

# RESULTS FROM WAVE I AND II OF TRACKING SURVEY

**IFES**

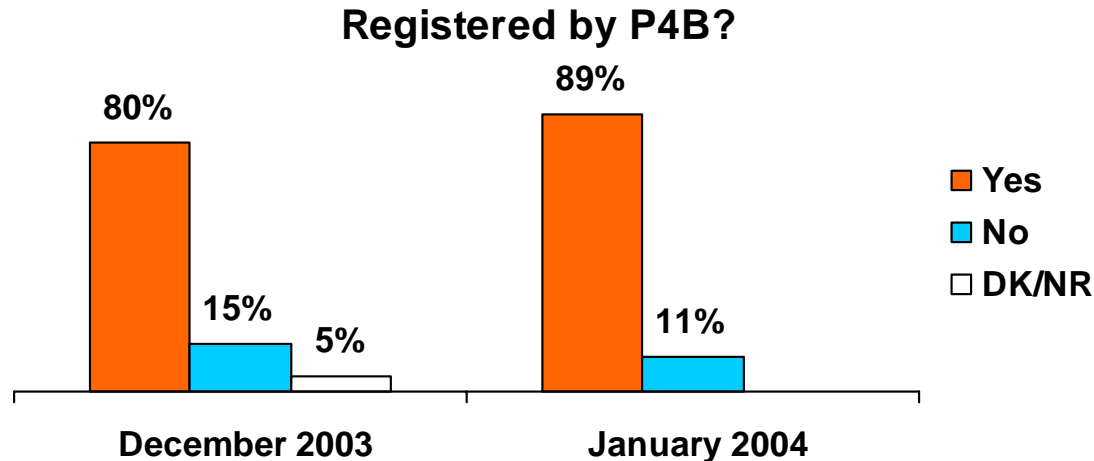
**10 February 2004**

# Methodology

- Both the Wave I and Wave II surveys were 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 in each survey reflects the rural/urban, men/women and inter-provincial proportions of the Indonesian population.
- The margin of error for national data for both surveys is +/- 2.8% 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.
- In this report, data from the Wave I survey is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the Wave II survey.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 1. Voter Registration for 2004 Elections

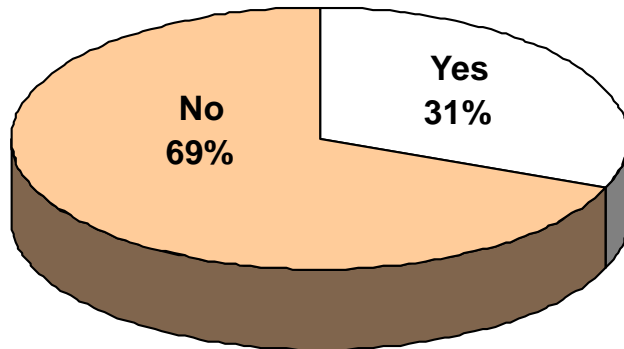


- There has been an increase in the percentage of Indonesians who say they have been registered for the 2004 elections from the December 2003 survey to the January 2004 survey. In the December survey, 80% reported having been registered compared to 89% in the January survey. The December and January surveys contain enough interviews in four regions (Western Java, Central Java, Eastern Java, Sumatra) to allow comparison of data between the two waves. In each of these regions, a higher percentage reports having been registered in January than in December. This difference is highest for Sumatra (77% in December, 91% in January), followed by Central Java (82%, 91%), Eastern Java (89%, 97%), and Western Java (76%, 82%).
- The increase in reported registration may result from two factors. In the January survey, “Don’t know” was not allowed as an option and respondents were given further information about the registration procedures so that they could give a yes or no response. In addition, registration has been reopened until end January 2004, which could account for the increased registration rates reported in the survey.
- Those 18-24 are less likely to be registered (84%) than older age groups: 25-34 (89%), 35-44 (90%), 45-54 (95%), over 55 (92%).

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

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

**Awareness of Release  
of Voters List**



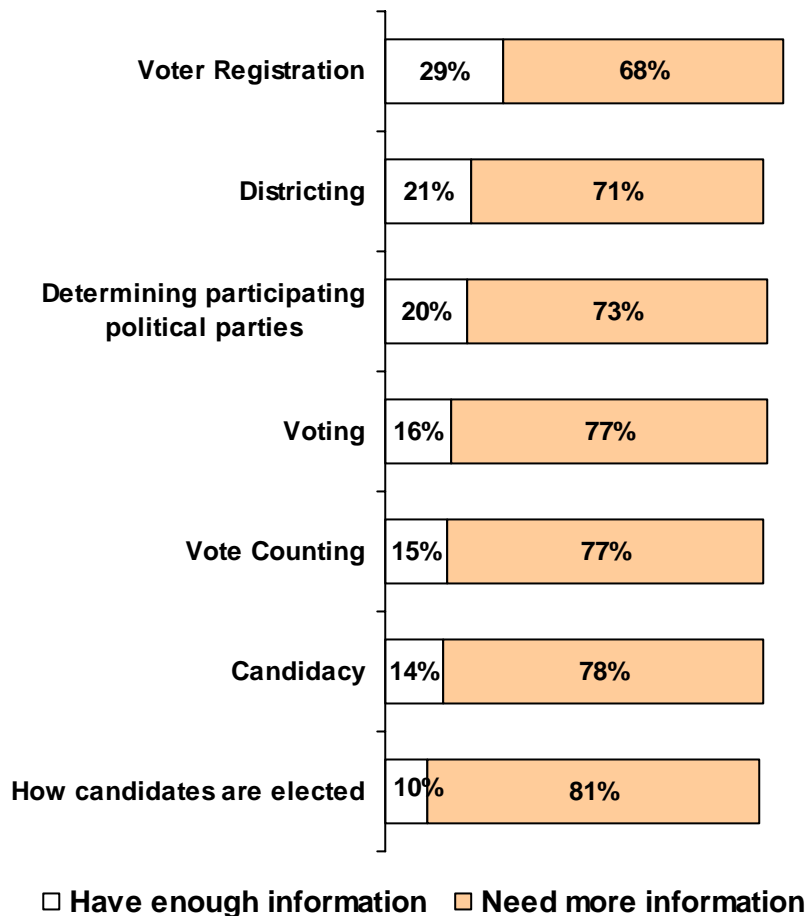
**Information Sources for Those  
Aware (n=391):**

