

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey



The Asia Foundation

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey

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**Clearing House-Pendidikan Pemberi Suara
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Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

February, 1999

PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY

- This report presents the findings of the first national survey of the information needs of voters in Indonesia. This survey was initiated in response to requests from Indonesian NGOs involved in voter education programs with the goal of providing the information Indonesian organizations would need to plan effective registration, voter, and civic education campaigns prior to the June national election. The survey involved 2,593 randomly-selected in-person interviews conducted in twenty-six provinces.
- The survey was carried out by an Indonesian survey research firm, ACNielsen, between December 24, 1998 and January 24, 1999, and designed and produced in cooperation with CharneyResearch. The survey was supported by The Asia Foundation and is being released in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program and the National Voter Education Clearing House (CH-PPS, Yogya).

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- The survey built on the findings of qualitative in-depth interviews in Jakarta and rural areas, conducted in November. Extensive pretests of the questionnaire were conducted prior to implementation to ensure the questions were well understood, and that respondents would answer them. There are two major parts of this survey: the first covers the national results while the second part details the informational needs of voters by region.
- Results of the survey highlight the important contributions that effective campaigns to promote voter registration, voter education, and civic education can make to the strengthening of the reform process in Indonesia and to help ensure a free and fair election. The survey clearly shows that most Indonesians are hopeful for the future and want fair elections that deliver change – but it also indicates that many do not know they need to register to vote, are uncertain if this year’s election will be fairer than the past, and are unfamiliar with many of the basic tenets of democracy.
- Some of the most important findings of the research are summarized below, as well as the major implications these findings have for the planning of registration, voter, and civic education campaigns. It is hoped that this survey will prove helpful to Indonesian organizations’ efforts to design and carry out effective voter education programs.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

METHODOLOGY

- The research was conducted in two phases:
- Phase 1: Qualitative -- 15 in-depth interviews in Jakarta, rural West Java and North Sumatra, Nov. 11-24, 1998.
- Phase 2: Quantitative – a national survey, 2,593 in-person interviews of potential voters in every province except East Timor, Dec. 24, 1998 - Jan. 24, 1999. These followed 30 pretest interviews in Jakarta and in urban and rural field locations.
- ACNielsen Indonesia, conducted the fieldwork. Experienced Indonesian interviewers were used, under the direction of ACNielsen field supervisors, who regularly checked a percentage of their questionnaires to verify that interviews had been properly conducted. The sample design, questionnaire, and analysis were prepared by Charney Research, New York.

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- This poll is the first country-wide random survey ever of Indonesians' views on elections and their informational needs to effectively participate in elections. The survey is based on a representative national sample of 1,204 interviews, drawn in proportion to the eligible voter population of each region. This yields an error margin of +/- 3%. The only areas where interviewing was not conducted was East Timor, and certain parts of North and East Aceh, which all together make up roughly 1% of the eligible voters. Elsewhere, almost every voter in the country had an equal chance of being interviewed. Thus, the survey represents the views of almost all potential Indonesian electors.
- Because the sample is truly national and random, the survey results represent all parts of the population in their correct proportions. Demographically, the poll results are either identical to the real population or very close. As a result, the survey findings correctly reflect the public in terms of gender, urban-rural balance, education, and age. The findings regarding public opinion are thus likely to be representative as well, within the survey's margin of error. This makes the survey different from most polls published in Indonesia. Those surveys are usually limited to urban areas -- ignoring the rural majority --- and often unrepresentative in terms of gender, educational levels, income, occupation, or age. Their results consequently may well be far from reflecting what a full sample of the entire nation would reveal.

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- In addition to the random national sample, several areas of particular interest were over sampled. These were:
 - Major urban areas: Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, and Medan.
 - Other areas: Aceh and Irian Jaya.
- In the over sample areas, 1,389 interviews were done, giving a total sample of 2,593 when added to the national sample. The survey is thus able to present meaningful results for these regions, whose sub-samples would otherwise be too small for analysis in the random national sample. 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.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS:

- Indonesians are cautiously optimistic about the country's direction and future. Despite their concern about economic crisis, violence, and political conflict, they draw hope from the start of reform, economic recovery, and political freedom.
- There is a lot of interest in the election, and a very high voter turnout appears likely. Stimulating voter turnout need not be a voter education priority.
- At this point, almost none of the 21 million voters required to register by April 17 know it, or how to register. An education campaign to inform people about registration is therefore urgently needed. Priority targets for this campaign include students, under-25 year-olds, the high school educated, regular TV watchers, and the jobless.
- While people want to vote, and believe this election will be fairer than the 1997 election, many voters still need reassurance that the 1999 election will really be free and fair, and will make a difference.
- Voter concerns on the election include: incomplete voter rolls, riots, media bias, miscounts, vote selling, forced and repeat voting, threats, and violence against activists.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS:

- There are two main target groups of voters that will require two different approaches: one aimed at voters with higher formal education and income levels, and a more basic one aimed at lower-income and lesser-educated voters. The former targets include young or secondary-educated urban men, and the second group includes rural women over 35, the very poor, low-education women, and non-TV viewers.
- Most Indonesians have difficulty describing the attributes of a democracy, and few associate it with free elections.
- A civic education campaign is appropriate to link democracy to elections, and to Indonesians' values and concerns that voters identified in the survey (including freedom, changing leaders, voicing needs, political and economic stability). Priority targets for civic education are low-education voters, rural women, low income voters, older urban women, and non-TV viewers.
- The most efficient media or other means of conveying voter education messages to reach the targets are TV, radio, religious organizations, neighborhood associations or leaders, and youth groups, and places of worship.
- Regional voter education campaigns should include material in local languages as well as Bahasa Indonesia if they are to be understood by all.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

THE NATIONAL MOOD: Cautious Hope Despite Dramatic Problems

- Indonesians believe their country is headed in the right direction and are fairly hopeful for its future, despite the trials they now face. Some 50% say the country is headed in the right direction, while just 23% say it is headed in the wrong direction. Fully 71% are confident of a happy future for Indonesia for a whole, though their optimism is tempered - only 25% say they are “very” confident.
- The mood is discernibly brighter among more advantaged groups of citizens than among the less advantaged. Men, city dwellers, the better-off, the better educated, and TV viewers are all more positive in outlook, focus more on politics, feel freer to speak out, and (except for men) have cut back on luxuries more than necessities in the economic crisis.
- On the other hand, women, rural people, those with low income and low education, and those without TV, are less certain about the future, more immediate in their concerns, unsure if they can speak out, and have more often had to cut back on necessities.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

- The prevailing mood reflects both the economic pain and political change Indonesians have experienced in the past year. The economic crisis, especially the rising price of basic necessities (SEMPAKO), is the overwhelming national concern. It was considered one of the country's top problems by 70% of the electorate. Almost every Indonesian family has suffered from the economic crisis, with only 11% saying the crisis has had no impact on their living standards, while 40% have had to cut back on necessities.
- Violence and politics rank as the next biggest concerns of the electorate, mentioned by 24% and 23%, respectively. However, movement in the right direction is perceived to be taking place, because of voters' perceptions of the momentum of reform, political change, and the start of economic recovery.
- The survey indicates there has been a dramatic increase in people's perception of freedom of expression since May 1998. Currently, 55% of Indonesians say people where they live are free to express their opinions, while just 20% say they are not. This is a sharp contrast to their perception of the situation before last May, when 42% said people did not feel free to speak their minds, and just 28% felt they could.
- Government is perceived by most people to be listening to their concerns. Some 63% of the voters rejected the view that government did not care much about what they think, while just 24% agreed.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

ATTITUDES TO ELECTIONS: Willing to Vote, Uncertain over Consequences

- Indonesians are ready to go to the polls in massive numbers on June 7. Some 75% have heard that new elections are coming, although many are unsure of the exact date. They are familiar with the concept of elections and what they are about (“choosing representatives of the people,” “choosing a party,” “electing a trusted person”). When told that the vote will be June 7, fully 96% said they intended to vote. The chief reason given was a civic duty to vote (51%), followed by the desire to choose their leaders (27%). There is no evidence of support for a protest boycott in the poll findings.
- While there is hope that the elections will lead to change, there is no certainty on this score. Some 40% of the voters think that the elections will make a difference (new leaders, stability, and economic recovery). But 33% think the vote will make little or no difference, and the rest say they don’t know. Differences in expectations about the election parallel those in mood: advantaged voters (men, the educated, the affluent, urbanites) are more hopeful, while among the disadvantaged groups uncertainty about the outcome of the vote is higher, and they are also less positive in mood.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

REGISTRATION NEEDS

- The recently established requirements for new voters or those who have moved (to go and register themselves with their local election committees, instead of the older system where the committees canvassed house-to-house to draw up the voters roll) emerged in the survey as a potential stumbling-block for millions of voters. Awareness of the new registration requirements is extremely low: only 5% of the voters have heard anything about them. Confusion about them is widespread: only 8% of those who must register know that they need to do so, while almost half the public thinks - incorrectly - that it may have to register. Voters are also unaware that they must register in person at local election committees.
- Consequently, registration is an urgent voter education issue. The survey found that roughly 16% of the electorate - 21 million people country-wide - must register by April 17 or else lose their right to vote. This group consists of about 13 million people who have moved since the last election, and 8 million who have turned 17 or married and are under 17. Priority target groups for registration information include students, under-25s, the high school educated, TV watchers, and the jobless.

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- The survey results underline the need for organizations concerned with voter education to immediately focus on registration. To place this task in an international perspective, in a few short weeks Indonesia must register three times as many voters as in all of Cambodia, or as many as the entire voting population of South Africa. Moreover, the poll found that over one-third of those who must register have no KTP (identification) cards, so other acceptable documents must be named and publicized. However, once people find out they needed to register, they are willing to do so.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

VOTER EDUCATION NEEDS: How Will this Election be Different?

- The election planned for this year enjoys significantly more voter confidence than that of 1997. Still, the persistence of doubt means that reassurance regarding election fairness will be an important voter education task.
- About 58% of the public say that this year's elections will be free and fair, and a mere 4% thinks they will not be - but a sizable 38% is not sure. This is a big change from popular perceptions of the 1997 election. Only 44% saw that election as free and fair, while the majority either said it was not (36%) or they were unsure (20%) of its fairness.
- The persistence of doubt is clearly a key task for voter education. When respondents were presented with a list of nine potential election problems, a clear majority – 55% – thought that one or more might actually occur. The most widespread concerns were voting roll omissions (29%), riots, (23%), media bias favoring a party (22%), and cheating in the counting process (21%). Others included violence against party activists (18%), non-secret ballots (15%), vote selling (13%), forced voting among those who work together (11%), official threats (10%), and repeat voting (9%).

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

- These concerns seem to reflect past experience, as they are more common among those who felt the last election was not free and fair. In addition, most voters do not know where to complain of election abuses and are largely unaware of the procedural safeguards contained in the new election law.
- The incidence of voters' concerns should define the targets of the voter education campaign. The survey found that there were two distinct groups of voters who were the most uncertain of the fairness of the election. The groups with the highest doubts include some groups of economically or educationally advantaged voters (educated, young urban men) and a larger disadvantaged group (older rural or poorly educated women, the very poor and non TV viewers.) These are the targets for voter education, which will need to take a split-level approach, a more nuanced campaign for the advantaged targets, who tend to have more specific and articulated concerns, and more basic campaign for those voters with poor education and lower incomes, who feel a more general unease and doubt about the process.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

- The substance of the voters' concerns and their desire for information on how the workings of this election will reduce voters' perceptions of past election irregularities should define the content of the voter education program. In the survey, simulated voter education messages which explained some of the changes to the election law (finger dipping after voting, election observers, an independent election commission, voting on a holiday, and allowing more than three parties to compete) gives considerable reassurance to voters. Policy-makers, parties, and government may wish to consider messages to address the other concerns expressed by the voters.

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CIVIC EDUCATION NEEDS: What is Democracy?

- Although Indonesians do have an understanding of what elections ought to be, they have little concrete awareness of the political nature of democracy, the central role elections play within it, or its potential impact on their lives. When asked to say what it means to call a country a democracy, 61% could offer no reply at all. Some 21% mentioned political rights, particularly free speech, 13% cited economic gains, and 7% referred to results such as peace, stability, and consensus. Only 3% of the survey respondents connected free elections with democracy.
- At a more personal level, most Indonesians (63%) have no idea how democracy in the country might change their lives. Among those who do, the most frequent response is economic improvement, followed by political rights and peace and consensus. In other words, they see democracy more as a means of solving their most pressing problem – the economic crisis – than as a means of ensuring their rights.

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- Civic education programs are needed to help the disadvantaged groups enter the mainstream of democratic life. The greatest civic education needs are to be found among the most disadvantaged groups. The key targets are those with less than primary education, rural women, low income voters, urban women over 35, and those who don't watch TV regularly. Their limited awareness of democracy and lack of linkage to elections point to a need for civic education to explain the basics of democracy and its connection to elections.
- Generally, outlooks and attitudes thought to support the development of democracy are relatively rare. Only 39% say they are interested in politics (and just 6% very interested), and only 10% discuss politics "always" or "often." Only half openly support tolerance of opposing views, making the concept of political tolerance and free expression of ideas an important civic education goal. There is majority acceptance of equality for women in political leadership, but enough resistance to make this another priority for civic education.

Indonesia National Voter Education Survey Report-Summary

- The low interest in politics suggests the need for inserting civic education spots or political content in non-political TV shows. The near-absence of political discussion suggests a need for town meetings and other fora such as “speak-outs” where ordinary people discuss political issues with politicians and each other, in person and on the air. Within the context of the program, emphasis should be placed on tolerance and gender equality, in both words and actions.

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VOTER EDUCATION SOURCES AND MEDIA: TV, Radio, and NGOs

- When the survey asked what the most acceptable sources of information about the election would be, two sources stood out above all the rest: TV, accepted by 78% of the electorate, and RT (neighborhood administrative unit, usually 30-50 households) officials or village headmen, accepted by 79%. After them came radio (accepted by 61%), public meetings (55%), house visits (47%), newspapers (44%), and religious, civic, and women's organizations (respectively 43%, 38%, and 35%).
- Acceptability is one thing, however, and reach is another. TV is far ahead of all other media in reach – some 64% of Indonesian voters watch TV every day. It is a prime news source for 65% of the voters. It should be the mainstay of the campaigns, reinforced by radio, which reaches 37% of voters on a regular basis.

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- Religious, neighborhood, and other groups also have a substantial reach – 40% to 50% for the religious and neighborhood groups, around 10% for school, cooperatives, and youth groups. To give the campaign maximum reach, there should be a special focus on those not reached by TV (low income and low education voters and older rural women). Religious services and religious organizations also offer another potentially effective way to reach voters with information about voting and elections.
- There will be a need to put out some of the campaign material in regional languages as well as Bahasa Indonesia. The survey indicates that a portion of the public is not comfortable using Bahasa Indonesia: around one in three respondents prefers another tongue (33%), and around one in eight voters (13%) does not understand Indonesian. Regional campaigns should therefore consider local language preferences in preparing material.

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CONCLUSION: Campaign Plan

- Pulling together the implications of the survey for electoral education suggests that NGO and government voter education campaigns should have three major emphases, each in a separate phase.
- Phase 1: Registration: March 1 - April 17
All potential registrants must be told that they need to register, and how and where.
- Phase 2: Voter Education: March 1 - June 6
Voters uncertain about election fairness should learn how this election differs from the past.
- Phase 3: Civic Education: April 18 - June 6
After the registration campaign finishes, resources should be used to give voters unfamiliar with democracy a chance to learn what it involves.

Introduction

- This report presents the findings of opinion research conducted to assist in planning voter and civic education campaigns for Indonesia's June 1999 election.
- The national findings section of the report, with national data, has six parts:
 - The National Mood
 - Attitudes to the Election
 - Voter Registration
 - Voter Education Needs
 - Civic Education Needs
 - Voter Education Sources and Media
- It concludes with a summary of the proposed campaign plan, and has appendices with media and demographic data.
- The regional analyses for Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Irian Jaya are presented in the second portion of this report.

Methodology

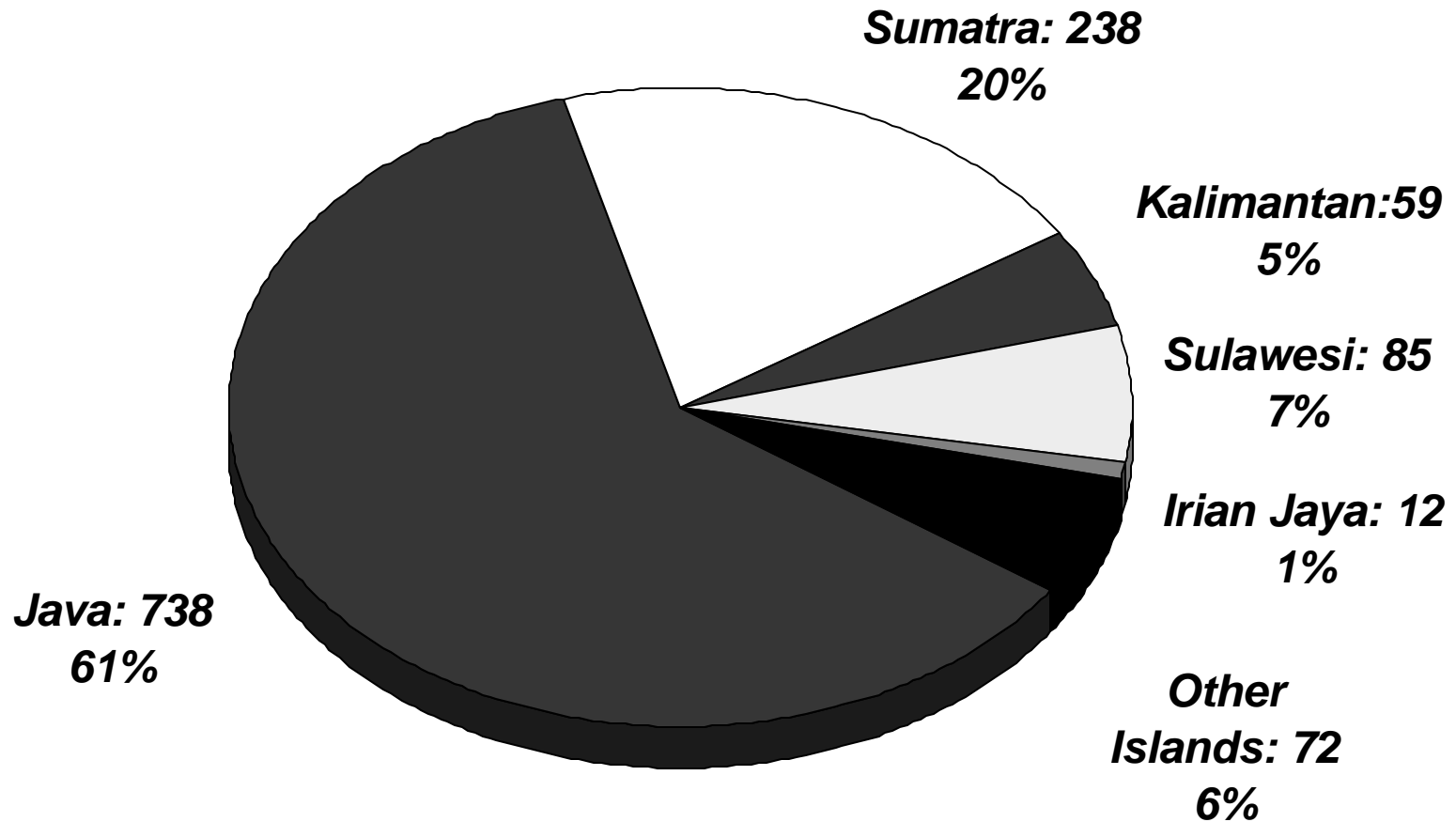
- The research was conducted in two phases:
 - Phase 1: Qualitative -- 15 in-depth interviews in Jakarta, rural West Java and North Sumatra, Nov. 11-24, 1998.
 - Phase 2: Quantitative -- national survey, 2,593 in-person interviews, potential voters in every province except East Timor, Dec. 24, 1998 - Jan. 24, 1999
- Fieldwork was conducted by AC Nielsen, Indonesia.
- Sample design, questionnaire, and analysis by Craig Charney of Charney Research, New York.

The National Sample

- This poll is the first country-wide random survey ever of Indonesians' views on elections and politics.
- The survey is based on a representative national sample of 1,204 interviews, drawn in proportion to the eligible voter population of each region. This yields an error margin of +/- 3%.
- The only areas where interviewing was impossible were East Timor and parts of North and East Aceh, which make up roughly 1% of the eligible voters.
- Elsewhere, every voter in the country had an equal chance of being interviewed. Thus, the survey represents the views of almost all potential Indonesian electors.

The National Sample

1204 Interviews
By region



Representativeness of the Sample

- Because the sample is truly national and random, the survey results represent all parts of the population in their correct proportions. Demographically, the poll results are either identical to the real population or very close.
- As a result, the survey findings correctly reflect the public in terms of gender, religion, urban-rural balance, education, and age. The findings regarding public opinion are thus likely to be representative as well, within the survey's margin of error.
- This makes the survey different from most polls published in Indonesia. Those surveys are usually limited to urban areas -- ignoring the rural majority --- and often unrepresentative in terms of sex, schooling, or age. Their results consequently may well be far from reflecting what a full sample of the entire nation would reveal.

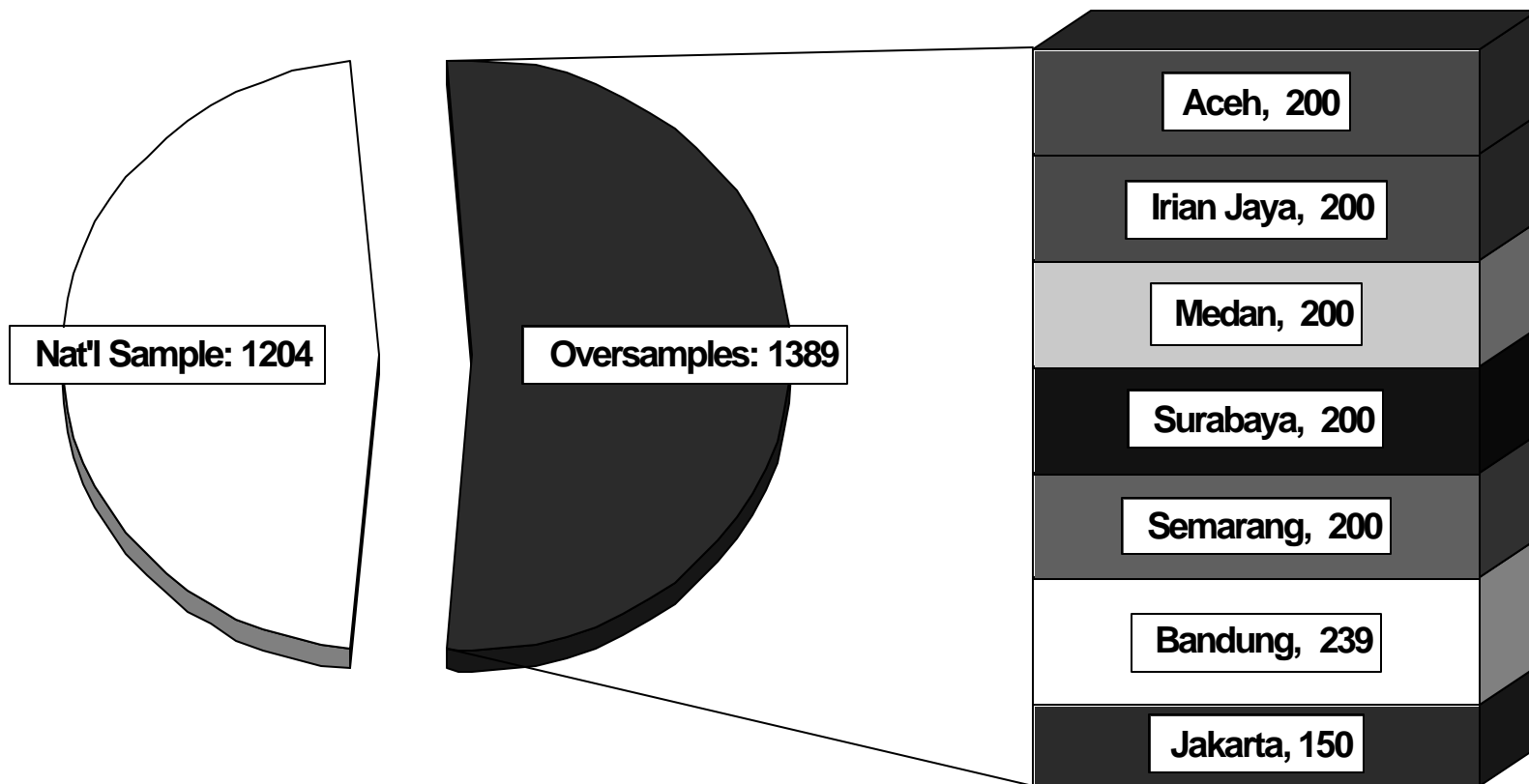
Representativeness of the Sample

	Actual	Sample
Gender Male/Female	49% / 51%	49% / 51%
Area Urban/Rural	39% / 61%	39% / 61%
Education < Primary / Primary / Secondary +	39% / 33% / 28%	39% / 29% / 32%
<u>Age</u> 17-35 / 35+	51% / 49%	48% / 52%

National Sample and Oversamples

- In addition to the random national sample, we oversampled several areas of particular interest.
 - Major urban areas: Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan.
 - Other areas: Aceh, Irian Jaya.
- In the oversample areas, 1,389 interviews were done, giving a total sample of 2,593 when added to the national sample.
- When national results are presented here, the oversampled areas are weighted down to their correct proportion of the national population, so that they are not over represented.

National Sample and Oversamples



I. National Findings

Part I

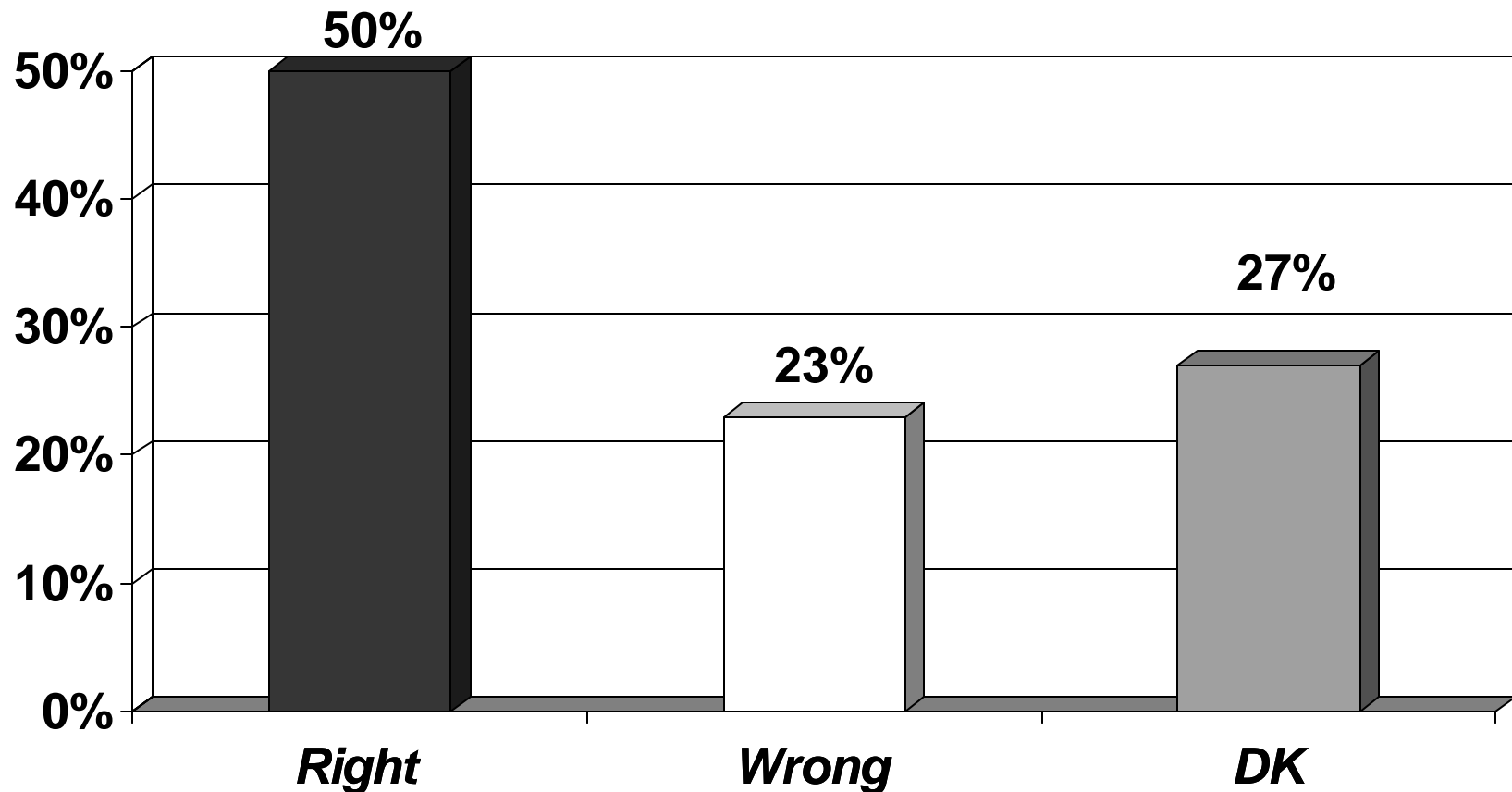
The National Mood

Direction of the Country

- Indonesians are fairly optimistic at present: 50% say the country is headed in the right direction, just 23% the wrong direction; 27% are uncertain.
- The optimism is broadly-based: majorities or pluralities think the country is headed in the right direction in every region, age, income, and religious group, and in urban and rural areas.
- This suggests that while the media focus on violence and problem areas, the experience of the bulk of Indonesians still leaves them positive about the country's course.

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 ?

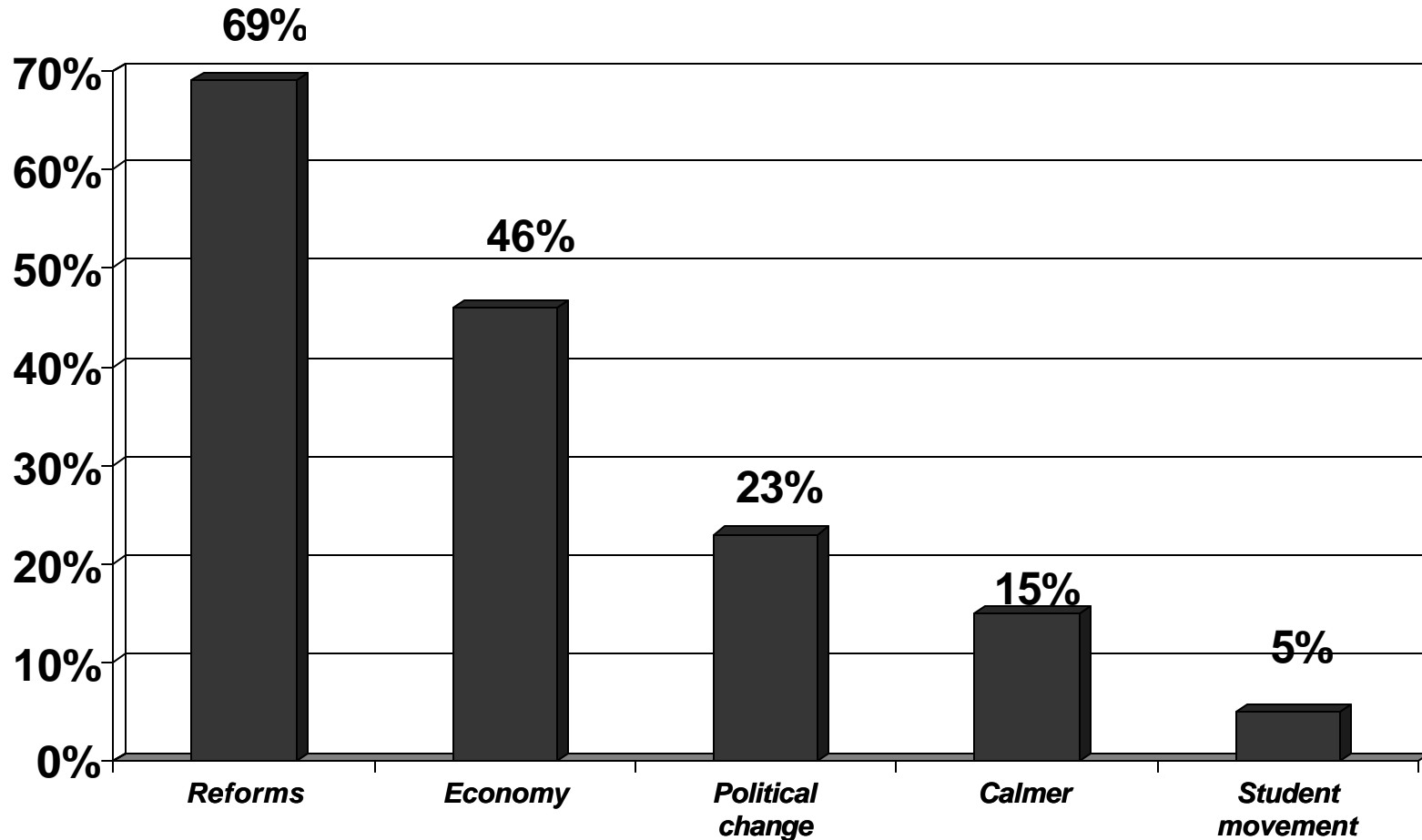


Right Direction Reasons

- The most frequent reason for saying Indonesia is headed in the right direction is reform, given by 30%.
- It is followed by the start of economic recovery (25%) and political changes, mentioned by 23%, including freedom, anti-corruption campaigns, new leaders, and the coming elections.
- The other major factor mentioned was the calming-down of violence (15%).
- Some 5% cited the student movement as a positive force.

Right Direction Reasons

*Why do you say that ?
(Reasons given by 5% or more)*



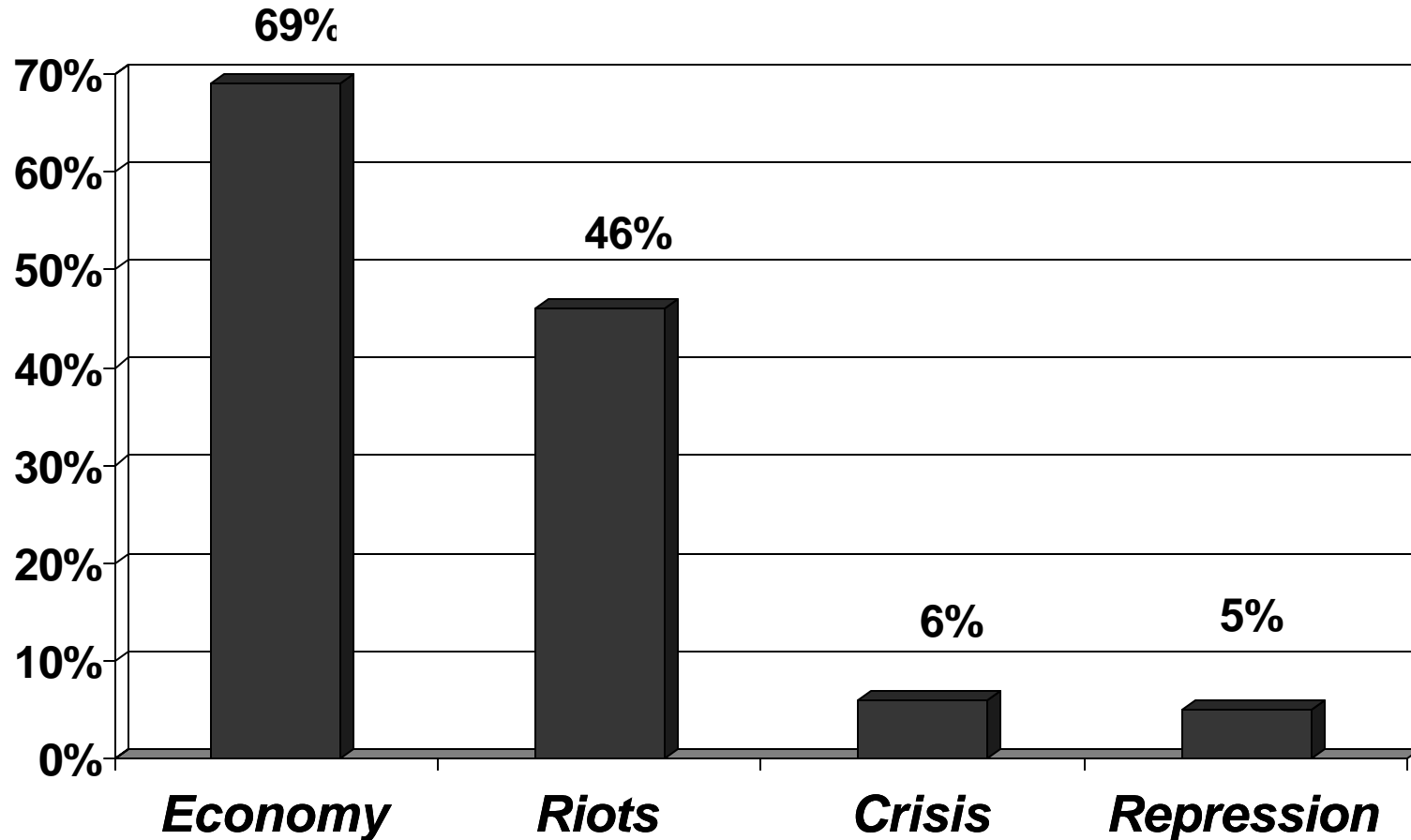
Base 604: (weighted), 1228: (unweighted)

Wrong Direction Reasons

- The major reason cited by those who felt the country was headed in the wrong direction was the economic crisis (mentioned by 69% of them).
- Next came riots, violence, and demonstrations (cited by 46%).
- These towered over all other factors. The only others cited by 5% or more were general comments about crisis (6%) and repression (5%).

Wrong Direction Reasons

*Why do you say that ?
(Reasons given by 5% or more)*



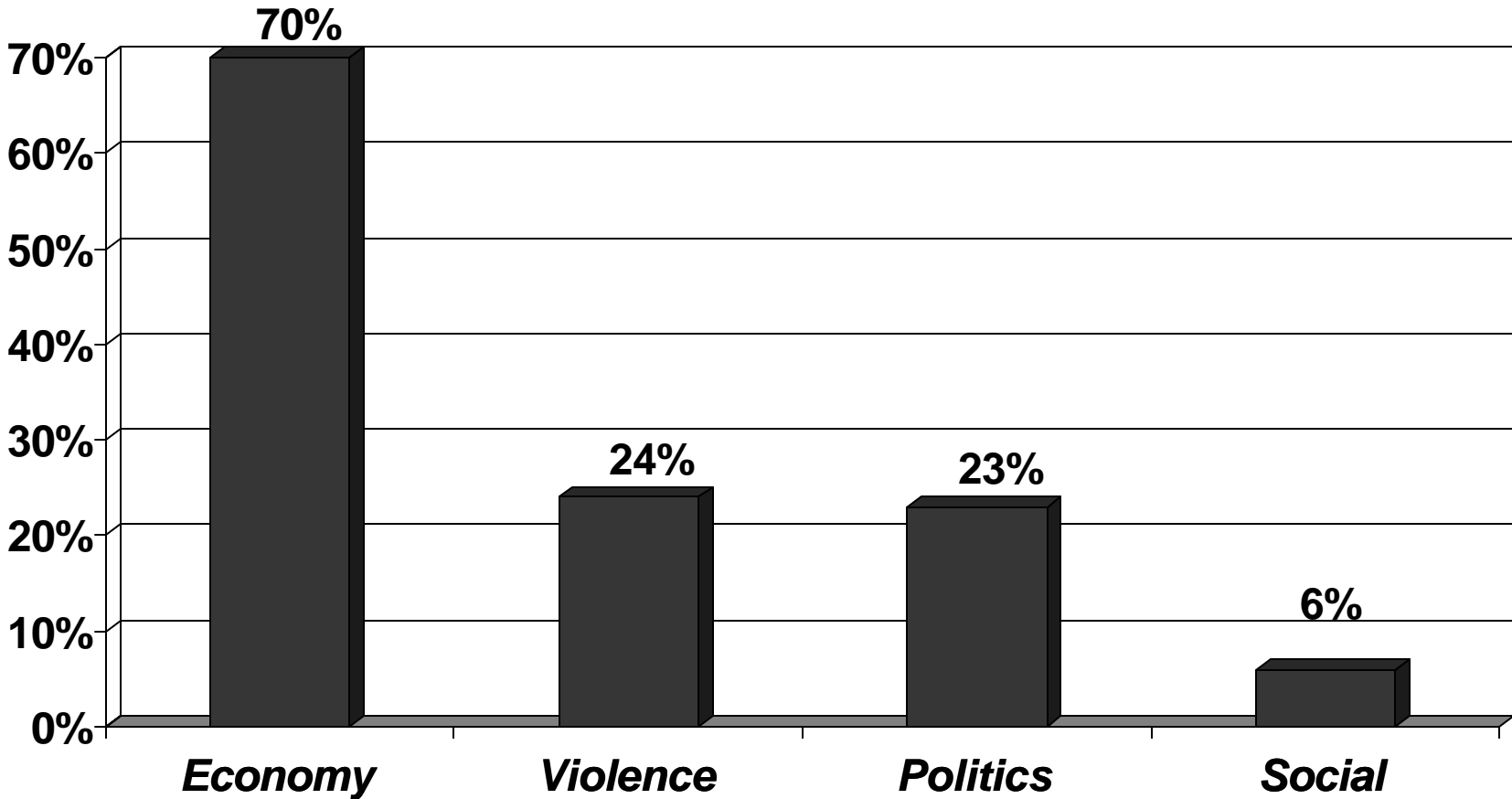
Base 271: (weighted), 707: (unweighted)

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

- Most Indonesians agree on the major problem facing the country: the economic crisis (cited by 70%).
- They pointed chiefly to the rising prices of staples (SEMPAKO), though some also expressed concern about jobs.
- Next come violence, demonstrations, and unrest (24%), and political issues such as reform, corruption, and new leaders, which received almost equal emphasis (23%).
- Social problems are a low priority now: just 6% cited education, health care, crime, or farm problems as the biggest problems facing Indonesia.

Indonesia's Biggest Problems

*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia ?
And after that, what is the second biggest problem ?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*

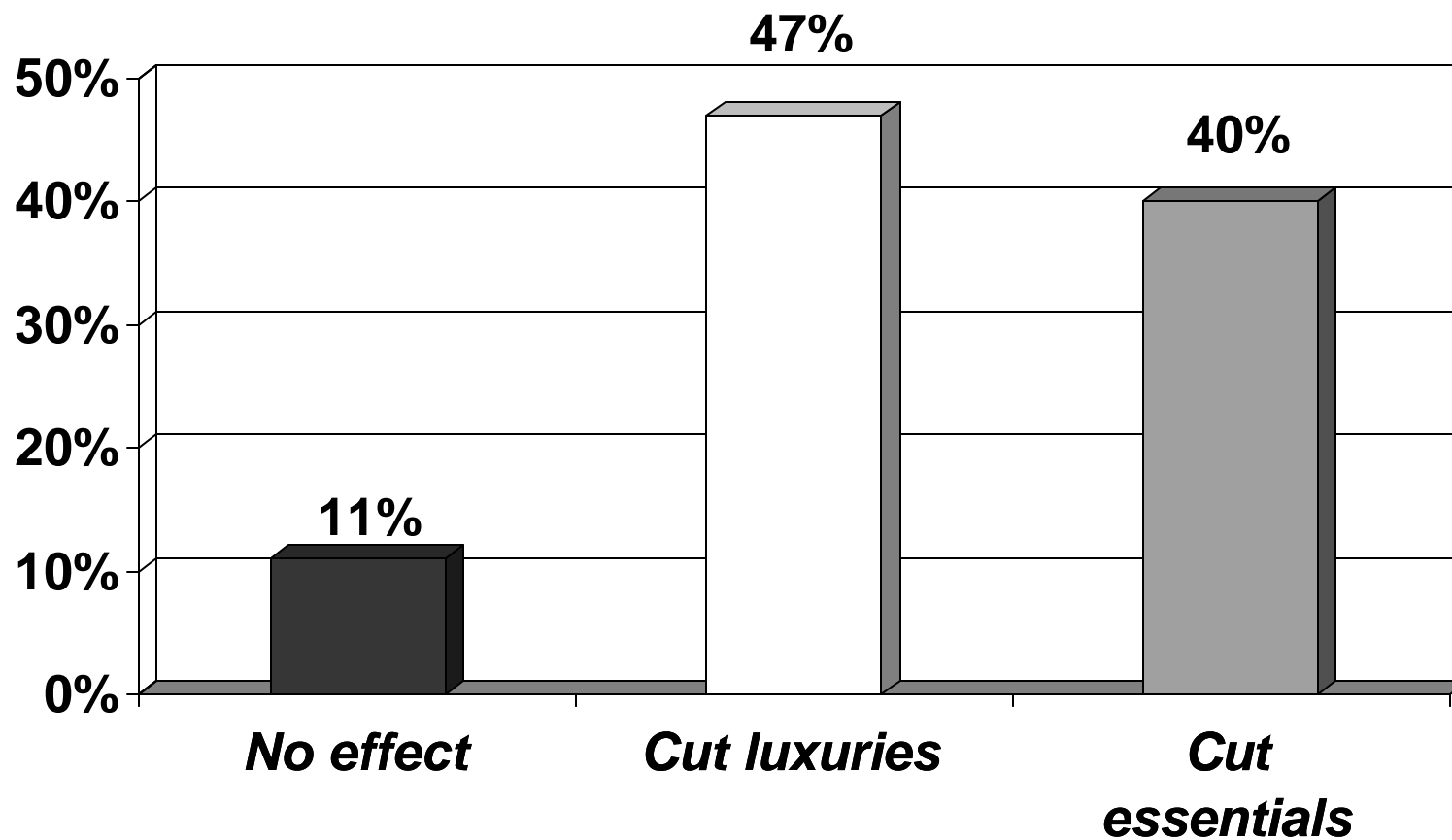


Impact of the Economic Crisis

- The economic crisis has changed the lives of most Indonesians.
 - Some 47% say they have had to cut back on luxuries as a result.
 - 40% have had to cut back on necessities.
- The groups with the largest proportion cutting back on necessities included the low income voters - those earning under Rp200,000/mo (47%), over-35s (44%), and farmers (44%) and blue collar workers (laborer, domestic, or unskilled worker) (45%).
- Only 11% say the crisis has had no effect.

Impact of the Economic Crisis

Some people say the monetary crisis has affected what they can afford. Please tell me which of these statements fits your family the best.

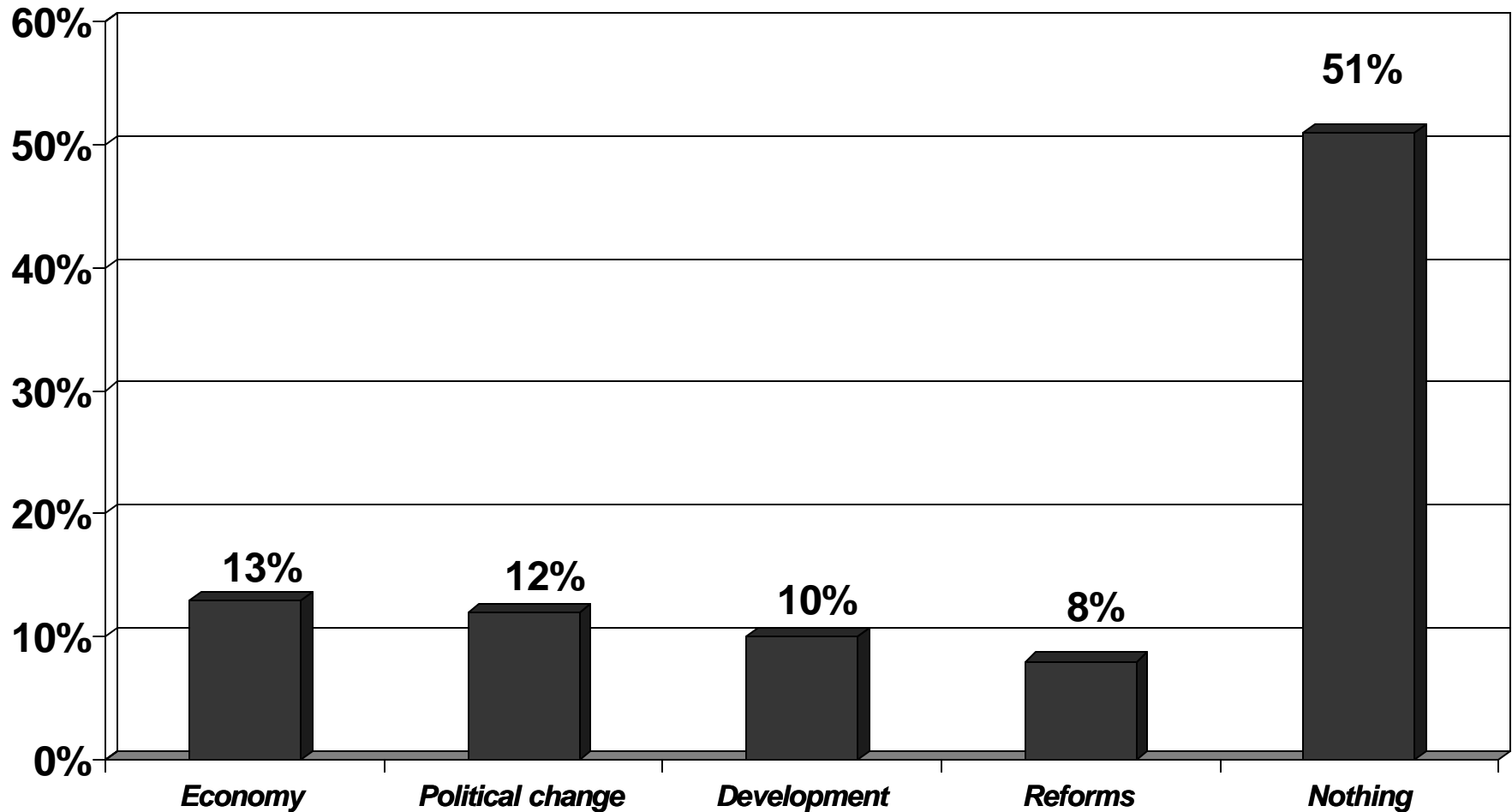


Improvements in Indonesia

- When asked what has improved over the last year, Indonesians spontaneously mention:
 - the start of economic recovery (13%)
 - free speech and political reform (12%)
 - development (10%), and
 - reform in general (8%).
- However, for a majority (51%) nothing comes to mind spontaneously which improved in that time.

