

# RESULTS FROM WAVE I THROUGH IX OF TRACKING SURVEY

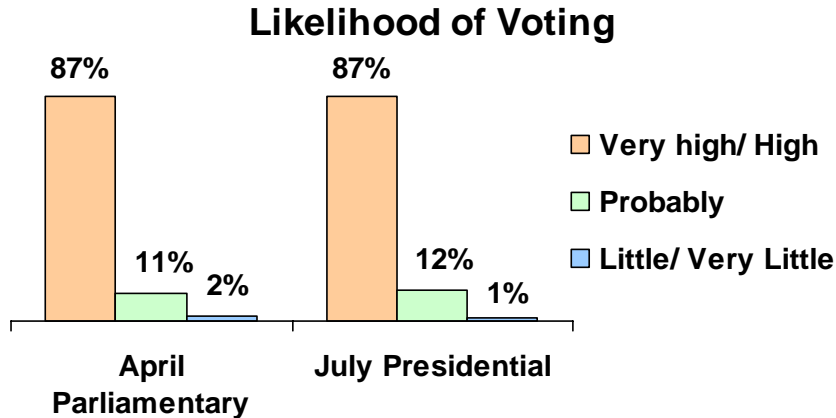


# Methodology

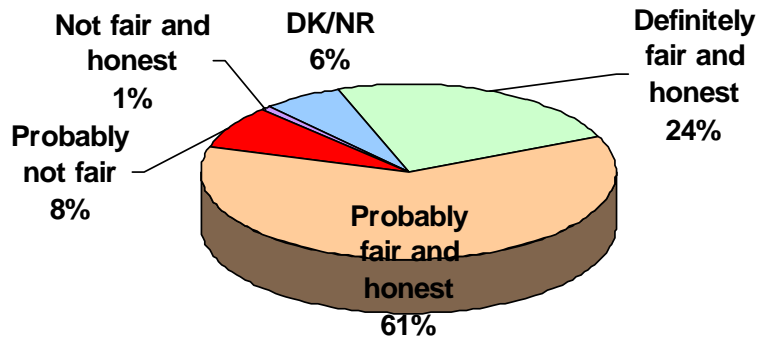
- Both the Wave I and Wave II surveys were conducted using face-to-face interviews with 1250 respondents (each wave), selected by multi-stage random sampling of eligible voters throughout each of the 32 provinces of Indonesia. The Wave III survey was conducted in half the sampled locations throughout the country in 16 provinces with 1000 respondents, and the Wave IV survey was conducted in the rest of the sampled locations, other 16 provinces, with 1000 respondents. Each of the Waves V to VIII surveys were conducted in 8 different provinces with 1000 respondents in each Wave, for a national total of 4000 respondents covering all provinces. The Wave IX survey was conducted nationally with 1250 respondents.
- The composition of the data in Wave I, Wave II, Waves III and IV combined, Waves V through VIII combined, and Wave IX reflects the rural/urban, men/women and inter-provincial proportions of the Indonesian population.
- The margin of error for the national data in Waves I, II, and IX is +/- 2.8% at a 95% confidence level. The margin of error for the combined Waves III and IV data is 2.2% at a 95% confidence level. The margin of error for the combined Waves V through VIII data is 1.55% at a 95% confidence level.
- For Wave I, the face-to-face interviews were conducted between 13 and 18 December 2003. For Wave II, the interviews were conducted between 12 and 15 January 2004. For Wave III, the interviews were conducted between January 26 and February 1. For Wave IV, the interviews were conducted between February 1 and 6. For Wave V, the dates of interviews were February 15-19; for Wave VI, February 21-25; for Wave VII, February 27-March 2; for Wave VIII, March 6-10 (the day before the commencement of the election campaign). For Wave IX, face-to-face interviews were conducted between March 21 and 28, 2004.
- In this report, any data from the Wave I, Wave II, Waves III-IV, and Waves V through VIII surveys, is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the Wave IX survey. Regional breakdowns reflect data from the combined Wave IX survey.

# Results from Wave I through IX Tracking Surveys

## 1. Likelihood of Voting



### Expected Fairness of 2004 Elections



- The March survey data indicates that upward of 90% of Indonesians may vote in the April 5 parliamentary elections. Eighty-seven percent of Indonesians say there is a high or very high likelihood that they will vote in these elections and another 11% will 'probably' vote in the elections. Very few Indonesians say there is little or no possibility of them voting in these elections. Given the high likelihood of voting, there is no one demographic group that stands out as being less likely to vote than others. Ninety percent of Indonesians are aware that there will be parliamentary elections on April 5, but even among those not previously aware of the elections, 75% say there is a high likelihood they will vote and 21% say they will probably vote.