Television (57%)  
Local officials (54%)  
Friends/Neighbors (27%)  
Newspapers (17%)  
Radio (17%)  
Meetings (6%)  
Brochures/Leaflets/Flyers (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 generally increases with education and income. Those with a university level of education or higher are more likely to have been aware of the release (43%) than those with lower levels of education. Those at Socio-Economic Status D and E are less likely to be aware of the release of this information than those at higher SES.
- Television and local officials were the two most-cited sources for information on the release of the voters list. Acquaintances such as friends and neighbors were the source of information for more than a quarter of Indonesians, while radio and newspapers were mentioned by nearly one in five.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

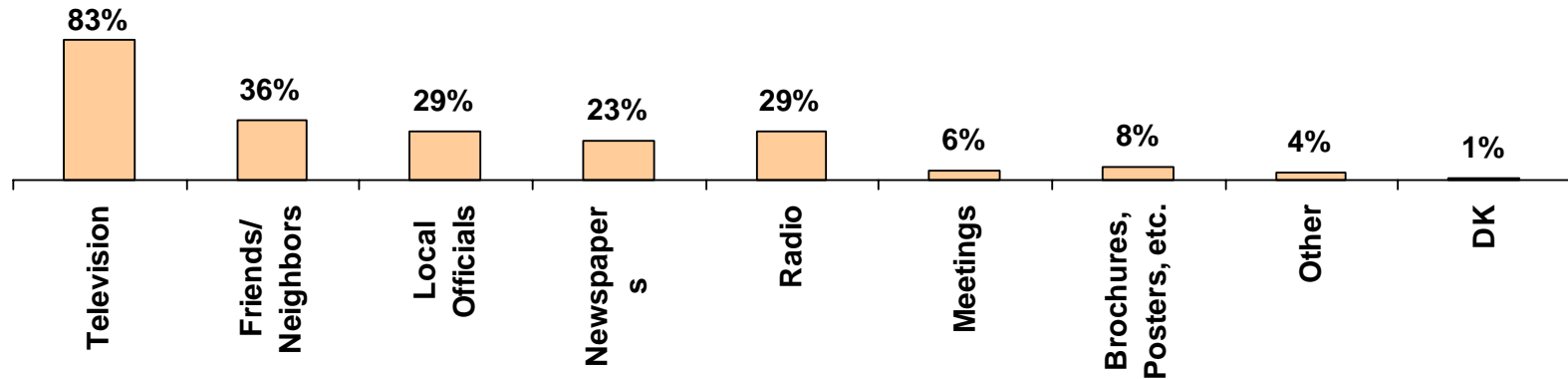
## 3. Information on Election Process



- The vast majority of Indonesians report that they do not have enough information on most facets of the election process in Indonesia and express a desire for more information on these issues.
- The area in which the largest proportion of Indonesians say they do not have enough information is on the procedures by which individual candidates are elected to the DPR and DPRD's (81%). More than three-quarters of Indonesians would also like more information on candidacy, the counting of votes, and voting itself. As for facets of the election process for which relatively more people say they have enough information, the highest percentage is for voter registration (29%), followed by districting (21%), and determining the political parties participating in the election (20%).
- Those Indonesians who say they have enough information on the various aspects of the election process are also more likely than those who need more information to have been aware that the voters list was released in November, to know that the parliamentary election will take place in April, and that the presidential election will take place in July.

## Results from Waves I and II Tracking Surveys

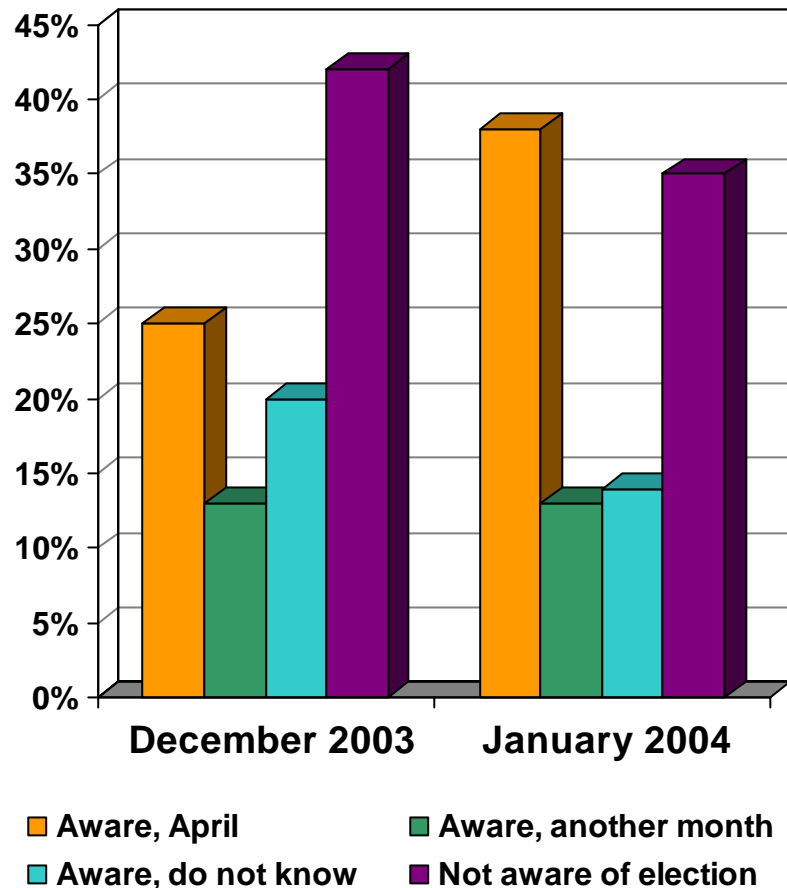
### 4. Sources of Information for 2004 Election



