

# RESULTS FROM WAVE V THROUGH VIII OF TRACKING SURVEY



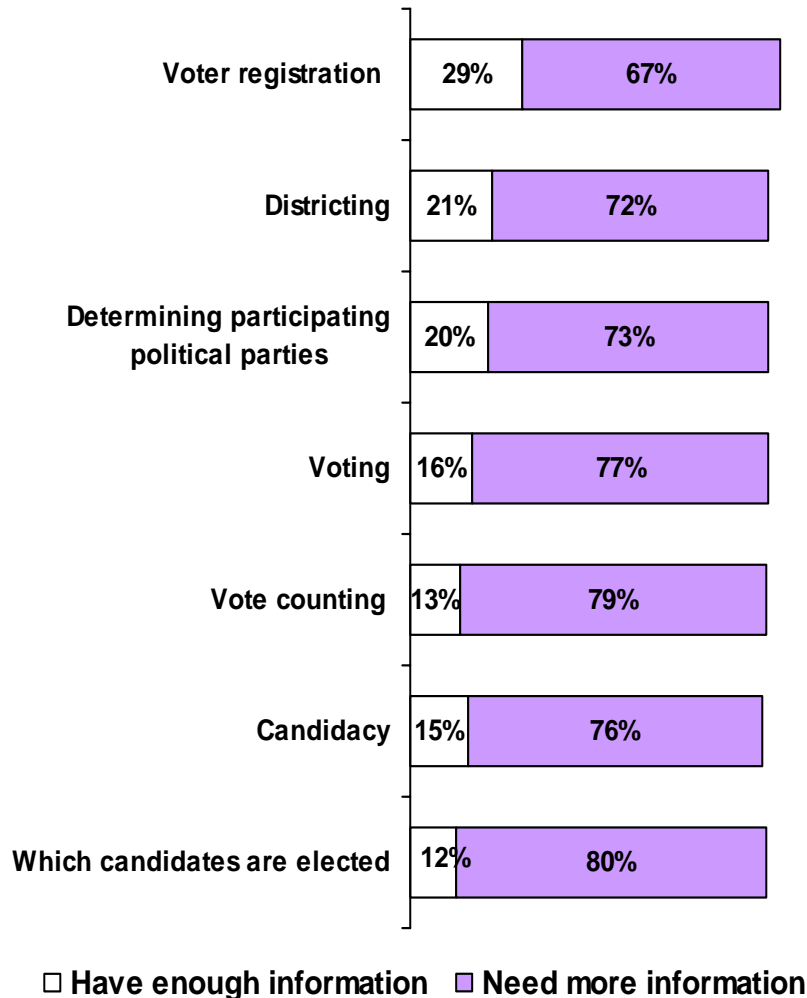
**26 March 2004**

# Methodology

- Both the Wave I and Wave II surveys were conducted using face-to-face interviews with 1,250 respondents (per 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 with 1,000 respondents, and the Wave IV survey was conducted in the rest of the sampled locations with 1,000 respondents. Each of the Waves V to VIII surveys were conducted in a quarter of the sampled locations throughout the country with 1,000 respondents in each Wave, for a national total of 4,000 respondents.
- The composition of the data in Wave I, Wave II, Waves III and IV combined, and Waves V through VIII combined reflects the rural/urban, male/female and inter-provincial proportions of the Indonesian population.
- The margin of error for the national data in Waves I and II 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).
- In this report, any data from the Wave I, Wave II, and Waves III-IV surveys is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the combined Wave V through Wave VIII surveys. Regional breakdowns reflect data from the combined Wave V through Wave VIII surveys.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 1. Information on Election Process

