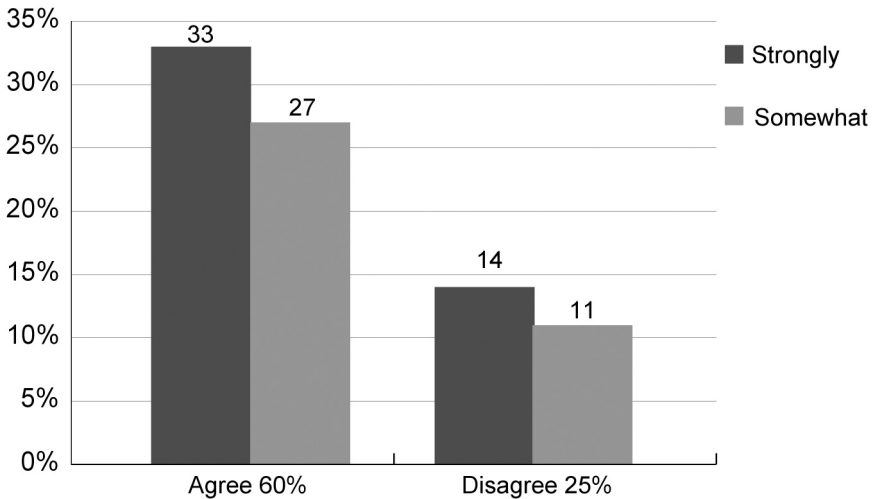
However, a number of problems specifically facing women are also mentioned, which collectively rank as high as poverty in the public mind. These include education (8%), women's rights (6%), rape (5%), family problems (5%) and domestic violence (4%). Some 7% of vot-

ers mention problems linked with bad morals, volunteering “too much freedom,” and “prostitution.” Taken together, these are mentioned by 35% of the electorate, almost as many as mention economic problems confronting women.

Almost a quarter of voters (23%) do not feel women face any problems, while another quarter are unsure what problems face women, if any.

Gender Issues in Politics and Elections

Some people say women as a group have common needs, like those of religious groups, farmers, or business, that should be expressed in politics and elections. Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.89]



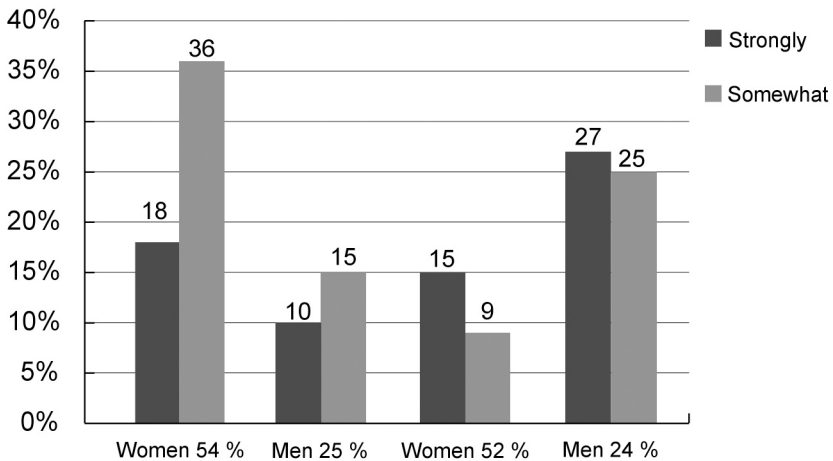
Most Indonesian voters view women as an important political interest group, even though only 46% would actually consider voting for a woman candidate (see Political Tolerance-Candidates from Unpopular Groups). Six voters in ten (60%) agree that women as a group have common needs that should be expressed in politics and elections, while 25% disagree. More than a quarter of the electorate (27%) feels strongly that gender issues are important in politics. Those most supportive of women as an interest group tend to be younger and educated, including

68% of those under age 35, seven out of ten younger women (71%) and voters with a high school education or more (71%). Here, too, there is almost no gender gap. Some 61% of women and 59% of men see women as sharing an important political interest.

Some 15% of voters are unsure about gender interests in politics. They tend to be older and less educated, including older women (27%), voters without primary school education (32%), lower income voters (28%), and those without access to broadcast media (45%).

Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision

If two equally qualified people ran for the DPR, and one stressed women's needs and the other stressed other things, which would you prefer? Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.90]



Voters split on gender lines over support for a candidate for the DPR who emphasized women's needs. All other things equal, women were more likely to support a women's needs candidate by a massive margin, 54% to 24%, over a candidate stressing other things. Among men, on the other hand, 52% would prefer a candidate who stressed other issues, while only 25% would prefer a candidate who stressed women's needs.

The strongest supporters of a women's needs candidate included young women (57%) as well as educated women (60%). Symmetrically, the strongest supporters of candidates stressing other issues were young men (58%) and educated men (59%).

These findings suggest that overtly gender-based appeals may not be effective in the present state of Indonesian public opinion. The sexes are polarized in a way that the gains of such appeals among women might be balanced by losses among men.

However, this does not mean that "women's issues" are not potential vote-winners in elections. Since both women and men recognize the problems facing women, appeals focused on those issues – rather than gender identity – may well garner support.

Women's Issues and the Vote

Here are some ideas candidates might present. Please let me know which, if any, would make you more likely to vote for them. Which one of these would be the most important to you? [Q.91/92]

| | More Likely to vote for them | Most Important to you |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| More education for girls | 59% | 22% |
| Family planning | 59% | 14% |
| Small loans to help women start businesses | 45% | 16% |
| Listening to what women want | 44% | 11% |
| Opposing beating of wives and children | 36% | 12% |
| More jobs for women | 36% | 9% |
| Laws forbidding discrimination | 32% | 7% |
| None of these | 8% | 6% |

The poll findings suggest that a number of women's issues can help build support for political candidates. We asked voters their reactions to seven issues concerning women that could be raised in Indonesian political campaigns. Four were potent enough to make at least 40% of the voters more likely to support candidates who would raise them. All motivated at least one-third of the voters to back candidates who would present them.

Interestingly, when these ideas were presented, they received almost identical support from women and men. Although men would not respond positively to candidates who labeled themselves as "women's needs" candidates, they react favorably to candidates who speak to the problems facing women and their families. (After all, women make up part of their families too!)

The two most powerful issues are more education for girls and family planning. These were the two issues on which a majority of the electorate (59% and 53% respectively) would be more likely to vote for the candidate who raised them. Their appeal was particularly strong among younger voters and those who have completed primary school. However, they were the top two issues on the list almost across the board – even among voters who wore Islamic garb, were highly observant, or had attended religious schools.

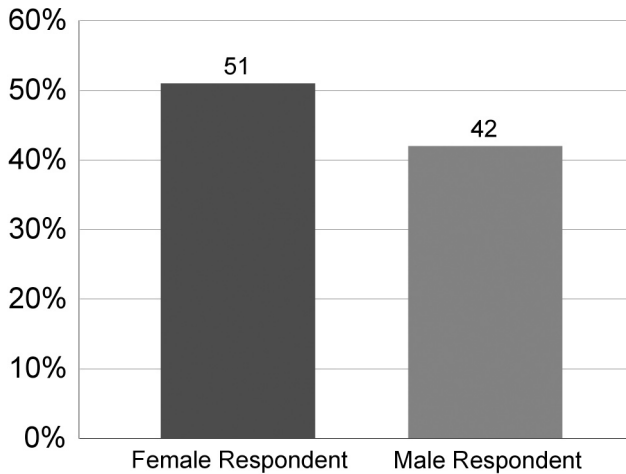
Other "women's issues" that appeal to the Indonesian electorate include small loans for women's businesses (45% would be more likely to vote for a candidate who raised this idea), listening to what women want (44%), more jobs for women (36%), opposing domestic violence (36%) and anti-discrimination laws (32%). Once more, these measures receive support from men and women across the religious and political spectrum.

The fact that girls' education and family planning represent items of social consensus regarding the needs of women and families in Indonesia is one of major importance for Indonesian politics and society today.

Far from wishing to restrict women to ignorance and their traditional role of motherhood, Indonesian women and men of all political stripes want women to have access to a wider world through schooling and to have access to family planning services. Those who assume that the increase in Islamic politics or religious garb in Indonesia equals support for conservative and traditionalist gender roles are mistaken. Whether men or women, old or young, supporters of nationalist or Islamic parties, Indonesians want women to be included in the public sphere. Politicians wise enough to recognize this could reap considerable support.

Voting for Women Candidates

*For any office, would you ever consider voting for a woman?
(% who would consider voting for a woman) [Q.76 base 528]*



Women candidates running as individuals face a difficult environment in Indonesian politics. Fewer than half of Indonesians (46%) would consider voting for a woman for any political office.

On this issue, there is a significant gender gap. Some 51% of women would consider voting for a woman, compared to just 42% of men.

Nonetheless, the proportion willing to vote for a woman is extremely low in both sexes.

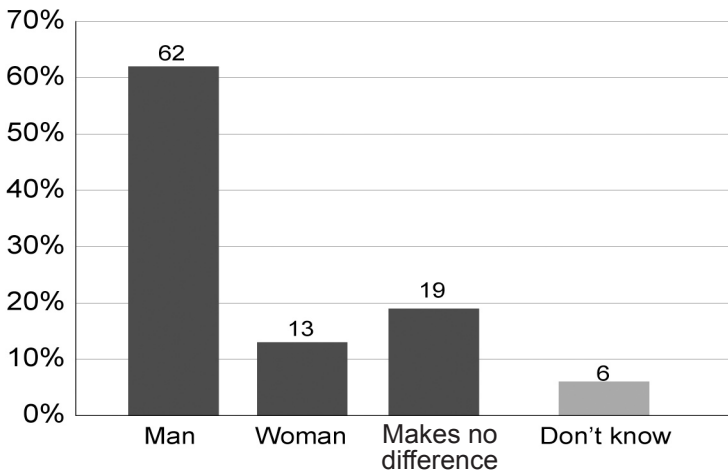
Women, younger voters, secondary educated, and upper income voters are more likely to consider a woman candidate. So are those who did not attend Islamic schools and are sympathetic to women's needs candidates. Most voters identified with the PDI-Perjuangan, led by the country's female President, indicated a willingness to vote for a woman.

Men, older voters, those with less than primary schooling, lower income voters, and voters without TV were less likely to back a woman. The same was true of voters who had attended Islamic religious schools or wore Islamic garb. Golkar supporters were also unlikely to vote for women.

Thus, women running as individuals face an uphill battle among many large segments of the electorate. Placement on a party list may therefore be a more effective way to increase women's political representation.

Gender and Electoral Representation

Other things equal, would you prefer to have a woman or a man represent you in the DPR? [Q.94]



Most Indonesian voters – including majorities of both women and men – would rather be represented by a man in the DPR, though men are likelier to prefer this. More than six of ten Indonesians (62%) favor a man representing them in the DPR, all other things being equal. This includes seven of ten men (72%) and over half of women voters (53%).

Only 13% of the voters prefer a female candidate for the DPR. Women candidates can make the most inroads with women (22%) and younger voters (17%). More than a quarter of younger women (26%) and three in ten secondary-educated women (29%) prefer a woman candidate.

One-fifth of the electorate (19%) believes that gender makes no difference with regards to representation in the DPR. These voters are likely to be older, educated and wealthier. Another 6% are unsure whether they prefer a man or a woman representing them.

The preference for male representation presents a hurdle for women candidates in direct individual competition against male candidates in Indonesia. The effects of this barrier are reduced by the party list system in effect, since individuals are not in direct competition for most offices. However, the opportunity to vote for individuals as well as parties may well favor male candidates, to judge by our results.

Why Prefer Male/Female Representative?

*If prefer man: Why do you say that?
[Q.95 base 137](of 62% who
prefer a man in DPR)*

- Men are stronger/tougher 67%
- Men are natural leaders 35%
- Men are smarter 19%
- Men are more interested
in politics 5%
- Women have family
responsibilities 5%
- Other 8%
- Don't know 4%

*If prefer woman: Why do you say
that?[Q.96 base 659](of 13% who
prefer a woman in DPR)*

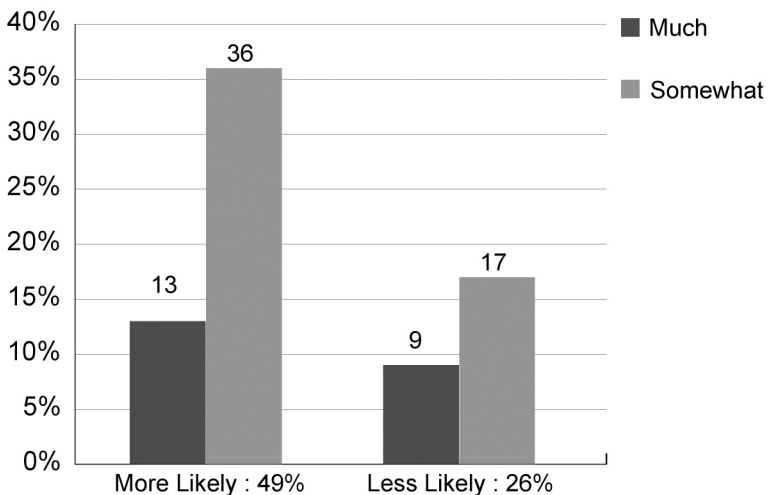
- To give a voice to women 37%
- For women's equality 28%
- Women are better
suited for certain issues 17%
- Women are more responsive
to needs of society 14%
- Women are more ethical 12%
- Women are more responsible 5%
- Other 16%
- Don't know 9%

The principal reason why male representatives are preferred is that men are considered stronger, tougher and firmer. Some two-thirds (67%) of those expressing an inclination in favor of a man in the DPR gave this reason for their choice. Men are also deemed “natural leaders” (35%) and are regarded as smarter (19%). There were almost no differences on the reasons between women and men who preferred men to represent them in the DPR.

Those who favor women representatives have a myriad of reasons justifying their decision. For women, the most important reason is to give a voice to women, while for the small proportion of men who prefer women in the DPR, the principal reason is that women are less corrupt and more responsive to social needs. After this both men and women cite advancing women’s equality and women’s greater suitability to certain issues as reasons for voting for them.

Support for Parties With a 30% Women’s Quota

There is a new law that suggests that all political parties make 30% of their candidates for the DPR and DPRDs women. If a party does would you be more or less likely to vote for them? Much or somewhat? [Q.97]



Indonesians would favor parties who set aside 30% of the places on their DPR and DPRD lists for women. Although this may seem paradoxical, given their preference for male candidates over females at the individual level, it is not. Many voters who prefer men to women in face-to-face competition also appear to feel that the proportion of women in the legislatures should nonetheless be increased.

Almost half of Indonesian voters (49%) say they would be more likely to support a political party that implements a 30% quota for women candidates, as suggested by a recent Indonesian law. Just over a quarter (26%) are less likely to back a party with a gender quota, while 22% are unsure. In other words, such quotas are likely to yield a net gain of votes for political parties that adopt them. This was true among supporters of every political party.

Women (53%), younger voters (59%) and educated voters (60%) all are more likely to vote for a party with a gender quota. Younger women (64%) and educated women (70%) are the most likely to back a party that nominates women for 30% of legislative positions.

Throughout the electorate, the extent to which parties would reap increased support through a women's quota was impressive. This was the case in almost every social group in the survey. (The only exceptions were illiterates, those without TV, and urban men over 35.) Otherwise, net gains were reported across the board. This was even true among men with primary school or less, farmers, the lowest income voters, religiously observant voters and those in Islamic garb, although the gains were smallest in these groups.

Thus, following the legal recommendation to establish a women's quota could pay off handsomely, particularly in women's votes, for parties which do so.

Summary

- The most pressing issue women face in Indonesia is the economy, specifically poverty and jobs. However, gender-related issues, including education, women's rights, rape, family problems, domestic violence, and sexual morality, rate almost equal concern, taken together. Women and men agree on the issues facing women.
- Women are seen as a legitimate interest group for politics and elections, but voters are split – along gender lines – on whether they would support a “women's needs” candidate over a candidate who emphasizes different issues.
- Office-seekers might not gain by explicitly labeling themselves “women's needs” candidates, but issues concerning women and families, particularly girls' education and family planning, can win many votes. Irrespective of partisan or religious outlook, Indonesians want to see women advancing in the modern world, not retreating into a traditional past.
- Most Indonesian voters would prefer a male representative in the DPR to a female one and less than half the electorate would consider voting for a woman for any political office. Both women and men consider men to be stronger, tougher, smarter and natural leaders.
- Despite their preference for male representatives over women if forced to choose directly, Indonesians favor increasing women's representation in the DPR and DPRD. A substantial proportion would be more likely to support a political party that applied the 30% quota for women candidates.

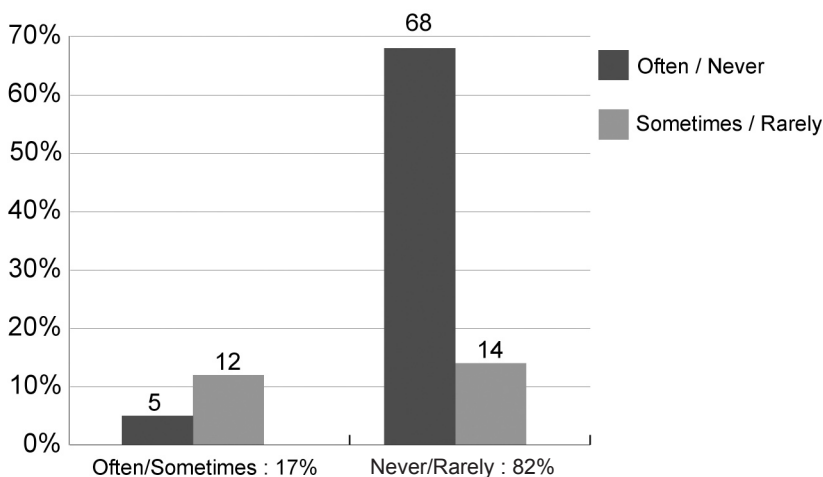
CHAPTER 7

Crime, Justice, Corruption

1. Concern for Personal Safety
2. Violent Crime
3. Confidence in Law Enforcement
4. Perceived Incidence of Government Corruption
5. Incidence of Bribery
6. Summary

Concern for Personal Safety

How often do you fear for your own personal safety or security or for that of your family? Often, sometimes, rarely, or never? [Q.36]



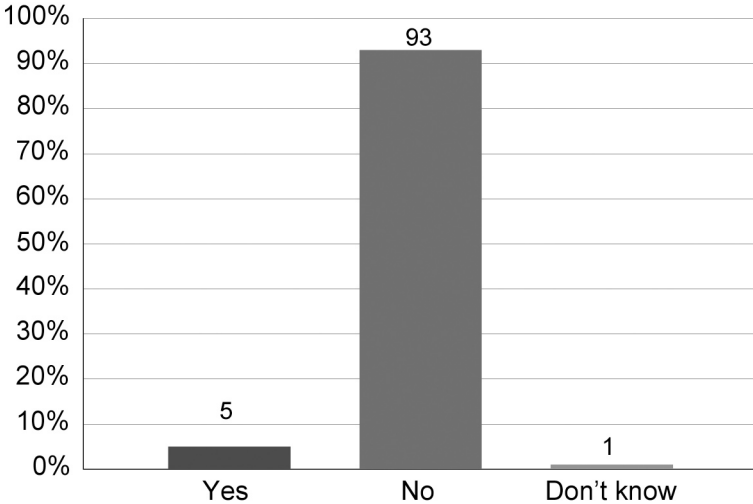
Despite the increase in violent crime reported in recent years, Indonesians generally do not fear for their personal safety or the safety of their family. Eight of ten voters (83%) hardly ever feel insecure, including two-thirds (68%) who are never concerned about personal security. Just 17% of voters worry about their safety often or sometimes, including only five percent (5%) who are often afraid. The highest level of worry was reported by residents of cities of more than one million, of whom 27% were often or sometimes afraid, and 7% were often afraid.

While this may be a new and unwelcome level of insecurity for Indonesians, it remains relatively low by international standards. To offer a benchmark for comparison: some 61% of residents of New York City and 25% to 45% of those in the surrounding suburbs say they often or sometimes fear for their personal security⁶.

⁶ Craig Charney, *Long Islanders: Who Are We? A Quality of Life Survey of Long Island and the New York Metropolitan Region* (Garden City, Rauch Foundation/New School University: 2003).

Violent Crime

Have you or has anyone in your family been a victim of physical aggression or of some criminal act in the home or community in the past year? [Q37]



Some 5% of Indonesians report that they themselves or members of their family have been victims of violent crime or some criminal act in the home or community in the past year. More than nine out of ten voters (95%) do not report any experience with crime in the last year. Again, while this may represent an increase over the past, it is still a fairly low level by international standards. To compare once more to the United States: 17% of Americans reported being the victim of violent crimes (2%) or crimes against property (15%) in 2002⁷.

⁷Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Survey, 2002 (Washington, DC, US Department of Justice: 2003)

Confidence in Law Enforcement

*Now I'd like to ask you about people whose job is enforcing the law. Tell me if you are very confident, fairly confident, not very confident, or not confident at all that they will enforce the law fairly.
[Q.38-40] [% who are very or fairly confident]*

| | 2003 | 1999 |
|----------------------|------|------|
| The Police | 49% | 50% |
| The Courts | 56% | 54% |
| The Religious Courts | 74% | NA |

Indonesians have a fair amount of confidence in official law enforcement, although substantial proportions are critical of its performance.

Despite much public criticism of law enforcement over the past four years, confidence in the police has remained almost unchanged. Some 49% say they are very or fairly confident that the police will enforce the law fairly, compared to 50% in 1999. In contrast, 43% say they are not confident in the fairness of the police. Suspicion of the police is more common among big-city voters (55% among residents of cities over 1 million). It is also higher among voters with the most to lose: high school educated voters (49%) and especially high-income voters (60% among those with monthly expenditure over Rp1,500,000).

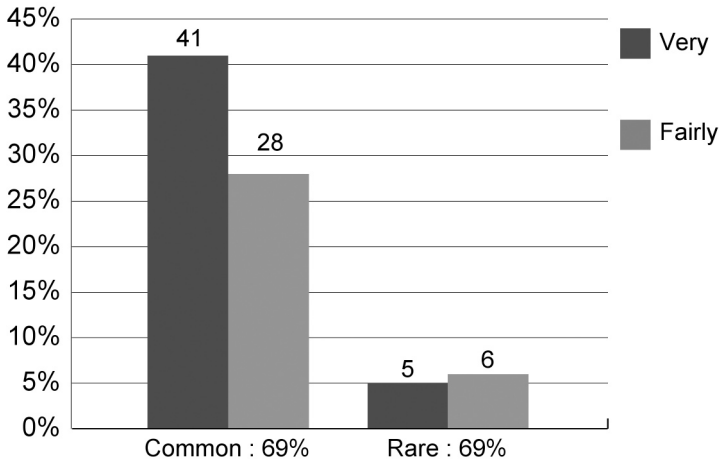
Overall the Indonesian courts are perceived with confidence; 56% of the public believes the courts enforce the law fairly, while a third (34%) do not. Once more, high school educated voters (46%) not confident, urban (42%) and high income voters (54%) are less likely to trust the Indonesian state courts.

The religious courts, which deal only with marriage and inheritance, are also well regarded by a substantial majority of Indonesians: 73% express confidence in them, while just 15% lack confidence in their fairness. Younger voters (82%) are particularly confident in the fairness of the religious courts, along with younger women (79%) and the high

school educated. This represents a clear endorsement of the religious courts' performance of their religious roles. However, it should not be assumed that they would be equally well-regarded as judges of civil or criminal matters, or that there is popular support for the extension of their jurisdiction to all civil or criminal affairs.

Perceived Incidence of Government Corruption

How common do you think corruption is among government officials: very common, fairly common, fairly rare, or very rare? [Q34]

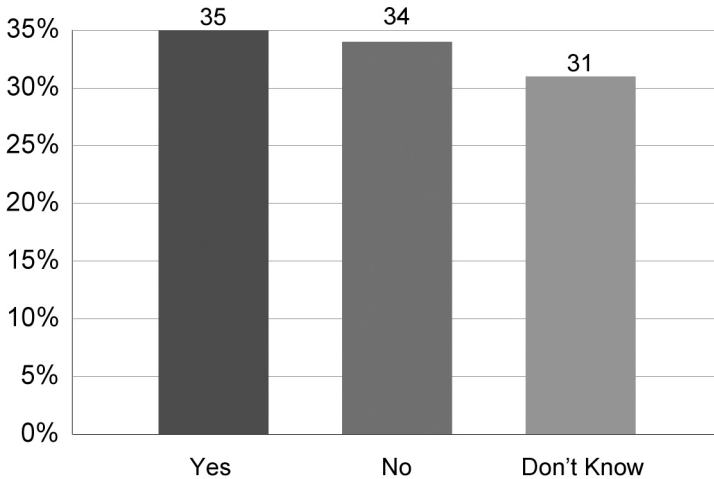


Indonesians believe government corruption is widespread. Nearly seven voters in ten (69%) think corruption among government officials is common. Indeed, 41% say corruption among them is very common. Only 11% of the electorate says that government corruption is rare.

High school educated voters (54%), white collar voters (52%), high income voters (71%), residents of cities over 1 million (63%), and men under 35 (50%), are the most likely to allege that corruption in the government is very common.

Incidence of Bribery

Within the past five years, have you personally known someone who had to bribe a government officer for proper service or fair treatment from the government or police? [Q.35]



Bribery of officials appears to be commonplace in Indonesia. More than a third of voters (35%) say they personally know someone who had to pay a bribe to government or police officers for service or fair treatment within the last five years. Just 34% definitively had no contact with someone involved in bribery. (The remainder – 31% - is uncertain.)

Those most likely to know someone who paid a bribe are white-collar workers (55%), high-income people (54%), the high school educated and residents of cities over one million (both 51%), and men under 35 (45%). Less educated and lower income voters, along with those without TV, are less aware of bribery.

There is almost perfect correspondence between the groups who allege personal knowledge of bribery and those that perceive corruption as common. This suggests that the widespread perception of official corruption is the product of personal experience, as well as press coverage of spectacular cases.

Summary

- Indonesians rarely fear for their personal safety or the safety of their families, despite the increase in crime in recent years.
- Very few are victims of violent crime or crime in their homes.
- Indonesians are fairly confident in the secular courts and police and their views have changed little in the past four years.
- Indonesians have a high level of confidence in the application of religious law by the religious courts. However, it should not be assumed that they would have equal confidence in the enforcement of civil or criminal law by religious courts.
- Most of the public thinks that government corruption is prevalent in Indonesia.
- More than a third of Indonesians say they know someone who paid a bribe to officials or police in the last five years. This suggests that the perception of official corruption reflects personal experience as well as press coverage of major cases.