Improvements in Indonesia

*What, if anything, has improved in Indonesia in the last year ?
(Responses cited by 5% or more)*



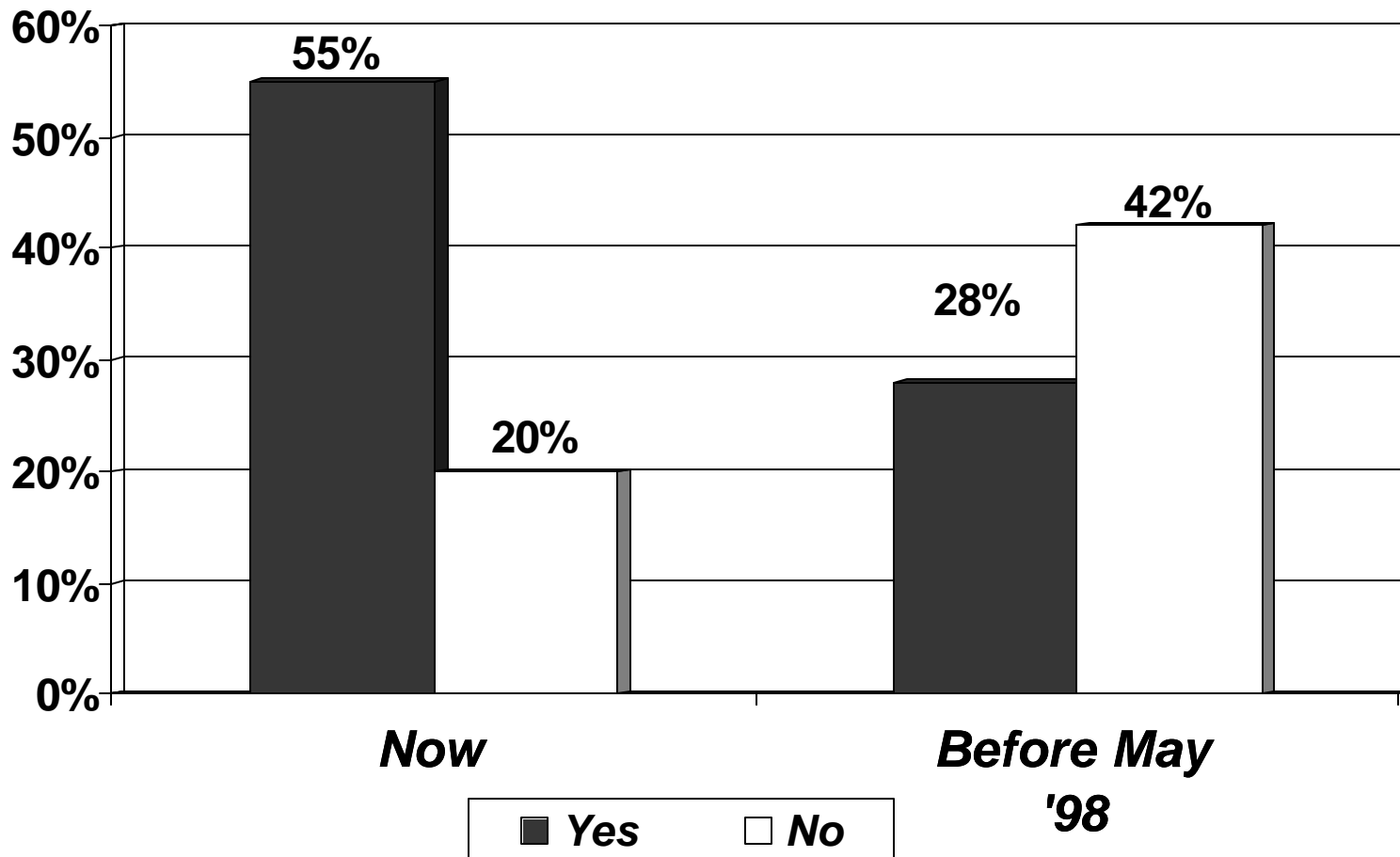
Freedom of Political Expression

- When Indonesians were asked about their freedom of speech, the poll revealed a dramatic increase since May 98.
 - Before last May, 42% of Indonesians say people in their areas did not feel free to express their opinions, while just 28% say they did.
 - Now, 55% say they can speak freely - a 27 point increase - and only 20% say they cannot.
- These changes were reflected in comments in the in-depth interviews as well.

Freedom of Political Expression

Do people feel free to express their opinions in the area where you live ?

Did they feel free to express their political opinions before the events of last May ?

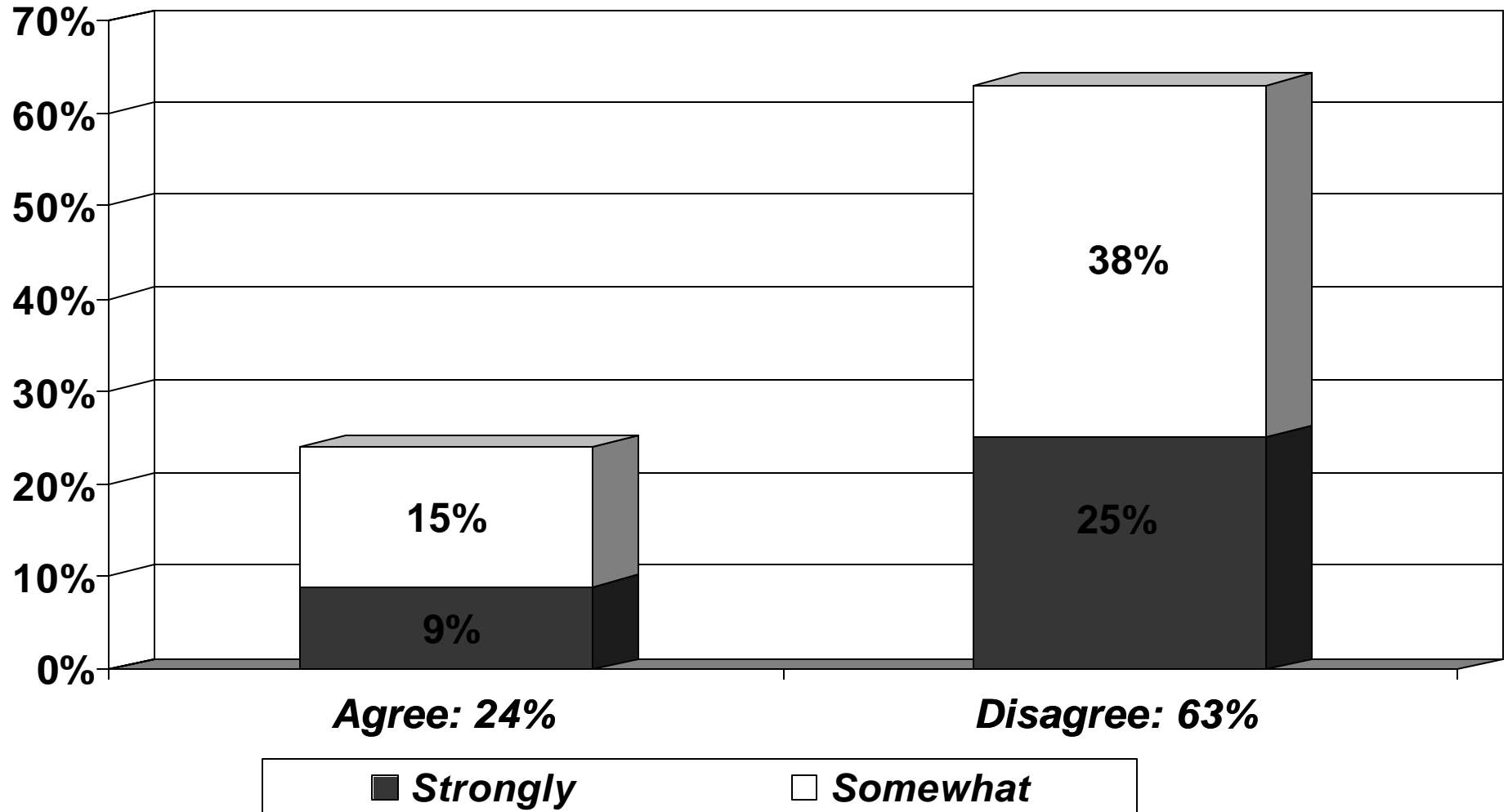


Political Alienation

- One of the poll's most striking findings is that Indonesians feel the government pays heed to their views.
- Fully 63% disagree with the statement that government does not care about what they think.
- Just 24% feel that government ignores their views.
- The view that government pays attention commands a majority almost across the board, irrespective of gender, age, income, education, area, or religion.

Political Alienation

Some people say, "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think."

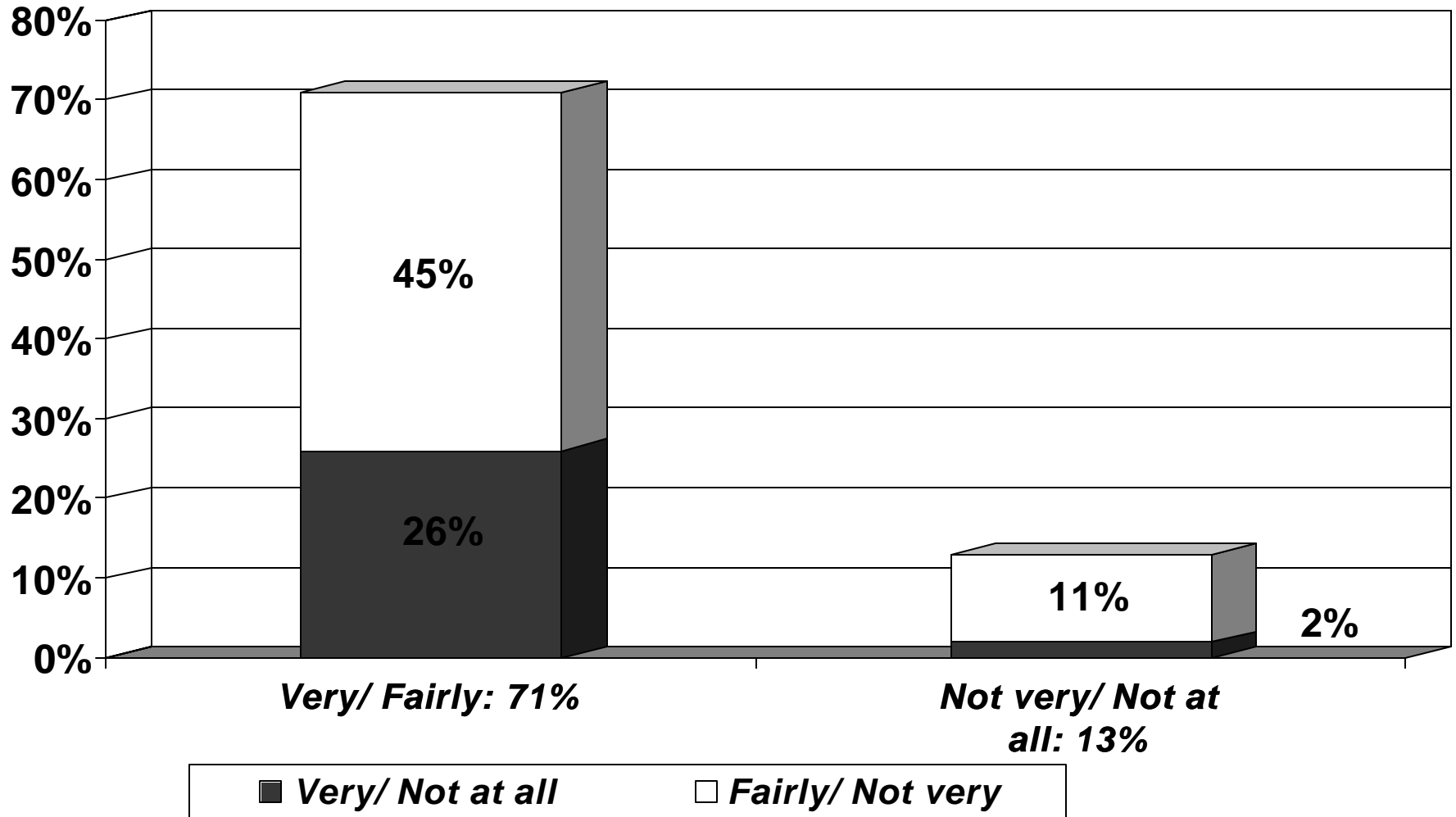


Confidence in the Future

- Despite the hard times the country is experiencing, most Indonesians have confidence in the country's future.
 - More than 7 in 10 (71%) say they are confident of a happy future for Indonesia.
 - Just 13% say they are not confident.
- This confidence is nuanced: only 26% are very confident, while the bulk (45%) say they are fairly confident.
- Still, it is striking that majorities in every social group say they are confident of a happy future.

Confidence in the Future

How confident are you of a happy future for Indonesia as a whole ?



Differences in Mood

- We can distinguish two different groups within the broad national results of the survey concerning the country's mood.
 - the advantaged: men, youth, urbanites, the secondary educated, high income people, and TV viewers.
 - the disadvantaged: women, older and rural people, the low education and income groups, and those without TV.
- The advantaged are more optimistic about the country, focus more on politics, feel free to speak out, and (except men) cut back on luxuries more than necessities in the economic crisis. They have the sophistication, self-confidence, and resources needed to take fuller advantage of the new political world.
- The disadvantaged are more uncertain about the future, have more immediate concerns, are unsure if they can speak out, and have cut essentials. Their world-view is more parochial, and they are more uneasy about the new regime and less sure they can participate publicly despite Suharto's fall.

Differences In Mood

<u>Advantaged</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Men• Under 35s• City dwellers• High School Educated• High Income (over Rp 500,000/mo)• TV viewers	Mood <ul style="list-style-type: none">• More optimistic• More politicized• Feel free to speak• Have cut luxuries
<u>Disadvantaged</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Women• Over 35s• Rural people• No or Incomplete Primary Education• Low Income (under Rp 200,000/mo)• Not TV viewers	Mood <ul style="list-style-type: none">• More uncertain• More immediate concerns (subsistence, violence)• Unsure about speaking out• Have cut necessities

Summary: Mood

- Indonesians believe their country is headed in the right direction and are hopeful for its future, despite the trials they now face.
- The economic crisis is the overwhelming national concern, and almost every Indonesian family has suffered from it.
- Violence and politics rank as their next big concerns.
- Their positive feelings reflect the momentum of reform, political change, and the perceived start of economic recovery.
- There has been a big increase in freedom of expression since May 1998.
- Men, city dwellers, the better-off and educated, and TV viewers are more positive in outlook than women, rural people, those with low income and education, and those without TV.
- Government is perceived by most people to be listening to their concerns.

Part II

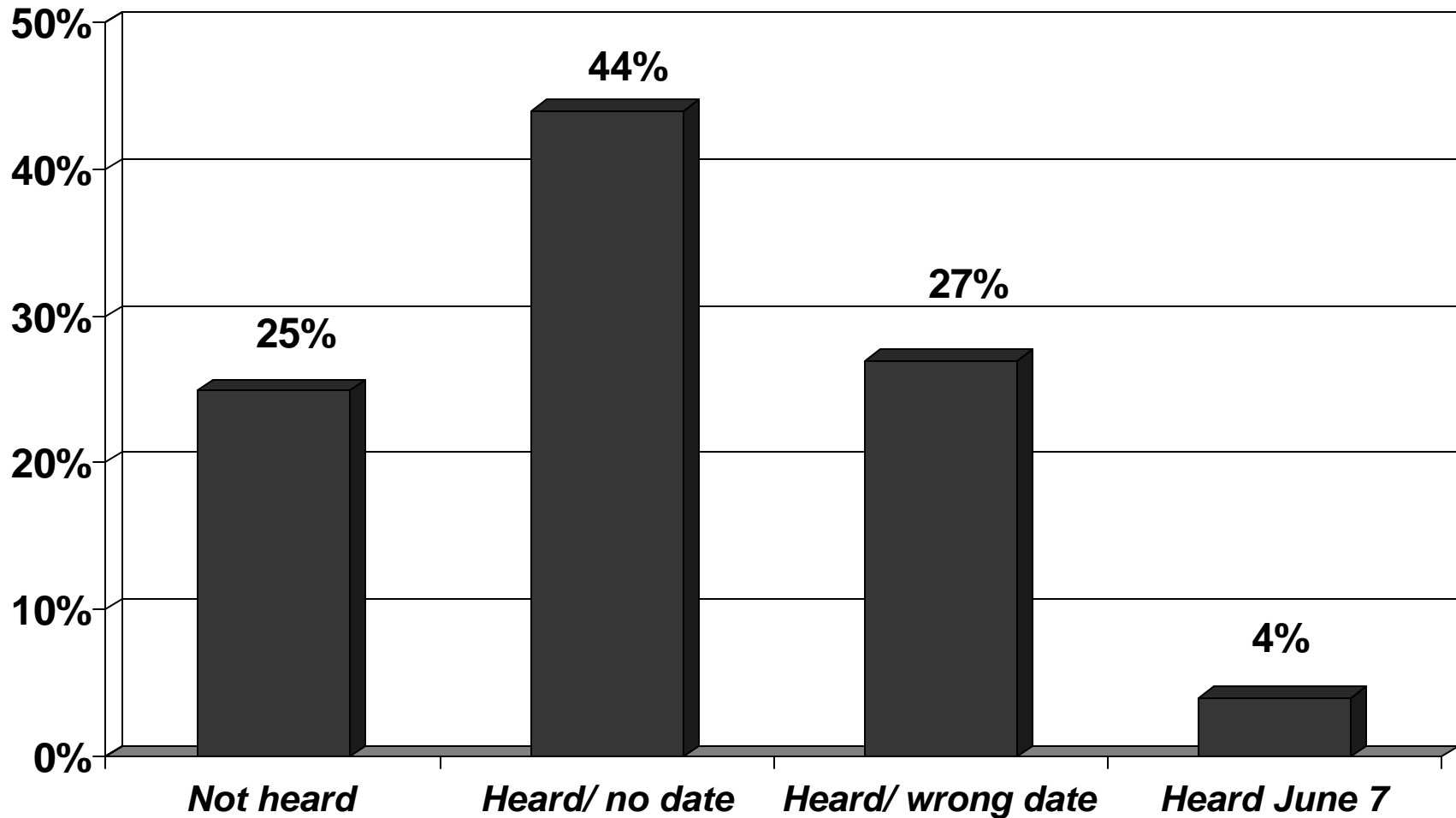
Attitudes Towards Elections

Awareness of Elections

- Most of the voters - three-fourths of them - knew that new elections were coming, the survey found.
- Only 4% knew that the vote was planned for June 7, but the survey was conducted shortly after the date was chosen and before it was widely publicized.
- Voters everywhere were familiar with the concept of elections and knew what they were about:
 - “choosing representatives of the people.”
 - “choosing a party.”
 - “electing a trusted person.”
- Previous experience has thus left voters aware what elections are and suggests that mass media and party campaigns are enough to inform them of voting dates. These do not need to be voter education priorities.

Awareness of Elections

Have you heard anything about new elections coming ?



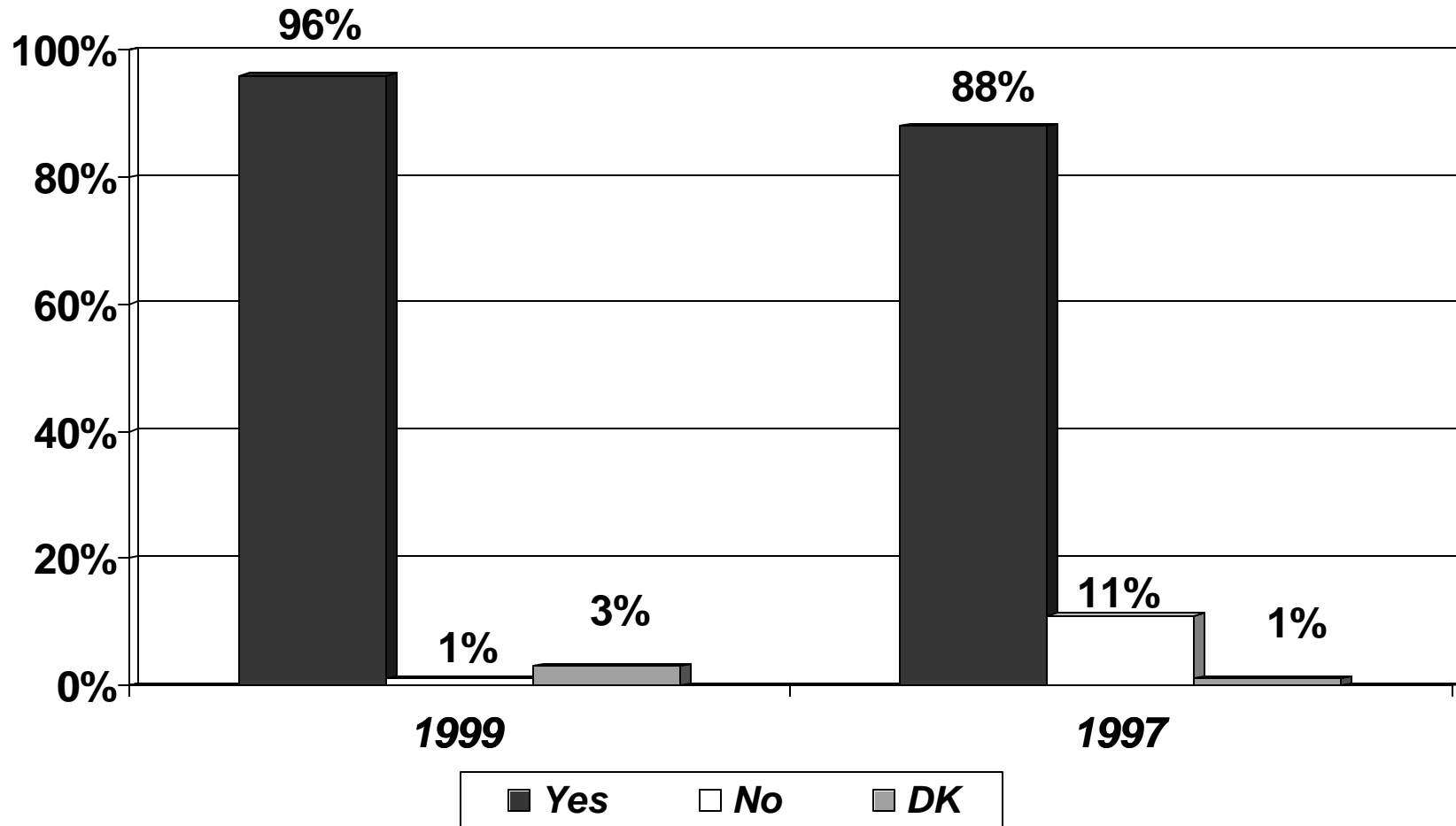
Turnout, 1999 and 1997

- Fully 96% of the eligible voters surveyed said they will vote in the next election. The percentage was over 90% across every social group.
- Even allowing for some over claim, this points to a massive turnout. Such huge votes are frequent in the first democratic elections in transition countries.
- Some 88% said they had voted in the 1997 elections, close to the officially reported figure. Many of those who did not vote then had been too young to do so.
- These results suggest that persuading voters to go to the polls need not be a voter education task in Indonesia in 1999.

Turnout: 1999 and 1997

*Do you think you will vote
in the upcoming elections ?*

*Did you vote in the
1997 elections ?*



Reasons for Voting

- The chief reason given for voting in the 1999 election was the civic duty to vote, cited by 51%.
 - “Because I’m a citizen.”
 - “It’s an obligation.”
- This is also the major reason for voting cited by citizens in established democracies.
- The second major reason given for voting was choosing leaders (27%).
 - The election is “a chance to choose.”
 - “I want to participate in the choice.”
- Social pressure to vote, echoing the charges of forced voting frequent in the past, was cited by 11%.
 - “Everyone will.”
 - “As usual.”

Reasons for Voting

*What is the most important reason why you want to vote ?
(Reasons cited by 5% or more of potential voters)*

Civic duty	51%
Choose leaders	27%
Social pressure	11%

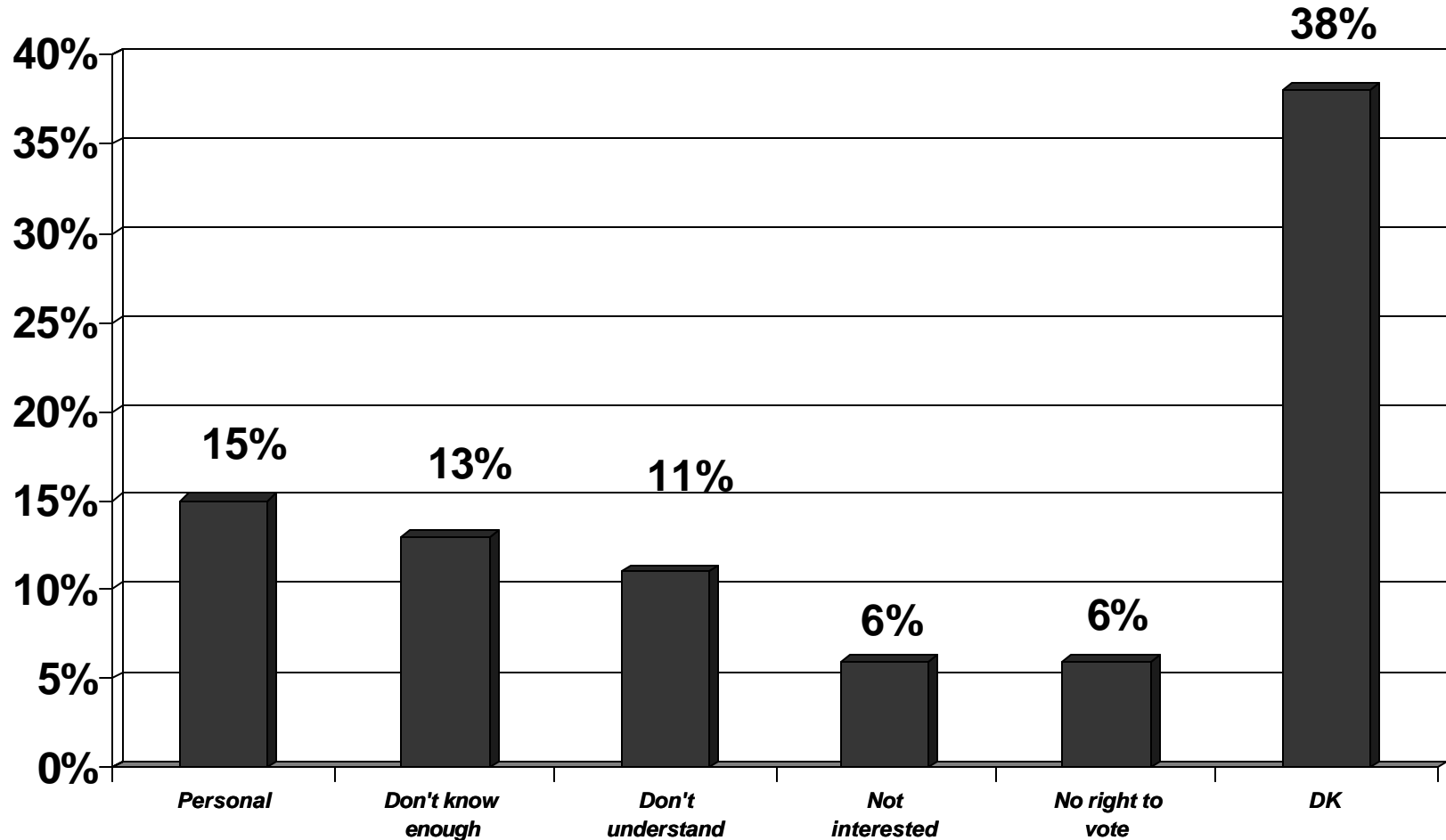
Base 1157: (weighted), 2467: (unweighted)

Reasons for Not Voting

- Among the small minority who said they would not vote this year, several reasons were cited:
 - Personal factors (too old, sick, etc.)
 - I don't know enough about the parties
 - I don't understand politics
 - I'm not interested
 - I can't vote (ABRI members, etc.)
- Notably absent from the reasons for non-voting was election protest, or “golput.” In this election, there is no desire for a boycott.

Reasons for Not Voting

*What is the most important reason why you may not vote ?
(Reasons cited by 5% or more of potential non-voters)*



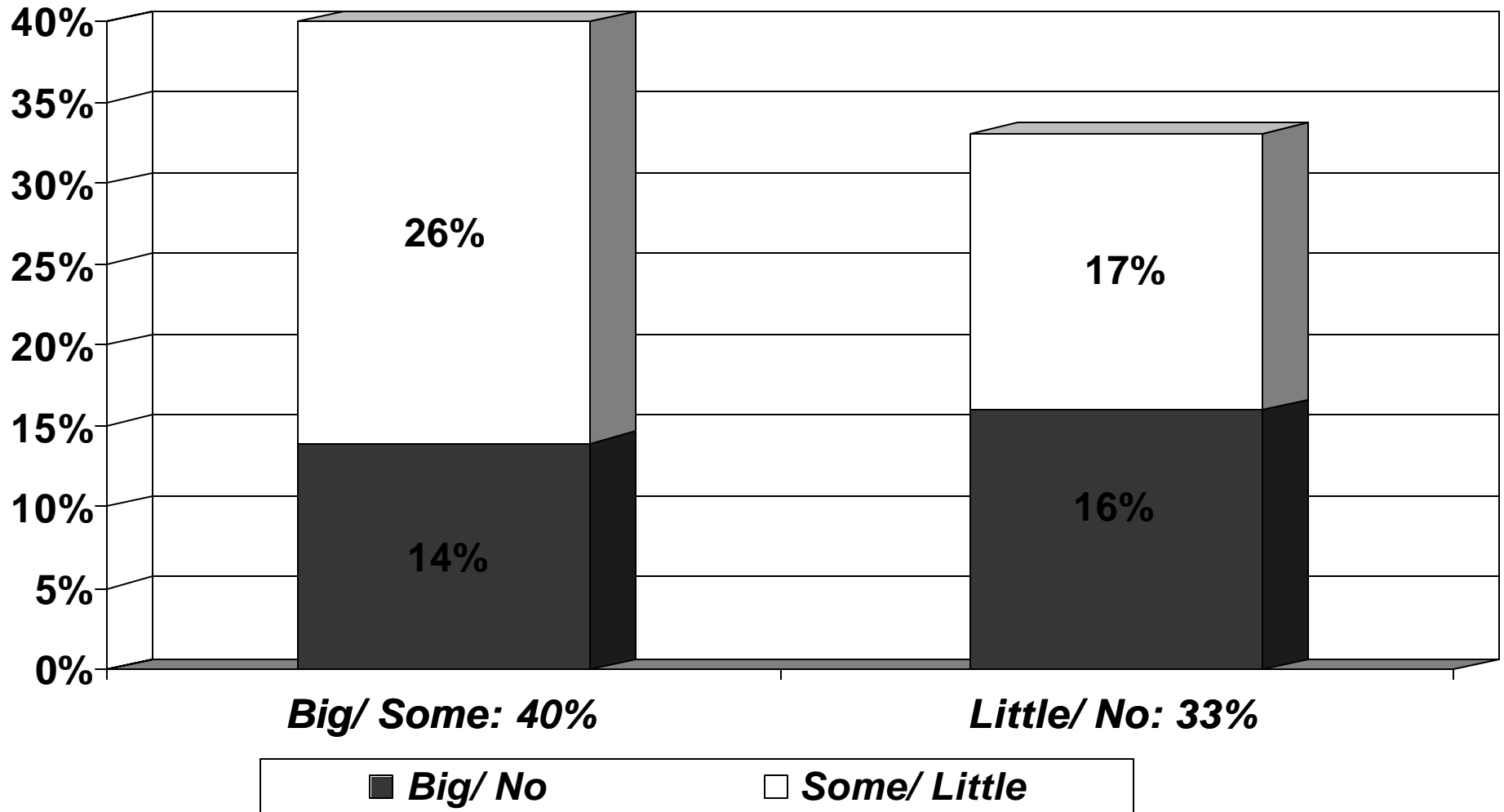
Base 47: (weighted), 126: (unweighted)

Expectations for the 1999 Election

- Indonesians are moderately optimistic about the outcome of the election: 40% say it will make a difference, while 33% think it will not, and 27% are not sure.
- The changes they hope for are responses to the country's principal problems:
 - Political change.
 - End to violence and unrest.
 - Economic recovery.
- But there is considerably less optimism and more uncertainty on this question than on those on the country's direction or future.

Expectations of 1999 Elections

Do you think voting in the 1999 elections will make a big difference, some difference, a little difference/ no difference at all ?



Differences in Expectations

- We see differences in expectations about the election outcome between advantaged and disadvantaged Indonesians, along the same lines as on mood.
- In the advantaged groups (men, youth, urbanites, high education and income, and TV viewers), optimists predominate, and few are unsure whether the election will make a difference.
- Among the disadvantaged - women, older and rural people, low education and income, and non-TV homes - uncertainty predominates about the election outcome, and those with opinions split evenly between optimists and pessimists. (Rural people have a narrow plurality for optimism.)
- What this means is that views of the country's direction and fate are linked to judgements about what the election will yield.

Differences In Expectations

<p><u>Advantaged</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Men ● Under 35s ● City dwellers ● High School Educated ● High Income (over Rp 500,000/mo) ● TV viewers 	<p>Expectations (Difference /None /DK)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 45/35/17 ● 49/35/16 ● 47/34/20 ● 57/34/9 ● 50/33/17 ● 47/35/19
<p><u>Disadvantaged</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Women ● Over 35s ● Rural people ● No or Incomplete Primary Education ● Low Income (under Rp 200,000/mo) ● Not TV viewers 	<p>Expectations (Difference / None /DK)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 35/29/36 ● 32/32/36 ● 36/31/33 ● 27/28/46 ● 31/32/37 ● 28/31/41

Summary: Attitudes to Elections

- Indonesians know what elections are and why voters should participate in them.
- Most know new elections are coming, though not exactly when.
- Very high turnout is likely - voter education is not needed to generate it. Voters feel a civic duty to vote and want to choose their leaders.
- There is no evidence of support for a protest boycott.
- A plurality thinks that the elections will lead to change - namely new leaders, stability, and economic recovery.
- Uncertainty about the outcome of the vote is high among disadvantaged groups, who are also less positive in mood.

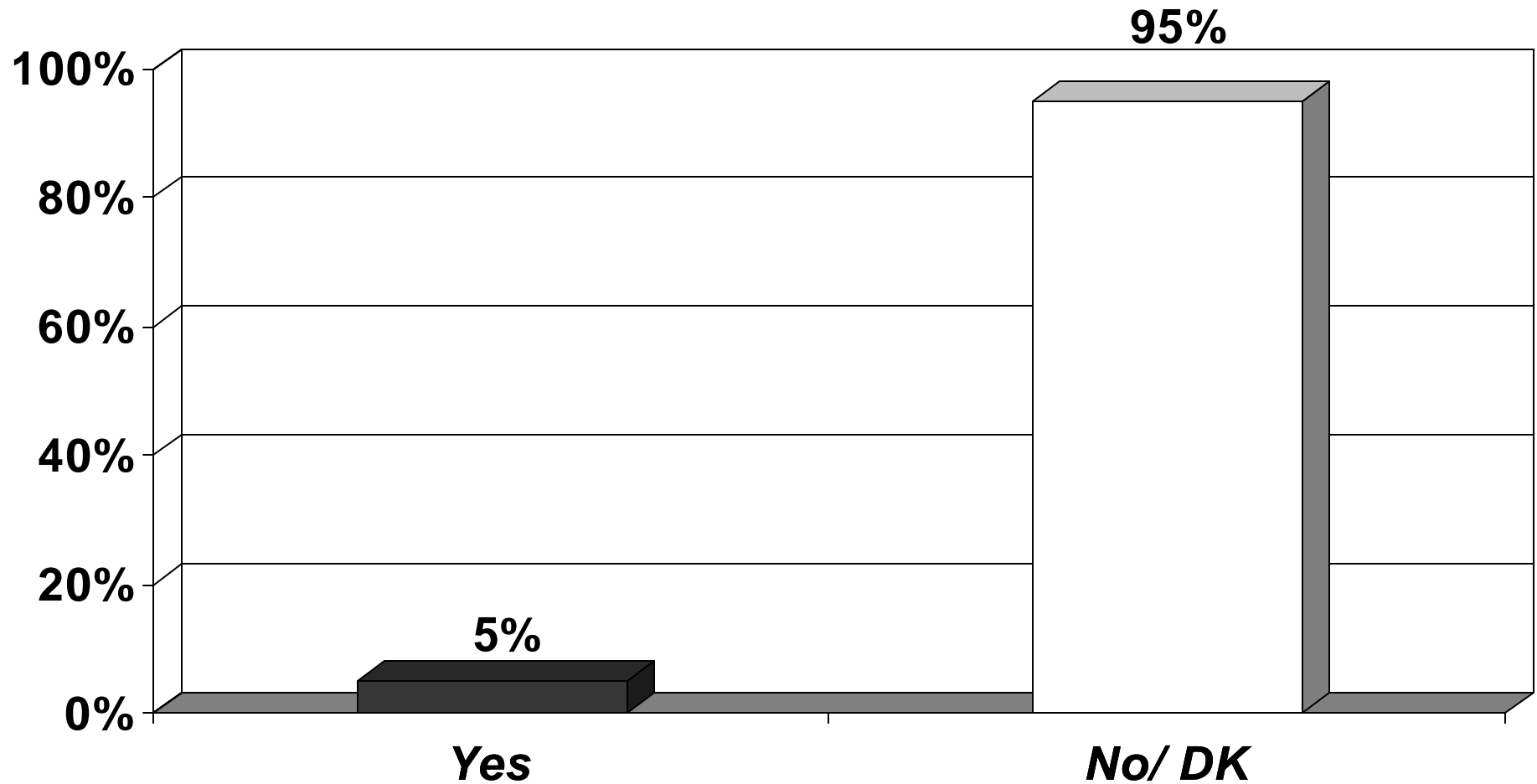
Part III
Registration
Campaign Needs

Awareness of Registration

- Though they want to vote and know elections are coming, most Indonesians have heard nothing about the new legal requirements for voters to register.
- A mere 5% say they have heard something about people needing to register for the elections.
- Awareness of the need to register is only slightly higher (8%) among those who must do so than among the public as a whole.

Awareness of Registration

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in next year's elections ?

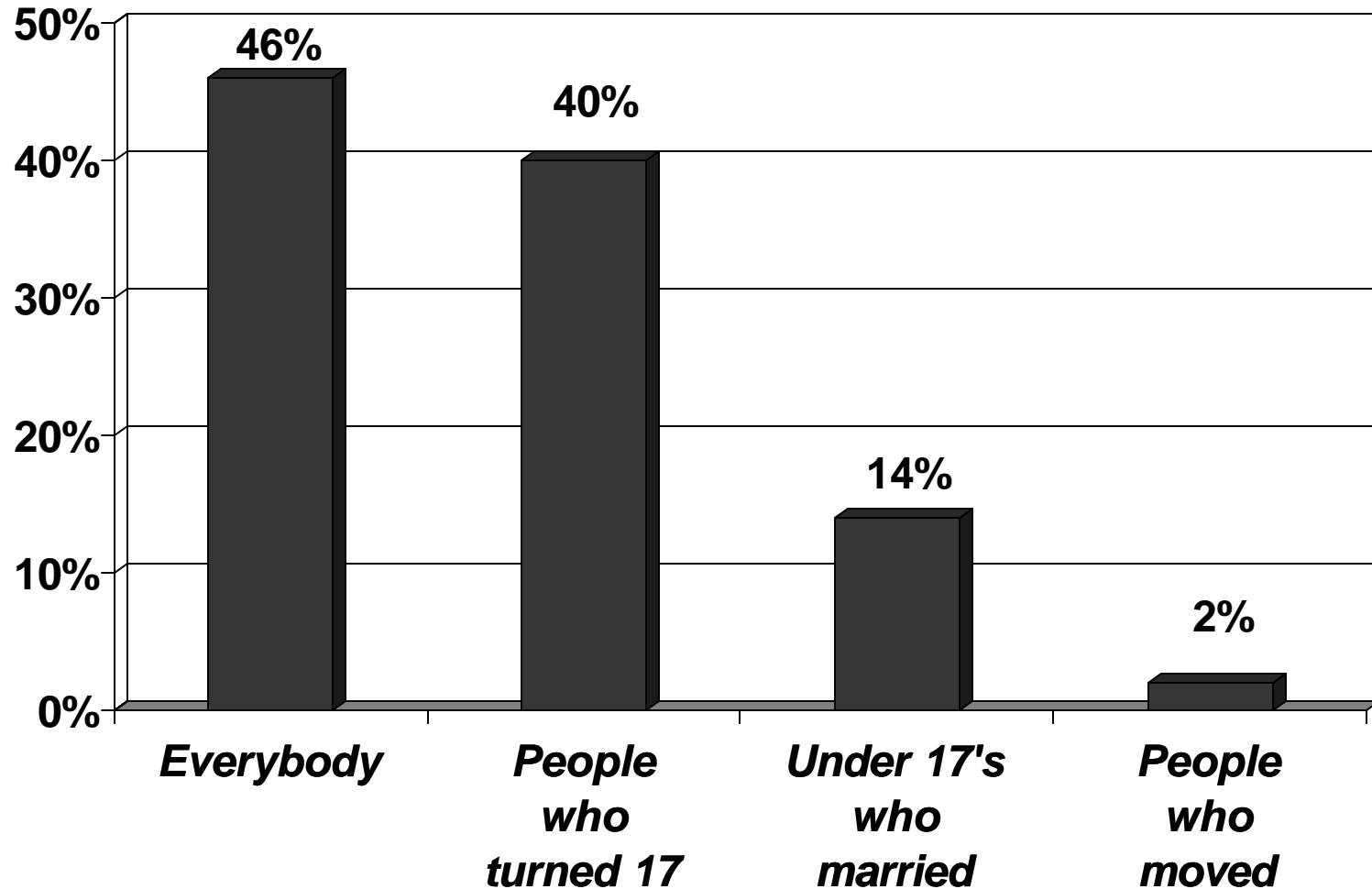


Who Needs to Register

- Almost no one is aware of all the groups of people required to register under the new law, or that people already registered who have not moved do not need to re-register.
- When asked spontaneously to say who must register, almost half the public (46%) incorrectly thought everyone had to.
- Awareness of the three categories who must register is low:
 - People who turned 17: only 40% were aware (and just 46% of under-25s).
 - Married under-17s: only 14% know this.
 - People who moved since the 1997 election: only 2% knew this - and it is the largest group who must register.

Who Needs to Register

Who will have to register to vote ? (Multiple answers)

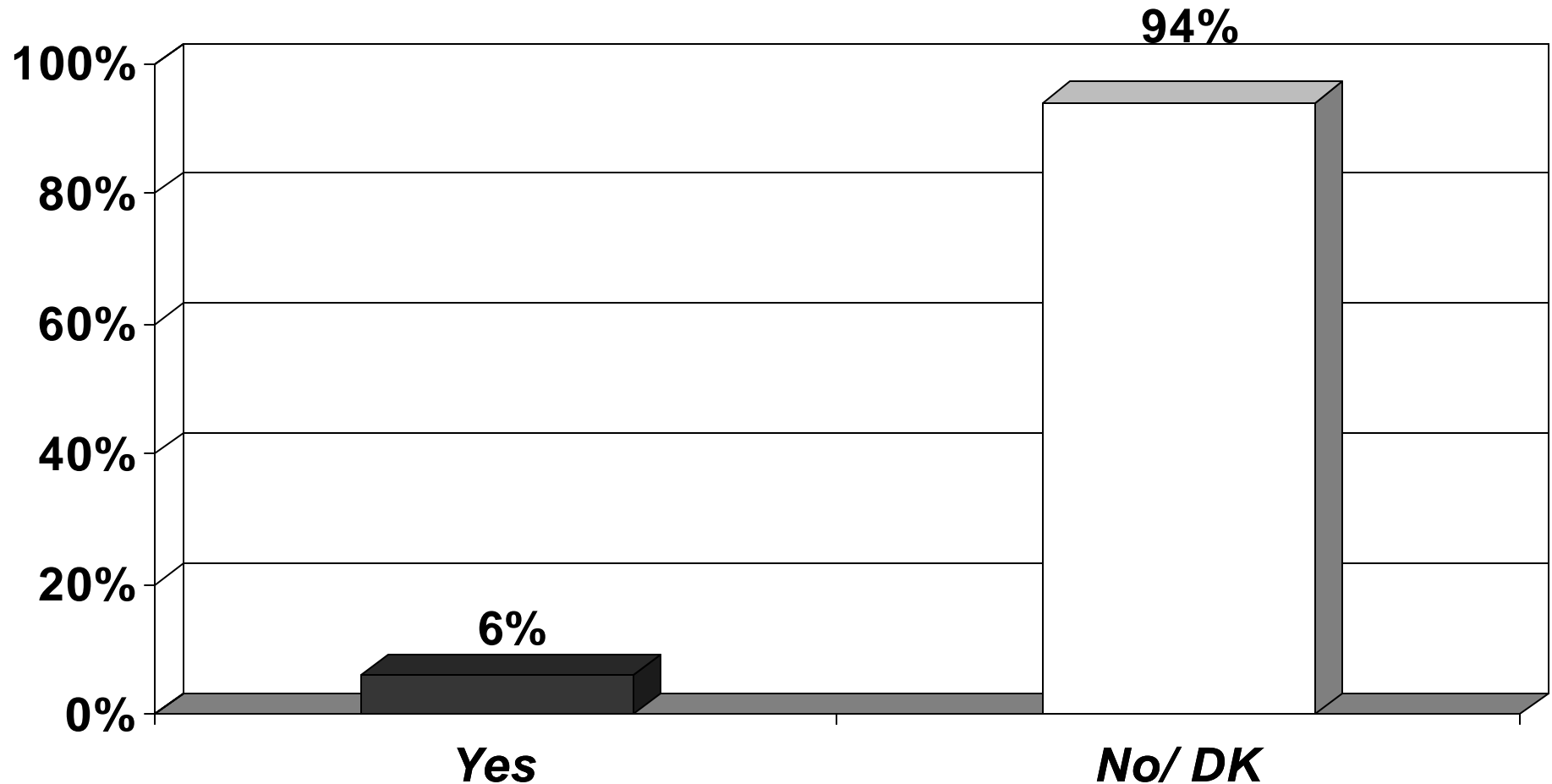


Awareness: Who Must Register, How

- When voters were asked if they had heard of the categories required to register and the need to do so by going to a registration office, only 6% said they were familiar with these requirements.
- This showed their unfamiliarity with the second important change - that voters must act to get on the register rather than passively wait to be registered by the authorities as in the past.
- It also confirmed the finding of the previous question: voters have not forgotten the new requirements, they have never heard of them.

Awareness: Who Must Register, How

Under the new laws, people who have moved or turned 17 since the last election, or who are under 17 and married must go to the local registration office and fill in a form to register and vote. Did you know this ?

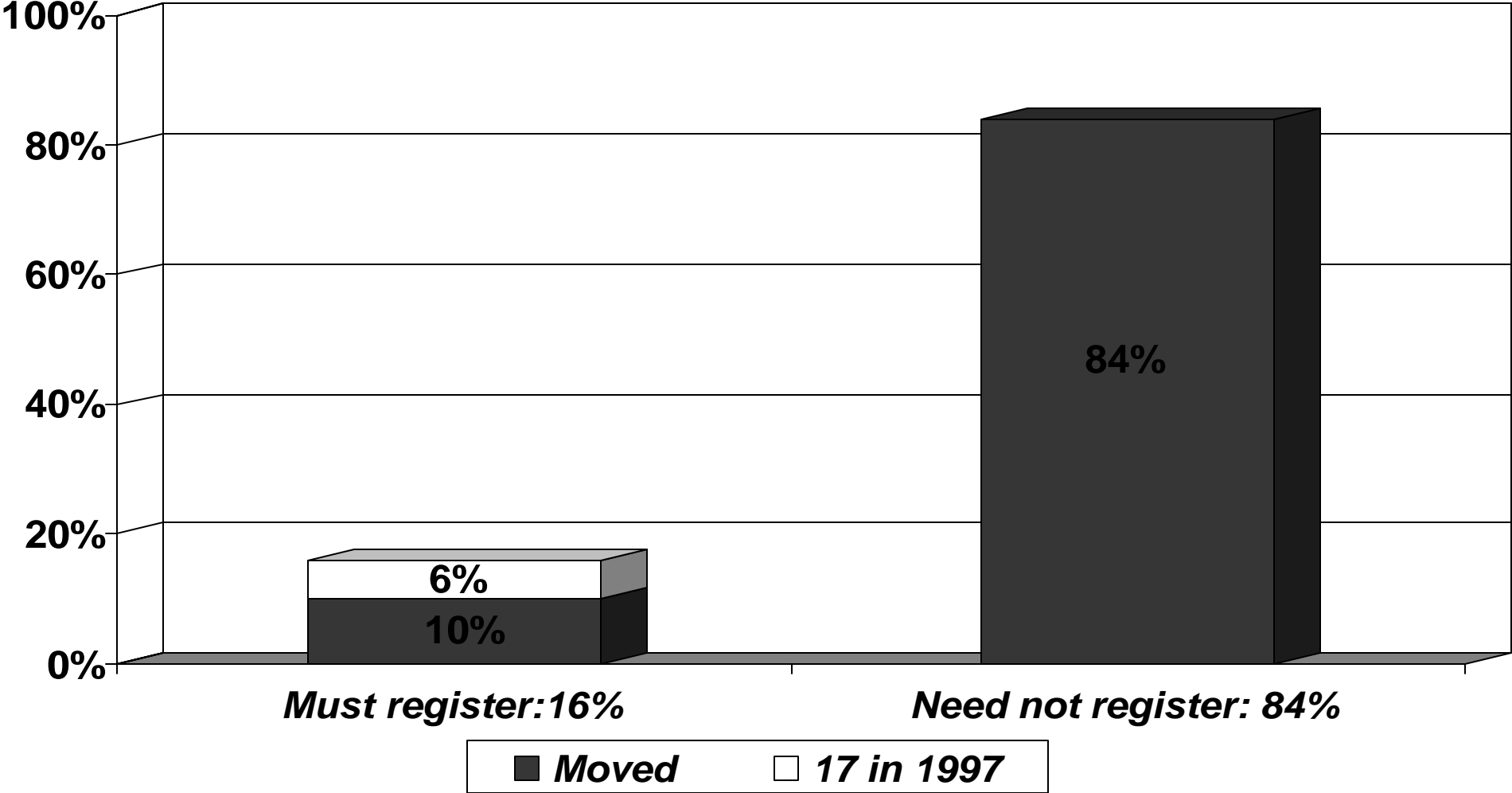


Voters Who Must Register

- The proportion of the electorate which must register in person to vote, according to the survey, is 16%, or around 21 million people.
- This tallies closely with the estimate of the drafters of the registration law, 15% of the voters.
- To put this in perspective: the number of people who have to register is three times the electorate of Cambodia or as large as the whole electorate in South Africa.
- If the news about registration is not spread all around the archipelago before the April 17 deadline, millions of people who want to vote could discover in June they have been disfranchised. This could create trouble at the polls and doubt over the validity of the election.

Voters Who Must Register

Aged under 18 or moved since last election



Registration Campaign Targets

- The registration requirements mean that the voters who need to register tend to come from social groups that are young and mobile, and thus also fairly well educated.
- The group with the highest proportion who need to register is the students eligible to vote (59%). Involving student groups in a registration campaign can be a constructive outlet for their energy.
- Next come the under 25s (37%), the high school educated (23%), regular TV watchers (21%), those in the big cities (21%), and the unemployed (21%)
- These are the groups voter educators should target for the registration campaign.

Registration Campaign Targets

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>Need to Register</i>
Students Eligible to Vote	59%
Under 25s	37%
High School Educated	23%
Regular TV Watchers	21%
Unemployed	21%
<i>National Average (for comparison)</i>	
Indonesia	15%

Best Reason to Register

- The top reason to register among those who need to was the same one cited for voting, citizen duty, cited by 35%.
- The second major reason was to help restore prosperity, mentioned by almost as many (33%).
- The third factors cited was choosing leaders, mentioned by 16%.
- The principal themes which should be linked to registration in an informational campaign are citizen duty and restoring prosperity.

Best Reason to Register

Which of the following is the best reason to register to vote ? (Reasons given by 5% or more of potential registrants only)

Citizen duty	35%
Bring prosperity back	33%
Choose leaders	16%
End corruption	5%
Don't know	10%

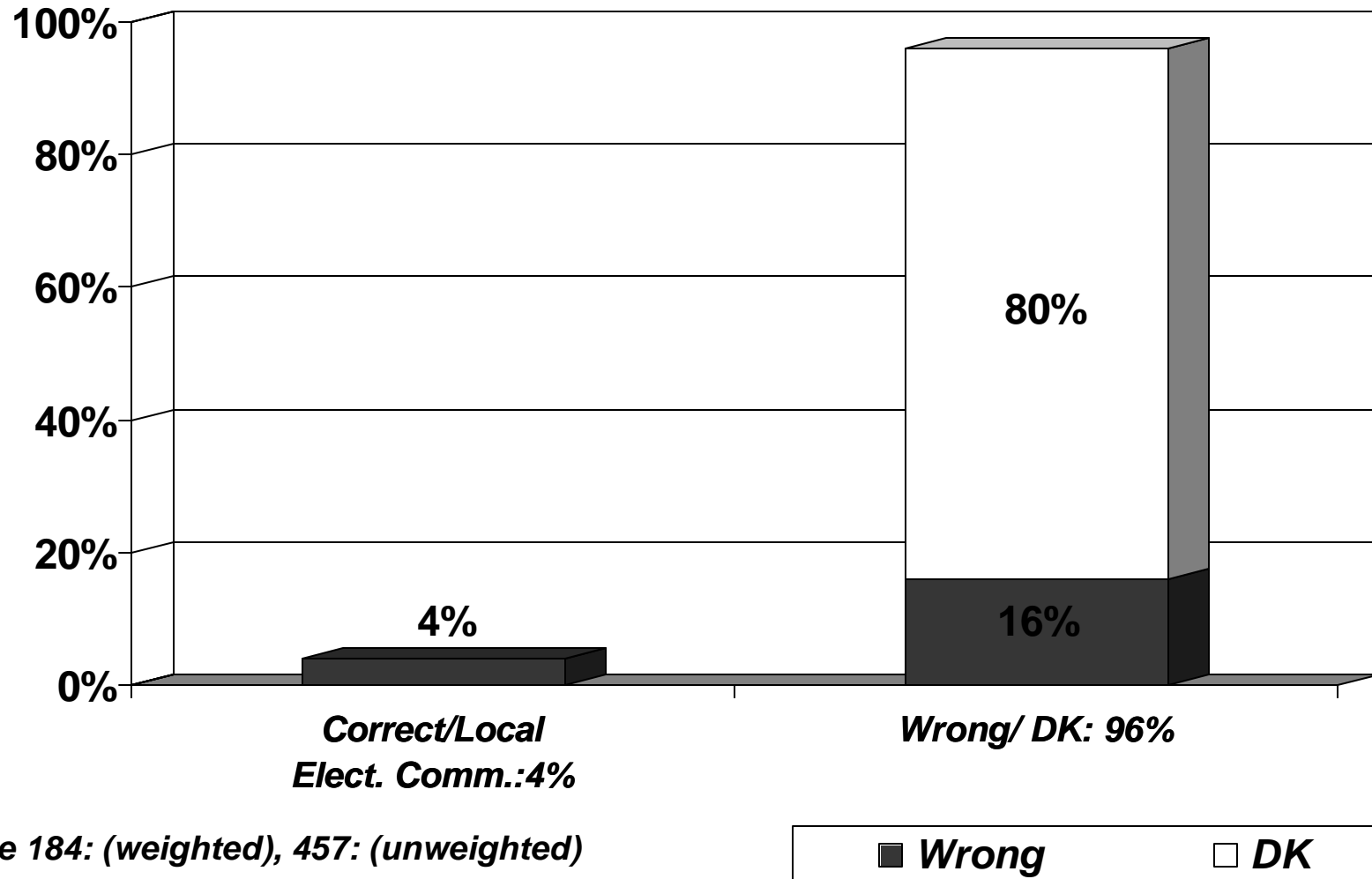
Base 184: (weighted), 457: (unweighted)

Know Where to Register

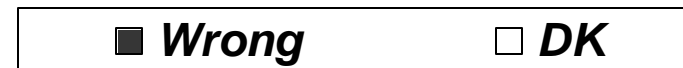
- Only 4% of the potential registrants know where they have to go to vote.
- Some 80% of potential registrants say they don't know where to go to register.
- Most of the those who think they know where to register are wrong: 14% would go to the village head or RT head, 2% to other incorrect destinations.
- Information given by a registration campaign must be specific and accurate on where to go.