- Given the need for information on the election process for the vast majority of Indonesians, it is imperative to identify the sources of information Indonesians use to get information on the election. Currently, more than 4 in 5 Indonesians use television for information for elections. Many respondents also use personal contact with friends, neighbors, and local officials to obtain information on the elections. Newspapers and the radio are also frequently mentioned.
- The data in the chart above indicates the sources currently used for information on the election. However, when Indonesians are asked what source they would most like to use to obtain information on the different facets of the election process, the preference for television decreases. While a majority of Indonesians would still like to receive information on the elections through television (69%), this percentage is significantly lower than current usage of this source. Fourteen percent of Indonesians would most like to receive election information from local government and KPU officials, and 7% prefer their friends and neighbors. Radio (4%), newspapers (2%), and meetings (2%) are preferred by fewer Indonesians.
- Socio-Economic Status (SES) is a significant factor in preferences for the source Indonesians would most like to use to get information on the elections. While a majority at all SES levels would most like to use television, this preference is much higher among those at SES A (79%), B (81%), and C (77%) than for those at SES D (65%) and E (52%). Those at SES E and D are much more likely to prefer information from local officials and friends and relatives (32% and 25%, respectively) than those at SES A (7%), B (12%), and C (16%). This data indicates that besides television, face-to-face contact is another important tool to impart information on the elections to those at the lower end of the economic ladder. Because many respondents in this group prefer information from friends and neighbors, an official's contact with one person may have a multiplier effect in providing information on the election.

## Results from Waves I and II Tracking Surveys

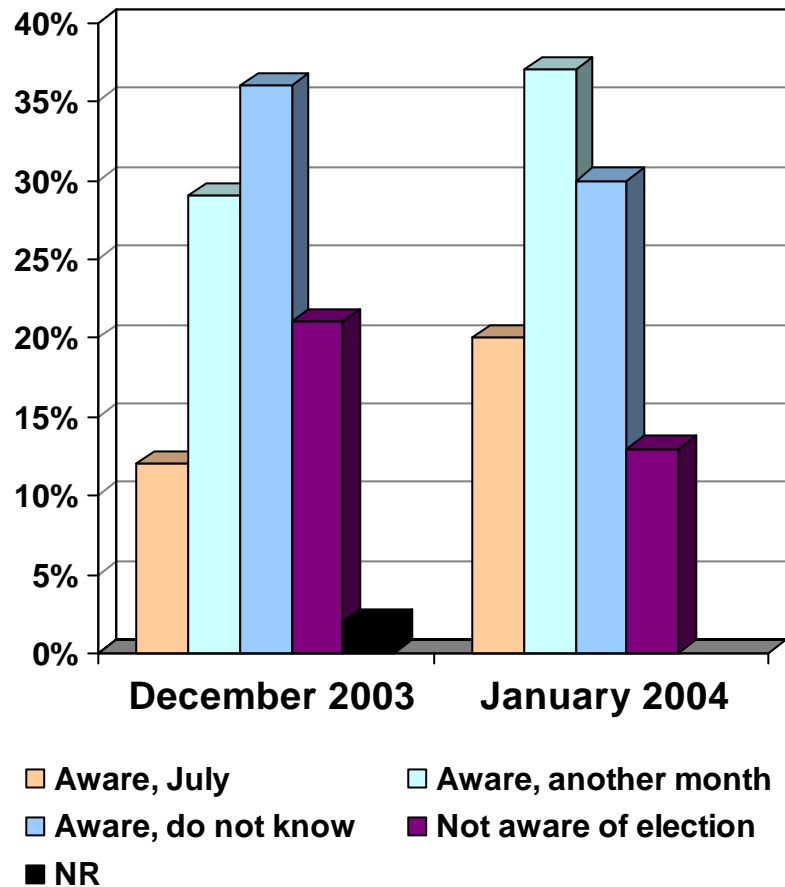
### 5. Awareness of Parliamentary Elections in 2004



- Awareness of the upcoming parliamentary elections has increased since the December 2003 survey. In that survey, 58% of Indonesians were aware that parliamentary elections would be held in 2004. This percentage has increased to 65% in the January 2004 survey. The percentage of Indonesians who are aware that the parliamentary elections will be in April has also increased from 25% to 38%.
- The percentage of Indonesians who are aware that there will be parliamentary elections in 2004 but do not know they will take place in April is 27% in the January survey, a decrease from 33% in the December survey.
- More than 70% of respondents at SES levels A, B, and C are aware that parliamentary elections will take place this year. This compares to 55% of those at level E and 60% of those at level D. This is a further indication of the lesser knowledge of information on electoral matters for those at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum.
- Given the fairly strong relationship between education level and SES in Indonesia, it is not surprising that higher educated Indonesians are generally more likely to be aware of the date parliamentary election than lower-educated respondents. Eighty-six percent of those with a university education are aware of the parliamentary elections compared with 71% of those with a secondary education and 53% of those with an elementary education. The one anomaly is that 69% of those with no education are aware of the elections.

## Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

### 6. Awareness of Presidential Elections in 2004



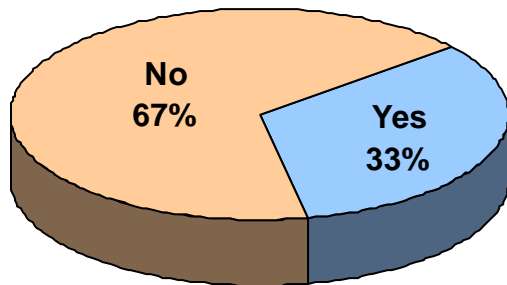
- As is the case with awareness of parliamentary elections, awareness of the presidential election has increased since December 2003. In that survey, 79% of Indonesians were aware of the presidential election compared to 87% in January 2004. The percentage correctly identifying the month of the presidential election has also increased from 12% to 20%. However, 19% of Indonesians think the presidential election will take place in April, perhaps confusing this election with the parliamentary elections.
- While there are differences in awareness of the presidential election based on education and SES differences, they are not as pronounced as in the case of awareness of parliamentary elections. For example, 91% of those with a secondary education are aware that there will be presidential elections in 2004 compared to 82% of those with no education.
- While there is little difference in awareness of the 2004 presidential election between those who have enough information on the various facets of the election process and those who need more information, those with enough information are generally more likely to know the month of the election than those who need more information. A similar difference exists with respect to the parliamentary elections.



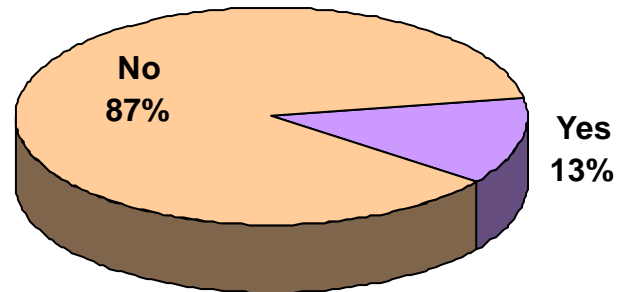
# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 7. Awareness of Candidate Lists

**Awareness of Submission of DPR/DPRD Candidates**



**Awareness of Release of Candidate Lists for DPD**

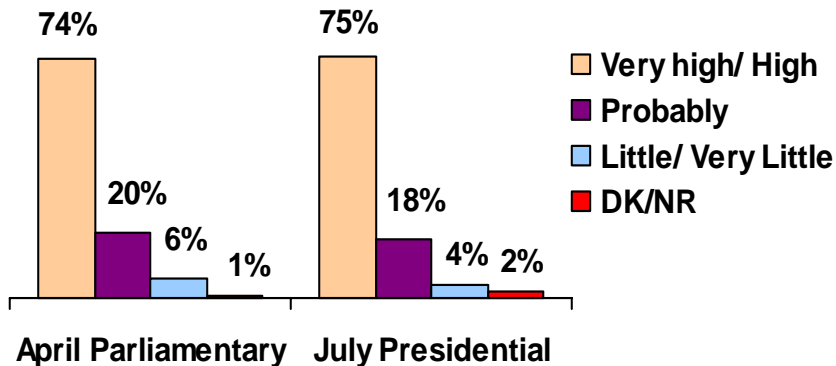


- Most Indonesians are not aware of the submission of DPR and DPRD candidates by political parties eligible for elections to these bodies. Among those Indonesians who say that they have enough information on determining the participating political parties in the election, 49% are aware of the submission of candidates by these parties and 50% are not. Awareness of the submission of the candidate lists increases with education and SES. Men are much more likely to be aware of this development (39%) than women (27%).
- Indonesians are even less likely to be aware of the KPU's release of candidate lists for the DPD. Overall, 13% are aware that the KPU has released the list of candidates. There is little regional difference with regard to awareness of the release of the DPD candidate list, and there is little rural/urban difference on this question as well. Even among those who are aware of the release of the list, very few (14%) can name a person who is a DPD candidate for their province. A further 24% name a DPD candidate but not one who is vying to represent their province.
- In the case of awareness of both the DPR and DPD candidate lists, most Indonesians who are aware of this information have obtained it through television (82% for DPR/DPRD and 71% for DPD). Newspapers (20% DPR/DPRD and 24% DPD), radio (14% DPR/DPRD and 13% DPD), and information for acquaintances (17% DPR/DPRD and 14% DPD) are also used.

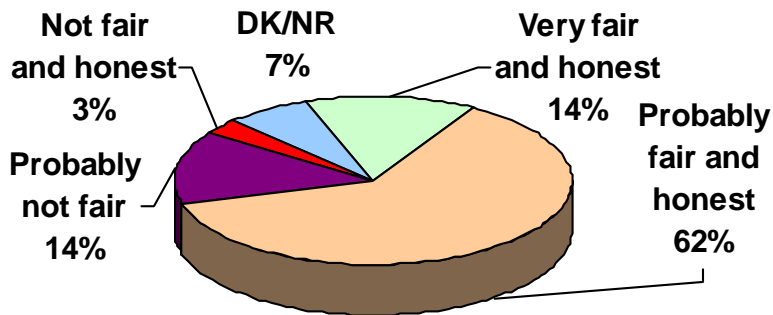
# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 8. Likelihood of Voting

Likelihood of Voting



Expected Fairness of 2004 Elections



- Just in the December 2003 survey, more than 90% of Indonesians in the January 2004 survey say that it is at least probable they will vote in the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2004. Seventy-five percent of Indonesians say there is a very high or high likelihood of their voting in the presidential election and 74% echo this sentiment for the parliamentary election.
- Young people (18-24) are slightly more likely than older Indonesians to say that there is little or no possibility they will vote in the parliamentary elections (13% versus 3%) and in the presidential election (10% versus 3%). The lower registration rates for Indonesians 18-24 is one reason for the lower likelihood of voting among this age group.
- Three-quarters of all Indonesians think, at the least, that the 2004 elections will probably be fair and honest. The majority of Indonesians (62%) believe that the 2004 elections will probably be fair and honest, while fewer (14%) are sure that the elections will be fair and honest.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 9. Effect of Party's Candidates on Likelihood of Voting in Presidential Election