- There has been an increase since the February-March survey in the percentage of Indonesians who believe the 2004 elections will be free and fair. Eighty-five percent of Indonesians in the March survey believe the elections will probably or definitely be fair and honest. This compares to 77% who held this opinion in the February-March survey election.

# Results from Wave I through IX Tracking Surveys

## 2. Knowledge of Procedures for 2004 Elections

Knowledge of How to Vote in DPR and DPRD Elections	
Vote for 1 party only	23%
Vote for >1 party	1%
Vote for 1 candidate only	2%
Vote for >1 candidate	0.4%
Vote for 1 party and option of 1 candidate from same party	66%
Vote for 1 party and option of 1 candidate from another party	2%
Vote for >1 party and option of 1 candidate from same party	2%
Vote for >1 party and option of 1 candidate from another party	1%
DK/NR	5%

Knowledge of DPD	
Yes	58%
No	25%
DK/NR	17%
Knowledge of How to Vote in DPD Election (n=727)	
Vote for 1 candidate only	84%
Vote for 2 or more candidates	2%
Vote for 1 party	11%
Vote for 2 or more parties	-%
DK/NR	3%

- There has been an exceptionally large increase since the February-March survey in the percentage of Indonesians aware that in the 2004 elections for DPR and DPRD they can vote for a candidate as well as a party. In the February-March survey, 36% of Indonesians were aware that this was a valid vote in the April elections for DPR and DPRD. In the March survey, 66% now cite this as a valid vote for these elections, nearly a two-fold increase. An additional 23% list voting for one party as a valid vote, meaning that at the end of fieldwork for the March survey (March 28) close to 90% of Indonesians knew how to cast a valid vote for the DPR and DPRD elections.
- Awareness of the DPD has also increased since the February-March survey (from 45% to 58%). Indonesians in Sulawesi and the conflict-marred regions of Aceh, Maluku, & Papua are more likely to be aware of the DPD (79%) than residents of Sumatra (excluding Aceh, 58%), Western Java & Banten (58%), Central Java & Yogyakarta (55%), and East Java (53%). Knowledge of the DPD is higher among those with a high or very high likelihood of voting (59%) than among those who say they will probably vote in these elections (51%).
- Of those aware of the DPD, more than four in five are aware that the proper way to vote for this body is to vote for one candidate only. This is an increase from the February-March survey when 63% of those aware of the DPD knew the proper way to vote for the body.

# Results from Wave I through IX Tracking Surveys

## 3. Parties that Best Represent Aspirations

Political Parties	Dec 2003	Jan 2004	Jan 26 – Feb 6, 2004	Feb 15 – Mar 10, 2004	Mar 21 –28, 2004
Partai Golkar (Golkar)	19.9%	27.1%	21.1%	19.3%	22.2%
Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)	13%	13.1%	12.2%	12%	11.5%
Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN)	7.2%	9.8%	8.9%	9.2%	6.4%
Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP)	5.8%	5.6%	7.1%	7.5%	5.0%
Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB)	5.5%	5.1%	5.9%	6.5%	6.6%
Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB)	2.4%	3.1%	4.1%	2.9%	1.3%
Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS)	2.2%	3.6%	4.1%	4.4%	3.6%
Partai Demokrat (PD)	0.8%	1.7%	1.1%	1.6%	4.1%
DK/NR	35.4%	23%	27.3%	29.8%	30.3%

- As the April 5 elections approach, nearly a third of all Indonesians (30%) still do not know or do not respond when asked what political party best represents the aspirations of people like them.
- Among the parties named, Golkar continues to be by far the most oft-mentioned party, as it has been since the start of these tracking surveys in December 2003. In the March survey, 22.1% of Indonesians name Golkar as the party that best represents their aspirations, as compared to 19.3% in the February-March survey. PDIP has stayed at the same level as in the February-March, 11.5% in March versus 12% in February-March. PAN has seen a decline in support from 9.2% in February-March to 6.4% in the March survey. PPP has also seen a decline from 7.5% in February-March to 5% in March. PKB and PKS have managed to stay close to the levels of support they had in the February-March survey (6.6% and 3.6%, respectively). One party that has substantially increased its showing is PD which is listed by 4.1% of Indonesians as the party that best represents their aspirations. This party was listed by just 1.6% of Indonesians in the February-March survey.
- The March survey asked respondents how likely they were to vote for the party that best represents their aspirations. Of those who name a party, 46% are certain to vote for the party they name, 35% are very likely to vote for this party, and another 8% are leaning toward voting for the party. Ninety-two percent of those who name PKB say they are certain or very likely to vote for this party. This percentage is 84% for PKS, 83% for Golkar, 80% each for PAN and PD, 76% for PPP, 75% for PDIP, and 59% for PBB.