Know Where to Register

*Do you know where you have to go to register to vote ?
(Potential registrants only)*



Base 184: (weighted), 457: (unweighted)



Possession of ID Documents

- Only just over three-fifths (62%) of Indonesians who need to register have KTP identity cards.
- However, most have other ID documents, including school certificates (67%), family cards at the RT office (46%), birth certificates (44%), and wedding certificates (24%).
- If these supplemental documents are accepted, at most 3% of registrants will be unable to provide ID documents to register.
- It will be important to make rules on acceptable documents liberal and to publicize them well.

Possession of ID Documents

*Many people do not have some kinds of ID documents needed to register to vote. Please tell me which of the following you have.
(Potential registrants only)*

KTP (ID Card)	62%
No KTP but have ...	
School Certificate	67%
Family Card at RT	46%
Birth Certificate	44%
Wedding Certificate	24%
Passport	1%
Temporary ID	1%
SBKRI (Naturalization certificate)	0%
None/ Refused	12%

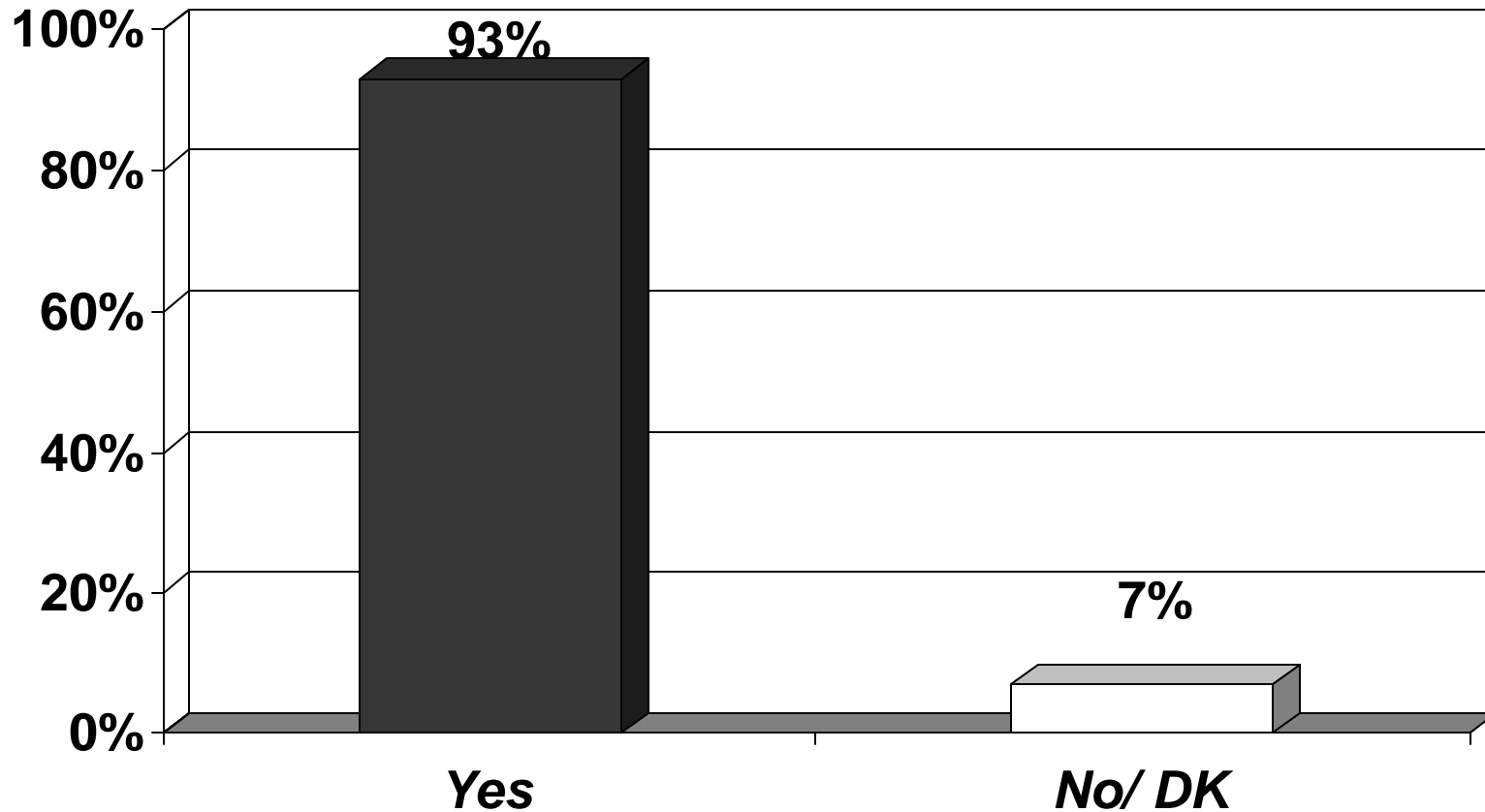
Base 184: (weighted), 457: (unweighted)

Will They Register?

- The good news about registration is that 93% of potential registrants say they will register.
- Willingness to register is high across the board.
- There was no indication of resistance, shown both by the low unwillingness to register (7%) and the fact that none of that group gave political reasons for not registering.
- The task is thus much more telling people how and where to register than trying to persuade them that they ought to register.

Will They Register ?

*Do you think you will register to vote in the elections ?
(Potential registrants only)*



Base 184: (weighted), 458: (unweighted)

Summary: Registration

- Awareness of the new registration requirements is low, and confusion about them widespread.
- Voters are also unaware that they must register in person at local election committees.
- Registration is an urgent voter education issue: 21 million people country-wide must register by April 17 or else lose their right to vote.
- Registration target groups include students, under-25s, the high school educated, TV watchers, and the jobless.
- Over one-third of those who must register have no KTP ID cards, so other acceptable documents must be named and publicized.
- Once people find out that they need to register, they are willing to do so.
- The strongest motivators for registration are citizen duty and the economy.

Part IV

Voter Education Needs

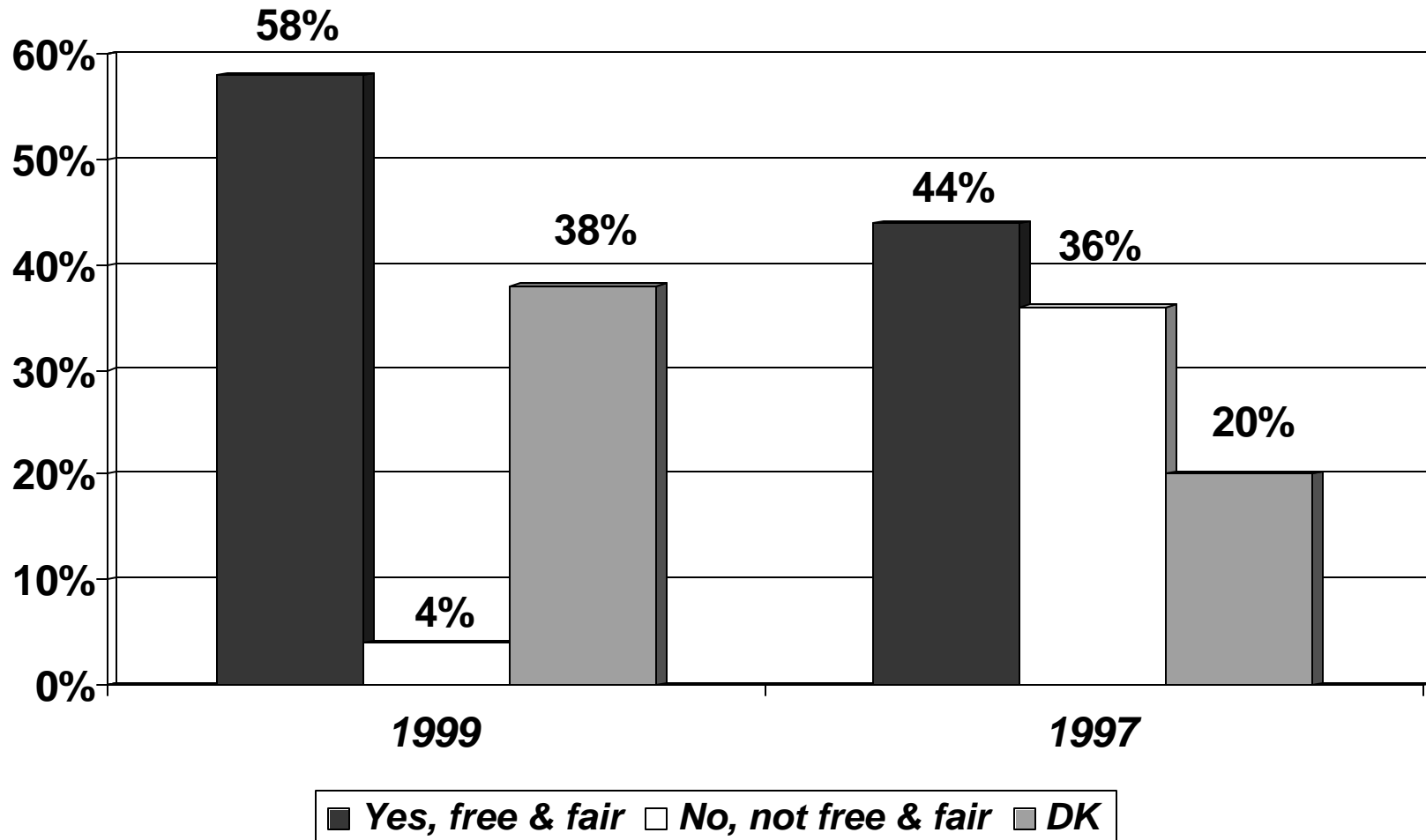
Free and Fair Elections ? 99 vs 97

- Indonesians are hopeful that the 1999 election will be free and fair: 58% say it will be, and just 4% say it will not be, though 38% remain unsure.
- This is a key change from their view of the 1997 election. Only 44% saw that poll as free and fair, while the majority either said it was not (36%) or were unsure (20%).
- But 42% of the electorate still are not sure the election will be free and fair. This issue is the key task for voter education.

Free and Fair Elections ? 99 vs 97

Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you ?

Did you think that the 1997 elections were free and fair ?



Election Concerns, 1999

- The in-depth interviews identified nine major areas of concern among voters regarding the fairness of the 1999 election, and the survey let us quantify their frequency.
- The top concerns were omissions from the voting roll (29%), riots during the campaign (23%), media bias (22%), and cheating in vote counting (21%).
- After these came violence against activists (18%), lack of ballot secrecy (15%), vote selling (13%), forced voting (11%), official intimidation (10%), and repeat voting (9%).
- These are the basic issues for voter education messages.
- However, a persuasive campaign will require effective voter registration and measures against riots, violence, media bias, and official intimidation, not just skillfully designed propaganda.

Election Concerns, 1999

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.

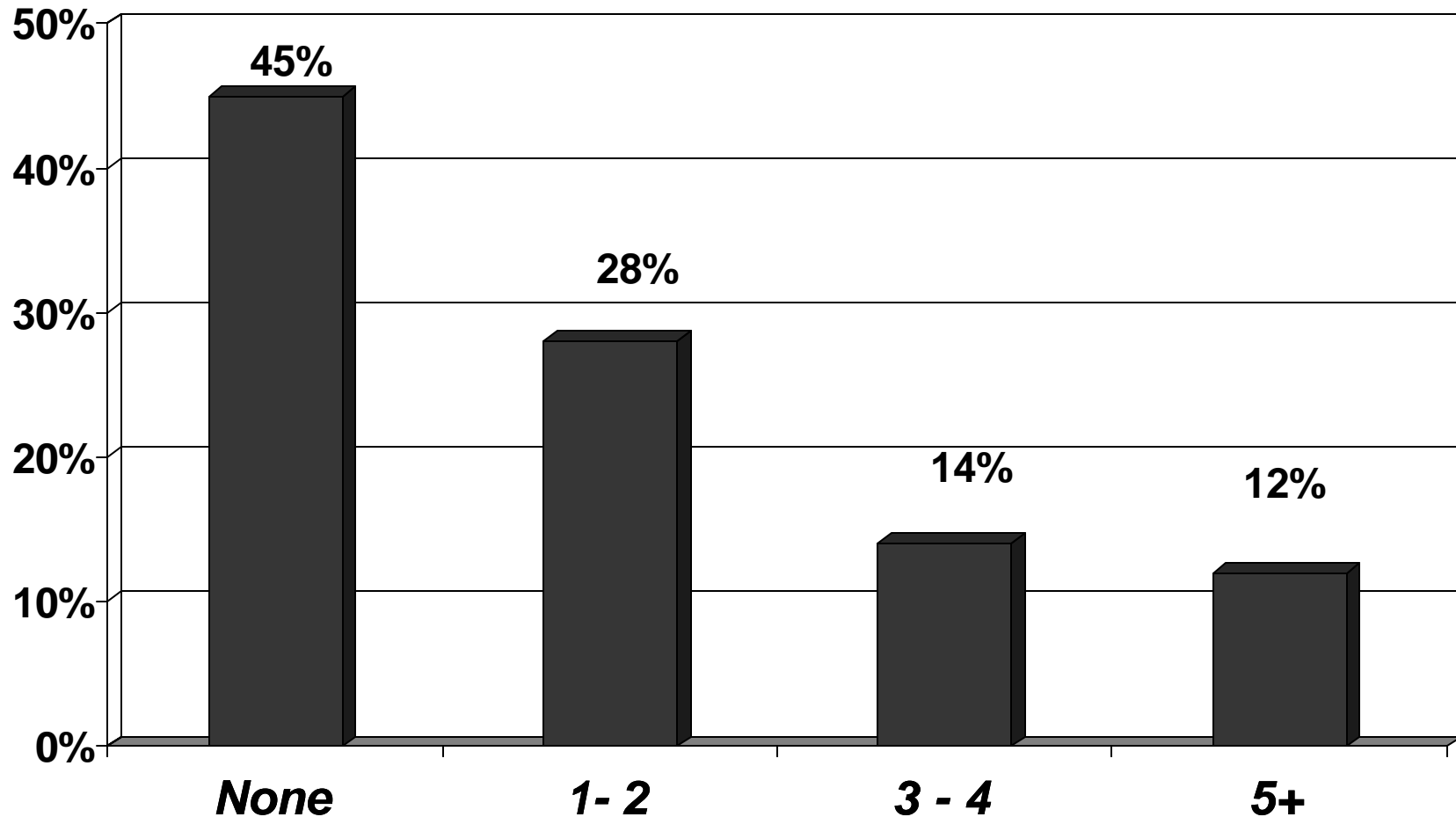
People left off voting roll	29%
Riots or disorders	23%
News media bias favoring party	22%
Cheating in counting	21%
Violence against party activists	18%
Finding out how people voted	15%
Selling of votes	13%
Forcing workers to vote together	11%
Threats from officials	10%
People voting more than once	9%

Number of Election Concerns

- More than half the voters (55%) had at least one of the nine concerns, so worry about them is clearly widespread.
- Such concerns reflect voters' experience of the 1997 election: those who thought it was not free and fair tended to have concerns for 1999 as well.
- Some 28% of the public had one or two concerns, 14% had three or four, and 12% had five or more. The latter groups were most often urban, secondary educated, younger, and male.
- The 45% of the voters with no concerns were disproportionately older, rural, less educated and female.
- Of these four groups, those with no concerns and those with 5+ concerns were the least sure the election would be free and fair.
- This apparent paradox gives us the key to voter education targeting: it needs to focus on two distinct voter groups: urban, secondary educated, younger, and male and the other is older, rural, less educated, and female.

Election Concerns, 1999

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.



Voter Education Targets

- The targeting needs for voter education run right across the lines of political advantage and disadvantage traced thus far.
- Among the advantaged, two groups rank highest in doubt about the election's fairness: urban men with high school education or under 35 (each 10% of the electorate, with overlaps). This reflects the above-average level of specific concerns which must be addressed to reassure this vital group, which is articulate, politicized, and influential in the cities.
- Of the disadvantaged, those least sure the election would be fair are older rural women (16% of voters), the very poor (10%), women with no or incomplete primary school (23%), and non-TV viewers (36%). While also high in doubt about the election, these overlapping groups are the least able to cite specific election concerns and understand little about it.
- The campaign thus needs two tracks: one that is well-aimed and sophisticated for the compact targets (people with more formal education and higher income), and another that is big and basic for the larger group (people with low formal education and low incomes).

Voter Education Targets

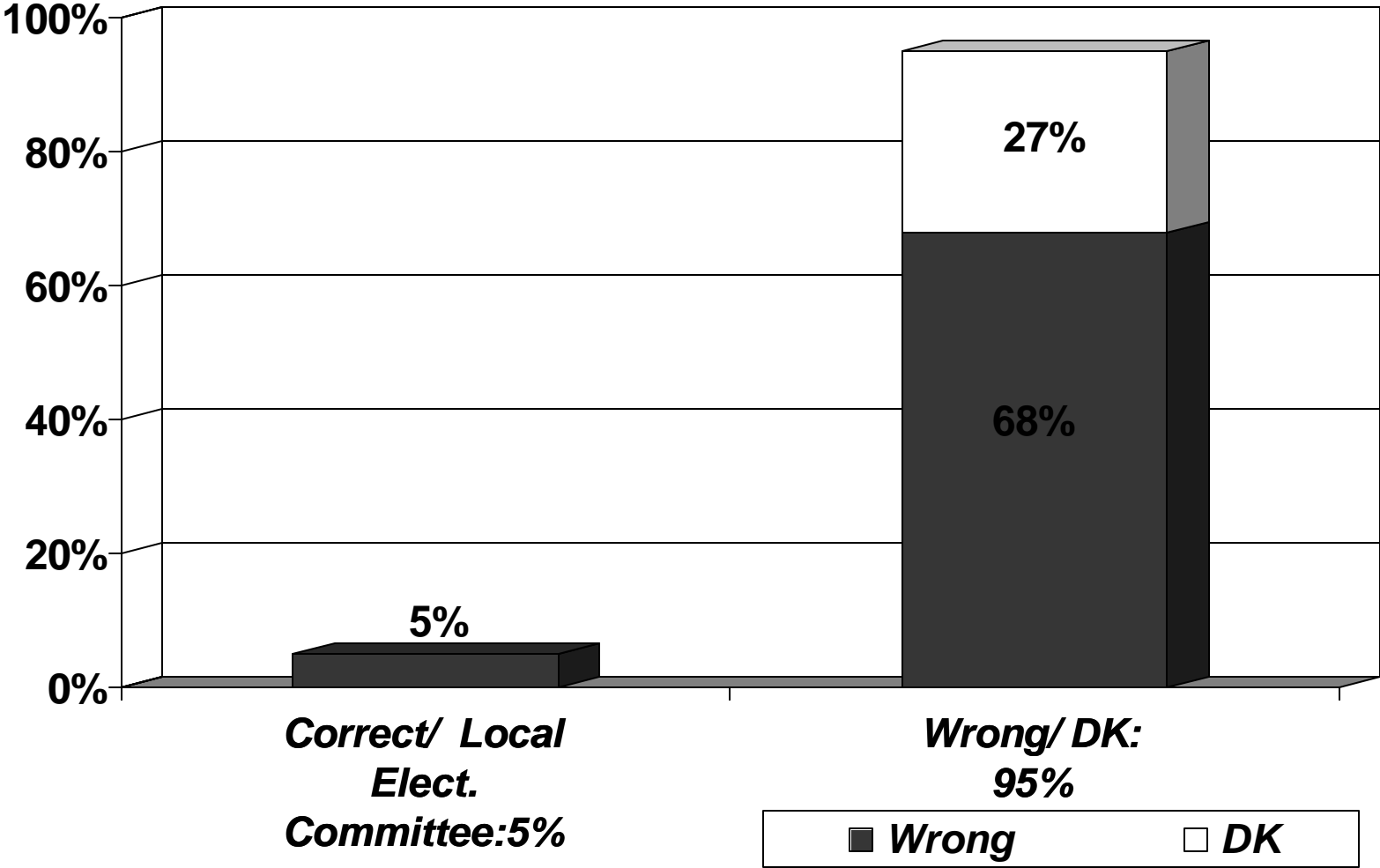
	Not Free + Fair	1+ concerns	3+ concerns
<i>Advantaged Targets</i>			
High School Educated Urban Men	50%	77%	50%
Urban Men Under 35	50%	69%	43%
<i>National Average (for comparison)</i>			
Indonesia	42%	55%	26%
<i>Disadvantaged Targets</i>			
Rural Women Over 35	52%	29%	12%
Very Poor (<Rp100,000/mo)	52%	31%	10%
Women < Primary School	50%	33%	12%
Don't Watch TV Regularly	47%	42%	18%

Know Where to Complain

- Very few voters (a mere 5%) knew that if they witnessed election abuses, they should complain to their local election committees.
- More than two thirds (68%) of the voters said they had no idea what to do if one of the election problems on the list occurred.
- Even more worrying, most of those who thought they did know were wrong. The most frequent responses were going to the local government or the police - neither of whom could help an aggrieved party in this case.
- The potential for anger resulting from this situation is high, so this issue, too, is a task for voter education.

Know Where to Complain

If one of these problems happens in your area in 1999, do you know to whom you could complain ?



Knowledge of Election Law Changes

- The survey also revealed that public awareness of most of the changes in election law remains low, despite discussion of the subject by politicians and the media.
- Half the public still does not know whether there will be more than three parties in the election - and this is the best known change.
- Some 64% don't know Election Day will be a holiday.
- The new procedural safeguards remain unknown: 83% have not heard of plans for independent observers, and 97% don't know that voters' fingers will be dipped in indelible ink when they vote.

Knowledge of Election Law Changes

Do you know if...

	Yes	No/ DK
...this election will have more than 3 parties ?	50%	50%
...this election will be held on a holiday ?	36%	64%
...there will be independent groups to monitor the elections ?	17%	83%
...this election will be run by the government alone ?	14%	86%
...people's fingers will be dipped in ink when they vote ?	3%	97%

Voter Education Messages

- In the survey we read to voters five messages of the type voter educators might offer in order to assess the potential impact of voter education messages.
- They dealt with the five issues on which we had just measured voters' knowledge: multi-party competition, holiday voting, an independent election commission, dipping fingers in ink, and independent observers.

Simulated Voter Education Messages

Read to Respondents

There will be more than 3 parties in the election. All parties that meet legal requirements will be allowed to compete.

June 7, when the next election will be held, will be a holiday, so people will vote from their homes and not their workplaces.

The new election law says the voting will be run by a new independent Indonesian Election Commission. The government cannot control the voting process.

After people have voted, their fingers will be dipped in indelible ink to show they have voted, so no one can vote twice.

Groups of observers, independent of the government, will monitor every step of the election and inform the public of any cheating.

Note : The survey was conducted before the election legislation was passed.

Impact of Voter Education Information

- All the voter education messages tested helped reassure the public about the election.
- The most effective focused on mechanical changes which do not depend on human goodwill: finger dipping (which left 58% more confident of a free and fair election) and holiday voting (53% more confident)
- After this came independent observers (50% more confident) and an independent election commission (46%).
- The presence of more than three parties reassured the fewest (36%), suggesting that procedural fairness is now more important than expanded choice to reassure voters about the election.

Impact of Voter Education Information

Does this statement give you much more, somewhat more, a little more or no more confidence that the elections will be free and fair ?

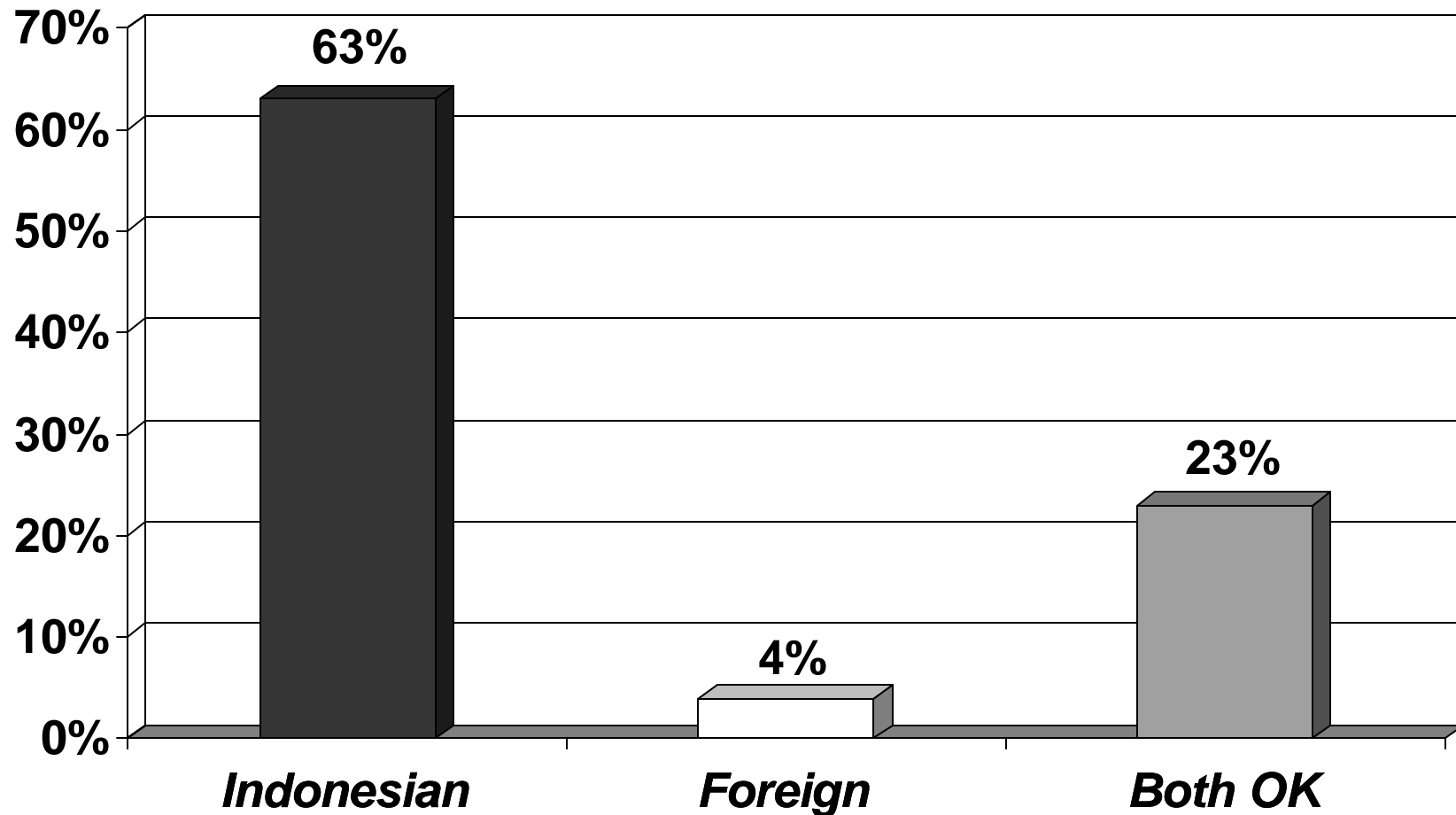
	Much more	Much/ Somewhat
Fingers dipped in indelible ink.	29%	58%
June 7 will be a holiday.	23%	53%
Groups of observers will monitor the election.	23%	50%
Voting run by an independent election commission.	20%	46%
More than 3 parties in the election.	15%	36%

Observers: Indonesian or Foreign

- Indonesian election observers were preferred to foreign ones by a large margin, 63% to 4%.
- However, almost one-fourth (23%) of the public found both equally acceptable.

Observers: Indonesian or Foreign

Would you prefer Indonesian election observers, foreign observers or are both equally acceptable to you ?



Summary: Voter Education Needs

- The election planned this year enjoys significantly more voter confidence than that of 1997, but the persistence of doubt makes reassurance on election fairness the prime voter education task.
- The majority of voters have concerns about the elections. The most widespread are voting roll omissions, riots, media bias, and cheating in the counting process.
- The groups with the highest doubts include some voters (educated, young urban men) and a larger group (older rural or poorly educated women, the very poor and non TV viewers.) These are the targets for voter education.
- Voters do not know where to complain of election abuses and are mostly unaware of the procedural safeguards contained in the new election law.
- Simulated voter education messages which explain these safeguards gives considerable reassurance to voters.

Part V

Civic Education Needs

Characteristics of a Democratic Country

- Indonesians don't know much about what democracy means: 61% can't name any characteristics of a democratic country.
- Among those who can respond, political rights are the most frequent answer. Some 28% cite them, focusing on free speech and popular sovereignty. Economic gains are associated with democracy by 13%, and peace, stability, and consensus by 7%.
- Without experience of, or education in, democracy, the few Indonesians who can imagine it simply see it as the opposite of what has been: political rights instead of authoritarianism, prosperity in place of economic crisis, peace rather than violence.
- Democracy was not associated with "elections" in the in-depth interviews, and only 3% of the survey respondents connected the two ideas.
- The limited awareness of democracy and lack of linkage to elections point to the need for civic education, in addition to voter education. Such an effort would explain the basics of democracy as a free political system with elections as its mainspring.

Characteristics of a Democratic Country

If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else?

- **Don't Know / No Response: 61%**
- **Political Rights: 28%**
 - *“Free speech,” “free expression”* : 9%
 - *“People’s sovereignty,” “government of, by, for people”*: 5%
 - *“Free elections,” “free political participation”*: 3%
 - *“Human rights,” “rule of law”*: 3%
 - *Other*: 4%
- **Economic Gains: 13%**
 - *“Social justice,” “help for the poor”* : 6%
 - *“Prosperity,” “SEMPAKO availability”*: 6%
 - *“Fair access to government jobs / services”*: 1%
- **Peace, Stability, Consensus: 7%**

Base: 606 (weighted), 1298 (unweighted)

Personal Consequences of Democracy

- Most Indonesians (63%) also do not have any ideas on how democracy in the country could change their lives.
- Of those who do, the most frequent response is economic gains, mentioned by 24%, rather than political rights, cited by just 14%, or peace and consensus, mentioned by 9%.
- So at the personal level, they hope democracy will respond to their most pressing problem - the economic crisis - more than provide them with abstract rights.
- Civic education thus needs to associate democracy with the lives and political experiences of Indonesians - their chance to choose their leaders, their freedom to speak without fear, their chance to demand what they want (including economic recovery) from government.

Personal Consequences of Democracy

What, if anything, is the most important thing that a democracy in Indonesia will bring you personally? Anything else?

- **Don't Know / No Response: 63%**
- **Economic Gains: 24%**
 - *“Prosperity,” “SEMPAKO availability”*: 13%
 - *“Social justice,” “help for the poor”* : 5%
 - *“Economic recovery,” “jobs”*: 3%
 - *“Action against monopoly,” “help to small business”*: 2%
 - *“Fair access to government jobs / services”*: 1%
- **Political Rights: 14%**
 - *“Free speech,” “free expression”* : 7%
 - *“Free elections,” “free political participation”*: 3%
 - *“Human rights,” “rule of law”*: 2%
 - *Other*: 2%
- **Peace, Stability, Consensus: 9%**

Base: 598 (weighted), 1292 (unweighted)

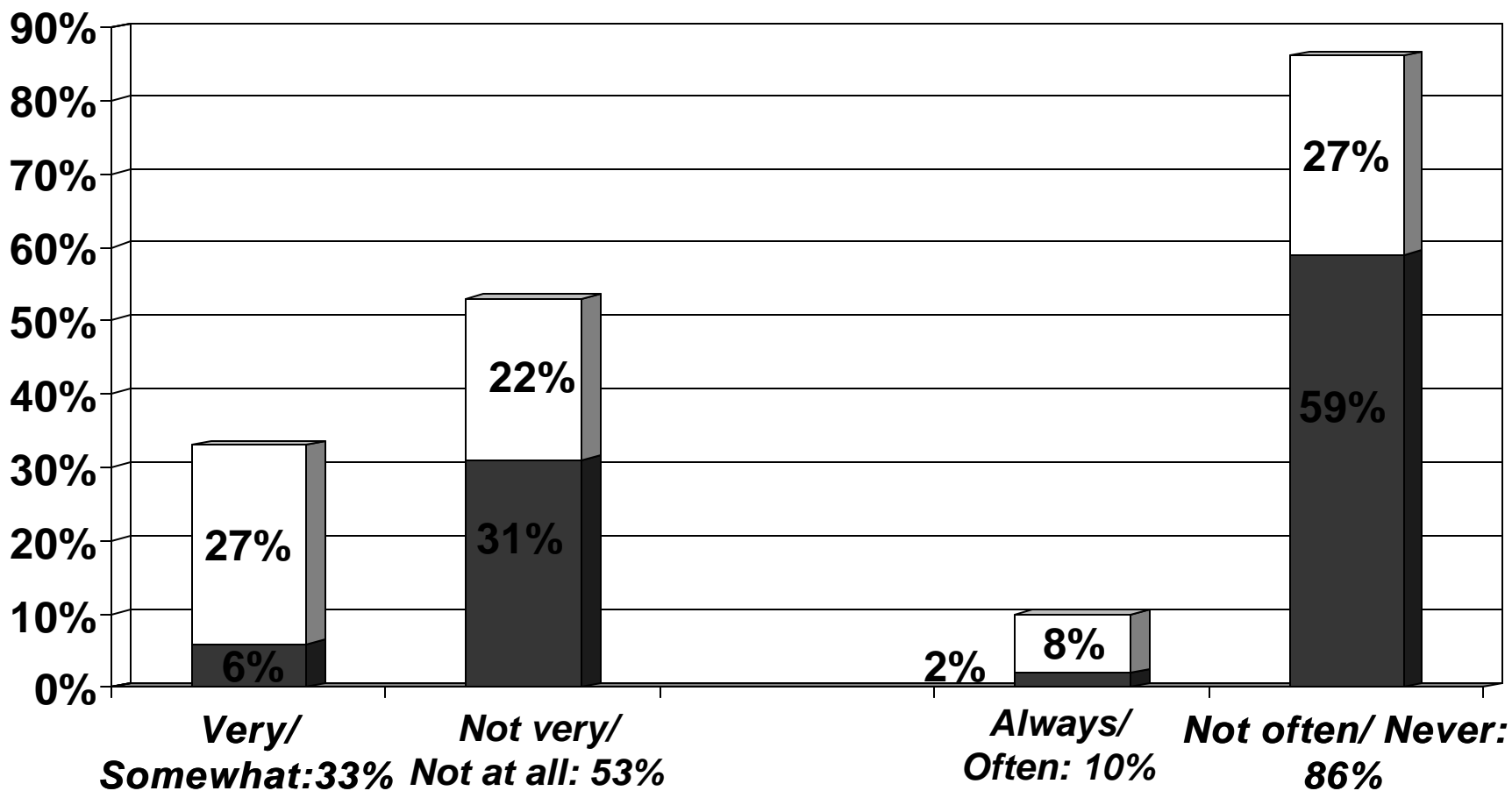
Political Interest and Discussion

- Decades of authoritarian rule have left Indonesians with little interest in politics and little exposure to political discussion.
- Only 6% of Indonesians say they are very interested in politics, and just 33% are very or somewhat interested. A mere 2% of the electorate say they “always” discuss politics with friends, and only 10% do it “always” or “often.” In international terms, these are very low levels of political involvement and experience.
- They are linked to Indonesians’ limited awareness of democracy.
 - Of those interested in politics, 61% can say what they think a makes country democratic; of those not interested, only 35% can do so.
 - 64% of those who talk politics can respond to the same question; of those who do so almost never or never, 24% can.
- Low interest in politics suggests that civic education spots or political content should be included in non-political TV shows or attractions. The near-absence of political discussion suggests town meetings with ordinary politicians and “speak-outs” where ordinary people discuss specific problems publicly could also be useful, in person and on the air.

Political Interest and Discussion

How interested are you in politics?

How often do you discuss politics with friends ?

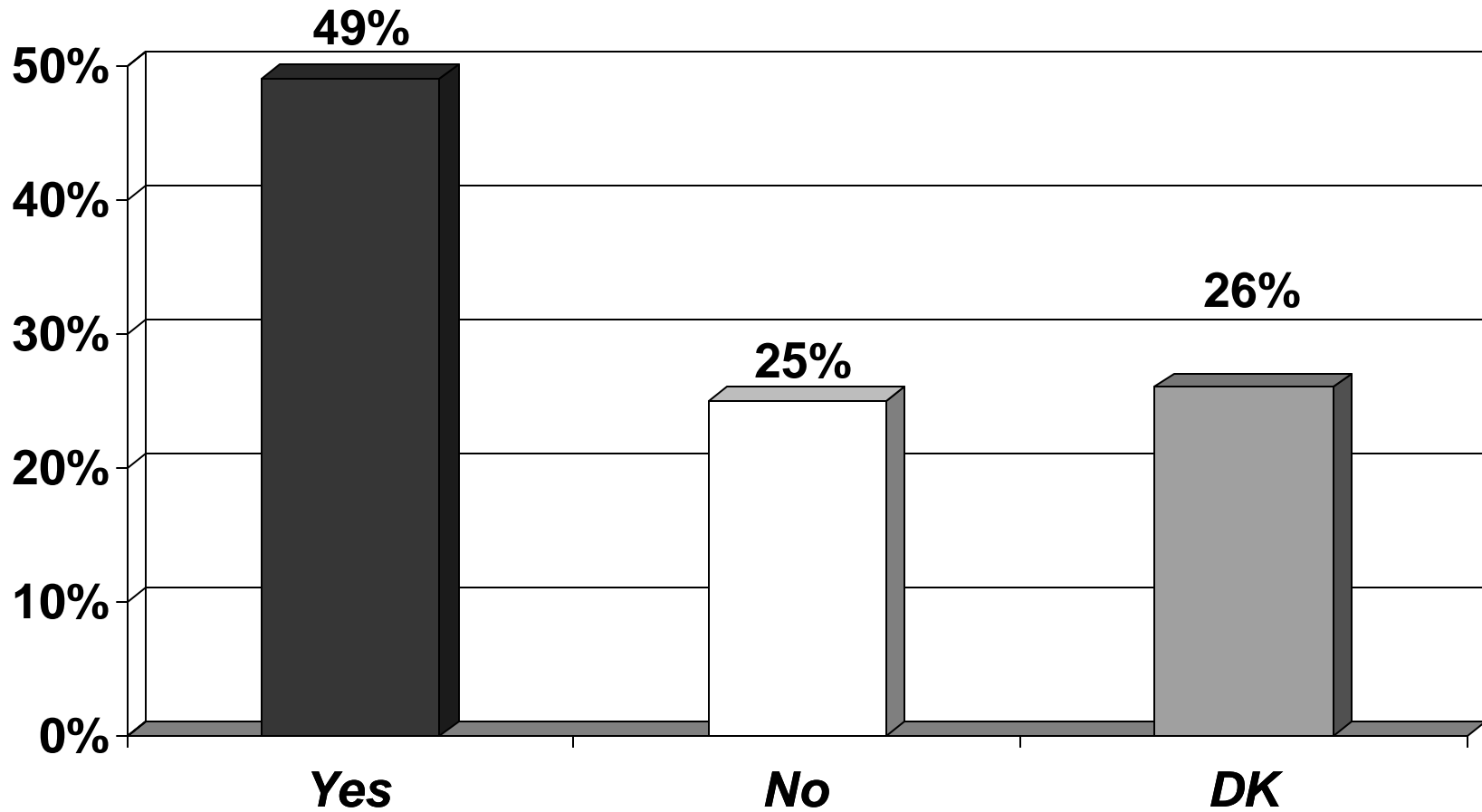


Political Tolerance

- While political tolerance in Indonesia is not universal, 49% are willing to let unpopular parties hold meetings in their areas. 25% are not willing, and a further 26% are not sure.
- Tolerance is connected to political interest and discussion.
 - 63% of those interested in politics would let all parties meet, against just 45% of those not interested.
 - Political discussion has a similar effect.
- It is also connected to participation in organizations. Some 51% of those who belong to an organization favor letting all parties meet, compared to 43% of those who have no organizational experience.
- Finally, tolerance is connected to free expression: 63% of those who think people in their area can speak freely will also let all parties meet, against just 41% in areas which can't speak freely.
- Civic education should address issues of tolerance, in the context of promoting freedom of expression and political choice.

Political Tolerance

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?

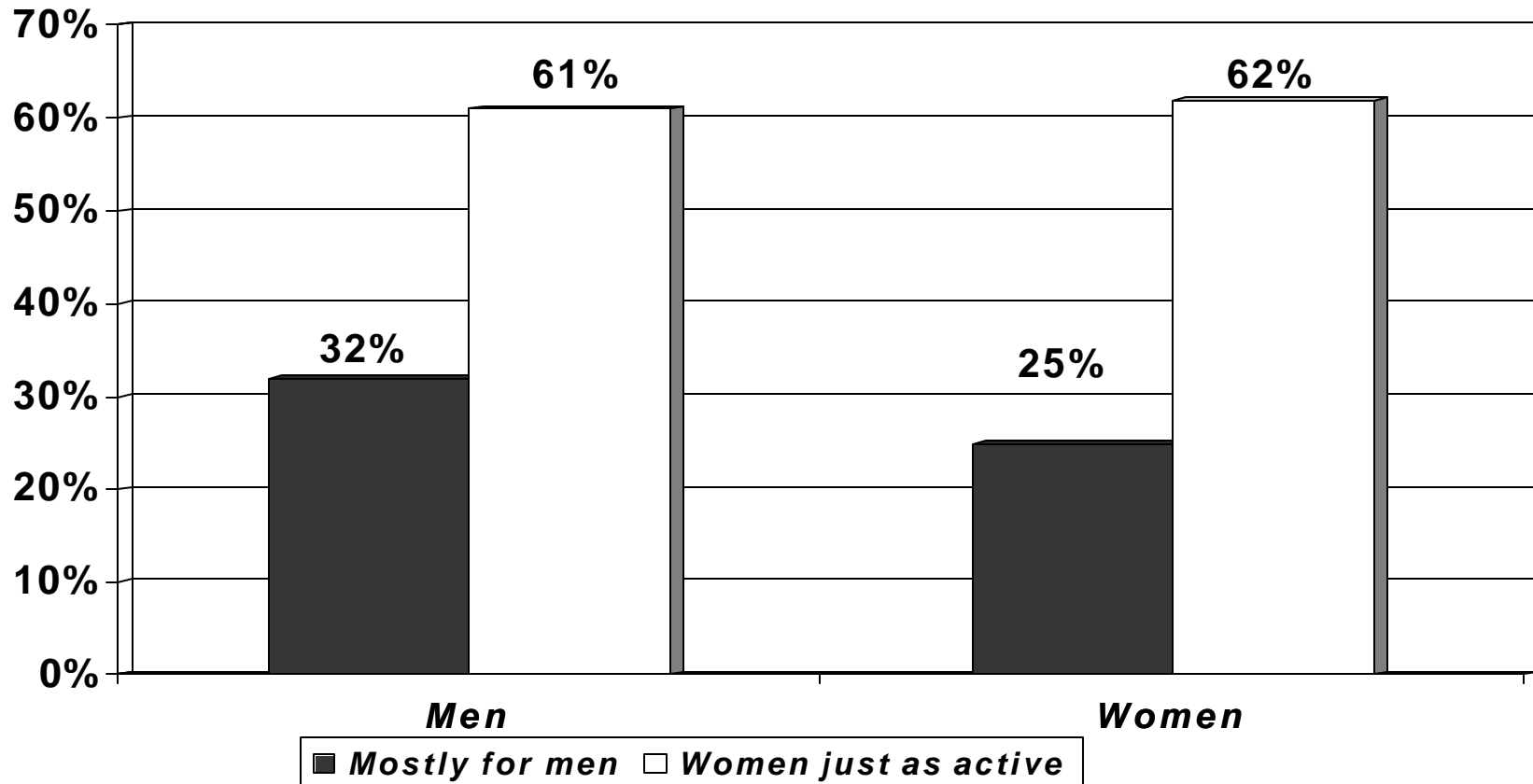


Gender and Political Leadership

- Many Indonesian voters were open to one important component of democracy: equality between the sexes in political life. The majority of both men (61%) and women (62%) felt women should be just as active as men in political leadership.
- Majorities felt this way across the board, among voters of all educational, religious, and age groups.
- Promoting acceptance of gender equality in politics among the 28% who oppose it, and the 10% who are not sure, should be a civic education priority.

Gender and Political Leadership

Do you think that political leadership positions should be mostly for men or do you think that women should be just as active ?



Base 560 men: (weighted), 1266(unweighted), 614 women :(weighted), 1327 (unweighted)

Differences in Views on Democracy

- Once more, awareness regarding democracy reflects the pattern of difference already noted between advantaged and disadvantaged groups.
- The advantaged groups are more likely to be able to say what democracy is, associate it more closely with political rights, are more interested in politics, discuss it more often, and are more tolerant of unpopular parties.
- The disadvantaged groups are much less able to say what democracy is, more likely to associate it with economic gains, are less likely to be interested in politics or discuss it, and are less tolerant of unpopular parties.
- These differences make the disadvantaged groups the logical targets for civic education efforts.

Differences In Views on Democracy

<u>Advantaged</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Men• Under 35s• City dwellers• High School Educated• High Income (over Rp 500,000/mo)• TV viewers	Views <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 50%+ can say what “democracy” is• Associate it with political rights• More interested in politics• Speak about politics more often• More tolerant of unpopular parties
<u>Disadvantaged</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Women• Over 35s• Rural people• No or Incomplete Primary Education• Low Income (under Rp 200,000/mo)• Not TV viewers	Views <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <30% can say what “democracy” is• Associate it with economic gains• Few interested in politics• Rarely discuss politics• Less tolerant of unpopular parties

Civic Education Campaign Targets

- The target groups for civic education are drawn from the politically disadvantaged population.
- Because that population is so large, in targeting we have concentrated on the groups who scored the lowest on the survey measures on awareness of democracy, political interest and discussion, and tolerance.
- This yields a set of targets: those with no or incomplete primary school, rural women, low income voters, urban women over 35, and people who don't watch TV regularly.

Civic Education Campaign Targets

<i><u>Target Groups</u></i>	<i>DK on Democracy Character</i>	<i>Not Interested in Politics</i>	<i>Do Not Discuss Politics</i>	<i>Not Politically Tolerant</i>
< Primary Education	83%	82%	96%	59%
Rural Women	81%	75%	95%	53%
Low Income (< Rp 200,000/mo)	76%	77%	95%	58%
Urban Women Over 35	75%	82%	95%	61%
Not Regular TV Viewer	74%	78%	94%	57%
<i><u>National Average (for comparison)</u></i>				
Indonesia	61%	67%	90%	51%

Civic Education - Summary

- The need for civic education flows from the fact that Indonesians have little awareness of the political nature of democracy or its potential impact on their lives.
- There is some tolerance of opposing views, but enough uncertainty remains to make this another civic education goal, particularly in the context of the violent outbreaks which have recently occurred.
- There is majority acceptance of equality for women in political leadership, but enough resistance to make this a high priority for civic education.
- The greatest civic education needs are to be found among the politically disadvantaged groups. The key targets are those with less than primary education, rural women, low income voters, urban women over 35, and those who don't watch TV regularly.

Part VI

Voter Education Sources and Media

Introduction

- This section of the report looks at the sources and media which can be used to deliver voter education to the groups which need them.
- It can be used in conjunction with the information in the Appendices, which contain supplemental tables with the data which would be necessary to do detailed media planning for the campaigns.
- In this section and the Appendices, the targets of the three campaigns are defined as follows:
 - Registration targets: Those who need to register to vote.
 - Voter Education targets: Those who are uncertain or doubt that the 1999 election will be free and fair.
 - Civic Education targets: Those unable to suggest any characteristics of a democratic country.

Voter Education Sources - I

- The most widely accepted sources of information about the election (70%+) are the local RT official or headman and television.
- Radio and public meetings are also accepted by a majority of the general public and all target groups (61% and 55%).
- House visits by voter education NGOs enjoy broad acceptability (40%+).
- Newspapers are acceptable to a majority of the registration targets and 40% of the voter education targets, but the civic education target group shows little interest in them.
- Religious organizations enjoy substantial acceptability (35-45%), followed closely by neighborhood groups. Among women, the PKK (women's neighborhood association) is almost as acceptable as these other organizations.

Voter Education Sources - I

I'm going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by 35% or more)

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Local RT/ Headman	79%	74%	77%	84%
TV	78%	82%	72%	70%
Radio	61%	66%	53%	52%
Public meeting	55%	58%	54%	52%
House visit by non-partisan voter education group	47%	51%	43%	44%
Newspaper	44%	58%	40%	28%
Religious Organization	43%	45%	38%	40%
Neighborhood civic group	38%	40%	33%	33%
PKK (women's neighborhood association) (women respondents only)	35%	28%	33%	34%

Voter Education Sources - II

- Voters displayed little interest in a number of voter education sources suggested.
- There was relatively low interest in information from official sources such as the DPR.
- People did not want information about the elections mixed into popular entertainment, with low scores for TV dramas (22-29%) and traditional theater such as wayang puppets or sandiwara tradisional (traditional play) (15-20%), and very low scores for public film shows (11-13%) and comic books (5-8%).
- There was also not much interest in a two-step process, using female neighbors or family schoolchildren as intermediaries to pass on voter information.

