

9: Appendix A



Basic English Version of the

QUESTIONNAIRE

National Re-survey

Problems and Options of Democracy in Indonesia

2007-2008

(The final version of the questionnaire was in Indonesian)

Footnotes indicate suggested improvements
in the next edition of the questionnaire

NB! That a separate list of non-biased examples (that were well known around the country) were attached to each of the questions. Contextual local examples were also developed in the training sessions with the local interview-assistants.

No. Questionnaire:

I	II	III
□ □	□ □	□ □

I. Code of Region

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| [01] = Nanggroe Aceh Darusalam | [12] = Jawa Barat | [23] = Sulawesi Tengah |
| [02] = Sumatra Utara | [13] = DKI Jakarta | [24] = Sulawesi Barat |
| [03] = Riau | [14] = Jawa Tengah | [25] = Sulawesi Tenggara |
| [04] = Kepulauan Riau | [15] = DI Yogyakarta | [26] = Sulawesi Selatan |
| [05] = Sumatra Barat | [16] = Jawa Timur | [27] = Bali |
| [06] = Jambi | [17] = Kalimantan Barat | [28] = Nusa Tenggara Barat |
| [07] = Bengkulu | [18] = Kalimantan Tengah | [29] = Nusa Tenggara Timur |
| [08] = Sumatra Selatan | [19] = Kalimantan Timur | [30] = Maluku |
| [09] = Bangka Belitung | [20] = Kalimantan Selatan | [31] = Maluku Utara |
| [10] = Lampung | [21] = Gorontalo | [32] = Papua |
| [11] = Banten | [22] = Sulawesi Utara | [33] = Irian Jaya Barat |

II. Code of issue areas, i.e the frontline of democratic work along which the informant is active

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| [1] = The struggle of peasants, agricultural labourers and fisher folks for their social, economic and other rights | reconciliation and conflict resolution. |
| [2] = The struggle of labour for better working conditions and standard of living | [8] = The improvement and democratisation of education |
| [3] = The struggle for the social, economic and other rights of the urban poor. | [9] = The promotion of professionalism as part of 'good governance' in public and private sectors. |
| [4] = The promotion of human rights | [10] = The promotion of freedom, independence and quality of media |
| [5] = The struggle against corruption in favour of 'good governance' | [11] = The promotion of gender equality and feminist perspectives |
| [6] = Democratization of the political parties and the party system | [12] = The improvement of alternative representation at the local level |
| [7] = The promotion of pluralism, religious and ethnic | [13] = The promotion of sustainable development |

III. Number of informant

From [01] to [...] for informant in each province

Time of Interview:

I. From..... to

II. From..... to

III. From..... to

A. THE INFORMANT

1. Full Name :
2. Nick Name :
3. Sex : Female/ Male
4. Place of Birth :
5. Age : years old
6. Religion/Belief :
7. Ethnicity :
8. Home Address :
-
9. City/Province & pin code:
10. Highest education :
11. Profession :
12. In what city/town/village is your major work place(s):
13. Telephone/Mobile:
14. E-mail :
15. Organisational activity related to issues of democracy:

<u>Name of Organization</u>	<u>Major location of activity Village/City/Municipality/Province</u>	<u>Type of Organization</u>	<u>Main Issue of the Organization</u>	<u>Informant's Position in the organization</u>
a. _____ _____	a. _____ _____	a. _____ _____	a. _____ _____	a. _____ _____
b. _____ _____	b. _____ _____	b. _____ _____	b. _____ _____	b. _____ _____
c. _____ _____	c. _____ _____	c. _____ _____	c. _____ _____	c. _____ _____

WHAT DOES YOUR ASSESSMENT REFER TO?

Please select whether *all* your answers relate to the context of your province or the national situation within the framework of your issue-area.

You have to opt for one and hold on to it all through the questionnaire!

16. Province []
National/issue-area []

B. ATTITUDES TO POLITICS

Note: In questions no. 17-22, please pick only **one** of the available options.

17. In your experience, **how do people understand politics?**

- a. Struggle for power
- b. Popular control of public affairs
- c. Something taken care of by the elites/public figures
- d. Elitist manipulation
- e. Others (*please mention!*).....

18. **How interested are people** in politics?

- a. Highly interested (*being politically conscious and actively involved in political activity*)
- b. Interested (*follow the political debate and events*)
- c. Not interested (*floating/passive*)

19. **How interested are women** in politics?

- a. Highly interested (*being politically conscious and actively involved in political activity*)
- b. Interested (*follow the political debate and events*)
- c. Not interested (*floating/passive*)

20. According to you, what should at first hand be done to encourage the **participation of women** in politics?

- a. Fight for women quota in legislative and executive institutions
- b. Increase women's political awareness and capacity
- c. Support women to gain positions in political institutions
- d. Expand the political agenda so that it includes more issues that are vital to women
- e. Others (*please mention!*).....

21. If one is interested in politics, which **channel** do you think is the most appropriate to be used at first hand?

- a. Join a big national political party
- b. Join a small political party that is eligible to run in elections
- c. Establish a new locally rooted political party
- d. Congregate a non-party political block
- e. Others (*please mention!*).....

22. Which method do you think is most effective to **increase people's political capacity and participation?**

- a. Increasing people's political awareness
- b. Improving the education of political cadres
- c. Reforming and consolidating existing political parties
- d. Promoting politically oriented campaigns and making public statements and speeches
- e. Mobilising the masses
- f. Building democratic and mass-based organisations and new political parties
- g. Others (*please mention!*)

C. POLITICS AND IDENTITY

The aim of democracy is popular control of public affairs on the basis of political equality. So how is the 'people' (demos) defined in the real world, by people themselves?