Likelihood of Voting in Presidential Election if...				
	First Round		Second Round	
	No Presidential Candidate from Party that Represents Aspiration	No Presidential or Vice-Presidential Candidate from Party that Represents Aspiration	No Presidential Candidate from Party that Represents Aspiration	No Presidential or Vice-Presidential Candidate from Party that Represents Aspiration
Very High/High	51%	49%	49%	48%
Probably	31%	32%	33%	33%
Very Little/Little/Will Not Vote	15%	16%	16%	17%
DK/NR	2%	3%	3%	3%

- Data from the survey indicates that many Indonesians are less likely to have a high likelihood of voting in the first and second rounds of the presidential election if a presidential or vice-presidential candidate does not represent a party that, in a respondent's opinion, represents his or her aspirations. For each of the four scenarios outlined in the table above, between 58% and 63% of those who originally say that they have a high or very high likelihood of voting still express this preference when given the scenarios.
- Overall, for the four scenarios above, between 81% and 82% of voters say they would at least probably vote in the presidential election. This is significantly less than the 93% who say they would at least probably vote in a presidential election if no limitation on participating candidates is mentioned. While this data still points to a high turnout in the presidential election, it also shows a decrease in intensity for participation.
- There is not a significant difference in opinions on this question among Indonesians who think that major parties such as Golkar, PDI-P, PAN, PKB, PPP, and PKS best represent the aspirations of people like them.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 10. Knowledge of Procedures for 2004 Elections

Knowledge of How to Vote in DPR and DPRD Elections	
<i>Vote for 1 party only</i>	63%
Vote for >1 party	2%
Vote for 1 candidate only	8%
Vote for >1 candidate	1%
<i>Vote for 1 party and option of 1 candidate from same party</i>	20%
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	2%

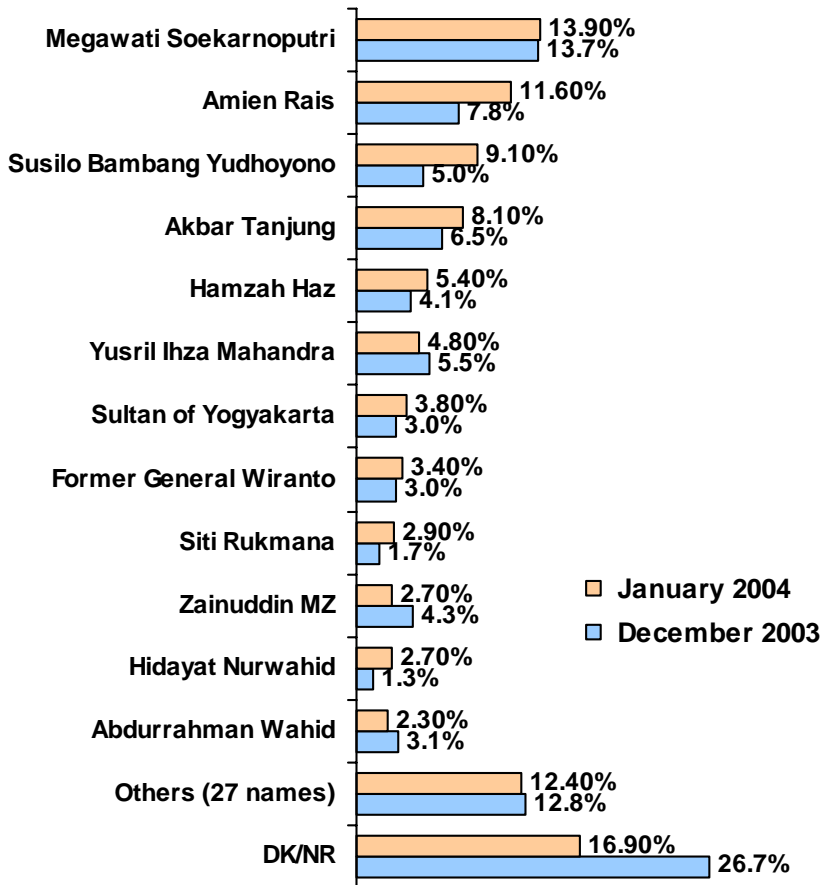
Knowledge of DPD	
Yes	37%
No	43%
DK/NR	20%
Knowledge of How to Vote in DPD Election (n=494)	
<i>Vote for 1 candidate only</i>	53%
Vote for 2 or more candidates	6%
Vote for 1 party	31%
Vote for 2 or more parties	1%
DK/NR	9%

- In the 2004 DPR and DPRD elections, Indonesians will be able to vote for a party and will have an option to vote for a candidate from that party if they so choose. Only 20% of Indonesians are aware of this new provision of the electoral law. There has been some increase in awareness of this provision from the 13% that mentioned it in the December 2003 survey. There is no significant difference in knowledge of this provision between those who say they have enough information on voting and those who say they need more information.
- Most Indonesians (63%) have not heard or read information about the DPD, the regional legislative body for which Indonesians will be voting for the first time in April. Of the 37% of Indonesians who are aware of the DPD, 53% 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. The December survey showed that 29% of those who are aware of the DPD believe the correct way to vote for a DPD candidate is to vote for one party. This continues to be a misperception for a large percentage of those aware of the DPD in January (31%).
- When the responses to the two questions on the correct procedure for voting for the DPR/DPRDs and DPD are cross-tabulated, it reveals that only 15.76% of Indonesians are aware of the correct way to vote for both of these types of bodies. As with information on other aspects of the election process, the better-educated are more likely to know the correct way to vote for both types of bodies than the lesser-educated. Awareness generally decreases with age. While 21% of those 18-24 are aware of the correct way to vote for both bodies, this percentage is 6% for those 55 and over.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 11. 2004 Presidential Election