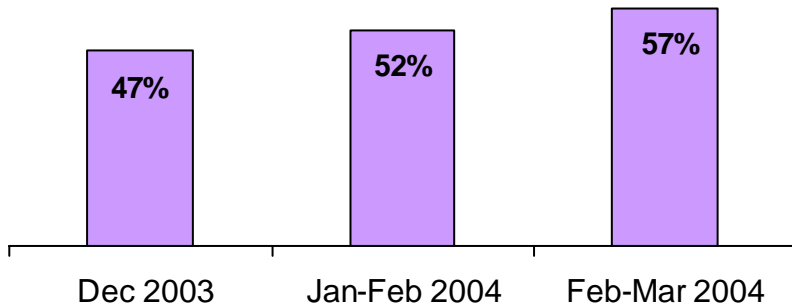


- When asked about the adequacy of information on various facets of the electoral process, more than 2/3 of Indonesians say that they need more information on each of these facets. More than 75% of Indonesians say they need more information on voting, vote counting, candidacy and determining which candidates are elected to parliament. The percentage of Indonesians aware of these issues has not changed significantly since the January-February IFES survey.
- The lack of complete information on the different aspects of the electoral process is further illustrated by comparing the percentage of Indonesians who say they have enough information on each of these aspects of the electoral process with the percentage who say they need more information on each of the aspects. In total, 5% of Indonesians say they have enough information on all aspects of the electoral process listed in the chart, while 48% say they need more information on these aspects of the electoral process.
- The need for more complete information about the electoral process is widespread among almost all key demographic groupings. Indonesians with at least some university education and at SEC level A are somewhat less likely than those with lower education and SEC to say they need more information on all aspects of the electoral process, but more than 40% of these groups still express this sentiment.

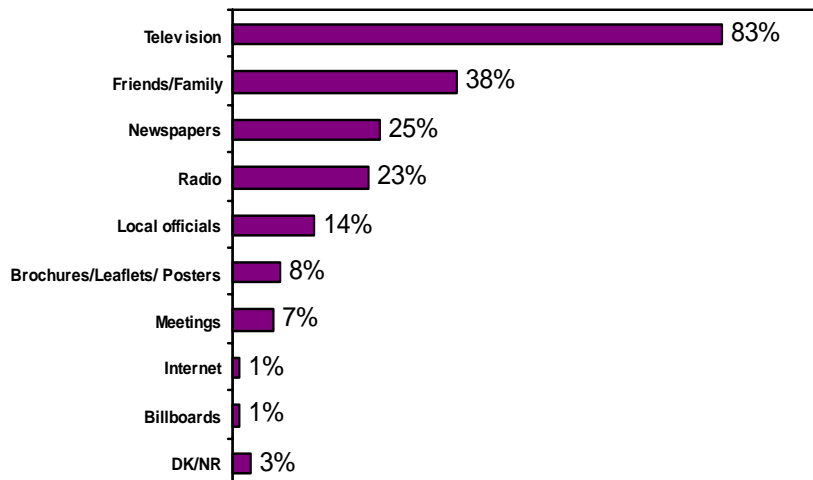
# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 2. Information about 2004 Elections

