

RESULTS FROM WAVE I OF TRACKING SURVEY



EXTENDING THE REACH OF DEMOCRACY

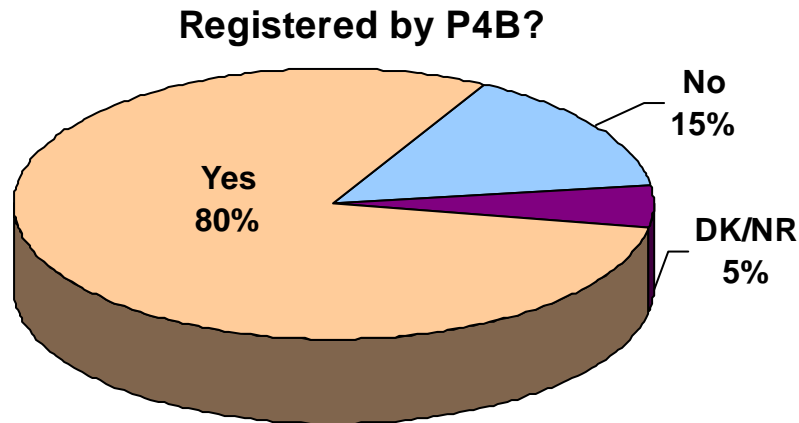
16 January 2004

Methodology

- This survey was conducted using face-to-face interviews with 1250 respondents, selected by multi-stage random sampling of eligible voters throughout each of the 32 provinces of Indonesia.
- The composition of the survey sample reflects the rural/urban, men/women and inter-provincial proportions of the Indonesian population.
- The margin of error for national data from the survey is +/- 2.8% at a 95% confidence level.
- The face-to-face interviews were conducted between 13 and 18 December 2003.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

1. Voter Registration for 2004 Elections

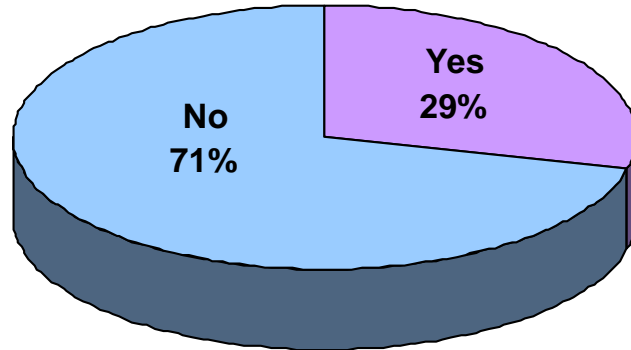


- When asked whether they had been registered by a P4B enumerator for the 2004 elections, only 80% of Indonesians respond that they were registered, while 15% say they have not been registered. Five percent do not know or do not answer. Urban residents are slightly more likely to say they have been registered than rural voters (84% versus 78%). The relatively low level of registration report is somewhat surprising given that 94% of respondents in a national IFES survey in June 2003 said they had been registered by a P4B enumerator. It may be that some people who were registered may have forgotten this in the intervening six months after which this survey was fielded. Nevertheless, this finding indicates that the KPU should take steps to ensure that the maximum possible number of Indonesians are registered before the April parliamentary elections.
- While the sample size of this survey does not allow for comparisons of reported registration figures across all provinces and regions of Indonesia, some comparison between the largest regions is possible. The highest registration rate is reported in Eastern Java (89%). This compares to 76% of residents of Western Java and Banten who report being registered and 75% of residents of Sumatra (excluding Aceh) who report being registered. And 82% in Central Java and Yogyakarta who report the same.
- The youngest and oldest Indonesians are less likely to be registered than those in the middle age groups. Among 18-24 year olds, 76% report being registered, and 75% report being registered among those 55 and over. This compares to 84% of those who are report being registered among those aged 25 to 54.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

2. Awareness of, and Sources for, Release of Voters List

**Awareness of Release
of Voters List**



**Information Sources for Those
Aware (n=364):**

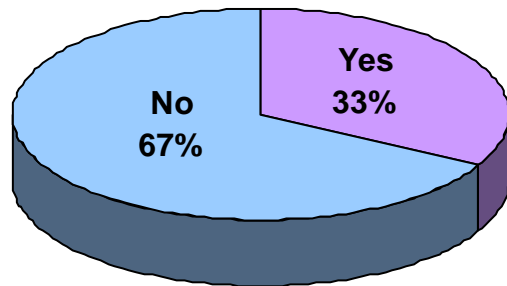
Television (63%)
Local officials (29%)
Friends/Neighbors (24%)
Newspapers (20%)
Radio (19%)
Kelurahan office (3%)
Others (2%)

- Less than a third of Indonesians report being aware of the release of the preliminary voters list for checking between November 3-30.
- Awareness of the release of the preliminary voters list increases with education. Those with a university level of education or higher are more likely to have been aware of the release (47%) than those with a secondary school education (34%), elementary school education (21%), or no education (19%). However, a majority of each of these groups was not aware of the release of the voters list.
- Media sources and personal contact were the two primary means through which those knowledgeable about the voters list release obtained this information. Television was by far the most oft-mentioned source, while radio and newspapers were mentioned by one in five of those who were aware of the release of the list. The use of these media sources for information on the voters list was higher among urban Indonesians, while rural Indonesians were more likely to have used local officials and friends and neighbors as a resource for this information.