Voter Education Sources - II

I'm going to read you some information sources, for each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by less than 35%)

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
DPR	29%	32%	24%	25%
TV drama	26%	29%	22%	24%
Woman neighbor (women respondents only)	25%	25%	33%	23%
Wayang, Sandiwara, etc.	20%	15%	17%	17%
Schoolchild in family	16%	19%	14%	13%
Public film showing	13%	13%	12%	11%
Comic book	8%	7%	6%	5%

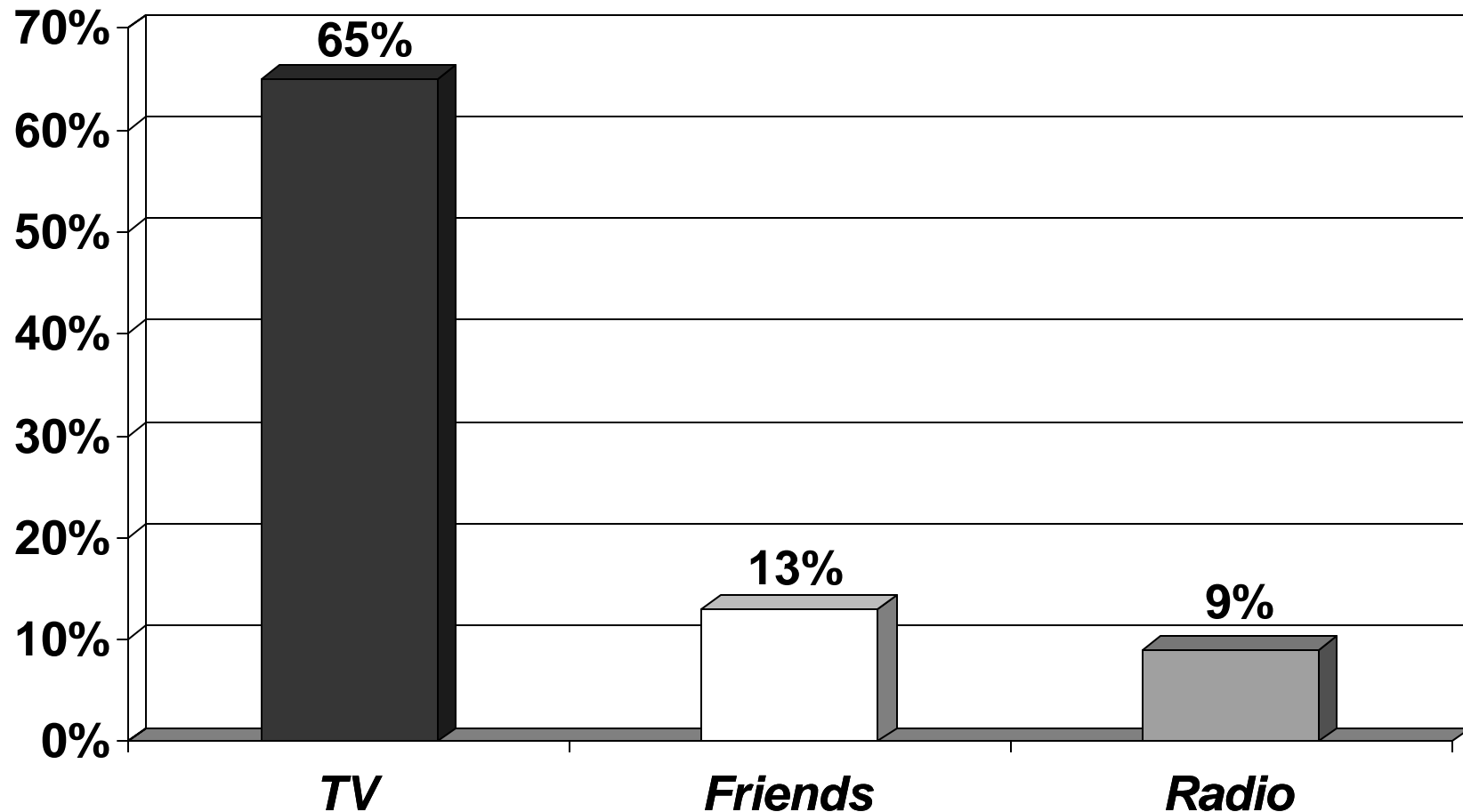
Principal News Sources

- Television's towering role as the country's principal source of political information stood out in the survey findings.
 - 65% of Indonesians said it was how they found out what was happening in the country and their communities.
 - It was the leading source of information across the board in all social groups.
- After TV, the most important information source was word of mouth from friends and family (cited by 13%), rather than another mass medium. This response was more frequent among women, over-50s, the very poor, and rural people.
- Radio was cited as main information source by 9%, most often by rural people and those not watching TV regularly.
- No other source was mentioned by more than 5%.

Principal News Sources

How do you normally get information about what is happening in your country and your community ?

(Responses cited by 5% or more)



Regular Media Exposure

- TV is also the widest-reaching medium: 64% of the electorate watches at least three days a week (52% almost every day).
- TV reaches a large majority of the registration targets (70%), and smaller majorities of those for voter education (59%) and civic education (54%). But it does not reach majorities of three of the disadvantaged groups often targeted: low income voters, those with less than primary education, and older rural women.
- Radio's reach is smaller, 37% of all voters, and 31-45% of targets.
- Newspapers reach few of the targeted votes (4-15%)
- These findings suggest that TV should be the main vehicle for the campaigns, with radio used to reinforce.
- Support for in-person voter education should be concentrated on efforts among the groups TV does not reach (low income voters, low education voters, rural women over 35).

Regular Media Exposure

Respondents who use particular medium 3 days a week or more

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
TV	64%	70%	59%	54%
Radio	37%	45%	35%	31%
Newspaper	13%	15%	13%	4%

Organizational Involvement

- In-person voter education will fall largely to NGOs, reflecting their broad reach as well as their acceptability.
- Religious volunteer groups have the largest following among the targets (37-45%), followed by neighborhood associations (30-34%)
- Among the youthful new registrants, youth groups are the third most important group (13%), while school parents groups take third place in the older groups needing voter education (reaching 9%) and civic education (touching 10%)
- Cooperatives take fourth place for all target groups (6-8%).
- Around one-third of the target groups have no organizational ties. However, only around 15% - 20% is without both organizational memberships and TV, so operating through both will reach most members of the target groups.

Organizational Involvement

*Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.
(Responses cited by more than 5%)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Religious volunteer	49%	37%	44%	45%
Neighborhood Association	39%	30%	34%	34%
School parents group	11%	5%	9%	10%
Cooperatives	11%	8%	8%	6%
Youth group	9%	13%	7%	6%
No organization	28%	36%	34%	34%

Frequency of Religious Services

- If voter education information can be provided to Indonesians via religious services, as has been done in some other countries, it will reach very large numbers.
- Over 60% of all three target groups attends religious services at least once a week, so mosques, churches, and temples could be important sources of information.
- Only about 8% of the public neither attends services regularly nor watches TV regularly.

Frequency of Religious Services

How often do you attend religious services ?

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Once a week or more	68%	64%	62%	65%
Once a month or more	9%	11%	10%	8%
Less than once a month/ Never	23%	26%	27%	26%

Languages:

Understand, Read, Prefer, Used - I

- Most of Indonesia's electorate can understand (87%) and read (82%) Bahasa Indonesia.
- But the proportion who can speak local languages only is still significant: 13%. It is even higher among the voter education targets (18%) and the civic education targets (20%).
- Even more telling are the figures on which languages people really can use - those they prefer and were interviewed in. One third of respondents opted for local languages, including roughly 40% of voter and civic education targets.
- Clearly, if the campaigns are to reach all Indonesians, material should be provided in the most important local languages as well as Bahasa Indonesia.

Languages:

Understand, Read, Prefer, Used - I

Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?

	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Bahasa Indonesia	87%	82%	67%	67%
Local Languages (NOT Bahasa Indonesia)	13%	3%	33%	33%

Languages:

Understand, Read, Prefer, Used - II

- Besides Bahasa Indonesia, two local languages stand out for voter education campaign planning.
 - Javanese is preferred by 17% of the electorate, and Sundanese by 8%
 - No other language is preferred by 3% or more.
- This suggests that in Java campaigns should be tailored to local linguistic needs for Sundanese and Javanese speakers.
- Although at the national level other languages are not a priority, the situation will be different at the regional level. Those interested in planning regional-level campaigns should consult the regional sections in the second portion of this report.

Languages:

Understand, Read, Prefer, Used - II

*Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?
(Languages mentioned by 3% or more)*

Language	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Indonesian	87%	82%	67%	67%
Javanese	45%	32%	17%	18%
Sundanese	19%	16%	8%	7%
Minang	4%	3%	-	-
Malay	4%	3%	-	-
Palembang	4%	-	-	-
Madurese	3%	-	-	-
Bugis	3%	-	-	-

Summary - Voter Education Sources and Media

- The most acceptable sources of election information are TV and RT officials or headmen, followed by radio, meetings, house visits, and religious, civic, and women's organizations.
- TV is way ahead of all other media in reach and as a news source. It should be the mainstay of the campaigns, reinforced by radio.
- Religious, neighborhood, and youth groups also have substantial reach. Their efforts should focus on those not reached by TV (low income and low education voters and older rural women).
- Religious services and organization also offer an effective way to reach voters.
- A portion of the public is not comfortable using Bahasa Indonesia. Regional campaigns should therefore consider local language preferences in preparing material.

Conclusion

Campaign Plan Summary

Overall Campaign Plan

- The campaign should have three major emphases, each in a separate phase.
- **Registration**: March 1 - April 17
 - All potential registrants must be told that they need to register, and how and where.
- **Voter Education**: March 1 - June 6
 - Voters uncertain about election fairness should learn how this election differs from the past.
- **Civic Education**: April 18 - June 6
 - After the registration campaign finishes, resources should be used to give voters unfamiliar with democracy a chance to learn what it involves.

Registration Phase

- **Duration:** March 1 - April 17
- **Messages:**
 - Who needs to register
 - How
 - Where
- **Voter motivators:** civic duty, restore prosperity
- **Targets:** students, under 25s, the high school educated, TV watchers, the unemployed

Voter Education Phase

- **Duration:** March 1 - June 7
- **Messages:** Responses to principal voter concerns (voter roll omissions, riots, media bias, cheating in counting, violence against activists, ballots not secret, vote selling, forced voting, repeat voting), how to complain
- **Other Actors:** Credible messages will require effective action on these issues by policy makers and the parties as well.
- **Targets:**
 - Urban men under 35 or with high school - sophisticated campaign with specifics on concerns.
 - Rural women over 35, very poor, women with less than primary school, non-TV watchers - basic campaign, explaining the essentials.

Civic Education Phase

- Duration: April 18 - June 7
- Messages:
 - What democracy involves (political rights, free elections, etc)
 - What democracy offers voters (freedom, choosing their leaders, voicing their needs)
 - Encouraging political discussion and debate
 - Tolerance of opposing views
- Targets: less than primary educated, rural women, low income voters, urban women over 35, non-TV viewers.

Appendix I

Media Planning Tables

TV Station Most Often Watched

*Which TV station do you watch the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who watch TV)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
RCTI	31%	40%	33%	25%
INDOSIAR	31%	29%	29%	33%
TVRI 1	11%	10%	8%	13%
SCTV	9%	10%	11%	6%
Local TVRI	4%	1%	2%	3%
TPI	4%	5%	3%	4%

Base 1070: (weighted), 2395: (unweighted)

Favorite Type of TV Program

*Which type of TV program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who watch TV)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Local TV drama	48%	54%	49%	51%
Private station news	25%	25%	26%	16%
Government news	18%	12%	13%	16%
Foreign movies	14%	19%	16%	14%
Local music	14%	16%	12%	14%
Sports news	10%	6%	10%	6%
National movie	9%	14%	11%	12%
Traditional drama	9%	4%	8%	10%
Quiz	6%	7%	4%	5%
Foreign drama	5%	6%	4%	4%
Religious program	5%	2%	5%	5%

Base 1070: (weighted), 2395: (unweighted)

Time of Watching TV

*What time of day do you watch TV most often ?
(Respondents who watch TV)*

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
5 - 8 am	5%	4%	5%	2%
8 am - 12 Noon	16%	23%	16%	18%
12 Noon - 5 pm	15%	19%	16%	13%
5 pm - 9 pm	83%	85%	79%	84%
9 pm - 11 pm	29%	24%	29%	25%

Base 1070: (weighted), 2395: (unweighted)

Radio Station Most Often Heard

*Which radio station do you listen to most often ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Private*	78%	85%	80%	79%
RRI Local	17%	8%	14%	16%
RRI Central	5%	7%	6%	5%

*details of local stations will be provided in regional reports

Base 720: (weighted), 1627: (unweighted)

Favorite Type of Radio Program

*Which type of radio program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Dangdut music	42%	50%	38%	46%
Indonesian pop	26%	42%	31%	19%
Traditional	23%	13%	19%	25%
RRI News	18%	13%	16%	22%
Religion	16%	8%	17%	15%
Information/ news	9%	9%	11%	7%
Western pop	6%	11%	9%	-

Base 720: (weighted), 1627: (unweighted)

Time of Listening to Radio

What time of day do you listen to the radio ?

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
5 - 8 am	24%	21%	22%	22%
8 am - 12 Noon	31%	34%	30%	28%
12 Noon - 5 pm	39%	46%	36%	36%
5 pm - 9 pm	32%	26%	33%	32%
9 pm - 11 pm	14%	18%	16%	15%

Base 720: (weighted), 1627: (unweighted)

Newspapers Read

*Which daily newspaper do you read the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who read newspapers)*

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Jawa Pos	12%	8%	11%	11%
Pos Kota	10%	13%	11%	13%
Suara Merdeka	9%	12%	7%	2%
Kompas	7%	8%	8%	7%
Pikiran Rakyat	5%	4%	4%	7%
Pos Kupang	3%	4%	-	7%
Sumatera Express	3%	-	4%	-
Lampung Pos	3%	-	4%	-
Serambi Indonesia	3%	-	-	-

Base 485: (weighted), 1446: (unweighted)

Frequency of Tabloid Reading

How often in a month do you read a tabloid or smaller sized weekly newspaper ?

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Every week	6%	6%	7%	9%
Once a month	7%	10%	8%	12%
Less than once a month	10%	16%	11%	16%
Never	76%	68%	74%	62%

Tabloids Read

*Which tabloid do you read the most often ?
(Responses cited by 5% or more of respondents who read tabloids)*

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Nova	27%	25%	30%	20%
Bola	14%	14%	15%	10%
Bintang	10%	18%	7%	26%
Aksi	10%	12%	8%	16%
Adil	5%	-	5%	-
Citra	4%	6%	9%	12%
Bangkit	4%	7%	-	-
GO	3%	-	4%	-

Base 238: (weighted), 765: (unweighted)

Appendix II

Target Groups Demographics

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Gender				
Male	49%	47%	46%	39%
Female	51%	53%	54%	61%
Age				
Under 25	22%	53%	22%	21%
25 - 34	26%	28%	25%	21%
35 - 45	28%	16%	26%	30%
50 - 64	16%	2%	16%	17%
65 & over	8%	1%	10%	12%

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Marital status				
Single	16%	39%	17%	9%
Married	84%	61%	83%	91%
Education				
None	39%	18%	44%	54%
Primary school	29%	32%	33%	30%
Junior/High school	29%	46%	29%	15%
University	3%	3%	4%	0%

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Occupation				
Farmer (own land)	31%	24%	29%	39%
Laborer domestic	20%	22%	19%	20%
Small business owner	12%	10%	10%	13%
Farm laborer	10%	10%	12%	13%
Skilled worker	10%	17%	11%	6%
Sales/office worker	8%	7%	10%	2%
Informal sales	4%	4%	5%	4%
Other	3%	7%	4%	2%

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Economic Activity				
Working	61%	43%	58%	60%
Housewife	22%	22%	23%	27%
Retired	2%	6%	1%	1%
Student	3%	12%	3%	1%
Unemployed	13%	23%	15%	11%
Income Per month				
Over Rp 500,000	13%	14%	13%	8%
Rp 350,000- 500,000	28%	30%	28%	19%
Rp 200,000- 350,000	36%	36%	32%	37%
Under Rp 200,000	34%	31 %	37%	41%

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Area Type				
City 1 Mill +	14%	20%	13%	10%
City 250K - 1 Mill	15%	16%	15%	11%
City 50K-250K	9%	8%	11%	9%
Urban <50K	1%	1%	1%	1%
Rural	61%	54%	50%	70%
Island				
Java	61%	54%	63%	63%
Sumatra	20%	23%	18%	17%
Sulawesi	7%	10%	9%	8%
Kalimantan	5%	6%	3%	5%
Irian Jaya	1%	1%	1%	1%
Other Islands	6%	5 %	5%	5%

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Province				
Aceh	2%	2%	2%	1%
North Sumatra	5%	5%	5%	5%
West Sumatra	2%	4%	2%	2%
Riau	2%	2%	1%	3%
Jambi	1%	2%	1%	1%
South Sumatra	4%	3%	3%	2%
Bengkalu	1%	1%	0%	1%
Lampung	3%	4%	4%	2%
Jakarta	5%	8%	5%	4%
West Java	20%	28%	23%	22%
Central Java	16%	13%	14%	13%
Yogyakarta	2%	-	2%	2%
East Java	18%	5%	18%	22%

Target Group Demographics

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Province				
Bali	2%	1%	2%	1%
West N. Tenggara	1%	1%	1%	1%
East N. Tenggara	2%	3%	2%	3%
West Kalimantan	2%	0%	2%	3%
Central Kalimantan	1%	1%	0%	1%
South Kalimantan	1%	1%	1%	1%
East Kalimantan	11%	4%	1%	1%
North Sulawesi	2%	3%	4%	2%
Central Sulawesi	1%	1%	1%	1%
South Sulawesi	3%	5%	4%	4%
South East Sulawesi	1%	1%	0%	1%
Maluku	1%	0%	0%	-
Irian Jaya	1%	1%	1%	1%

II. Regional Findings

Introduction to Regional Findings

- This Regional Findings section of the report, has six sub-sections:
 - Inter-regional Comparisons
 - Java
 - Sumatra
 - Irian Jaya
 - Kalimantan
 - Sulawesi
- For each region, there are sections on the mood, campaign needs for registration, voter, and civic education, and media use and voter education sources.
- Bali, West Nusa Tenggara (Lombok, Sumbawa), East Nusa Tenggara (Sumba, Flores, Timor) and Maluku are grouped together under other islands.

Section I

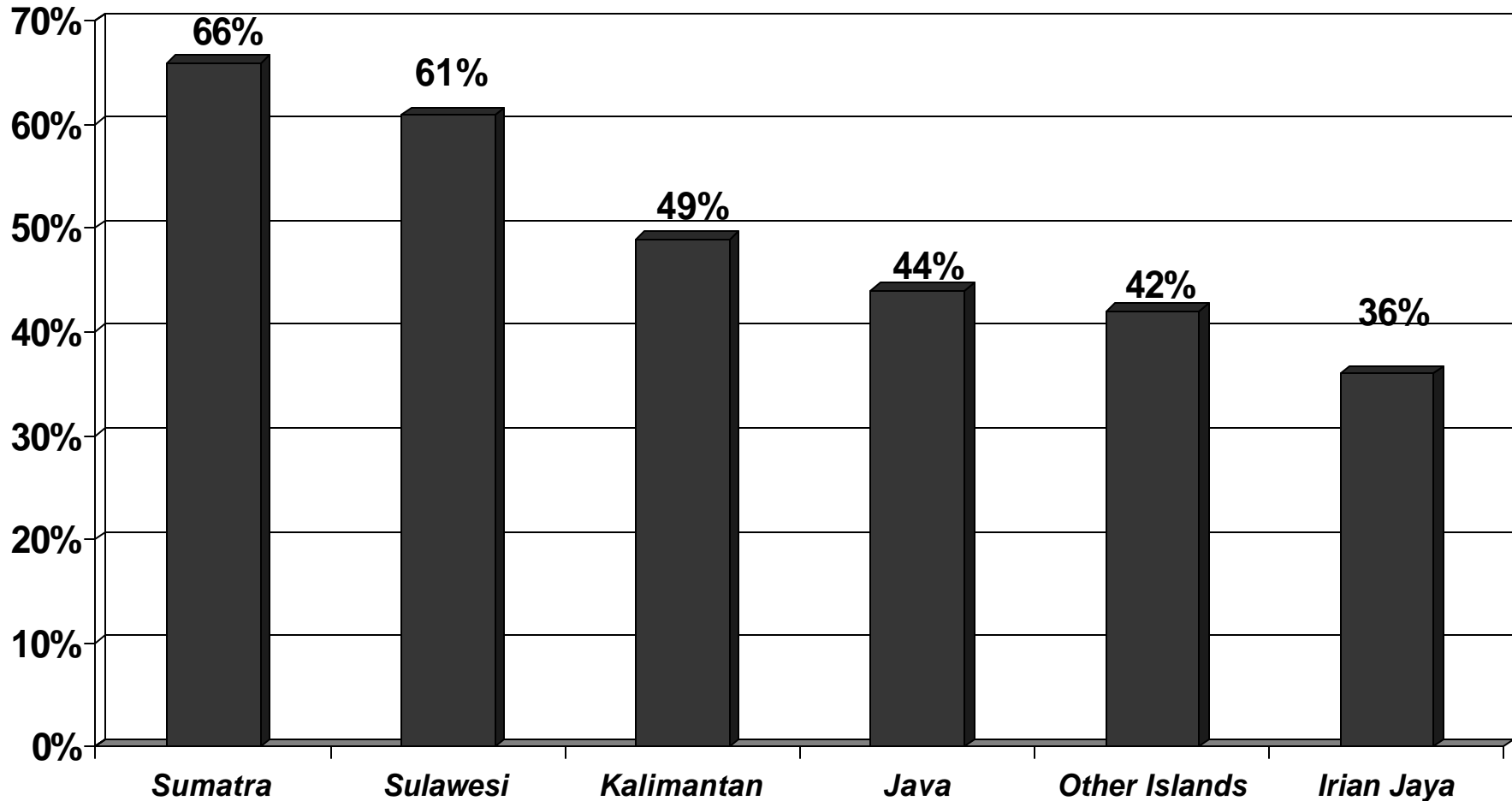
Inter-Regional Comparisons

Direction of the Country

- In two regions, Sumatra, where 66% say the country is headed in the right direction, and Sulawesi, where 61% say the same, people are more optimistic than in the country as a whole (50% right direction).
- Attitudes in Kalimantan (49% right direction) are very similar to those country-wide.
- Optimism is somewhat lower in Java (44%) and the other islands (42%) than the national average.
- In Irian Jaya, just 36% think the country is headed in the right direction, well below the average.

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 ?
(Percent saying: right direction)*

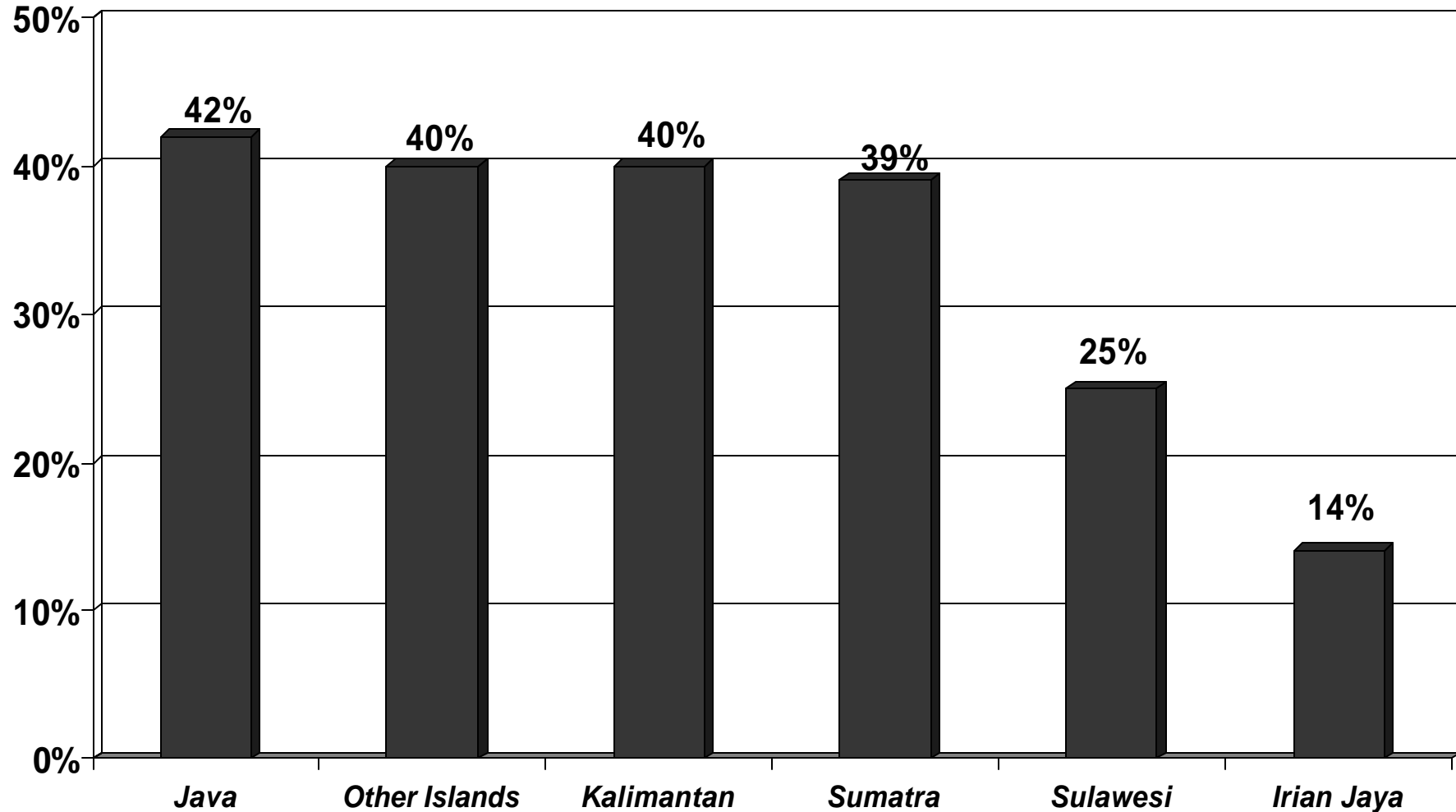


Impact of the Economic Crisis

- The regions hardest hit by the economic crisis are Java, where 42% have cut back on essentials in response, the other islands and Kalimantan (40% each), and Sumatra (39%).
- The impact has been somewhat less in Sulawesi, where 25% have cut back on essentials.
- It appears to have been least in Irian Jaya: despite the low level of confidence in the country's direction there only 14% say they have had to cut back on essentials. The causes of the malaise there do not appear to be economic.

Impact of the Economic Crisis

(Percent saying We have cut back on essentials)

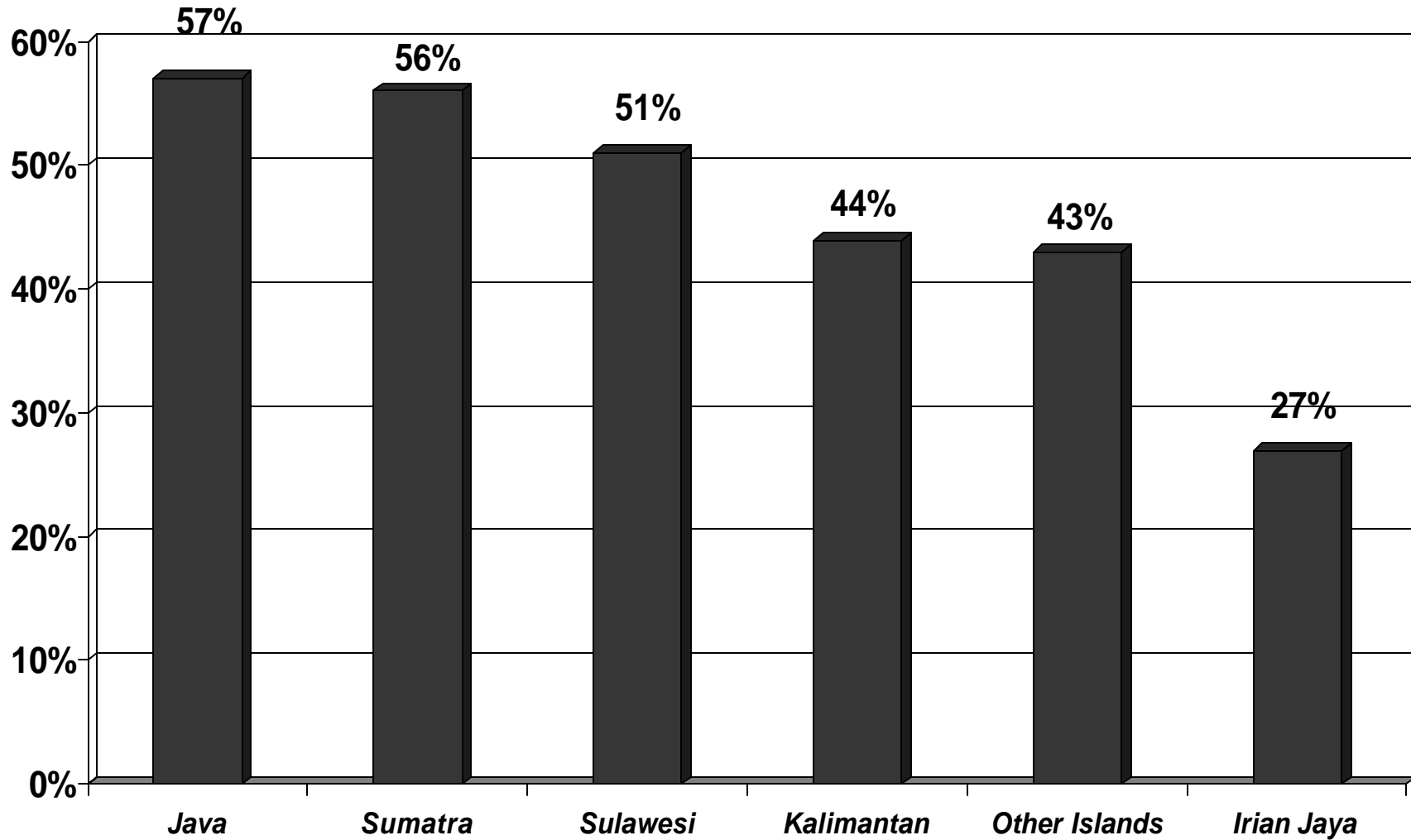


Freedom of Political Expression

- The regions where people feel most free to speak are Java (57%), Sumatra (56%), and Sulawesi (51%). The proportions who feel they can express their opinions in those regions are close to the national average (55%).
- The atmosphere is more fearful in Kalimantan (44%) and the other islands (43%).
- Irian Jaya is the region where the smallest proportion - just 27% - say they can speak freely. It is also the only one where the proportion who say they can not speak freely - 37% - is larger.

Freedom of Political Expression

*Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live ?
(Percent saying yes)*

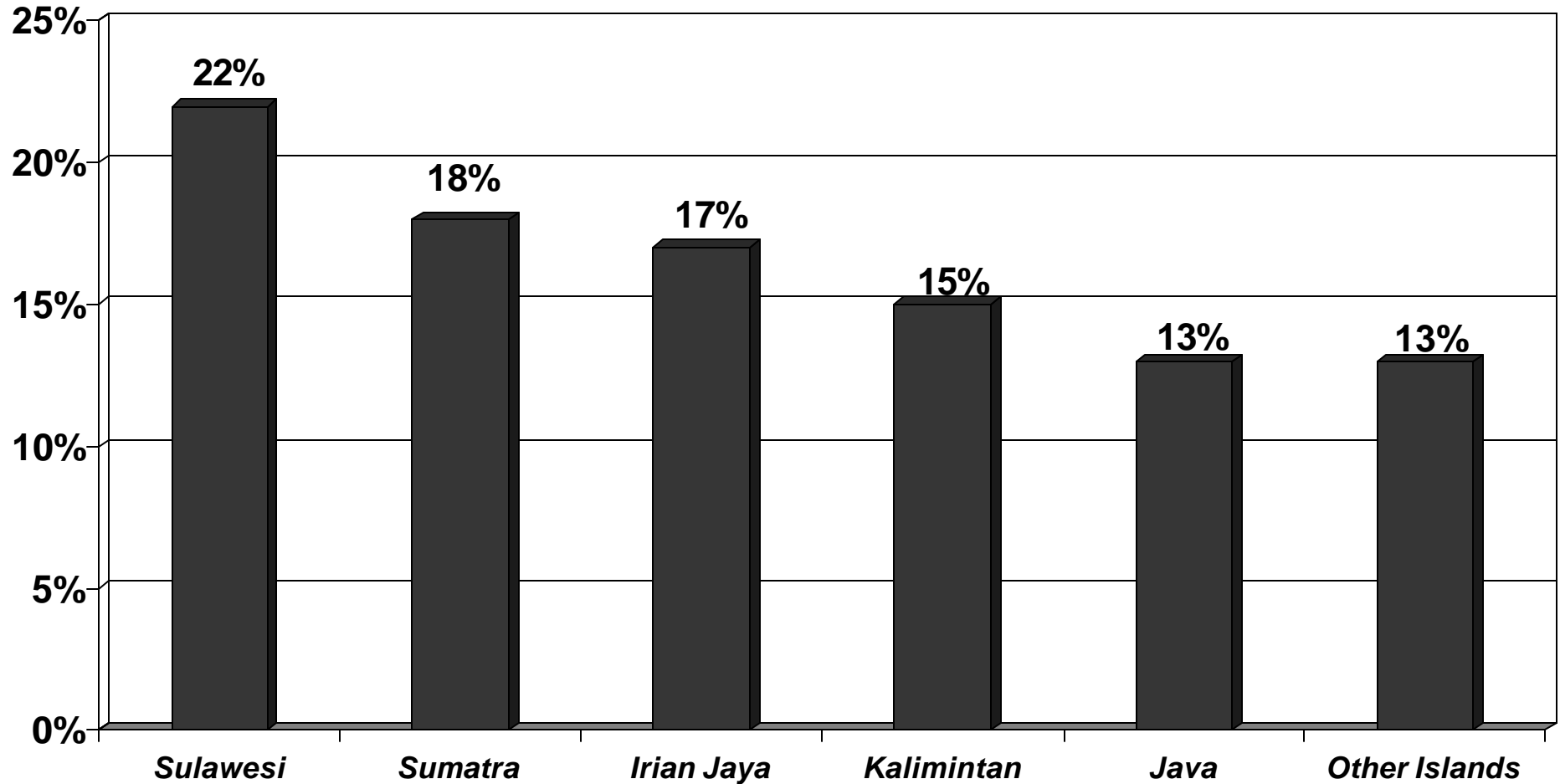


Need to Register

- The proportion of residents who need to register to vote is highest in Sulawesi (22%) and Sumatra (18%). These are the regions where the need for the registration campaign is most intense.
- It is close to the national average (16%) in Irian Jaya (17%) and Kalimantan (15%).
- It is lowest in Java (13%) and the other islands (13%).

Need to Register

Percentage of respondents who have turned 17, married and are under 17, or have moved since the 1997 election

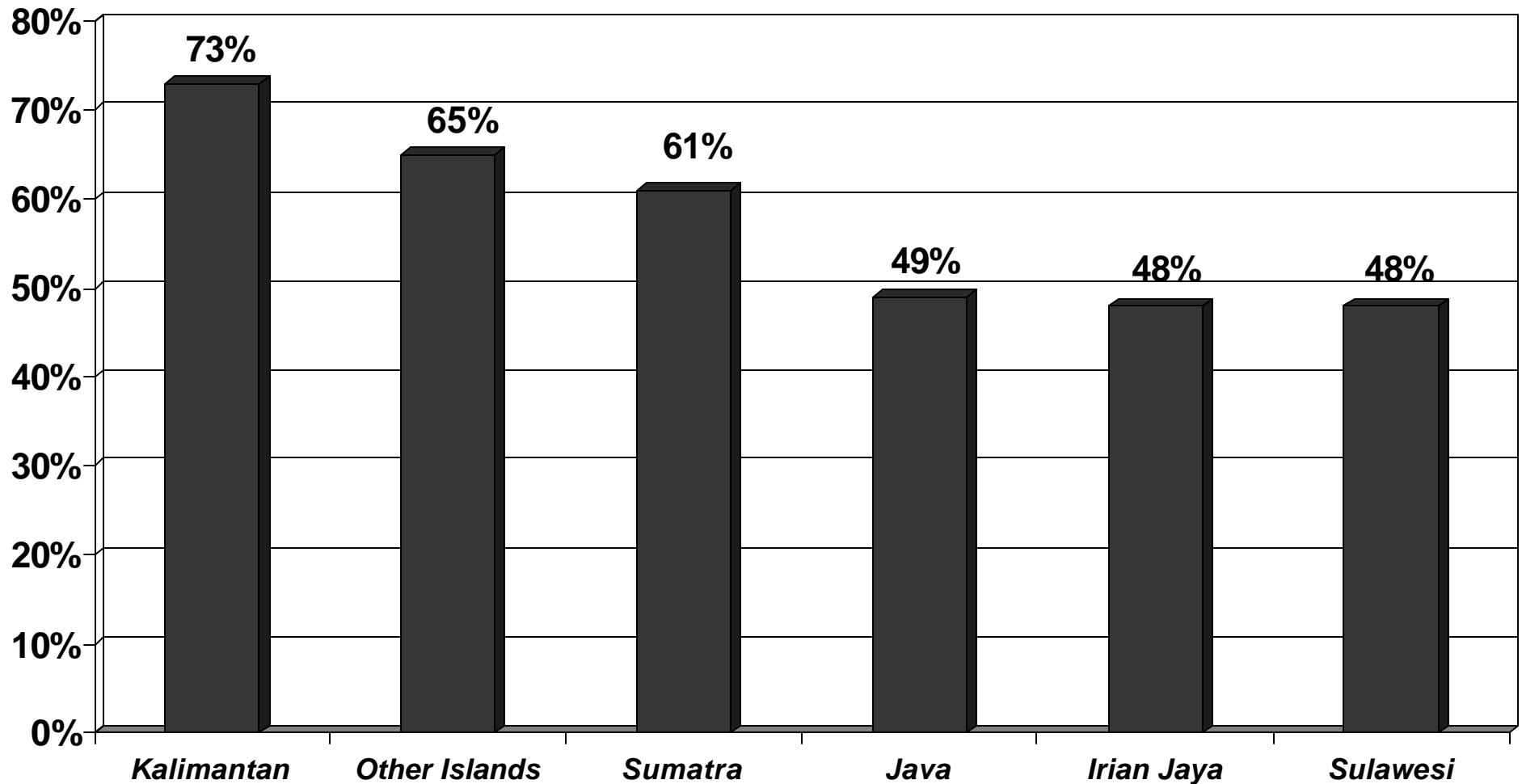


Elections Free and Fair? 1999

- Belief that this year's election will be free and fair is highest in Kalimantan, where 73% think so.
- The other regions where a majority have the same view are the other islands (65%) and Sumatra (61%), somewhat above the national average (58%).
- The regions of lowest confidence - where those expecting a free and fair elections are in the minority - are Java, Irian Jaya, and Sulawesi. These are the regions where the need for voter education is most intense.

Elections Free and Fair ? 1999

*Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you ?
(Percent saying free and fair.)*

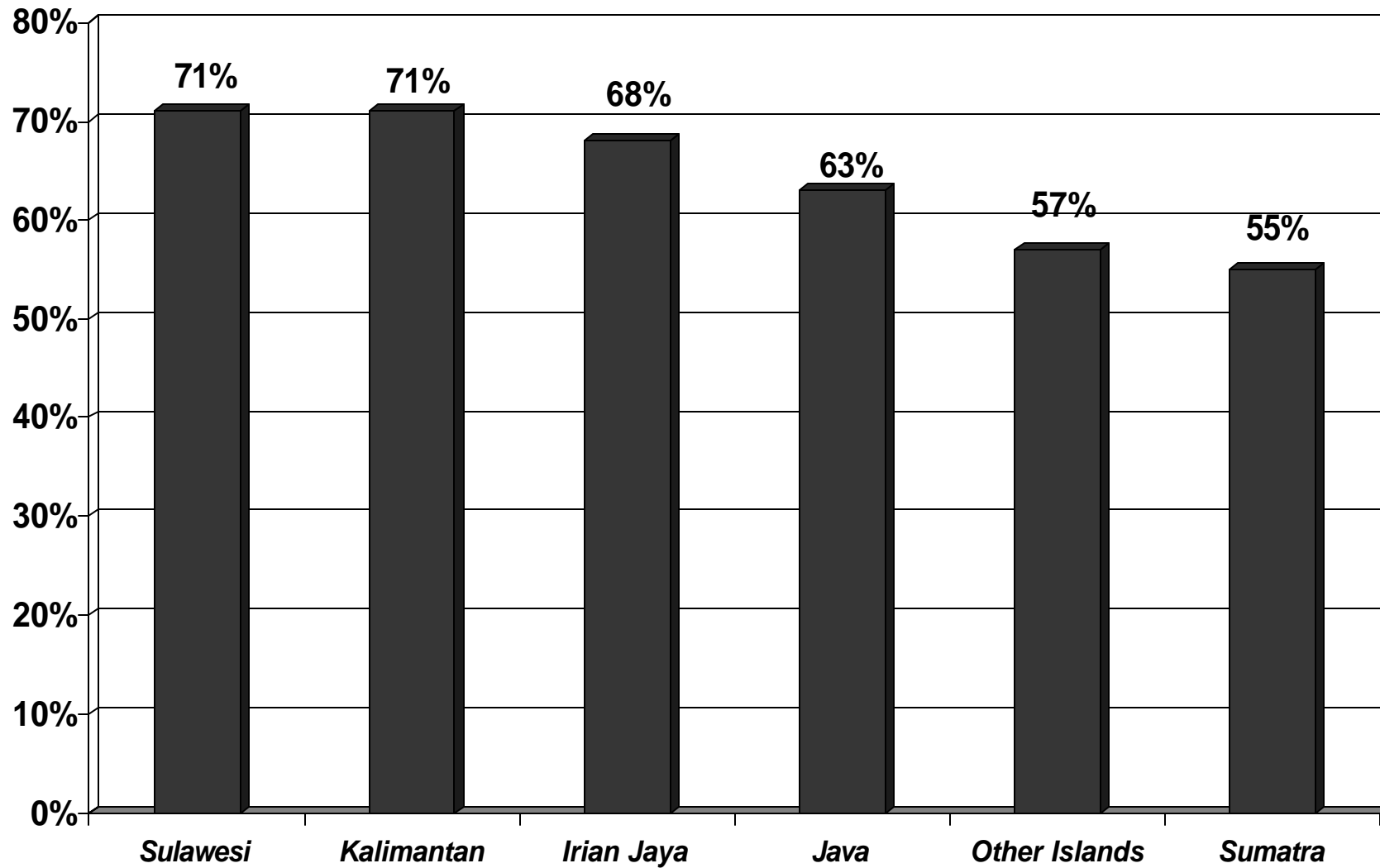


Meaning of Democracy

- The regions with the highest proportion unable to name any characteristics of a democracy were Sulawesi and Kalimantan (both 71%), and Irian Jaya (68%). These are the regions with the most intense need for civic education.
- In Java, the proportion unable to give a meaning for democracy was 63%, close to the national average (62%).
- The regions which had higher understanding than the national average were the other islands (57%) and Sumatra (55%).

Meaning of Democracy

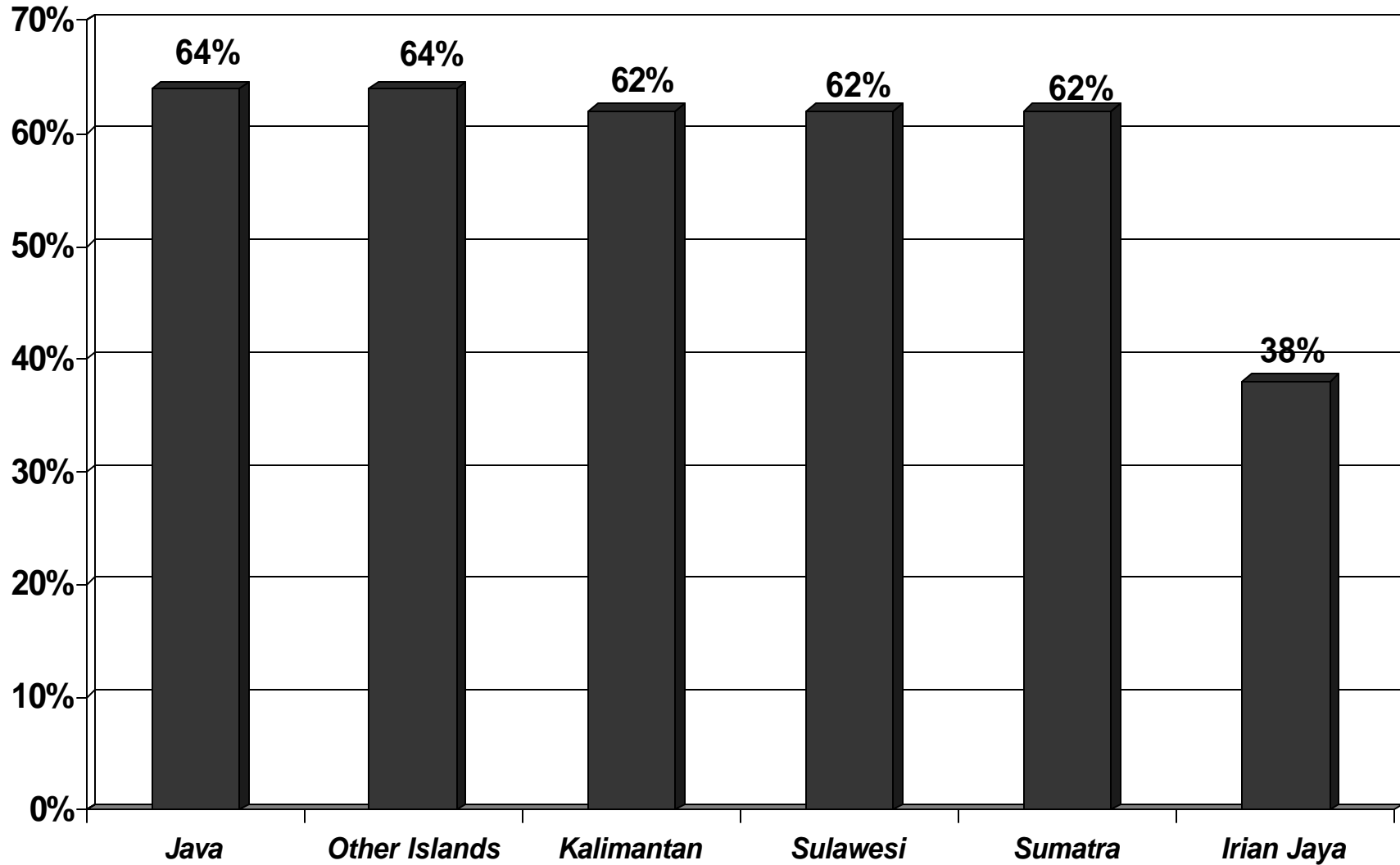
(Percent saying: don't know.)



Regular TV Usage

- TV usage is fairly uniform across the more populous regions: for Java and the other islands, 64%, and 62% for Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Sumatra.
- These figures are all close to the national average (64%), and suggest that TV can be the mainstay of campaigns in these regions, reinforced by radio.
- The exception, once more, is Irian Jaya, where only 38% watch TV at least 3 days a week. It is the only region where regular radio usage (37%) is almost equal to TV usage. In this region, radio and in-person voter education campaigns will have to play as large a role as TV to reach all voters.

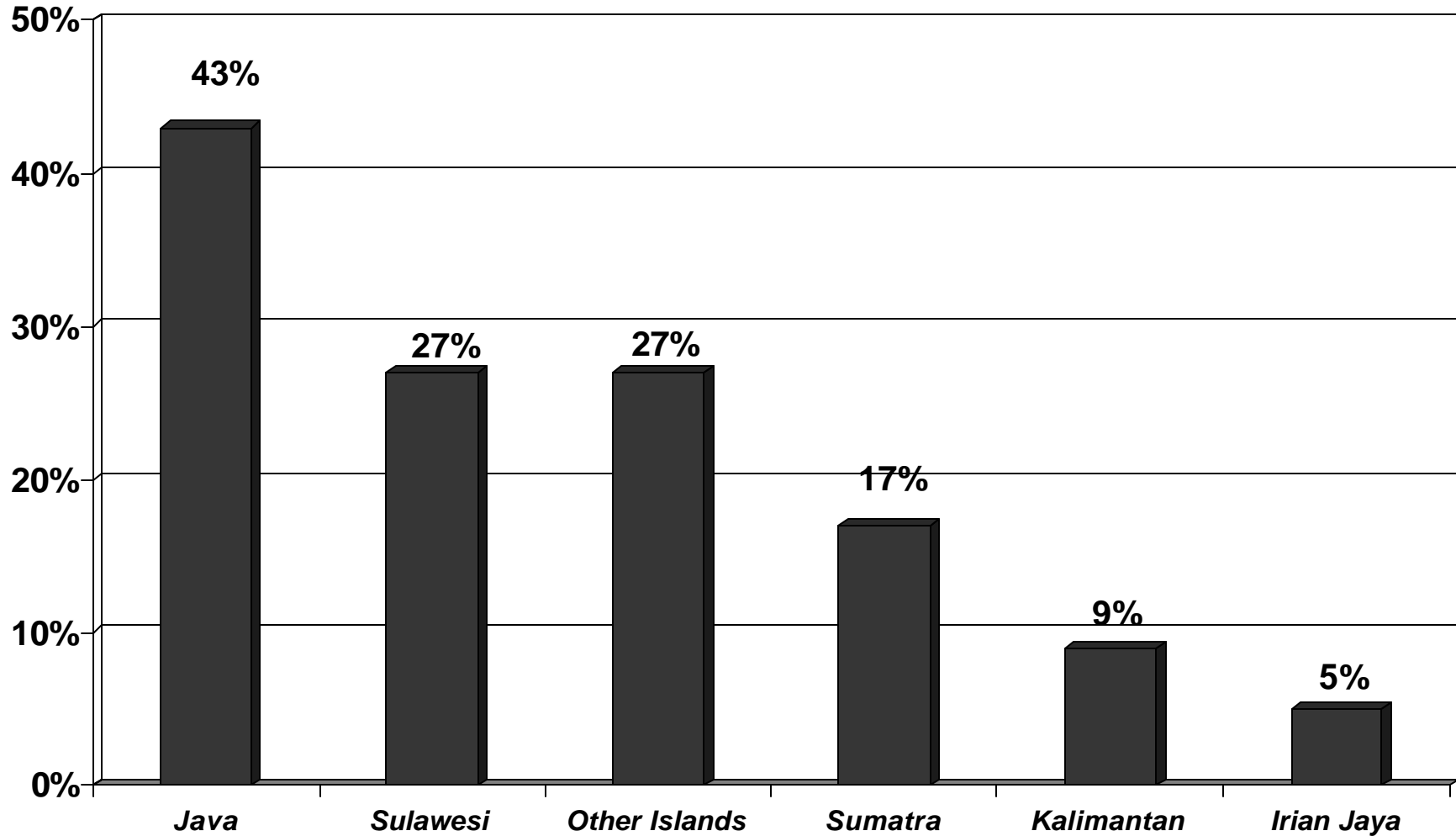
Regular TV Usage



Prefer Local Language

- In Java, the proportion who prefer using a local language (44%) is far higher than in any other region.
- In two others, Sulawesi and the other islands, 27% have the same preference, as do 17% in Sumatra.

Prefer Local Language



Section II: Java

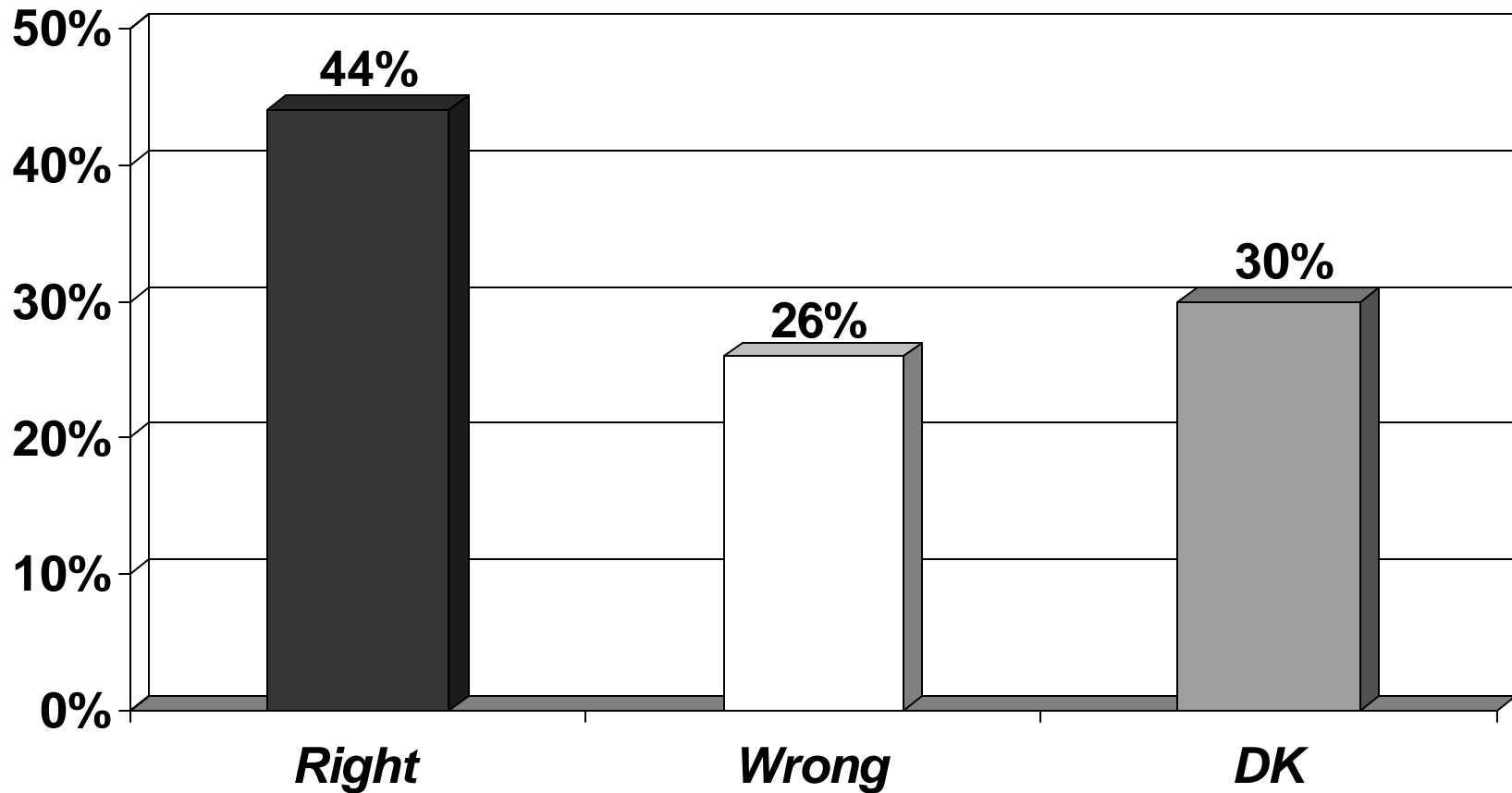
Part I:
The Regional Mood
(Java)

Summary - The Regional Mood (Java)

- The current mood in Java is mixed. Some 44% think the country is headed in the right direction - below the national average - and while only 26% say it is headed the wrong way, 30% are unsure.
- While the economy is cited as the chief problem by 70%, politics (25%) edges out violence (22%) for second place among Java's concerns.
- There have been big gains in free expression since May 1998, with 31% feeling free to speak before, 57% now.
- A similar sized majority (58%) thinks government pays attention to their concerns.
- Despite today's uncertainties, confidence in the future is also broad, with 70% expecting a happy future for the country.

