Indonesian National Election Project, 1999
Questionnaire

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Saiful Mujani
Department of Political Science
The Ohio State University

[ques] Questionnaire number: .......... (filled in by the national coordinator)

[island], [rurban], [gen] filled in by the field coordinator.

[island] Island of respondent's residence:
1. Java
2. Sumatra
3. Kalimantan (Borneo)
4. Bali
5. Nusa Tenggara
6. Maluku
7. Sulawesi (Celebes)
8. Irian Jaya

[rurban] Rural-urban category of respondent's residence:
1. Rural
2. Urban

[gen] Gender of respondent:
1. Male
2. Female

[age] In what year were you born?
1. .........................
2. Other:...........
8. Don't know
9. No answer

[marriage] What is your marital status?
1. Married
2. Single
3. Divorced
4. Other:...........
8. Don't know
9. No answer
[relig] What is your religion?
1. Islam
2. Roman Catholic
3. Hindu
4. Protestant
5. Buddhist
6. Other:...........
88. Don't know

[ethni] What is your ethnic group?
1. Java
2. Sunda
3. Betawi
4. Bugis
5. Makasar
6. Manado
7. Flores
8. Bima
9. Bali
10. Padang
11. Asmat
12. Ambon
13. Batak
14. Other:...........

[read] Can you read and write using Roman, not Arabic, letters?
1. Yes
2. No

[educa] What is your highest level of education?
1. Elementary school or lower (<7 years)
2. Junior high school (7-9 years)
3. Senior high school (10-12 years)
4. Some college, college graduate, or higher (>13 years)
5. Other:...........

[reglang] Do you speak a regional language in addition to Indonesian?
1. Yes (to [regionla])
2. No

[regionla] What is that language?

............

[work] Do you work?
1. Yes (to [wsector])
2. No (to [whynotwo])

[whynotwo] Could you explain why you do not work?
1. Still looking for a job
2. Student
3. Retired
4. Disabled
5. Housewife
6. Recently fired
8. Other: ....
88. Don't know

[wosector] Do you work for government, a state company, a private company, for an individual employer, or for yourself (self-employed)?
1. Government, state company (to [ragov])
2. Private company
3. Individual employer
4. Self-employed

[ragov] Please state what your rank is (IA, II A, etc.):
....................

[gvri] If you work for a private company, what is your position in that company?
1. Owner
2. Director/manager
3. Administrative staff
4. Other:...........

[numstaf] If you are in management, how many people do you supervise?
1. ............
88. Don't know

[kinjob] What is your occupation?
1. Teacher
2. Professional (doctor, lawyer, journalist, etc.)
3. Laborer
4. Farmer (to [own])
5. Fisher
6. Merchant
7. Driver (Bus, taxi, etc.)
8. Other:.........

[own] Whose land do you work?
1. My own (to [size])
2. The community's
3. My family's
4. Somebody else's
8. Don't know
9. No answer

[size] What is the size of the land?

......................
88. Don't know

[socclass] In our society, people usually divide the members of society into three social classes, i.e. lower, middle, and upper. Could you state approximately to which class you belong?
1. Lower
2. Middle
3. Upper
8. Don't know
4. No answer

[income] If you don't mind my asking, what is your household income per month (in rupiah)?
1. ........
8. Don't know
9. No answer

[invlsoco] Are you involved with any social organization or group (neighborhood youth association, religious organization, etc.)?
1. Yes (to [catorgan])
2. No

[catorgan] What organization is that, a social or a religious organization?
1. Religious
2. Social
3. Other:...........
8. Don't know

[supparty] Does/do the organization(s) support a particular party?
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

[invinpar] Are you involved in a political party?
1. Yes (to [namparty])
2. No
9. No answer
[namparty] Which party?
1. PPP
2. Golkar
3. PDI-P
4. PKB
5. PAN
6. PBB
7. PK
8. Other: ..............
99. No answer

[posinpar] What is your position in the party?
1. Chair
2. Leadership board
3. Member
4. Sympathizer
8. Don't know
9. No answer

[faminorg] Is any member of your family/relative involved in a social organization or group?
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
3. No answer

[faparty] Is any member of your family currently involved in a political party?
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