CHAPTER 8

Information Sources, Media Use and Language

1. Introduction: Voter Education Sources and Media
2. Information Sources: National Events
3. Information Sources: Election Procedures
4. TV Exposure
5. Time of TV Viewing
6. TV Station Exposure
7. Radio Exposure
8. Time of Radio Listening
9. Radio Station Exposure
10. Preferred Information Sources: Election Procedures
11. Preferred Sponsoring Organization: Electoral Information
12. Language Use
13. Language Preferences for Voter Education
14. Summary

Introduction -- Voter Education Sources and Media

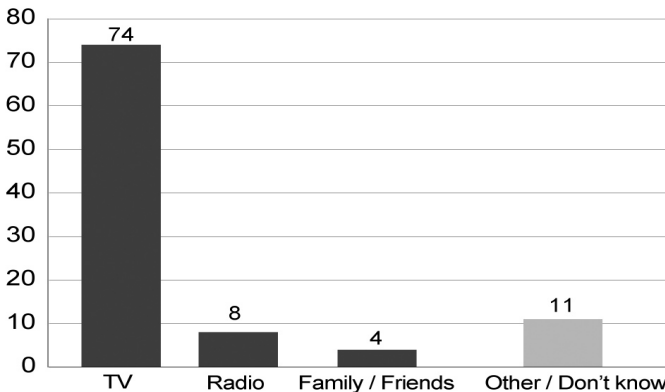
This section of the report examines the sources and media that can be used to deliver voter and civic education to the groups that need them. It can be used in conjunction with the information in the Appendix to do detailed media planning for the civic and voter education campaigns.

In this section, and in the Appendices, the primary targets of the campaigns are defined as follows:

- **All:** The entire population, the target for the generalized voter education and civic education campaigns.
- **Voter education targets:** illiterates, those with less than primary education, women over 35, and non-TV viewers
- **Civic education targets:** illiterates, those with less than primary education, those without access to TV, farmers, and low income voters (spending less than Rp500,000 monthly).

Information Sources: National Events

How do you normally get information about what is happening in the country? [Q10]



Television is the primary source of information for Indonesians, whether it is for information about national events or registering and voting in elections. Three-quarters of the electorate (74%) finds out what is happening in the country from TV. This compares to only 8% for radio and 4% for family and friends. TV is even more dominant compared to four years ago, when it was the main information source for 65% of voters, while the importance of oral sources like friends and family has declined from 13% then.

More than eight of ten younger and secondary-educated voters get current events information from TV. Older, less educated and rural voters have less access to TV, but around six in ten of them still rely on television for current events. One half (50%) of Indonesia's poorest voters get this information from television.

Information Sources: Election Procedures

How have you gotten information about how to register and vote in elections? [Q11]

| | All voters | Voters Ed targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| TV | 46% | 31% | 42% |
| RT/RW | 36% | 41% | 37% |
| Local election organizer | 16% | 14% | 15% |
| Friends/family/neighbour | 14% | 13% | 14% |
| Radio | 10% | 7% | 10% |
| Newspaper | 9% | 4% | 6% |

TV is the leading medium for electoral information, but other sources also matter. Television informs close to half (46%) of voters about registration and elections. The RT/RW leader is the next most likely source

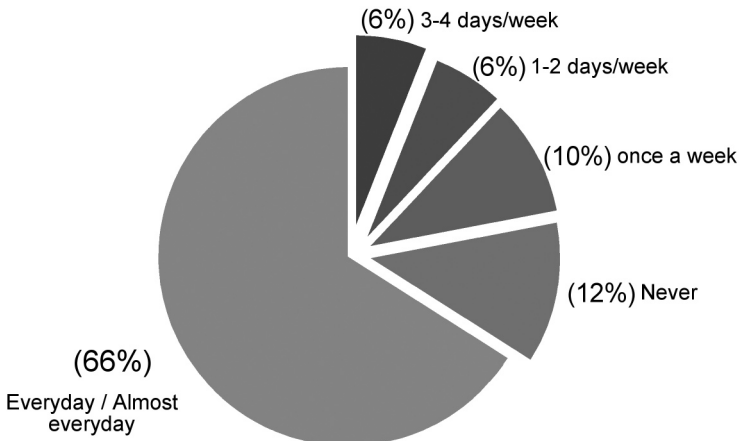
(36%) for election information, followed by the local election organizer/commission (16%) and friends, family and neighbors (14%). Only 10% rely on radio for election information and just eight percent (8%) use the radio to stay up to date on current events.

More than half of men, younger and high-income voters rely on television for registration and election information, along with six in ten voters with post primary school education. Women, especially older women, less educated (primary school education or less) and lower income voters rely for election information on their RT/RW leader as often or more often they do on television. The local election organizer or commission reaches educated men, religious and high income voters most effectively.

Among the small group of voters targeted for voter education information on registration and vote selling, RT/RW leaders are more important election sources than TV. Civic education targets generally resemble all voters, although they are slightly less likely to get information from TV.

TV Exposure

How many days a week do you watch TV? [Q. 4 base 990]

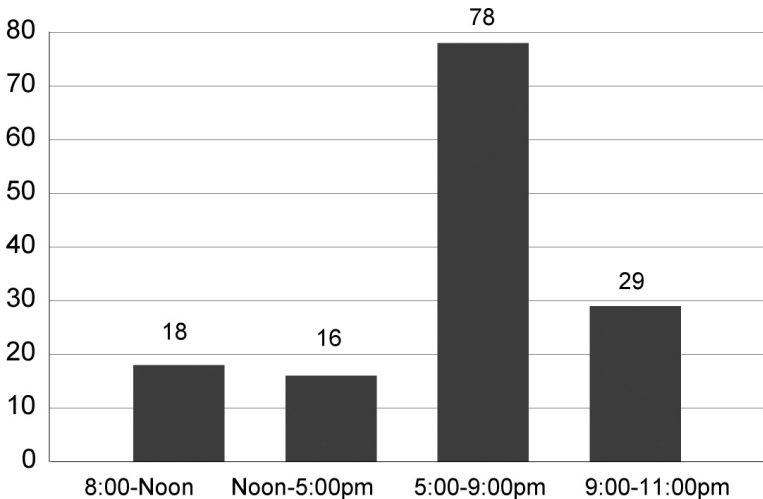


TV remains the most powerful medium for reaching Indonesian voters. Two-thirds of all Indonesians (66%) watch TV every day or almost every day. Only older voters (56% of those aged 50-85), less educated voters (48% of those who did not finish primary school), low income voters (37% of those spending less than Rp300,000 per month) and rural voters have viewership rates significantly below two-thirds.

Twelve percent (12%) of voters watch TV three to four times a week. And 10% of voters watch TV just one or two days a week. Another 12% of Indonesians have access to television less than once a week or never. The majority of those who do not have access to television are between 50-85 years old and lack a primary school education; half of these people are men and half are women.

Time of TV Viewing

*What time of day do you watch TV?
(Respondents who watch TV) [Q. 6 Base 990]*



Early evening is the time to reach the most TV viewers in Indonesia. More than three-quarters (78%) of TV viewers watch during the hours of 5-9pm. This is an especially effective time to reach older women (83%) and less educated voters (86%).

Three in ten Indonesians watch during the later evening hours of 9-11pm. This is a good time to communicate with men (40%), especially young men (46%) and educated men (43%). Many low income voters (37%) also watch TV during this time period.

TV Station Exposure

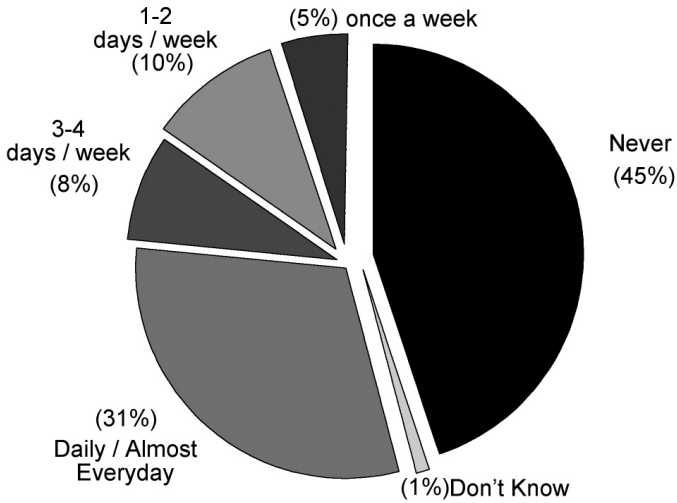
Which TV Station do you watch often?

| | All Voters | Voters Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|----------|------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| INDOSIAR | 45% | 41% | 47% |
| RCTI | 19% | 15% | 16% |
| SCTV | 12% | 11% | 11% |
| Trans TV | 5% | 5% | 5% |
| TVRI | 4% | 3% | 4% |

Nationally, more than four in ten TV viewers (45%) tune in to Indosiar, including half of young voters (51%), young women (51%) and young rural voters (52%). A fifth (19%) watch RCTI, especially young men (25%), educated voters (23%) and wealthy voters (29%). SCTV is the third most-watched TV station (12%). In relation to the target groups, 41% of Voter Education targets watch Indosiar; and 47% of Civic Education target also tunes in.

Radio Exposure

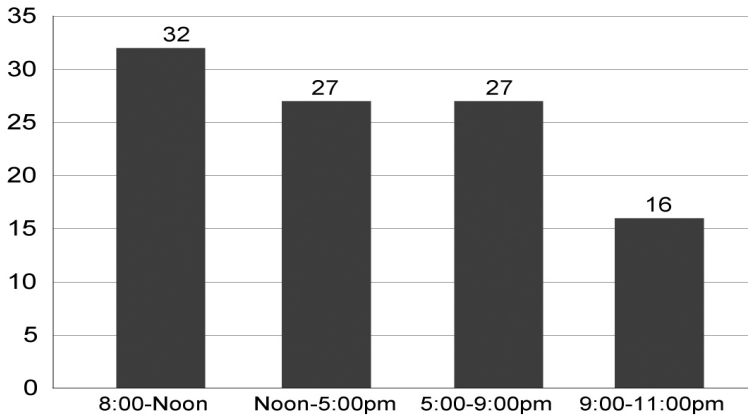
How many days a week do you listen to the radio?
 [Q 7 Base 1056 & 8 Base 579]



Radio is not a very effective means of communicating to most of Indonesian voters. Almost half of the electorate (44%) never listens to the radio and almost a third (30%) listens daily. However, for targeted messages, radio can be useful. Frequent listeners tend to be young, urban and educated, or located in specific areas under-served by TV. Radio can also be useful at the regional or provincial level, since many stations are local.

Time of Radio Listening

*What time of day do you listen to the radio?
(Respondents who listen to the radio) [Q.9 Base 579]*



Radio listenership peaks in mid-morning (32%), levels off at mid-day (27%) and declines toward evening when just 16% tune in. More than six in ten listeners (61%) tune in before noon.

Listenership patterns are similar for the voter and civic education target groups.

Radio Station Exposure

Which radio station do you listen to most often? [Q.8 Base 579]

| | All voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| RRI Daerah | 11% | 16% | 12% |
| RRI Program Pusat | 3% | 4% | 3% |
| Mega Swara | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Suara Giri FM | 2% | 3% | 3% |
| Pop FM | 2% | 2% | 2% |

Unlike television, radio stations are small and local. Only one station enjoys significant national listenership – RRI Daerah (11%). Target groups listen to RRI Daerah at slightly higher rates: 16% of the voter education targets listen, as do 12% of the civic education target group.

Preferred Information Sources: Election Procedures

Now I am going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you would like to get information about how to register and vote in elections from that source. [Q.26]

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| • TV | 80% |
| • RT/RW Leaders | 54% |
| • House Visit | 44% |
| • Radio | 37% |
| • Public Meeting | 36% |
| • Newspapers | 33% |
| • Local Election Leader / Committee | 32% |
| • Religious Leader | 31% |
| • TV Drama | 16% |
| • Brochures | 15% |
| • Posters | 14% |
| • Wayang puppet shows | 14% |

With three-quarters of the electorate watching regularly, it is not surprising that television would be the most popular source of information about election procedures. Eight of ten voters (80%) would like to get information about elections from TV. Just over half (54%) of voters would favor information from their RT/RW leader.

Less than half of voters (44%) would find a house visit an appealing way to receive election information. Other acceptable but less popular sources include radio (37%), public meeting (36%), newspapers (33%), the local election leader or commission (32%), and a religious leader (31%).

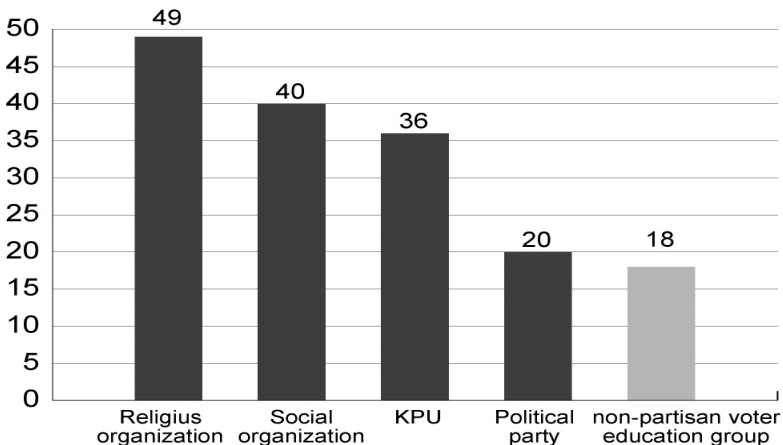
Brochures and posters rate relatively low as information sources, preferred by 15% and 14% respectively. (Posters are particularly low in appeal to illiterate or less than primary educated respondents.) There is not much interest – and less than in 1999 – in receiving election information from sources such as TV dramas (16%) or wayang puppet shows (14%).

These results are consistent with the target groups as well. Television is the preferred source of information for the target groups: 69% in the voter education targets and 78% in the civic education group. The second best source of information would be their RT/RW leader: 62% of the voter education targets chose this, as did 54% of the civic education target group.

For the target groups, the least preferred method would be to disperse information by way of posters (14%) or the internet (2%).

Preferred Sponsoring Organization: Electoral Information

Here are some organizations. For each, tell me if you would like to get information about how to register and vote in elections from that organization. [Q27]



Religious groups and other non-governmental organizations are the preferred sponsoring organizations for electoral education.

Almost half of Indonesians (49%) find a religious organization an appealing and credible source of information about how to register and vote in elections. Older voters (54%), especially older women (58%), older rural women (64%), religious voters (65%), less educated voters (63%) and those without access to TV (57%) approve of a religious source.

Four voters in ten (40%), especially younger, educated voters, prefer a social organization to disseminate registration and election information.

Over a third of the electorate (36%) believes the KPU is an appropriate organization for election information. Men (43%), especially young men (50%), educated voters (53%), high income (56%) and urban voters (44%) prefer hearing about elections from the KPU.

Just a fifth (20%) of voters want to get election information from political parties (especially young educated men) and about the same number (18%) prefer to have non-partisan voter education groups publicize electoral information.

A majority of both target groups prefer to get electoral information from religious organizations: 58% of the voter education target group prefer this, as does 53% of the civic education target group. After religious organizations, both target groups would prefer the information to come from a social organization, and then from the KPU.

Language Use

[Q.1/2/3/28]

| | Mother tongue | Read | Prefer |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|------|--------|
| Bahasa Indonesia | 16% | 91% | 71% |
| Local languages- Not Bahasa Indonesia | 77% | 72% | 28% |

Almost all Indonesians speak Bahasa Indonesia (94%) and nine in ten (91%) are literate in this as well. While just 16% learned Bahasa Indonesia as their first language, seven in ten (71%) prefer that it be used for election communications.

Language Preferences for Voter Education

Top 9 languages Q.1/2/3/28

| | Profer All Voter | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Bahasa Indonesia | 71% | 50% | 64% |
| Javanese | 13% | 23% | 17% |
| Sundanese | 7% | 11% | 8% |
| Madurese | 2% | 4% | 3% |
| Minang | 1% | 2% | 1% |
| Bugis | 1% | 2% | 1% |
| Balinese | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Batak | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Malukunese | 1% | 0% | 1% |

Bahasa Indonesia remains the preferred language for voter education among 71% of the electorate as a whole, which is up 4% from the corresponding proportion in 1999. Of the other languages, the most popular for election material is Javanese, preferred by 13%, and Sundanese, by 7%. Madurese is the preference of 2%, and Balinese, Batak,

Minanag, and Sasak are each preferred by 1%. (Not surprisingly, the proportions preferred vary substantially by region: see the section on Inter-Regional Comparisons.)

Those in the target groups generally chose Bahasa Indonesia, but not as often as the general population. Half (50%) of the voter education target group prefers Bahasa Indonesia; 23% of this target prefers Javanese and 11% prefers Sundanese. In the civic education target group, 64% prefer Bahasa Indonesia, while 17% choose Javanese. Some 8% of the civic education target chooses Sundanese as their preferred language.

Summary

- Even more so than four years ago, television is the primary source of information for Indonesians and the most powerful medium for reaching Indonesian voters.
- A majority of voters watch television daily, with early evening (5pm – 9pm) the prime time to reach viewers. About half of the electorate watches Indosiar.
- TV is the leading medium for electoral information. It informs almost half of Indonesia's voters about registration and elections and most voters would like to get information about elections from TV.
- After TV, voters rely on their local RT/RW leader for election information.
- Very few voters depend on the radio for election information. Those who do listen generally tune into the radio in the morning.
- RRI Daerah is the only station that has a significant national listenership.

CHAPTER 9

Campaign Recommendations

- 1.Voter Education: Phase I, Electoral Processes
- 2.Voter Education: Phase II, Political Institutions and Parties
- 3.Civic Education: Democratic Values and Tolerance
- 4.Conclusion
- 5.Summary
- 6.Appendix Target Group Demographics :
 - Gender & Age*
 - Occupation*
 - Marital Status & Education*
 - Employment & Income*
 - Area & Region*
 - Provinces*

The needs for voter and civic education defined by the survey suggest a campaign with three specific parts. One will focus on voter education oriented towards information about the electoral process itself; another on voter education about political institutions and parties; and the third on civic education about democratic values and political tolerance. Each of these phases will have specific messages, targets, timing, and media, which are outlined below.

Voter Education: Phase I, Electoral Processes

This initial stage of voter education will focus on the mechanics and timing of the various elections in which voters will be called on to participate in 2004, reflecting the low level of knowledge prevalent about them.

The initial phase should direct messages at all voters concerning:

- When and for which offices elections will be held
- The nature and role of the DPD
- Electoral procedures, including how to vote and how winners are chosen
- Registration deadlines
- Election complaint and supervision procedures and bodies.

In addition, certain messages should be directed at a targeted group of voters (illiterates, those with less than primary schooling, those without TV, and women over 35.) These voters need messages telling them that:

- They will need to register again to vote
- They do not have to vote for a party if it gives them a gift or money.

This phase of the campaign should begin immediately, given the low level of knowledge about the elections and the imminence of the electoral calendar.

Key media will include TV and RT/RW leaders, particularly for the all-voters segment of Phase I. Religious and social organizations will also have an important role to play in addition to broadcast media. They will be particularly needed to reach the targeted subset of voters, for whom house visits, literature distribution, and public meetings will be needed, since many do not watch TV.

Voter Education: Phase II, Political Institutions and Parties

The second phase of the voter education drive will focus on giving voters more opportunities to learn what they can expect from political parties and legislative institutions, compare the contestants for office, and voice their wants to them.

This phase of voter education will target all voters, given the low level of awareness of institutional roles and party differences.

One part of Phase II will be a public information campaign, whose messages seek to raise voters' expectations of candidates and elected officials. It will tell voters:

- How they can use campaigns for instrumental and expressive purposes: voicing their views on issues, demanding policies and resources they want, supporting candidates whose views they approve, and seeking to defeat officials of whom they disapprove.
- What DPR members can do and thus what voters can demand of them: expressing voters views, making laws, changing policies, helping them solve problems with the administration, questioning Ministers, obtaining resources, etc.

The other part of Phase II will seek to strengthen connections between voters and contestants for office. It should consist of non-partisan efforts to help voters find out and compare what the parties and candidates think on issues important to them. It may include:

- Broadcasts of ordinary voters asking questions of candidates from the different parties.
- Meetings where ordinary voters ask questions of candidates from the different parties.
- Non-partisan TV broadcasts comparing what the different parties say about Indonesia's problems.

This campaign should be launched when the DPR election campaign is in full swing and after Phase I has had a chance to inform voters of the contest. This would suggest beginning in February or early March and run through the DPR election.

Key media would include TV, radio for DPRD candidates, and public meetings. Sponsors could include the religious or social organizations or the media themselves.

Civic Education: Democratic Values and Tolerance

The civic education campaign in 2004 should focus on promoting democratic values and tolerance in the sectors of the population where these remain relatively weak.

Messages to promote democratic values would include discussion of:

- the characteristics and meaning of democracy
- the principles of democracy
- encouraging women to make their own vote choices
- encouraging political discussion

Messages aimed at increasing political tolerance would seek to build:

- tolerance of meetings by unpopular parties
- tolerance of candidates from out-groups (women, Chinese, etc).

These messages will be directed towards a specific and largely downscale targeted group. They will include illiterates, voters without TV, farmers, voters with less than primary education, and low income voters.

Given the overlap of these groups with the targeted subgroup in Phase I voter education, it would make sense either to run this program after Phase I concludes (or to run them together if they overlap.)

This program should begin when the election campaign is in full swing and the electorate focusing on elections. It could be rolled-out in February or March together with the Phase II voter education drive, but would continue to the end of the presidential election process.

As with the voter education targets, the most important medium will be television. However, there is a key role for religious and social organizations, particularly in the personal contact required through house visits or public meetings with groups where broadcast penetration is weak. This will also involve an emphasis on reaching voters in rural and outlying areas, not just in the big cities and largest islands.

Conclusion

The voter and civic education campaigns needed for Indonesia's 2004 elections are different from those in the first democratic elections in 1999. In the first vote, the priority for voter education was assuring the voters that the elections would be free and fair, unlike those under Suharto's New Order regime⁸. This time, voter education is needed to explain the changes that have occurred in the electoral system, so that

⁸ See Indonesia National Voter Education Survey (Jakarta, The Asia Foundation, 1999).

voters understand how the system now works, as well as promoting issue-based electoral competition, so that they feel they can make a difference. Civic education needs have evolved beyond the most elementary – the meaning of democracy, women’s political autonomy, and the tolerance of opposing parties. They now include democratic principles and the acceptance of candidates from unpopular groups. In short, in 2004, the priority for voter education in Indonesia is no longer establishing the credibility of the electoral process in a founding election, but promoting the consolidation of democracy in a context where free elections are an established fact.

Summary

- We suggest a voter education campaign with two phases, overlapping with a civic education drive.
- The first phase of the voter education campaign will focus on mechanics and timing of the elections, including registration of voters. It will be oriented towards all voters and should begin immediately.
- A targeted sub-group of low-end voters will receive additional information about the need to register and discouraging vote selling.
- TV, RT/RW, and religious and social organizations will all have roles to play in this campaign.
- The second phase of the campaign will focus on helping prepare voters to take advantage of the campaign period, by informing them what they can expect from campaigns and elected representatives and offering them opportunities to pose questions to and compare parties and candidates. This phase will begin in February or March and be oriented towards all voters.

- This phase of the campaign will involve TV, radio, and public meetings.
- A civic education drive targeted towards downscale voters should also be launched. Its aim will be to promote awareness of democratic values and increase political tolerance. It should also begin in February and run through the end of the Presidential election cycle.
- This phase will call upon TV and religious and social organizations to conduct house visits and public meetings.

Appendix: Target Group Demographics

Gender & Age

| | All Voters | Voters Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|---------------|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Gender</i> | | | |
| Male | 50% | 34% | 46% |
| Female | 50% | 66% | 54% |
| <i>Age</i> | | | |
| Under 25 | 25% | 8% | 23% |
| 25-34 | 27% | 12% | 25% |
| 35-49 | 27% | 43% | 30% |
| 50 & over | 21% | 37% | 23% |

Occupation

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|----------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| Occupation | | | |
| Farmer (own load) | 27% | 34% | 33% |
| Laborer domestic | 14% | 15% | 15% |
| Small business owner | 14% | 15% | 12% |
| Farm laborer | 12% | 15% | 15% |
| Skilled worker | 12% | 6% | 10% |
| Sales/office worker | 6% | 2% | 3% |
| Informal sales | 4% | 4% | 3% |
| Trade | 4% | 5% | 4% |
| Other | 6% | 3% | 3% |

Marital Status & Education

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-----------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Marital status</i> | | | |
| Single | 17% | 7% | 13% |
| Married | 83% | 93% | 87% |
| <i>Education</i> | | | |
| None | 7% | 17% | 8% |
| Primary School | 52% | 68% | 60% |
| Junior/High | 37% | 15% | 30% |
| University | 4% | 1% | 2% |

Employment & Income

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|--------------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Economic & Activity</i> | | | |
| Working | 59% | 60% | 60% |
| Non-working | 41% | 40% | 40% |
| Housewife | 86% | 93% | 89% |
| Retired | 2% | 2% | 15% |
| Student | 4% | 0% | 25% |
| Unemployed | 8% | 6% | 85% |
| <i>Income per month</i> | | | |
| Under Rp.300.000 | 10% | 16% | 13% |
| Rp.500.000 - 1.000.000 | 31% | 31% | 38% |
| Rp.300.000 - 500.000 | 42% | 39% | 42% |
| Rp 1 - 1,5 million | 9% | 7% | 4% |
| Over 1,5 million | 6% | 5% | 3% |

Area & Region

| | All voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|--------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Area type</i> | | | |
| City 1 Mill + | 15% | 11% | 11% |
| City 250k - 1 Mill | 22% | 19% | 19% |
| City 50k - 250k | 6% | 5% | 6% |
| Urban<50 K | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Rural | 56% | 64% | 64% |
| <i>Island</i> | | | |
| Java | 61% | 64% | 64% |
| Sumatra | 20% | 17% | 17% |
| Sulawesi | 7% | 8% | 7% |
| Kalimantan | 5% | 4% | 5% |
| Papua | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Other Islands | 7% | 5% | 7% |

Provinces

| | All voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|---------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| Bali | 2% | 1% | 2% |
| West N. Tenggara | 2% | 1% | 2% |
| East N. Tenggara | 1% | 4% | 2% |
| West Kalimantan | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Central Kalimantan | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| South Kalimantan | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Central Kalimantan | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| North Sulawesi | 1% | 2% | 1% |
| Central Sulawesi | 1% | 0% | 1% |
| South Sulawesi | 3% | 5% | 4% |
| South East Sulawesi | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| Maluku | 1% | 0% | 1% |
| Papua | 0% | 1% | 1% |
| Gorontalo | 1% | 0% | 1% |

Provinces

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-----------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| North Sumatra | 6% | 3% | 4% |
| West Sumatra | 2% | 3% | 2% |
| Riau | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Jambi | 1% | 1% | 1% |
| South Sumatra | 4% | 4% | 4% |
| Bengkulu | 1% | 0% | 1% |
| Lampung | 3% | 3% | 3% |
| Jakarta | 4% | 3% | 3% |
| West Java | 18% | 18% | 19% |
| Central Java | 15% | 19% | 17% |
| Yogyakarta | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| East Java | 17% | 20% | 19% |
| Banten | 4% | 2% | 4% |
| Bangka Belitung | 1% | 1% | 1% |

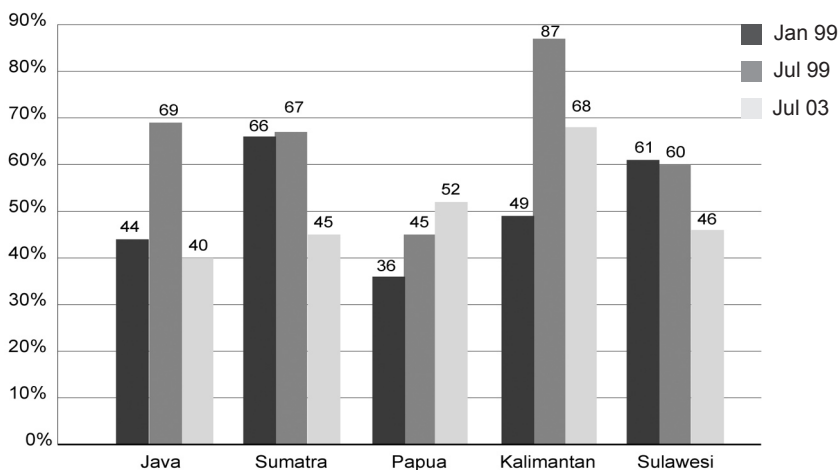
THE REGIONAL REPORT

Inter-Regional Comparison

- Direction of the Country
- Indonesia's Biggest Problems
- Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
- Knowledge of Electoral Procedures
- Knowledge of Registration Requirements
- Resolution of Election Disputes
- Meaning of Democracy
- Knowledge of Democratic Principles
- Women Making Their Own Choice
- Political Party Tolerance
- Information Sources: Election Procedures
- TV Exposure
- Radio Exposure
- Language Preferences

Direction of the Country

*Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction?
[Q.29] (percentage who answered “right direction”)*



There are substantial contrasts in mood from one region of Indonesia to another.