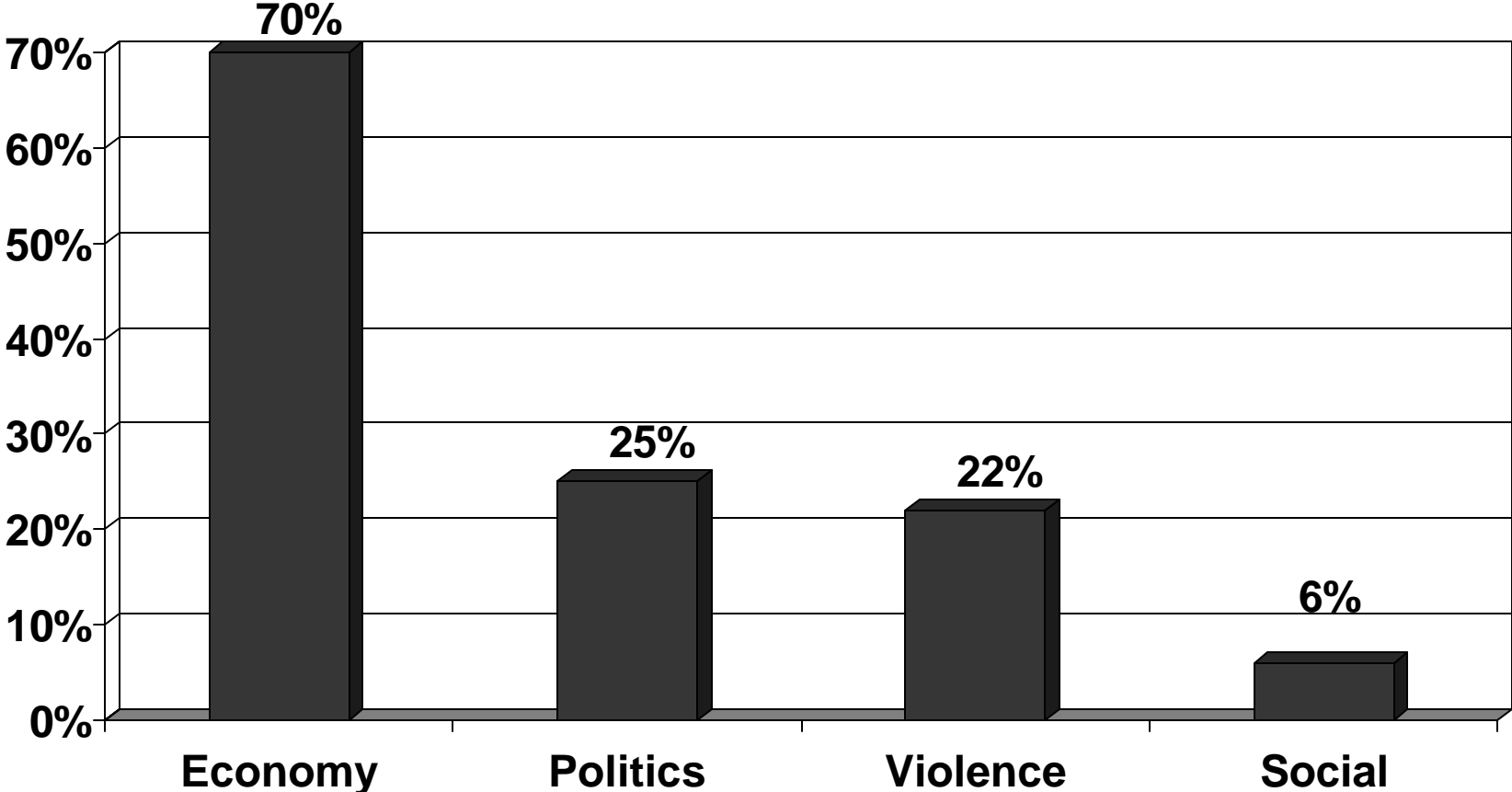
Direction of the Country (Java)

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 ?



Indonesia's Biggest Problems (Java)

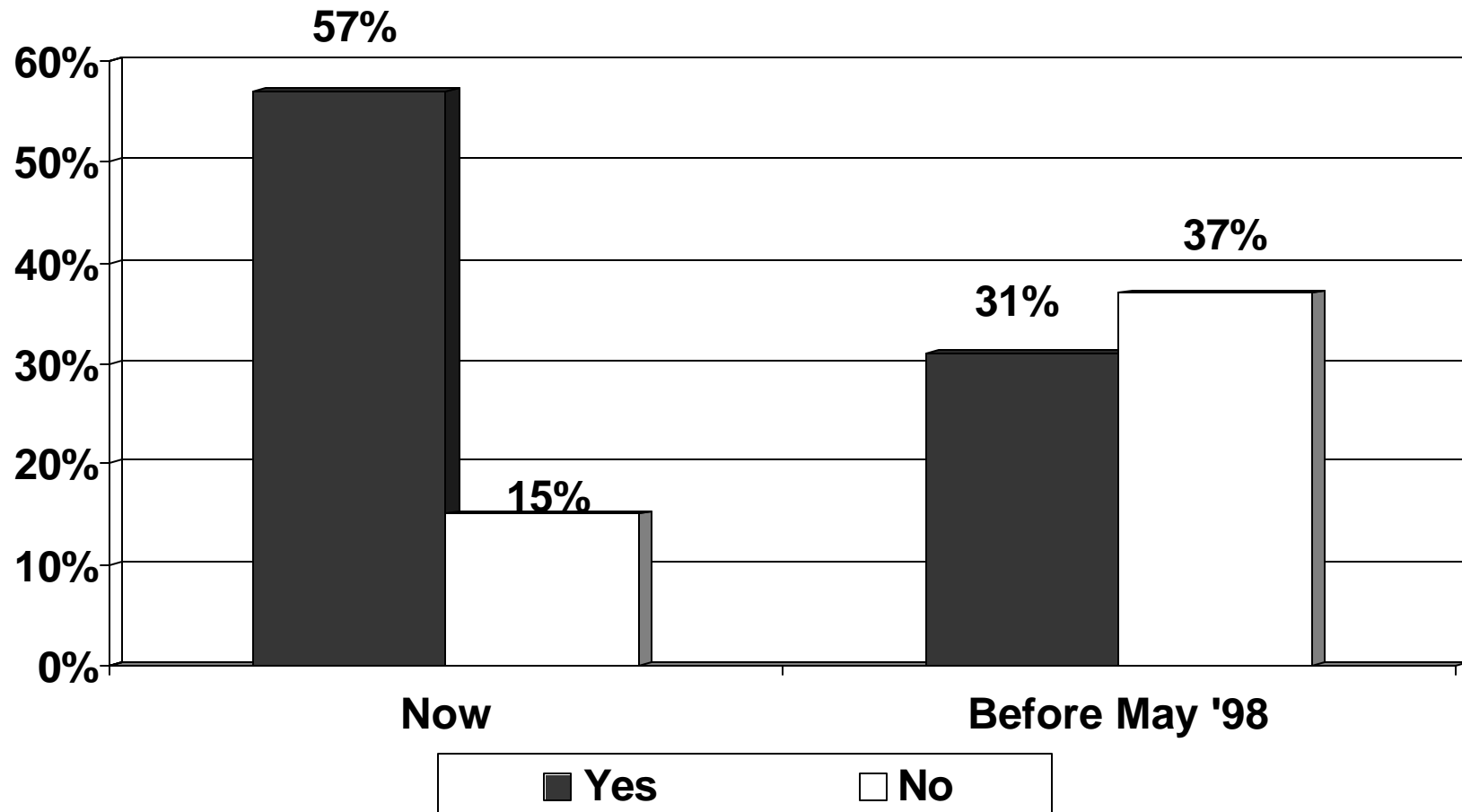
*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia ?
And after that, what is the second biggest problem ?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*



Freedom of Political Expression (Java)

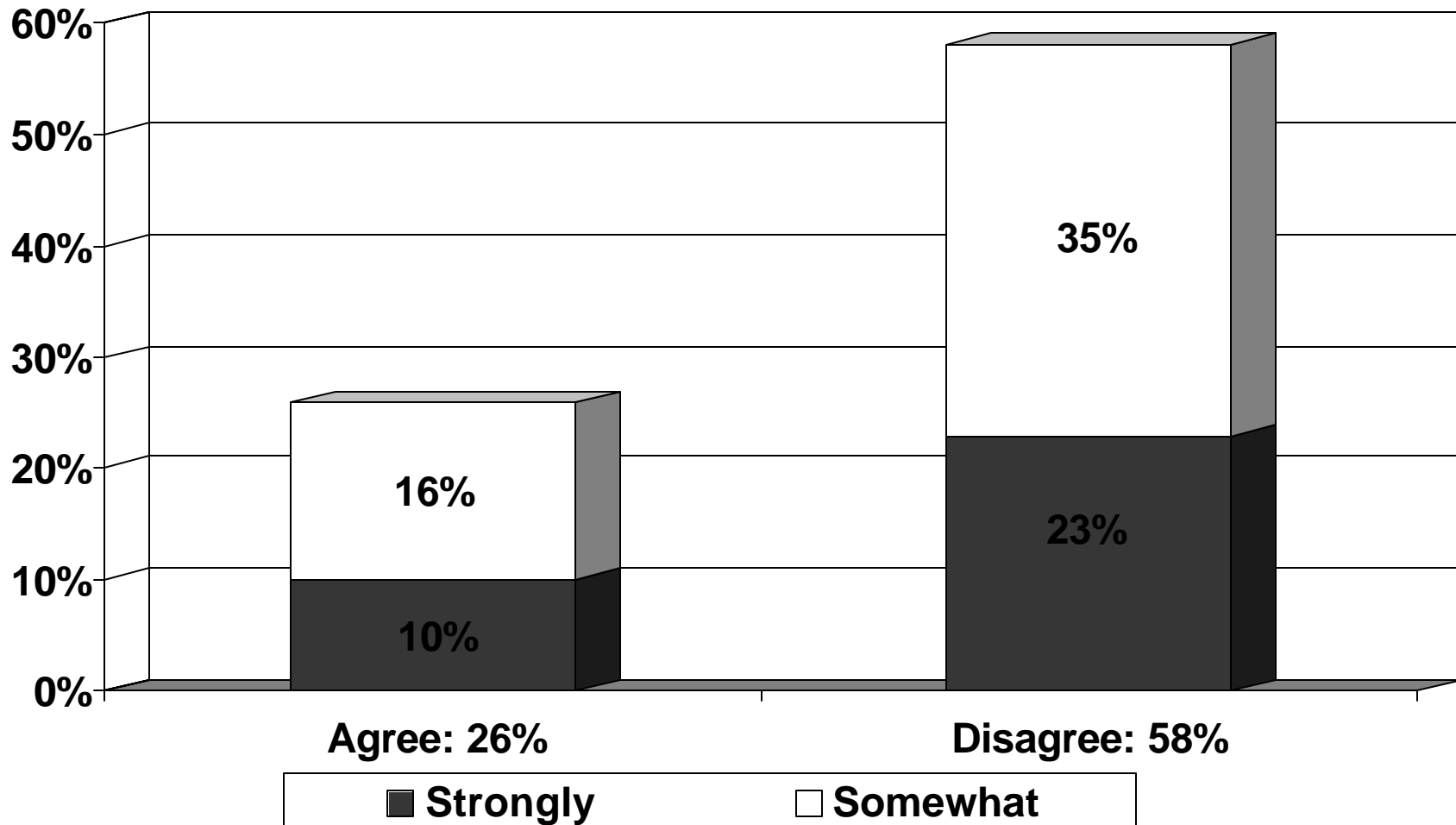
Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live ?

Did they feel free to express their opinions before the events of last May ?



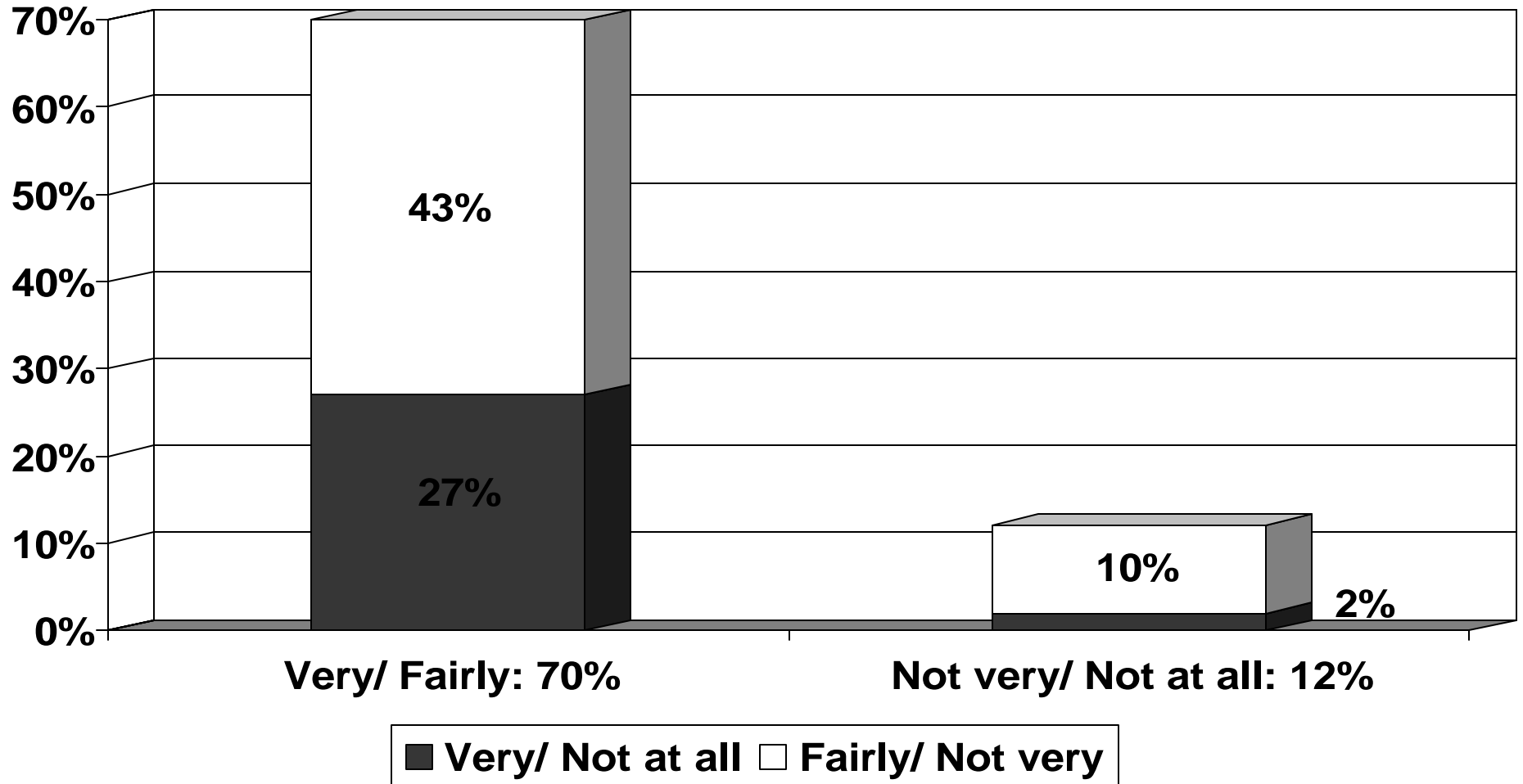
Political Alienation (Java)

Some people say, "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think."



Confidence in the Future [Java]

How confident are you of a happy future for Indonesia as a whole ?



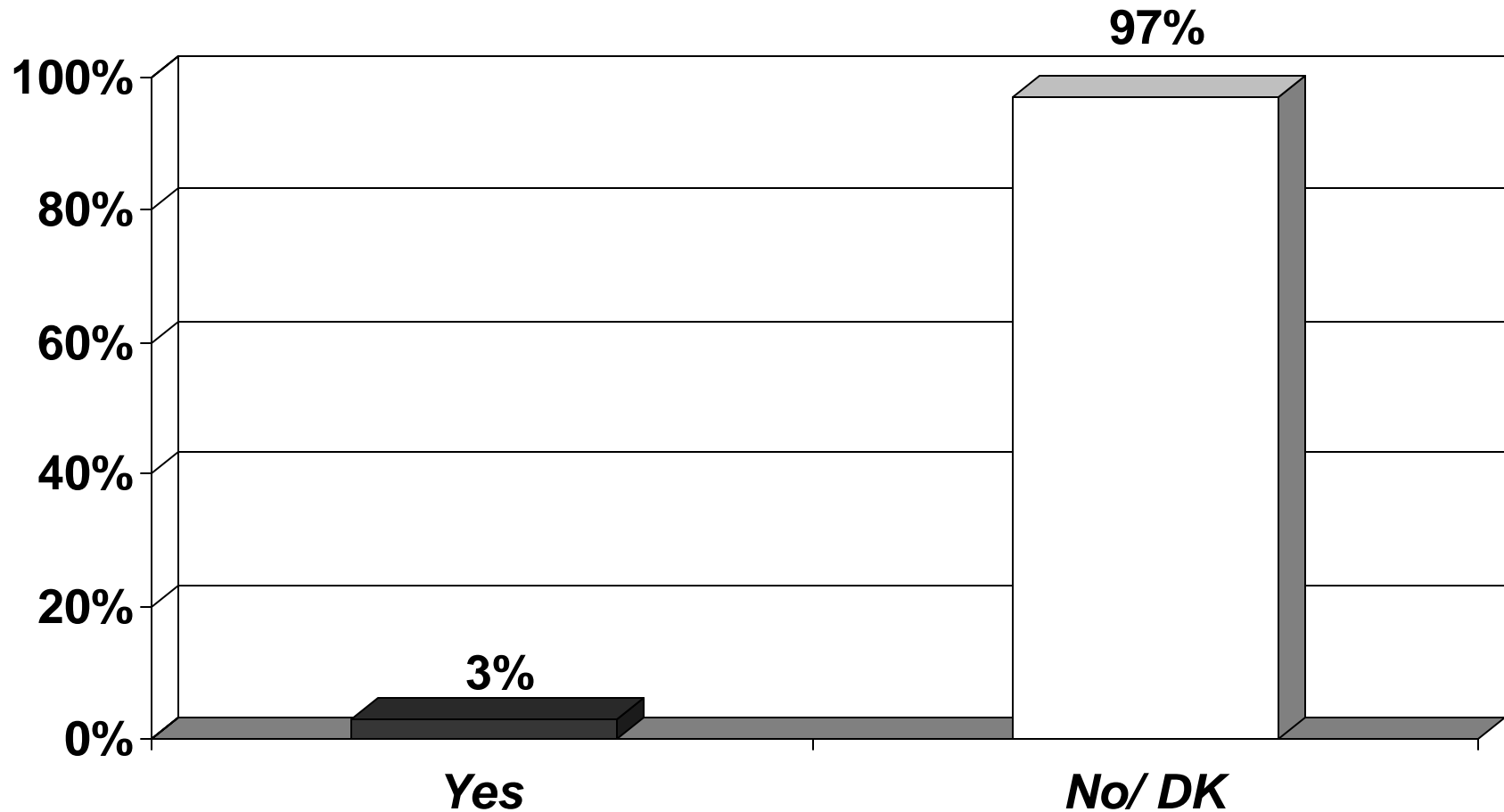
Part II
Campaign Needs
Registration
Voter Education
Civic Education
(Java)

Summary - Registration Campaign Needs (Java)

- Awareness of the need to register is extremely low in Java - only 3% have heard anything about it.
- The proportion who need to register (13%) is a bit lower than the national average, composed of 5% who came of age or married and 8% who moved. However it is still a big group because of Java's huge population.
- Registration targets, as at national level, focus on students, the under 35s, the big cities, and the high school educated.

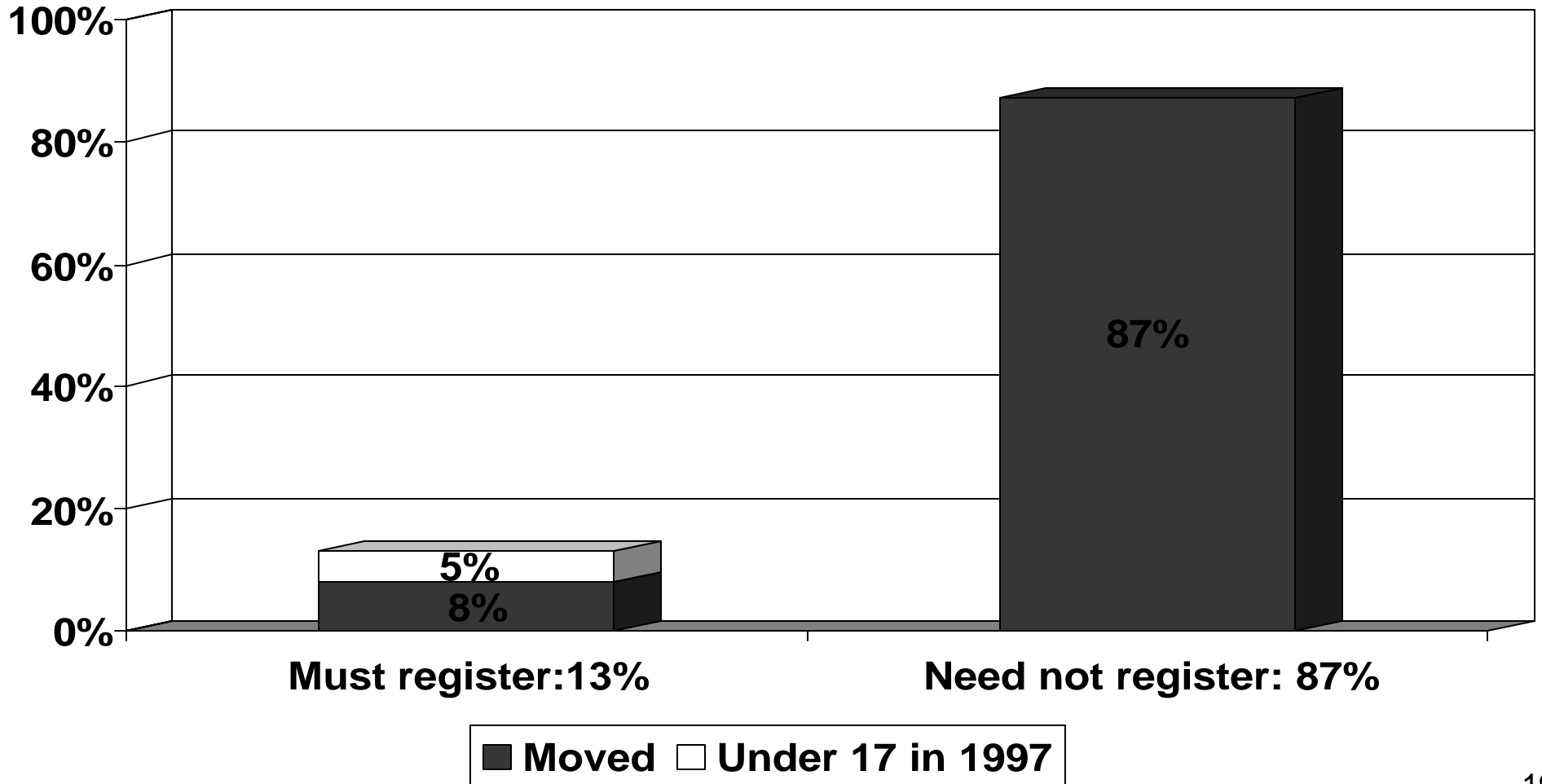
Awareness of Registration (Java)

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in next year's elections ?



Voters Who Must Register [Java]

Aged under 18 or moved since last election



Registration Campaign Targets (Java)

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>Need to Register</i>
Students Eligible to Vote	61%
Under 35s	24%
Cities of 1 Million +	20%
High School Educated	22%
<u>Regional Average (for comparison)</u>	
Java	13%

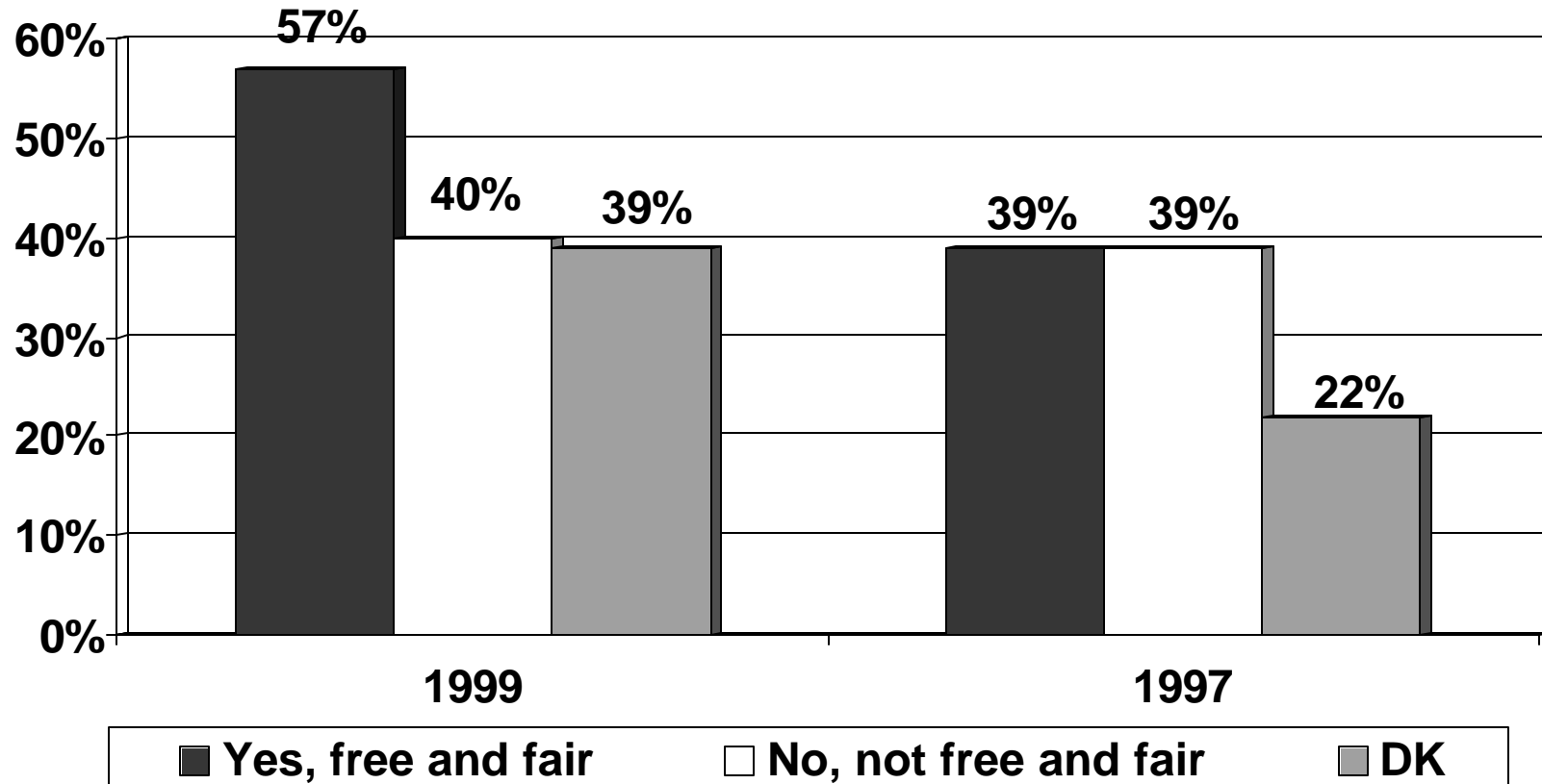
Summary - Voter Education Needs (Java)

- In Java, 57% expect the election to be free and fair, close to the national average (58%). In 1997, the island was deeply split, with 39% saying the vote was fair and a similar number believing it was not.
- The top election concern is omissions from the voters roll (27%), and two others are mentioned by more than 20%, riots and media bias.
- Less frequent concerns include cheating in the count, anti-activist violence, nonsecret ballots, vote selling and repeat voting, official intimidation, and forced voting.
- Around half know there will be more than three parties, one-third know the vote will be on a holiday, and few are aware of observers, and finger dipping.
- The high-end voter education target is the very politicized younger urban men, while the low-end targets, older rural women, non-TV viewers, low income and low education voters, are rather non-politicized.

Elections Free and Fair ? 99 vs 97 (Java)

Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you?

Did you think that the 1997 elections were free and fair?



Election Concerns, 1999

(Java)

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.

People left off voting roll	27%
Riots or disorders	22%
News media bias favoring party	21%
Cheating in counting	19%
Violence against party activists	16%
Finding out how people voted	14%
Selling of votes	12%
Forcing workers to vote together	10%
Threats from officials	9%
People voting more than once	9%

Knowledge of Election Law Changes (Java)

Do you know if...

	Yes	No/ DK
...this election will have more than 3 parties ?	53%	47%
...this election will be held on a holiday ?	34%	66%
...there will be independent groups to monitor the elections ?	17%	83%
...this election will be run by the government alone ?	14%	86%
...people's fingers will be dipped in ink when they vote ?	2%	98%

Voter Education Targets (Java)

	Not Free + Fair	1+ concerns	3+ concerns
<i>Advantaged Targets</i>			
Urban Men Under 35	49%	67%	44%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>			
Java	43%	51%	25%
<i>Disadvantaged Targets</i>			
Rural Women Over 35	63%	54%	26%
Not Regular TV Viewers	52%	33%	14%
Low Income (< Rp 200,000/mo)	50%	35%	14%
< Primary Educated	49%	49%	27%

Summary - Civic Education Needs (Java)

- The proportion of Java's electorate unable to name a meaning for democracy is 63%, slightly above the national average (61%).
- A slim majority (51%) would tolerate unpopular parties, but the proportion who would not do so is relatively small at 19%, with 30% unsure.
- The prime targets for civic education are largely in the countryside: rural women, low education and income voters, non-TV viewers, and older urban women.
- These target groups are remarkably depoliticized: 95-99% of their members never or almost never talk about politics. Civic education will have to start from a very low level here.

Characteristics of a Democratic Country (Java)

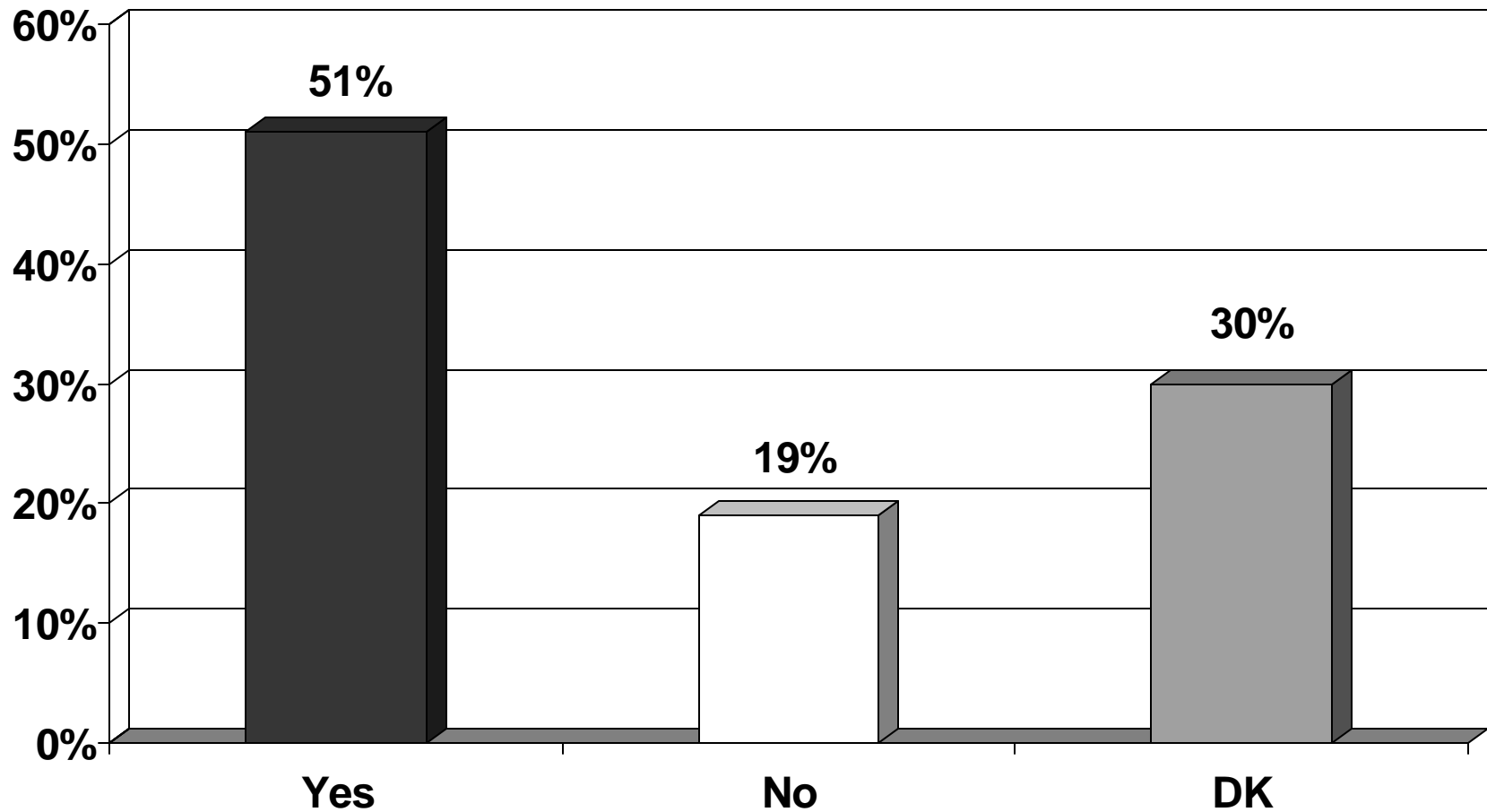
If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else ?

- **Don't Know / No Response: 63%**
- **Political Rights: 27%**
 - *“Free speech,” “free expression” : 8%*
 - *“People’s sovereignty,” “government of, by, for people” : 5%*
 - *“Free elections,” “free political participation” : 2%*
 - *“Human rights,” “rule of law” : 2%*
 - *Other: 10%*
- **Economic Gains: 14%**
 - *“Social justice,” “help for the poor” : 7%*
 - *“Prosperity,” “SEMPAKO availability” : 6%*
 - *“Fair access to government jobs / services” : 1%*
- **Peace, Stability, Consensus: 7%**

Base: 371(weighted), 750 (unweighted)

Political Tolerance (Java)

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?



Civic Education Campaign Targets (Java)

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>DK on Democracy Character</i>	<i>Not Interested in Politics</i>	<i>Do Not Discuss Politics</i>	<i>Not Politically Tolerant</i>
Rural Women	84%	83%	99%	66%
< Primary Educated	83%	87%	99%	60%
Low Income (< Rp 200,000/mo)	80%	81%	97%	58%
Farmers	79%	84%	99%	51%
Not Regular TV Viewers	76%	83%	97%	57%
Urban Women over 35	74%	84%	95%	57%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>				
Java	63%	81%	92%	49%

Part III
Voter Education Sources and Media
(Java)

Summary - Voter Education Sources and Media (Java)

- The usual voter education sources are accepted in Java (TV, radio, meetings, visits, NGOs), but the PKK (Women's Neighborhood Association) also has fairly wide acceptance, particularly among female voter and civic education targets.
- TV is clearly the chief medium among registration targets, reaching 74%, and reaches smaller majorities of voter and civic education targets. NGOs will need to prioritize the latter tasks more heavily.
- In Java the most important NGOs are religious volunteer, neighborhood, school parents, and youth groups, and all have useful roles to play in the campaigns.
- Java is the region of Indonesia with the greatest linguistic diversity, and campaign material will need to reflect this. Almost 45% of the population prefers a language other than Bahasa Indonesia (27% Javanese, 12% Sundanese, 3% Madurese).

Voter Education Sources (Java)

I'm going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by 35% or more)

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Local RT/ Headman	81%	83%	81%	84%
TV	77%	74%	68%	71%
Radio	62%	72%	52%	54%
Public meeting	58%	60%	53%	55%
House visit from non- partisan voter	47%	49%	42%	46%
Religious Organization	45%	49%	38%	43%
Newspaper	41%	58%	36%	26%
Neighborhood civic group	38%	43%	33%	33%
PKK (women respondents only)	38%	33%	42%	43%

Regular Media Exposure (Java)

Respondents who use particular medium 3 days a week or more

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
TV	64%	78%	57%	55%
Radio	40%	54%	35%	54%
Newspaper	12%	18%	12%	3%

Organizational Involvement (Java)

*Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.
(Responses cited by more than 5%)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Religious volunteer	51%	44%	46%	45%
Neighborhood Association	34%	24%	27%	26%
School parents group	10%	9%	7%	7%
Cooperatives	9%	7%	6%	6%
Youth group	8%	9%	6%	-
None	30%	36%	24%	38%

Languages: Understand, Read, Prefer, Used (Java)

*Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?
(Languages mentioned by 3% or more)*

	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Indonesian	82%	79%	57%	56%
Javanese	64%	48%	27%	30%
Sundanese	29%	24%	12%	12%
Madurese	5%	2%	3%	2%

Appendix
Regional Media Planning Tables
(Java)

Radio Station Most Often Heard (Java)

*Which radio station do you listen to most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Reis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
RRI Local	10%	3%	7%	10%
RRI Central*	3%	4%	5%	-

*No other station has an audience of more than 3% of Java's population.
Base 451: (weighted), 949: (unweighted)

Favorite Type of Radio Program (Java)

*Which type of radio program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Reis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Dangdut	45%	50%	40%	51%
Traditional	30%	17%	24%	36%
Indonesian pop	26%	48%	29%	16%
Religious	16%	5%	18%	14%
RRI News	11%	9%	10%	15%
Information from radio	8%	10%	8%	5%
Western pop music	6%	11%	10%	-

Base 451: (weighted), 949: (unweighted)

Time of Listening to Radio (Java)

What time of day do you listen to the radio ?

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
5 - 8 am	24%	22%	22%	19%
8 am - 12 Noon	30%	28%	27%	24%
12 Noon - 5 pm	37%	45%	32%	32%
5 pm - 9 pm	34%	29%	37%	31%
9 pm - 11 pm	8%	20%	21%	20%

Base 451: (weighted), 949: (unweighted)

Newspapers Read (Java)

*Which daily newspaper do you read the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who read newspapers)*

	All voters	Reis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Jawa Pos	21%	14%	21%	23%
Pos Kota	18%	23%	19%	29%
Suara Merdeka	16%	21%	13%	5%
Piiran Rakyat	9%	7%	7%	16%
Kompas	9%	9%	12%	5%
Sinar Pagi	3%	4%	2%	4%

Base 268: (weighted), 825: (unweighted)

Section III: Sumatra

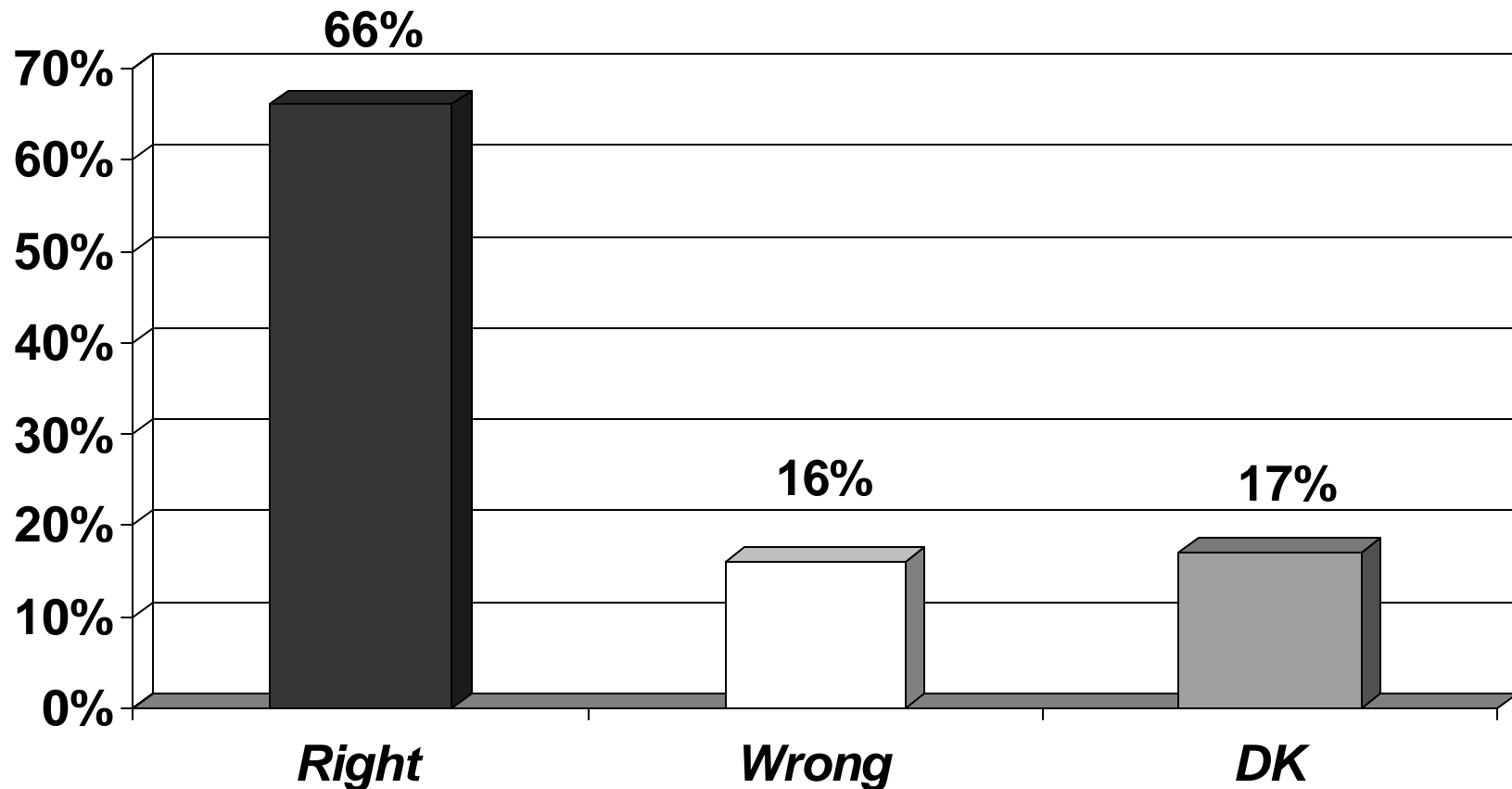
Part I:
The Regional Mood
(Sumatra)

Summary - The Regional Mood (Sumatra)

- The survey results paint the mood in Sumatra as fairly optimistic. Two-thirds (66%) say the country is headed in the right direction.
- As everywhere, the economy is the chief concern - 76% name it as the top problem - with high levels of concern on violence (31%) and politics (25%) next.
- The proportion who feel free to speak out has doubled since last May, from 28% to 56%.
- Over three-fourths feel that the government pays attention to their views and is confident about the country's future.

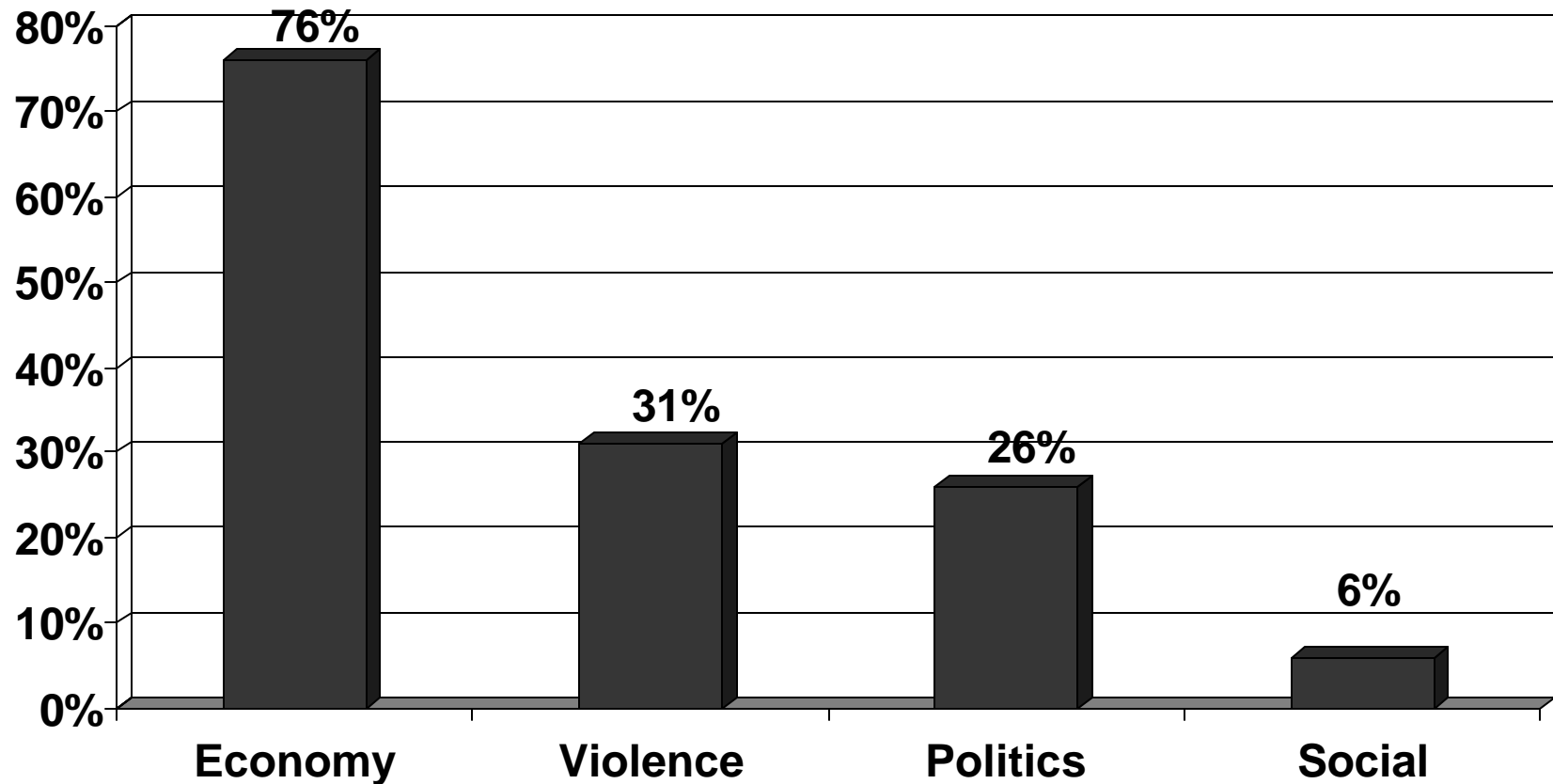
Direction of the Country [Sumatra]

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 ?



Indonesia's Biggest Problems (Sumatra)

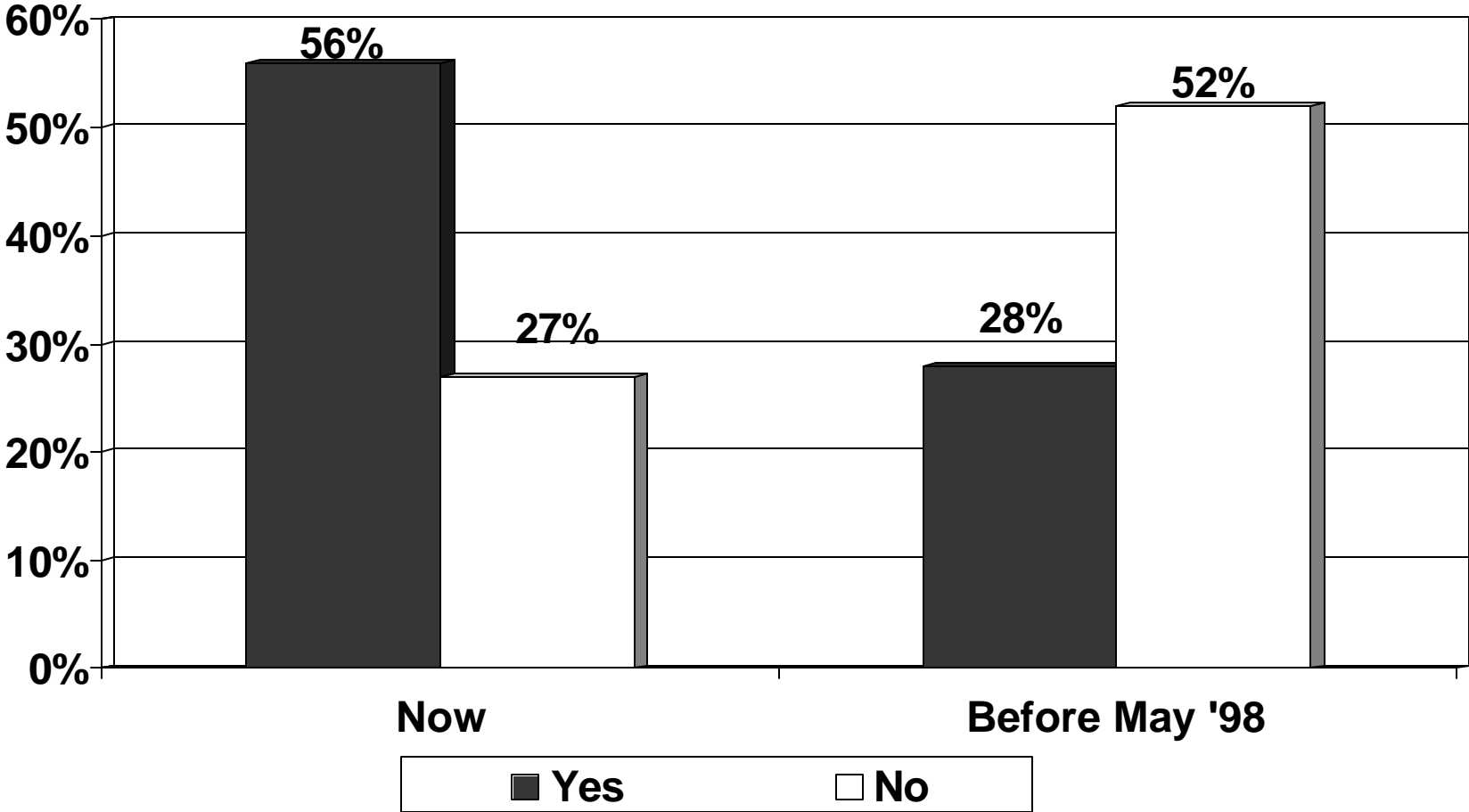
*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia ?
And after that, what is the second biggest problem ?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*



Freedom of Political Expression (Sumatra)

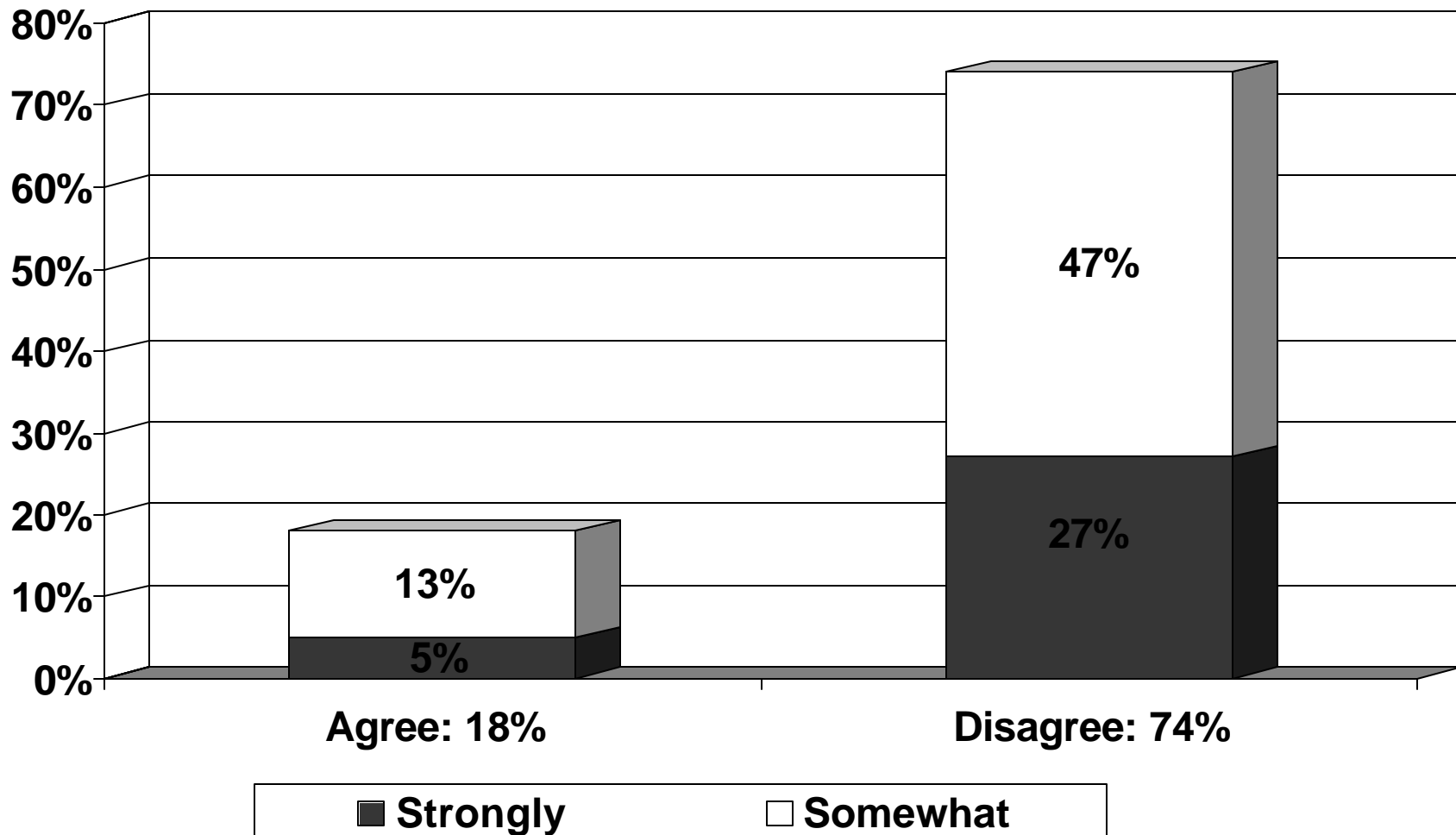
Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live ?