If you have no objection, would you specify the extent to which you carry out the teachings of your religion? Please answer: very frequently, frequently, sometimes or never.
1=Very frequently; 2= Frequently; 3= Sometimes/rarely; 4= Never; 9=No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pray] How often do you pray?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[scrip] How often do you read holy scripture?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[reclass] How often do you go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If you are a Muslim, and don't object, would you answer the following two questions regarding your religious rituals? Please answer: always, often, sometimes/rarely, or never.
1=Always; 2=Often; 3=Sometimes/rarely; 4=Never; 9=No answer

[ispray] Do you say the five daily prayers (shalat lima waktu)?
1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes/rarely
4. Never
9. No answer

[ramad] How often do you do the Ramadhan fasting?
1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes/rarely
4. Never
9. No answer

[pious] How pious (taat) are you?
1. Very pious
2. Somewhat pious
3. Not very pious
4. Not pious
8. Do not know
9. No answer

What are your attitudes towards the following statements? Please answer: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree,
1=Strongly agree; 2=Agree; 3= Neutral; 4=Disagree; 5= Strongly disagree; 8=Don’t know; 9=No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[sinc1] We need to go to a spiritual adviser (duku) to ask for guidance to achieve our goals.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 8 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sinc2] We need to go to sacred graves (makam keramat) to achieve our goals.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sinc3] For our safety, protection, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
health, we need to give offerings (sesajen) to spirits (roh).

[sinc4] We need to wear sacred amulets (benda pusaka) to protect us from danger

[relque] In dealing with a religious problem, how do you mostly find the answer?
1. Only read the scripture
2. Read relevant religious books
3. Ask a religious authority
4. Other
8. Don't know
9. No answer

What is your attitude toward the following statements. Please answer: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree.
1=Strongly agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral, 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly disagree; 9=No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[rlaw1] Law in your religion must be carried out by individual believers.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[rlaw2] Law in your religion must be carried out within the family.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[rlaw3] Law in your religion must be carried out not only in the family but also in the society.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[rlaw4] Law in your religion must be carried out not only in the family and society but also become the law of the state.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please answer the following questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[reto1] Would you mind if a religious building that does not belong to your religion is built near your residence?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[reto2] Would you mind having a neighbor who does not belong to your religion?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[reto3] Would you mind if the president does not belong to your religion?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
[reto4] Would you mind if the governor does not belong to your religion?

What are your answers to the following questions?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (1) No (2) Don't know (8) No answer (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[etto1] Would you mind marrying some one who does not belong to your ethnic group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[etto2] Would you mind being involved in business with someone who does not belong to your ethnic group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[etto3] Would you mind if the president does not belong to your ethnic group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[etto4] Would you mind if the governor does not belong to your ethnic group?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What are your attitudes towards the following statements? Please answer: strongly agree, agree, neutral/doubtful, disagree, strongly disagree.
1=Strongly agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral/doubtful; 4= Disagree; 5= Strongly disagree; 8=Don’t know; 9=No answer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[regt1] A legislative representative who originally comes from this region can be more trusted to fight for the interests of this region.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 8 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[regt2] A governor who originally comes from this region is more capable of governing this region.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[regt3] A mayor or district head (walikota, bupati) who originally comes from this city/district is</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
more capable of governing this city/district.

[regt4] Do you know any candidate for the national, provincial, or city/district legislature in the June 1999 election who comes from this region?
1. Yes
2. No

[hknow] How do you know that the candidate originally comes from this region?
1. From the election committee
2. From a political party
3. From a newspaper/magazine
4. From TV
5. From radio
6. From direct contact with him/her
7. Other:.........
99. No answer

[cof1] In addition to the candidate, is there any figure in this region that you and other people respect as a community leader or role model?
1. Yes
2. No

[cof2] Do you know him/her personally?
1. Yes
2. No

[cof3] Did this person ever suggest that you vote for a particular political party?
1. Yes (to [cof4])
2. No

[cof4] Which party?
1. PPP
2. Golkar
3. PDI-P
4. PAN
5. PKB
6. PBB
7. PK
8. Other:.........
99. No answer

[narg] Do you feel yourself to be more a person of this region or an Indonesian?
1. An Indonesian
2. A person of this region
3. About the same
8. Don't know