The mood in Sulawesi (where 46% say the country is headed in the right direction) and Sumatra (45%) is similar to the national mood. (Overall, 44% of Indonesians feel the country is headed in the right direction.) However, these regions were considerably more positive in 1999. Right direction responses in Sulawesi are down by 15 points compared to our post-election poll and almost as much from the pre-election survey. The drop in positive responses in Sumatra since the 1999 polls is around 20 points.

The Papua result, where 52% say the country is headed in the right direction, is better than the post-election result by 7 points, the only region where this is the case. Attitudes there are also 16 points more positive than in the pre-election poll in 1999. Positive responses in Kalimantan have fallen by 19 points since July 1999, although they are still 19 points higher than in January of that year.

The mood in Java is slightly more uncertain and pessimistic than the national average. Four Javanese in ten (40%) think the country is headed in the right direction, while 35% feel it is headed the wrong way and a quarter (25%) are unsure. These figures represent a 4-point decline since January 1999 and a 29-point drop since July 1999, the largest for any region.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

The economy dominates voters' concerns nationwide, with little difference among the regions.

Six voters in ten in Sumatra and Kalimantan (61% respectively) worry about the economy (close to the national average of 59%). The economy is only slightly less dominant in Sulawesi (54%), Papua (51%) and Java (50%).

Violence is most worrisome in Papua (28%), Sulawesi (26%), Kalimantan and Sumatra (24% each) and less so in Java (18%).

The Aceh conflict is most troubling among voters in Papua, another area that has been troubled by violence involving separatists and security forces. There, 20% mention it as one of Indonesia's top two problems.

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

In every part of the country, the Indonesian electorate is poorly informed about the 2004 national elections.

Voters in Java, where only 8% chose April 2004, and Sumatra (9%) are the least informed about the correct date of the elections. Those in Kalimantan (15%), Sulawesi (13%) and Papua (19%) are more aware, but even in those regions most voters still need education about the elections. There is no a single region where the proportion who know that the election is planned for next April is more than 20%.

Seven Indonesians in ten (71% nationally) are unsure which offices will be the subject of voting in the coming contest. Regionally, the highest proportion unaware were the voters of Sumatra at 81%.

Two-thirds of voters (65%) are unsure what the DPD is or have heard nothing about it; the highest proportion is found in Papua, including almost three-quarters of the voters (73%).

Less than half of all voters in every region don't know the offices that will be contested in the elections and are uncertain of the role and function of the DPD.

Knowledge of Electoral Procedures

The majority of voters are confused about whether they will be casting votes for a party, a candidate or both in the next DPR election, irrespective of region.

The proportion of voters aware that they will be able to cast a ballot both for a party and a candidate is under 30% in every region. The highest is in Kalimantan and Sumatra, where 29% of the electorate is aware of these choices, and the lowest is in Papua, where just 18% of the voters know about them.

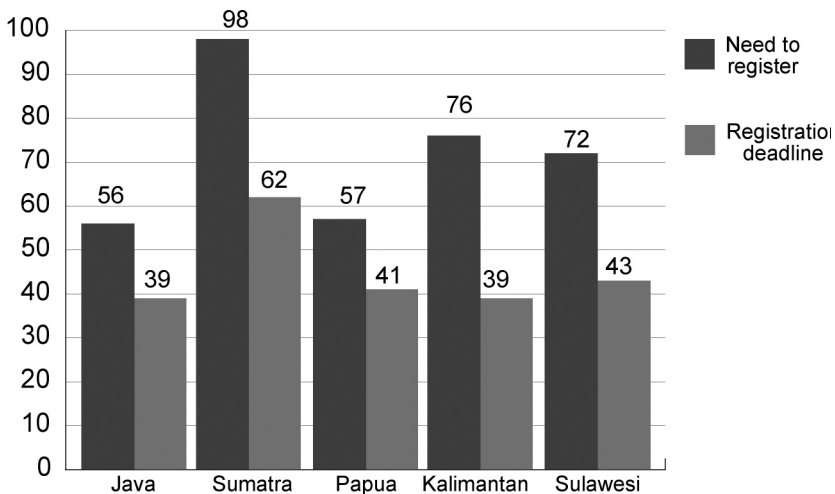
Familiarity with the procedure for designating the winners in each district from party lists is almost nil in every region.

Nationally, six voters in ten (61%) are aware the people will choose Indonesia's next president directly; Kalimantan voters are the best-informed (69% aware of the direct election), while those in Sulawesi (53%) and Papua (54%) are the least-informed.

But everywhere, few are sure what will happen if no presidential candidate receives a majority of the vote. Sumatran voters (25%) are most likely to believe a run-off would ensue, while Sulawesi voters (14%) and Papuans (20%) are the most likely to think the top candidate would win. But there is no region where a majority can correctly state the procedure to be followed.

Knowledge of Registration Requirements

The press has reported that elections for the DPR will be held in April 2004. Do you think anyone will need to register in order to vote in these elections? [Q.44]. Do you happen to know if people can register up to election day, or will there be a deadline after which they can't register? [Q.46]



There are significant regional differences in awareness of the need for voter registration and thus for information on this topic.

Sumatran voters (98%) are the best informed about the need for voter registration – it appears to be a non-issue there. However, only 57% of Papuan voters know they must register again. Awareness in Java (79%), Kalimantan (76%) and Sulawesi (72%) runs slightly below the national average of 83%. Significant registration information efforts will be needed in those regions.

Just over four in ten Indonesians (43%) know that there is a registration deadline. Here, too, there are regional disparities. Sumatra's voters (62%) are the most aware of a deadline, while Java and Kalimantan voters (39% respectively) are the least aware. Substantial percentages of Kalimantan voters (25%) and Papua voters (31%) believe voters can register up until Election Day. With at least one-third of voters unaware of the deadline, this will be an issue in all regions.

Resolution of Election Disputes

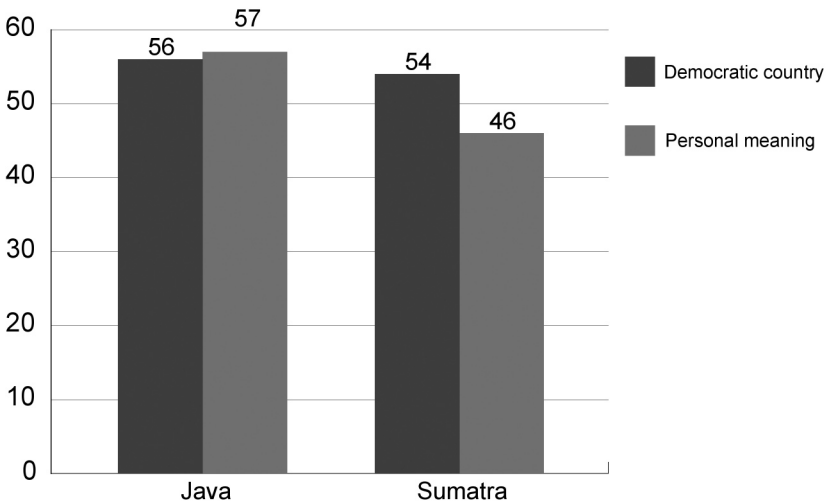
Indonesian voters around the country are unfamiliar with election management organizations. More than three-quarters (77%) have not heard of the KPU or don't know what the organization does. More than two-thirds (68%) are unaware of the Panwaslu. Papua voters are the least familiar with these organizations while Sumatra voters are the most familiar.

There is also confusion about how to respond to election irregularities across the regions. Just under a quarter of the voters nationally (23%) would go to the local election committee with a complaint. Sumatra's voters are most likely to chose this route, but even there, no more than 27% would do so.

Over one-fourth of Indonesians nationally (27%) are most comfortable going to their RT/RW leader to report election irregularities. Even larger percentages of voters in Sumatra (31%), Sulawesi (34%) and Kalimantan (38%) would do so. Some fifteen percent (15%) would take a complaint to the village head. Sulawesi voters (36%) would be the likeliest to do so. Overall, just nine percent (9%) would go to the police. The only regions where substantially higher proportions would do so are Kalimantan (21%) and Papua (41%) where voters are much more likely to see law enforcement as the correct channel for election irregularities. Election monitors (9% nationally) are another channel for complaints; Kalimantan voters (14%) are most likely to seek out election monitors with a problem.

Meaning of Democracy

*If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?
[Q.67] What, if anything, is the most important thing that a democracy
in Indonesia will bring you personally? [Q.68] (Percent who don't know)*



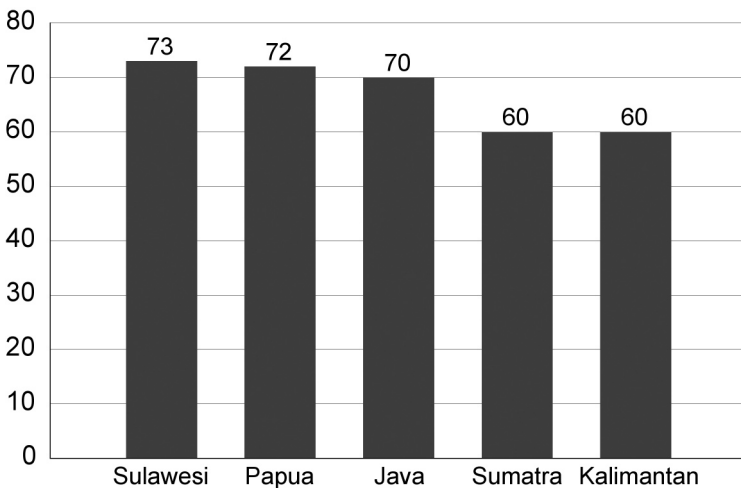
Nationally, some 53% of Indonesians cannot suggest any characteristics of a democratic country, and 52% cannot say what democracy offers them personally. While there are some regional differences on these questions, in every region at least one-third is unable to offer any characteristics of a democratic country and at least 40% are unaware of what democracy offers them personally.

The proportions unable to respond to both questions are just above the national average in Java (56% and 57% respectively). Some 54% in Sumatra don't know any characteristics of democracy, but only 45% can think of nothing that democracy will bring them. In the other regions, Kalimantan, Papua and Sulawesi, there were too few cases available for meaningful analysis, as this question was asked only of a quarter of the sample.

Knowledge of Democratic Principles

Democratic Knowledge Index

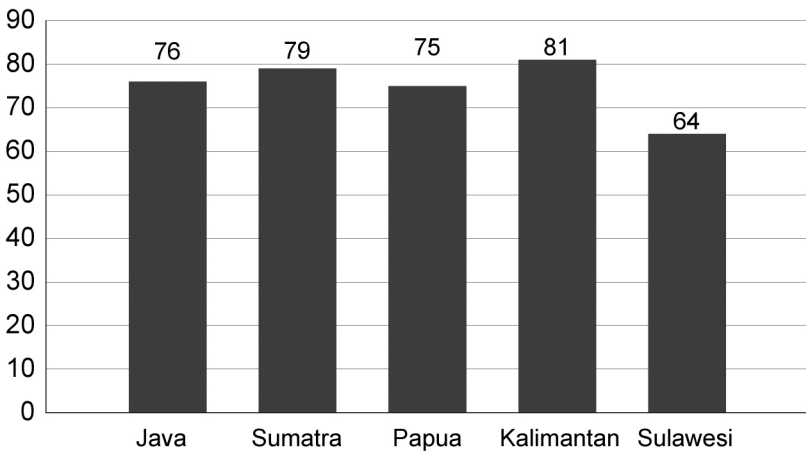
*[Based on responses to questions 69-75]% with
Low Democratic Knowledge Index Scores (0-3 correct answers)*



Across all the regions, the proportion familiar with more than three out of seven key principles of democracy was low. To construct a democratic principles index, we asked whether voters thought equality before the law, multi-party elections, press freedom, freedom of dress and association, public debate on legislation, civilian control of the military, and freedom of religion were part of democracy. In every region, three-fifths or more of the public recognized three or fewer of these principles as integral to democracy. The highest proportions to do so were in Sulawesi (73% recognized three or less) and Papua (72%), but even in the best-informed regions, Sumatra and Kalimantan, some 60% of the voters did not recognize more than three of these basic principles of democracy.

Women Making Their Own Choice

Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband?[Q.93]

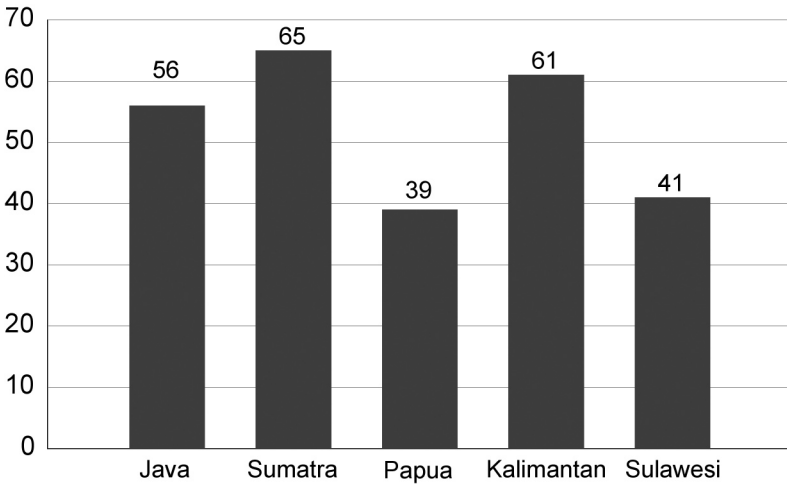


Three-quarters of Indonesians (75%) support a married woman making her own voting decisions. There are regional differences on this issue, but they are relatively modest.

Kalimantan (81%) and Sumatra voters (79%) are the most supportive of women's political autonomy, while Sulawesi voters are the least supportive (64%).

Political Party Tolerance

Do you think all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area. [Q.84]

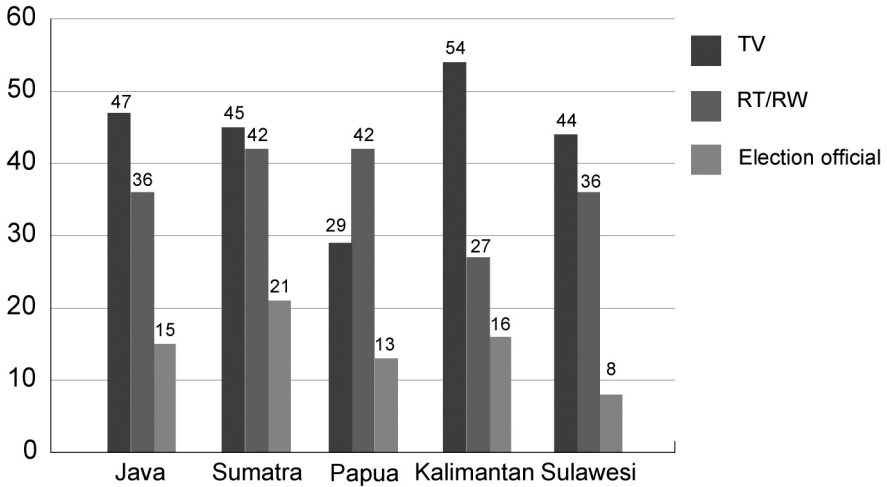


The country-wide proportion of Indonesians who would permit all parties to meet in their areas is 57%, but there are noteworthy regional variations in political tolerance.

The most tolerant of meetings by unpopular political parties are voters in Sumatra (65%) and Kalimantan (61%). The least tolerant are those in Sulawesi (41%) and Papua (39%); these areas have experienced political strife and fear of conflict that is associated with intolerance of unpopular parties.

Information Sources: Election Procedures

Have you gotten information about how to register and vote In election? [Q.11]



The largest share of voters in every region except Papua rely on television for election information, but local government officials are also an important source.

Kalimantan is the only region where more than half of voters (54%) rely on TV for election information; then 27% count on the RT/RW leader and 23% on family, friends and neighbors.

In Java, nearly half (47%) rely on TV; 36% go to the RT/RW leader and 15% to the election organizer.

For voters in Sumatra, 45% tune into to TV, while 42% get information from the RT/RW leader and 21% from the election organizer.

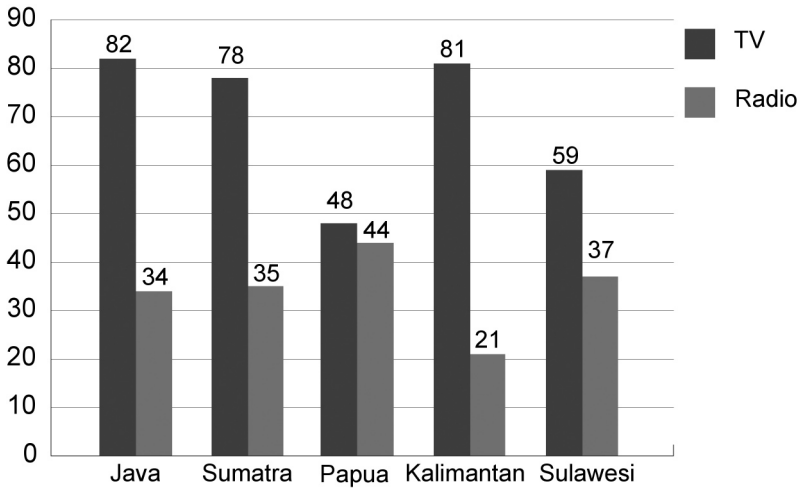
Four in ten (44%) of those in Sulawesi depend on TV, and 36% get information from the RT/RW leader.

In Papua, the RT/RW leader is the primary source of election information (42%), followed by TV (29%), radio (22%), and the village chief or religious leader (12% each).

TV Exposure

How many days a week do you watch TV? (Q.4) How many days a week do you listen to the radio? (Q.7) (Percent who watch or listen at least three days a week)

Nationwide, almost eight voters in ten (78%) watch TV at least three times a week, but there are some important regional variations.



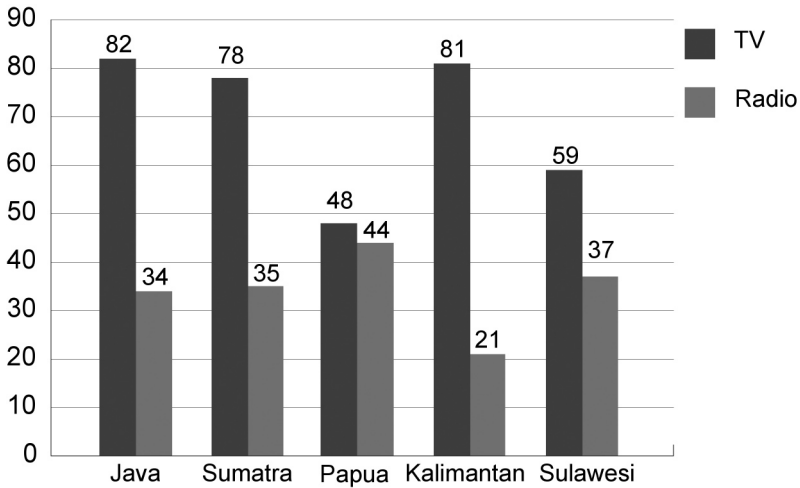
The largest percentages of TV viewers are found in Java (82%), Kalimantan (81%) and Sumatra (78%). Indosiar is the dominant station in these regions, capturing four in ten viewers or more.

Six in ten Sulawesi voters (59%) watch TV at least three times a week, and their viewership is divided between Indosiar (32%) and RCTI (28%).

Papua voters have the least access to TV (48%) and they tend to tune into RCTI (33%).

Radio Exposure

How many days a week do you watch TV? (Q.4)
How many days a week do you listen to the radio? (Q.7)
 (Percent who watch or listen at least three days a week)



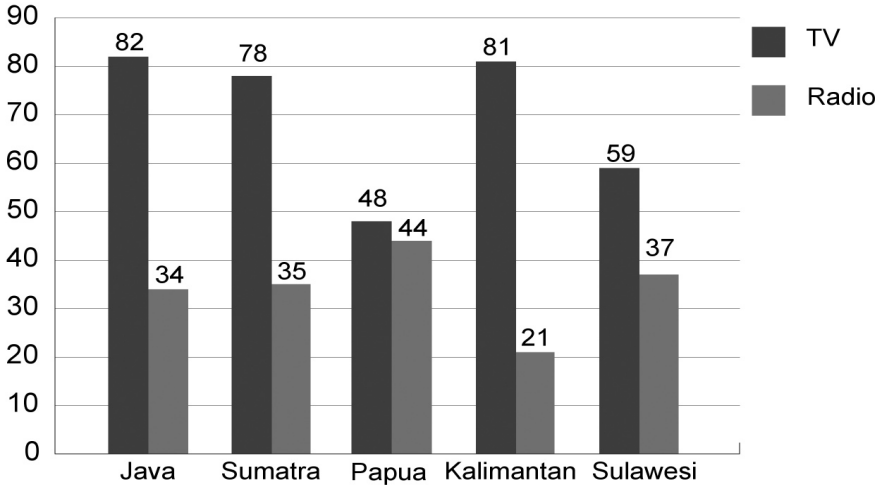
Just a third of Indonesians (34%) listen to the radio at least three times a week. The top station is RRI Daerah.

Only in Papua does regular radio listenership (44%) rival the audience of TV. In Papua, the radio audience listens primarily to RRI Daerah (77%) and is also reached by RRI Programa Pusat (22%).

No other region significantly exceeds the national average for listenership.

Language Preferences

(% who prefer receiving information in their local language)



Bahasa Indonesia is the preferred language for election information for seven out of ten Indonesians (71%). However, significant proportions in various regions would prefer information in their local language.

Java has the highest proportion of residents who prefer a local language (37%) – especially Javanese (22%) and Sundanese (11%) – though the proportion has declined since 1999 when 44% preferred a local language. The corresponding figures elsewhere are 28% in Sulawesi, 19% in Kalimantan, 14% in Papua, and 10% in Sumatra.

Java

The Regional Mood

- Direction Of The Country
- Indonesia's Biggest Problems

Voter Education Needs :

Elections and Electoral Procedure

- Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
- Awareness of DPD
- Presidential Election
- Knowledge of Election Organizations
- Recourse of Election Problems
- Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

Civic Education Needs

- Characteristics of a Democratic Country
- Democratic Knowledge Index
- Women Making Their Own Voting Decision
- Political Tolerance : Party Meetings
- Political Tolerance : Candidates from Unpopular Groups

Gender and Political Participation

- Problems Facing Women
- Gender Issues in Politics and Elections
- Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision
- Importance of Women's Issues

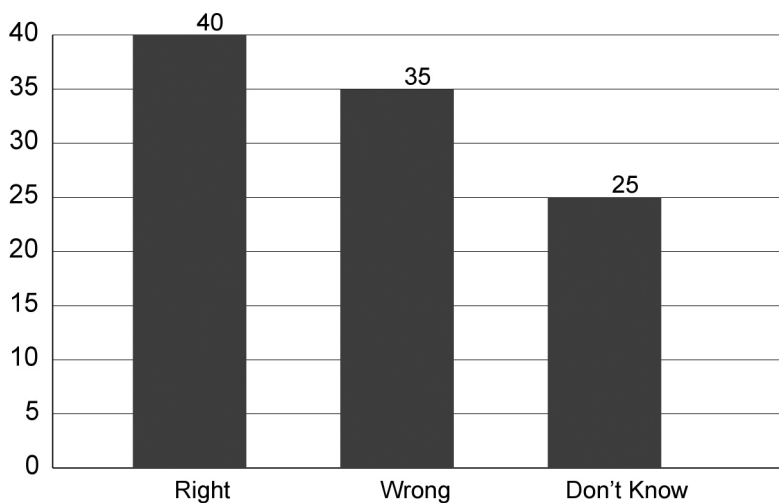
Information Sources, Media Use, and Languages

- TV Station Exposure
- Voter Education Sources
- Languages

THE REGIONAL MOOD

Direction Of The Country

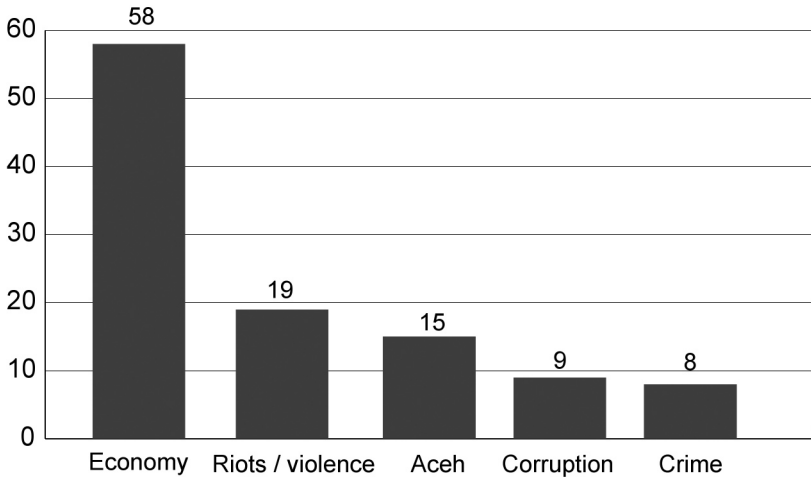
Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? [Q.29]



As in 1999, the mood in Java is more uncertain and pessimistic than in the country as a whole. Four Javanese in ten (40%) think the country is headed in the right direction, while 35% feel it is headed the wrong way and a quarter (25%) are unsure. This compares to a national result of 44% positive, 34% negative, and 18% uncertain. The figures for Java represent a 4-point decline in positive views since January 1999 and a 29-point drop since July 1999, the largest for any region.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia?
And after that, what is the next biggest problem? [Q. 32/33]
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*

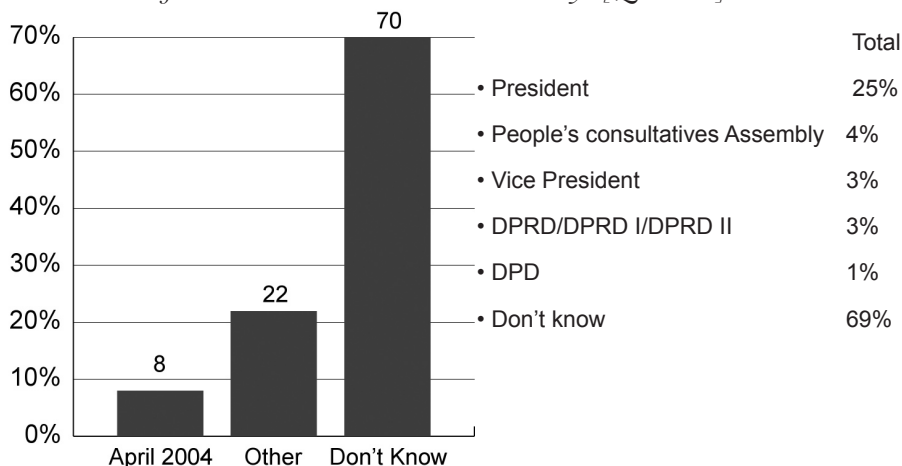


The economy, still the chief problem of Java's inhabitants, is as dominant as in other regions, with 58% rating it as one of the country's top two problems, compared to 59% across Indonesia. The proportion mentioning the economy as the biggest problem in Java, while down from 70% in January 1999, is the same as in July 1999. Before the 1999 vote, a quarter of Javanese were concerned about politics, and in our poll after the election, 42% were. However, the issue did not make the top five concerns in the current survey. Instead, people are now worried about violence (19%), the war in Aceh (15%), corruption (9%) and crime (8%). The last three of these issues did not register among the country's top problems in 1999.