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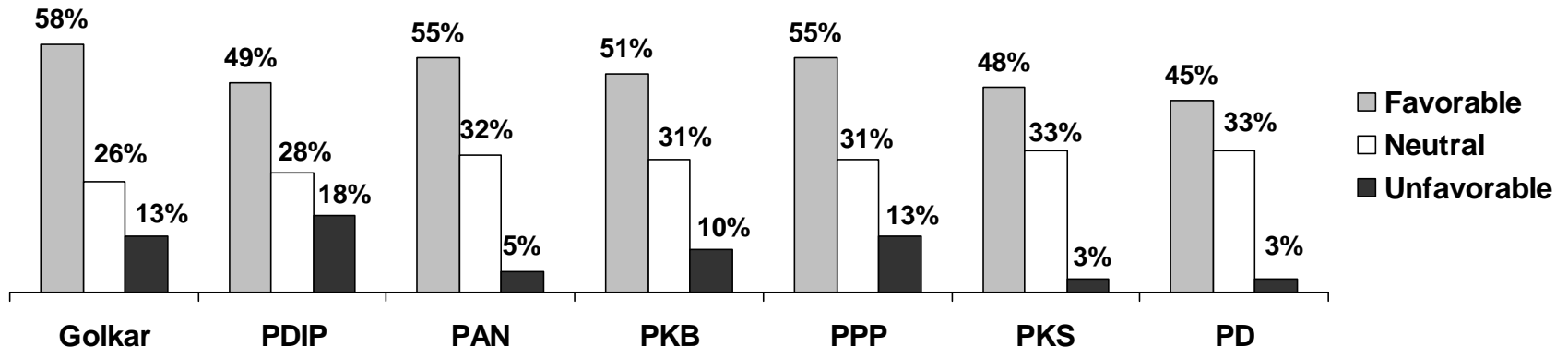
## 4. Voting Intention

Voting Intention for Those Who Have Made Voting Decision		
	February-March (n=2285)	March (n=1004)
<b>Golkar</b>	21.4%	19.0%
<b>PDIP</b>	11.8%	8.6%
<b>PAN</b>	8.9%	7.3%
<b>PKB</b>	6.5%	6.1%
<b>PPP</b>	7.5%	3.0%
<b>PD</b>	1.6%	4.1%
<b>PKS</b>	4.4%	3.4%
<b>PBB</b>	2.5%	1.4%
<b>Other</b>	6.4%	6.4%
<b>Secret</b>	27.0%	40.7%

- When asked directly what party they will vote for in the April elections, more than half of all Indonesians either do not reveal their voting choice (32.7% secret) or say that they do not yet know who they will vote for (19.7%).
- Among those who have made a decision, 19.0% say they will vote for Golkar, 8.6% say they will vote for PDIP, 7.3% list PAN, followed by PKB, PD, PKS, PPP, and PBB. With one exception, the percentage who intend to vote for the major parties has decreased from the February-March survey. This is likely the result of increased mention of 'Secret' as an answer (from 27% to 40.7%), and probably not due to an actual decline in support for most of the parties. The one party for which support has increased is PD, which is named by 4.1% in the March survey, up from 1.6% in the February-March survey. PPP has lost more than half its support from February-March but this may be due to many of its supporters not revealing their vote choice.
- Among those who say they intend to vote for Golkar, 60% say their decision is definite, 30% say it is mostly certain, and 9% say they can still change their mind. Among PDIP voters, 55% say their decision is definite, 24% mostly certain, and 21% can still change their mind. For PAN, 60% are definite, 27% mostly certain, and 12% can still change their mind. PKB has the fewest percentage of supporters who can still change their mind (3%).
- If we combine those who say intend to vote for a particular party and those who are certain or very likely to vote for the party that best represents their aspirations, we can roughly classify the possible party support of 63% of Indonesians. This still leaves 37% who are undecided, a bloc that can swing the election toward any party. However, for those whose possible party support can be classified, 30% lean toward Golkar, 16% toward PDIP, 10% toward PAN, 9% toward PKB, 7% each toward PPP and PD. PDIP may still be able to close the gap to Golkar with 'soft' support from those currently undecided. However, this may be difficult due to Indonesians' evaluations of PDIP (Slide 5).