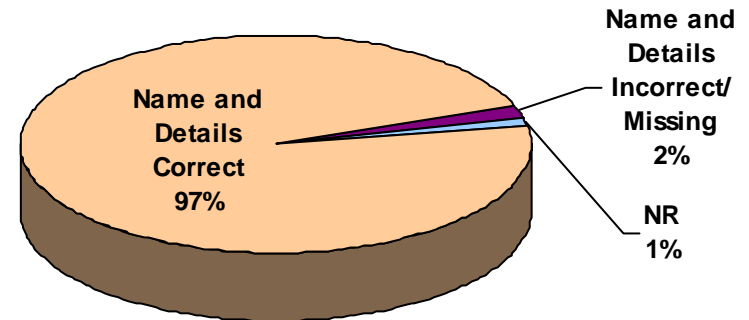
Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

3. Accuracy of Information on Preliminary Voters List

Few Checked Personal Information on Voters List (n=364)



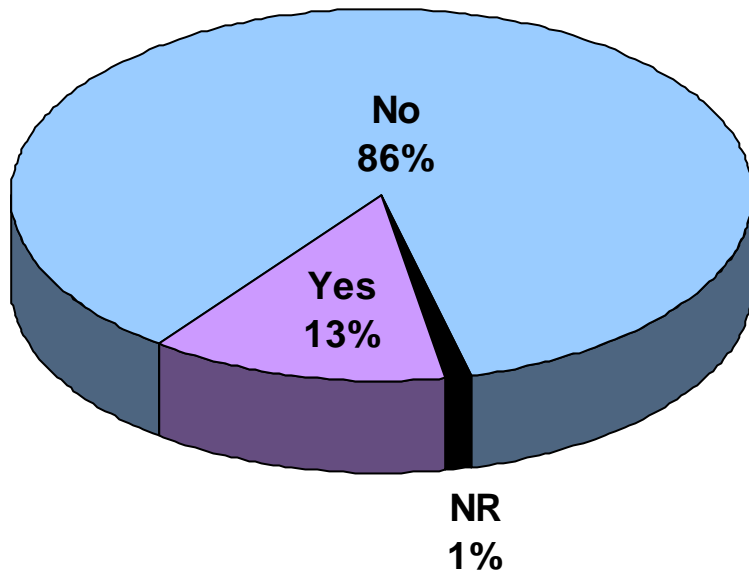
Most Who Checked Information Found It To Be Correct (n=120)



- Of the Indonesians who were aware of the release of the preliminary voters list, only a third checked their name and other details on the voters list. Those who were aware of the release of the preliminary voters list in rural areas were much more likely to have checked their information on the list (43%) than those in urban areas (19%).
- Most of those who checked the list went to their village or kelurahan office to check the list (59%). Many respondents who checked their name say they did so through a visit at home by an electoral officer (20%). These visits may not be an appropriate response to the question asked because many of these visits took place before the release of the preliminary voters list as a way for electoral officials to run checks on their data collection.
- Almost all of those who checked the voters list found their name and other details to be correctly listed (97%). Only 0.8% each found their names or details either incorrectly listed or missing from the list.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

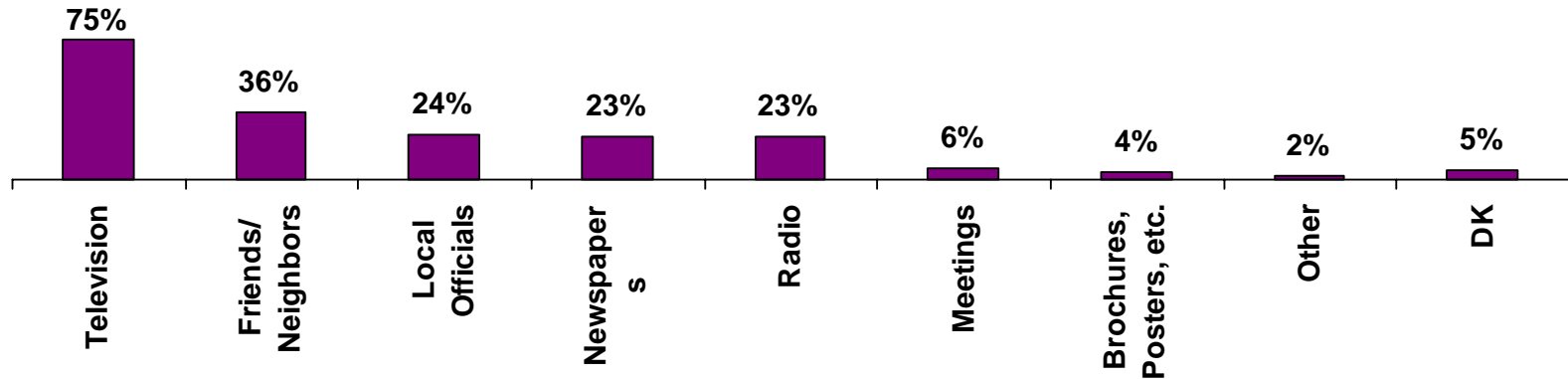
4. Awareness of Finalization of Voters List