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCEDURE

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

Many people are not sure when the next election for the DPR will take place. Which month do you think it will be? And do you happen to know if anyone besides the members of the DPR will be elected on the same day? [Q. 12/13]



Like Indonesians across the country, Javanese voters are largely uninformed about the upcoming elections. Only eight percent (8%) are aware of the election date and just four percent (4%) correctly identify the ballots to be cast on that date.

Two-thirds of the voters in Java have not heard anything about the DPD or are unsure if they have.

Awareness of DPD

According to the news, the people will elect a new body on the same day as the DPR, called the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, or DPD.

Have you heard anything about this new body?

IF YES: What have you heard about what it will do? [Q.14]

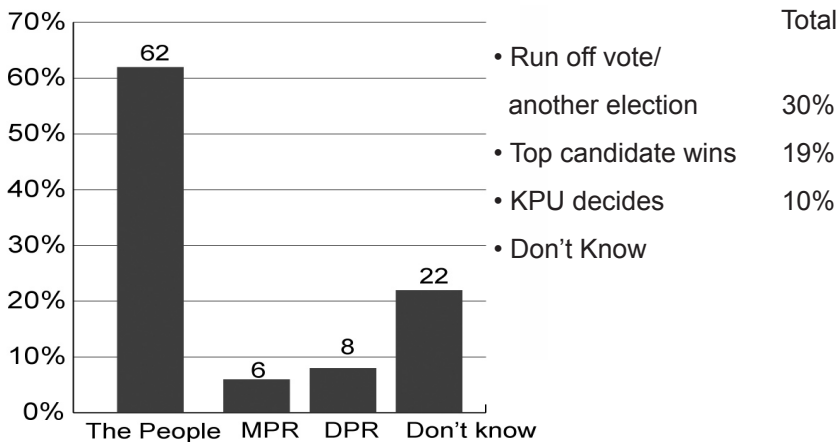
- Yes: 36%
 - Heard about DPD but don't know what it will do: 27%
 - It will consider legislation regarding regional autonomy: 5%
 - Other comments: 4%
- No: 47%
- Don't know: 18%

Only 23% of Java's voters are aware that in the next DPR election they will vote for both a party and a candidate. The largest proportion (31%) think the old system of voting for parties remains in force, while 24% think they will vote only for a candidate, and 21% are not sure.

More than three-fifths (62%) of voters in Java know that the people will elect the next president, but four in ten (40%) do not know what will occur if no candidate gets a majority.

Presidential Election

Who do you think will vote to elect the next President? If no candidate has a majority of the vote in that election, according to the rule, what do you think will happen then? [Q.17 and Q.18, Base 401]

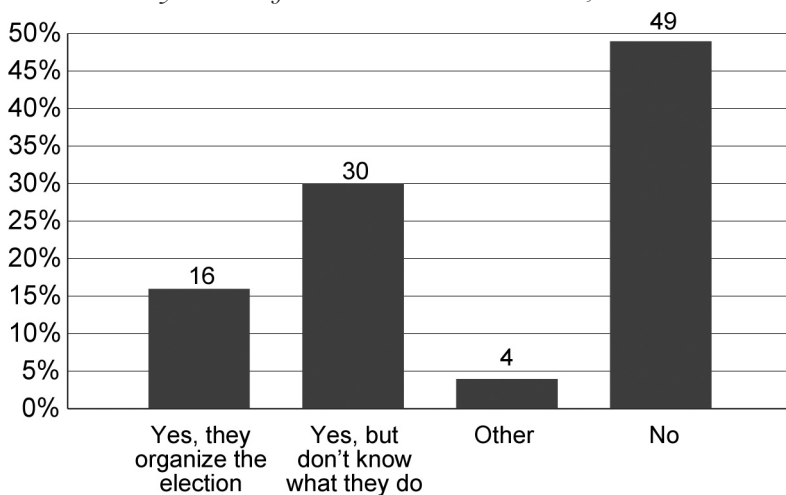


Some 79% of Java residents are aware that everyone will need to register again to vote in the next election. But only 39% are aware that there is a deadline for registration, tying Kalimantan for the lowest proportion among the regions to know this.

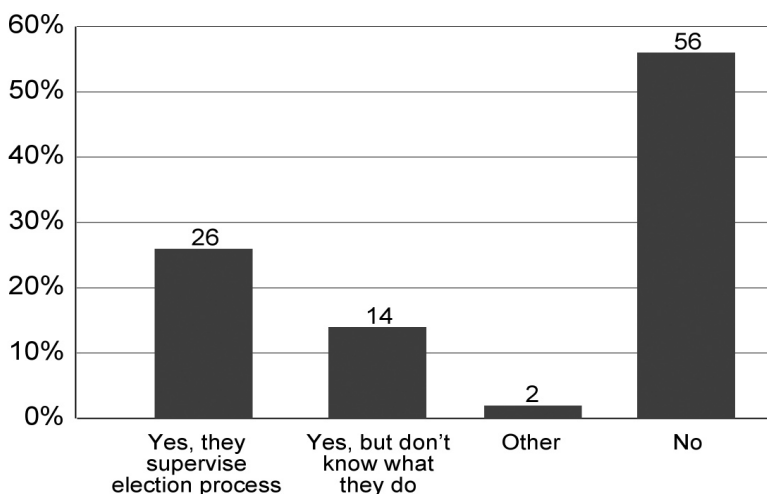
Knowledge of Election Organizations

[Q 24,25]

Have you heard of the Komite Pemilihan Umum, or KPU?



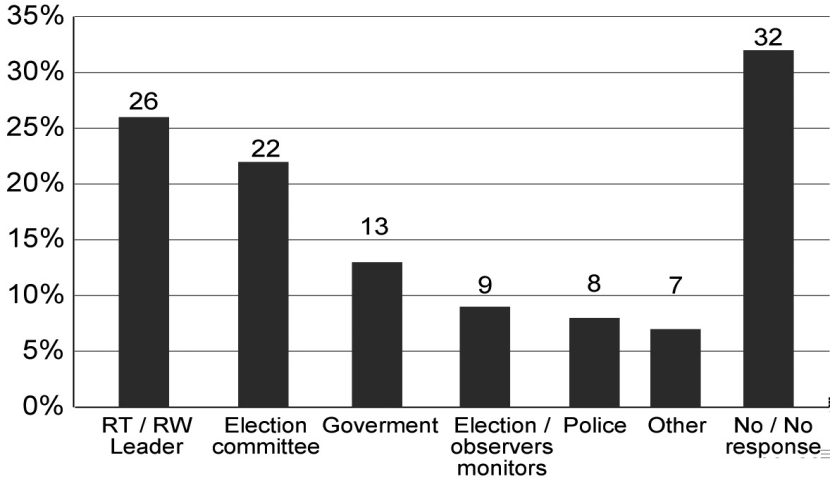
Have you heard of the Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, or Panwaslu?



Half (49%) have never heard of the KPU and slightly more than half (56%) have never heard of the Elections Monitoring Committee.

Recourse of Election Problems

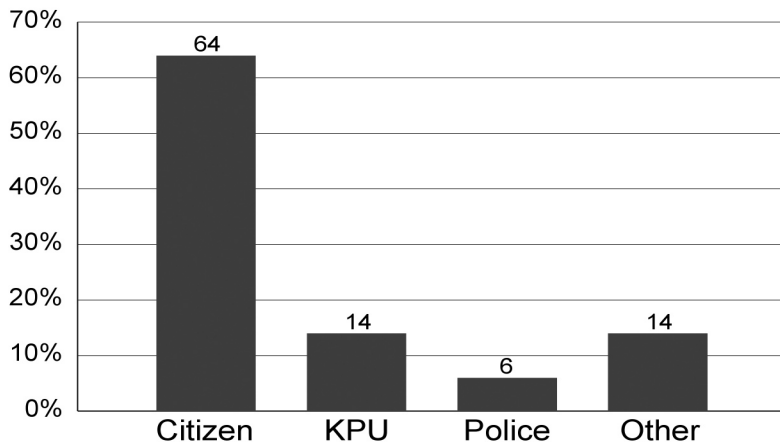
If there is a problem with the way the elections are run in your area, do you know to whom you could complain? [Q.22,]



A third (32%) of Java's voters are unsure where to take an election-related complaint, while 22% would go to the election committee.

Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

If the parties and the local election committee cannot resolve election disputes, do you happen to know who will be responsible to do so? [Q.23]



Some 64% of Javanese voters, almost two-thirds, believe that the people are responsible for resolving election disputes that are not decided at local level.

The level of uncertainty among Javanese about the next presidential election procedures, party representation, and election organizations is similar to that on the national level.

Civic Education Needs

Characteristics of a Democratic Country

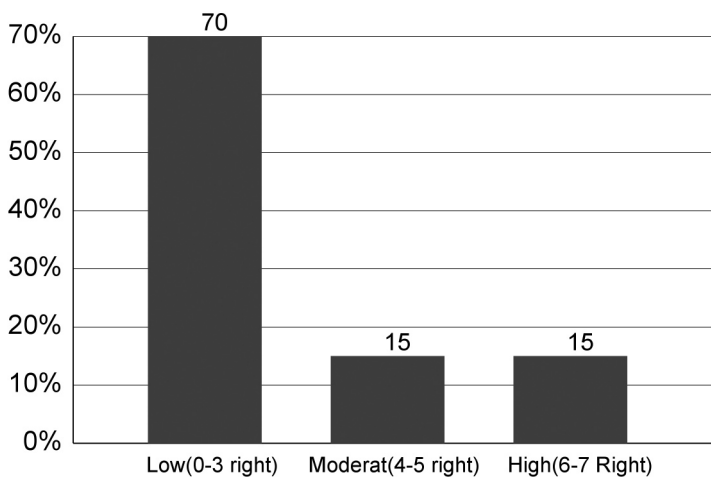
*If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?
Anything else? [Q.67, base 158]*

- Don't Know / No Response: 56%
- Political Rights: 62%
 - “Freedom,” “people have rights,”
“can do what they want,” “travel”: 5%
 - “Freedom of speech,” “Freedom to express opinions,”
“People have their voice heard,” “Right to vote”
“People have power”: 45%
 - “Equality,” “Equal in law,” “Impartiality,” “Justice”: 7%
 - Other: 5%
- Economic Gains: 2%

The proportion of Javanese who cannot identify any characteristics of a democratic country, 56%, has risen from the 48% level found just after the 1999 elections, but remains below the 63% we found in January 1999, showing the persistent effects of voter education.

Democratic Knowledge Index

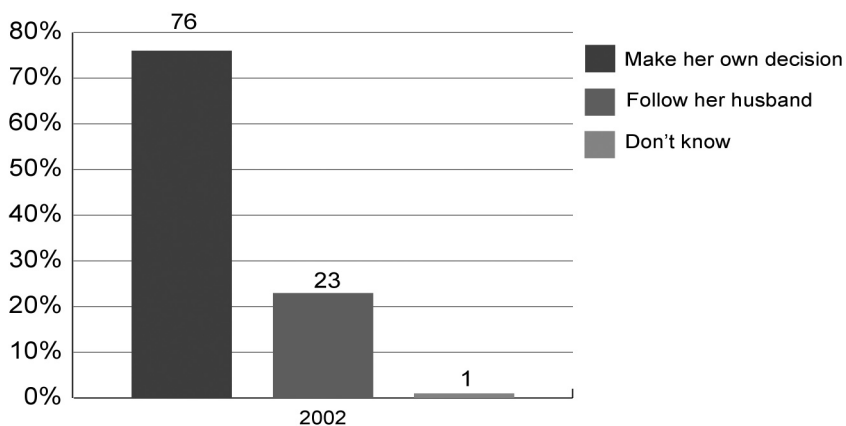
[Based on responses to questions 69-75, base 322]



The level of awareness of basic democratic principles in Java is also low. When asked to identify seven key principles of democracy, some 70% of Javanese voters recognized no more than three of the items.¹ Some 15% recognized four or five of them, while only 15% were aware of six or all seven.

Women Making Their Own Voting Decision

Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband? [Q.93]

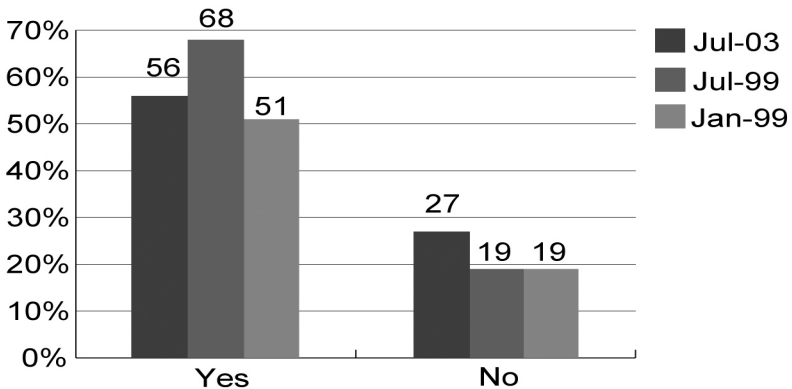


¹ The items in our democratic principles index are listed on p.9 of this report

Three-quarters of the Javanese electorate (76%) feels that women should make their own voting decisions, which is similar to the national result.

Political Tolerance : Party Meetings

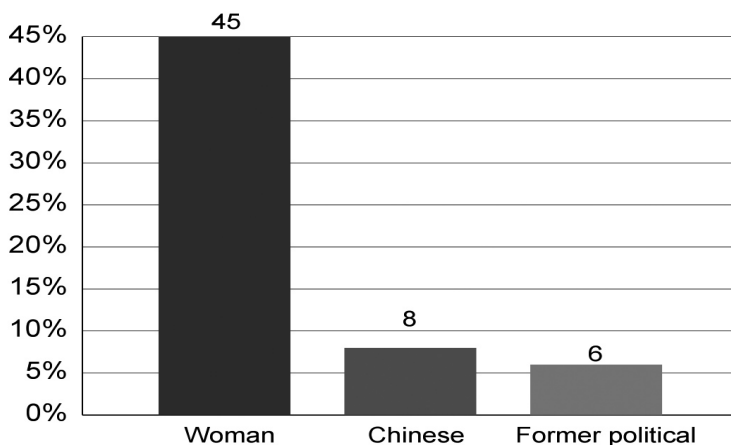
Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? [Q.84, base 322]



More than half of Java's voters (56%) would now tolerate meetings of unpopular parties. This is a decline from the 68% found after the 1999 election, but above the 51% found in January 1999. However, over a quarter are unwilling to accept unpopular party meetings, compared to 19% in both 1999 polls, pointing to lingering problems regarding tolerance.

Political Tolerance : Candidates from Unpopular Groups Election

For any office, would you consider voting for: A woman? A Chinese person? A former political prisoner? [Q.76, base 322]



Potential support for a woman candidate (45%), a Chinese candidate (8%) or a former political prisoner (6%) is as low as throughout the rest of the country.

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Problems Facing Women

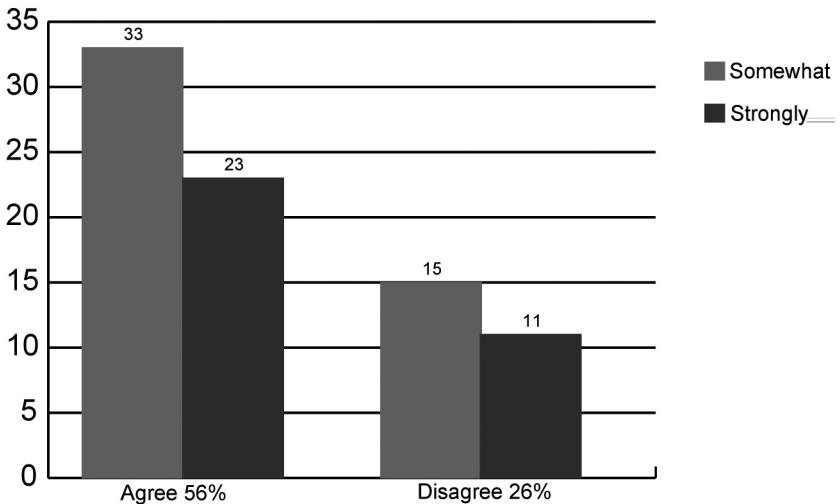
What do you think is the biggest problem facing women in this area today? [Q.88]

- Poverty/Economy: 34%
- Education: 8%
- Rape: 5%
- Women's rights: 5%
- Family problems / Domestic Violence: 9%
- Other: 10%
- Don't know / No Problems: 50%

The problems voters in Java see facing Indonesian women are similar to those perceived by voters around the country. Just over a third of Javanese voters (34%) cite poverty as the major issue facing women, similar to the national figure (36%). Half of voters in Java (50%) do not feel women face any problems or are unsure, compared to 46% nationally.

Gender Issues in Politics and Elections

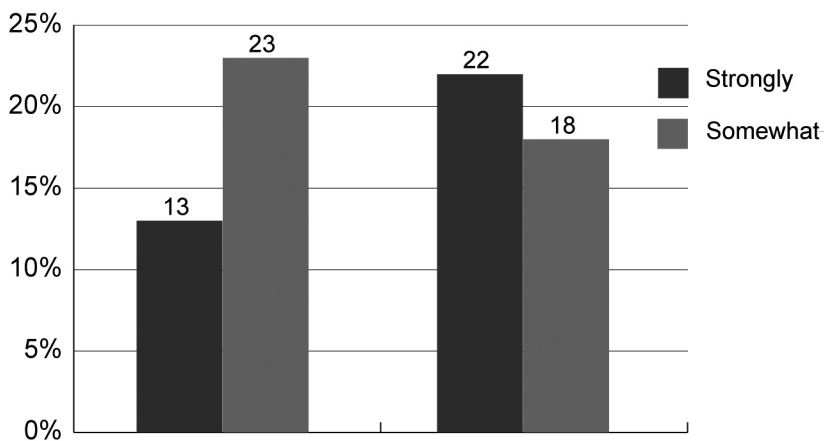
Some people say women as a group have common needs, like those of religious groups, farmers, or business, that should be expressed in politics and elections. Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.89]



Compared to Indonesians overall, the Javanese electorate is slightly less likely to view women as a key interest group. Fifty-six percent (56%) of Java's voters agree that women have common needs that should be expressed in politics, including 23 percent who strongly take this position. Nationally, 60% agree, including 27% who do so strongly.

Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision

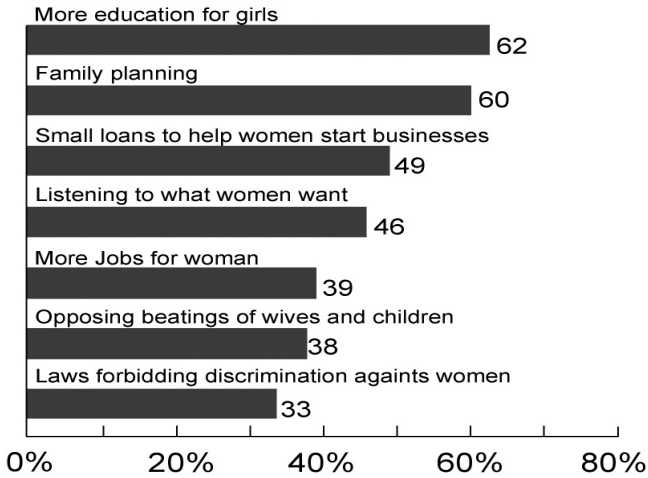
If two equally qualified people ran for the DPR, and one stressed women's needs and the other stressed other things, which would you prefer? Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.90]



Some 36% of Javanese are likely to support a “women’s needs” candidate, compared to 40% who prefer a candidate focused on other issues. This level of support for a “women’s needs” candidate is slightly below the national level (40%).

Importance of Women's Issues

Here are some ideas candidates might present. Please let me know which, if any, would make you more likely to vote for them. [Q. 91]



The women's issues which are especially appealing to Javanese voters include education for girls (62%), family planning (60%), loans for women's businesses (49%), listening to women's concerns (46%).

INFORMATION SOURCES, MEDIA USE, AND LANGUAGE

More than eight in ten Javanese voters (82%) watch TV three days a week or more. This includes 69% of the voter education target group and 79% of the civic education targets.

Just a third (34%) of the Javanese electorate listens to the radio three days a week or more. This includes 28% of the voter education targets and 34% of the civic education targets.

Regular Media Exposure

*How many days a week do you watch TV / listen to the radio? [Q.4/7]
(Among those who use medium 3 days/week or more)*

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| TV | 82% | 69% | 79% |
| Radio | 34% | 28% | 34% |

TV Station Exposure

Which TV station do you watch most often? [Q.5]

| | All Voters | Voters Ed Targets | Civic ed Tagets |
|------------------------|------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| Indosiar | 50 | 48 | 53 |
| RCTI | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| SCTV | 15 | 15 | 14 |
| Trans TV | 6 | 6 | 5 |
| TPI | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| TVRI Stasiun Daerah | 3 | 2 | 3 |

Indosiar is the preferred station in Java (50% of regular viewers), followed by RCTI (15%) and SCTV (15%).

Radio Station Exposure

Which radio station do you listen to most often? [Q.8, base 374]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Tagerts |
|---------------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| RRI daerah | 6% | 9% | 6% |
| Pop FM | 3% | 3% | 3% |
| Suara Giri FM | 3% | 4% | 4% |

No radio station attracts more than six percent of Javanese listeners. The most popular radio station is RRI Daerah, with 6% of the voters who listen to radio, while Pop FM and Suara Giri FM each have 3%

Voter Education Sources

How have you gotten information about how to register and vote in elections? [Q.11]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|---|------------|------------------|------------------|
| TV | 47% | 34% | 44% |
| RT/RW leader | 36% | 41% | 37% |
| Local election organizer | 15% | 14% | 15% |
| Friends/family/neighbours | 13% | 12% | 13% |
| Radio | 9% | 6% | 8% |
| Newspaper | 8% | 4% | 4% |
| Politic district administrated by village | 6% | 6% | 5% |
| Village chief | 3% | 2% | 3% |
| Other/don't know | 18% | 18% | 18% |

Almost half of Java's voters (47%) prefer getting election information from television. The same is true of the civic education target group, of whom 44% prefer to get election information from TV. More than a third (36%) favor information from the RT/RW leaders. However, the RT/RW leader is the preferred source for voter education targets (41%), followed by TV (34%).

Languages

Top 4 languages [Q. 1/2/3/28]

| | Mother Tongue | Understand | Read | Prefer |
|------------|---------------|------------|------|--------|
| Javanese | 48% | 58% | 47% | 22% |
| Sundanese | 31% | 35% | 31% | 11% |
| Indonesian | 13% | 91% | 88% | 63% |
| Madura | 6% | 8% | 3% | 3% |

Java is a region with the great linguistic diversity and campaign material will need to reflect this. Some 22% of voters want voter education material in Javanese, 11% in Sundanese, and 3% in Madurese. However, preference for a language other than Bahasa Indonesia is down to a total of 36%, from 45% in 1999.