**Exposure to Milih Langsung Messages**



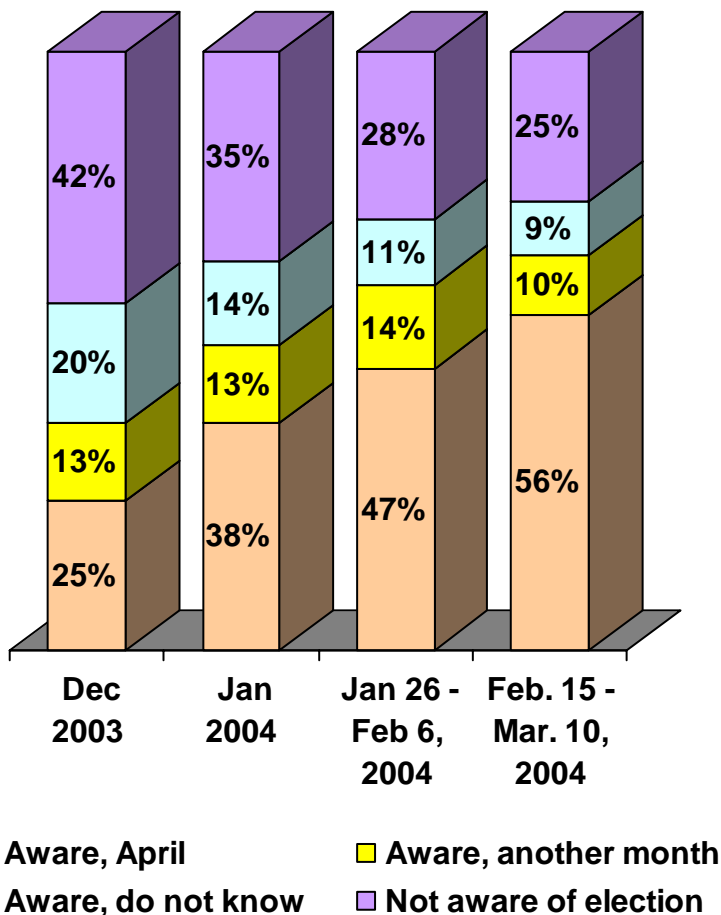
**Sources of Information for Elections**



- The percentage of Indonesians who have heard or read the *Milih Langsung* voter information messages has increased from 47% in the December 2003 survey to 57% in the February-March survey. Exposure to these messages increases with an increase in education and SEC levels. Men are more likely to have heard or read these messages than women (61% versus 53%), and urban residents are more likely to have been exposed to these messages than rural residents (62% versus 53%). Television is the main source of access to these messages: 88% of those who have heard or read the messages identify television as the source for the *Milih Langsung* messages. Radio and newspapers are the sources of information for these messages for 19% each. Nine percent say they have heard of the messages through friends and family while local officials were the source for 4%.
- Television is the generally preferred source of information on the elections for the vast majority of Indonesians. Eighty-three percent of Indonesians use television for information on the 2004 elections. A quarter of Indonesians use newspapers and 23% use the radio for information on the elections. Informal sources of information such as friends and neighbors are used by 38%, and local officials are the source of information for 14% of Indonesians. Television is also most frequently mentioned as a source Indonesians would prefer to use to get information on the elections (70%). Local officials (8%) as well as friends and neighbors (8%) are next-most mentioned, followed by local or regional KPU officials (3%), the radio (3%), newspapers (2%) and meetings (2%).
- The generally low level of use of radio may explain the relatively small number of Indonesians who have heard the KPU radio program, *KPU Menuju Pemilu*. Five percent of respondents had heard the radio program, though only 2% listen to the broadcast every week. Of those who have heard the program, 96% rate it as good or very good.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

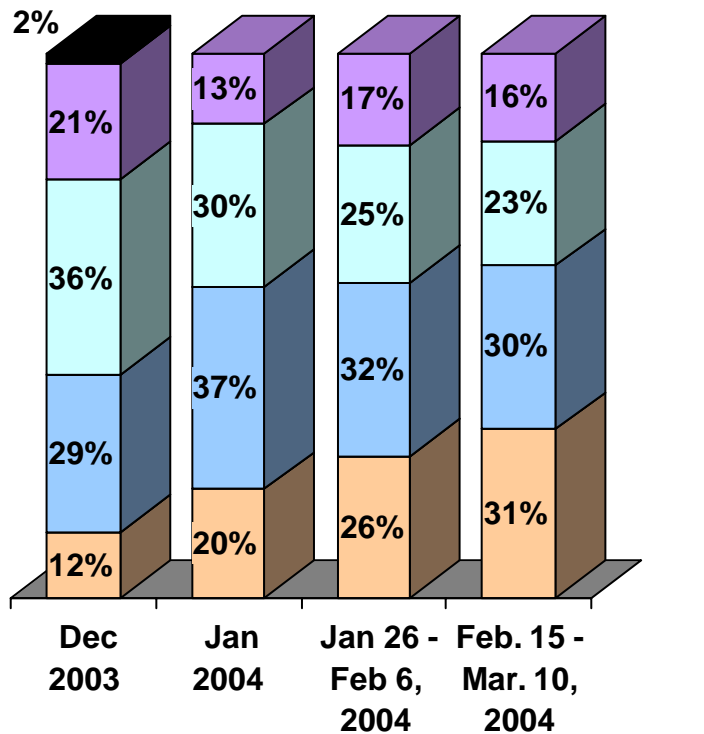
## 3. Awareness of Parliamentary Elections in 2004