- A little more than one in ten Indonesians is aware that the voters list was finalized on December 31, 2003 (13%). Even though the vast majority in both groups are not aware that the voters list has been finalized, those who were aware of the release of the preliminary voters list are much more likely to be aware that the list was finalized than those who were not aware of the release of the preliminary voters list (28% versus 7%).
- A respondent's level of education is a primary determinant of awareness of the voters list finalization. Those with a university level of education or higher are more likely to be aware that the voters list has been finalized (26%) than those with a secondary school education (15%), elementary school education (9%), or no education (4%).

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

5. Sources of Information for 2004 Election

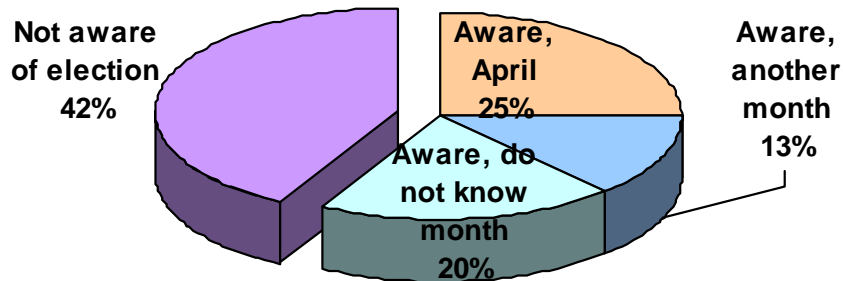


- Television is the primary source of information on the 2004 elections for most Indonesians. Three-quarters of all Indonesians report using television as a source of information for the 2004 elections. A majority of all major sub-groups in the population rely on television as a source of information for the election. Radio and newspapers are also used with regularity by Indonesians for election information.
- Many Indonesians use contact with their local officials and friends and neighbors to obtain information on the upcoming elections. Printed materials such as brochures, posters, leaflets, and flyers are used by very few Indonesians as sources of information for the elections.
- Those respondents who reported using a source of information were next asked whether they understood the election information they received on that source. While most Indonesians do not completely understand the election information they receive on these sources, a majority do at least somewhat understand the information. For television, 14% completely understand the information and 51% somewhat understand. For those who obtain information from friends and neighbors, 10% completely understand the information and 49% somewhat understand. For other major sources, these percentages are: local officials (18%, 49%); newspapers (17%, 54%); and radio (14%, 56%).
- The KPU's major information election campaign to date has been on the theme 'Milih Langsung'. Forty seven percent of respondents had heard or read of this campaign. Urban residents were much more likely to be aware of this campaign than rural (57% versus 41%), and men (52%) than women (42%). Awareness increased markedly with education level (29% of elementary school educated respondents as against 75% of the higher educated) and decreased steadily with age (52% of the under 25s, 35% of those over 54 years of age). Television, followed distantly by newspapers and radio, was the most likely source of people's knowledge of this campaign. Thirty nine percent of those aware of the campaign saw its major message as direct election of the president, and 33% that voters could directly elect an individual and a party: 10% could not remember any message from this campaign

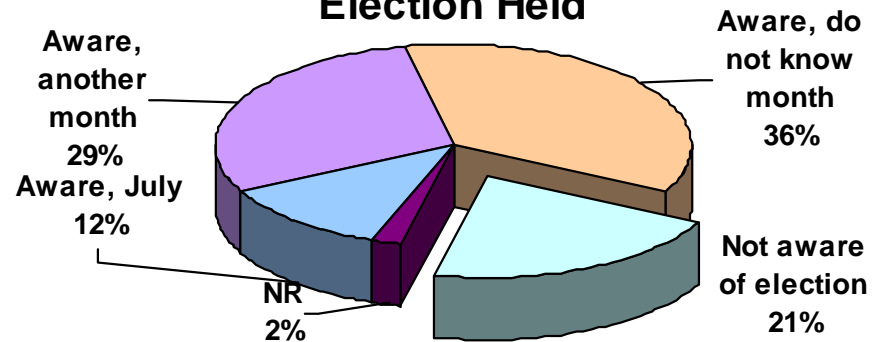
Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