Kalimantan

The Regional Mood

- Direction Of The Country
- Indonesia's Biggest Problems

Voter Education Needs:

Elections and Electoral Procedure

- Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
- Awareness of DPD
- Presidential Election
- Knowledge of Election Organizations
- Recourse of Election Problems
- Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

Civic Education Needs

- Democratic Knowledge Index
- Women Making Their Own Voting Decision
- Political Tolerance : Party Meetings
- Political Tolerance : Candidates from Unpopular Groups

Gender and Political Participation

- Problems Facing Women
- Gender Issues in Politics and Elections
- Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision
- Importance of Women's Issues

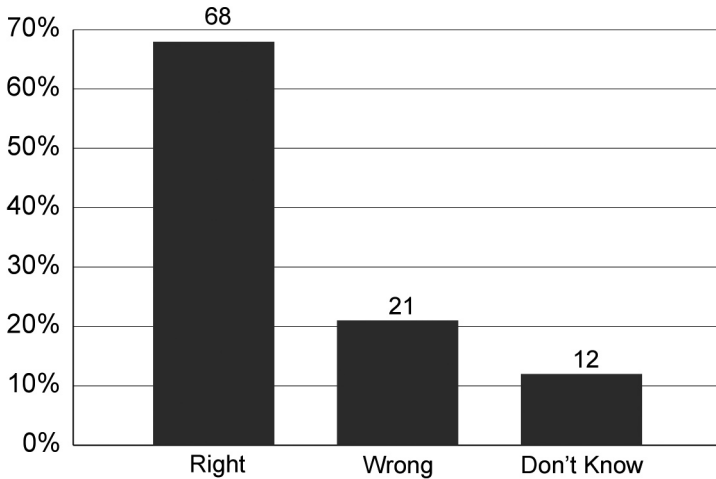
Information Sources, Media Use and Language

- Regular Media Exposure
- TV Station Exposure
- Radio Station Exposure
- Voter Education Sources
- Languages

THE REGIONAL MOOD

Direction of the Country

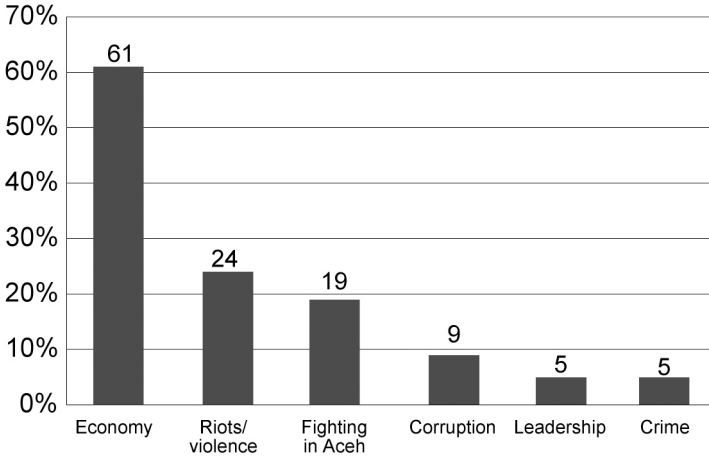
Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? [Q.29]



People in Kalimantan are more optimistic about the direction of Indonesia than voters nationally. More than two-thirds (68%) feel the country is headed in the right direction, while 21% believe it is off on the wrong track, and 12% are unsure. This is considerably above the national results, in which 44% of Indonesians are optimistic and 34% pessimistic. It is less positive than after the 1999 election, when 87% were optimistic, but still substantially higher than in January 1999, when just under half of Kalimantan's voters (49%) thought Indonesia was headed in the right direction.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia?
And after that, what is the next biggest problem? [Q.32/33]*

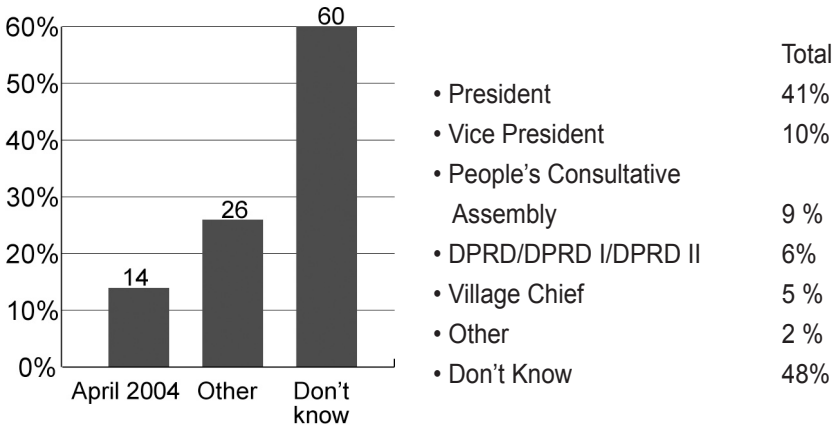


Concern about the economy, cited by 61% as one of the country's two biggest problems, is at the same level as in July 1999. It is followed by violence (24%, down 10 points on July 1999) and the war in Aceh (19%), with corruption mentioned by 9% and leadership and crime by 5% each.

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCEDURES

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

Many people are not sure when the next election for the DPR will take place. Which month do you think it will be? And do you happen to know if anyone besides the members of the DPR will be elected on the same day? [Q.12/13]



Six Kalimantan voters in ten (60%) are unsure when the DPR election will be held, compared to 69% nationally. Moreover, another quarter (26%) have the wrong date in mind. Four in ten (41%) believe the presidential contest will be held the same day, compared to 23% of Indonesians nationwide.

Awareness of DPD

According to the news, the people will elect a new body on the same day as the DPR, called the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, or DPD. Have you heard anything about this new body? IF YES: What have you heard about what it will do?

[Q.14]

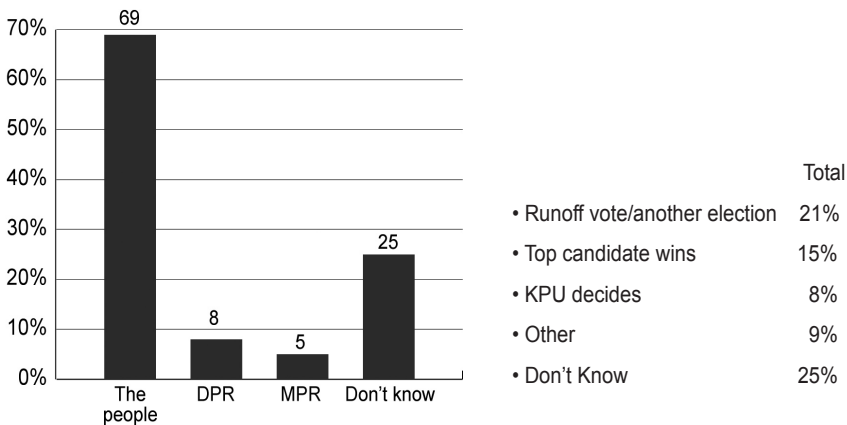
- Yes: 37%
 - Heard about DPD but don't know what it will do: 29%
 - It will consider legislation regarding regional autonomy: 6%
 - Other comments: 2%
- No: 56%
- Don't know: 7%

More than three-fifths (63%) of voters in Kalimantan have not heard anything about the DPD or are unsure if they have.

Some 29% of the voters know that the next DPR election will involve voting for a candidate and a party in Kalimantan, which ties for the highest level of knowledge on this score with Sumatra. However, 30% think votes will be cast only for a party, as before, 30% for a candidate only, and 11% have no idea what the electoral system will be.

Presidential Election

*Who do you think will vote to elect the next President?
If no candidate has a majority of the vote in that election, according to the rule,
what do you think will happen then? [Q.17/18, base 78]*

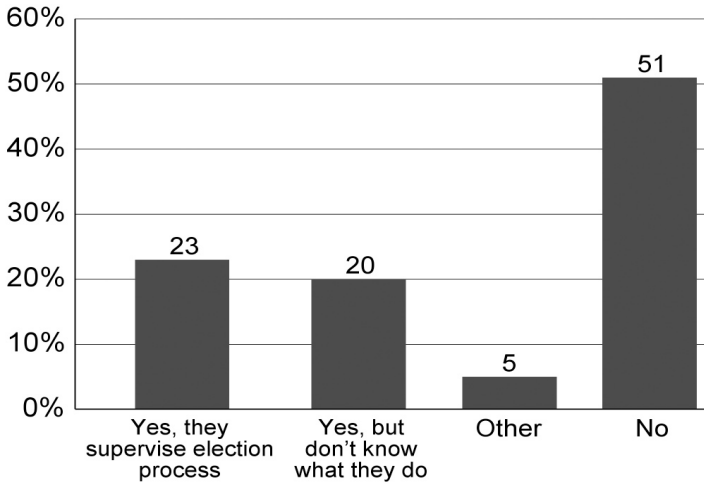


Over two-thirds (69%) of the Kalimantan electorate knows that the next president will be directly elected, but only 21% know that there will be a runoff if no one has a majority in the first round.

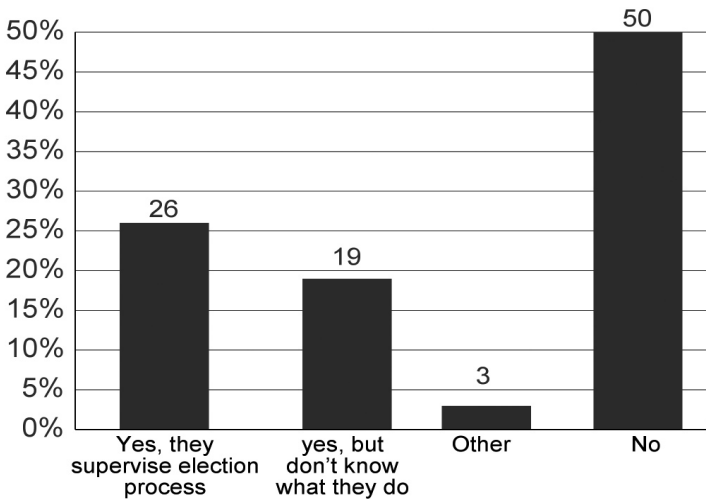
Knowledge of Election Organizations

[Q.24/25]

Have you heard of the Komite Pemilihan Umum, or KPU?



Have you heard of the Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, or Panwaslu?

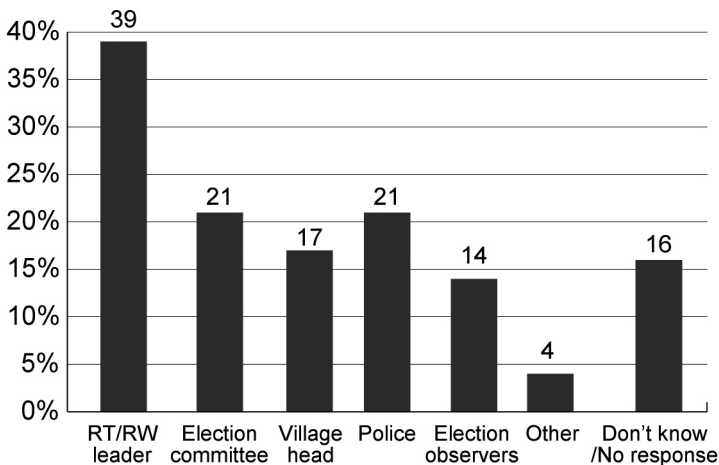


Some 76% of Kalimantan voters realize that they will have to register again to participate in the 2004 elections. However just 39% know that there is a deadline by which they must register, which ties with Java for the lowest proportion among the regions.

More than half of Kalimantan's voters are unaware of the KPU (54%) and half say the same of the Panwaslu. Another fifth has heard of each organization but is unsure what they do. Only around one-fourth is familiar with the role of either.

Recourse for Election Problems

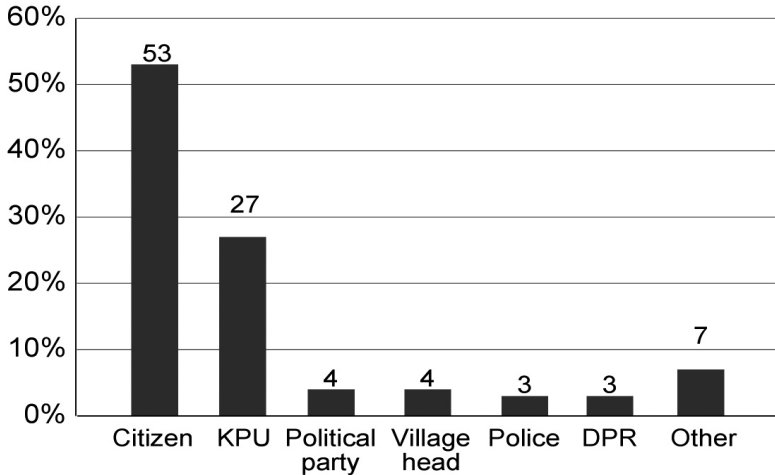
If there is a problem with the way the elections are run in your area, do you know to whom you could complain? [Q.22]



If they wanted to complain about an election problem, 21% of Kalimantan voters would go to the local election committee. Four in ten (39%) would go to the RT/RW leader, 21% would go to the police, 17% to the village head and 14% to election observers.

Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

If the parties and the local election committee cannot resolve election disputes, do you happen to know who will be responsible to do so? [Q.23]



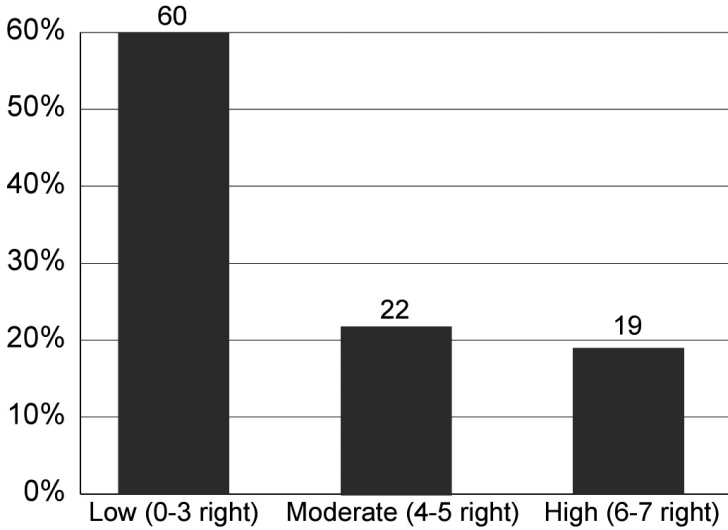
Some 58% of the Kalimantan electorate thinks citizens are responsible for solving election disputes that cannot be decided locally, while 27% are aware that the KPU is legally responsible for doing so.

Overall, the Kalimantan electorate is slightly better informed than the public nationally about the upcoming elections, but still has significant voter education needs.

CIVIC EDUCATION NEEDS

Democratic Knowledge Index

[Based on responses to questions 69-75, base 61]



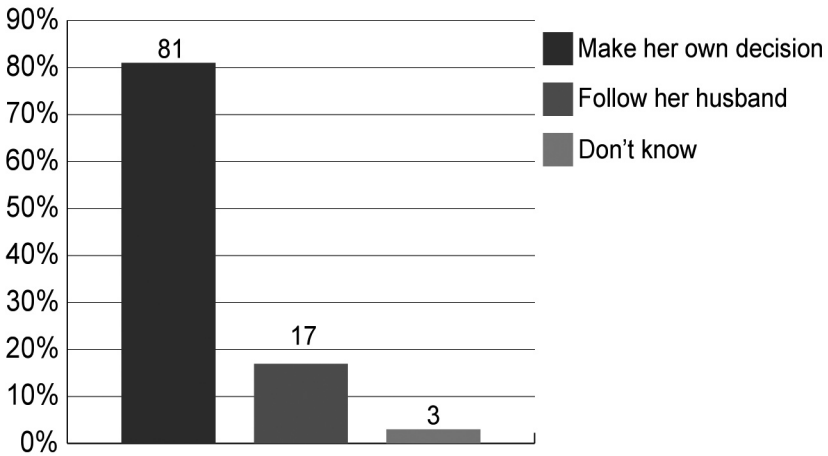
There were too few voters asked the meaning of democracy in Kalimantan to permit analysis of the results, because the question was asked of only one-fourth of the sample.

Knowledge of democratic principles in Kalimantan is low, if slightly higher than in other regions. When asked if they recognized the seven items in our Democratic Principles Index as part of democracy, 60% of Kalimantan voters did so for three or fewer.¹ Some 22% recognized four or five, while 19% accepted six or all seven as part of democracy.

¹ For details of The Democratic Principles Index, see p.9 of this report

Women Making Their Own Voting Decision

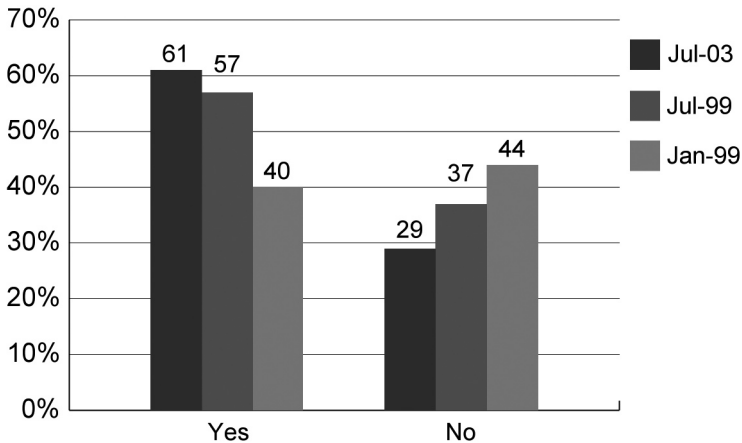
Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband? [Q.93]



More than eight Kalimantan voters in ten (81%) believe women should make their own voting decisions, compared to 79% of voters nationwide.

Political Tolerance: Party Meetings

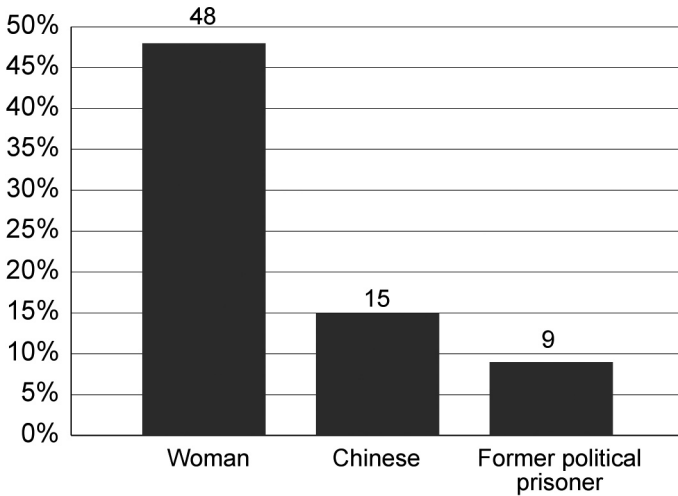
Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? [Q.84, base 61]



Political tolerance has increased substantially in Kalimantan since early 1999. In January of that year, only 40% of voters would have tolerated unpopular parties and in July, after the election, 57% would have done so. The gains from civic education during the elections have been maintained in Kalimantan, making it one of the most politically tolerant regions of the country. At present 61% believe all parties should be allowed to hold local meetings.

Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups

*For any office, would you consider voting for: A woman?
A Chinese person? A former political prisoner? [Q.76, base 61]*



Some 48% of Kalimantan's voters would consider voting for a woman, 15% would consider voting for a Chinese candidate and nine percent (9%) for a former political prisoner. These figures are all slightly better than the national results but still point to substantial civic education needs.

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Problems Facing women

What do you think is the biggest problem facing women in this area today? [Q.88]

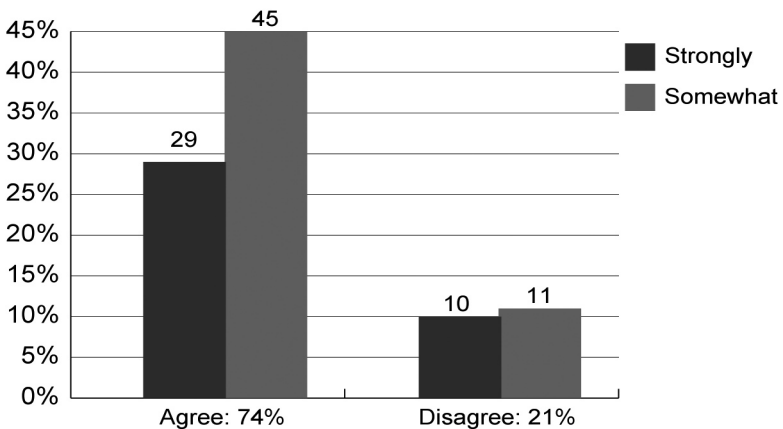
| | |
|--|-----|
| • Poverty/Economy: | 39% |
| • Education: | 14% |
| • Prostitution: | 9% |
| • Rape: | 8% |
| • Family problems / Domestic violence: | 7% |
| • Too much freedom: | 7% |
| • Other: | 8% |
| • No problems/ Don't know: | 33% |

Four Kalimantan voters in ten (39%) cite poverty as the major problem facing Indonesian women. Education (14%), prostitution (9%) and rape (8%) are also mentioned frequently by Kalimantan residents. A third (33%) of the region's voters do not recognize any problems for women, compared to 46% nationwide.

Gender Issues in Politics and Elections

Some people say women as a group have common needs, like those of religious groups, farmers, or business, that should be expressed in politics and elections.

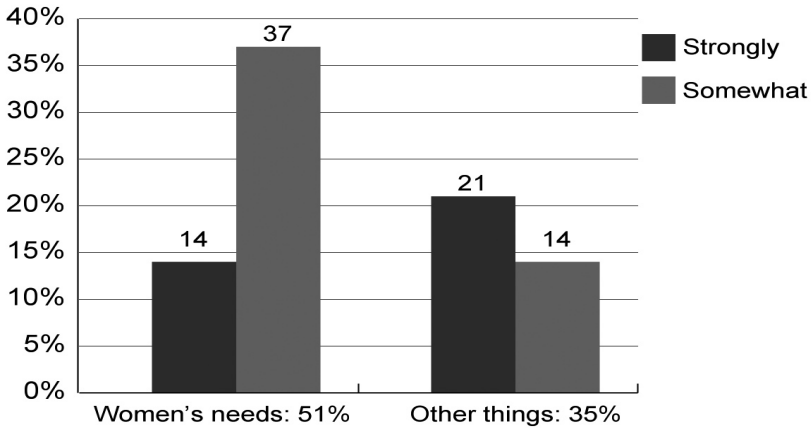
Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.89]



Kalimantan voters are among the most supportive in Indonesia when it comes to gender as an interest in politics and elections. Three-quarters (74%) view women as an important political interest group, including 45% who feel strongly that women’s common needs should be expressed in politics. This is well above the proportion nationally who take that view (56%).

Influence of Women’s Needs on Voting Decision

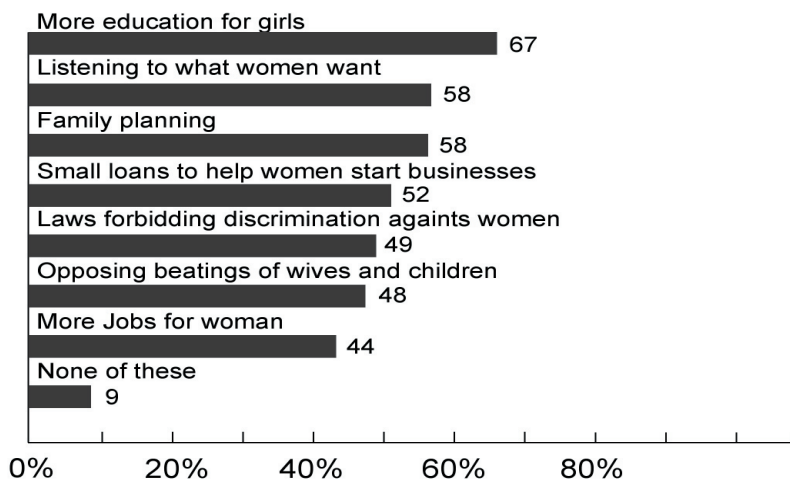
If two equally qualified people ran for the DPR, and one stressed women’s needs and the other stressed other things, which would you prefer? Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.90]



Over half of Kalimantan voters (51%) would choose a candidate who stressed women’s issues over one who emphasized other things, including 37% who would strongly prefer a “women’s needs” candidate. This, too, is higher than the proportion who would so so nationally (40%). Some 35% of the region’s voters would prefer a candidate stressing other issues.

Importance of Women's Issues

Here are some ideas candidates might present. Please let me know which, if any, would make you more likely to vote for them. [Q.91]



Two-thirds of Kalimantan voters (67%) are more likely to support a candidate who advocates more education for girls. Other issues are also compelling for voters, including family planning (58% more likely), listening to women's concerns (58%), loans to women's businesses (52%), laws against domestic violence (48%) and discrimination (49%) and more jobs for women (44%).

INFORMATION SOURCES, MEDIA USE AND LANGUAGE

Regular Media Exposure

*How many days a week do you watch TV / listen to the radio?
(Among those who use medium 3 days/week or more) [Q.4/7]*

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| TV | 80% | 60% | 76% |
| Radio | 21% | 21% | 22% |

TV has very broad reach in the region – 81% of voters in Kalimantan watch at least three times a week. Regular viewing is less frequent among the voter education targets (60%), as well as the civic education targets (76%). Only around one-fifth of the electorate or the voter education target groups listens regularly to radio.

TV Station Exposure

Which TV station do you watch most often? [Q.5, base 108]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|----------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indosiar | 42% | 44% | 46% |
| RCTI | 21% | 18% | 17% |
| SCTV | 11% | 7% | 9% |
| TVRI 1 | 10% | 7% | 5% |
| Metro TV | 4% | 0% | 2% |

Four in ten TV viewers in Kalimantan (42%) watch Indosiar, while 22% tune in to RCTI and 12% watch SCTV.

Radio Station Exposure

Which radio station do you listen to most often? [Q.8, base 53]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|--------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| RRI Daerah | 32% | 30% | 31% |
| RRI Programa Pusat | 12% | 17% | 15 |
| Gema Nirvana | 5% | 6% | 2% |
| Polareksa | 4% | 7% | 3% |
| Sabilal Muhtadien | 4% | 0% | 5% |

Among radio listeners in Kalimantan, RRI Daerah is the most popular station (32% of all listeners, 30% of voter education targets, 31% of civic education targets), followed by RRI Program Pusat (12% of all voters, slightly more of voter and civic education targets). Local stations with the largest listenerships include Gema Nirwana, Polareksa, and Sabilal Muhatadien.

Voter Education Sources

How have you gotten information about how to register and vote in elections? [Q.11]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| TV | 54% | 42% | 52% |
| RT/RW leader | 27% | 31% | 26% |
| Friends/Family/ neighbours | 23% | 31% | 26% |
| Local election organizer | 16% | 8% | 16% |
| Radio | 14% | 13% | 14% |
| Newspapers | 14% | 11% | 16% |
| Village chief | 8% | 6% | 9% |
| Other/Don't know | 20% | 28% | 13% |

Over half of Kalimantan voters (54%) get election information from television, the most popular information source. It is also the most popular for voter and civic education targets. Just over a quarter of the Kalimantan electorate (27%) get election information from their RT/RW leader, followed by 23% who listen to friends, family and neighbors, and 16% who get information from the local election organizer. Only 14% get election information from the radio.

Languages

Top 7 languages [Q1/2/3/28]

| | Mother Tongue | Understand | Read | Prefer |
|--------------------|---------------|------------|------|--------|
| Indonesian | 23% | 98% | 95% | 82% |
| Banjar | 21% | 36% | 19% | 10% |
| Malay | 21% | 27% | 13% | 3% |
| Kutai | 6% | 11% | 4% | 2% |
| Dayak | 5% | 8% | 4% | 0% |
| Bakumpai | 5% | 6% | 1% | 1% |
| Banjar Hulu Sungai | 5% | 5% | 2% | 2% |

Indonesian is the preferred language for voter education for 82% of Kalimantan's voters. Preferences for languages include Banjar (10%), Malay (3%), Kutai (2%), Banjar Hulu Sungai (2%), Bakumpai (1%).