### Presidential Choice

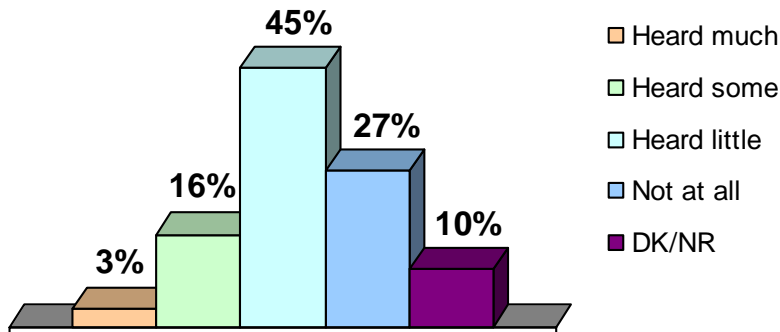


- Indonesians continue to be fairly unsettled about which personality would make the best president for Indonesia. Given a list of prominent Indonesians who have been mentioned in relation to the presidential election, the survey data indicates that no one political personality is clearly preferred by Indonesians at this time. While there has been some upward movement for Amien Rais and Bambang Yudhoyono since the December 2003 survey, this should not be taken as a definitive test of their electoral strength. Six months before the election, this data is more likely to project name recognition and general approval of a political personality rather than electoral intention. This preference is likely to oscillate frequently before settling into a discernible pattern once political parties name their presidential candidates leading up to the presidential elections.
- Awareness of the method of presidential election has increase slightly since the December survey Eighty-six percent of Indonesians are aware that there will be a direct election for president and vice-president. This compares to 80% who were aware of this in December. Compared to the December survey, fewer Indonesians say that the MPR will elect the president in July 2004 (14% in December and 9% in January).

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

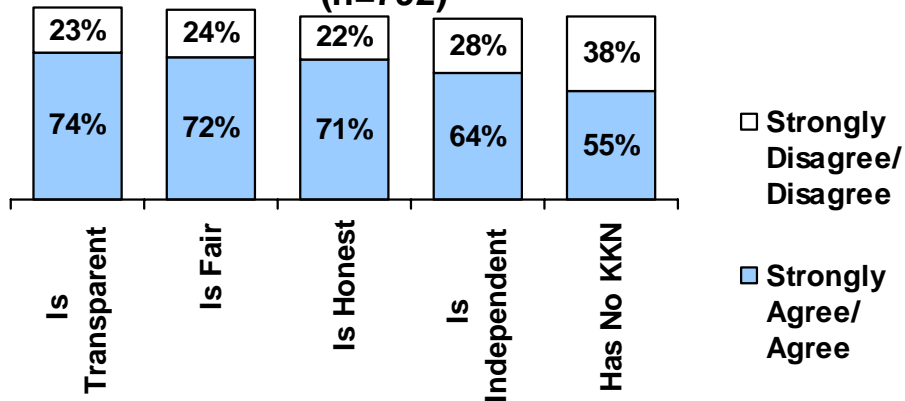
## 12. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, KPU

### Level of Knowledge about KPU



### Opinions on KPU

(n=792)

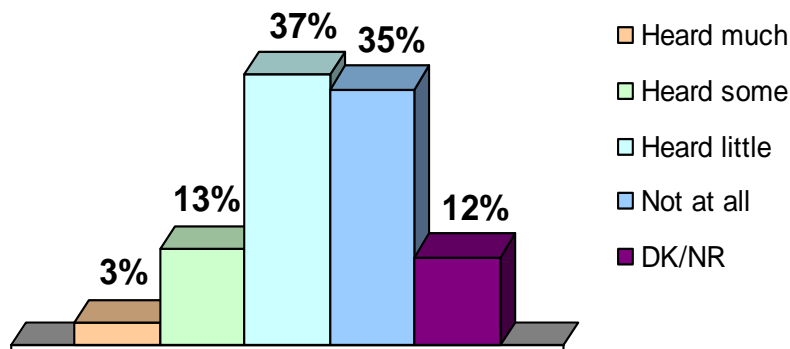


- Sixty-four percent of Indonesians say that they have heard at least a little about the KPU, but few have heard much about the organization. Indonesians in urban areas are more likely to say they have heard at least a little about the KPU than those in rural areas (70% versus 59%).
- A majority of those who have heard at least a little about the KPU have a generally positive impression of the organization. The positive impressions have grown since the Wave I survey. In the December 2003 survey, 65% of those who have heard of the KPU said it is an transparent organization, compared to 74% in January 2004. More Indonesians also agree that the KPU is fair (64% in December versus 72% in January), independent (58% versus 64%, and has no KKN (45% versus 55%).
- Roughly the same percentage as the number in the December survey say that they are very or somewhat satisfied with the KPU's efforts so far to prepare for the 2004 elections (68% in January, 64% in December). Among those dissatisfied with the KPU's work, many say it is because there is KKN at KPU (34%), because there is not enough information about the KPU (29%), because the KPU's work does not meet the ideal (23%), and because the KPU is not completely transparent (19%).