Note: In questions no. 23-26, please pick only **one** of the available options.¹

23. In the 2004 general elections of legislators, how did people at first hand identify themselves?

- a. [] As a resident of Indonesia in general
- b. [] As residents of their city/municipality/province
- c. [] As residents of their village and hamlet (*dusun*)
- d. [] As members of their ethnic community
- e. [] As members of their religious community
- f. [] As members/supporters of 'their' political party
- g. [] As members of their social class (e.g. working class, farmers, middle class, the class of businessmen)
- h. [] Others, (*please mention!*)

24. In regional election(s) (*pilkada*), how did people at first hand identify themselves?

- a. [] As residents of their city/municipality/province
- b. [] As residents of their village and hamlet (*dusun*)
- c. [] As members of their ethnic community
- d. [] As members of their religious community
- e. [] As members/supporters of 'their' political party
- f. [] As members of their social class (e.g. working class, farmers, middle class, the class of businessmen)
- g. [] Others, (*please mention!*)

25. How do people identify themselves when they face situation of conflict caused by social, economy and political tension?

- a. [] As residents of their city/municipality/province
- b. [] As residents of their village and hamlet (*dusun*)
- c. [] As members of their ethnic community
- d. [] As a member of their religious community
- e. [] As members of their social class (e.g. working class, farmers, middle class, the class of businessmen)
- f. [] Others, (*please mention!*)

26. In responding to issues of administrative division of provinces or regencies, how do people at first hand identify themselves?

- a. [] As residents of their city/municipality/province
- b. [] As residents of their village and hamlet (*dusun*)
- c. [] As members of their ethnic community
- d. [] As members of their religious community
- e. [] Others, (*please mention!*)

¹ The alternative answers should be standardised in all questions in this section.

D. THE QUALITY OF THE RULES & REGULATIONS TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY

It is generally accepted that there is a need for a number of means to promote the aim of democracy (i.e. popular control of public affairs based on political equality). These means or dimensions of democracy are listed below. For these means to be good enough to generate a meaningful democracy there must be a number of promotional rules and regulations. A meaningful democracy requires thus, that the quality of these rules and regulations is reasonably high. This may be assessed by considering performance and scope. By performance we mean the efficiency of the rules and regulations. By scope we mean (a) geographic spread and (b) substance in terms of addressing all aspects that people deem to be part of public life.

The questions of this part (no. 27-33) cover these two basic dimensions of the general standard of the rules and regulations that are meant to promote democracy in your regional context: (a) their existence (b) their performance and (c) their geographic as well as substantive scope. Further, the rules and regulations are both formal (legally sanctioned) and informal (customs, traditions, norms, values, conventions).

Note: For the questions no. 27-33, please pick one of the available options. (See table in the next pages!)

27. Existence: In your assessment, do there exist **formal rules and regulations** within your regional context that are meant to support the following issues?
28. Performance: In your assessment, do the existing **formal rules and regulations** that are applied within your regional context generally tend to be supportive enough or not very supportive in relation to the following issues?
29. Spread: In your assessment, do the **formal rules and regulations** apply effectively throughout your regional context, or the geographical contexts your issue area,
30. Substance: In your assessment, are the **formal rules and regulations** substantive by really addressing all aspects that you deem to be part of public life?
31. Performance: In your assessment, do the existing **informal arrangements** applied in your regional context generally tend to support or hamper the following issues?
32. Spread: In your assessment, do the **informal arrangements** apply effectively throughout your regional context or the geographical contexts of your issue area?
33. Substance: In your assessment, are the **informal arrangements** substantive by really addressing all aspects that you deem to be part of public life?

No	INSTRUMENTS TO PROMOTE THE FOLLOWING INTRINSIC MEANS OF DEMOCRACY	QUALITY OF FORMAL RULES AND REGULATION				QUALITY OF INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS		
		No. 27	No.28	No. 29	No.30	No.31	No.32	No.33
		If the informant's answer is 'no', go directly to the question no 31						
	Existence : Rules and regulations exist?	Performance: Supportive enough?	Spread: Broadly applied?	Substance: Substantive?	Performance Supportive or hampering?	Spread: Broadly applied?	Substance: Substantive?	
1.	Citizenship (Equal state-citizenship; The rights of minorities, migrants and refugees, Reconciliation of horizontal conflicts)	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
2.	Government support of international law and UN human rights	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
3.	Subordination of the government and public officials to the rule of law	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
4.	The equality before the law (Equal and secure access to justice; The integrity and independence of the judiciary)	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
5.	Freedom from physical violence and the fear of it	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
6.	Freedom of speech, assembly and organization	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
7.	Freedom to carry out trade union activity	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
8.	Freedom of religion, belief; language and culture	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
9.	Gender equality and emancipation	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
10.	The rights of children	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
11.	The right to employment, social security and other basic needs	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No

12.	The right to basic education, including citizen's rights and duties	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
13.	Good corporate governance	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
14.	<i>Free and fair general elections (Free and fair general elections at central, regional and local level; Free and fair separate elections of e.g. governors, mayors and village heads)</i>	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
No	INSTRUMENTS TO PROMOTE THE FOLLOWING INTRINSIC MEANS OF DEMOCRACY	QUALITY OF FORMAL RULES AND REGULATION				QUALITY OF INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS		
		No.27	No.28	No.29	No.30	No.31	No.32	No.33
		If the informant's answer is 'no', go directly to the question no 31						
		Existence : Rules and regulations exist?	Performance: Supportive enough?	Spread: Broadly applied?	Substance: Substantive?	Performance Supportive or hampering?	Spread: Broadly applied?	Substance: Substantive?
15.	Freedom to form parties on the national or local level (or teams of independent candidates) that can recruit members, and participate in elections	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
16.	Reflection of vital issues and interests among people by political parties and or candidates.	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
17.	Abstention from abusing religious or ethnic sentiments, symbols and doctrines by political parties and or candidates.	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
18.	Independence of money politics and powerful vested interests by political parties and or candidates.	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
19.	Membership-based control of parties, and responsiveness and accountability of parties and or political candidates to their constituencies	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
20.	Parties and or candidates ability to form and run government	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No