# Results from Wave I through IX Tracking Surveys

## 5. Evaluations of Political Parties



- In the March survey, respondents were asked to evaluate the major parties, either as favorable, unfavorable, or neutral. For each of the parties, more Indonesians rate them favorably rather than unfavorably. However, there are some key differences between the parties.
- Golkar receives a favorable evaluation from 58% of Indonesians, the highest among all parties. It is viewed unfavorably by 13% of Indonesians. By contrast, PDIP is rated favorably by a lower percentage of 49% and unfavorably by a higher percentage of 18%. PAN is rated favorably by 55% and unfavorably by 5%. PPP is also rated favorably by 55%, but it has a unfavorable rating of 13%.
- When comparing the net rating of a party (% favorable - % unfavorable), the highest net rating belongs to PAN (50%). It is followed by PKS (45%), Golkar (45%), PD (42%), PPP (42%), PKB (41%), and PDIP (31%). PDIP has by far the lowest net rating of the major parties. PDIP is rated more positively by those who have made their voting choice but do not reveal it (53% favorable, 12% unfavorable, 41% net). However, Golkar is rated even higher by this group (59% favorable, 8% unfavorable, 51% net). All other things being equal, this may indicate a more favorable attitude toward Golkar than toward PDIP among those who do not reveal their voting intentions.

# Results from Wave I through IX Tracking Surveys

## 6. 2004 Presidential Election

Potential Candidates	Dec 2003	Jan 2004	Jan 26 – Feb 6, 2004	Feb 15 – Mar 10, 2004	Mar 21 – 28, 2004
Megawati Soekarnoputri	13.7%	13.9%	11.2%	11.5 %	11.6%
Amien Rais	7.8%	11.6%	9.7%	10.4%	7.9%
Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	5%	9.1%	10.9%	8.3%	18.4%
Akbar Tanjung	6.5%	8.1%	4.7%	6.5%	5.0%
Hamzah Haz	4.2%	4.8%	6.3%	5.8%	3.2%
Yusril Ihza Mahendra	5.5%	4.8%	6%	4.3%	3.7%
Sultan Hamengkubuwono X	3%	3.8%	3.7%	2.9%	0.3%*
Wiranto	3%	3.4%	3.6%	3.1%	3.3%
Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana	1.7%	2.9%	3.2%	2.5%	2.8%
Zainuddin MZ	4.3%	2.7%	2.9%	2.5%	2.4%
Hidayat Nurwahid	1.3%	2.7%	3.3%	2.7%	1.7%
Abdurrahman Wahid	3.1%	2.3%	3.9%	3.9%	3.8%
Others	14.1%	12.4%	10%	10.6%	9.5%
DK/NR	26.8%	16.9%	20.6%	25%	26.4%

- There has been a significant shift in support for possible contenders for the presidency in the July 5 election. The March survey marks the first time in these tracking surveys that President Megawati Soekarnoputri is not the contender most often mentioned by Indonesians as the person being the best possible president. In the March survey, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is mentioned by 18.4% followed by the president at 11.6%. Mentions of Yudhoyono have increased more than two-fold since the February-March survey when 8.3% mentioned him. Other prominent contenders include Amien Rais (7.9%), Akbar Tanjung (5.0%), Abdurrahman Wahid (3.8%), Yusril Ihza Mahendra (3.7%), retired General Wiranto (3.3%), and Vice-President Hamzah Haz (3.2%).
- In the February-March survey, the 6 potential Golkar candidates for president – Aburizal Bakrie, Jusuf Kalla, Surya Paloh, Prabowo Subianto, Akbar Tanjung, General Wiranto – totaled 15.3% support when their individual support was amalgamated. In the March survey, this combined support for the Golkar contenders has fallen to 12.9%, lower than that for Yudhoyono. It is not clear if any single Golkar contender would be able to sustain this level of support if nominated for the presidential race.
- All are cautioned that it is far too early to project presidential leaders at this stage of the electoral process.

\*The Sultan of Yogyakarta was not listed as a candidate in the Wave IX survey because he has dropped out of the nomination race for Golkar. All mentions of him in the Wave IX survey are volunteered responses.