Did they feel free to express their opinions before the events of last May ?



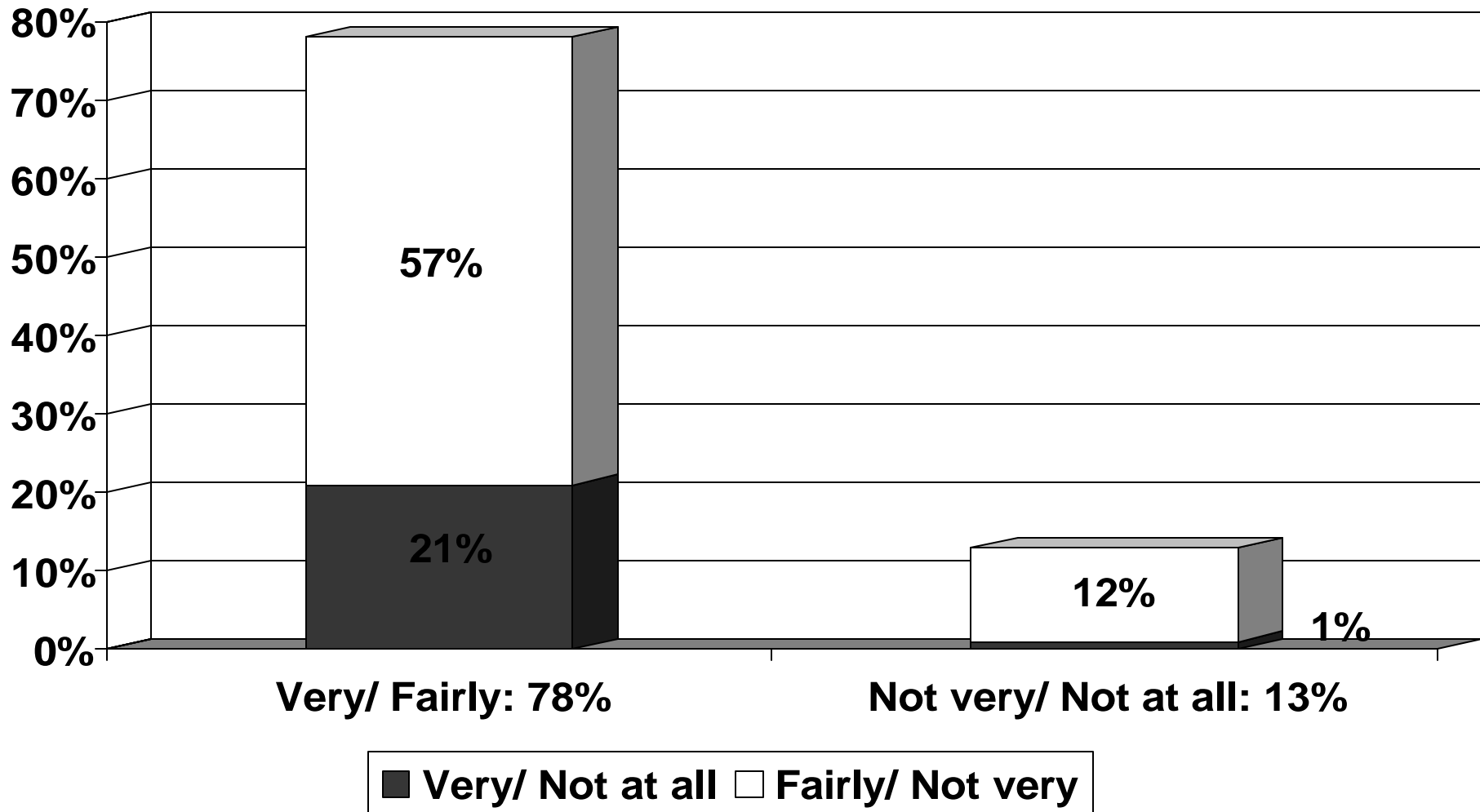
Political Alienation [Sumatra]

Some people say, "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think."



Confidence in the Future [Sumatra]

How confident are you of a happy future for Indonesia as a whole ?



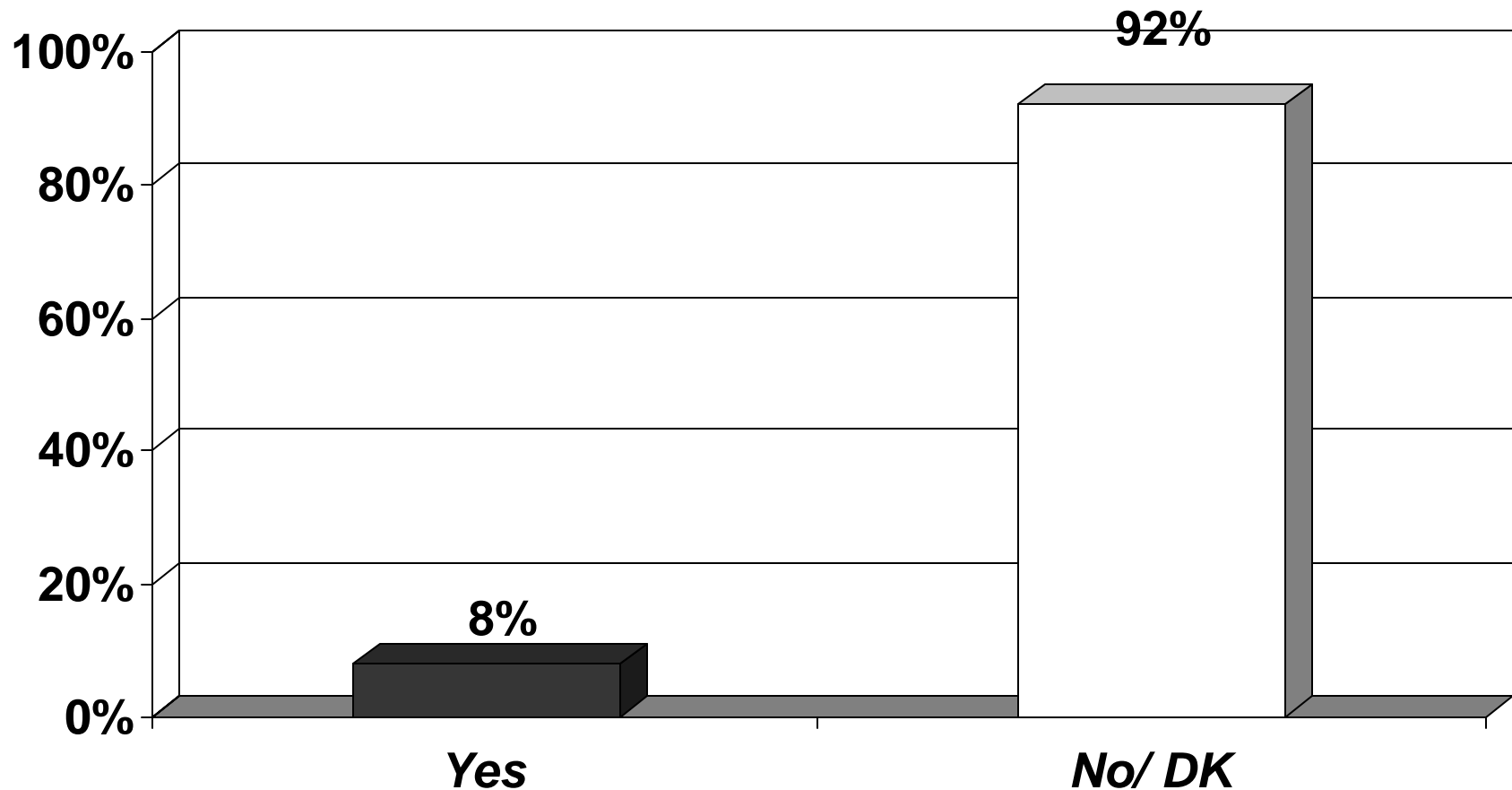
Part II
Campaign Needs:
Registration
Voter Education
Civic Education
(Sumatra)

Summary - Registration Campaign Needs [Sumatra]

- Awareness that some voters must register in order to vote is very low: only 8% know this, including very few of those who themselves must do so.
- Around 18% of the region's voters must register. This includes 4% who have moved and 14% who were under 17 in 1997.
- The target groups in which these voters are concentrated are under 35s (including students, though they were too few in our sample for analysis), the high school educated and urban residents.
- Unlike some other regions, in Sumatra those who do NOT watch TV regularly are also a target group for registration. This means the organizations who are doing in-person voter education, who should concentrate on such voters, will need to make registration one of their priorities.

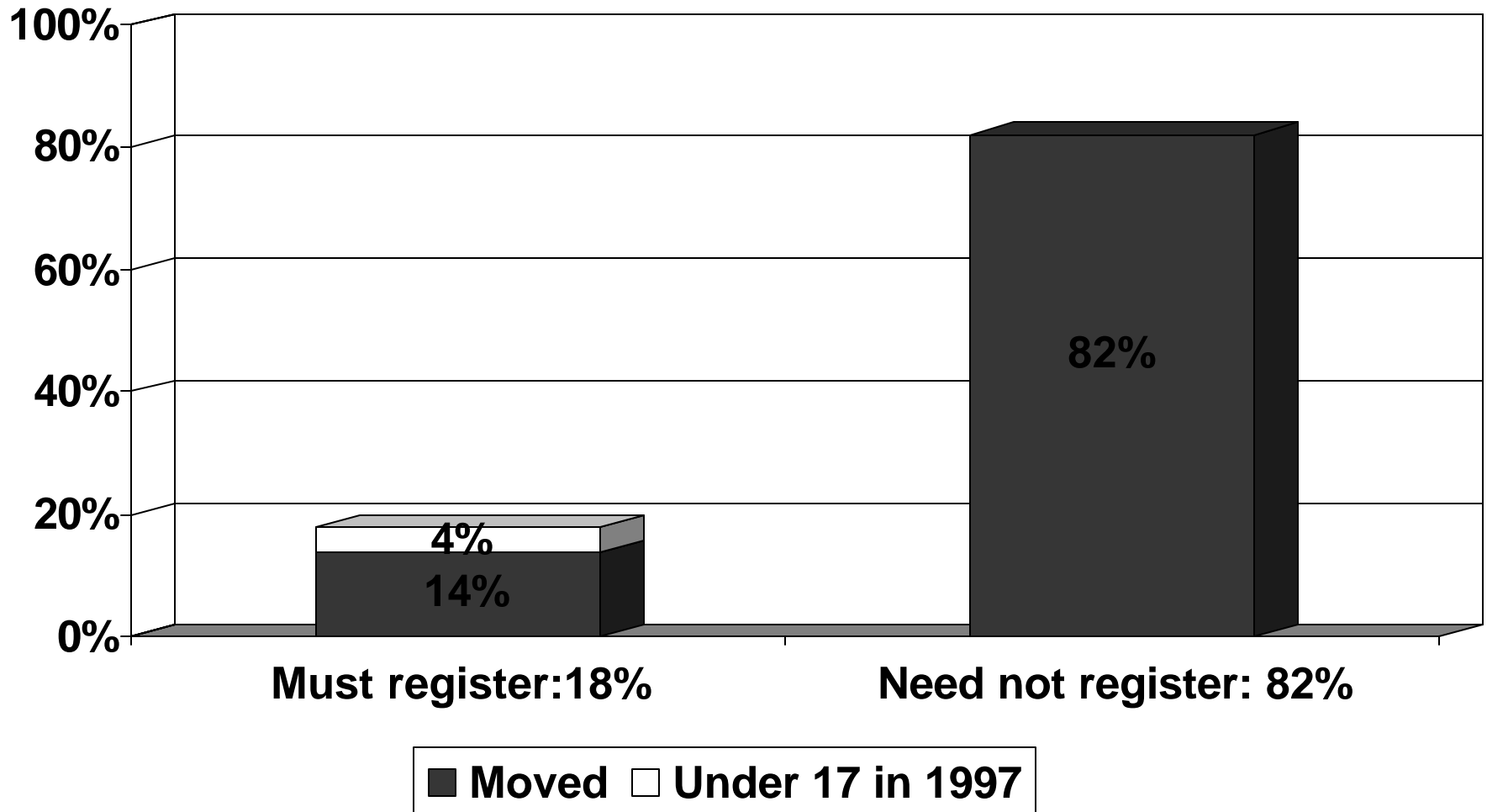
Awareness of Registration (Sumatra)

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in next year's elections ?



Voters Who Must Register [Sumatra]

Aged under 18 or moved since last election



Registration Campaign Targets (Sumatra)

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>Need to Register</i>
Under 35s	33%
High School Educated	25%
Urban residents	25%
Not Regular TV Viewers	23%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>	
Sumatra	18%

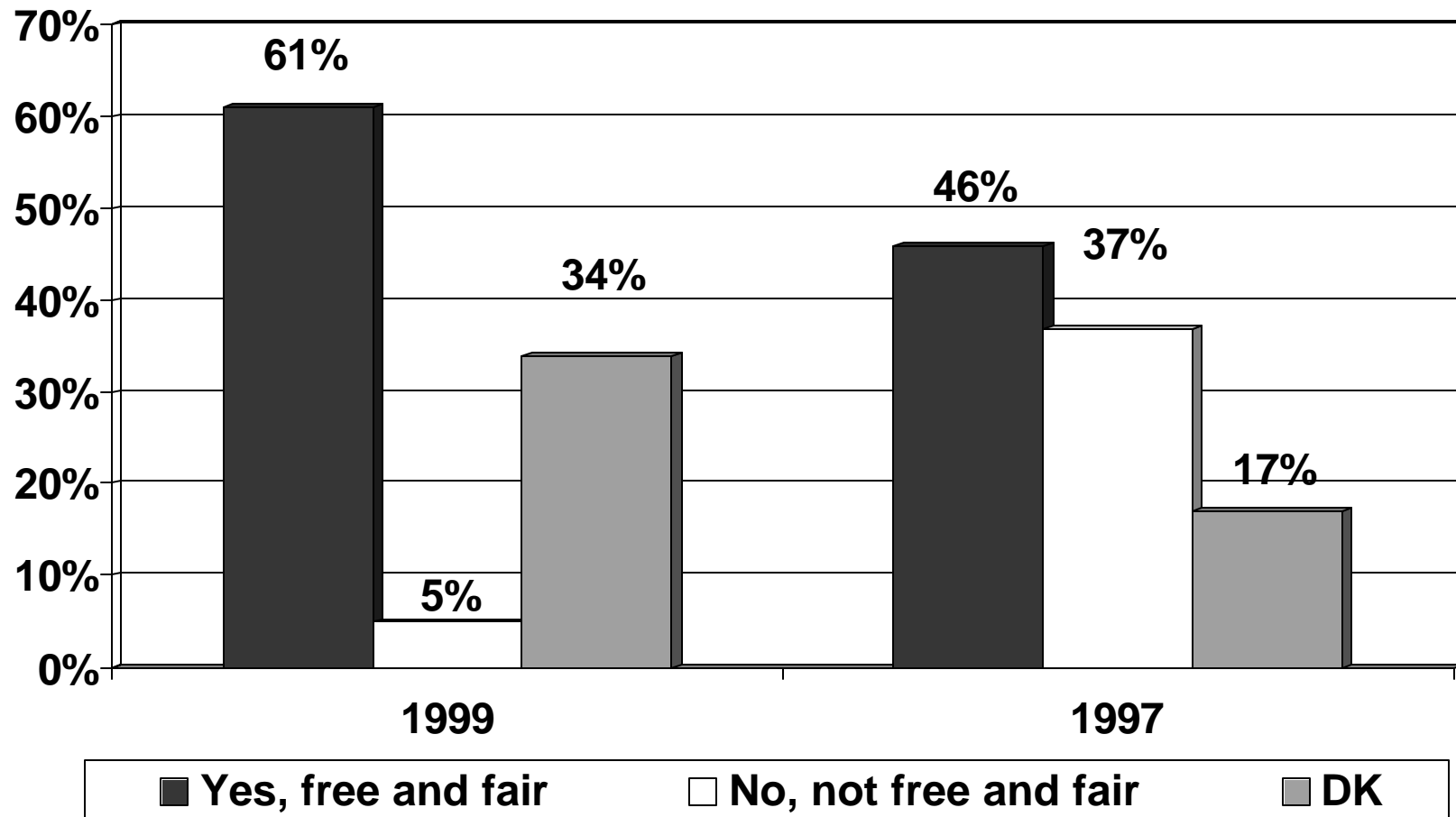
Summary - Voter Education Needs (Sumatra)

- Over three-fifths of Sumatrans think the 1999 election will be free and fair, well above the 46% who thought so in 1997.
- The top concern is people being left off the voting roll (39%). After this come cheating in the count (30%), media bias (29%), riots (28%), and violence against activist (23%). Procedural issues (secret ballots, vote selling and repeating, forced voting, official intimidation) concern 11-19%.
- Only around half the voters know there will be more than 3 parties and that Election Day will be a holiday; awareness of observers, an independent election commission, and finger dipping is much lower.
- In this region targets for voter education will be younger urban residents and the high-income group, who have specific concerns behind their elections fears.
- The targets for a more basic campaign will be older urban women, the Protestant minority, younger rural women, and the less than primary schooled, all of whom are anxious about the election. Unlike other regions, however, these groups have fairly specific concerns - reflecting their relatively high level of politicization (see next section).

Elections Free and Fair ? 99 vs 97 (Sumatra)

Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you ?

Did you think that the 1997 elections were free and fair ?



Election Concerns, 1999

(Sumatra)

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.

People left off voting roll	39%
Cheating in counting	30%
News media bias favoring party	29%
Riots or disorders	28%
Violence against party activists	23%
Finding out how people voted	19%
Selling of votes	17%
Forcing workers to vote together	13%
Threats from officials	12%
People voting more than once	11%

Knowledge of Election Law Changes [Sumatra]

Do you know if...

	Yes	No/ DK
...this election will have more than 3 parties ?	48%	52%
...this election will be held on a holiday ?	44%	56%
...there will be independent groups to monitor the elections ?	19%	81%
...this election will be run by the government alone ?	18%	82%
...people's fingers will be dipped in ink when they vote ?	6%	94%

Voter Education Targets (Sumatra)

	Not Free + Fair	1+ concerns	3+ concerns
<i>Advantaged Targets</i>			
Urban Residents Under 35	47%	75%	43%%
High Income (over Rp 350,000 / mo)	43%	69%	37%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>			
Sumatra	39%	65%	36%
<i>Disadvantaged Targets</i>			
Urban Women over 35	58%	52%	16%
Rural Women Under 35	46%	73%	44%
< Primary Educated	43%	54%	31%

Summary - Civic Education Needs (Sumatra)

- Some 55% of Sumatrans cannot suggest a meaning for “democracy,” which, though large, is the lowest figure for any region in the poll.
- They are also fairly tolerant, with 50% willing to let unpopular parties meet in their areas. However some 31% would not do so, and 19% are unsure.
- The civic education targets in this region are: older urban women, rural women, those with less than high school education, people without TV, and men over 50.
- However, while they are the least politicized groups in the region, their levels of interest in politics are still somewhat higher than among comparable groups in other regions.

Characteristics of a Democratic Country [Sumatra]

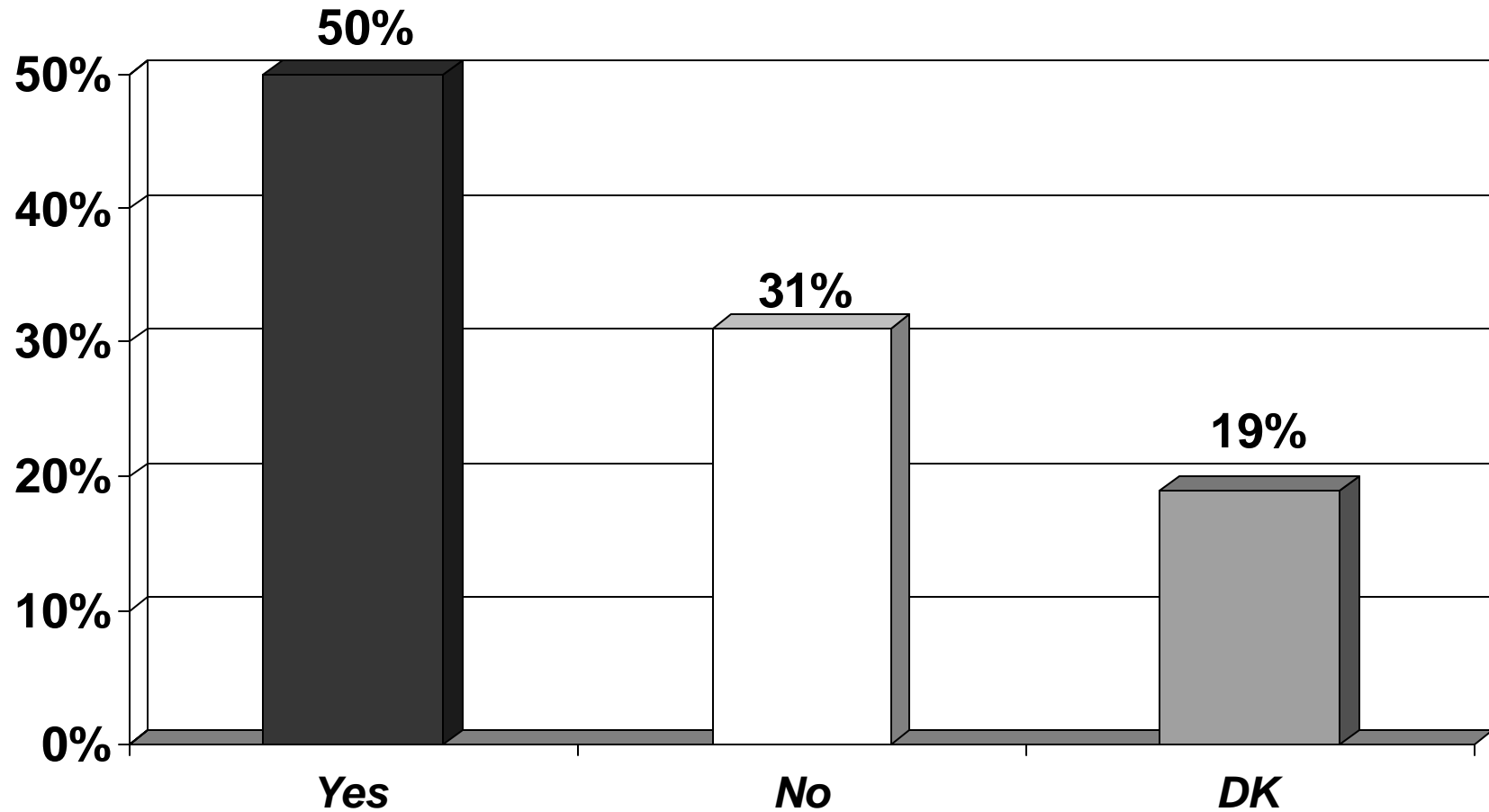
If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else?

- **Don't Know / No Response: 70%**
- **Political Rights: 30%**
 - *“Free speech,” “free expression” : 10%*
 - *“People’s sovereignty,” “government of, by, for people”: 5%*
 - *“Free elections,” “free political participation”: 5%*
 - *“Human rights,” “rule of law”: 5%*
 - *Other: 5%*
- **Economic Gains: 14%**
 - *“Prosperity,” “SEMPAKO availability”: 7%*
 - *“Social justice,” “help for the poor” :6%*
 - *“Fair access to government jobs / services”: 1%*
- **Peace, Stability, Consensus: 7%**

Base: 119 (weighted), 328 (unweighted)

Political Tolerance (Sumatra)

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?



Civic Education Campaign Targets (Sumatra)

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>DK on Democracy Character</i>	<i>Not Interested in Politics</i>	<i>Do Not Discuss Politics</i>	<i>Not Politically Tolerant</i>
Urban Women Over 35	77%	79%	99%	75%
Rural Women	73%	67%	88%	52%
< High School Education	73%	66%	91%	51%
Not Regular TV Viewers	68%	67%	87%	51%
Men Over 50	62%	70%	87%	63%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>				
Sumatra	55%	58%	86%	50%

Part III
Voter Education Sources and Media
[Sumatra]

Summary - Voter Education Sources and Media (Sumatra)

- In Sumatra, TV is fairly effective for reaching voter education targets, but reaches a bare majority of the registration and civic education targets. Radio will also need to play a major reinforcing role.
- The limits of broadcast media will place a particularly important responsibility for the registration and civic education campaigns on NGOs - particularly neighborhood associations, religious volunteer groups, and youth groups. They will have to reach out to non-members as well, however, because over two-fifths of the registration targets and one-third of the civic targets belong to no group.
- The NGOs will also be important for the voter and civic education drives, with neighborhood and religious groups and cooperatives in the forefront.
- Bahasa Indonesia should allow the campaigns to reach around 85 - 90% of the voters. There may be limited call for spots or material in the Minang, Palembang, and Batak languages, which are each preferred by 3 - 4 % of the electorate.

Voter Education Sources (Sumatra)

I'm going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by 35% or more)

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
TV	87%	91%	86%	80%
Local RT/ Headman	77%	77%	68%	85%
Radio	66%	69%	58%	58%
Newspaper	60%	68%	56%	43%
Public meeting	57%	63%	54%	50%
House visit from non- partisan voter	50%	60%	48%	48%
Religious Organization	47%	42%	48%	43%
Neighborhood civic group	49%	39%	42%	44%
TV drama	37%	41%	32%	36%
DPR	36%	36%	29%	32%

Regular Media Exposure (Sumatra)

Respondents who use particular medium 3 days a week or more

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
TV	62%	51%	60%	51%
Radio	30%	34%	31%	32%
Newspaper	15%	13%	17%	7%

Organizational Involvement (Sumatra)

*Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.
(Responses cited by more than 5%)*

	All voters	Registration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Religious volunteer	47%	27%	45%	41%
Neighborhood Association	45%	28%	43%	44%
Cooperatives	15%	7%	12%	-
School parents group	13%	8%	7%	15%
Youth group	12%	17%	7%	8%
Non-religious charity	7%	5%	7%	7%
None	26%	43%	29%	32%

Languages: Understand, Read, Prefer, Used [Sumatra]

Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?

(Languages mentioned by 3% or more)

Language	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Indonesian	96%	91%	83%	83%
Minang	21%	17%	3%	8%
Javanese	19%	13%	-	-
Palembang	17%	4%	4%	5%
Batak	10%	9%	3%	2%
Malay	10%	7%	-	-
Acehnese	8%	7%	-	-
Sundanese	7%	5%	-	-

Appendix
Regional Media Planning Tables
[Sumatra]

Radio Station Most Often Heard (Sumatra)

*Which radio station do you listen to most often ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
RRI Local	15%	14%	10%	10%
RRI Central	9%	14%	7%	16%

Base 133: (weighted), 384: (unweighted)

Favorite Type of Radio Program [Sumatra]

*Which type of radio program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Dangdut music	43%	56%	44%	41%
Indonesian pop	28%	43%	39%	21%
RRI News	27%	15%	20%	29%
Religious	18%	-	13%	20%
Traditional	13%	10%	14%	6%
Radio drama	6%	-	4%	10%
Listeners choice	6%	-	6%	-
Western pop music	6%	6%	8%	-

Base 133: (weighted), 384: (unweighted)

Time of Listening to Radio (Sumatra)

What time of day do you listen to the radio ?

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
5 - 8 am	22%	13%	21%	26%
8 am - 12 Noon	26%	41%	32%	24%
12 Noon - 5 pm	49%	49%	52%	40%
5 pm - 9 pm	30%	20%	24%	37%
9 pm - 11 pm	6%	14%	7%	7%

Base 133: (weighted), 384: (unweighted)

Newspapers Read [Sumatra]

*Which daily newspaper do you read the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who read newspapers)*

	All voters	Requisition Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Sumatra Express	12%	7%	16%	-
Lampung Pos	11%	8%	15%	7%
Serambi Indonesia	11%	16%	9%	7%
Sinar Indonesia Baru	9%	6%	10%	9%
Haluan	9%	15%	6%	23%
Riau Post	9%	4%	6%	23%
Waspada	8%	6%	9%	-
Sriwijaya Post	8%	12%	3%	8%
Independen	5%	11%	10%	-

Base 118: (weighted), 401: (unweighted)

Section IV: Irian Jaya

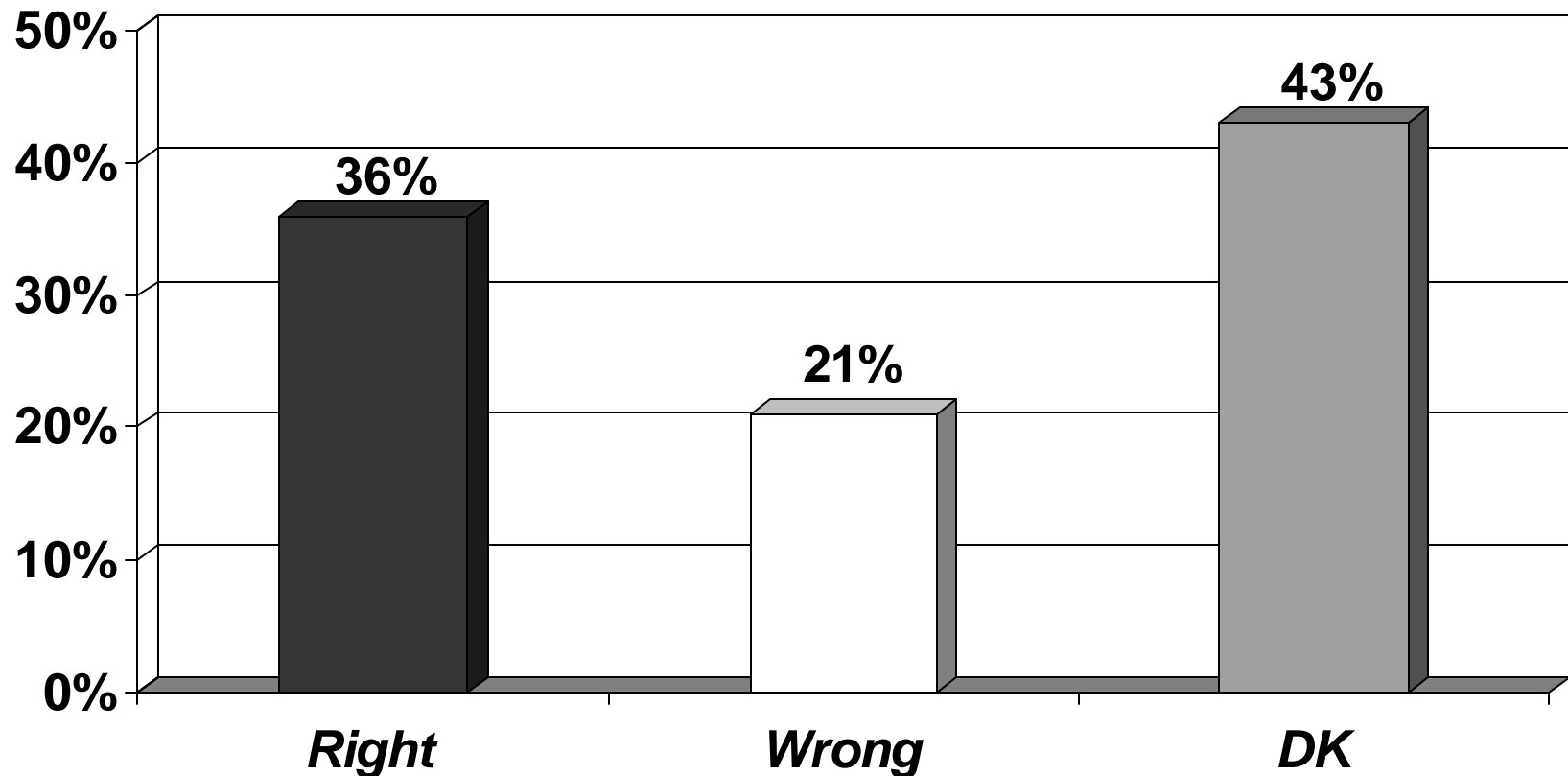
Part I:
The Regional Mood
(Irian Jaya)

Summary - Mood (Irian Jaya)

- Only 36% of voters in Irian Jaya think the country is headed in the right direction - fewer than in any other region - and they are outnumbered by the 43% who are not sure where it is going.
- The economy dominates the list of national problems (68%), as everywhere. However, in Irian, politics is listed second (29%), violence third (26%), and a fairly high 12% mentions social problems (especially development and service provision).
- Irian is also the only region where those who do not feel free to express their views (37%) still outnumber those who do (27%), despite a 14% increase in those speaking freely since May 1998.
- While 47% do feel government listens to them, this is likewise a smaller proportion than in any other region in the poll.
- Optimism about the future is also quite muted: only 39% are confident of a happy future, again the lowest figure for any region, while 27% are not, and the rest are unsure.

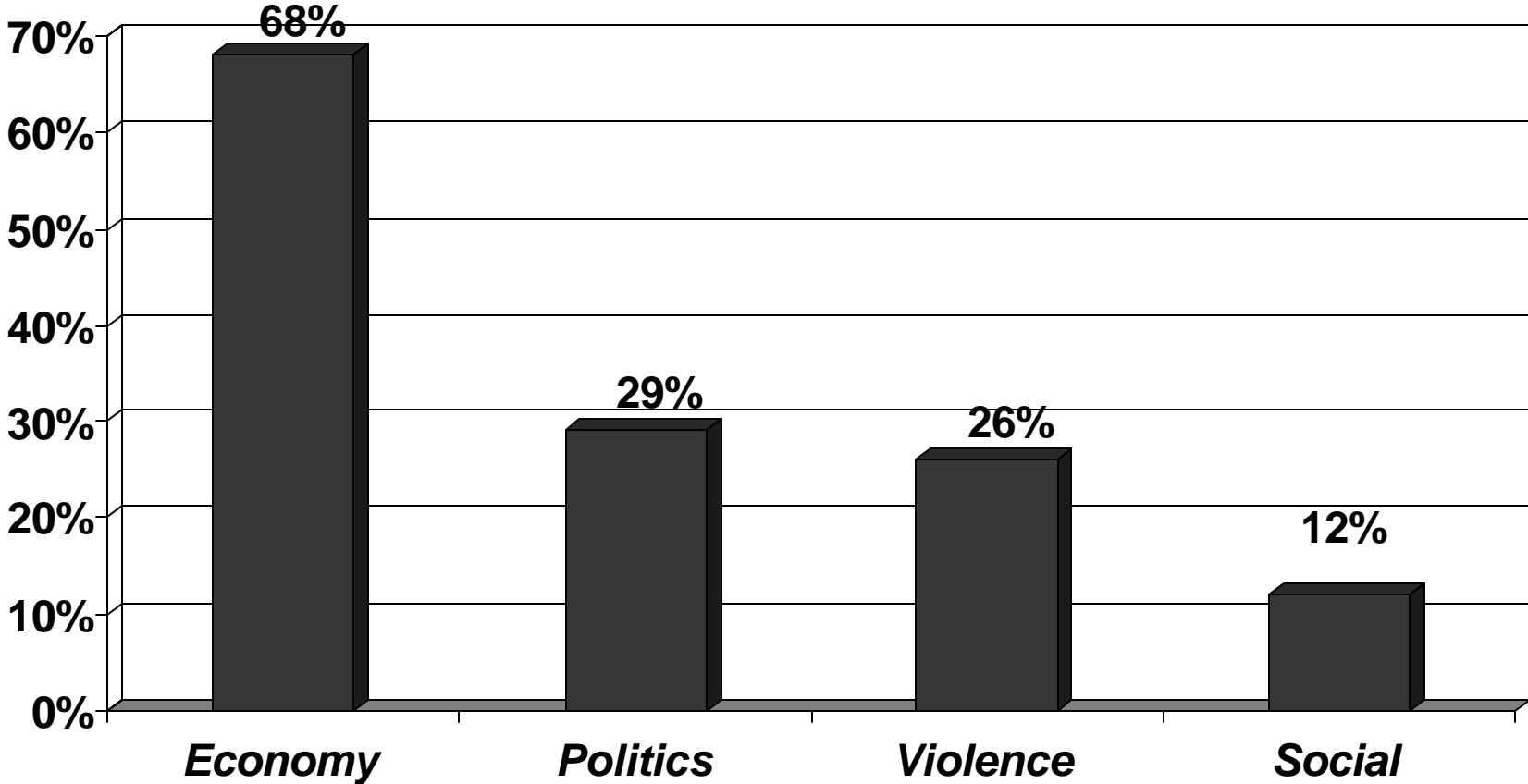
Direction of the Country (Irian Jaya)

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 ?



Indonesia's Biggest Problems (Irian Jaya)

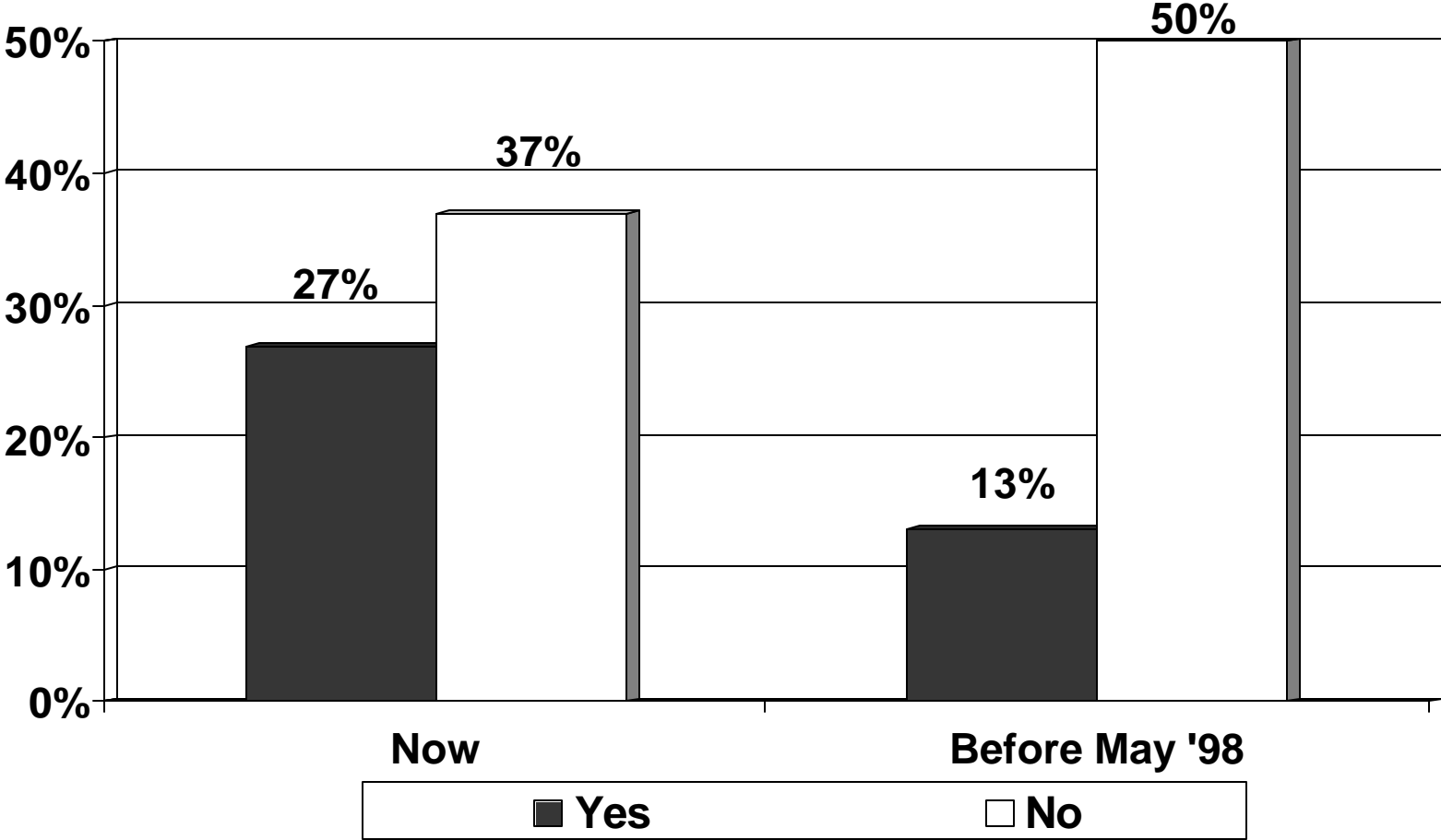
*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia ?
And after that, what is the second biggest problem ?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*



Freedom of Political Expression (Irian Jaya)

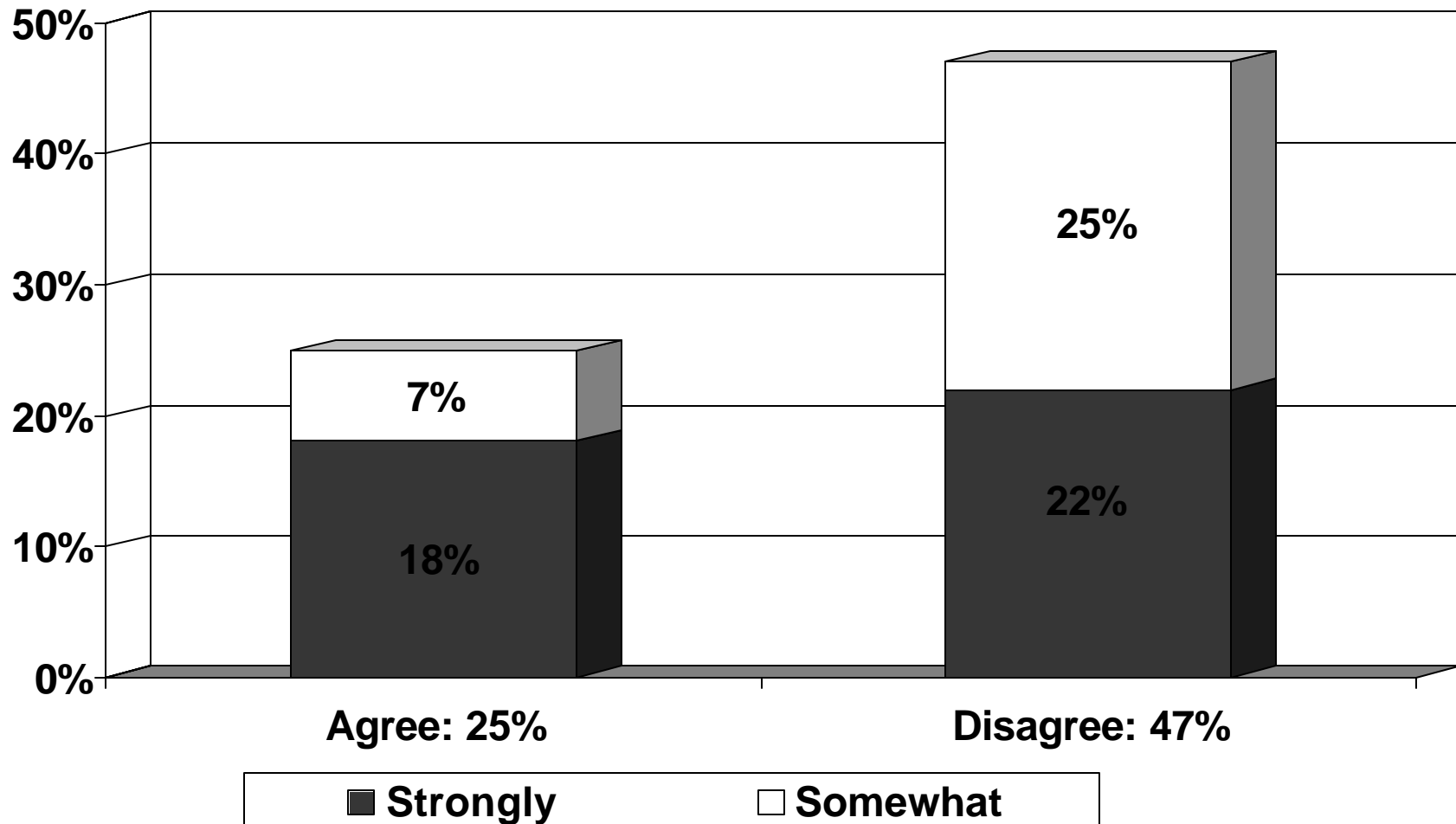
Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live ?

Did they feel free to express their opinions before the events of last May ?



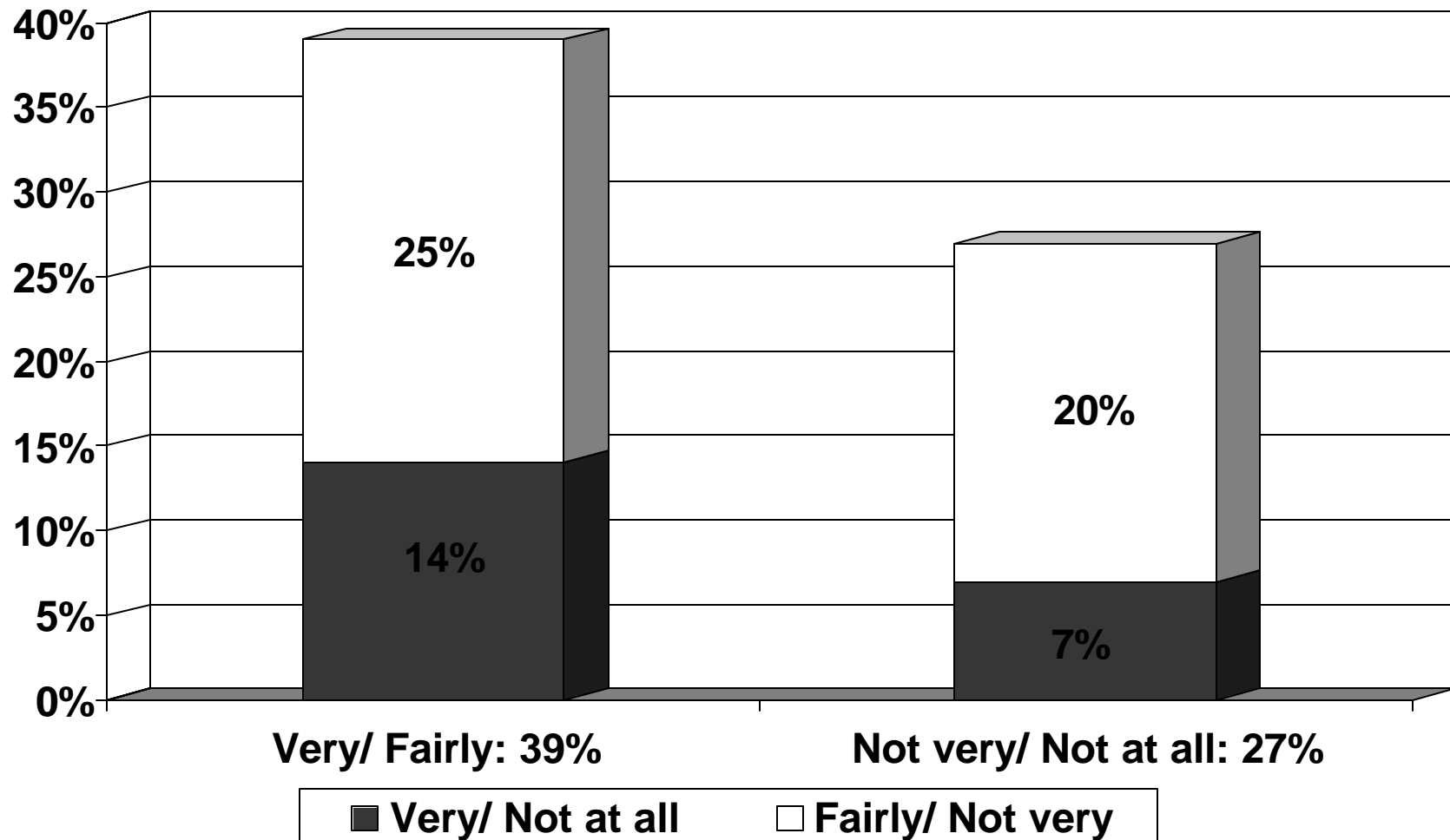
Political Alienation (Irian jaya)

Some people say, "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think."



Confidence in the Future (Irian Jaya)

How confident are you of a happy future for Indonesia as a whole ?