[rind] If you feel more a person of this region than an Indonesian, do you think that this region should be independent from Indonesia?
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Please name or point to the political parties you know and state what you know about them: name, ballot number, symbol, leader, and presidential candidate.
(Use show card.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Presidential candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[party1]</td>
<td>[nupa1]</td>
<td>[simpa1]</td>
<td>[par1lead]</td>
<td>[precanp1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[party2]</td>
<td>[nump2]</td>
<td>[simpa2]</td>
<td>[pa2lead]</td>
<td>[precanp2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[party3]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[party4]</td>
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<td>[party5]</td>
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<td>[party7]</td>
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<td>[party8]</td>
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<td>[party9]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[party10]</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[rpid1] Do you have a preference for a particular party?
1. Yes (to [pid2])
2. No
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

[rpid2] Which party?
1. PPP
2. Golkar
3. PDI-P
4. PAN
5. PKB
6. PBB
7. PK
8. Other:...........
88. Don't know
99. No answer
[pid3] How attached to the party do you feel?
1. Very attached
2. Attached
3. Somewhat attached
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

[pid4] Why do you feel attached to the party?
1. I like the leader, legislative candidates, and presidential candidate.
2. I like the party program
3. I like the ideology (to [pid5])
4. Other:.........
88. Don’t know

[pid5] Which ideology is that?
1. Islam
2. Nationalism
3. Pancasila
4. Marhaenism
5. Other:.........
99. No answer

[pad6] Is there any political leader whom you like best?
1. Yes (to [pad7])
2. No
8. Don't know

[pad7] Which leader is that?
1. Amien Rais
2. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)
3. B.J. Habibie
4. Didin Hafiduddin
5. Megawati Sukarnoputri
6. Yusril Ihza Mahendra
7. Sri Bintang Pamungkas
8. Other:.........
88. Don't know

Can you recall which party you voted for in previous elections?
1=Golkar; 2=PPP; 3=PDI; 4=Did not vote; 5=Can’t recall; 6=Not eligible;
7=Other:.........

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election year</th>
<th>Party name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[reg] Were you registered for the 1999 election?
1. Yes
2. No (to [nreg])

[nreg] Why were you not registered?
1. I had no intention of voting.
2. I didn’t know how to register.
3. I didn’t meet the requirements.
4. I was not visited by registration officials.
5. I didn’t have time.
6. Other:...........
88. Don't know
99. No answer

[vote] Did you vote in the June 1999 election?
1. Yes
2. No

[whyvote] People participate in elections for various reasons. What was your reason to participate in the election?

.............
88. Don't know

[e99] Which party did you vote for in the election?
1. PPP
2. Golkar
3. PDI-P
4. PAN
5. PKB
6. PBB
7. PK
8. Other:...........
88. Don't know
99. No answer

[why] Why did you vote for that party?
1. Sure the party would win a majority vote
2. Party program
3. Party ideology
4. Party leader
5. Sure the party’s candidate for president would become president
6. Other:...........
88. Don't know

[dev] When did you decide to vote for that party?
1. On election day
2. One day before
3. One week before
4. One month before
5. Several months before
6. More than one year before
7. Other:...........

[inp] Generally speaking, are you very interested, interested, somewhat interested, or not at all interested in politics such as Parliament, the election for president, political parties, elections?
1. Very interested
2. Interested
3. Somewhat interested
4. Not interested
5. Not at all interested
6. Don't know

In the 1999 campaign season, how often did you follow the campaign through direct campaign activities, newspapers/tabloids/magazines, radio, and TV? Very often, often, sometimes, or never?

[cum1] Direct campaign activities:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

[cum2] Newspapers/tabloids/magazines:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

[cum3] Radio:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

[cum4] TV:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

In the 1999 election campaign season, how often did you watch the following kinds of campaign on TV? Very often, often, sometimes, or never?

[TV1] Political party commercial:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

[TV2] Campaign news:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

[TV3] Party debates/talk shows:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

[TV4] Election information in general:
1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Never
8. Don't know

Do you care about the following issues? (Use show card.)
[cps] Freedom of speech:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

[cec] The economic crisis faced by this country today:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

[ccr] Corruption in the government:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

[cinc] The feeling of security (rasa aman) as citizens:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

[cnu] National unity:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

[cmi] The military's involvement in politics (dwi-fungsi ABRI):
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

[cli] Obedience to the law:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know

Do you think that the contesting political parties are capable of resolving these issues?