21.	Democratic decentralisation of government of all matters that do not need to be handled on central levels.	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
22.	<i>The transparency and accountability of elected government, the executive, (bureaucracies), at all levels</i>	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No

No	INSTRUMENTS TO PROMOTE THE FOLLOWING INTRINSIC MEANS OF DEMOCRACY	QUALITY OF FORMAL RULES AND REGULATION				QUALITY OF INFORMAL ARRANGEMENTS		
		No. 27	No.28	No.29	No.30	No. 31	No.32	No.33
		If the informant's answer is 'no', go directly to the question no 31						
		Existence : Rules and regulations exist?	Performance: Supportive enough?	Spread: Broadly applied?	Substance: Substantive?	Performance Supportive or hampering?	Spread: Broadly applied?	Substance: Substantive?
23.	The transparency and accountability of the military and police to elected government and the public	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
24.	The capacity of the government to combat paramilitary groups, hoodlums and organised crime	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
25.	Government independence from foreign intervention (except UN conventions and applicable international law)	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
26.	Government's independence from strong interest groups and capacity to eliminate corruption and abuse of power	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
27.	Freedom of the press, art and academic world	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
28.	Public access to and the reflection of different views within media, art and the academic world	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
29.	Citizens' participation in extensive	[] Yes	[] Supportive enough	[] Yes	[] Yes	[] Tend to support	[] Yes	[] Yes

	independent civil associations	[] No	[] Not very supportive	[] No	[] No	[] Tend to hamper	[] No	[] No
30.	Transparency, accountability and democracy within civil organisations	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
31.	All social groups' – including marginalised groups – extensive access to and participation in public life	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No
32.	<i>Direct participation</i> (People's direct access and contact with the public services and government's consultation of people and when possible facilitation of direct participation in policy making and the execution of public decisions)	[] Yes [] No	[] Supportive enough [] Not very supportive	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No	[] Tend to support [] Tend to hamper	[] Yes [] No	[] Yes [] No

E. THE MAIN ACTORS' POLITICAL WILL AND CAPACITY

Democracy is not just made up by the rules and regulations about the intrinsic means of democracy. It is also essential that people have the will and capacity to promote and use these instruments. Let us first identify the most important powerful and alternative actors.

34. Based on your knowledge and experience, which individual or collective actors are currently most powerful and have most important influence in the political process?

Note: Please specify the **three most powerful actors**. Please give the name of each actor and categorise its at the most three most important backgrounds in order of importance, 1- 3.

NO	27. POWERFUL ACTORS	
1	<p>Name:</p> <p>Background:</p> <p>a. [] Government/Bureaucracy</p> <p>b. [] Police and military</p> <p>c. [] Parliament (central+local)</p> <p>d. [] Political parties</p> <p>e. [] Religious or ethnic groups</p> <p>f. [] Academicians, the judiciary/law firms, media</p> <p>g. [] NGOs</p> <p>h. [] Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)</p>	<p>i. [] Class based mass organisations (E.g. Trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)</p> <p>j. [] Business</p> <p>k. [] Adat councils etc.</p> <p>l. [] Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)</p> <p>m. [] Underworld and militia</p> <p>n. [] Others (please mention!)</p>
2	<p>Name:</p> <p>Background:</p> <p>a. [] Government/Bureaucracy</p> <p>b. [] Police and military</p> <p>c. [] Parliament (central+local)</p> <p>d. [] Political parties</p> <p>e. [] Religious or ethnic groups</p> <p>f. [] Academe, the judiciary/law firms, media</p> <p>g. [] NGOs</p> <p>h. [] Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)</p>	<p>i. [] Class based mass organisations (E.g. Trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)</p> <p>j. [] Business</p> <p>k. [] Adat councils etc.</p> <p>l. [] Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)</p> <p>m. [] Underworld and militia</p> <p>n. [] Others (please mention!)</p>
3	<p>Name:</p> <p>Background:</p> <p>a. [] Government/Bureaucracy</p> <p>b. [] Police and military</p> <p>c. [] Parliament (central+local)</p> <p>d. [] Political parties</p> <p>e. [] Religious or ethnic groups</p> <p>f. [] Academe, the judiciary/law firms, media</p> <p>g. [] NGOs</p> <p>h. [] Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)</p>	<p>13. [] Class based mass organisations (E.g. Trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)</p> <p>14. [] Business</p> <p>15. [] Adat councils etc.</p> <p>16. [] Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)</p> <p>17. [] Underworld and militia</p> <p>18. [] Others (please mention!)</p>

35 Based on your knowledge and experience, which are the most important individual and collective actors who fight for a more equal division of power, for instance within the different issue-areas from which informants are recruited to this survey?

Note: Please specify **the three most important alternative actors**. Please give the name of each actor and categorise its at the most three most important backgrounds in order of importance, 1-3.

NO	28. ALTERNATIVE ACTORS	
4	<p>Name:</p> <p>Background:</p> <p>a. [] Government/Bureaucracy</p> <p>b. [] Police and military</p> <p>c. [] Parliament (central+local)</p> <p>d. [] Political parties</p> <p>e. [] Religious or ethnic groups</p> <p>f. [] Academe, the judiciary/law firms, media</p> <p>g. [] NGOs</p> <p>h. [] Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)</p>	<p>i. [] Class based mass organisations (E.g. Trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)</p> <p>j. [] Business</p> <p>k. [] Adat councils etc.</p> <p>l. [] Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)</p> <p>m. [] Underworld and militia</p> <p>n. [] Others (please mention!)</p>
5	<p>Name:</p> <p>Background:</p> <p>a. [] Government/Bureaucracy</p> <p>b. [] Police and military</p> <p>c. [] Parliament (central+local)</p> <p>d. [] Political parties</p> <p>e. [] Religious or ethnic groups</p> <p>f. [] Academe, the judiciary/law firms, media</p> <p>g. [] NGOs</p> <p>h. [] Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)</p>	<p>i. [] Class based mass organisations (E.g. Trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)</p> <p>j. [] Business</p> <p>k. [] Adat councils etc.</p> <p>l. [] Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)</p> <p>m. [] Underworld and militia</p> <p>n. [] Others (please mention!)</p>
6	<p>Name:</p> <p>Background:</p> <p>a. [] Government/Bureaucracy</p> <p>b. [] Police and military</p> <p>c. [] Parliament (central+local)</p> <p>d. [] Political parties</p> <p>e. [] Religious or ethnic groups</p> <p>f. [] Academe, the judiciary/law firms, media</p> <p>g. [] NGOs</p> <p>h. [] Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)</p>	<p>i. [] Class based mass organisations (E.g. trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)</p> <p>j. [] Business</p> <p>k. [] Adat councils etc.</p> <p>l. [] Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)</p> <p>m. [] Underworld and militia</p> <p>n. [] Others (please mention!)</p>