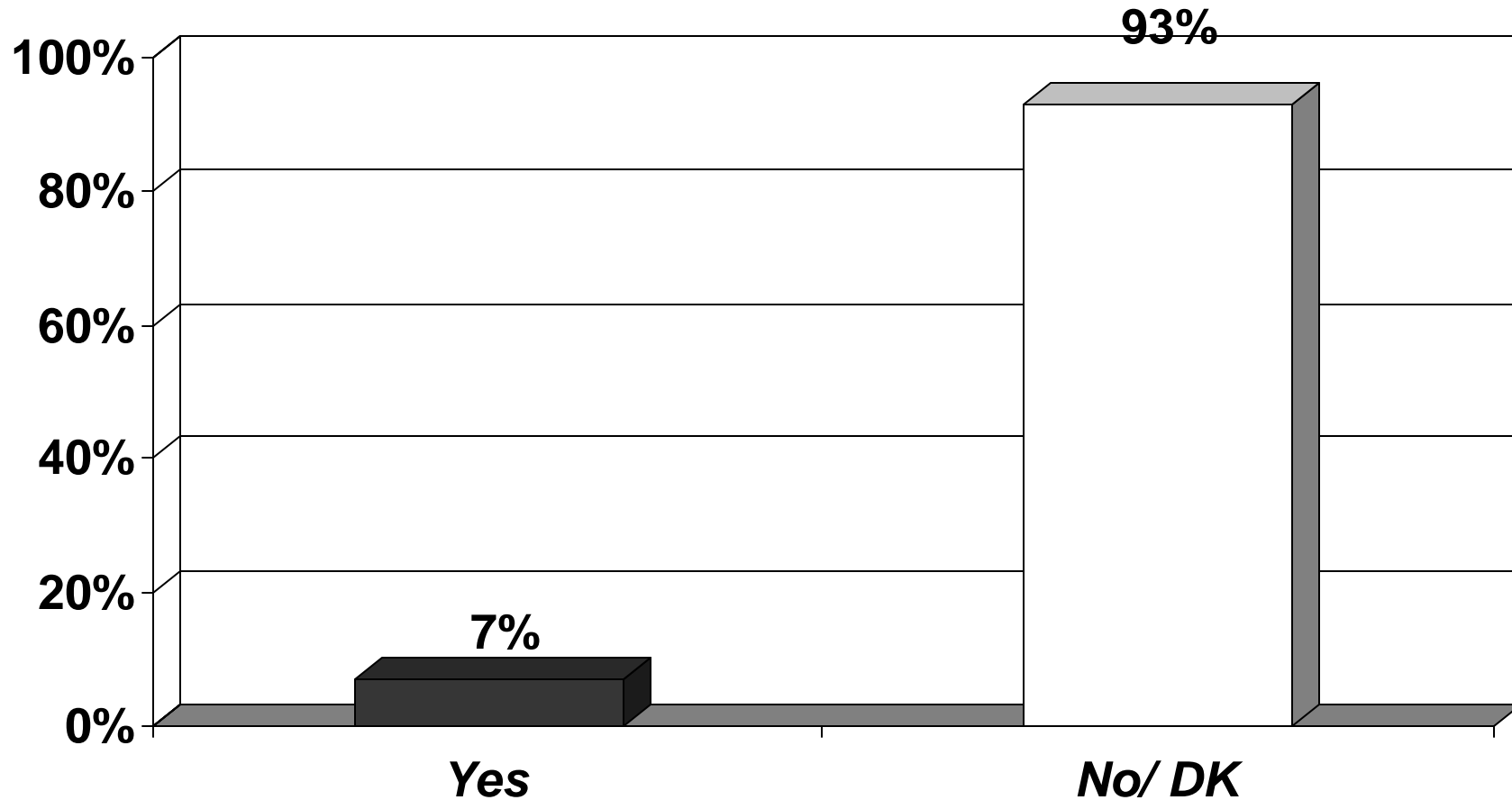
Part II:
Campaign Needs:
Registration
Voter Education
Civic Education
(Irian Jaya)

Summary - Registration Needs (Irian Jaya)

- Awareness of the need to register in Irian Jaya, as elsewhere, is quite low.
- Those who must register number 17% of the population, almost all (15%) being people who have moved since the last election.
- The registration targets include the under 35s, the high school educated, and people who are not regular TV viewers.
- The limited penetration of broadcast media in Irian will make NGOs particularly important in the registration campaign.

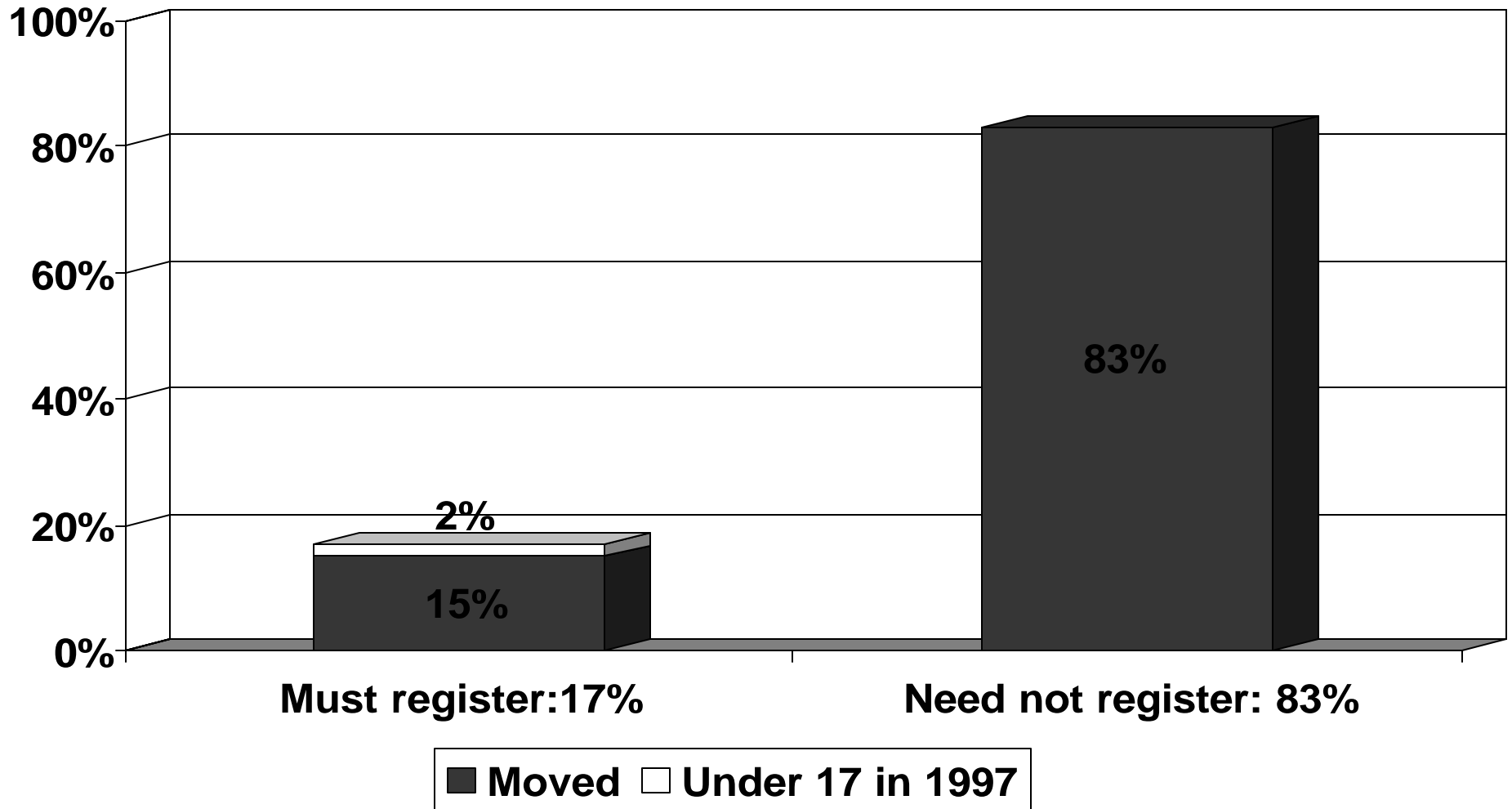
Awareness of Registration (Irian Jaya)

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in next year's elections ?



Voters Who Must Register (Irian Jaya)

Aged under 18 or moved since last election



Registration Campaign Targets (Irian Jaya)

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>Need to Register</i>
Under 35s	23%
High School Educated	21%
Not Regular TV Viewers	21%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>	
Irian Jaya	16%

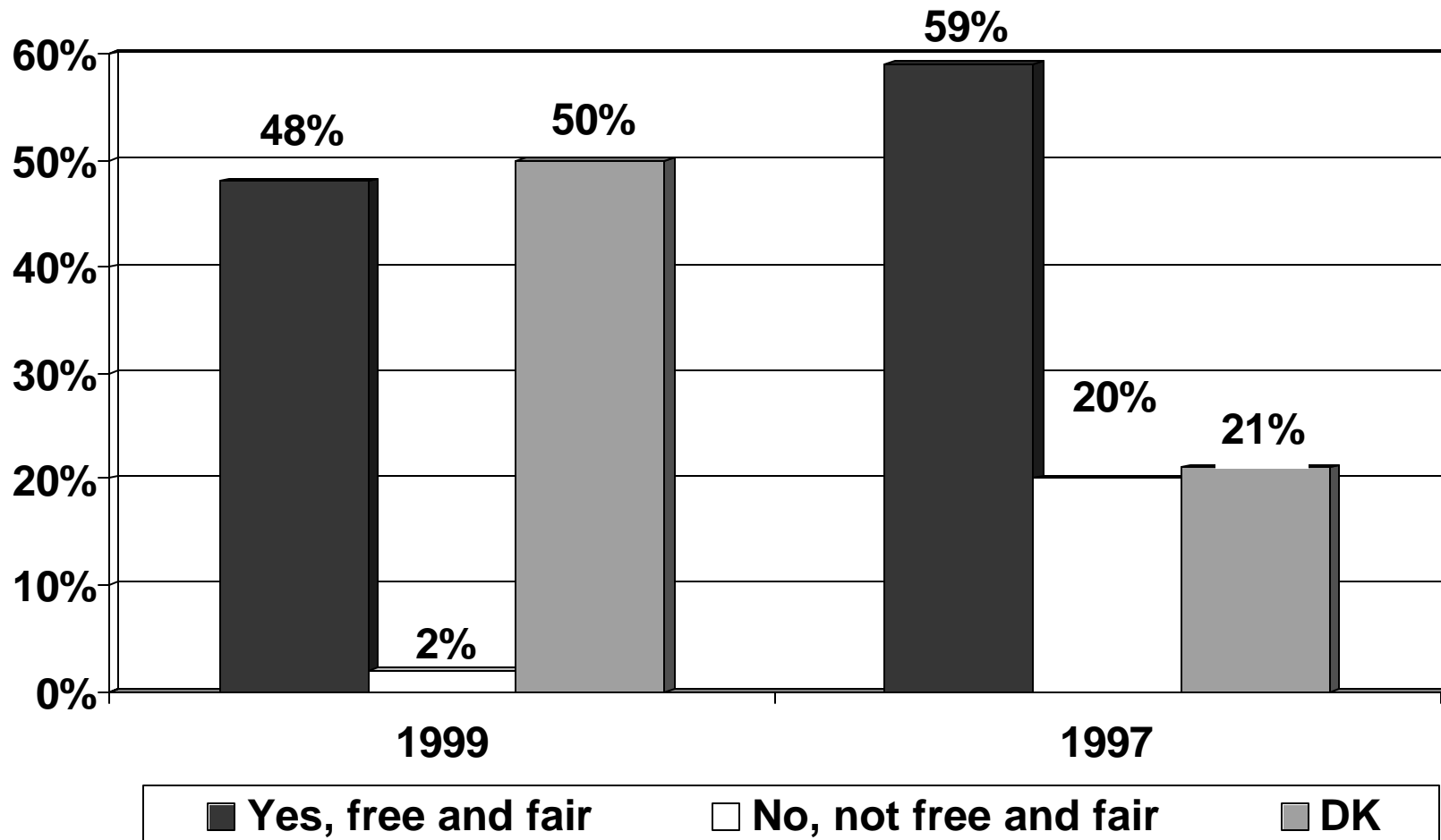
Summary - Voter Education Needs (Irian Jaya)

- Irian Jaya is one of the two regions where a majority does not think the election will be free and fair: only 48% say that it will be, while 50% are not sure and 2% say it will not be. It is also one of only two where a majority (59%) says the 1997 vote was free and fair.
- Concerns about the election are numerous. The top one is voter roll omissions, followed by riots, media bias, anti-activist violence, cheating in the count, and vote selling, all of which concern 20% or more.
- Lesser concerns are non-secret ballots, forced voting, official threats, and repeat voting, but they are still more common than in other regions.
- Knowledge of election law changes is very low: only about one in four know there will be more than three parties or a vote on a holiday, and few know of observers, an independent election commission, and finger dipping.
- The voter education targets are the under-35s, the low end women with less than high school education, low income voters, and Protestants.

Elections Free and Fair ? 99 vs 97 (Irian Jaya)

Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you ?

Did you think that the 1997 elections were free and fair ?



Election Concerns, 1999

(Irian Jaya)

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.

People left off voting roll	34%
Riots or disorders	27%
News media bias favoring party	25%
Violence against party activists	24%
Cheating in counting	23%
Selling of votes	20%
Finding out how people voted	19%
Forcing workers to vote together	17%
Threats from officials	17%
People voting more than once	14%

Knowledge of Election Law Changes (Irian Jaya)

Do you know if...

	Yes	No/ DK
...this election will have more than 3 parties ?	30%	70%
...this election will be held on a holiday ?	23%	77%
...there will be independent groups to monitor the elections ?	9%	91%
...this election will be run by the government alone ?	8%	92%
...people's fingers will be dipped in ink when they vote ?	6%	94%

Voter Education Targets (Irian Jaya)

	Not Free + Fair	1+ concerns	3+ concerns
<i>Advantaged Targets</i>			
Under-35s	59%	67%	46%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>			
Irian Jaya	52%	61%	38%
<i>Disadvantaged Targets</i>			
Women: Less than HS Educated	57%	47%	25%
Low Income (Under Rp 200,000 / month)	54%	48%	16%
Protestant	54%	57%	36%

Summary - Civic Education Needs (Irian Jaya)

- The proportion of Irianese who cannot offer any characteristics of a democratic country is 61%, the national average.
- Just 3% associate democracy with free elections.
- Political intolerance in Irian is very serious: some 45% would not allow meetings of unpopular parties, while only 25% would. This issue is clearly critical for civic education in the region.
- The civic education targets are low education and income, non-TV viewers, Protestants, and over-50s.

Characteristics of a Democratic Country (Irian Jaya)

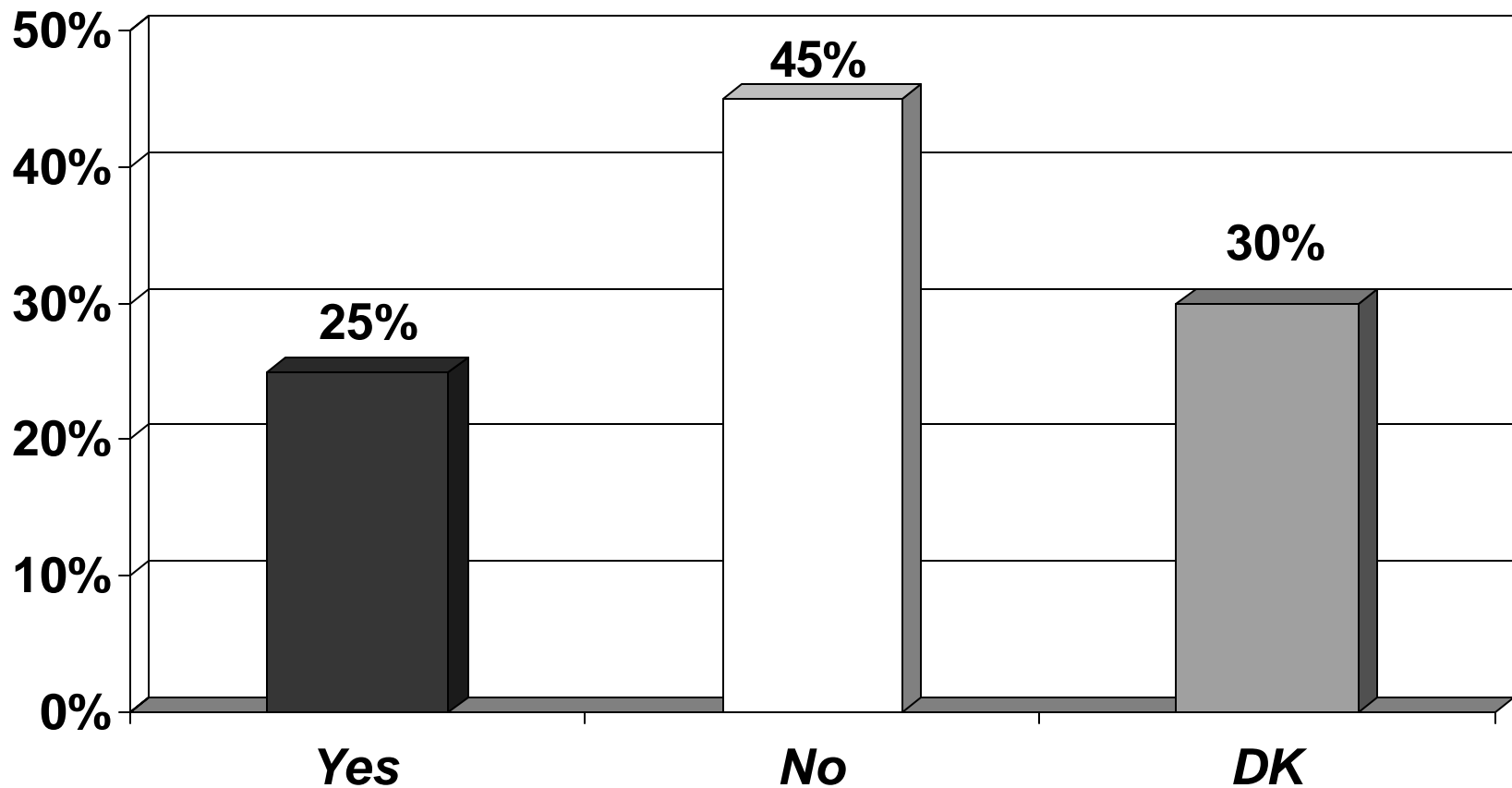
If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else?

- **Don't Know / No Response: 61%**
- **Political Rights: 29%**
 - *“Free speech,” “free expression” : 13%*
 - *“People’s sovereignty,” “government of, by, for people” : 6%*
 - *“Free elections,” “free political participation” : 3%*
 - *“Human rights,” “rule of law” : 3%*
 - *Other: 4%*
- **Economic Gains: 8%**
 - *“Social justice,” “help for the poor” : 2%*
 - *“Prosperity,” “SEMPAKO availability” : 4%*
 - *“Fair access to government jobs / services” : 2%*
 - *Other: 2%*
- **Peace, Stability, Consensus: 7%**

Base: 6 (weighted), 102 (unweighted)

Political Tolerance (Irian Jaya)

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?



Civic Education Campaign Targets (Irian Jaya)

<i>Target Groups</i>	<i>DK on Democracy Character</i>	<i>Not Interested in Politics</i>	<i>Do Not Discuss Politics</i>	<i>Not Politically Tolerant</i>
< High School Education	79%	83%	89%	80%
Low Income (< Rp 200,000/month)	78%	84%	90%	81%
Not Regular TV Viewer	76%	85%	89%	83%
Protestants	68%	73%	79%	80%
Over 50	68%	67%	93%	85%
<i>Regional Average (for comparison)</i>				
Irian Jaya	61%	70%	81%	75%

Part III
Voter Education Sources and Media
(Irian Jaya)

Summary - Voter Education Sources and Media (Irian Jaya)

- Irianese would welcome voter education from meetings, TV, house visits, the radio, and religious groups.
- Irian Jaya is distinctive from the other regions in its media exposure. TV has far less penetration than in other regions, reaching minorities of the population and the target groups, and radio rivals it in reach. While the broadcast media are still important, in this region NGOs will be the mainstay of the campaigns.
- NGOs appear fairly strong in Irian Jaya, with large proportions in religious volunteer groups and neighborhood associations, and stronger school parent, non-religious, youth, and environmental groups than in other regions. Only 6% do not belong to any organization.
- One problem the campaigns should not have in Irian is language: Bahasa Indonesia is almost universally understood and used.

Voter Education Sources (Irian Jaya)

I'm going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by 35% or more)

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Local RT/ Headman	80%	*	81%	83%
Public meeting	60%	*	56%	50%
TV	59%	*	53%	58%
House visit from non- partisan voter education group	55%	*	52%	53%
Radio	54%	*	47%	44%
Religious Organization	45%	*	35%	27%
Newspaper	35%	*	32%	33%

*Sub-sample too small to permit analysis

Regular Media Exposure (Irian Jaya)

Respondents who use particular medium 3 days a week or more

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
TV	38%	*	36%	32%
Radio	37%	*	39%	36%
Newspaper	9%	*	10%	10%

*Sub-samples too small for analysis

Organizational Involvement (Irian Jaya)

*Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.
(Responses cited by more than 5%)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Religious volunteer	69%	*	69%	66%
Neighborhood Association	41%	*	41%	30%
School parents group	22%	*	18%	15%
Non-religious charity	20%	*	20%	9%
Youth group	19%	*	27%	24%
Environmental group	18%	*	20%	15%
Cooperatives	12%	*	15%	12%
Trade Union	11%	*	-	6%

*sub-samples too small for analysis

Languages: Understand, Read, Prefer, Used (Irian Jaya)

Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?

(Languages mentioned by 3% or more)

	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Indonesian	99%	89%	95%	99%
Javanese	23%	9%	-	-
Biak	16%	13%	-	1%
An Irian language or dialect	15%	9%	-	-
English	5%	4%	-	-
Tepra	3%	-	-	-

Appendix
Regional Media Planning Tables
(Irian Jaya)

Radio Station Most Often Heard (Irian Jaya)

*Which radio station do you listen to most often ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Reis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
RRI Local	84%	*	91%	84%
RRI Central	11%	*	4%	12%

*Sub-samples too small for analyss.

Favorite Type of Radio Program (Irian jaya)

*Which type of radio program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
RRI News	65%	*	57%	63%
Indonesian pop	22%	*	16%	19%
Information/ News	16%	*	15%	7%
Religious	11%	*	10%	13%
Traditional	11%	*	19%	23%
Listeners choice	8%	*	11%	7%
Radio drama	8%	*	12%	6%
Dangdut	6%	*	10%	7%

*sub-samples too small for analysis

Base 8: (weighted), 155: (unweighted)

Time of Listening to Radio (Irian Jaya)

What time of day do you listen to the radio ?

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
5 - 8 am	45%	*	37%	44%
8 am - 12 Noon	35%	*	43%	29%
12 Noon - 5 pm	11%	*	19%	7%
5 pm - 9 pm	28%	*	23%	28%
9 pm - 11 pm	15%	*	21%	23%

*Sub-samples too small for analysis

Base 8: (weighted), 155: (unweighted)

Newspapers Read (Irian Jaya)

*Which daily newspaper do you read the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who read newspapers)*

	All voters	Regis- tration Targets	Voter Ed Targets	Civic Ed Targets
Cendrawasih Pos	67%	*	74%	71%
Kompas	12%	*	10%	7%
Tifa Irian	11%	*	10%	13%
Pos Kota	4%	*	-	-

*Sub-samples too small for analyss.

Base 6: (weighted), 113: (unweighted)

Section V:

Kalimantan

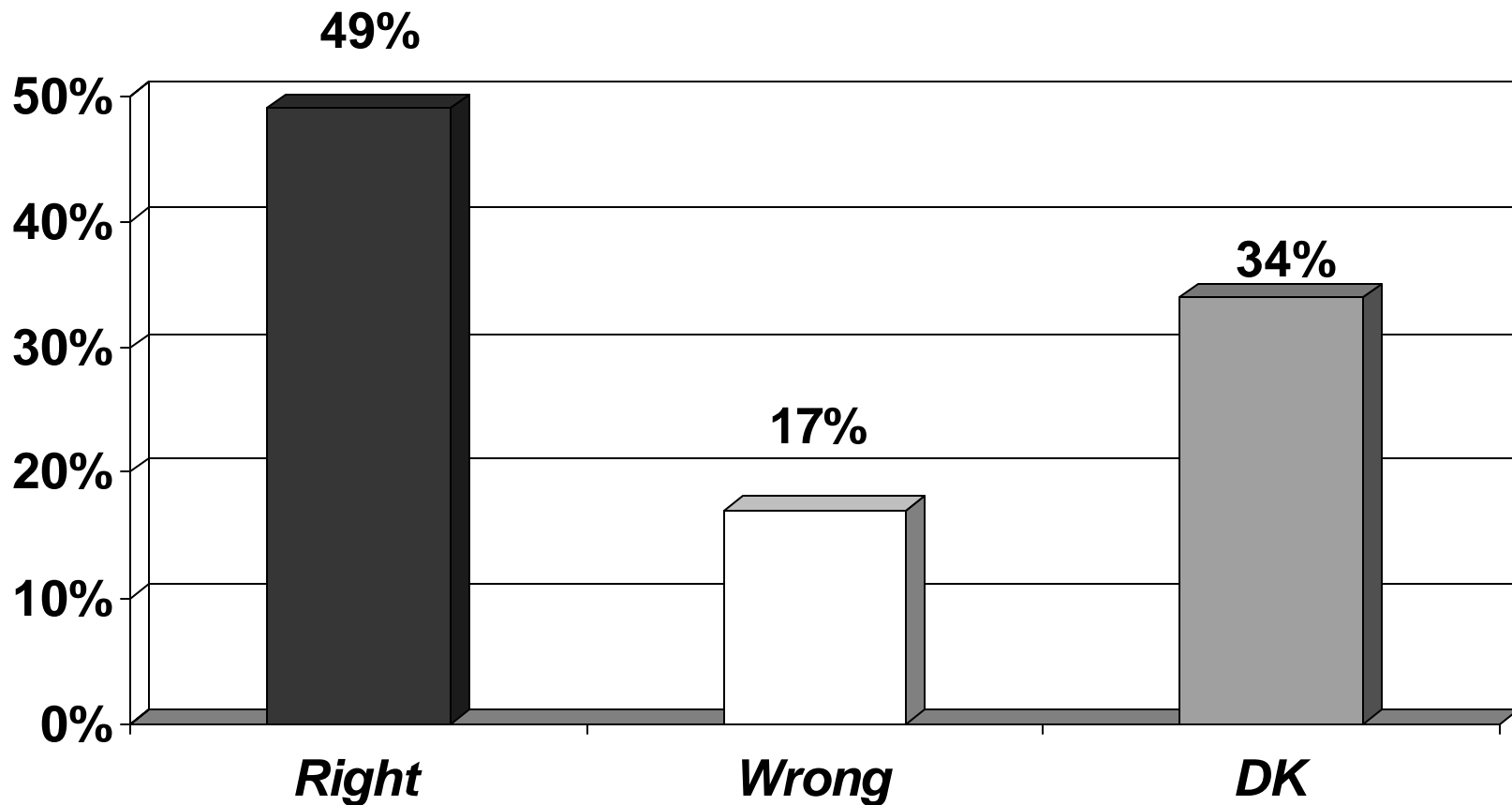
Part I:
The Regional Mood
(Kalimantan)

Summary - Mood (Kalimantan)

- Among people in Kalimantan, 49% say Indonesia is headed in the right direction, 17% in the wrong direction.
- The economy, while still the chief problem, is less dominant than in other regions at 56%. It is followed by violence (23%) and politics (17%). Social problems also place at 17%, higher than in other regions, with crime and farming issues chief among them.
- The proportion who feel free to speak has risen to 44% from 23% before May 1998, but remains well below the national average of 55%
- A majority of Kalimantan residents (60%) say government pays them attention.
- Confidence in the future prevails by a margin of 50% to 26%, but it is also weaker in Kalimantan than in the country as a whole (71%).

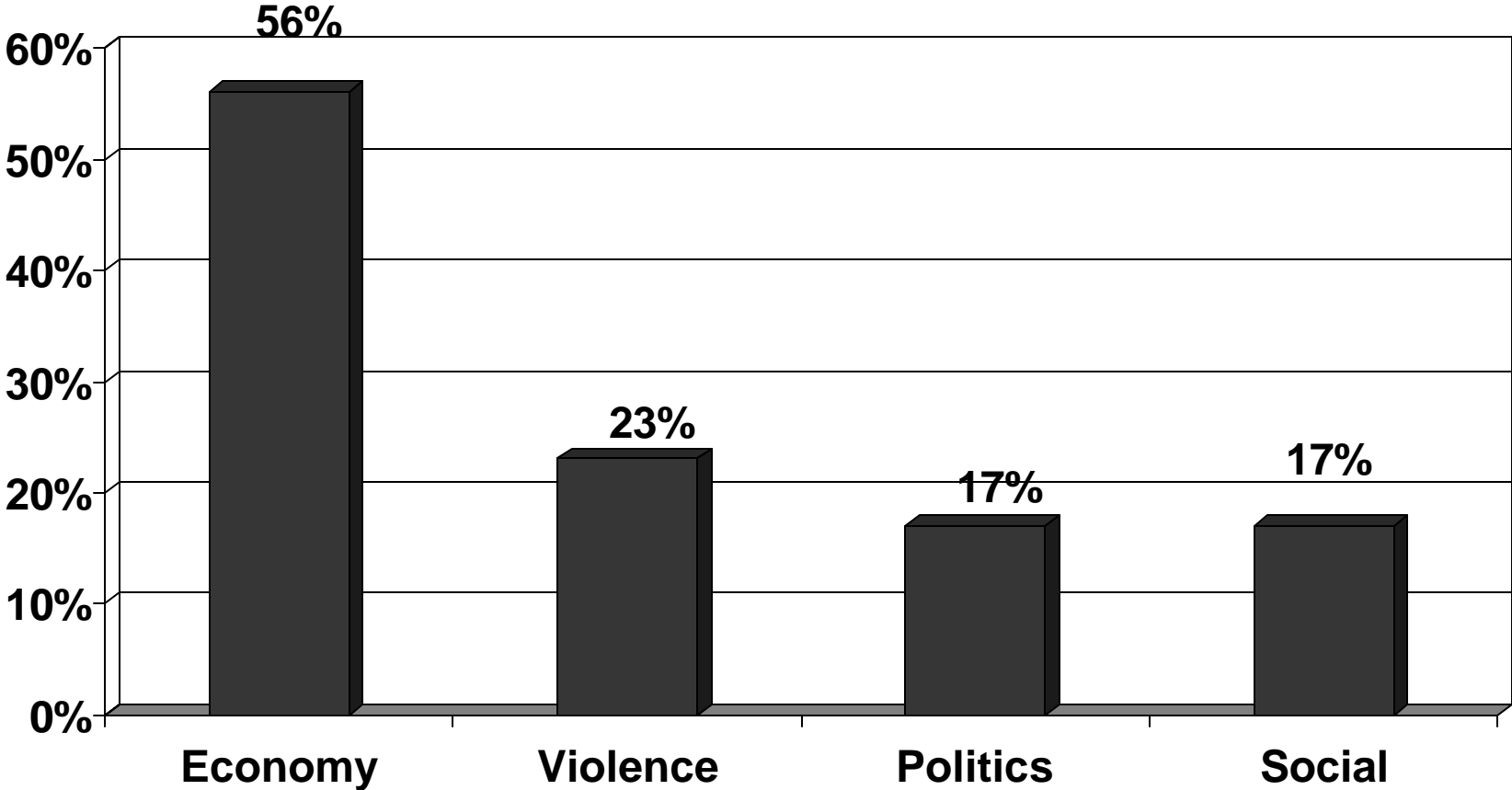
Direction of the Country (Kalimantan)

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 ?



Indonesia's Biggest Problems (Kalimantan)

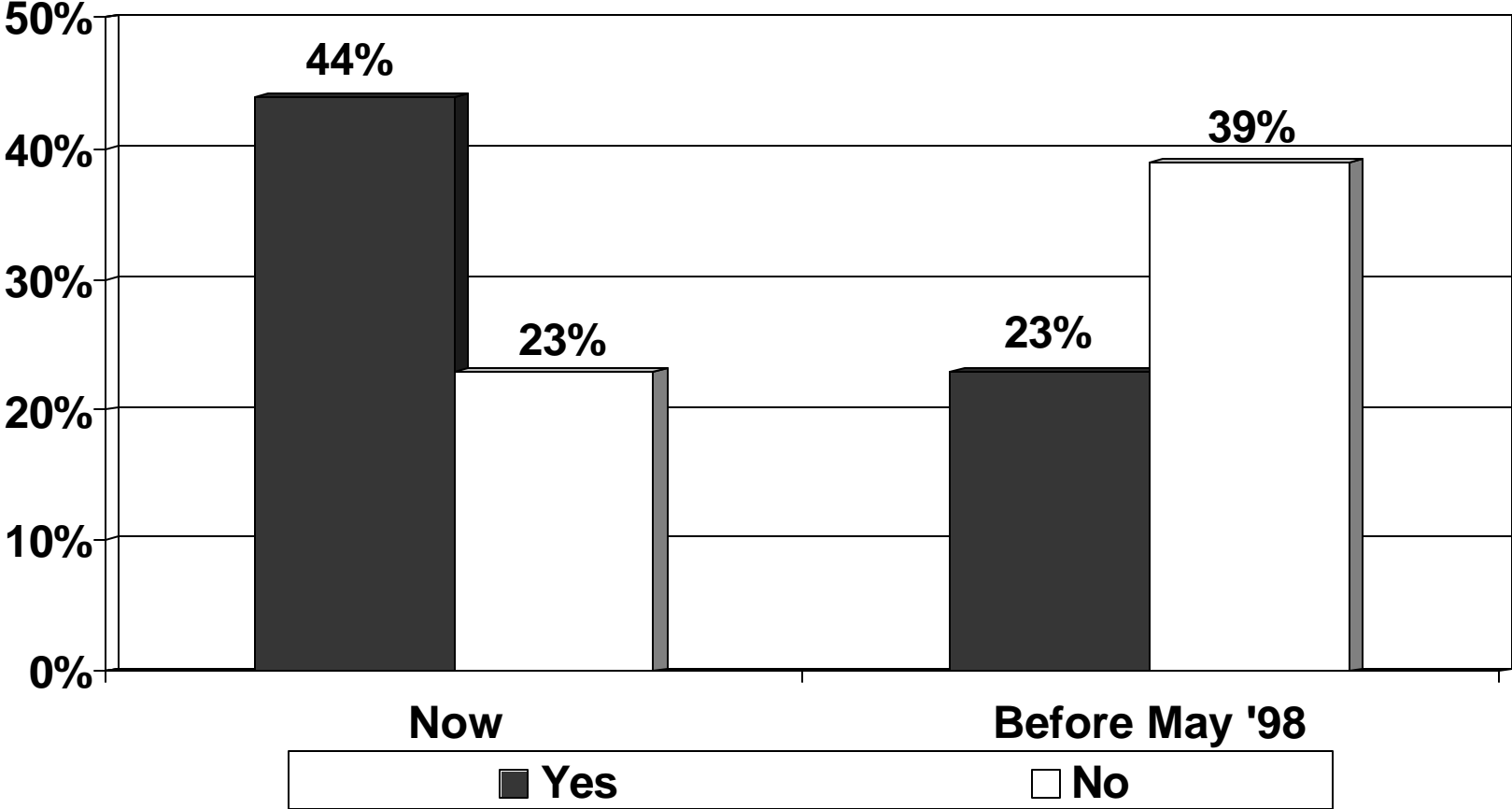
*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia ?
And after that, what is the second biggest problem ?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*



Freedom of Political Expression (Kalimantan)

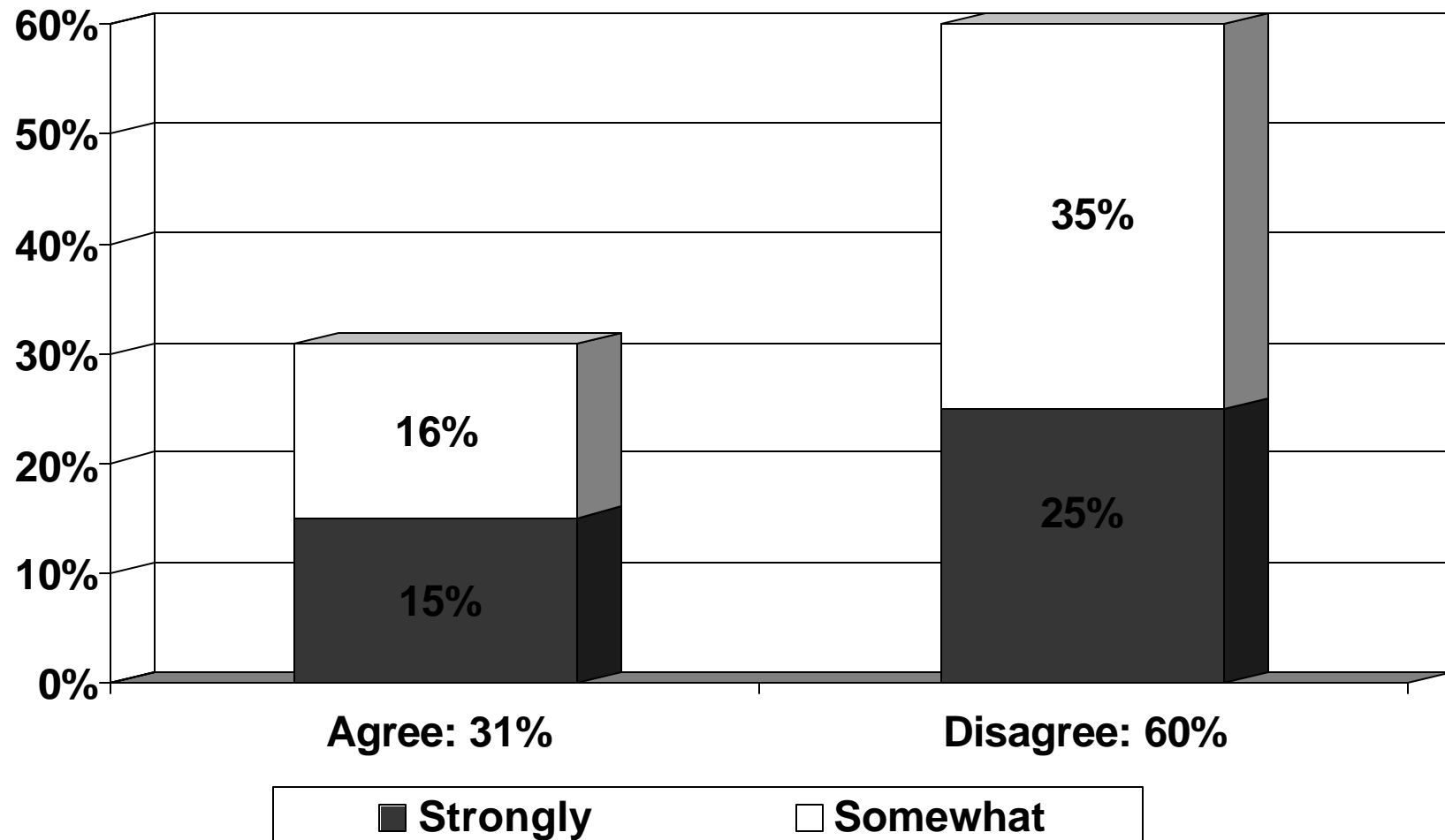
Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live ?

Did they feel free to express their opinions before the events of last May ?



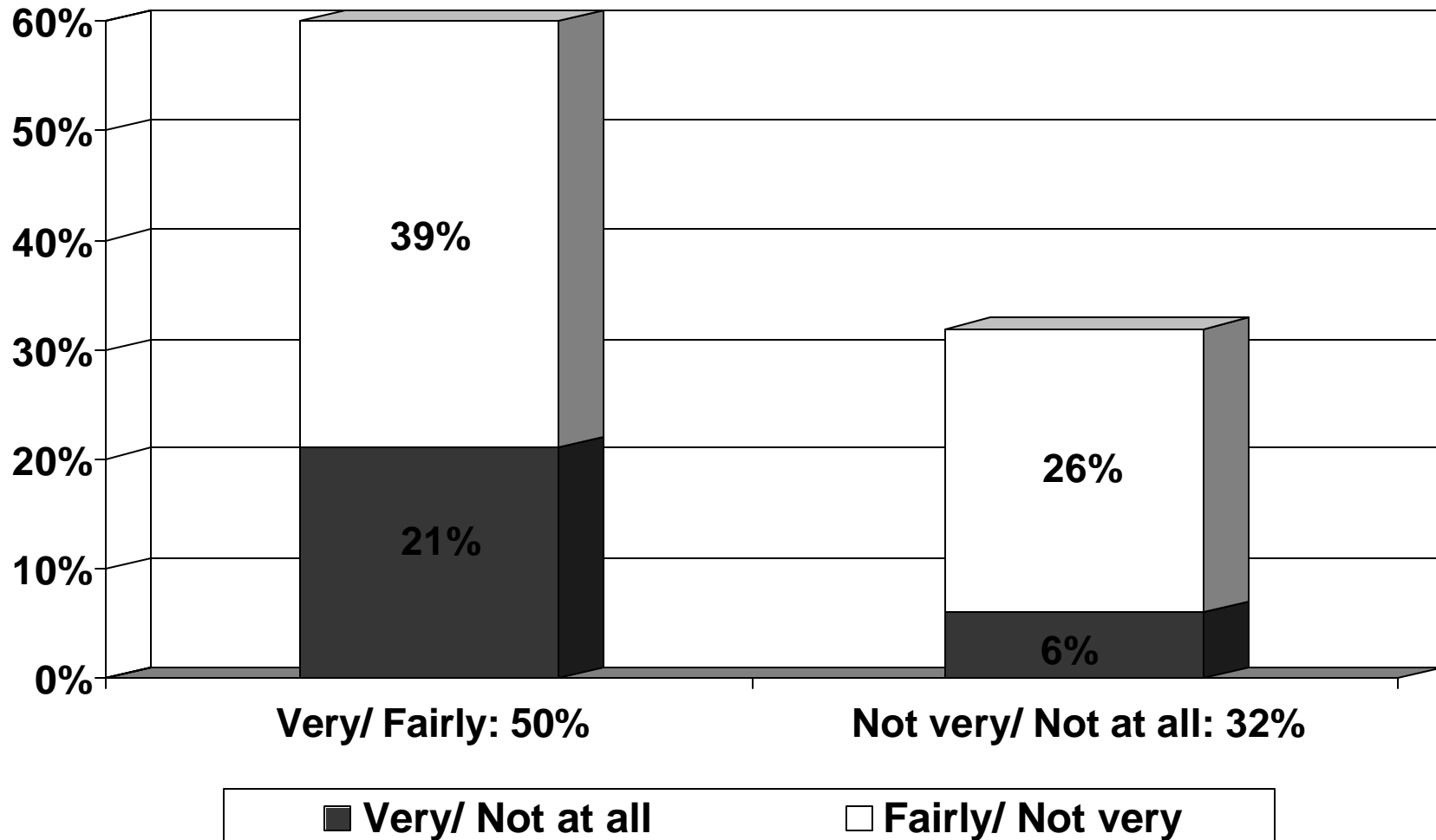
POLITICAL ALIENATION (Kalimantan)

Some people say, "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think."



Confidence in the Future (Kalimantan)

How confident are you of a happy future for Indonesia as a whole ?



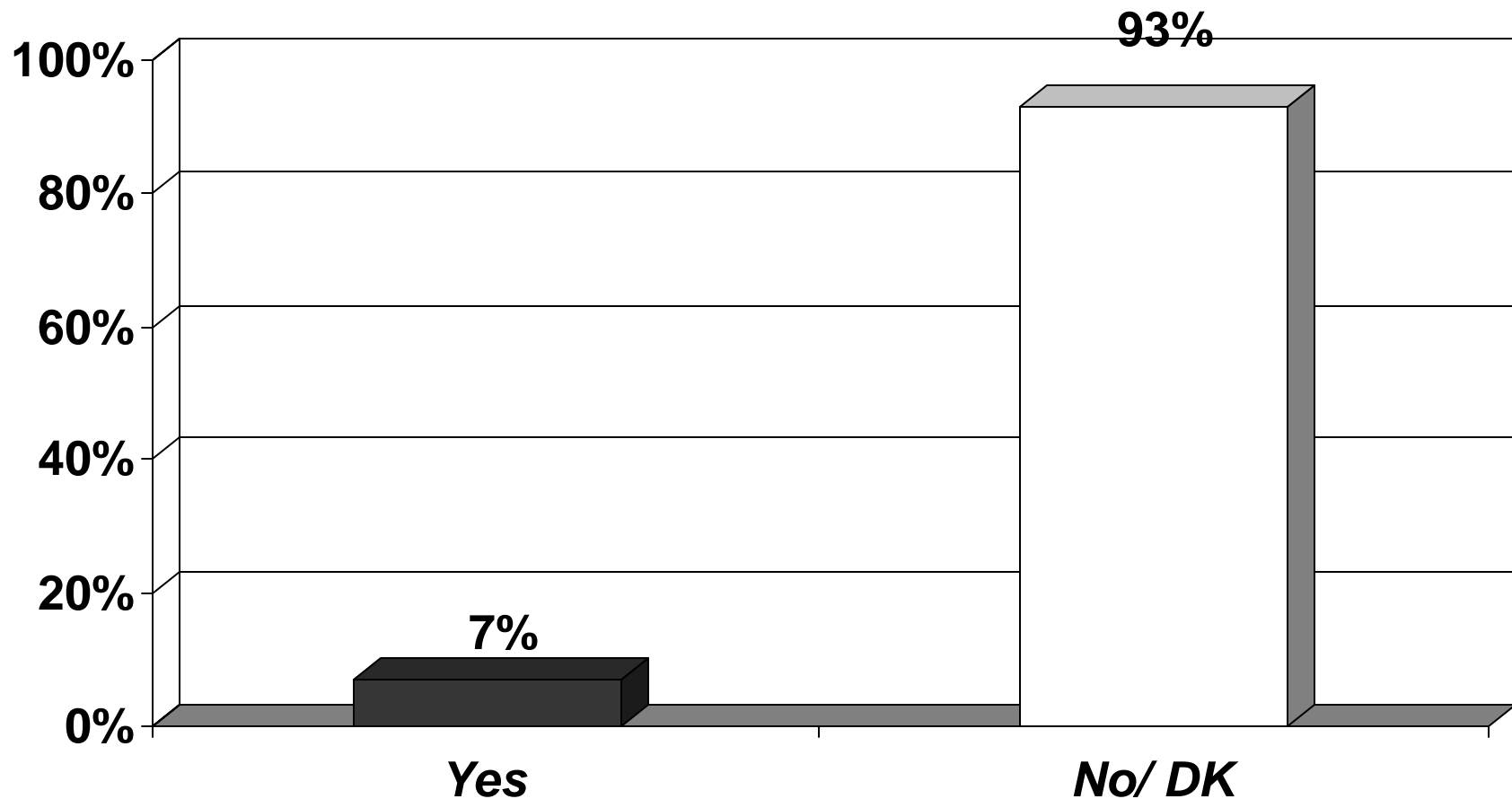
Part II
Campaign Needs:
Registration
Voter Education
Civic Education
(Kalimantan)

Summary - Registration Needs (Kalimantan)

- Only 7% of Kalimantan voters have heard that people will need to register for the upcoming elections.
- Some 15% of voters will need to register, most (13%) being people who have moved since 1997.
- The regional sub-sample is too small to permit us to specify target groups for registration at regional level.

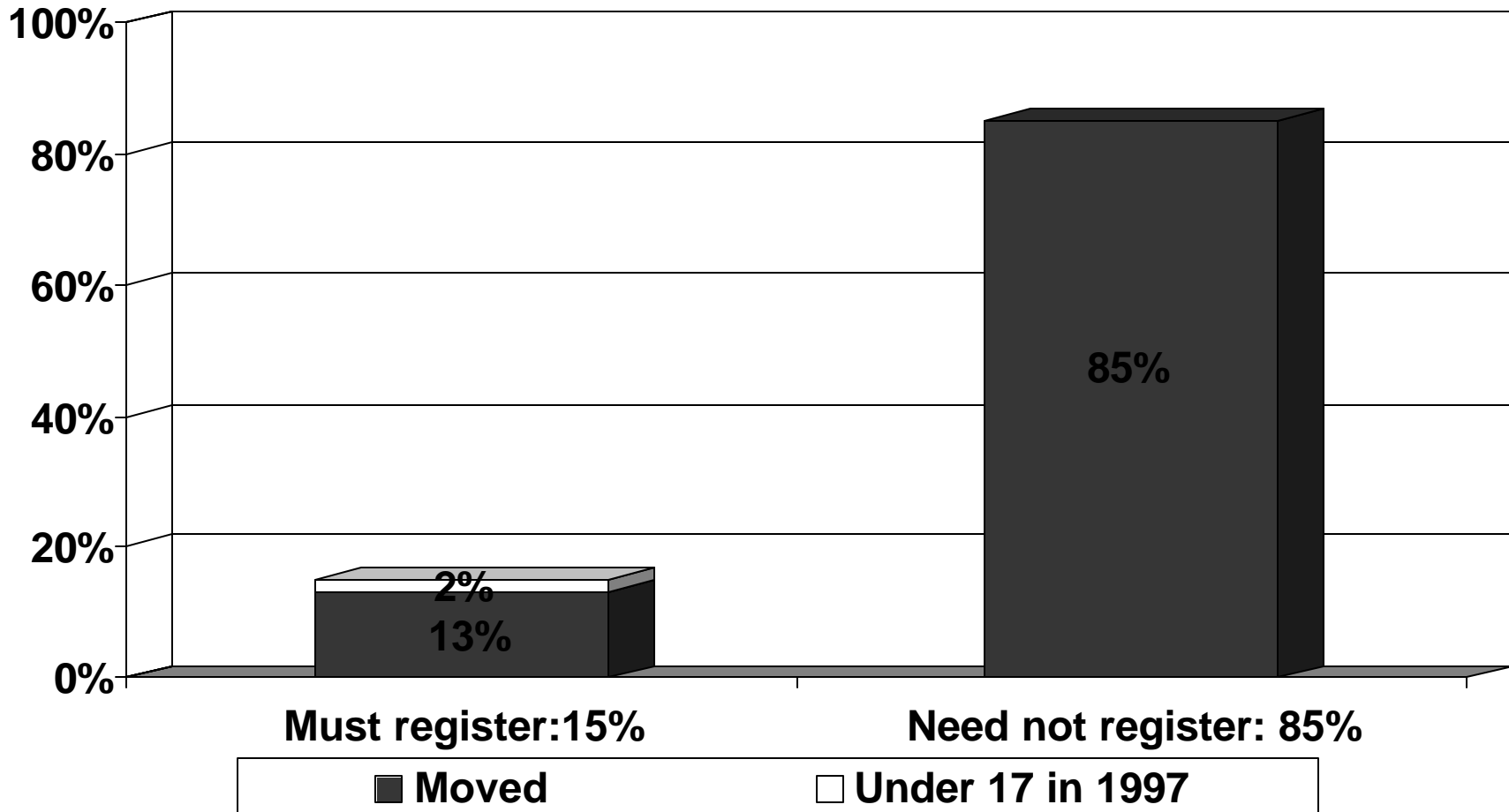
Awareness of Registration (Kalimantan)

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in next year's elections ?



Voters Who Must Register (Kalimantan)

Aged under 18 or moved since last election



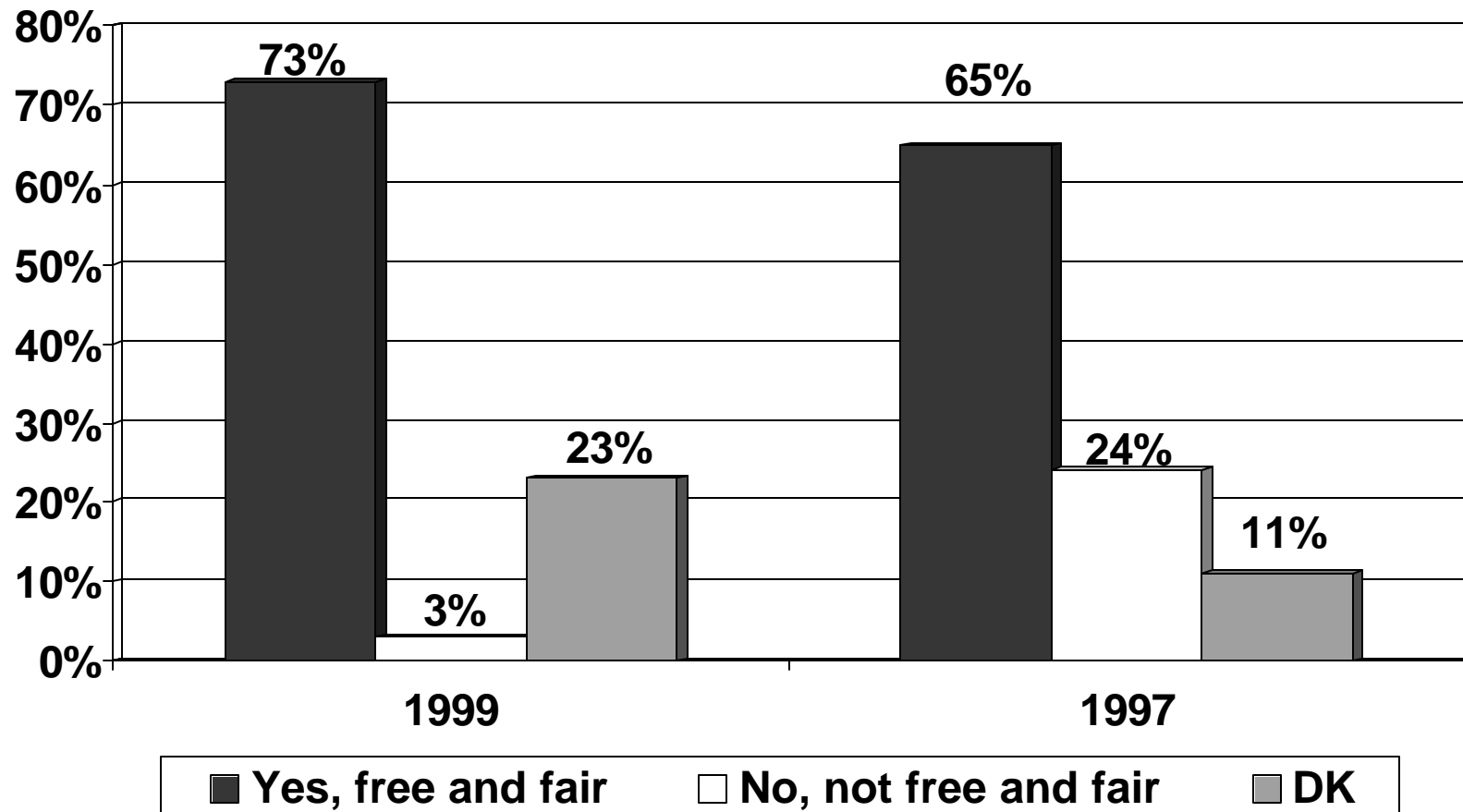
Summary - Voter Education Needs (Kalimantan)

- Optimism is strong in Kalimantan regarding the forthcoming elections: some 73% of the public says that they think they will be free and fair.
- 65% thought that the 1997 elections were also free and fair.
- The principal concerns about the election are voting roll omissions, riots, and media bias, all mentioned by more than 20%. After these come cheating in the count, violence against activists, and vote selling.
- The least worry - mentioned by fewer than 10% - is attached to non-secret ballots, forced voting, official intimidation, or repeat voting.
- Awareness of changes in election law was low: 40% knew there will be more than three parties, 21% knew the vote will be on a holiday, and 10% or less knew about observers, an independent election commission or finger dipping.
- The regional sample was too small to allow us to designate targets.