Party: Golkar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes (1) No (2) Don't know (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo11] Freedom of speech</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo12] Economic crisis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo13] Corruption in the government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo1] Security as citizens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo5] National unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo6] The military’s involvement in politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[asgo7] Obedience to the law</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Party: PPP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[appp1] Freedom of speech</td>
<td>Yes (1) No (2) Don't know (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[appp2] Economic crisis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[appp3] Corruption in the government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[appp4] Security as citizens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[appp5] National unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[appp6] The military’s involvement in politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[appp7] Obedience to the law</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Party: PDI-P**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[apdi1] Freedom of speech</td>
<td>Yes (1) No (2) Don't know (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[apdi2] Economic crisis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[apdi3] Corruption in the government</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[apdi4] Security as citizens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[apdi5] National unity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[apdi6] The military’s involvement in politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issues</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes (1)</td>
<td>No (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Party: PKB**

- [apkb1] Freedom of speech
- [apkb2] Economic crisis
- [apkb3] Corruption in the government
- [apkb4] Security as citizens
- [apkb5] National unity
- [apkb6] The military’s involvement in politics
- [apkb7] Obedience to the law

**Party: PAN**

- [apan1] Freedom of speech
- [apan2] Economic crisis
- [apan3] Corruption in the government
- [apan4] Security as citizens
- [apan5] National unity
- [apan6] The military’s involvement in politics
- [apan7] Obedience to the law
Do you think President B.J. Habibie has been able until now to resolve the following issues? (Use show card.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Yes (1)</th>
<th>Neutral (2)</th>
<th>No (3)</th>
<th>Don't know (8)</th>
<th>No answer (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[hab1] Economic crisis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hab2] Freedom of speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>[hab3] Put Suharto on trial</td>
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<tr>
<td>[hab4] Combat corruption in the government</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[hab5] Prevent mass riots</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Do you know the following political party leaders?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of leader:</th>
<th>Yes (1)</th>
<th>No (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[kgus] Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[kmin] Amien Rais</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[kham] Hamzah Haz</td>
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<tr>
<td>[kmega] Megawati Sukarnoputri</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Do you think the party leaders will be able to resolve the following issues if they are selected president?

Leader name: Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Yes (1)</th>
<th>Neutral (2)</th>
<th>No (3)</th>
<th>Don't know (8)</th>
<th>No answer (9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[agus1] Economic crisis</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[agus2] Freedom of speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>[agus3] Put Suharto on trial</td>
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<tr>
<td>[agus4] Combat corruption in the government</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leader name: Amien Rais</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Issues</strong></td>
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<td>Neutral (2)</td>
<td>No (3)</td>
<td>Don't know (8)</td>
<td>No answer (9)</td>
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<td>[aam1] Economic crisis</td>
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<tr>
<td>[aam4] Combat corruption in the government</td>
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<tr>
<td>[aam5] Prevent mass riots</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader name: Hamzah Haz</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Issues</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ahaz1] Economic crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ahaz2] Freedom of speech</td>
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<td>[ahaz3] Put Suharto on trial</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leader Name: Megawati Sukarnoputri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issues</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>[ameg1] Economic crisis</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ameg4] Combat corruption in the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ameg5] Prevent mass riots</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How do you judge the governments of Suharto, Habibie, and the probable performance of the next president after the 1999 election?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government under</th>
<th>Very good (1)</th>
<th>Good (2)</th>
<th>Neutral (3)</th>
<th>Bad (4)</th>
<th>Very bad (5)</th>
<th>Don't know (8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[asuha] Suharto</td>
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<tr>
<td>[ahab] Habibie</td>
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<td>[aneg] Next president</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
[rec] In your opinion, who is the most responsible for the economic crisis?
1. The New Order government
2. Suharto personally
3. Foreign governments
4. Local businessmen in general
5. Chinese businessmen
6. Foreign businessmen
7. Golkar
8. The reformers
9. Other
10. None
88. Don't know
99. No answer

What are your attitudes toward the following statements? Please answer: strongly agree, agree, neutral/doubtful, disagree, or strongly disagree.
1=Strongly agree; 2=Agree; 3=Neutral/doubtful; 4=Disagree; 5=Strongly disagree; 8=Don't know

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[dem1] It is experts who should make important decisions for this country, not Parliament.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>[dem2] For a better future for the nation, we should go back to a government like that of Suharto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>[dem3] The military should rule this country.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[peco] How has your household economy been since the crisis in mid-1997 compared to the period before the crisis?
1. Much better
2. Better
3. No change
4. Worse
5. Much worse
8. Don't know