Papua

The Regional Mood

- Direction Of The Country
- Indonesia's Biggest Problems

Voter Education Needs: Elections and Electoral Procedure

- Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
- Awareness of DPD
- Presidential Election
- Knowledge of Election Organizations
- Recourse for Election Problems
- Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

Civic Education Needs

- Democratic Knowledge Index
- Political Tolerance : Party Meetings
- Political Tolerance : Candidates from Unpopular Groups
- Women Making Their Own Voting Decision
- Problems Facing Women

Gender and Political Participation

- Gender Issues In Politics and Elections
- Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision
- Importance of Women's Issues

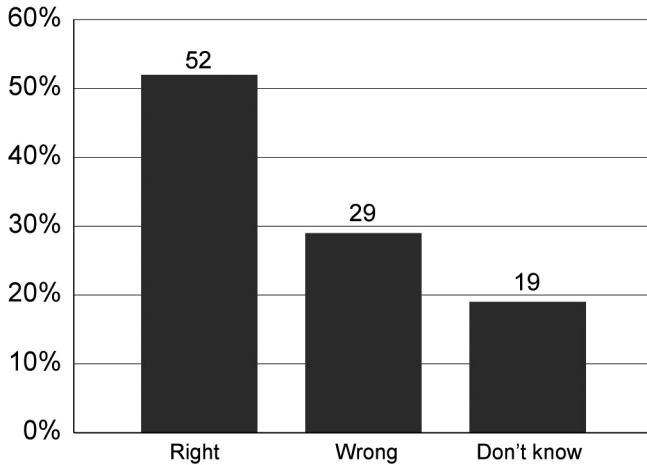
Information Sources, Media Use and Language

- Regular Media Exposure
- TV Station Exposure
- Radio Station Exposure
- Languages

THE REGIONAL MOOD

Direction of the Country

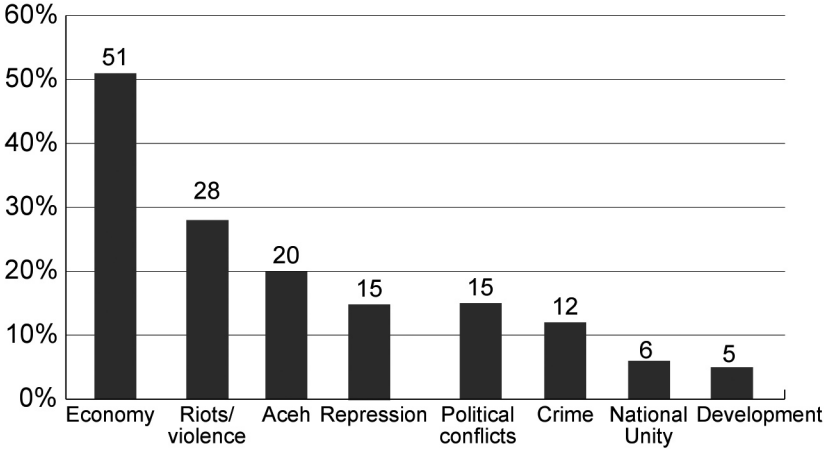
Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? [Q29]



The mood of Papua voters has improved markedly over the last four years. More than half the electorate there (52%) believes Indonesia is headed in the right direction, better than the national average of 44%. This is a 16-point increase over January 1999, when just 36% of voters in what was then Irian Jaya were optimistic and 6 points higher than in the aftermath of the 1999 election, making Papua the only region more optimistic now than then. At present, 29% believe things are off on the wrong track and 19% are unsure.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia?
And after that, what is the next biggest problem? [Q.32/33].
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*

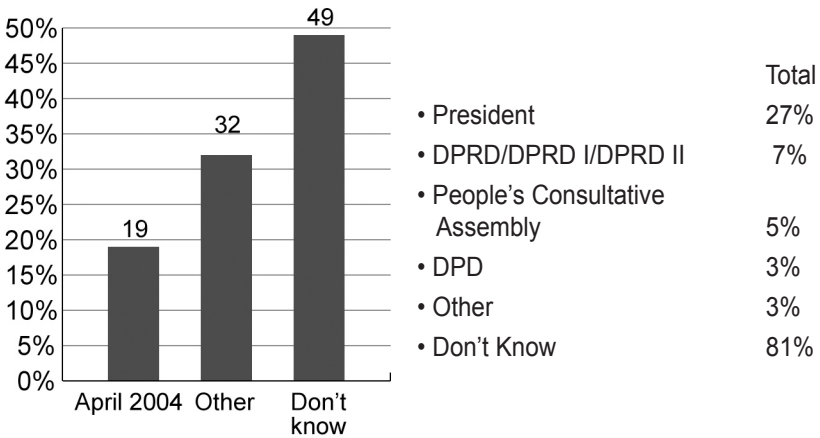


While the economy continues to dominate the list of national problems (51%), it is mentioned a bit less often than it is nationally (59%). In Papua the issue has similar weight to July 1999, when it was mentioned by 48% as one of the country's top two problems. Papua voters are also very concerned about violence (28%), the war in Aceh (20%), repression and political conflicts (15% each), and crime (12%).

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCEDURES

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

Many people are not sure when the next election for the DPR will take place. Which month do you think it will be? And do you happen to know if anyone besides the members of the DPR will be elected on the same day? [Q.12/13]



Only a fifth of Papuan voters know when the upcoming DPR election will take place – a proportion that is low but still higher than the national figure (20%). Eight voters in ten (81%) either do not know when the election is or have the wrong information. Just 10% are aware of the other ballots to be cast simultaneously with the DPR, while more than six in ten (62%) are unsure if they will be voting for anyone besides the DPR.

Awareness of DPD

According to the news, the people will elect a new body on the same day as the DPR, called the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, or DPD. Have you heard anything about this new body? IF YES: What have you heard about what it will do? [Q.14]

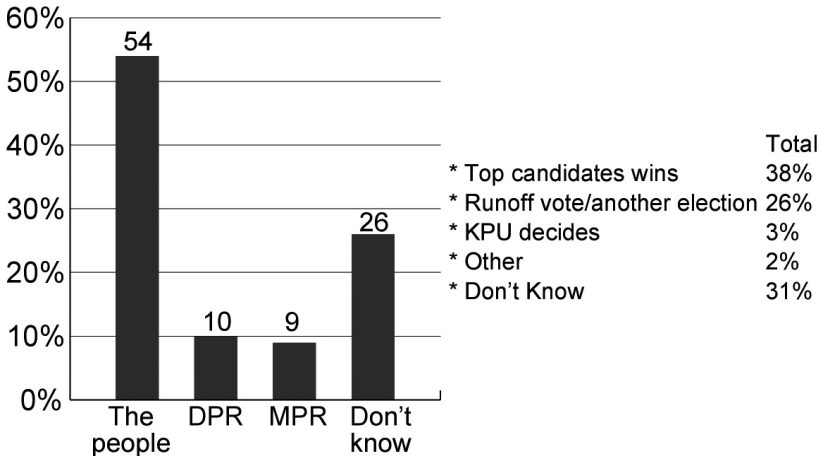
- Yes: 28%
 - Heard about DPD but don't know what it will do: 23%
 - It will consider legislation regarding regional autonomy: 2%
 - Any other comments about DPD powers: 3%
- No: 46%
- Don't Know/No Response: 27%

Papua voters have very low awareness of the DPD – 73% of them have not heard anything about the DPD or are unsure if they have. Another 23% have heard of the DPD but do not know what it will do.

Presidential Election

Who do you think will vote to elect the next President? If no candidate has a majority of the vote in that election, according to the rule, what do you think will happen then? [Q. 17/18]

Papua had the lowest level of awareness of the new DPR voting system



of any region: only 18% were aware that voters will vote for both party and candidate. The largest part thought they would vote for a candidate

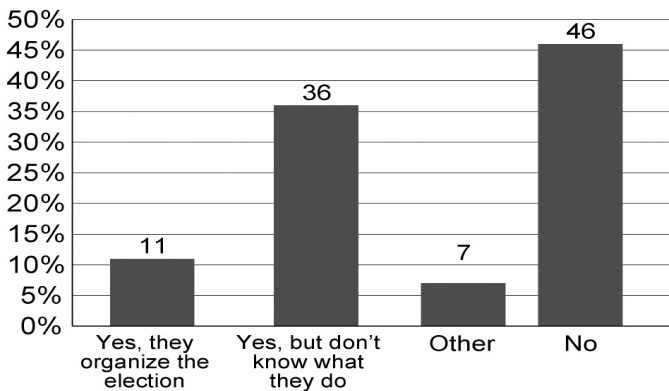
(32%), while 22% thought the old system of party voting would continue and 28% were not sure of the voting system.

More than half Papua's voters (54%) know that the next Indonesian president will be elected directly by the people. However, 31 percent are not sure what will happen if no candidate gets a majority of the vote, while just over a quarter (26%) believe there will be a run-off election.

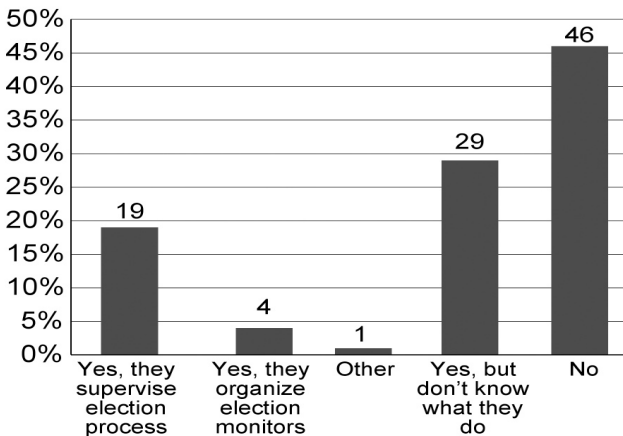
Knowledge of Election Organizations

[Q.24/25]

Have you heard of the Komite Pemilihan Umum, or KPU?



Have you heard of the Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, or Panwaslu?

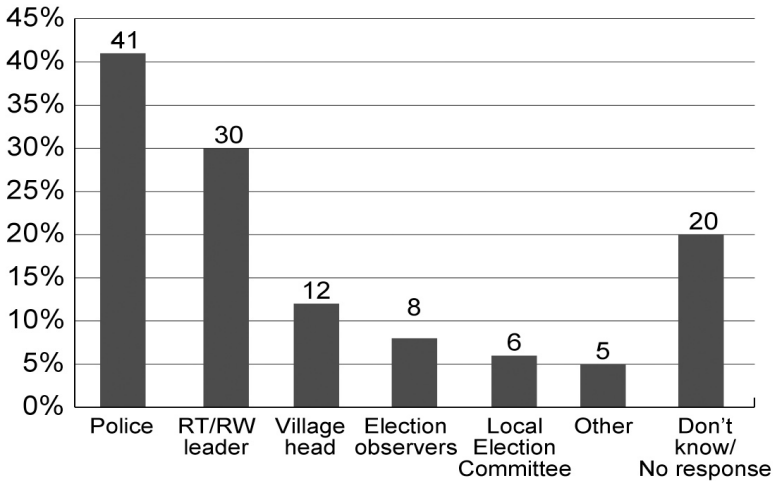


Awareness of the need to register again to vote in 2004 is considerably lower in Papua (56%) than the national average (83%). Three in ten Papuan voters (30%) think they can register until Election Day, while 41% believe there is an earlier registration deadline, and 29 percent are unsure.

More than eight in ten Papua voters (82%) either have never heard of the KPU or have heard the name but do not know what it does. Over seven in ten (71%) have never heard of Panwaslu or do not know what it does. Under 20% are familiar with the role of either.

Recourse for Election Problems

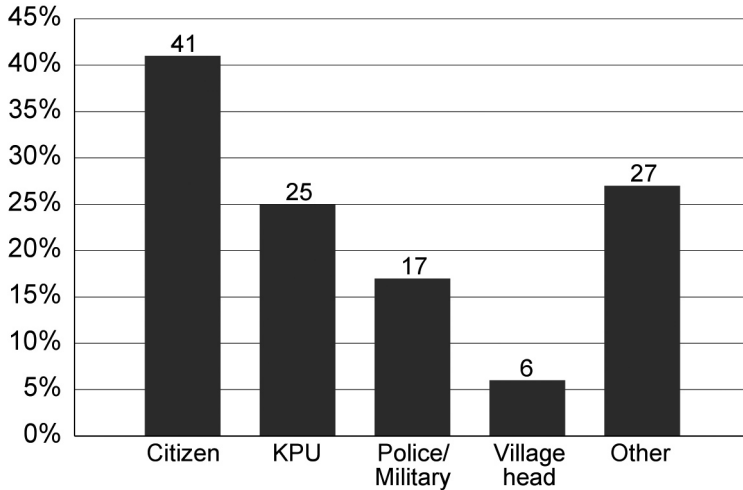
If there is a problem with the way the elections are run in your area, do you know to whom you could complain? [Q.22]



Unlike most Indonesians, Papua voters' first choice of whom to report election irregularities to is the police (41%), followed by the RT/RW leader (30%), the village head (12%) and election observers (8%). Six percent would go to the local election committees. A fifth of Papuan voters (20%) are not sure where to take an election-related concern.

Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

If the parties and the local election committee cannot resolve election disputes, do you happen to know who will be responsible to do so? [Q.23]

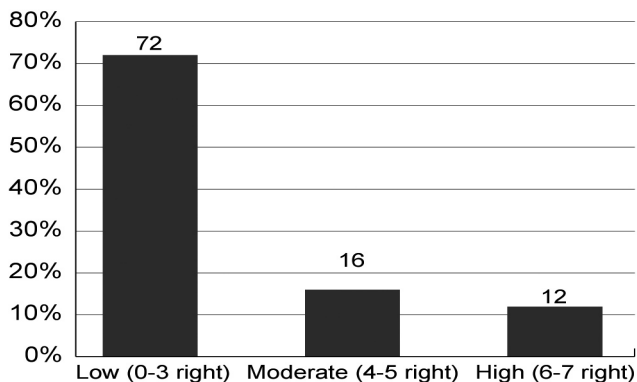


Some 41% of Papuans see citizens as responsible for resolving election complaints that are not solved locally, while 25% mention the KPU. Other outlets cited include the police or military (17%) and the village head (8%).

CIVIC EDUCATION NEEDS

Democratic Knowledge Index

[Based on responses to questions 69-75, base 57]

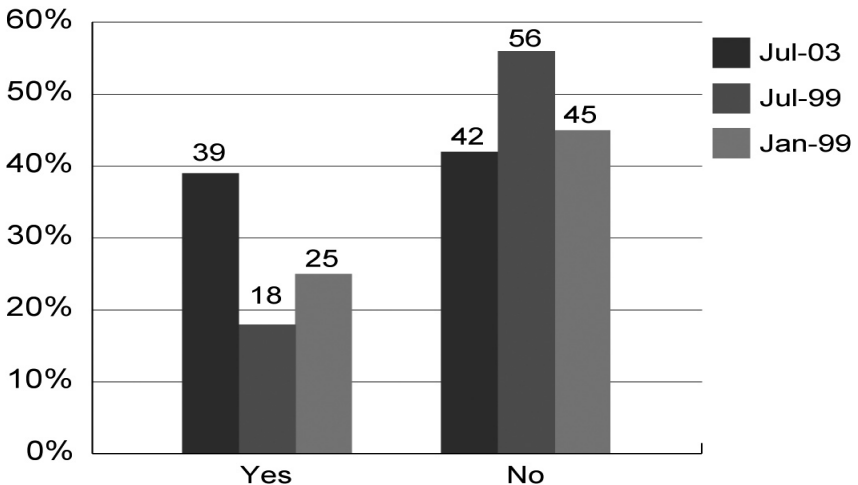


Due to split sampling, there were too few Papuan voters in the quarter-sample asked the characteristics of democratic countries to permit analysis of their replies at regional level.

When asked whether or not seven basic principles are part of democracy, Papuans were among the least likely among the residents of Indonesia's regions to recognize them as such.¹ Some 72% of Papuans recognized three or fewer of the democratic principles mentioned, while 16% knew that four or five of them were part of democracy, and only 12% accepted six or all seven as aspects of democracy. This last group is the smallest in any of the regions in the survey.

Political Tolerance: Party Meetings

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? [Q.84, base 57]



Political intolerance in Papua remains a very serious problem, although a positive trend is apparent since 1999. Currently, just 39% of Papua voters are willing to allow all political parties to hold meetings in their area, one of the lowest proportions among Indonesia's regions. How-

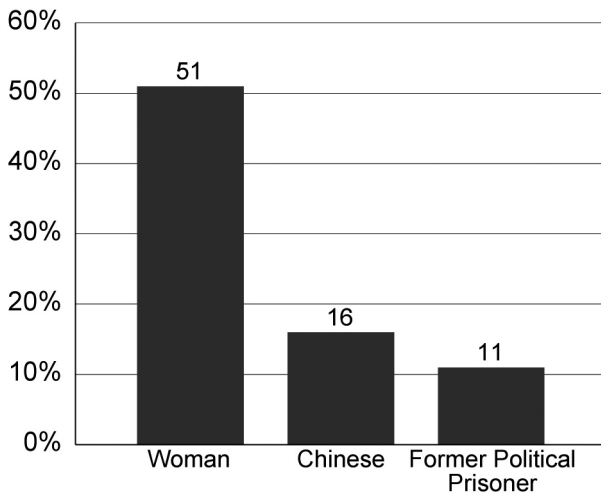
¹ For details of our Democratic Principles Index, see p.9. of this report

ever, this is an improvement since 1999, when only 25% would have supported political party meetings in January and only 19% in July. At present, a plurality of Papuan voters (42%) is unwilling to accept meetings of all political parties. In our previous research, such intolerance was associated with fear of partisan conflict and violence.

Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups

For any office, would you consider voting for: A woman?

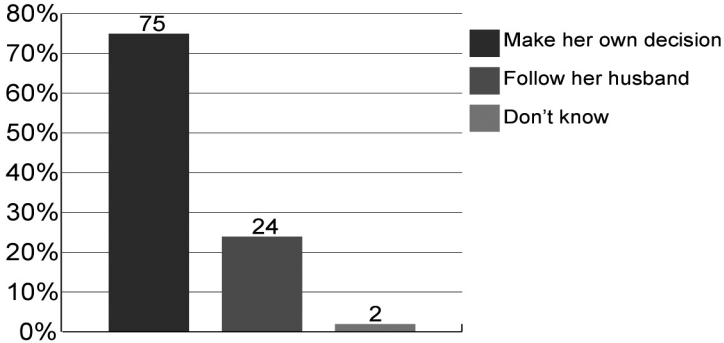
A Chinese person? A former political prisoner? [Q.76, base57]



Interestingly, Papua voters are a bit more tolerant of candidates from unpopular groups than average Indonesians. Some 51% would vote for a woman, while 16% would consider a Chinese candidate and 11% a former political prisoner. That being said, these proportions are still low.

Women Making Their Own Voting Decision

Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband? [Q.93]

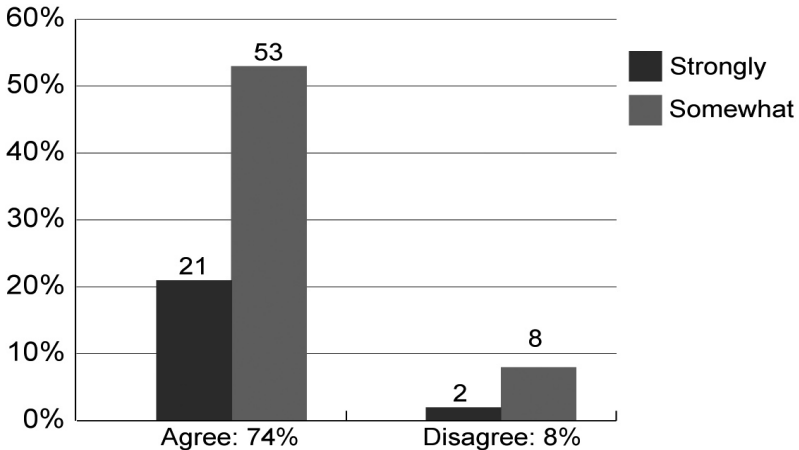


The proportion of Papuan voters who think married women should make their own choices for voting, 76%, is almost identical to the national number (75%).

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Gender Issues in Politics and Elections

Some people say women as a group have common needs, like those of religious groups, farmers, or business, that should be expressed in politics and elections. Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.89]



Papua voters are also among the most supportive of taking gender into consideration in politics and elections. Three-quarters of them (74%) view women as an important political interest group, including over half (53%) who feel strongly that women's common needs should be expressed in politics. Nationally the proportion who see women as an interest group is 60%, with only 27% agreeing strongly.

Problems Facing women

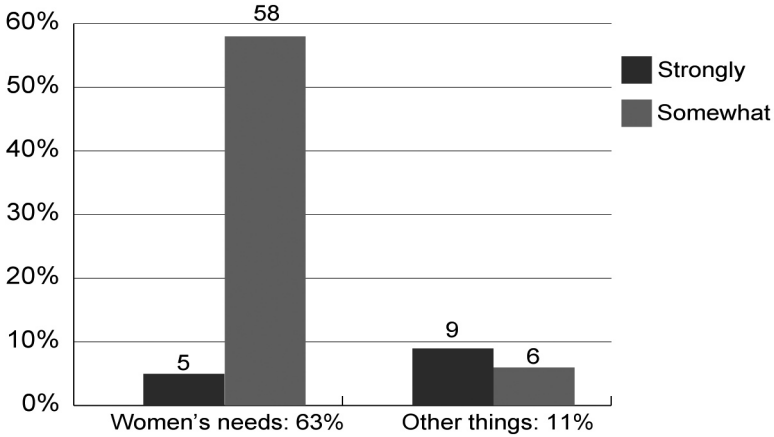
What do you think is the biggest problem facing women in this area today? [Q.88]

| | |
|--|-----|
| • Rape: | 35% |
| • Family problems / domestic violence: | 34% |
| • Poverty: | 19% |
| • Woman's rights: | 13% |
| • Prostitution: | 12% |
| • Education: | 11% |
| • Too much freedom: | 5% |
| • Other: | 27% |
| • Don't know/ No problems: | 21% |

Problems facing women in Papua are ranked differently than the rest of the country, with voter concern focusing on violence against women. More than a third of Papua voters (35%) believe that rape is the most serious problem facing women, followed closely by domestic violence (34%). Poverty – ranked first in the rest of the country – comes in third (19%). Women's rights are mentioned by 13%, prostitution by 12%, and education by 11%.

Influence of Women’s Needs on Voting Decision

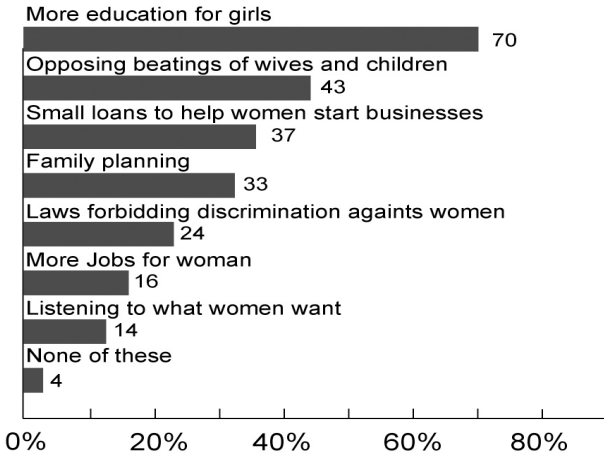
If two equally qualified people ran for the DPR, and one stressed women’s needs and the other stressed other things, which would you prefer? Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.90]



More than six Papuan voters in ten (63%) would choose a candidate who stressed women’s issues over one who emphasized other things, including an impressive 58% who would strongly prefer a “women’s needs” candidate.

Importance of Women’s Issues

Here are some ideas candidates might present. Please let me know which, if any, would make you more likely to vote for them. [Q.91]



Just as Papuans view women's problems differently from residents of other regions, so too do they react differently to women's issues that candidates might propose. The top issue, as elsewhere, was girls' education, which was attractive to 70% of the voters and proved to be the only one interesting to a majority. The next two issues concerned women's independence: combating domestic violence and micro-finance for women's businesses, mentioned by 48% and 37% respectively. Family planning, the second most popular issue elsewhere, appealed to only one voter in three (33%) in Papua. The remaining issues attracted even less interest (anti-discrimination laws appealed to 24%, jobs for women to 16%, and listening to women 14%).

INFORMATION SOURCES, MEDIA USE AND LANGUAGE

Regular Media Exposure

*How many days a week do you watch TV / listen to the radio?
[Q.4/7 (Among those who use medium 3 days/week or more)]*

| | All Targets | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------|-------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| TV | 47% | 27% | 43% |
| Radio | 44% | 38% | 43% |

Papua continues to have only limited penetration of broadcast media as in 1999. Less than half the region's electorate (47%) watches television three times a week or more, and almost the same percentage (44%) listens to radio. These represent modest increases on the 1999 numbers, when 38% watched TV and 37% listened to the radio. Voter education targets are notably less likely to be reachable through TV (27%) and radio (38%). Therefore, efforts need to focus more on in-person voter education.

TV Station Exposure

Which TV station do you watch most often? [Q.5, base 87]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|---------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| RCTI | 33% | 31% | 32% |
| TVRI 1 | 27% | 19% | 27% |
| Indosiar | 8% | 8% | 8% |
| TVRI Stasiun Daerah | 7% | 6% | 5% |

Among those who watch TV, the preferred stations are RCTI (43%) and TVRI 1 (35%).

Radio Station Exposure

Which radio station do you listen to most often? [Q.6, base 72]

| | All Voters | Voters Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| RRI Daerah | 76% | 83% | 78% |
| RRI Programa Pusat | 22% | 17% | 22% |

RRI Daerah (76% of radio listeners) and RRI Programa Pusat (22%) are the two main radio stations in Papua.

Languages

Top 5 languages [Q.1/2/3/28]

| | Mother Tongue | Understand | Read | Prefer |
|------------|---------------|------------|------|--------|
| Indonesian | 57% | 98% | 89% | 87% |
| Javanese | 16% | 24% | 10% | 3% |
| Irianese | 9% | 20% | 14% | 4% |
| Biak | 4% | 8% | 6% | 1% |
| Bugis | 4% | 7% | 5% | 2% |

Bahasa Indonesia is almost universally understood and very widely used in Papua. Close to nine in ten Papua voters (87%) prefer Bahasa Indonesia for information about elections. Some 13% want voter education in other languages. Among this remainder, 4% want information in Irianese, 3% in Javanese, 2% in Bugis, and 1% in Biak.

Voter Education Sources

How have you gotten information about how to register and vote in elections? [Q.11]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|---------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| RT/RW leader | 42% | 43% | 44% |
| TV | 29% | 22% | 28% |
| Radio | 22% | 19% | 22% |
| Friends/family/neighbours | 15% | 15% | 12% |
| Local election organizer | 13% | 10% | 10% |
| Religious leader | 12% | 18% | 14% |
| Village Chief | 12% | 18% | 13% |
| Other/Don't know | 27% | 32% | 28% |

Over 40% of voters in Papua learn about elections from their RT/RW leaders, making them the most popular voter information medium for all voters as well as the voter and civic education targets. Almost three in ten (29%) rely on television, while 22% count on radio, 15% get information from family and friends, and 12% each rely on religious or village leaders. (Voter education targets are less likely to rely on TV and more to rely on religious or village leaders than are other voters.)