36. It's basic to a democracy that the major actors are willing to apply it.

The actors' relation to the means of democracy: How does each of the actors that you have specified relate to the various formal as well as informal rules and regulations?

Note: Please mark only **one** alternative for each actor with [X] in a proper column.

- [1] Use and promote the rules and regulation
- [2] Use the rules and regulation
- [3] Use and manipulate the rules and regulation
- [4] Avoid or opt for alternatives

R/I category	Powerful actors			Alternative actors		
	Actor 1	Actor 2	Actor 3	Actor 4	Actor 5	Actor 6
1. Equal citizenship	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
2. International law and UN HR instruments	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
3. Rule of law & justice	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
4. Civil and political rights (Freedom from violence and fear; freedom of speech, assembly, organisation, trade union activity, religion, belief, language and culture, and gender equality)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
5. Economic and social rights (The right of children, employment, social security and other basic needs, basic education, including citizen's rights and duties, and good corporate governance)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
6. Free and fair elections	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
7. Good representation (Freedom and rights of parties and candidates; and their reflection of vital issues and interests, abstention from abusing ethnicity and religion, independence of money politics and powerful vested interests, membership based control, responsiveness and accountability to constituents, and ability to form an run government.)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
8. Democratic and accountable government (Appropriate decentralisation, transparency and accountability, capacity to fight militias, organised crime etc., independence from strong interest groups, capacity to fight corruption, independence of foreign intervention.)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
9. Freedom of media, press and academic freedoms (Freedoms, public access and the reflection of different views.)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
10. Additional civil political participation (Participation and democratic character of civil society, and all social groups' access to participation in public life.)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]
11. Direct participation (People's direct contact with public services, government's consultation and when possible the provision of direct democracy)	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]	[1] [2] [3] [4]

37. **The actors' position (strong/weak) in relation to the means of democracy:** Is each of the actors that you have specified in a strong or weak position to influence the various formal as well as informal rules and regulations?

*Note: Please mark only **one** alternative for each actor with [X] in a proper column.*

R/I category	Powerful actors			Alternative actors		
	Actor 1	Actor 2	Actor 3	Actor 4	Actor 5	Actor 6
1. Equal citizenship	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
2. International law and UN HR instruments	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
3. Rule of law & justice	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
4. Civil and political rights (Freedom from violence and fear; freedom of speech, assembly, organisation, trade union activity, religion, belief, language and culture, and gender equality)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
5. Economic and social rights (The right of children, employment, social security and other basic needs, basic education, including citizen's rights and duties, and good corporate governance)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
6. Free and fair elections	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
7. Good representation (Freedom and rights of parties and candidates; and their reflection of vital issues and interests, abstention from abusing ethnicity and religion, independence of money politics and powerful vested interests, membership based control, responsiveness and accountability to constituents, and ability to form an run government.)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
8. Democratic and accountable government (Appropriate decentralisation, transparency and accountability, capacity to fight militias, organised crime etc., independence from strong interest groups, capacity to fight corruption, independence of foreign intervention.)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
9. Freedom of media, press and academic freedoms (Freedoms, public access and the reflection of different views.)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
10. Additional civil political participation (Participation and democratic character of civil society, and all social groups' access to participation in public life.)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak
11. Direct participation (People's direct contact with public services, government's consultation and when possible the provision of direct democracy)	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak	[1] Strong [2] Weak

38. *It is also intrinsic to a meaningful democracy that the actors are not repressed, marginalised or uninterested but actively present in the major parts of the political terrain.*

The actors' presence within politics: In what spheres of the political landscape is each of the actors primarily active?

Note: Please mark at the most **two** alternatives for each actor with [X] in the proper columns.

The Actors	SPHERES OF THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE									
	Business and industry	Small business	Self-managed non-profit units ²	Lobby groups	Interest organisations	Political parties	Elected government	The bureaucracy	The judiciary	Military and police
1	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

NB! That within business and industry, for instance, an actor may not be a businessman but rather a worker who is active in his/ her workplace; and within elected government, for another example, an actor need not be an elected politician but may also be an activist trying to influence the politicians.

39. *Within this political landscape, a favourable power structure is not intrinsic for a meaningful democracy, but the conditions set the limits.*

The actors' sources of power: In your assessment, what are the main actors' sources of power?

Note: Please mark at the most **two** alternatives for each actor with [X] in the proper columns.

The actors	Economic resources (e.g. capital, money, own-business, and labour, including the ability to block production)	Mass power/Political/ Military coercion (e.g. access to efficient organisations, ability to mobilise people, institutions of violence)	Social strength and favourable contacts (e.g. patronage, networks, family connections)	Knowledge, information (e.g. education, knowledge of culture and religion, access to media, think tanks)
1	[]	[]	[]	[]
2	[]	[]	[]	[]
3	[]	[]	[]	[]
4	[]	[]	[]	[]
5	[]	[]	[]	[]
6	[]	[]	[]	[]

² Self-managed groups – when people themselves take care of an govern common matters – must be defined clearly to include for instance a co-operative, a Church, a Mosque, a neighborhood association for keeping up local roads or taking care of security.