6. Awareness of Parliamentary and Presidential Elections in 2004

Awareness of Parliamentary Election, and Month in Which Election Held



Awareness of Presidential Election, and Month in Which Election Held

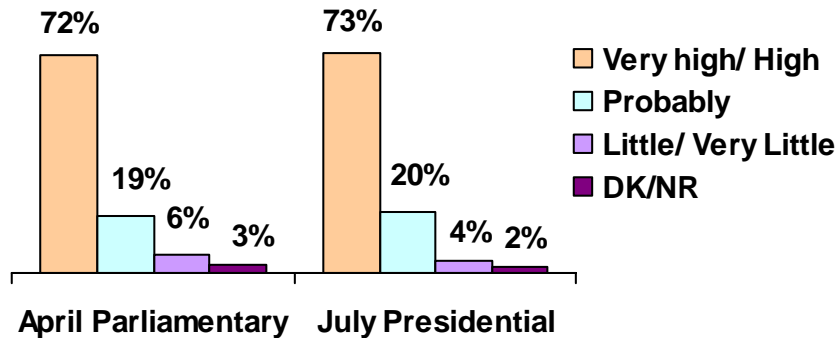


- While 79% of Indonesians are likely to know that there will be presidential elections in 2004, a slight majority (58%) know that there will be elections for the DPR and DPRD's this year. Even fewer can name the exact months these two elections will take place. In the case of the parliamentary elections, 25% of Indonesians are aware that they will take place in April, and 12% are aware that the presidential election will take place in July.
- Awareness of these two elections is higher among who are also aware of the release of the preliminary and final voters list. As with awareness of the release of the voters list, awareness of the two elections goes up with education. For example, 93% of those with a university education are aware of the presidential election and 85% are aware of the parliamentary elections. This compares to 67% of those with primary education who are aware of the presidential election and 41% are aware of the parliamentary elections.
- Respondents were asked whether they had enough information on several key aspects of the electoral process. Sixty-two percent of respondents stated that they needed more information on voter registration; 65% on districting; 68% on determination of participating political parties; 71% on candidacy; 70% on voting; 71% on vote counting; and 75% on how elected candidates are determined.

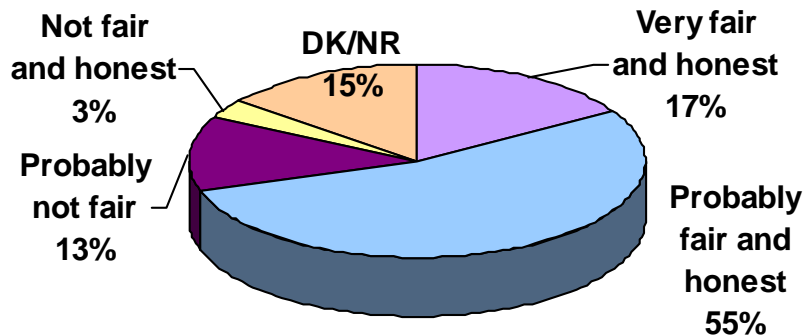
Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

7. 2004 Elections

Likelihood of Voting



Expected Fairness of 2004 Elections



- In the case of elections for both the DPR and DPRD and for the election of President and Vice-President, more than 90% of Indonesians say that it is at least probable they will vote in the elections. Seventy-three percent of Indonesians say there is a very high or high likelihood of their voting in the presidential election and 72% echo this sentiment for the parliamentary election. There is no significant difference in likelihood of voting among members of major demographic sub-groups in the country.
- While there is no significant difference in likelihood of voting in the parliamentary election among those aware or not aware of these elections, awareness does have an impact on likelihood of voting in the presidential election. Those who are aware that this election will take place in 2004 express a stronger likelihood of voting (77% high/very high) than those were not previously aware of this election (62% high/very high).
- Nearly three-quarters of all Indonesians (72%) think, at the least, that the 2004 elections will probably be fair and honest. Thirteen percent think the elections will probably not be fair and honest and only 3% think that they will not be fair and honest. Although, the percentage of those who say they will at least probably vote in both 2004 elections does not differ markedly between those who think the elections will be honest and those who do not, those who think the elections will be honest are more likely to say there is a high likelihood they will vote than those who do not think the elections will be honest.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

8. Knowledge of Procedures for 2004 Elections

Knowledge of How to Vote in DPR and DPRD Elections	
<i>Vote for 1 party only</i>	64%
Vote for >1 party	2%
Vote for 1 candidate only	7%
Vote for >1 candidate	1%
<i>Vote for 1 party and option of 1 candidate from same party</i>	13%
Vote for 1 party and option of 1 candidate from another party	3%
Vote for >1 party and option of 1 candidate from same party	1%
Vote for >1 party and option of 1 candidate from another party	1%
DK/NR	9%