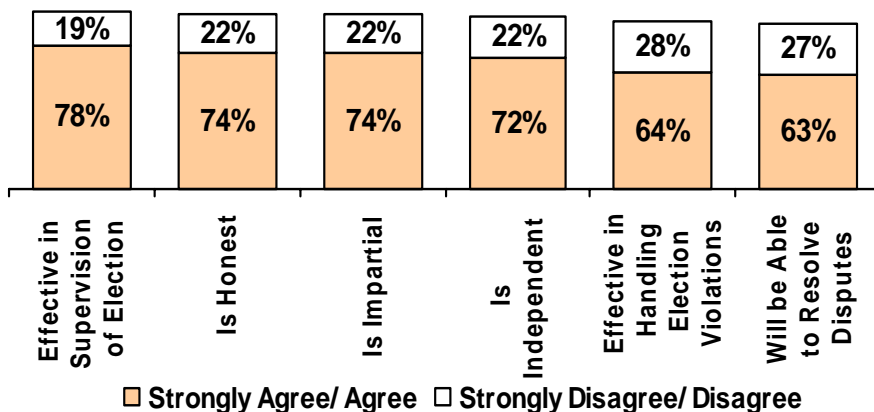
# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 13. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, PANWAS

Level of Knowledge about PANWAS



Opinions on PANWAS



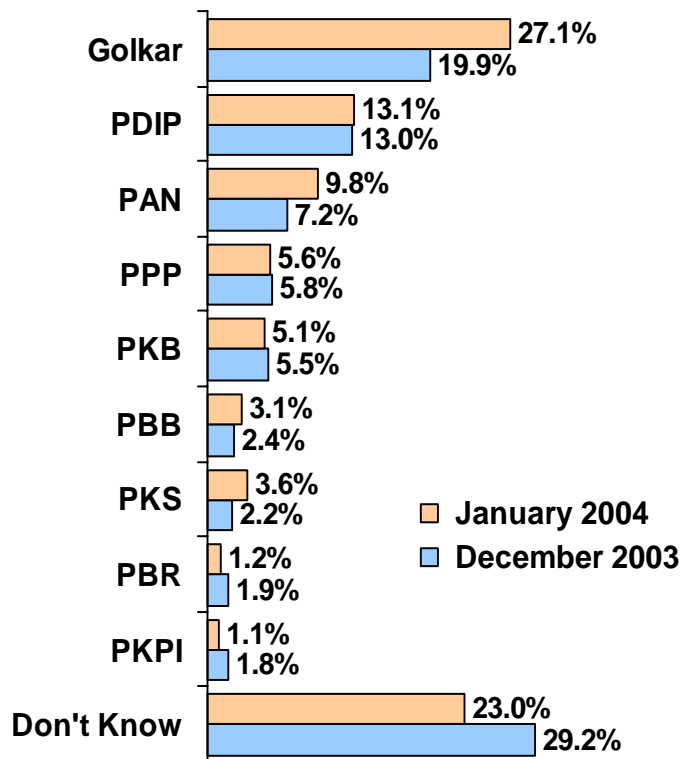
- A slight majority of Indonesians (53%) have heard at least a little about PANWAS, although few have heard much about it (3%).
- As with the KPU, most of those who have heard at least a little about PANWAS have positive impressions of PANWAS. More than three-quarters of those who know are aware of PANWAS (78%) agree that it will be effective in supervising the conduct of the 2004 elections. Close to three-quarters also agree that PANWAS is honest, impartial, and independent. There has been a slight increase in the percent of those who know of PANWAS agreeing that it will be effective in handling violations of the election law (59% in December 2003 to 64% in January 2004) and that it will be effective in being able to resolve election disputes (58% to 63%).
- There have also been slight increases in the percentage of those who are aware of the various functions of PANWAS. Among those who have heard of PANWAS, 87% are aware that it monitors the election process (81% in December), 62% are aware that it receives reports of violations of the election law (57% in December), 53% know that it settles disputes that occur during the election process (50% in December), and 52% are aware that forward unsettled disputes to the authorities for resolution (46% in December). So it appears that while the percentage of Indonesians aware of PANWAS has not increased significantly since December, knowledge about the organizations has increased slightly for those who are aware of PANWAS.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 14. 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.

**Parties that Best Represent Aspirations**



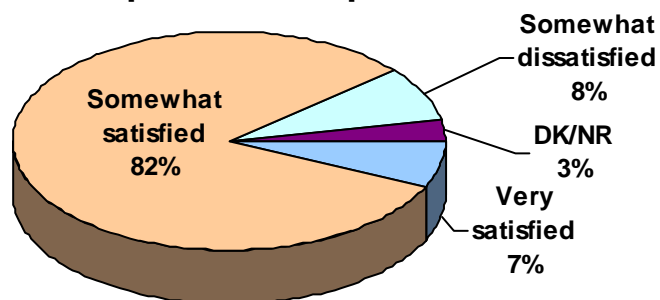
- Just as in December 2003, respondents on the January 2004 survey were asked to name the party that represents the aspirations of people like them. In December, the largest response for the party which most represents a respondent's aspiration was "don't know" with 29%. Nearly a quarter still give this response in January (23%), but a plurality identifies Golkar as their first choice for a party that represents their aspirations. PDIP is mentioned by 13.1%, followed by PAN, PPP, and PKB with between 5 and 10 percent. As data on the next page will show, these figures do not necessarily translate into voter intention because almost half of all Indonesians have not made up their mind on the party they will vote for in the 2004 elections.
- The only party to have made a significant gain between December and January of the survey is Golkar (19.9% in December, 27.1% in January)
- Of the five major parties listed above, 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 (48%), followed by those who mention PDIP (43%), PKB (39%), PPP (32%), and PAN (31%).
- Golkar and PAN voters in 1999 are the most likely to say that these parties still best represent the aspirations of people like them. Seventy-three percent of those who report voting for PAN in 1999 say that it best represents the aspirations of people like them. This figure is 71% for Golkar voters in 1999. The figures are lower for the other major parties: PKB (50%), PBB (48%), PPP (47%), PDI-P (41%).
- The percentage of Indonesians that names a party formed post-1999 as best representing their aspirations has stayed fairly steady from December 2003 to January 2004 (8% and 9%, respectively). As in December 2003, young people (18-24) are more likely to first mention these parties (14%) than older age groups (7%).