40. It is also not clear that a certain way of legitimating power is a necessary element of a meaningful democracy, but knowledge of the predominant ways in which 'raw' powers are transformed into authority and legitimacy is crucial when we wish to explain the problems and options of democracy.

The actors' way of legitimating their powers: How does each of the actors legitimate its sources of power to gain political authority and thus influence and control the political process and dynamics in your regional context?

Note: Please mark the answers with [X] in the proper columns. If there is any other ways, please explain briefly and clearly. Use separate sheet if necessary. Indicate at the most **three** alternatives for each actor!

Ways	Powerful actors			Alternative actors		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
a. By providing discursive activities within the public sphere through seminars, discussion, hearings	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. By providing contacts and dialogue with politicians and administrators at various levels	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. By providing and building networks and co-ordination for joint activity	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. By creating contacts and partnership with influential figures and experts	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. By being able to demonstrate collective and mass-based strength	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. By generating economic self-sufficiency, self-help activities, co-operatives, etc.	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. By gaining legitimacy through DPR, DPRD, the judicial system and/or the formal executive organs the state	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. By making use of various means of forceful official authority, coercion, demonstration of power and force as well as the generation of fear	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
i. By using state and government budgets other resources and regulations to the benefit of pro-market policies and various actors on the market	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
j. By providing patronage in various forms (including favourable treatment, loans, aid and charity) to for instance social groups, communities, civil society organisations (including NGOs) as well as to businessmen, relatives and other individuals	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
k. By organising support within communities	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
l. By gaining a popular mandate or getting elected	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
m. Others (please write down the detail below this table)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Others: (actor 1 2 3 4 5 6)

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

41. *Given these power conditions, it is intrinsic to a meaningful democracy, however, that people are able to turn those of their problems and concerns which they do not deem to be private into public political matters, i.e. to politicise the issues and interests. Both the content and character of these matters are thus crucial.*

The actors' interests, issues, platforms and policies: What interests and issues brought together into platforms and policies do the actors try to promote or resist – and how would you characterise these interests, issues and/or policies?

Note to the interviewer: Write down briefly the informants' statements, and pick **one** of the available categorisations by marking [X] in the next column.

The actors	Content of interests, issues, platforms and/or policies	Type of issues/interests/policies [✓] <i>Pick one for each actor!</i>	
1		Specific issues or interests	[]
		The combination of several issues/interests	[]
		General concepts or ideas	[]
2		Specific issues or interests	[]
		The combination of several issues/interests	[]
		General concepts or ideas	[]
3		Specific issues or interests	[]
		The combination of several issues/interests	[]
		General concepts or ideas	[]
4		Specific issues or interests	[]
		The combination of several issues/interests	[]
		General concepts or ideas	[]
5		Specific issues or interests	[]
		The combination of several issues/interests	[]
		General concepts or ideas	[]
6		Specific issues or interests	[]
		The combination of several issues/interests	[]
		General concepts or ideas	[]

42. *A vital related aspect is the capacity to communicate the issues, interests and policies.*

The actor’s method of communication: How do the actors typically communicate the issues and interests that they fight for?

Note: Please select at the most two predominant methods of communication for each actor.

NO	Method of communication	Powerful actors			Alternative actors		
		1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Writing books and articles	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
2	Performing in the media (radio, TV, internet, cultural performance)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
3	Attending and giving speeches in public seminars/ meetings	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
4	Through personal contacts and networks	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
5	Through organisations and their meetings and contacts	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
6	Others (please mention)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

Others:

.....

43. *It is similarly intrinsic to a meaningful democracy that people are able to act collectively. This in turn calls for a capacity to include people into politics, primarily by way of mobilisation and organisation– i.e. to politicise the people,*

The actors’ mobilisation and organisation of people: How do the actors typically try to mobilise and organise popular support for the issues that you have identified in the previous question (no 42)?

Note: Please mark at the most two alternatives for each actor with [X] in the proper columns.

The actors	Popular and charismatic leaders	Clientilism (More or less authoritarian patron-client relations)	Alternative patronage (A powerful actor help people resist existing patrons)	Networks between independent actors	Integration from below of popular organisations into more general organisations
Actor 1	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Actor 2	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Actor 3	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Actor 4	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Actor 5	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Actor 6	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

44.. *A related aspect of the inclusion of people into politics is the ability to organise collective political participation in a reasonably efficient way.*

The actors' organising: What are the actor's main organisational methods?

Note: Select at the most **two** of the following methods for each actor and specify what people, groups and organisations that are applying the method that you have in mind.

No	Organisational method	Powerful actors			Alternative actors		
		1	2	3	4	5	6
A	<u>Descriptive</u> Connecting people from the same sex- or age category (e.g. women, youth)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
		What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?
	
B	<u>Ethnicity, religion, family, etc.</u> Connecting people from the same religious or ethnic community or clan	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
		What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?
	
C	<u>Origin and residence (son of the soil identity)</u> Connecting people from the same part of the province (kabupaten, neighborhood, dusun, desa, kecamatan)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
		What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?	What people/group/organisation apply the method?
	

D	<u>Hierarchical connecting levels</u> <i>Connecting people in different levels of government administration or central and local parts of organisation</i>	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] <i>What people/group/organisation apply the method?</i>
E	<u>Sector, profession</u> Connecting people in a certain sector of business, workplace, profession	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] <i>What people/group/organisation apply the method?</i>
F	<u>Visions, ideas, interests</u> Connecting people with similar visions, ideas, and/or interests (e.g. anti corruption, human rights, environment, political ideology)	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] <i>What people/group/organisation apply the method?</i>
G	<u>Personal network</u> Connecting people with personal networks	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] <i>What people/group/organisation apply the method?</i>

	
I	Others (please mention!)	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?	[] What people/group/organisation apply the method?