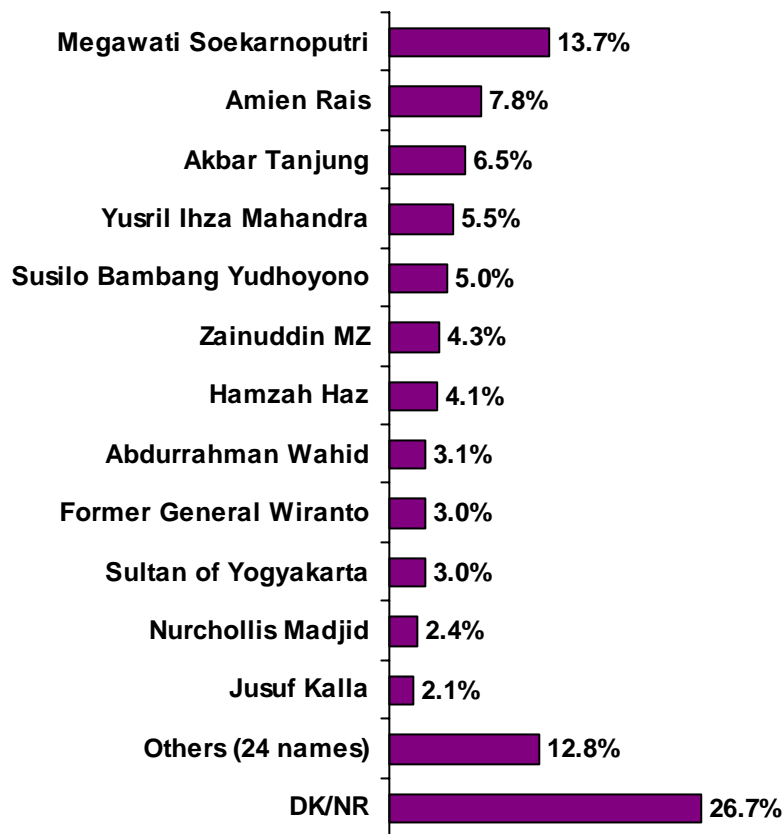
Knowledge of DPD	
Yes	40%
No	34%
DK/NR	26%
Knowledge of How to Vote in DPD Election (n=494)	
<i>Vote for 1 candidate only</i>	52%
Vote for 2 or more candidates	7%
Vote for 1 party	29%
Vote for 2 or more parties	2%
DK/NR	11%

- For the 2004 DPR and DPRD elections, there has been a change in the correct way to vote. In 1999, the correct way to vote for these bodies was to punch the symbol/name of one party only. In 2004, this will also be a valid vote. However, voters will also have an option to punch the name of one candidate from the same party they select. Sixty-four percent in this survey correctly cited punching the symbol/name of one party as a valid vote. However, only 13% were also able to identify the optional selection of a candidate from that party as being valid. Significantly, 7% say that the correct way to vote is to select one candidate only. This may indicate confusion with the correct procedure for voting for a DPD candidate (discussed below) with that for the DPR and DPRD.
- As mentioned above, Indonesians will also be voting for a new legislative body, the DPD, in April. The survey results show that a minority of Indonesians (40%) have heard or read about this body. Most Indonesians (60%) have not heard or read information about this body. Of those aware of the DPD, 52% are aware that the proper way to vote for the DPD is to select only one candidate on the ballot. Forty-eight percent do not know the proper way to vote for a DPD candidate. Significantly, 29% believe the correct way to vote for a DPD candidate is to vote for one party, the method of voting for the DPR and DPRD in the 1999 election.
- Overall, 79% of Indonesians are not aware of the correct way to vote for a DPD candidate. In the case of the DPR and DPRD, 23% are not aware of a correct way to vote. This data indicates that significant voter education efforts need to be directed toward making Indonesians aware of the DPD, and to correctly identify procedures to vote for the DPD. Significant efforts also need to be made to make the vast majority of Indonesians aware that at the DPR and DPRD elections, they can now also vote for the candidate they most prefer from the party they vote for.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

9. 2004 Presidential Election

Presidential Choice

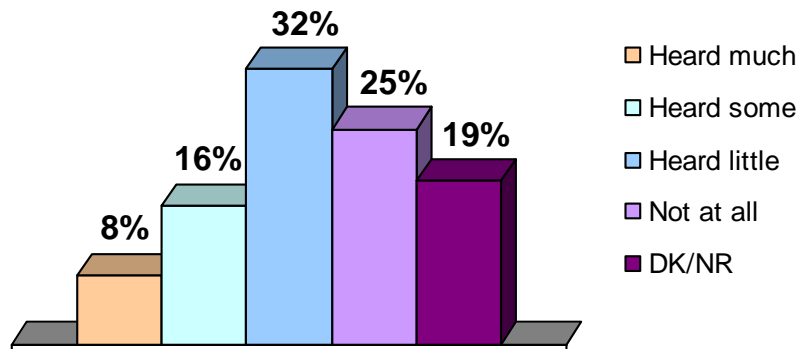


- At this early stage eight months before the presidential election, there is a great deal of ambiguity among Indonesians as to who would make the best president for Indonesia. At this point, 27% of Indonesians say they do not know or do not respond to the question asking who would make the best president. A total of 36 personalities are named, with the highest percentage at this point mentioning President Megawati Soekarnoputri (13.7%). Four other personalities are mentioned by 5% or more, and seven others are mentioned by between 2% and 5%. Another 24 names are mentioned by two percent or fewer of Indonesians.
- Those who are aware that there will be a presidential election in 2004 were asked how the president would be elected. The vast majority (80%) are aware that this will be a direct election, but 14% are under the impression that the president and vice-president will be chosen by the MPR, as in the past.
- Knowledge of the correct method of election for the President is positively impacted by exposure to voter education messages with the *Milih Langsung* (Direct vote) theme. Those who have seen these messages are more likely to know that the presidential election will be a direct election than those who have not seen the messages (86% versus 72%). This indicates that this message is having a positive impact on information regarding the presidential election.