Sumatra

The Regional Mood

- Direction Of The Country
- Indonesia's Biggest Problems

Voter Education Needs:

Elections and Electoral Procedure

- Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
- Awareness of DPD
- Presidential Election
- Knowledge of Election Organizations
- Recourse for Election Problems
- Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

Civic Education Needs

- Democratic Knowledge Index
- Women Making Their Own Voting Decision
- Political Tolerance : Party Meetings
- Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups

Gender and Political Participation

- Problems Facing Women
- Gender Issues in Politics and Elections
- Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision
- Importance of Women's Issues

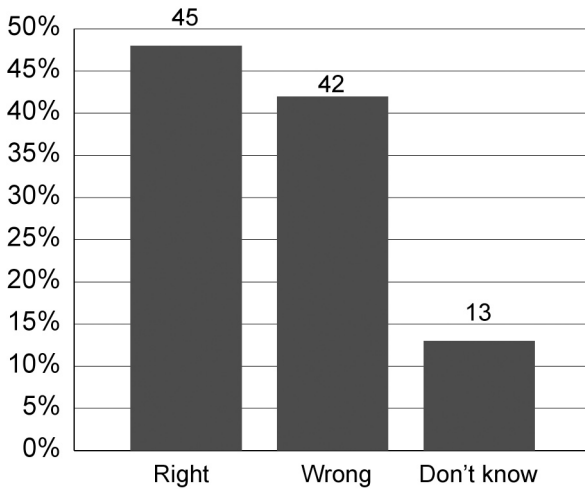
Information Sources, Media Use and Language

- Regular Media Exposure
- TV Station Exposure
- Radio Station Exposure v
- Languages
- Voter Education Sources

THE REGIONAL MOOD

Direction of the Country

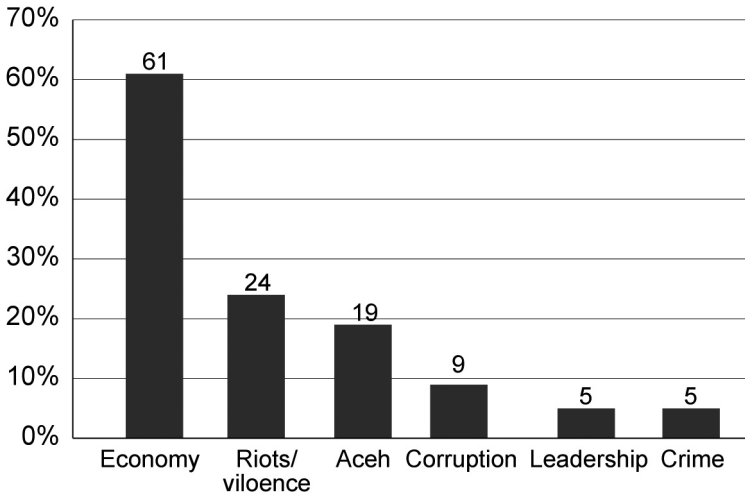
Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? [Q.29]



The mood in Sumatra is the most evenly divided of any region in Indonesia. More than two-fifths (45%) of voters are optimistic about the direction of the country, but 42% hold negative impressions. The regional mood has clearly soured since 1999; 66% thought the country was headed in the right direction in January and 67% in July.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia?
And after that, what is the next biggest problem? [Q.32/33]
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*

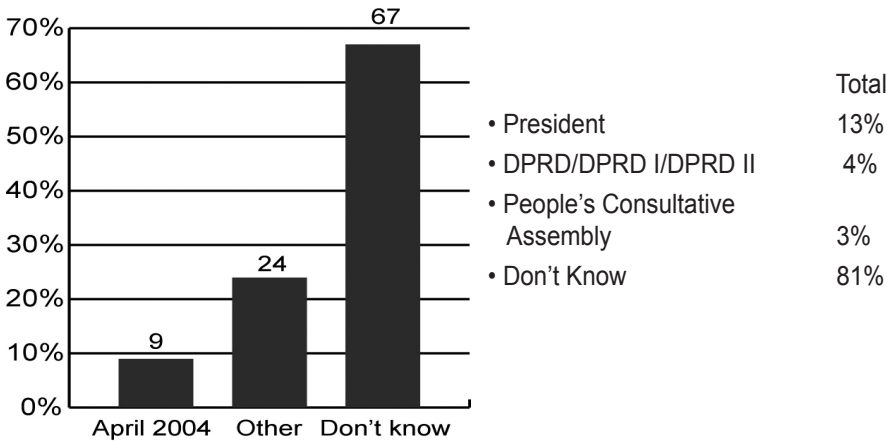


As it is elsewhere, the economy is of major concern in Sumatra, where six voters in ten (61%) name it as one of the top two concerns, compared to 59% nationwide. However, the proportion focused on the economy is down since 1999, when 76% were concerned about it in January and 69% in July. Some 24% of voters are concerned about violence, which is above the national average. Other significant problems for Sumatra voters are the Aceh conflict (19%), corruption (9%), leadership and crime (5% respectively).

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCEDURES

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

Many people are not sure when the next election for the DPR will take place. Which month do you think it will be? And do you happen to know if anyone besides the members of the DPR will be elected on the same day? [Q. 12/13]



Awareness of the 2004 legislative elections is low in Sumatra. More than two-thirds of voters (67%) do not know which month the DPR election will occur and eight in ten (81%) are unsure if they will be casting a vote for anyone besides the DPR.

Awareness of DPD

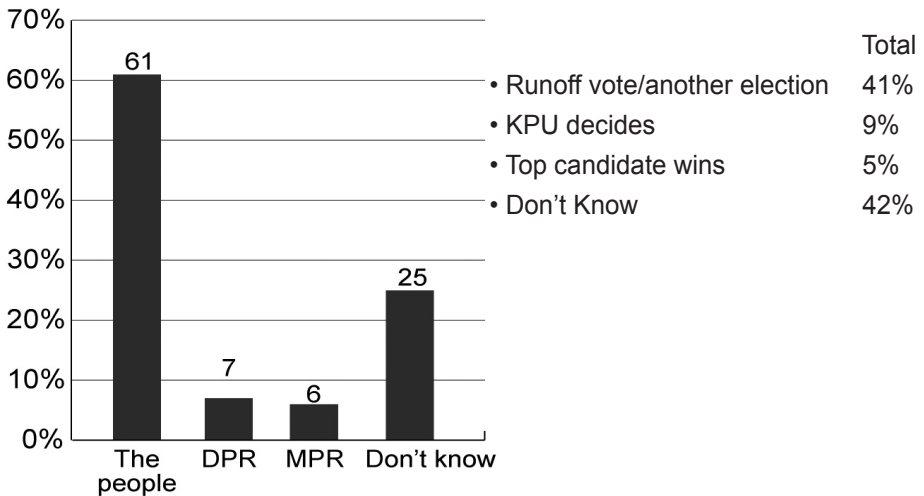
According to the news, the people will elect a new body on the same day as the DPR, called the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, or DPD. Have you heard anything about this new body? IF YES: What have you heard about what it will do? [Q.14]

- Yes: 38%
 - Heard about DPD but don't know what it will do: 28%
 - It will consider legislation regarding regional autonomy: 6%
 - Other comments: 4%
- No: 53%
- Don't know: 10%

More than six in ten Sumatran voters (63%) have not heard anything about the DPD or are unsure if they have, and another 28% have heard of the new government entity but do not know anything about it. Only 6% can correctly specify its role.

Presidential Election

*Who do you think will vote to elect the next President?
If no candidate has a majority of the vote in that election, according to the rule,
what do you think will happen then? [Q.17/18]*



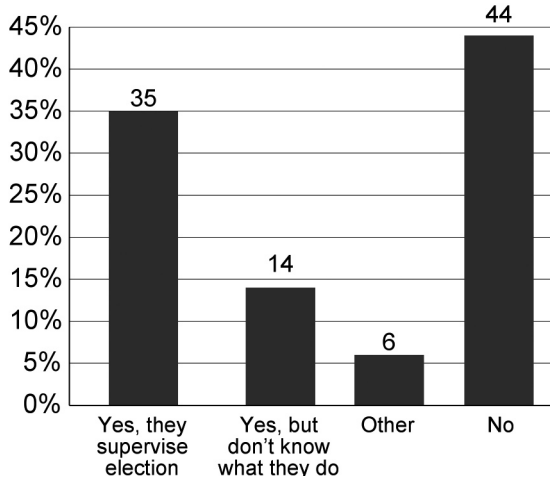
Voters in Sumatra, along with those in Kalimantan, are among the most aware of the new voting system for the DPR, with 29% in each region mentioning that they will be expected to vote for both party and candidate. However, 28% still think the former party voting system applies, 25% think voters will choose only candidates, and 18% are not sure which system will be in force.

The majority of Sumatran voters are aware of the direct presidential election (61%), but just four in ten (41%) expect a run-off if no candidate receives a majority of the vote.

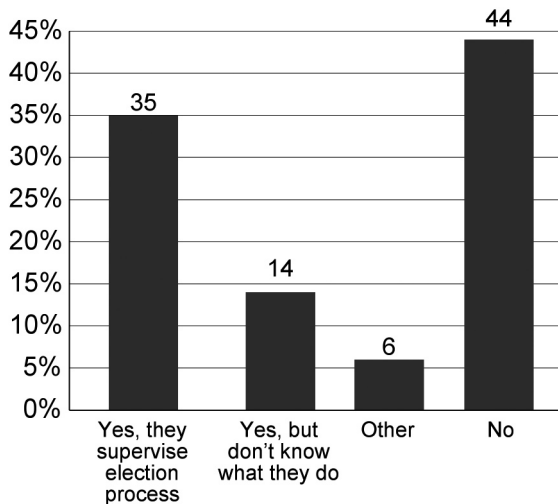
Knowledge of Election Organizations

[Q. 24,25]

Have you heard of the Komite Pemilihan Umum, or KPU



Have you heard of the Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, or Panwaslu?

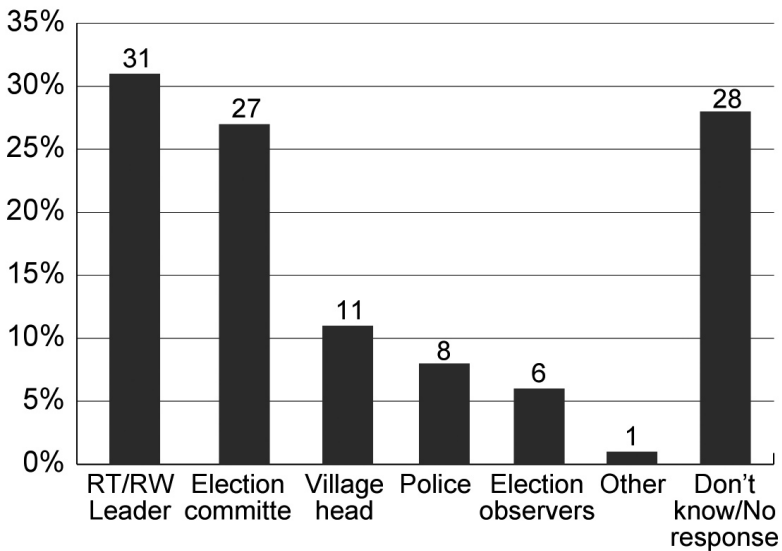


The voter registration message has really penetrated the Sumatra electorate since 1999. Now 98% expect to register, well above the high national average of 83%. More than six in ten (62%) know there is a registration deadline, also well above the national average (43%), although a substantial proportion remains unaware of the time limit for registration, indicating voter education needs.

The Sumatra electorate is also relatively knowledgeable about election organizations – 22% identify the KPU (compared to 17% nationally) and 35% identify Panwaslu (compared to 27% nationally). However, there is still a clear need for voter education.

Recourse for Election Problems

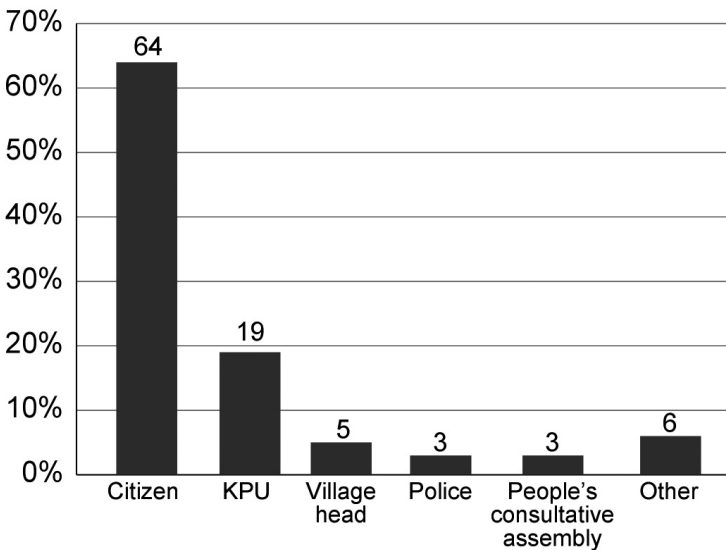
If there is a problem with the way the elections are run in your area, do you know to whom you could complain? [Q22]



Twenty-seven percent of Sumatran voters would go to the local election committee if they had a complaint about an election irregularity. They are more likely to go the RT/RW leader (31%). Others would go to the village head (11%), the police (8%) or election observers (6%).

Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

If the parties and the local election committee cannot resolve election disputes, do you happen to know who will be responsible to do so? [Q.23]



Some 64% of Sumatra's voters think the citizens are responsible for resolving electoral complaints that cannot be decided at the local level; only 19% would turn to the KPU.

CIVIC EDUCATION NEEDS

Characteristics of a Democratic Country

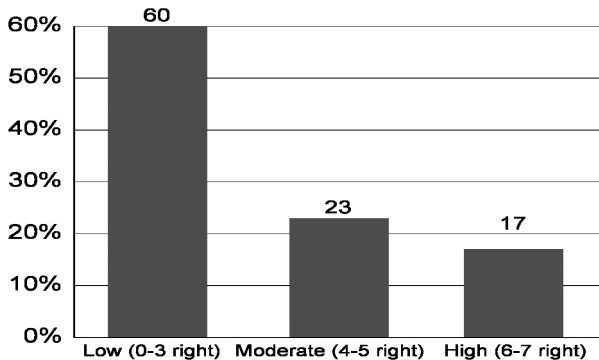
*If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you?
Anything else? [Q.67, base 52]*

- Don't Know / No Response: 54%
- Political Rights: 64%
 - “Freedom,” “people have rights,” “can do what they want,” “travel”: 5%
 - “Freedom of speech,” “Freedom to express opinions,” “People have their voice heard,” “Right to vote” “People have power”: 45%
 - “Equality,” “Equal in law,” “Impartiality,” “Justice”: 5%
 - Other: 9%
- Economic Gains: 1%

More than half the voters in Sumatra (54%) cannot name any characteristics of a democratic country. This compares to 50% in July 1999 and 70% the previous January, showing that the voters have retained the gains of the civic education campaigns that year. The overwhelming association with democracy takes the form of political rights, mentioned by 64% of those answering, compared to just 30% in January 1999.

Democratic Knowledge Index

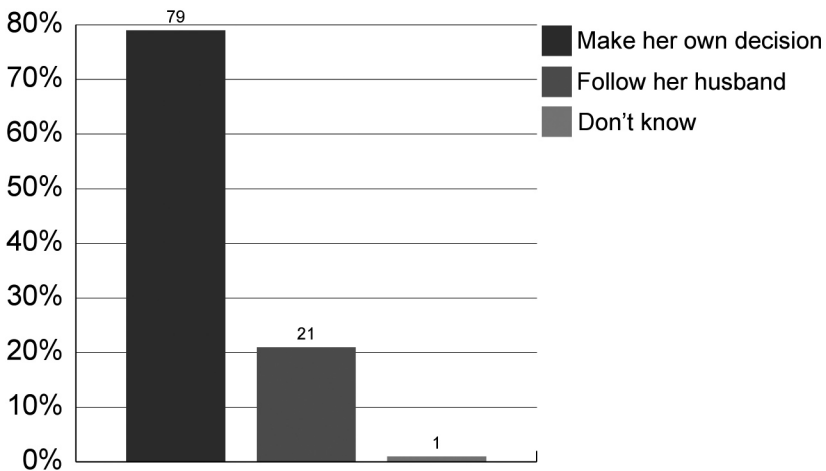
[Based on responses to questions 69-75, base 105]



Awareness of the basic principles of democracy in Sumatra is also low, though a bit higher than in other parts of the country. Some 60% of Sumatran voters were able to recognize three or fewer of the democratic rules in our Democratic Principles Index.¹ This proportion, though substantial, is at least 10 points lower than in all other regions except Kalimantan. Four or five of the principles were recognized by 23% of Sumatrans, while 17% were aware of six or all seven of them.

Women Making Their Own Voting Decision

Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband? [Q.93]

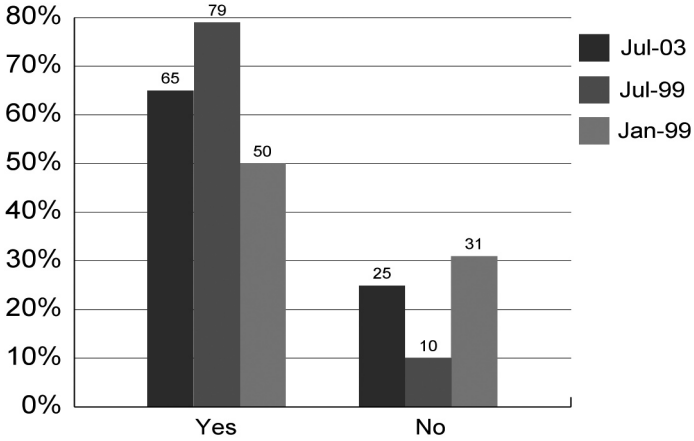


Some 79% of Sumatra's voters – more than the proportion nationwide (74%) – say that married women should make their own voting choices. However, 21% still disagree.

¹ For Details on the index, see p.9 of this report

Political Tolerance: Party Meetings

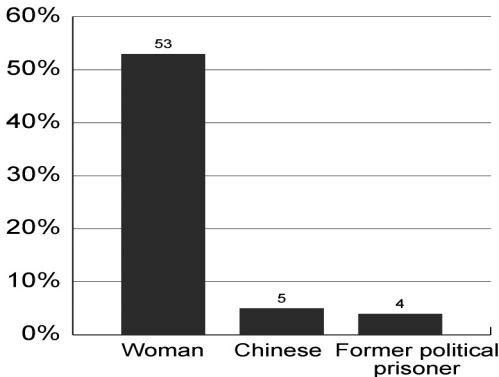
Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? [Q.84, base 105]



Two-thirds of Sumatra’s electorate (65%) accepts local meetings of unpopular parties (compared to 57% nationally). This is somewhat lower than the 79% level recorded in July 1999, but well above the 50% of January 1999, a sign that the gains of civic education have persisted.

Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups Elections

For any office, would you consider voting for: A woman? A Chinese person? A former political prisoner? [Q.76, base 105]



Over half (53%) of voters in Sumatra would vote for a woman (compared to 46% nationally). However, this tolerance does not extend to Chinese candidates (5%) or former political prisoners (4%).

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Problems Facing Women

What do you think is the biggest problem facing women in this area today? [Q. 88]

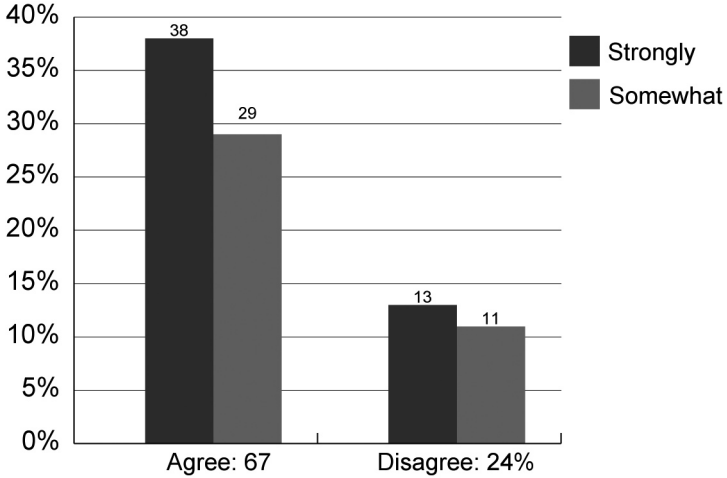
| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| • Poverty/Economy: | 41% |
| • Education: | 8% |
| • Women's rights: | 7% |
| • Rape: | 6% |
| • Domestic violence: | 6% |
| • Family problems: | 5% |
| • Too much freedom: | 5% |
| • Prostitution: | 5% |
| • Other: | 6% |
| • No problems/ Don't know: | 44% |

Sumatran voters' opinions on women's issues and gender politics tend to follow the national trends. Poverty is seen as the most pressing issue for women (41%), but the rest of the women's agenda includes education (8%), women's rights (7%), rape (6%), domestic violence (6%), and other issues. Some 44% say women have no problems.

Gender Issues in Politics and Elections

Some people say women as a group have common needs, like those of religious groups, farmers, or business, that should be expressed in politics and elections.

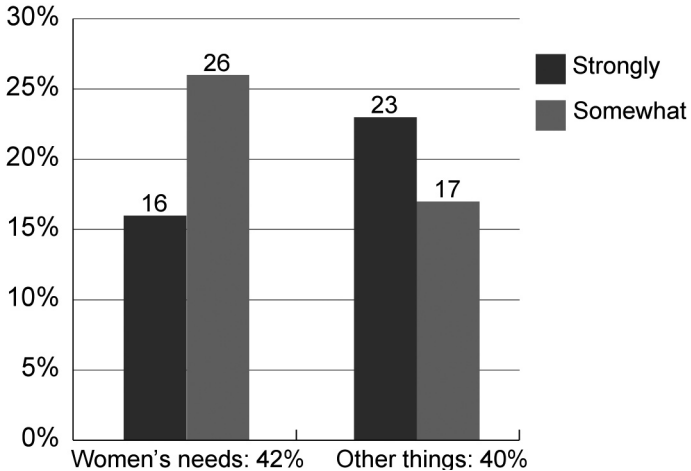
Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.89]



Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision

If two equally qualified people ran for the DPR, and one stressed women's needs and the other stressed other things, which would you prefer?

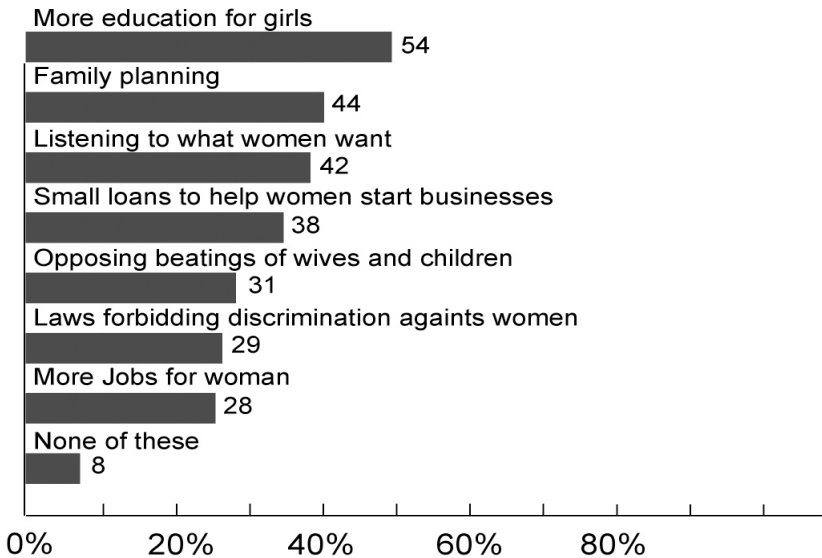
Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.90]



Potential backing for a “women’s needs” candidate is right around the national figure (42%), while 40% would prefer a candidate stressing other things.

Importance of Women’s Issues

Here are some ideas candidates might present. Please let me know which, if any, would make you more likely to vote for them. [Q.91]



Women’s issues attract relatively few voters in Sumatra. Only education for girls is attractive to more than half the Sumatra electorate (54%). The next most attractive issues are family planning and micro-finance for women’s businesses (each appealing to 44%).

INFORMATION SOURCES, MEDIA USE AND LANGUAGE

Regular Media Exposure

*How many days a week do you watch TV / listen to the radio?
(Among those who use medium 3 days/week or more) [Q.4/7]*

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| TV | 78% | 57% | 69% |
| Radio | 35% | 33% | 34% |

TV reaches 78% of the Sumatra electorate, but its penetration of voter education targets is substantially lower (57%) than that among civic education targets (69%). Radio reaches about a third of all three groups.

TV Station Exposure

Which TV station do you watch most often? [Q.5]

| | All voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|---------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indosiar | 41% | 33% | 45% |
| RCTI | 28% | 23% | 26% |
| SCTV | 9% | 7% | 5% |
| TVRI 1 | 6% | 6% | 7% |
| TVRI stasiun daerah | 4% | 8% | 4% |
| Trans TV | 3% | 3% | 3% |

More than four viewers in ten (43%) watch Indosiar, 30% watch RCTI and SCTV attracts 10%.

Radio Station Exposure

Which radio station do you listen to most often? [Q.8, base 105]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Target |
|-----------------------|------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| RRI Daerah | 8% | 13% | 9% |
| RRI Programa Pusat | 6% | 12% | 8% |
| Papeja FM | 6% | 6% | 6% |
| Kiss FM | 5% | 0% | 0% |
| RAU FM | 4% | 3% | 2% |
| BOSS FM | 4% | 4% | 6% |

No radio station appeals to more than 8% of listeners. The most popular is RRI Daerah, with an audience share of 8%. RRI Pusat and PAPEJA FM (6% each), Kiss FM (5%), and RAU FM and BOSS FM (4% each) follow it. The two RRI programs have larger shares among voter education targets than among the electorate at large.

Languages

Top 7 languages [Q. 1/2/3/28]

| | Mother Tongue | Understand | Read | Prefer |
|------------------|------------------|------------|------|--------|
| Javanese | 24% | 34% | 23% | 1% |
| Indonesian | 23% | 100% | 100% | 90% |
| Batak | 12% | 16% | 13% | 3% |
| Minang | 12% | 20% | 17% | 4% |
| Palembang | 6% | 11% | 2% | 0% |
| Musirawas Cul | 4% | 4% | 1% | 0% |
| Malay | 4% | 6% | 5% | 2% |

Bahasa Indonesia is universally understood and preferred by 90% of the electorate for voter education information. Batak (3%) and Minang (4%) are preferred by small minorities of voters, while smaller groups want information in Malay (2%) and Javanese (1%).

In 1999, Indonesian was preferred for voter education information by 91% and used by 94% of respondents.

Voter Education Sources

How have you gotten information about how to register and vote in elections? [Q11]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|----------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| TV | 45% | 24% | 37% |
| RT/RW leader | 42% | 46% | 43% |
| Local election organizer | 21% | 19% | 18% |
| Friends/family/ neighbours | 18% | 9% | 18% |
| Radio | 10% | 9% | 18% |
| Newspaper | 10% | 5% | 9% |
| Other/don't know | 18% | 25% | 25% |

Information about elections has been disseminated in Sumatra primarily by television (45%) and through RT/RW leaders (42%). Other sources are less significant contributors: these include the local election organizer (21%), family, friends and neighbors (18%), radio and newspapers (10% respectively). For voter and civic education targets, however, the RT/RW leaders are a more important source of voter education than television.