45. In addition, reasonably efficient mobilisation and organisation call for alliances.

The actors' alliances: With whom do the actors typically build alliances or networks in their effort to influence or control the political process?

Note: Write at the most **three** organisations and **three** individuals that each actor tends to enter into alliances with and then specify the background of the individual partners. For the possible character background of the individual partners, see the list below!

The actors	Alliance with organisations	Alliance with individuals	
		Name	Background (a) – (n) (see list below!)
Actor 1	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. [.....] 2. [.....] 3. [.....]
Actor 2	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. [.....] 2. [.....] 3. [.....]

Actor 3	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. [.....] 2. [.....] 3. [.....]
Actor 4	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. [.....] 2. [.....] 3. [.....]
Actor 5	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. [.....] 2. [.....] 3. [.....]
Actor 6	1. 2. 3.	1. 2. 3.	1. [.....] 2. [.....] 3. [.....]

Background OF INDIVIDUAL ALLIANCES:

- (a) Government/Bureaucracy
- (b) Police and military
- (c) Parliament (central+local)
- (d) Political parties
- (e) Religious or ethnic groups
- (f) Academe, the judiciary/law firms, media
- (g) NGOs
- (h) Non class based mass organisations (Eg. Palang Merah Indonesia, Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia)
- (i) Class based mass organisations (E.g. trade unions/Peasants/Fishermen associations)
- (j) Business
- (k) Adat councils etc.
- (l) Semi-state or state-auxiliary bodies (E.g. KPU/D, Komnas HAM, etc.)
- (m) Underworld and militia
- (n) Others (please mention!)

Given that politicisation of issues and interests through policies and platforms as well as politicisation of people by way of mobilisation and organisation are necessary aspects of democracy, this calls for resources. To assess this we must first know what major parties or organisations that are related to the actors. Thereafter we can ask how the parties and organisations are financed.

46 The actors' political parties/organisations: What major political parties are the actors primarily related to? (If an actor is not primarily related to a party, indicate the other kind of political organisation that the actor is at first hand related to.)

Please specify!

Note: Please give only **one** political party/ organisation for each actor.

Main Actors	Political Party (or political organisation)
Actor 1	
Actor 2	
Actor 3	
Actor 4	
Actor 5	
Actor 6	

47. The financing of the political parties and organisations: What are the main ways in which these parties or other political organisations (that were specified in question 46) finance their activities?

Note:

(1) Before you answer this question, please fill in your answer to the previous question on the first row in the table below!

(2) Please select at the most three predominant sources of political finance for each actor; then select one method related to each of these sources.

MAJOR SOURCES AND METHODS OF POLITICAL FINANCE

NO	SOURCES	METHODS USED BY THE ACTORS' POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS											
		POLITICAL PARTY/ ORGANISATION OF ACTOR 1 <small>(according to your answer to question 46)</small>		POLITICAL PARTY/ ORGANISATION OF ACTOR 2 <small>(according to your answer to question 46)</small>		POLITICAL PARTY/ ORGANISATION OF ACTOR 3 <small>(according to your answer to question 46)</small>		POLITICAL PARTY/ ORGANISATION OF ACTOR 4 <small>(according to your answer to question 46)</small>		POLITICAL PARTY/ ORGANISATION OF ACTOR 5 <small>(according to your answer to question 46)</small>		POLITICAL PARTY/ ORGANISATION OF ACTOR 6 <small>(according to your answer to question 46)</small>	
A	Official support from the government (E.g. official party-support)	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]
B	Support from democracy-donors (E.g. for improved organisation & education)	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]
C	Contributions from own activities, co- operatives or businesses	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]
D	Contributions from own functionaries/cadres	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]
E	Contributions from own individual members	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]
F	Contributions from own individual sympathisers	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]
G	Contributions from affiliated or related organisations (e.g. supportive LSMs or popular organisations)	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]

H	Contributions from sponsors within media, culture and academe	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	/ /
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	/ /
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	/ /
I	Contributions from sponsors within business	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	/ /
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	/ /
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	/ /
J	Contributions from sponsors within the military and police	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	/ /
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	/ /
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	/ /
K	Contributions from candidates in various elections	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	/ /
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	/ /
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	/ /
L	Contributions from the candidates' relatives and friends	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	/ /
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	/ /
		Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	[]	Voluntary labour	/ /
M	Other, please specify.....	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	[]	Funds	/ /
		Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	[]	Equipment etc	/ /
		<i>Voluntary labour</i>	[]	<i>Voluntary labour</i>	[]	<i>Voluntary labour</i>	[]	<i>Voluntary labour</i>	[]	<i>Voluntary labour</i>	[]	<i>Voluntary labour</i>	/ /

48. Finally among the intrinsic aspects of a meaningful democracy, people who are supposed to control public affairs on the basis of political equality must be able to manoeuvre within the political system and develop means of representation.

Certain institutions in a society are mainly for governance of matters that people have in common. We call them governance institutions. Some of the governance institutions are for private management, such as the market or the family. Other institutions are for joint self-management, such as co-operatives or self-help organisations. Yet others are state-auxiliary bodies like Komnas HAM and institutions for sub-contracted public governance – for instance joint government and civic ventures like public services leased out to a private bus company, private security guards, or private doctors and hospitals. Finally are the major institutions for public political governance, the judicial (e.g. the district court and the police), the political executive (e.g. the bupati), the legislative (e.g. the DPRD) and the public administration (the bureaucracy and the military).