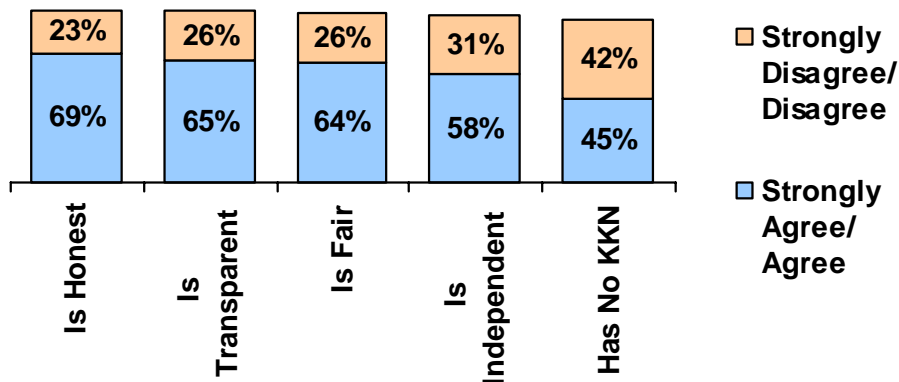
Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

10. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, KPU

Level of Knowledge about KPU



Opinions on KPU

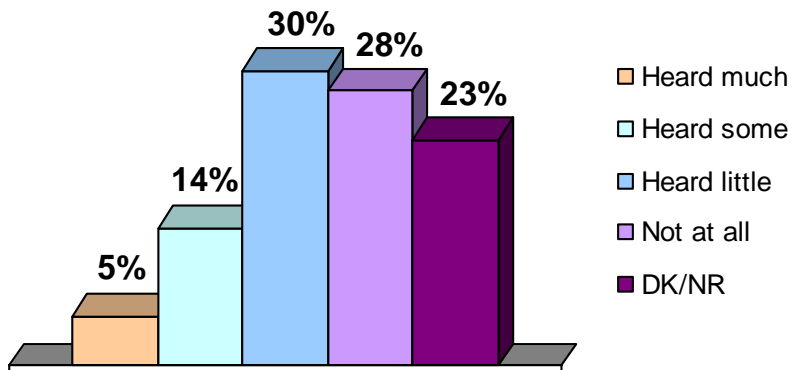


- While a majority of Indonesians have heard at least a little about the Central Election Commission (KPU, 56%), only 24% have heard much or some about this body. Those who have heard much or some about the KPU are much more likely to have been aware of the release of the voters list and be aware of the 2004 elections than those who have little or no information.
- A majority of those who have heard at least a little about the KPU have a generally positive impression of the organization. When asked about certain qualities of the KUP, a majority strongly or somewhat agree that the KPU is an honest organization (69%), transparent (65%), fair (64%), and independent (58%). These respondents are divided on whether the KPU is free of corruption (45% agree versus 42% disagree). Those who have positive opinions of the KPU on each of these qualities are more likely to say that they have a high or very high likelihood of voting in the 2004 elections than those who do not have positive opinions.
- Sixty-four percent of those aware of the KPU are very or somewhat satisfied with its efforts so far to prepare for the 2004 elections, while 24% are dissatisfied. The quality of the KPU's work is the most frequent reason given for dissatisfaction, followed by concerns about poor socialisation of the election, KKN at the KPU, and lack of transparency in its actions.

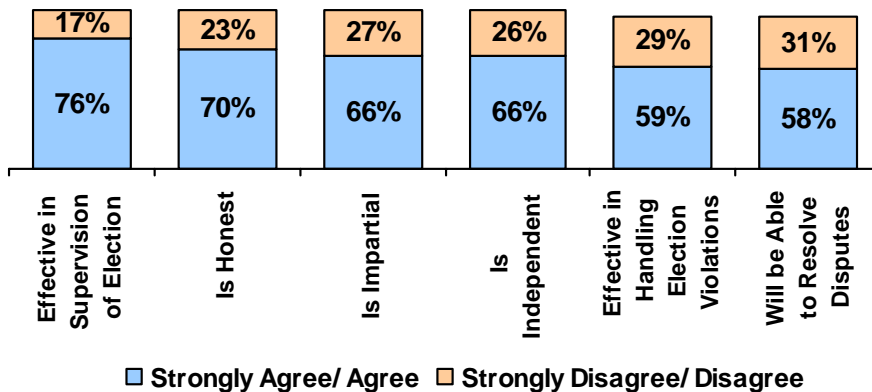
Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

11. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, PANWAS

Level of Knowledge about PANWAS



Opinions on PANWAS



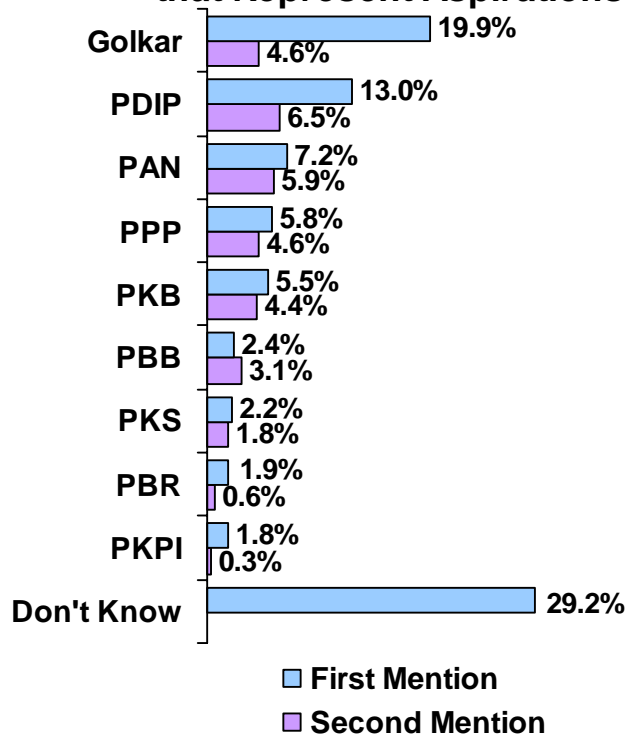
- Somewhat similar to the KPU, nearly half of all Indonesians (49%) have heard at least a little about the Election Supervisory Committee (PANWAS), but few have heard much or some about the organization (19%).
- Among those who have heard at least a little about PANWAS, 81% are aware of its function of monitoring the stages of election administration. There is a lower level of knowledge about other functions of PANWAS. Fifty-seven percent are aware of its function to report violations of the election law, 50% are aware that it settles disputes during the election process, and 46% are aware that PANWAS forwards unsettled disputes to the authorities.
- A majority of those who have heard of PANWAS have positive opinions of the organizations. Seventy-six percent strongly agree or agree that PANWAS will be effective in supervising the conduct of the parliamentary and presidential elections. Two-thirds or more of those who know of PANWAS agree that it is an honest organization, that it is fair, and that it is independent. A majority of respondents who know of PANWAS agree that it will be effective in dealing with violations of the election law and will be able to resolve any election disputes that may occur.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

12. Parties that Represent People's Aspirations

Methodological Note: The wording of the questions which pertain to the findings on this slide did not ask which party a respondent would vote for, only the parties they think represent their aspirations. As such, the results of this question should not be taken as the potential vote percentage of a party.

1st and 2nd Mentions for Parties that Represent Aspirations

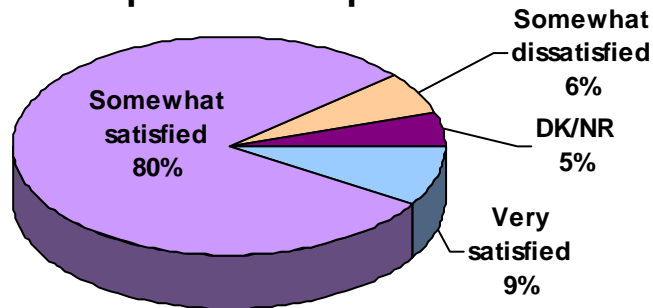


- Respondents on the survey were asked for their first and second choice on what party represents the aspirations of people like them. The largest response for the party which most represents a respondent's aspiration is "don't know" with 29%. More than a quarter of Indonesians do not even know which party may represent their aspiration, much less the party for which they would vote.
- At the time of this survey, Golkar garners the largest percentage of people who think this party most represents the aspirations of people like them. PDIP is the only other party mentioned by more than 10% as a first mention in this regard. PAN, PPP, and PKB form the next tier of parties who are thought of as representing people's aspirations. Each of these five parties receives a smaller percentage of second mentions than first mentions.
- Of the five parties listed in the last note, those who list Golkar as a first mention for representing their aspirations are most likely to say that no other party represents their aspirations when asked for a second choice (51%), followed by those who mention PKB (39%), PDIP (37%), PPP (34%), and PAN (15%).
- Respondents to the survey were also asked what party they voted for in 1999. Among those who stated they voted for Golkar in 1999, 57% in this survey say this party most represents the aspirations of people like them. Among PDI-P voters in 1999, 46% say PDI-P most represents their aspirations. This percentage for other major parties is: PAN (51%), PKB (49%), PPP (47%), and PBB (24%).
- Most of the parties approved to run in the 2004 parliamentary elections have been formed since the 1999 election. Among all respondents to this survey, 8% mention a post-1999 party as one that represents their aspirations and a further 4% choose a post-1999 party as a second mention. Young people (18-24) are more likely to first mention these parties (14%) than older age groups (6%).