Elections Free and Fair ? 99 vs 97 (Kalimantan)

Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you ?

Did you think that the 1997 elections were free and fair ?



Election Concerns, 1999 (Kalimantan)

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.

People left off voting roll	24%
Riots or disorders	22%
News media bias favoring party	22%
Cheating in counting	17%
Violence against party activists	15%
Selling of votes	14%
Finding out how people voted	9%
Forcing workers to vote together	8%
Threats from officials	6%
People voting more than once	6%

Knowledge of Election Law Changes (Kalimantan)

Do you know if...

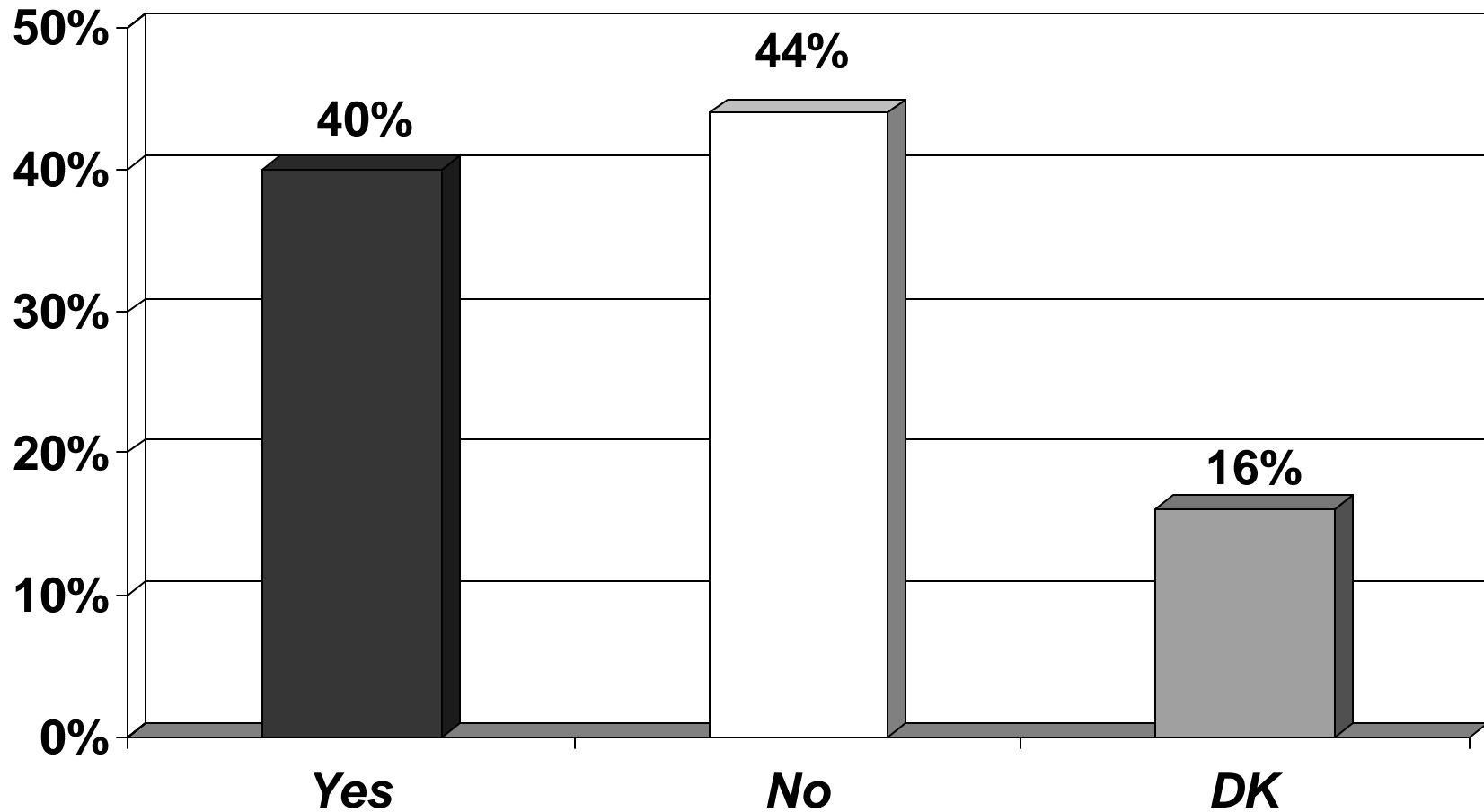
	Yes	No/ DK
...this election will have more than 3 parties ?	40%	60%
...this election will be held on a holiday ?	21%	79%
...this election will be run by the government alone ?	7%	93%
...there will be independent groups to monitor the elections ?	10%	90%
...people's fingers will be dipped in ink when they vote ?	8%	92%

Summary - Civic Education Needs (Kalimantan)

- Some 71% of Kalimantan respondents were unable to suggest any characteristics of democracy, pointing to clear civic education needs.
- Political tolerance appears to be a major issue in Kalimantan. Those who would not tolerate unpopular parties outnumber those who would do so, 44% to 40%.
- Sub-sample sizes were too small to allow detailed analysis of responses on the meaning of democracy or the designation of regional civic education targets.

Political Tolerance (Kalimantan)

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?



Part III
Voter Education Sources and Media
(Kalimantan)

Summary - Voter Education Sources and Media (Kalimantan)

- Kalimantan voters were open to relatively few sources of voter education: TV, meetings, and radio.
- TV has broad enough reach - 62% of the voters - to carry the main load of the campaign in the region, reinforced by radio.
- Besides TV, there is substantial participation in religious groups (39%), neighborhood associations (38%), and cooperatives (19%). Youth, environmental, and parents' groups have smaller followings.
- Indonesian was preferred for voter education information by 91% and used by 94% of respondents. Other languages were preferred by 9% (Banjar, 5%, and Dayak, 4%), and consideration should be given to preparing materials in these tongues.

Voter Education Sources (Kalimantan)

I'm going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by 35% or more)

	All voters
Local RT/ Headman	66%
TV	63%
Public meeting	41%
Radio	40%

Regular Media Exposure (Kalimantan)

Respondents who use particular medium 3 days a week or more

	All voters
TV	62%
Radio	27%
Newspaper	8%

Organizational Involvement (Kalimantan)

*Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.
(Responses cited by more than 5%)*

	All voters
Religious volunteer	39%
Neighborhood Association	38%
Cooperatives	19%
Youth group	11%
Environmental group	10%
School Parents	9%

Languages: Understand, Read, Prefer, Used (Kalimantan)

*Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?
(Languages mentioned by 3% or more)*

Language	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Indonesian	97%	81%	91%	94%
Dayak	36%	6%	4%	-
Malay	24%	11%	-	2%
Banjar	20%	6%	5%	3%
Javanese	20%	11%	-	-
Madurese	7%	-	-	-
Bugis	6%	3%	-	-

Appendix
Regional Media Planning Tables
(Kalimantan)

Radio Station Most Often Heard (Kalimantan)

*Which radio station do you listen to most often ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters
RRI Local	39%
RRI Central	14%

Base 25: (weighted), 33: (unweighted)

Favorite Type of Radio Program (Kalimantan)

*Which type of radio program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters
Dangdut music	42%
RRI News	30%
Indonesian pop	26%
Religious	18%
Radio drama	14%
Information	10%
Listener's choice	10%
Traditional	7%
Western pop	5%

Time of Listening to Radio (Kalimantan)

What time of day do you listen to the radio ?

	All voters
5 - 8 am	5%
8 am - 12 Noon	26%
12 Noon - 5 pm	48%
5 pm - 9 pm	40%
9 pm - 11 pm	6%

Base 25: (weighted), 33: (unweighted)

Newspapers Read (Kalimantan)

*Which daily newspaper do you read the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who read newspapers)*

	All voters
Pontianak Post	41%
Kalim Post	25%
Jawa Pos	13%
Banjarmasin Post	4%

Base 118: (weighted), 401: (unweighted)

Section VI: Sulawesi

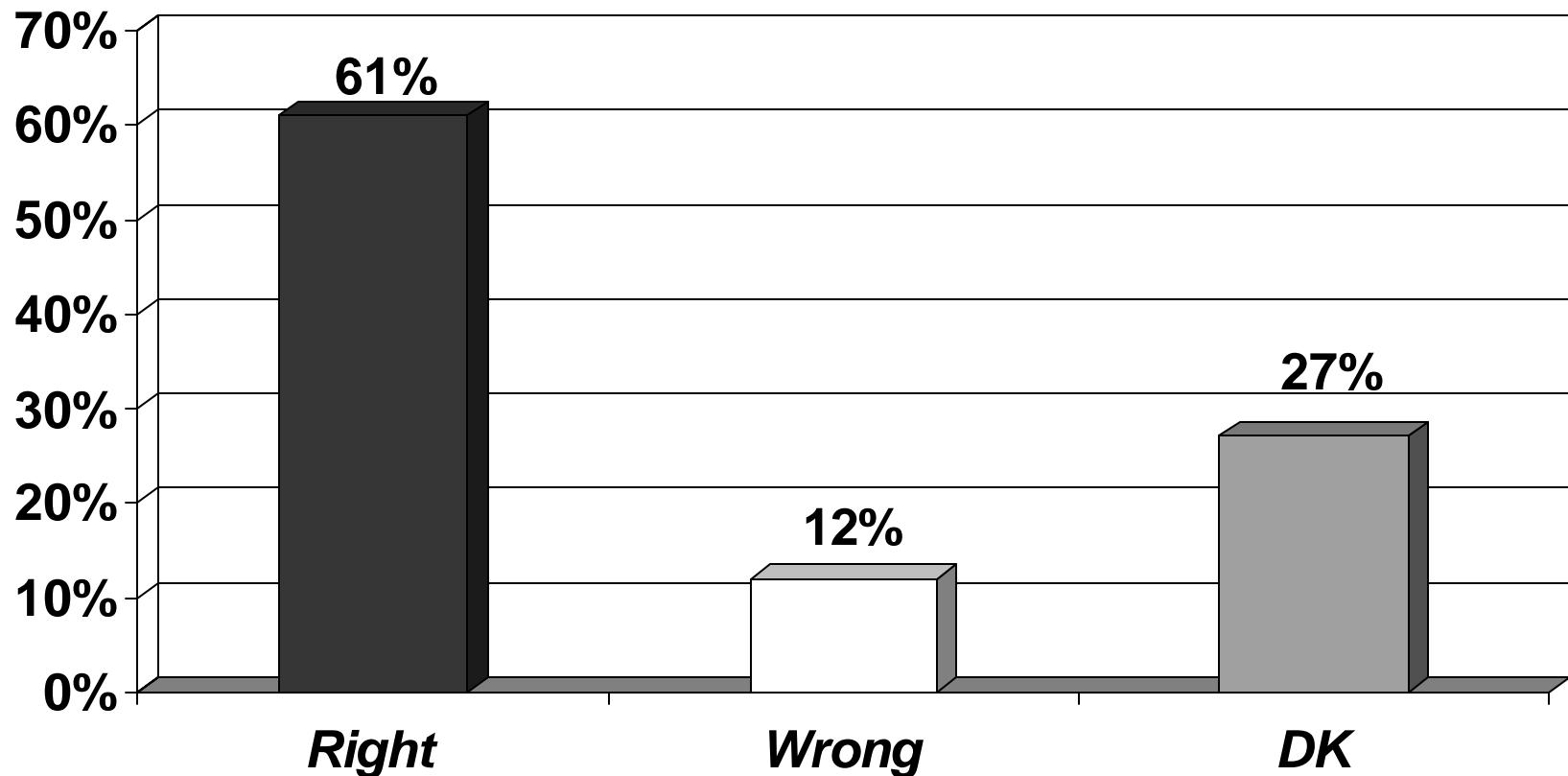
**Part I:
Mood
(Sulawesi)**

Summary - Mood (Sulawesi)

- The public in Sulawesi is optimistic about the country's direction: 61% say Indonesia is headed in the right direction.
- At 69%, the economy dominates the list of national problems, followed by violence and politics (25% each), with social problems at 6%.
- The proportion who feel they can express their views freely has risen sharply to 51%, from 21% before last May.
- Some 71% say that government listens to their views.
- Three-fourths are also confident in a happy future for Indonesia as a whole.

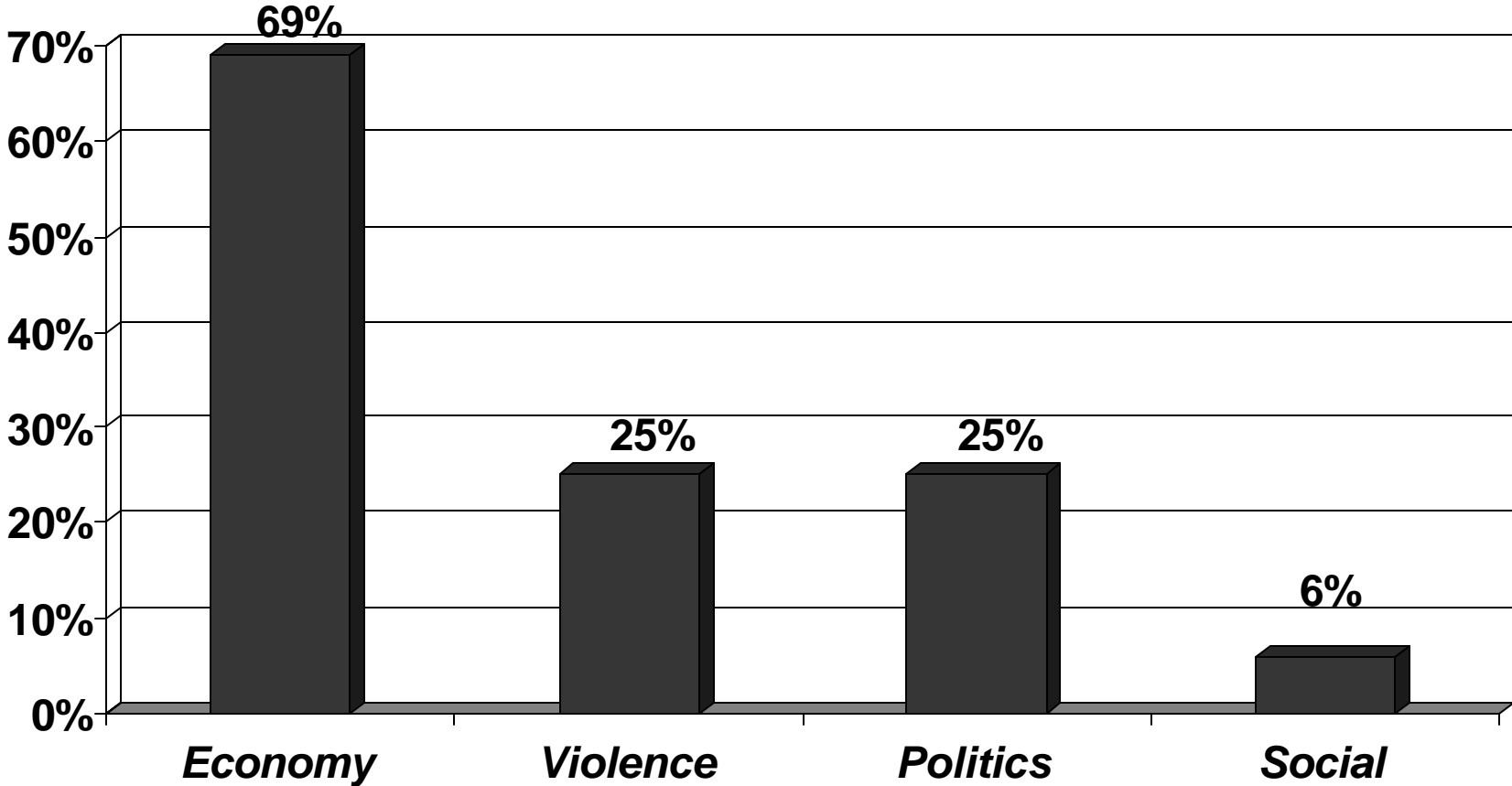
Direction of the Country (Sulawesi)

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 ?



Indonesia's Biggest Problems (Sulawesi)

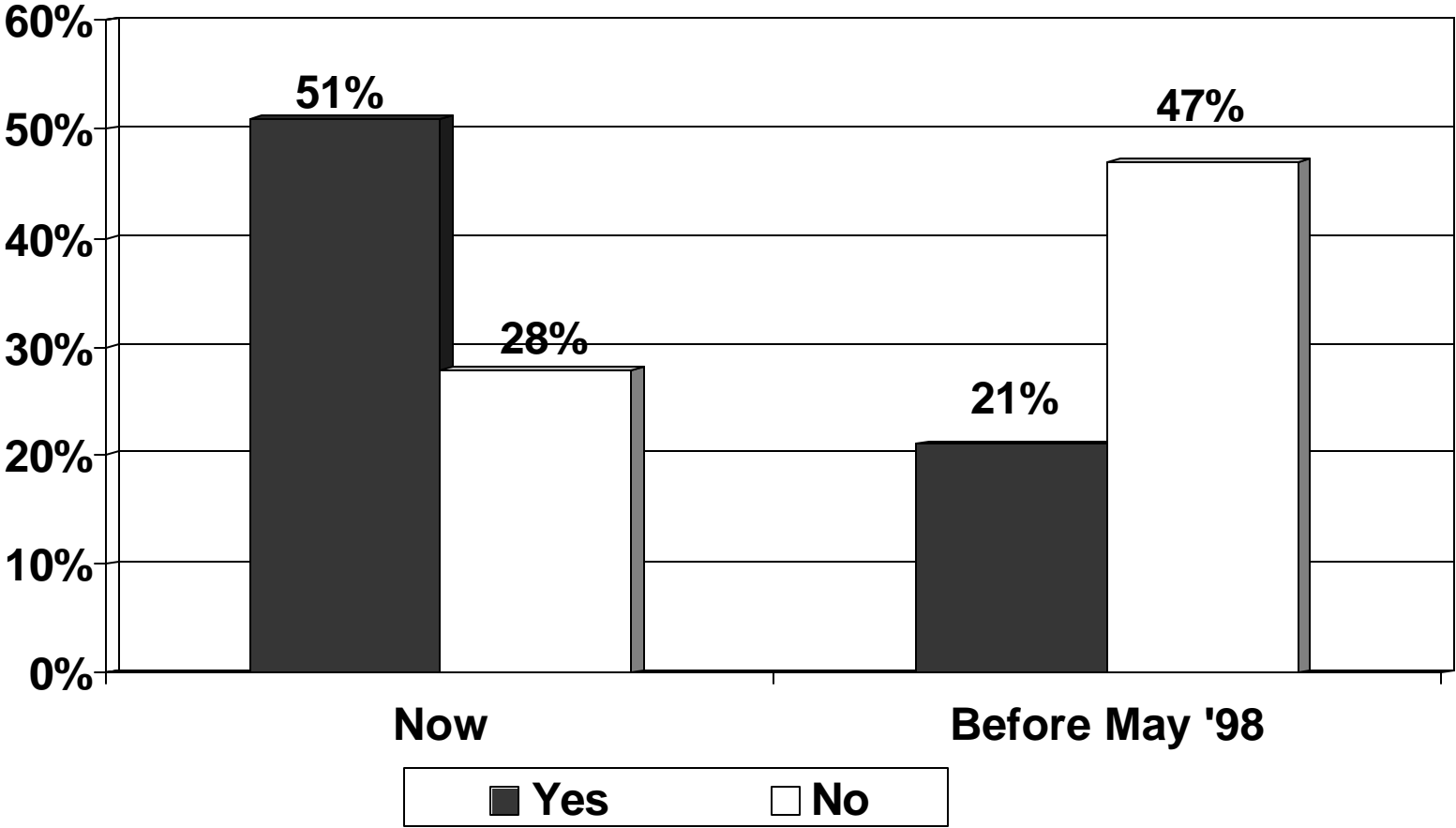
*In your view, what is the biggest problem facing Indonesia ?
And after that, what is the second biggest problem ?
(Responses combined, all those cited by 5% or more)*



Freedom of Political Expression (Sulawesi)

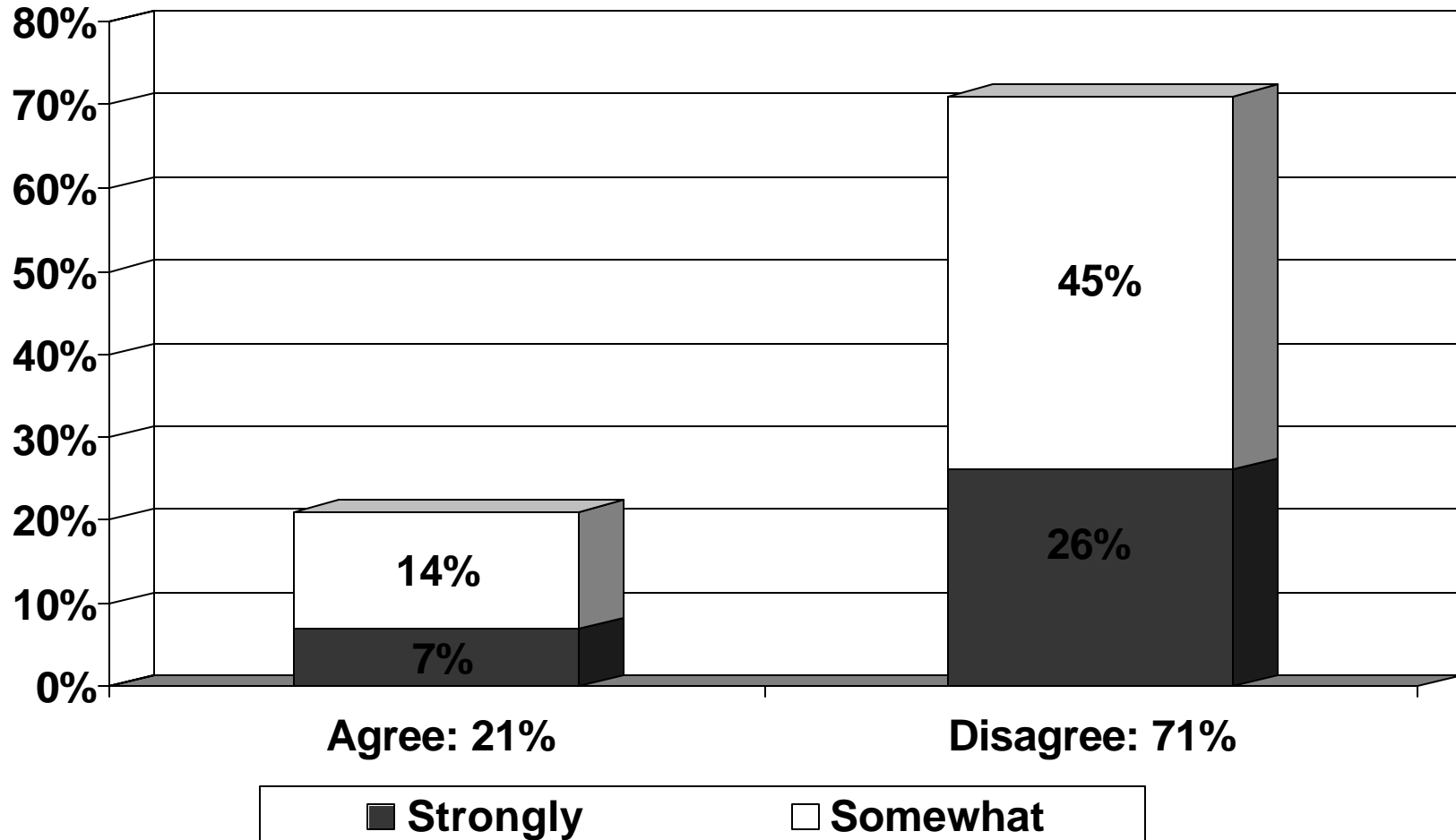
Do people feel free to express their political opinions in the area where you live ?

Did they feel free to express their opinions before the events of last May ?



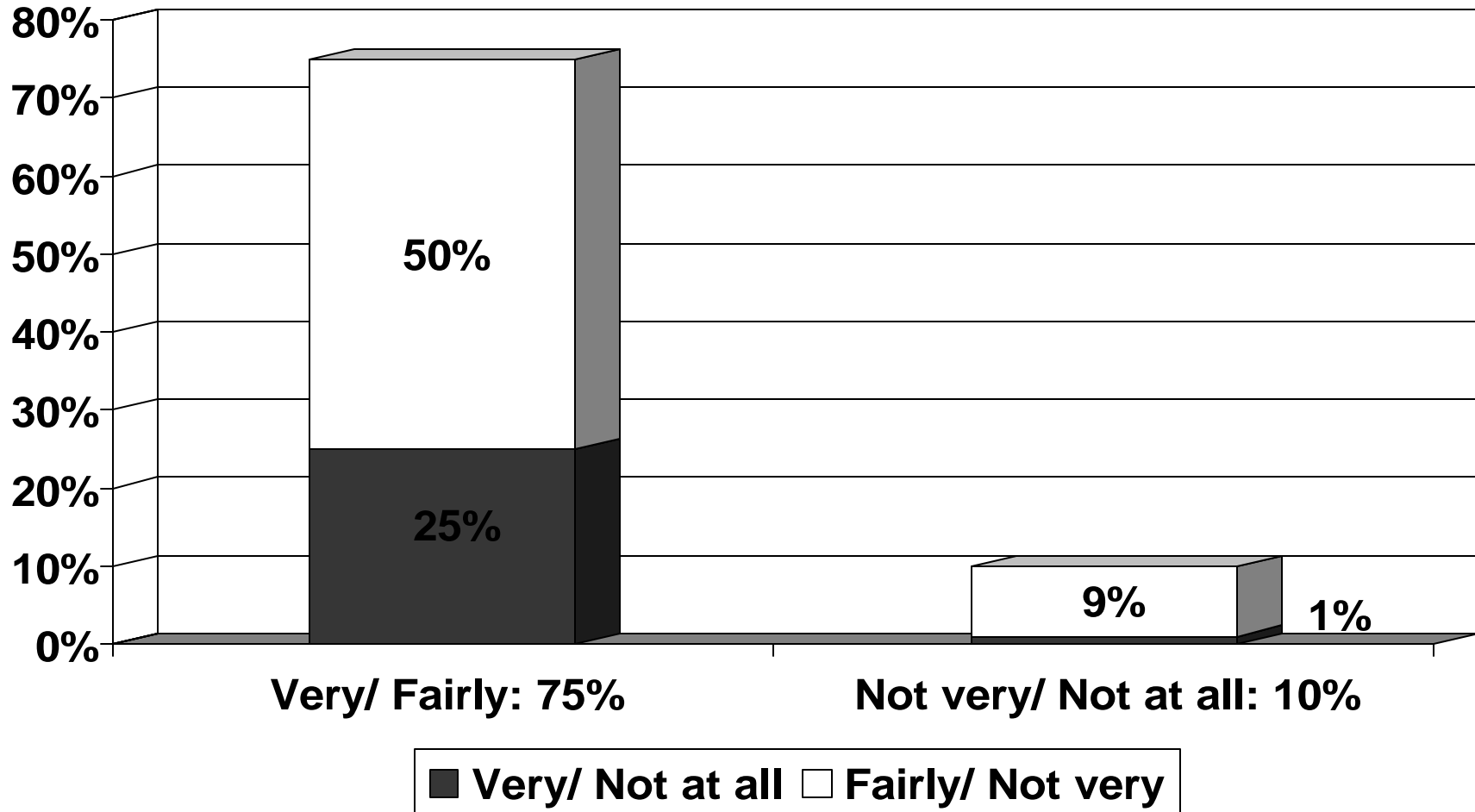
Political Alienation (Sulawesi)

Some people say, "I don't think the government cares very much about what people like me think."



Confidence in the Future [Sulawesi]

How confident are you of a happy future for Indonesia as a whole ?



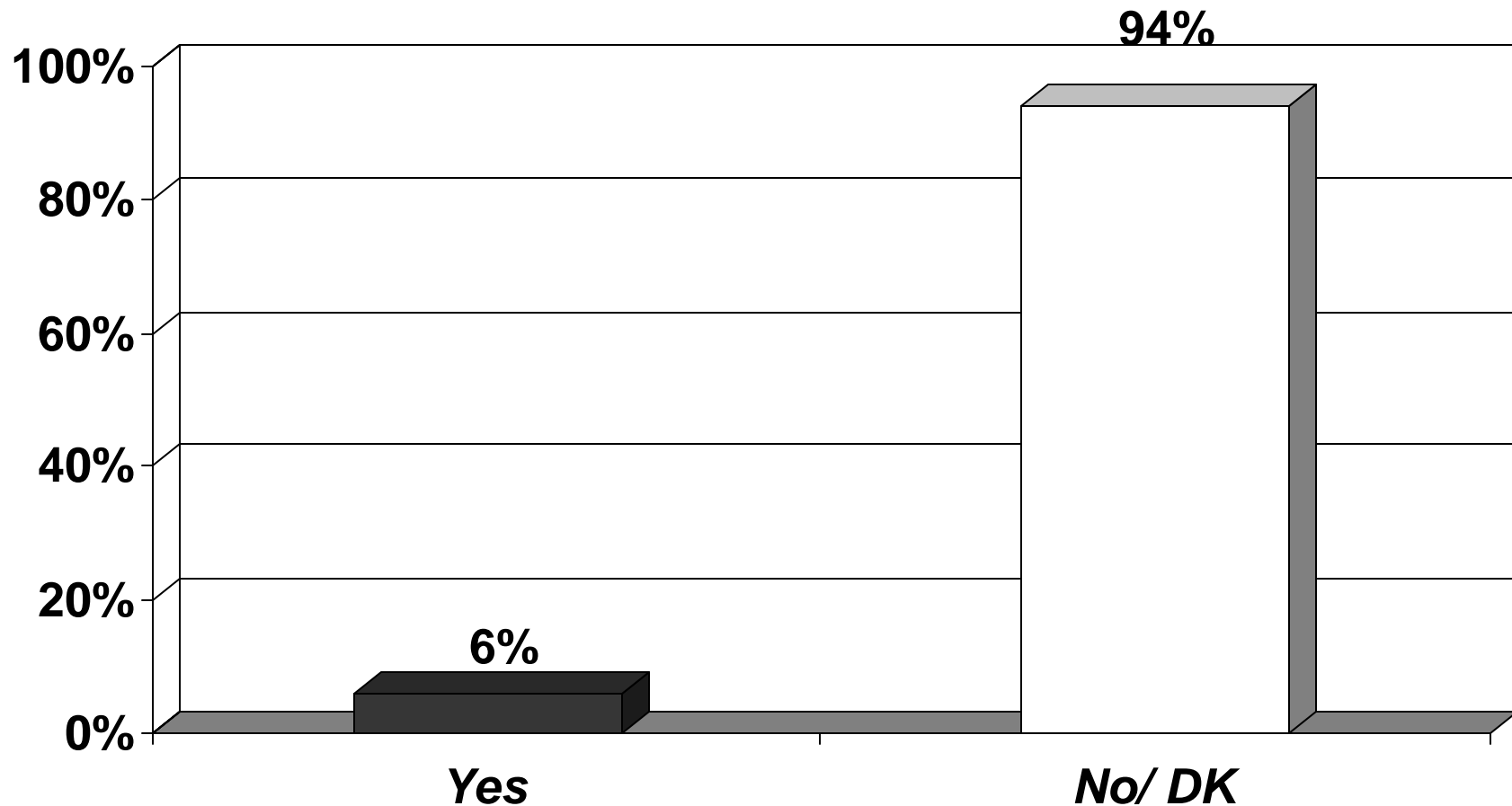
Part II
Campaign Needs:
Registration
Voter Education
Civic Education
(Sulawesi)

Summary - Registration (Sulawesi)

- Awareness that some voters will have to register is minimal in Sulawesi: only 6% know this.
- Yet the region has the country's highest proportion of voters who need to register: 22%, of whom 17% have moved and 5% come of age or married under 17 since the 1997 elections.
- The regional sample is too small to allow us to designate voter registration target groups at the regional level.

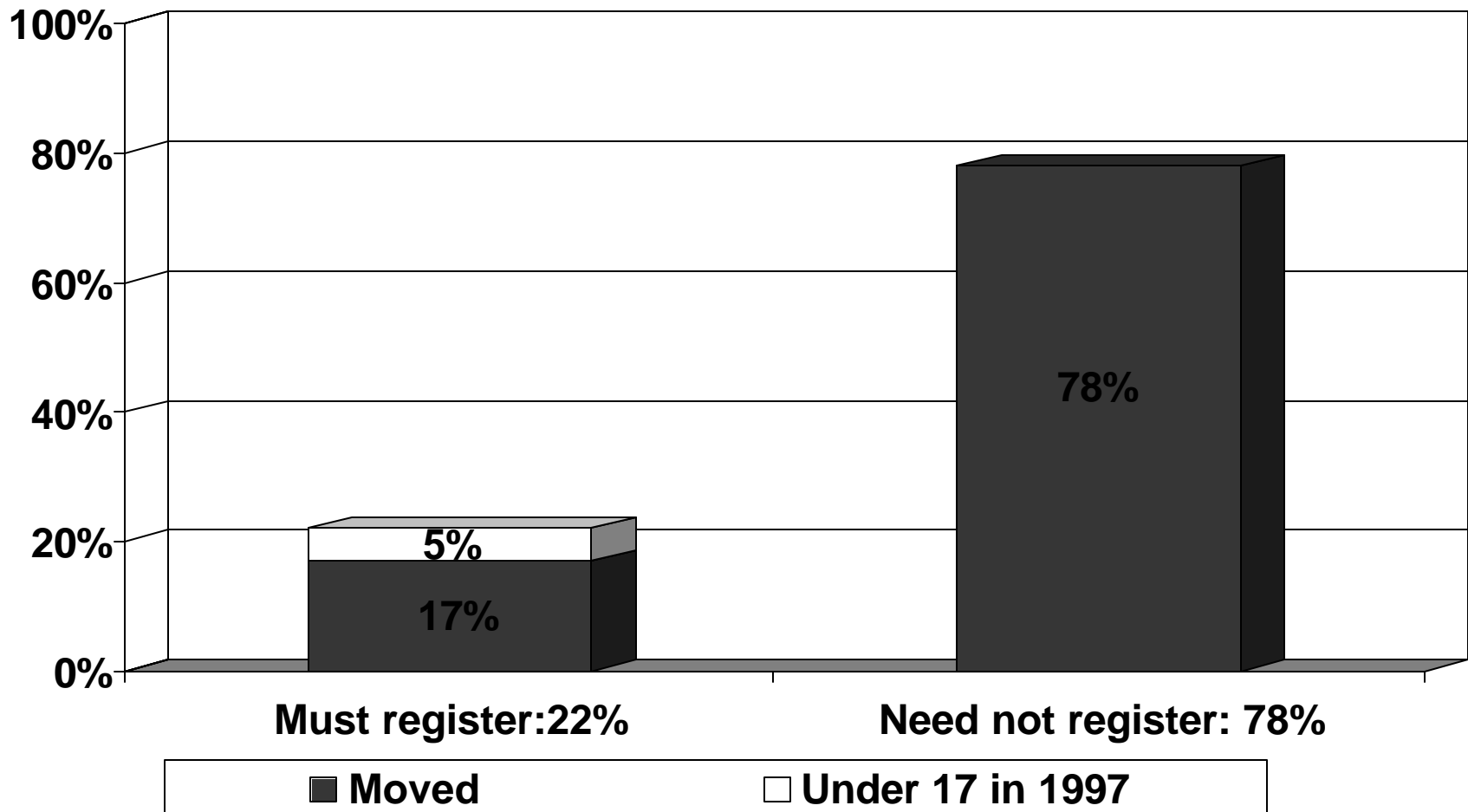
Awareness of Registration (Sulawesi)

Have you heard anything about people needing to register themselves to vote in next year's elections ?



Voters Who Must Register (Sulawesi)

Aged under 18 or moved since last election



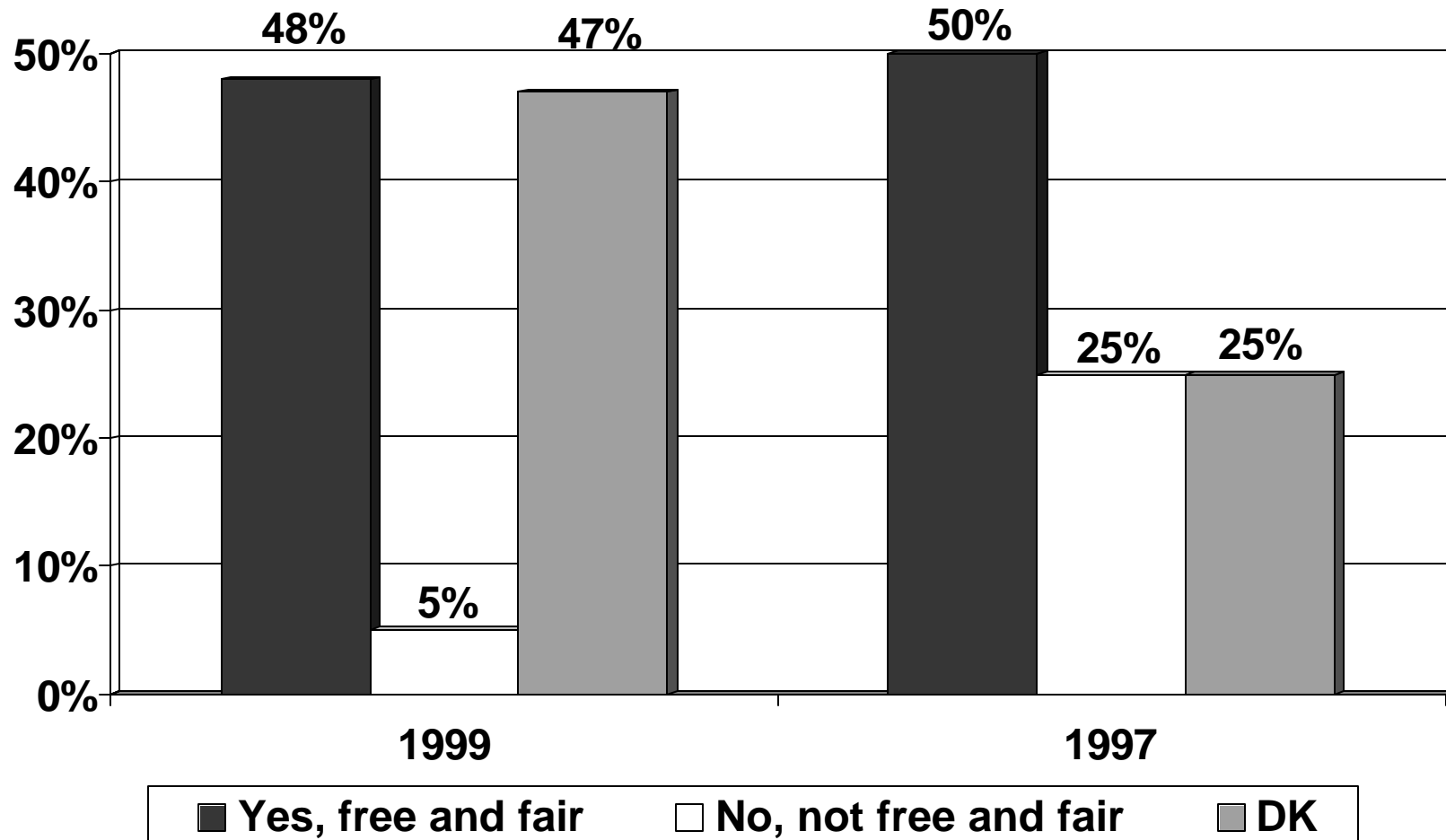
Summary - Voter Education Needs (Sulawesi)

- Sulawesi is divided over whether the coming elections will be free and fair: 48% think they will be, 47% are not sure, and 5% think they will not be. This points to fairly substantial voter education tasks.
- The principal election concern is omission from the voting roll, mentioned by 29%.
- After that comes a long list of issues mentioned by 11-17%: violence against activists, media bias, non-secret ballots, riots, miscounts, official threats, forced voting, and vote selling. Concern about repeat voters brought up the rear, at 7%.
- Awareness of the changes to the election laws is about average: half know there will be more than 3 parties, one-fourth that the election will be on a holiday, and fewer are aware of observers, an independent election commission or finger dipping.
- The regional sample is too small to allow the designation of regional voter education targets.

Elections Free and Fair ? 99 vs 97 (Sulawesi)

Some people think the 1999 elections will be free and fair, some think they will not be, some are not sure. How about you ?

Did you think that the 1997 elections were free and fair ?



Election Concerns, 1999

[Sulawesi]

I'm going to mention some problems that can happen in elections. For each one, tell me if you think it is possible here in the election next year.

People left off voting roll	29%
Violence against party activists	17%
News media bias favoring party	17%
Finding out how people voted	17%
Riots or disorders	16%
Cheating in counting	16%
Threats from officials	12%
Forcing workers to vote together	11%
Selling of votes	11%
People voting more than once	7%

Knowledge of Election Law Changes (Sulawesi)

Do you know if...

	Yes	No/ DK
...this election will have more than 3 parties ?	49%	51%
...this election will be held on a holiday ?	27%	73%
...there will be independent groups to monitor the elections ?	17%	83%
...this election will be run by the government alone ?	11%	89%
...people's fingers will be dipped in ink when they vote ?	1%	99%

Summary - Civic Education Needs (Sulawesi)

- Sulawesi is tied for the highest proportion of voters unable to name any characteristics of democracy: 71%. Civic education is clearly indicated here.
- Notions of democracy were vague in the extreme. Only 16% mentioned political rights, and only 2% free and fair elections.
- The region's voters do appear fairly tolerant. Some 53% would allow unpopular parties to meet, while just 21% would not, with the rest unsure.
- The regional subsample is too small to permit the designation of regional civic education targets.

Characteristics of a Democratic Country [Sulawesi]

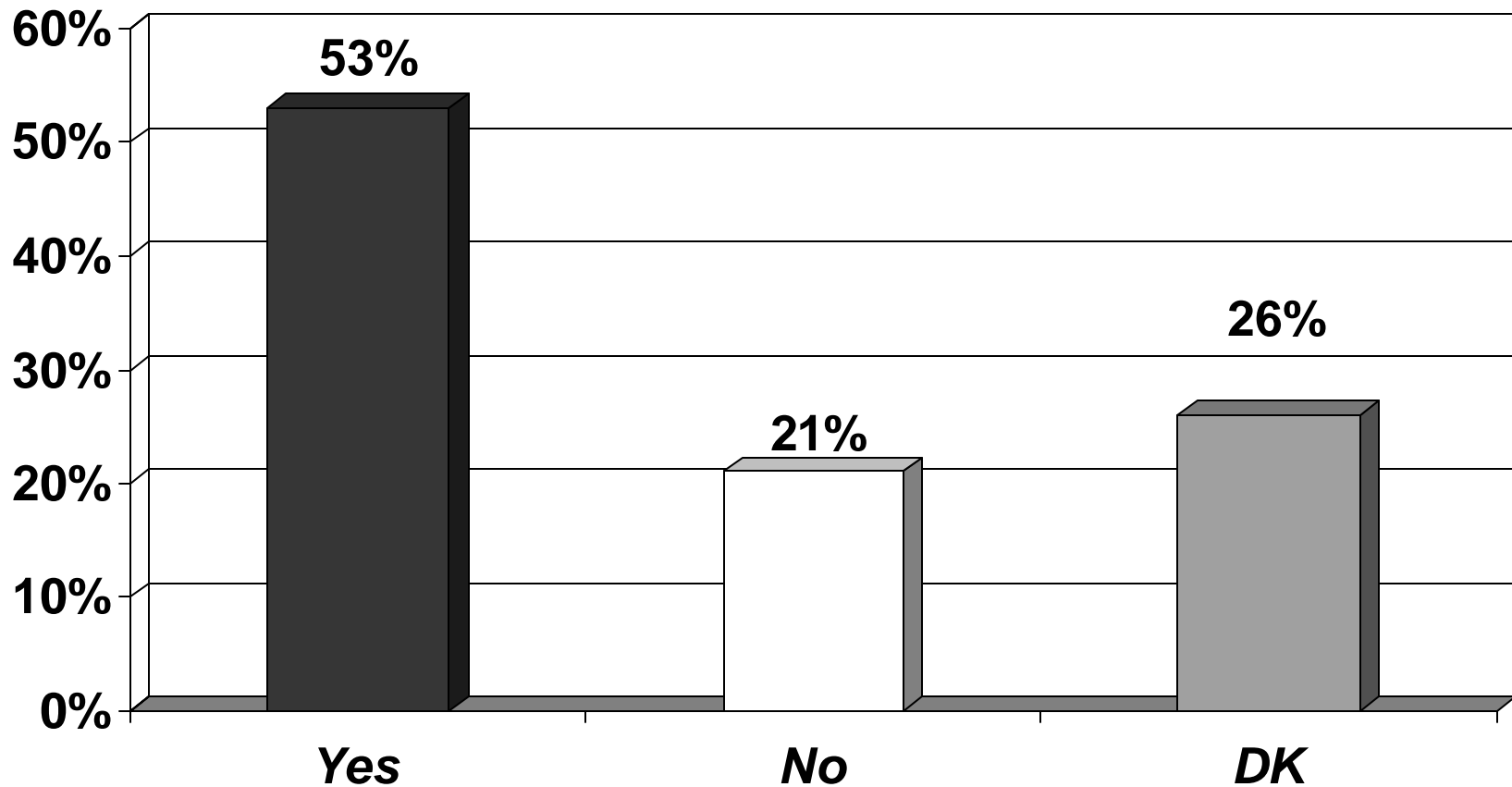
If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else?

- **Don't Know / No Response: 71%%**
- **Political Rights: 16%**
 - *“Free speech,” “free expression” : 7%*
 - *“No corruption,” “Honest government” “transparency”: 5%*
 - *“People’s sovereignty,” “government of, by, for people”: 2%*
 - *“Free elections,” “free political participation”: 2%*
 - *Other: 2%*
- **Peace, Stability, Consensus: 11%**
- **Economic Gains: 4%**
 - *“Prosperity”: 4%*

Base: 43 (weighted), 45 (unweighted)

Political Tolerance (Sulawesi)

Do you think that all political parties, even the ones most people do not like, should be allowed to hold meetings in your area ?



Part III
Voter Education Sources and Media
(Sulawesi)

Summary - Voter Education Sources and Media (Sulawesi)

- The voter education sources viewed most favorably in Sulawesi are TV, radio, public meetings, and house visits. Enthusiasm for NGO activity was fairly tepid.
- TV has broad reach throughout the region (62%), and can carry the campaigns, reinforced by radio. The focus of NGO activity should be people who are not reached by TV.
- Neighborhood associations are the strongest NGOs in Sulawesi, with 53% affiliated, followed by religious volunteer groups with 35%. Next come school parent groups (17%) and cooperatives (10%).
- Bahasa Indonesia is understood by 90% of the region, but preferred by only 73%. Some 14% prefer Bugis, 5% Kaili, and 4% Makassar languages. Voter education planning should consider providing some material in those languages.

Voter Education Sources (Sulawesi)

I'm going to read you some information sources. For each, tell me if you'd like to get information about the new election from that source. (Accepted by 35% or more)

	All voters
Local RT/ Headman	85%
TV	81%
Radio	62%
Public meeting	53%
House visit from non- partisan voter education group	40%

Languages: Understand, Read, Prefer, Used (Sulawesi)

*Which language can you speak, which can you read and in which language would you prefer to receive election information ?
(Languages mentioned by 3% or more)*

Language	Understand	Read	Prefer	Interviewed
Indonesian	90%	86%	73%	77%
Bugis	36%	16%	14%	8%
Makassar	18%	11%	4%	3%
Manadonese	17%	15%	-	8%
Gorontalo	12%	4%	-	2%
Javanese	12%	2%	-	-
Kaili	10%	-	5%	-

Regular Media Exposure (Sulawesi)

Respondents who use particular medium 3 days a week or more

	All voters
TV	62%
Radio	50%
Newspaper	5%

Organizational Involvement (Sulawesi)

*Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.
(Responses cited by more than 5%)*

	All voters
Neighborhood Association	53%
Religious volunteer	35%
School parents group	17%
Cooperatives	10%
Trade Union	6%
Environmental group	6%
None	35%

Appendix
Regional Media Planning Tables
(Sulawesi)

Radio Station Most Often Heard (Sulawesi)

*Which radio station do you listen to most often ?
(Mentioned by 4% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters
RRI Central	22%
RRI Local	6%
Al Khairat	10%
Bambapuang	9%
Gamasi	8%
Sion Tomohon	4%

Favorite Type of Radio Program (Sulawesi)

*Which type of radio program is your favorite ?
(Mentioned by 5% or more of respondents who listen to radio)*

	All voters
Dangdut music	40%
Indonesian pop	26%
Religious	24%
RRI News	22%
Information from radio	20%
Talk show	6%
Western pop music	5%
Radio drama	5%

Time of Listening to Radio (Sulawesi)

What time of day do you listen to the radio ?

	All voters
5 - 8 am	33%
8 am - 12 Noon	53%
12 Noon - 5 pm	37%
5 pm - 9 pm	27%
9 pm - 11 pm	7%

Base 62: (weighted), 65: (unweighted)

Newspapers Read (Sulawesi)

*Which daily newspaper do you read the most often ?
(Mentioned by 3% or more of respondents who read newspapers)*

	All voters
Manado Post	31%
Fajar	15%
Pedoman Rakyat	14%
Kompas	6%
Media Kita Kendari	3%
Mercusuar	3%

Sampling Methodology

- The basic sampling method used for the national representative sample (of 1204 potential voters) was multi-stage random sampling with the following stages:
 - Stage 1 : Selection of Kelurahan/Desa's (villages) with probability proportionate to population.
 - Stage 2 : Random selection of RTs (neighborhood administrative units) by interval method.
 - Stage 3 : Random selection of households, by interval method.
 - Stage 4 : Selection of respondent by Kish Grid.
- Kelurahans/Desa's (village-sized urban and rural administrative units) were selected by ACNielsen statisticians in Jakarta using a Master Frame of all Kelurahan/Desa's provided by Biro Pusat Statistik (National Statistics Office).
- 8 respondents were selected in each Kelurahan/Desa; 4 in each of two randomly selected RTs.
- ACNielsen interviewers in the field prepared lists of RT's on information from the local Kelurahan office. RT's for inclusion in the study were selected using random-number tables.

Sampling Methodology

- Households in each RT were then mapped and listed, and respondent households were then selected by using an interval of 1 in 5 households. A random start-point household was pre-selected by ACNielsen statisticians.
- All potential respondents in each household were then listed (in age order) and a random Kish Grid procedure was used to select a respondent for interview.
- Potential respondents were defined as:
 - adults aged 17 and older.
 - married people under age 17.
- One respondent was interviewed in each household.