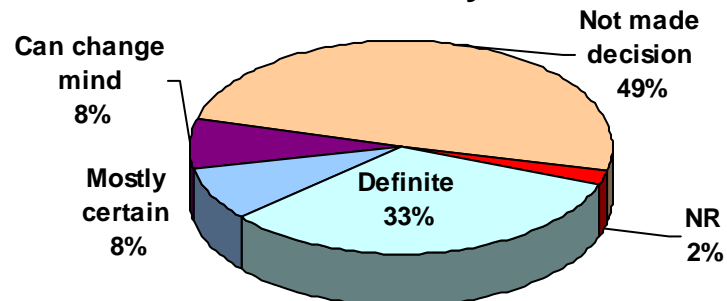
# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 15. Attitudes toward Political Parties

**Satisfaction with Party that Represents Aspirations**



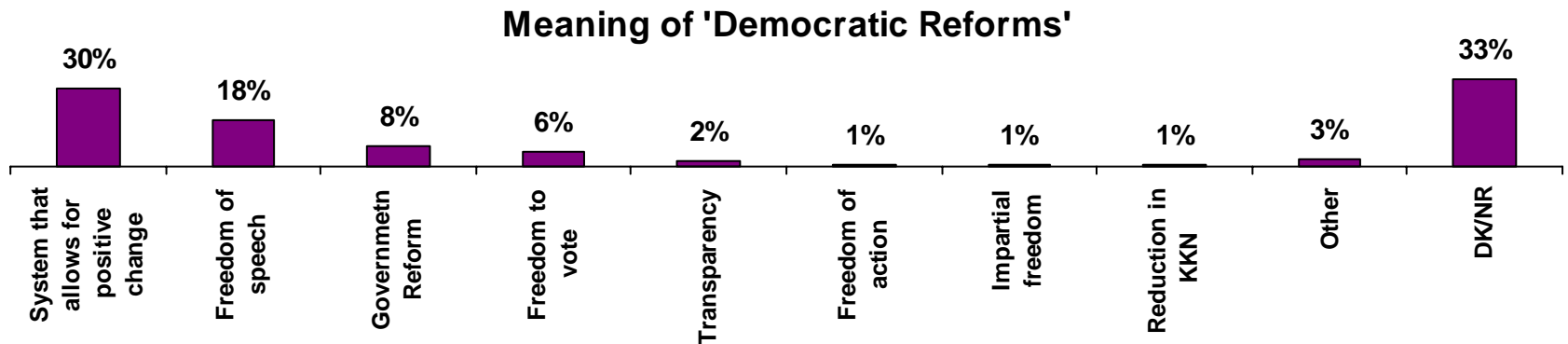
**Reached Decision on Party Vote for Parliamentary Election?**



- Opinions on satisfaction with parties that represent aspirations has not changed since the December 2003 survey. Most of those who list a party as one that most represents their aspirations are very or somewhat satisfied with that party (89%) and few are dissatisfied (8%).
- Just as in December, almost half of all Indonesians (49%) say they have not yet made a decision on their party choice for the 2004 parliamentary elections. Forty-two percent have definitely made up their mind or are mostly certain of their choice. The level of information about participating political parties has a strong influence on decision-making. Among those who say they have enough information on determining the participating political parties in the parliamentary election, 49% have definitely made up their mind on their party choice and a further 7% are mostly certain. Thirty-six percent of these respondents have not yet made a decision. Among those that need more information on participating political parties, 29% have definitely made up their mind, 9% are mostly certain, and a majority (52%) have not yet made a decision.
- When asked what considerations are the most important when making a decision on voting choice, the party's appeal to all Indonesians, its leaders, and its economic policies are the most important considerations for many Indonesians. Twenty-nine percent of Indonesians state that their most important consideration for selecting a party is its fairness to all Indonesians and its interest in the common people. Seventeen percent are attracted to a party's leadership and presidential candidate. The honesty and integrity of a party and its candidates are the most important considerations for 19% of Indonesians. Economic policy and job creation are most important considerations for 11% of Indonesians.

# Results from Wave I and II Tracking Surveys

## 16. Democratic Reforms in Indonesia



- A plurality of Indonesians (48%) are very or somewhat dissatisfied with the democratic reform process in Indonesia while 37% are very or somewhat satisfied with the process. When those who are dissatisfied are asked why they are dissatisfied, 43% say they are dissatisfied because no changes have resulted from the reform process, 25% are dissatisfied with the lack of security and 25% with the economic problems in the country, 12% because of the continued presence of corruption, and 11% because they believe people's prosperity is being neglected under the reform process.
- When asked to name the meaning of democratic reforms, a plurality of Indonesians cannot supply a definition for this term (33%). However, this percentage is significantly smaller than the 53% who could not give a response in Wave I. Many Indonesians think that democratic reforms entail a system that allows positive change, provides government reform and transparency, and allows for freedom of speech and voting.
- The survey data reveals that the freedoms cited above are not the only ones that Indonesians cherish. Indeed, when respondents to the survey were given a list of freedoms and rights and asked to prioritize their importance, many other freedoms were more likely to be mentioned. Twenty-six percent of Indonesians, the highest percentage in the survey, place the highest priority on the freedom of religion, and 17% believe this freedom deserves the second-highest priority. Twenty-three percent give the highest priority to freedom of speech and an additional 22% give it second-highest priority. Respect for human rights is also considered important (22% 1<sup>st</sup>, 22% 2<sup>nd</sup>). Equal rights for men and women are considered most important by 8% with a further 12% giving it second-highest priority.
- Respondents were asked to prioritize ten freedoms and rights. If points are awarded in reverse order for a priority of 1 to 10 for each item, then the ranking of the freedoms and rights is as follows: freedom of speech, respect for human rights, freedom of religion, equal rights for men and women, freedom of education, right to vote, rule of law, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, and freedom of movement.