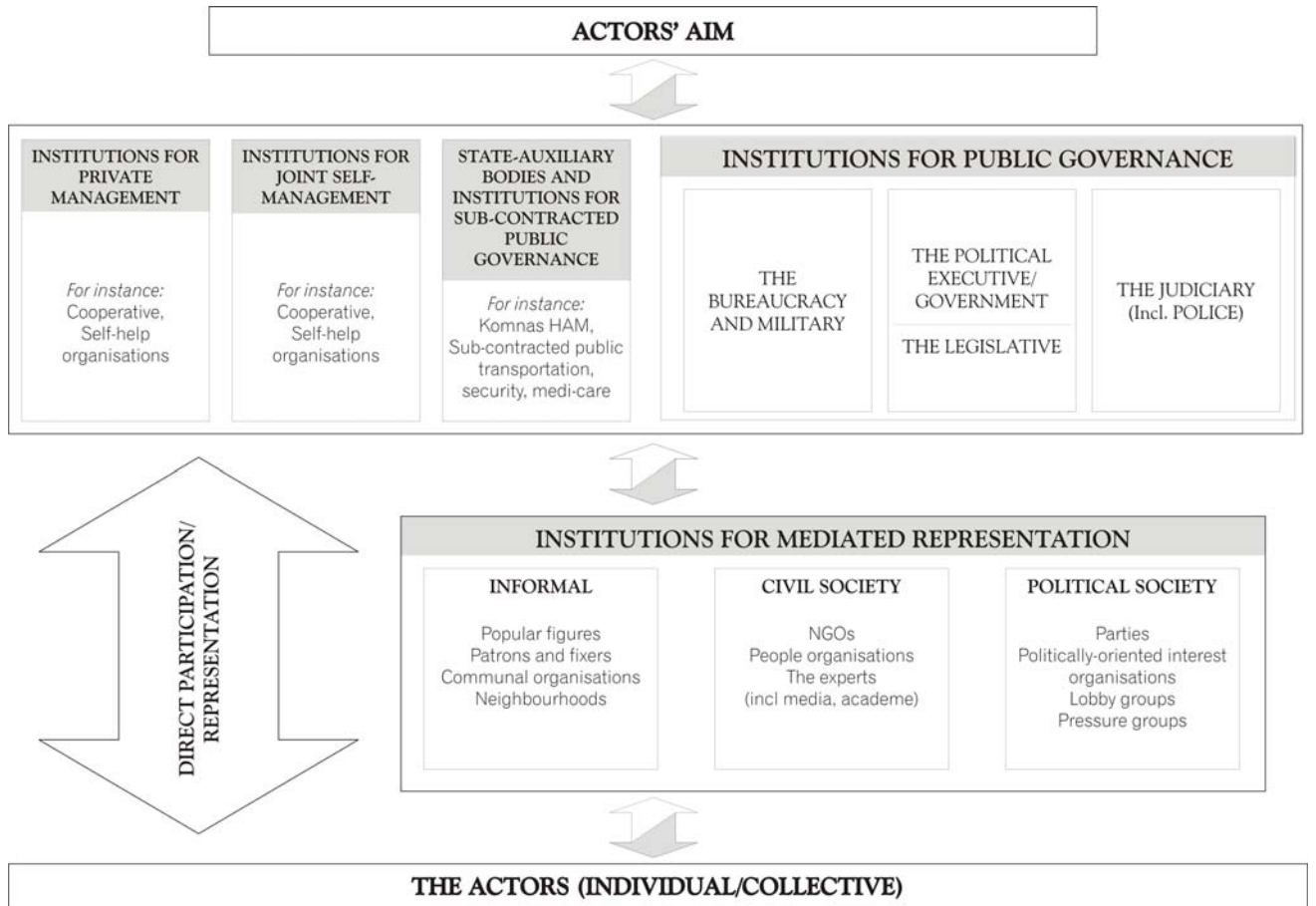
Some actors may prefer to turn directly to the governance institutions, for instance because they participate in these institutions or by calling on a politician or visiting the bureaucrat in charge of a certain matter. However, there are also many institutions to represent and help people to reach and affect the instruments of governance. We call them mediating institutions. Some institutions are ‘informal’ – for instance patrons, communal (ethnic and religious) organisations, and neighbourhood groups. Others are in civil society (i.e. they are organised by citizens who can make use of their rights) – for instance NGO’s, people’s organisations, and experts, including media and academicians. Yet others are political societies, for instance parties, interest organisations and lobby and pressure groups.

The actors’ strategies in the political system and related forms of representation:³

1. To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand?
Note: Please identify at the most **two** such institutions!
2. How do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?
Note: Please identify at the most **three** such ways!

³ In the figure one must not exclude the various institutional arrangements for direct or indirect representation that may be immediately attached to each of the governance institutions. In the present figure, it is only the legislative which is included. This makes it difficult to consider various forms of more direct participatory democracy.

Further, it should also be specified more clearly what the direct relation implies in cases where people vote in so-called direct local elections. It may be that some informants deem this to be a case of direct linkage to the politicians in the governance institutions in spite of the fact that they are at least so far elected via the political parties.



The actors' strategies in the political system and related forms of representation: To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand? *Then*, how do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?

Note: The informant is asked to point out **two** institutions/parties that most frequently used by each actor. Then, the informant should describe at the most **three** ways on how the actors come to the institutions/parties

Actor 1 (powerful actor)

GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS		Direct	←-----.....----- MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS ----->										
		DIRECT	NGOs	People's organisation	Experts, incl media	Popular figures	Patrons and fixers	Communal groups	Neighbourhood groups	Political parties	Politically oriented organisations	Lobby/pressure groups	
a. The judiciary (incl the police)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. The political executive – (the government)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. The legislative (e.g. DPRD)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. The bureaucracy	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. The military	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. Auxilliary Bodies and Institution for Sub-contracted public governance	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. Institutions for self-management (e.g. cooperative)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. Institutions for private management (e.g. the market, the family)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The actors' strategies in the political system and related forms of representation: To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand? *Then*, how do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?