- The February-March survey marks the first time since these tracking surveys started that a majority of Indonesians are aware that parliamentary elections will take place in April 2004 (56%). A further 19% are aware that there are parliamentary elections in 2004 but cannot name the month of the elections. A quarter of Indonesians are unaware that there are parliamentary elections scheduled for 2004.
- Thirty-nine percent of residents of East Java are not aware of the 2004 parliamentary elections. Other regions with large percentages unaware of the elections are Kalimantan (38%), Bali/NTB/NTT (35%), and West Java/Banten (29%). At least four in five residents of Sumatra (87%), Sulawesi (87%), the conflict areas of Aceh, Maluku, and Papua (86%), and Central Java & Yogyakarta (80%) are aware that there will be parliamentary elections in 2004.
- Rural residents are less likely to know that there will be an election (71%) than urban residents (80%). Indonesians aged 55 and over are much less likely to know of the elections (64%) than younger Indonesians (77%). On an encouraging note, more than three-quarters of Indonesians eligible to vote for the first time (77%) are aware of the parliamentary elections.
- The *Milih Langsung* messages are effective in informing the public about the upcoming elections. 90% of those who have heard these messages are aware of the upcoming elections, and 71% are aware that they will take place in April. Among those who have not heard these messages, 63% are aware of the upcoming elections and only 39% are aware that they will take place in April.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 4. Awareness of Presidential Election in 2004



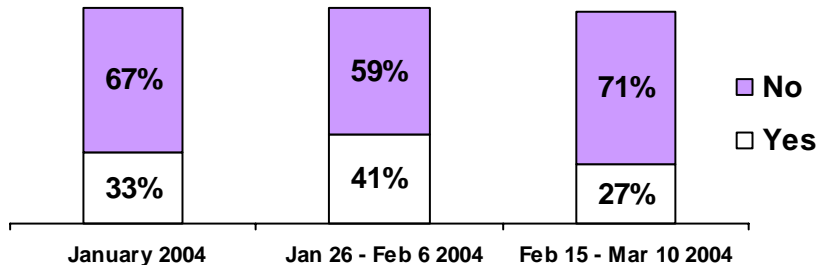
■ Aware, July                      ■ Aware, another month  
■ Aware, do not know           ■ Not aware of election  
■ NR

- Although awareness of the upcoming presidential election is higher than awareness of the parliamentary elections (84% versus 75%), fewer Indonesians are aware of the correct month of the presidential election (31% versus 56% for the parliamentary elections). The percentage of Indonesians aware of the month in which the presidential election will take place has steadily increased from 12% in the December 2003 survey to 31% in the February-March survey.
- Many of the same regions in which a relatively high percentage of respondents were unaware of the parliamentary elections also stand out for their relative lack of awareness of the presidential election. A quarter of the residents of Bali/NTB/NTT are unaware of the upcoming presidential election, while 23% in East Java and 22% in Kalimantan are also unaware of this election.
- Overall, 69% of Indonesians are aware that both the parliamentary and presidential elections will take place in 2004, and 9% are not aware of either of these elections. Among the regions, the conflict regions of Aceh, Maluku and Papua have the highest percentage aware of both elections (84%). Eighty-two percent of the residents of Sulawesi are aware of both elections, as are 79% of Sumatra residents. The region with the lowest percentage aware of both elections is East Java (54%), followed by Kalimantan (57%) and Bali/NTB/NTT (61%).