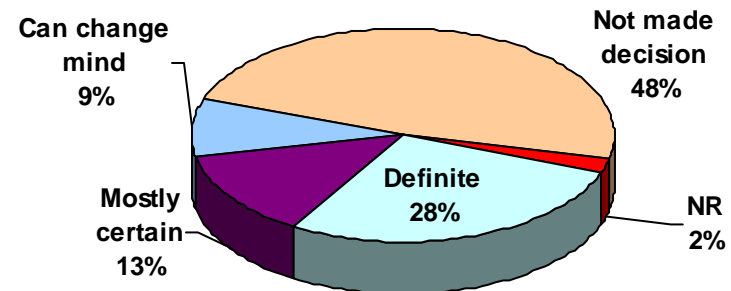
Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

13. Attitudes toward Political Parties

Satisfaction with Party that Represents Aspirations



Reached Decision on Party Vote for Parliamentary Election?

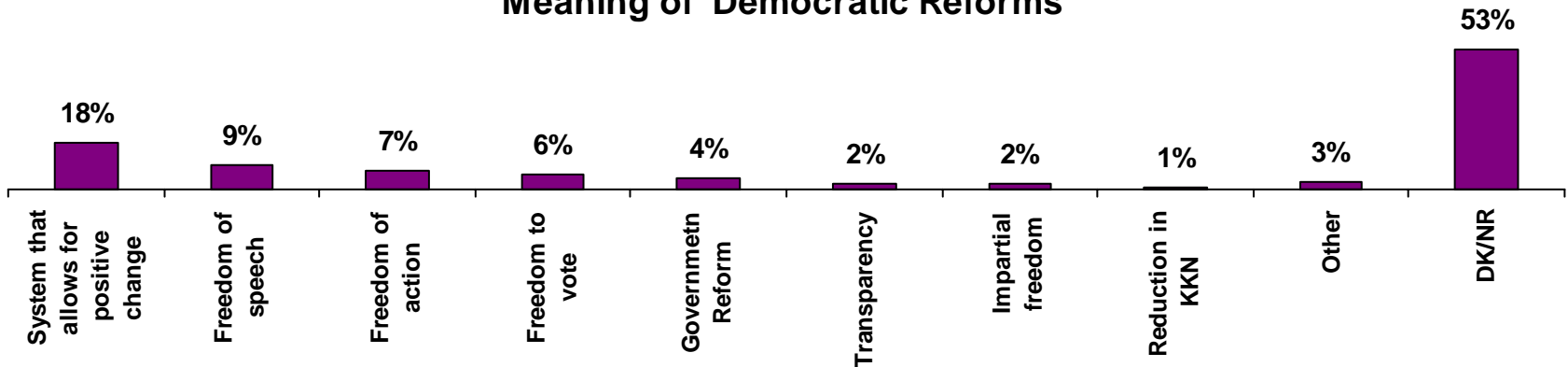


- Most of those who list a party as one that most represents their aspirations are very or somewhat satisfied with that party. In total 80% are somewhat satisfied with the party and 9% are very satisfied. Few are dissatisfied.
- Even though most of those who list a party that represents their aspirations are satisfied with the party, a majority of those who name a party have not completely made up their mind as to who they will vote for in the 2004 election. Forty-eight percent have not yet made a decision and 9% say they can still change their mind before the election. Twenty-eight percent say they have definitely made up their mind and a further 13% are mostly certain about their party choice. Those who name Golkar have the highest percentage who say they have definitely made up their mind for party choice or are mostly certain about this choice (60%). This is followed by those who name PDIP (57%), PAN (54%), PKB (51%), and PPP (50%).
- When asked why they list the party that most represents their aspirations, 50% of those who name a party say it is because of the party leader. Twenty-nine percent name a party because of the performance of the party, 22% because the party they named is linked to their religious organization, 20% because of the party's platform, 20% because they have always liked the party and 17% name a party because their family or friends like the party.

Results from Wave I Tracking Survey

14. Democratic Reforms in Indonesia

Meaning of 'Democratic Reforms'



- When asked to name the meaning of democratic reforms, most Indonesians cannot supply a definition for this term (53%). The ability to define this term is highly dependent on the level of education of the respondent, with 73% of those with a primary level of education unable to give a definition compared to 14% of those with a university education. Many Indonesians think that democratic reforms entail a system that allows positive change, and provides government reform and transparency (24%). Twenty-two percent mention general freedoms associated with democracy.
- Those who can provide a definition for democratic reforms are somewhat more likely to be dissatisfied with the reform process in Indonesia than satisfied. Fifty-one percent of those who can give a definition are very or somewhat dissatisfied with the democratic reform process while 43% are very or somewhat satisfied. Those respondents who name general freedoms associated with democracy are more likely to be satisfied than dissatisfied with the democratic reform process in Indonesia. Those respondents who think the reform process means better governance and transparency are more likely to be dissatisfied than satisfied with democratic reform in Indonesia.
- When Indonesians are asked to name a country they consider a model for Indonesia's democratic reforms, a plurality (38%) cannot give an answer or chooses not to give one. A quarter of Indonesians say that Indonesia is a unique country for which there can be no model. Malaysia is named by 11% of respondents, the United States by 9%, Brunei 5%, Japan 4%, and Singapore and Saudi Arabia are named by 2% each.