[eprs] How will your household economy be in the next five years after the election, compared with now?
1. Much better
2. Better
3. No change
4. Worse
5. Much worse
8. Don't know
[ecna] How has the national economy been since the crisis in 1997 compared to the period before the crisis?
1. Much better
2. Better
3. No change
4. Worse
5. Much worse
8. Don't know

[fs] In your opinion, compared to the era of Suharto, do people generally have more freedom of speech now or is it the reverse?
1. Much more freedom
2. More freedom
3. No change
4. Less freedom
5. Much less freedom
8. Don't know

[fa] In your opinion, compared to the era of Suharto, do people generally have more freedom now to create and participate in political parties or is it the reverse?
1. Much more freedom
2. More freedom
3. No change
4. Less freedom
5. Much less freedom
8. Don't know

[fe] In the 1999 election, did people feel freer to choose a party compared with previous elections?
1. Much freer
2. Freer
3. No change
4. Less free
5. Much less free
8. Don't know

[pal] In your opinion, as an ideal or the way things should be, is Parliament important for this country?
1. Very important
2. Important
3. Not important
4. Not important at all
8. Don't know
9. No answer
To what extent do you trust the following institutions?
1=Very trustworthy; 2=Trustworthy; 3=Neutral; 4=Untrustworthy; 5=Very untrustworthy; 8=Don't know

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[tco] Courts</td>
<td></td>
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<td>[tpo] Police</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tpr] Parliament/Assembly (DPR/MPR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tmil] Military</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tpp] Political parties</td>
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<td>[tuni] Labor unions</td>
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<td>[trein] Religious organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>[tmmed] Mass media</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

[patl] Do you think that all political parties, including unpopular ones, must be allowed to hold party meetings in this region?
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

How often do you talk about politics (for example Parliament, political parties, the election of the president) with the following people? Please answer: very often, often, sometimes, or never.
1=Very often; 2=Often; 3=Sometimes; 4=Never; 8=Don't know

| [ps01] Spouse                                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 8 |
| [ps02] Father                                 |   |   |   |   |   |
| [ps03] Mother                                 |   |   |   |   |   |
| [ps04] Brother/sister                         |   |   |   |   |   |
| [ps05] Closest friends, colleagues            |   |   |   |   |   |
| [ps06] Closest neighbors                      |   |   |   |   |   |

If you don't object, please state which party is supported respectively by your spouse, father, mother, and brother/sister?

| [sppar] Spouse Party name Don't know (8) |
|-----------------------------------------|-----|
| [fapar] Father                          |     |
| [mopar] Mother                          |     |
| [bspar] Brother/sister                  |     |
Today, people often talk about democracy. For you yourself, what is the meaning of democracy?

.................

88. Don't know

Can you remember how often your parents talked about politics when you were a child? Was it very often, often, sometimes/rarely, or never?

1. Very often
2. Often
3. Sometimes/rarely
4. Never
5. Don’t know

What is the usefulness (manfaat) of democracy to you personally?

1. To improve the economy
2. To provide opportunities to achieve my goals as a citizen
3. To establish and maintain order and harmony
4. Other: ........
5. Don't know
6. No answer

Can you name one example of a democratic country in the world?

1. Mention correctly
2. Can't mention, or mention incorrectly
3. No answer

Finally, what is the meaning of the election for you?

.................

88. Don't know

INTERVIEWER NOTES:

Name of interviewer: ........

Time of interview: Started at ............ Finished at ............

Date of interview: ............

During the interview, was any third person present?

1. No
2. Yes, children
3. Yes, adults
4. Yes, children and adults

[rescoope] Was the respondent cooperative during the interview?
1. Very cooperative
2. Quite cooperative
3. Uncooperative
4. Very uncooperative

[difundqu] Did the respondent have any difficulty in understanding the questions?
1. Yes, most of the questions
2. Yes, a significant number of the questions
3. Yes, but only a few
4. No

[reqprob] Which questions needed probing?

.........

[residcon] How do you judge the respondent's residence?
1. Very bad
2. Bad
3. Average
4. Good
5. Very good

[incomint] If this interview is not complete, explain the reasons.

.........

I HEREBY DECLARE THAT THE INTERVIEW HAS BEEN CONDUCTED CONSCIENTIOUSLY AND WITHOUT ERRORS

Signature of the interviewer: ...............