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

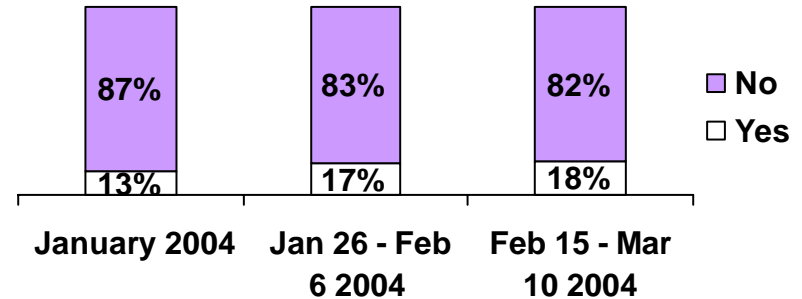
## 5. Awareness of Candidate Lists

**Awareness of Submission of DPR Candidate Lists\***



\*In the first four waves of the surveys, respondents were asked about both DPR and DPRD candidate lists. In the February-March waves, respondents were asked only about DPR candidate lists.

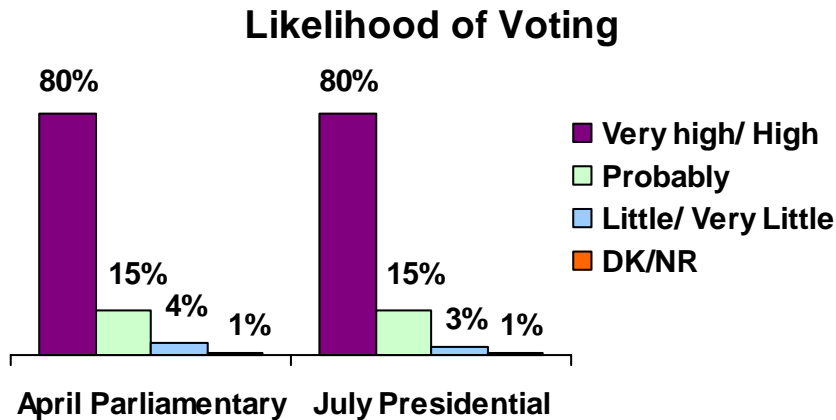
**Awareness of Release of DPD Candidate Lists**



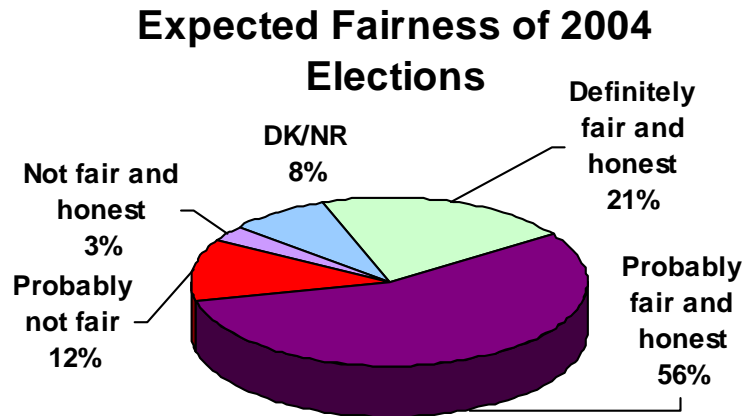
- In this year's elections for legislative bodies, Indonesians will have the option to select the name of a candidate on their preferred party's candidate list for the DPR and DPRD. Awareness of the release of the candidate lists for the DPR has decreased to 27% in the February-March survey from a high of 41% in the January-February survey. One reason for this decline in awareness may be that this issue was enjoying considerable media attention during the fieldwork for the surveys implemented in January and early February. Media attention to this issue had significantly decreased by the time the interviews for the February-March series of surveys were conducted.
- Awareness of the release of candidate lists for the DPD, on the other hand, has stayed at the same low level as during the January-February survey (18% and 17%, respectively). This percentage is a slight increase from the 13% who were aware of the release in the January survey. The highest percentage aware of the release of the DPD candidate lists is in the conflict regions of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (33%). Awareness in Bali/NTB/NTT has increased more than four fold from the January-February survey (6% to 27%). Awareness is relatively low in Kalimantan (8%), East Java (10%) and Central Java (12%).
- Very few Indonesians among those who know of the DPR or DPD candidate lists can name a DPR candidate in their district or a DPD candidate from their province. Of the 18% of Indonesians aware of the release of the DPD lists, slightly more than one in seven (16%) can name a DPD candidate from their province. As for the DPR, of the 27% aware of the submission of the candidate lists, less than one in ten (7%) can name a DPR candidate for their district.
- It should be noted that the Wave VIII survey was completed on March 10, one day before the start of the campaign period. More Indonesians may come to know individual candidates during the campaign.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 6. Likelihood of Voting