Note: The informant is asked to point out **two** institutions/parties that most frequently used by each actor. Then, the informant should describe at the most **three** ways on how the actors come to the institutions/parties

Actor 2 (powerful actor)

GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS		Direct	←-----.....----- MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS ----->										
			DIRECT	NGOs	People's organisation	Experts, incl media	Popular figures	Patrons and fixers	Communal groups	Neighbour-hood groups	Political parties	Politically oriented interest organisations	Lobby/pressure groups
a. The judiciary (incl the police)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. The political executive – (the government)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. The legislative (e.g. DPRD)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. The bureaucracy	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. The military	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. Auxilliary Bodies and Institution for Sub-contracted public governance	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. Institutions for self-management (e.g. cooperative)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. Institutions for private management (e.g. the market, the family)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The actors' strategies in the political system and related forms of representation: To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand? *Then*, how do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?

Note: The informant is asked to point out **two** institutions/parties that most frequently used by each actor. Then, the informant should describe at the most **three** ways on how the actors come to the institutions/parties

Actor 3 (powerful actor)

GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS		Direct	←-----.....----- MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS ----->										
			DIRECT	NGOs	People's organisation	Experts, incl media	Popular figures	Patrons and fixers	Communal groups	Neighborhood groups	Political parties	Politically oriented organisations	Lobby/pressure groups
a. The judiciary (incl the police)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. The political executive - (the government)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. The legislative (e.g. DPRD)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. The bureaucracy	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. The military	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. Auxilliary Bodies and Institution for Sub-contracted public governance	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. Institutions for self-management (e.g. cooperative)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. Institutions for private management (e.g. the market, the family)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The actors' strategies in the political system and related forms of representation: To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand? *Then*, how do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?

Note: *The informant is asked to point out **two** institutions/parties that most frequently used by each actor. Then, the informant should describe at the most **three** ways on how the actors come to the institutions/parties*

Actor 4 (alternative actor)

GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS		D i r e c t	-----<-----.....----- MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS ----->----- ----->-----										
			DIRECT	NGOs	People's organisat ion	Experts, incl media	Popular figures	Patron s and fixers	Commu nal groups	Neighbo ur-hood groups	Political parties	Politically oriented interest organisati ons	Lobby/ pressure groups
a. The judiciary (incl the police)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. The political executive – (the government)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. The legislative (e.g. DPRD)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. The bureaucracy	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. The military	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. Auxilliary Bodies and Institution for Sub-contracted public governance	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. Institutions for self- management (e.g. cooperative)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. Institutions for private management (e.g. the market, the family)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The actors' strategies in the political system and related forms of representation: To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand? *Then*, how do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?

Note: *The informant is asked to point out **two** institutions/parties that most frequently used by each actor. Then, the informant should describe at the most **three** ways on how the actors come to the institutions/parties*

Actor 5 (alternative actor)

GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS		Direct	←-----.....----- MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS ----->									
			DIRECT	NGOs	People's organisa tion	Experts , incl media	Popular figures	Patrons and fixers	Commu nal groups	Neighbo ur-hood groups	Political parties	Politically oriented interest organisa tions
a. The judiciary (incl the police)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. The political executive – (the government)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. The legislative (e.g. DPRD)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. The bureaucracy	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. The military	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. Auxilliary Bodies and Institution for Sub- contracted public governance	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. Institutions for self- management (e.g. cooperative)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. Institutions for private management (e.g. the market, the family)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

The actors' strategies in the political system and related forms of representation: To what governance-institutions do the most important actors turn to at first hand? *Then*, how do the most important actors reach and affect the governance institutions? Direct and/or by what mediating institutions?

Note: The informant is asked to point out **two** institutions/parties that most frequently used by each actor. *Then*, the informant should describe at the most **three** ways on how the actors come to the institutions/parties

Actor 6 (alternative actor)

GOVERNANCE INSTITUTIONS		Direct	←-----.....----- MEDIATING INSTITUTIONS ----->									
		DIRECT	NGOs	People's organisation	Experts, incl media	Popular figures	Patrons and fixers	Communal groups	Neighbourhood groups	Political parties	Politically oriented organisations	Lobby/pressure groups
a. The judiciary (incl the police)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
b. The political executive – (the government)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
c. The legislative (e.g. DPRD)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
d. The bureaucracy	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
e. The military	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
f. Auxilliary Bodies and Institution for Sub-contracted public governance	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
g. Institutions for self-management (e.g. cooperative)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
h. Institutions for private management (e.g. the market, the family)	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

49 *It is not only collective actors but also people themselves (individuals or small groups of individuals) that need to navigate the political system and seek forms of representation.*

To what more or less democratic institutions do individuals' or small groups of individuals go with their problems?: Based on your knowledge and experience, to what institutions do the ordinary people address their complaints and demands regarding public affairs?⁴

*Note: Please just pick the **three** most important alternatives, and **rank them** according to their importance by writing 1, 2, 3, in the table below.*

- a. [] To media
- b. [] To self-management-NGOs (e.g. neighbourhood groups, community groups, ethnic and religious groups, co-operatives)
- c. [] To specific issue- and pressure/lobby groups (e.g. human rights, anti-corruption or environmental groups – in addition to study/research-groups)
- d. [] To interest-based popular organisations (e.g. trade unions, farmers' associations)
- e. [] To political parties
- f. [] Directly to elected politicians in legislative bodies on various levels
- g. [] Directly to elected executives on various levels
- h. [] Directly to the bureaucrats various levels
- i. [] Directly to the law enforcement institutions (the police, the military, the judiciary)
- j. [] To semi-government institutions such as Komnas HAM, KPK, KPU, KPUD, Ombudsman, etc.
- k. [] To informal leaders (patrons, communal leaders, religious- or ethnic organisations)
- l. [] Others. *Please specify!*.....

- END -

Thank you for contributing to this collective effort to try to improve the pro-democracy work through better knowledge of the problems and options!

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⁴ When asking how the informants assess where ordinary people turn with their non-private problems, one should try to specify what kind of problems the informants have in mind and what class or category of people there are assessing.