Sulawesi

The Regional Mood

- Direction Of The Country
- Indonesia's Biggest Problems

Voter Education Needs:

Elections and Electoral Procedure

- Knowledge of Upcoming Elections
- Awareness of DPD
- Presidential Election
- Knowledge of Election Organizations
- Recourse for Election Problems
- Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

Civic Education Needs

- Democratic Knowledge Index
- Women Making Their Own Voting Decision
- Political Tolerance : Party Meetings
- Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups

Gender and Political Participation

- Problems Facing Women
- Gender Issues in Politics and Elections
- Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision
- Importance of Women's Issues

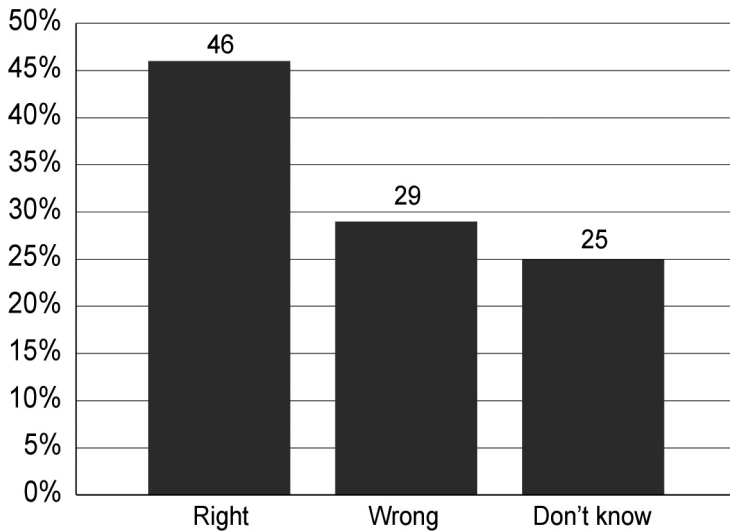
Information Sources, Media Use and Language

- Regular Media
- TV Station Exposure
- Radio Station Exposure
- Languages
- Voter Education Sources

THE REGIONAL MOOD

Direction of the Country

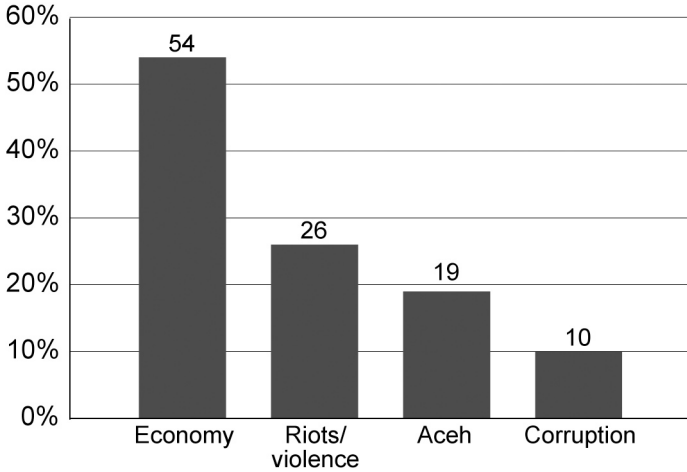
Generally speaking, do you think things in Indonesia today are going in the right direction, or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? [Q.29]



The public in Sulawesi is slightly more positive in outlook than Indonesia as a whole: 46% believe Indonesia is headed in the right direction, while 29% think things are going down the wrong path and a quarter (25%) are unsure. Nationally, 44% say the country is headed in the right direction. Their view is more pessimistic than four years ago; in January and June 1999 three-fifths of the region's voters thought the country was headed the right direction.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia?
And after that, what is the next biggest problem? [Q.32/33]
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*

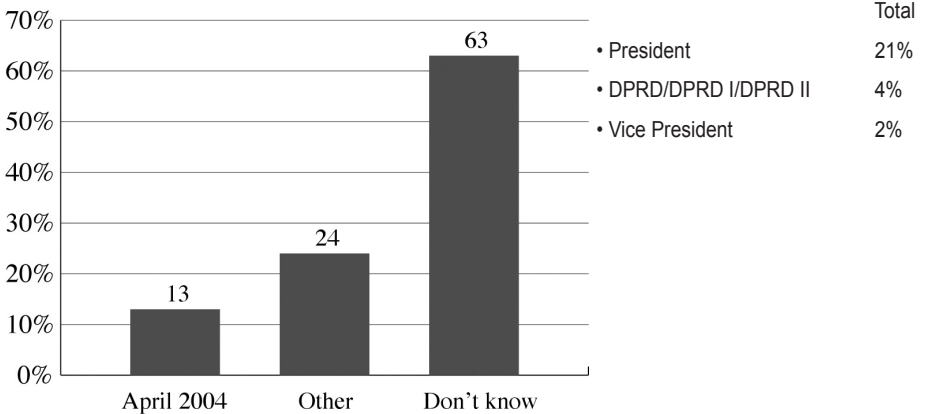


At 54%, the economy dominates the list of national problems, but not quite as much as in 1999, when seven in ten in January and six in ten in July cited it one of the top two problems facing the country. A quarter of Sulawesi's voters are worried about violence (26%) and 19% are concerned about Aceh, while 10% list corruption as a top problem.

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: ELECTIONS AND ELECTORAL PROCEDURES

Knowledge of Upcoming Elections

Many people are not sure when the next election for the DPR will take place. Which month do you think it will be? And do you happen to know if anyone besides the members of the DPR will be elected on the same day? [Q.12/13]



Sulawesi voters are fairly similar to the overall electorate in terms of their awareness of the upcoming elections. Only 13% are aware of the election date and 72% are unsure for which offices ballots will be cast on Election Day.

Awareness of DPD

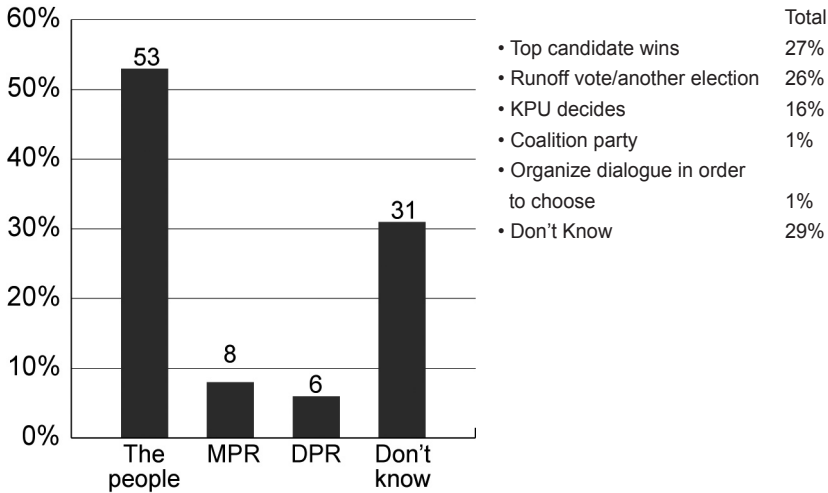
According to the news, the people will elect a new body on the same day as the DPR, called the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah, or DPD. Have you heard anything about this new body? IF YES: What have you heard about what it will do? [Q.14]

- Yes: 34%
 - Heard about DPD but don't know what it will do: 24%
 - It will consider legislation regarding regional autonomy: 7%
 - Other comments: 3%
- No: 52%
- Don't know: 14%

Two-thirds (66%) of voters in Sulawesi have not heard anything about the DPD or are unsure if they have; another quarter (24%) have heard of the DPD but are not sure what it will do. Only 7% are familiar with its role.

Presidential Election

Who do you think will vote to elect the next President? If no candidate has a majority of the vote in that election, according to the rule, what do you think will happen then? [Q.17/18]

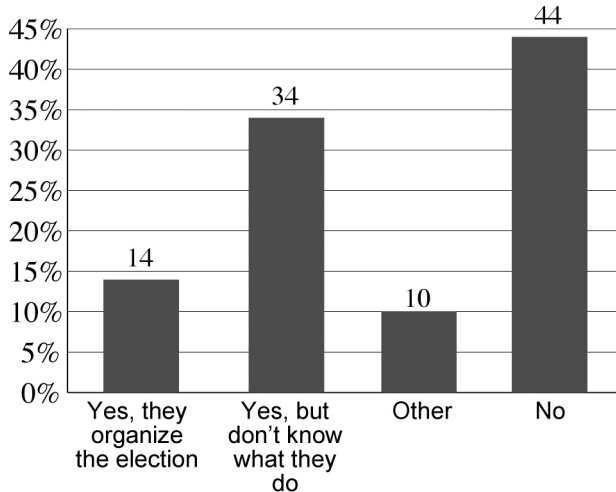


Sulawesi's voters are among the most aware that the next time citizens vote for the DPR they will choose both a party and a candidate. Nonetheless, only 28% know this, while 28% think the old system of party voting remains in force, 25% think they must choose only a candidate, and 18% are unsure.

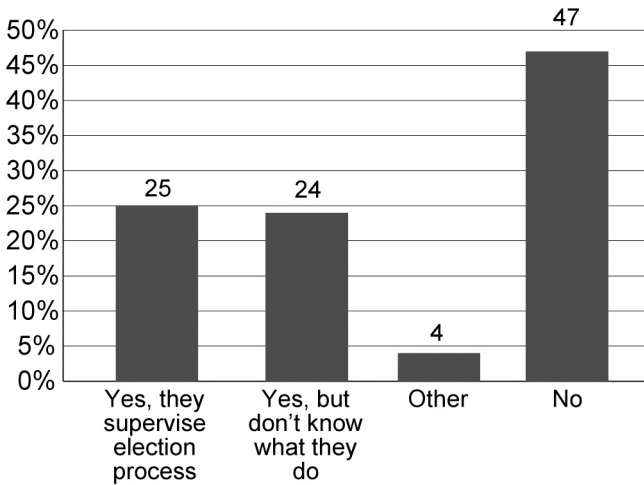
Voters in Sulawesi are a bit less aware than those elsewhere that they will have a chance to directly elect the next Indonesian president. Only 53% know about the upcoming presidential election, compared to the national figure of 61%. There is considerable confusion about what will occur if no candidate gets a majority, with only 26% aware that there will be a runoff.

Knowledge of Election Organizations

Have you heard of the Komite Pemilihan Umum, or KPU? [Q.24/25]



Have you heard of the Panitia Pengawas Pemilu, or Panwaslu? [Q24/25]

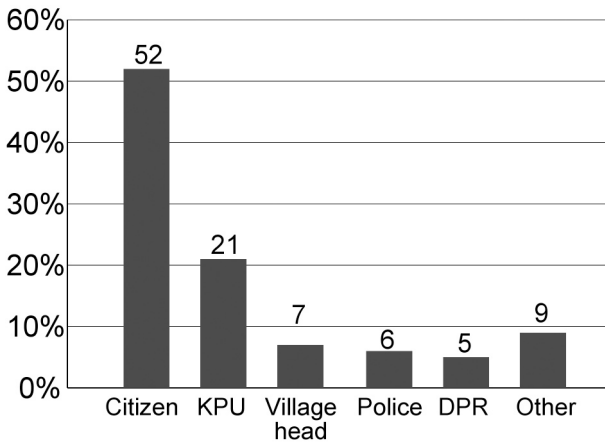


More than seven in ten Sulawesi voters (72%) are aware they will need to register for the upcoming elections. This is below the current national average of 83%. Sulawesi voters' knowledge of the existence of a registration deadline mirrors the national figures, with just over four in ten aware of it.

Almost eight of ten Sulawesi voters (78%) have never heard of the KPU or are not sure what it does and seven out of ten (71%) have never heard of Panwaslu or are uncertain about its mandate. One in seven knows the role of the KPU. One in four know that of the Panwaslu.

Recourse for Election Problems

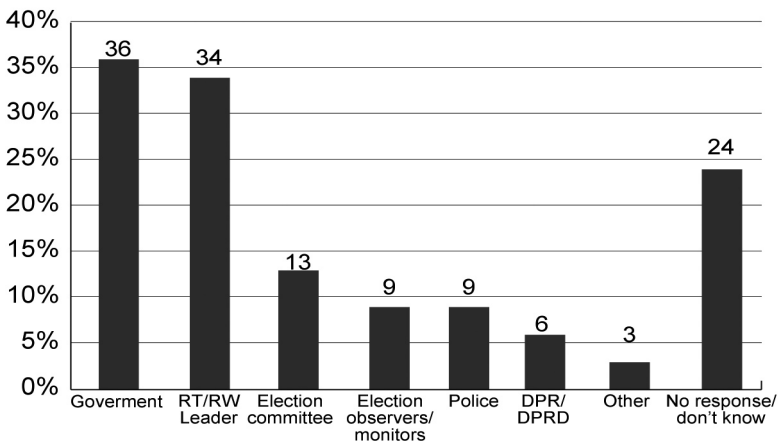
If there is a problem with the way the elections are run in your area, do you know to whom you could complain? [Q22]



Thirteen percent of Sulawesi residents would take a complaint about election problems to the local election committee. Some 36% would go to the “government,” without further specification, while 34% would go to their RT/RW leaders and 9% each to election observers or police.

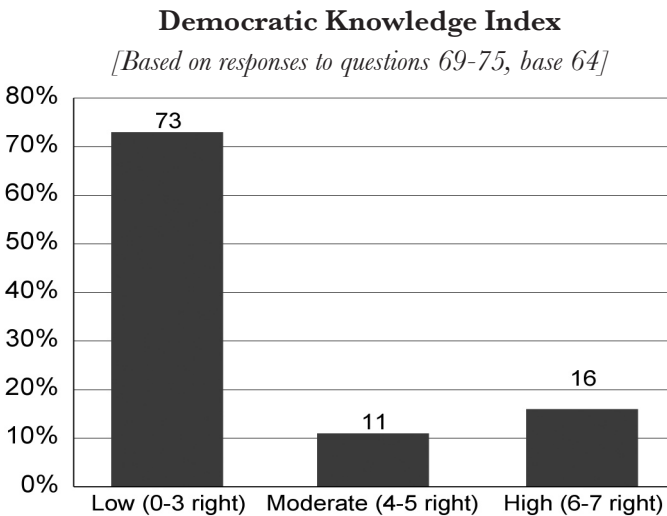
Responsibility for Resolving Election Disputes

If the parties and the local election committee cannot resolve election disputes, do you happen to know who will be responsible to do so? [Q23]



If election problems cannot be resolved at the local level, some 52% of Sulawesi voters think citizens must take responsibility to do so into their own hands, while just 21% understand that the KPU is charged with doing so.

CIVIC EDUCATION NEEDS



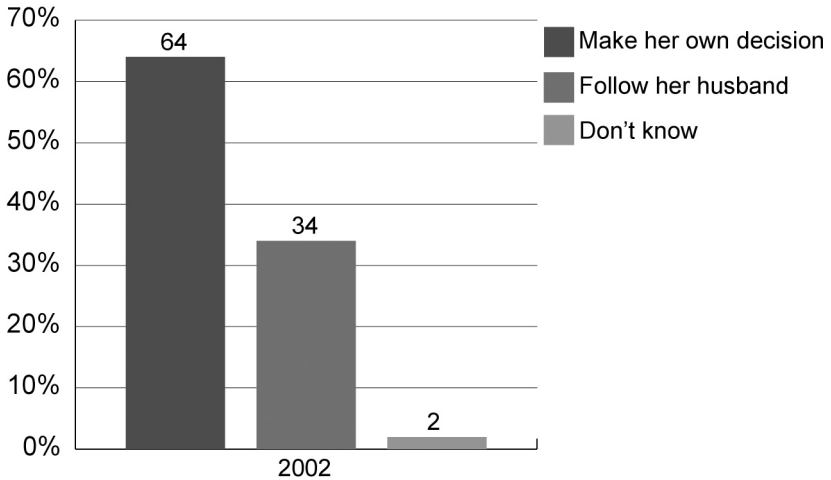
Too few respondents in Sulawesi were asked the characteristics of a democratic country to permit analysis of their responses, because the question was only asked of one-quarter of the sample.

In Sulawesi, awareness of the basic principles of democracy was the lowest in any region in the survey. Some 73% of Sulawesi residents recognized three or fewer of the seven items in our Democratic Principles Index as being part of democracy.¹ Among the remainder, 11% recognized four or five of the principles, while 16% recognized six or seven of them.

¹ For a list of items in the index, see p.9 of this report

Women Making Their Own Voting Decision

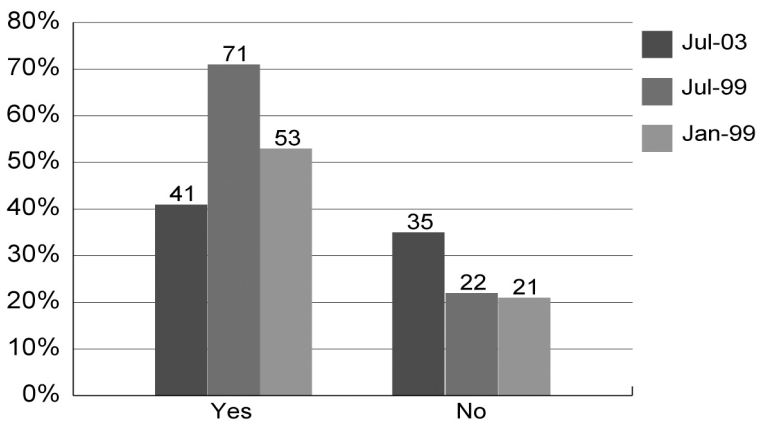
Do you think a married woman should make her own choice for voting, even if it differs from her husband, or should she follow her husband? [Q.93]



Some 63% of Sulawesi residents thought Indonesian women should make their own choices in voting, but over one-third (34%) thought their husbands should advise them, a percentage higher than the national figure of 24%.

Political Tolerance: Party Meetings

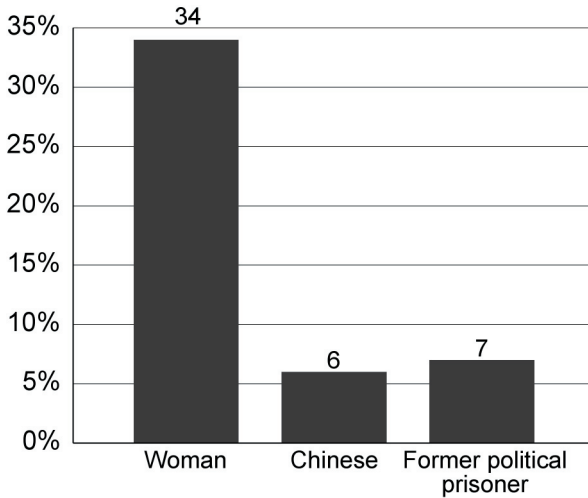
Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area? [Q.84, base 64]



Sulawesi is one of the regions where intolerance has grown since 1999. Only four voters in ten (41%) support allowing meetings for all parties, down from 53% in January 1999 and 71% in July of that year. More than a third (35%) are unwilling to allow unpopular parties to meet, up from 21% at the start of 1999. Our previous research shows that intolerance is associated with fears of violent conflict, which has occurred in parts of Sulawesi.

Political Tolerance: Candidates from Unpopular Groups

*For any office, would you consider voting for: A woman?
A Chinese person? A former political prisoner? [Q.76, base 64]*



Intolerance in Sulawesi towards candidates belonging to out-groups is also more marked than in other parts of the country. Only a third of Sulawesi voters (34%) would consider voting for a woman, just six percent (6%) would support a Chinese candidate and only seven percent (7%) would back a former political prisoner for elected office.

GENDER AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Problems Facing Women

What do you think is the biggest problem facing women in this area today? [Q.88]

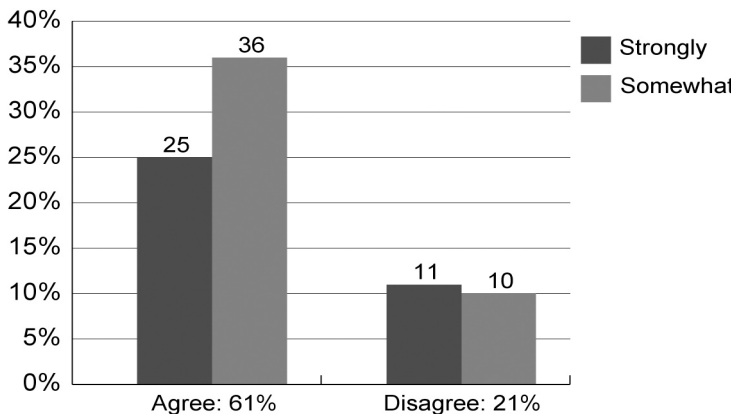
| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----|
| • Poverty/Economy: | 26% |
| • Family problems/Domestic violence: | 17% |
| • Education: | 9% |
| • Rape: | 5% |
| • Women's rights: | 5% |
| • Birth control: | 4% |
| • Other: | 9% |
| • Don't know/No problems: | 52% |

Voters in Sulawesi are the least likely to perceive women as having distinctive issues or concerns than those elsewhere in Indonesia. More than half the electorate in this region (52%) are unsure if they do or do not feel women face any problems. One quarter (25%) cite poverty as the major issue facing women, 17% mention domestic violence and nine percent (9%) cite education.

Gender Issues in Politics and Elections

Some people say women as a group have common needs, like those of religious groups, farmers, or business, that should be expressed in politics and elections.

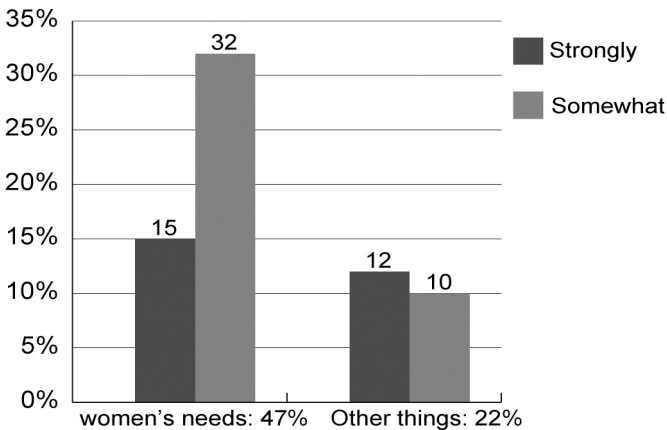
Would you agree or disagree? Strongly or somewhat? [Q.89]



Despite the relatively low level of awareness of specific women's concerns, voters are roughly as supportive of the idea of gender issues in politics as the overall Indonesian electorate. Six in ten Sulawesi voters (61%) view women as an important political interest group, including 36% who feel strongly that women's common needs should be expressed in politics.

Influence of Women's Needs on Voting Decision

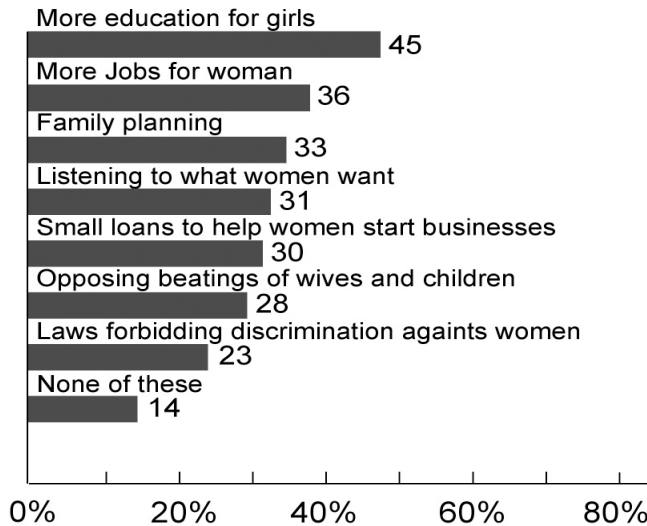
If two equally qualified people ran for the DPR, and one stressed women's needs and the other stressed other things, which would you prefer? Strongly, or somewhat? [Q.90]



Almost half of Sulawesi's voters (47%) would choose a candidate who stressed women's issues, while 22% would prefer one who emphasized other things. This compares to an almost even split (40% women's needs candidate, 38% other things) at the national level.

Importance of Women's Issues

Here are some ideas candidates might present. Please let me know which, if any, would make you more likely to vote for them. [Q.91]



However, none of the platform ideas regarding women's issues tested are appealing enough to encourage a majority of Sulawesi voters to support a candidate who raised them. Forty-five percent (45%) find more education for women compelling and 36% consider jobs for women important, but no other issue is interesting to more than a third of Sulawesi voters. Family planning, the second most attractive issue nationwide, ranked third in Sulawesi, appealing to 33%.

INFORMATION SOURCES, MEDIA USE AND LANGUAGE

Regular Media Exposure

How many days a week do you watch TV / listen to the radio / read a newspaper? (Among those who use medium 3 days/week or more) [Q.4/7]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| TV | 59% | 39% | 53% |
| Radio | 37% | 24% | 33% |

TV has fairly broad reach throughout the region (59%), though a bit less than on the national level. Radio reaches far fewer people (24%). Relatively few voter education targets are exposed to TV (39%) or radio (24%), underlining the importance of in-person voter education for this group. The media profile of civic education targets is fairly similar to that of the region as a whole.

TV Station Exposure

Which TV station do you watch most often? [Q.5, base 108]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|----------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| Indosiar | 32% | 28% | 32% |
| RCTI | 28% | 24% | 25% |
| TVRI 1 | 10% | 9% | 12% |
| Trans TV | 6% | 10% | 6% |
| SCTV | 4% | 4% | 4% |
| Metro TV | 4% | 0% | 2% |

Indosiar attracts a plurality of Sulawesi's TV viewers (36%), while other viewers tune into RCTI (28%) and TVRI I (11%).

Radio Station Exposure

Which radio station do you listen to most often? [Q8, base 72]

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|--------------|------------|------------------|------------------|
| RRI Daerah | 43% | 44% | 46% |
| Sion Tomohon | 7% | 8% | 7% |
| Poliyama | 7% | 4% | 5% |

RRI Daerah dominates the radio market in Sulawesi (43%); no other station attracts more than the 7% share of radio listeners that Sion Tomohon and Poliyama each enjoy.

Languages

Top 9 languages [Q1/2/3/28]

| | Mother Tongue | Understand | Read | Prefer |
|------------|---------------|------------|------|--------|
| Indonesian | 25% | 96% | 84% | 72% |
| Bugis | 19% | 29% | 12% | 10% |
| Gorontalo | 8% | 16% | 10% | 2% |
| Toraja | 8% | 10% | 4% | 2% |
| Konjo | 7% | 7% | 4% | 3% |
| Makasar | 5% | 11% | 5% | 1% |
| Sangir | 5% | 6% | 3% | 4% |
| Kaledupa | 5% | 6% | 0% | 0% |
| Manadonese | 5% | 15% | 11% | 3% |

Bahasa Indonesia is understood by 96% of the region and preferred by 72% for voter education information. Of the 28% who want voter education in other languages, some 10% prefer Bugis, 4% Sangir, and 3% Konjo and Manadonese languages. Sulawesi is the region with the greatest diversity in language preferences.

Voter Education Sources:

*How have you gotten information about how to register
and vote in elections? [Q11]*

| | All Voters | Voter Ed Targets | Civic Ed Targets |
|-------------------------------|------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| TV | 44% | 28% | 40% |
| RT/RW leader | 36% | 43% | 38% |
| Village chief | 23% | 22% | 23% |
| Radio | 18% | 10% | 15% |
| Friends/family/ neighbours | 14% | 15% | 14% |
| Newspapers | 9% | 5% | 5% |
| Local election | 8% | 7% | 9% |
| Other/Don't know | 19% | 16% | 22% |

A plurality of voters in Sulawesi (44%) receive election information from television. Besides TV, 36% of Sulawesi voters rely on their RT RW leader for information, 23% on the village head, 18% on radio and 14% on friends, family and neighbors. However, information use is different for the target groups. RT/RW leaders (43%) are much more important for voter education targets than TV (28%), while for civic education targets they are of almost equal importance (38%) with TV (40%).