- Ninety-five percent of Indonesian say that it is at least 'probable' that they will vote at each of the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections. Eighty percent of Indonesians say that there is a high or very high possibility that they will vote in each of these elections. A further 15% in each case say that it is probable they will vote in these elections. Very few Indonesians say there is little or no possibility they will vote in these elections. Those who voted in the 1999 parliamentary elections are more likely to say they have a high likelihood of voting than those who were eligible in 1999 but did not vote. Eighty-two percent of those who voted in the 1999 parliamentary elections have a high likelihood of voting in the 2004 parliamentary elections compared to 68% of those who did not vote in 1999. For the presidential election, these percentages are 82% and 70%.



- Close to four in five Indonesians continue to believe that the 2004 elections will either definitely or probably be fair and honest. Twenty-one percent of Indonesians think that the elections will be very fair and honest and 56% think they will probably be fair and honest. Respondents who say the elections will not be fair and honest are still overwhelmingly likely to vote in the upcoming elections. Seventy-three percent of these respondents have a high or very high likelihood of voting in the parliamentary elections, and 73% express the same opinion about the presidential election.



# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

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

<i>Likelihood of Voting in Presidential Election if...</i>				
	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	56%	56%	54%	53%
Probably	30%	30%	31%	31%
Very Little/Little/Will Not Vote	11%	12%	13%	14%
DK/NR	3%	2%	2%	2%

- The data in the January and January-February surveys indicate that fewer Indonesians would have a high or very high likelihood of voting in the presidential election if the political party that represents their aspirations did not have a presidential or vice-presidential candidate in the race. This is also the case in the February-March survey. Overall, 56% of Indonesians say they have a high or very high likelihood of voting even if there is no presidential candidate from the party that represents their aspirations. This represents a decrease of 24 percentage points from the 80% who express at least a high likelihood of voting when not presented with any scenario. A similar reduction in high likelihood of voting is observed for other scenarios where a representative from the political party that represents aspirations is not either a presidential or vice-presidential candidate.
- Even though there is a reduction in the percentage of Indonesians who have a high likelihood of voting in the presidential election if there is no candidate from their party, more than 85% in each case outlined above still say that it is at least 'probable' that they will still vote in the presidential election. This percentage is relatively unchanged from the January-February survey.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 8. Knowledge of Procedures for 2004 Elections

Knowledge of How to Vote in DPR and DPRD Elections	
<b>Vote for 1 party only</b>	<b>46%</b>
Vote for >1 party	2%
Vote for 1 candidate only	6%
Vote for >1 candidate	1%
<b>Vote for 1 party and option of 1 candidate from same party</b>	<b>36%</b>
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	-
DK/NR	6%

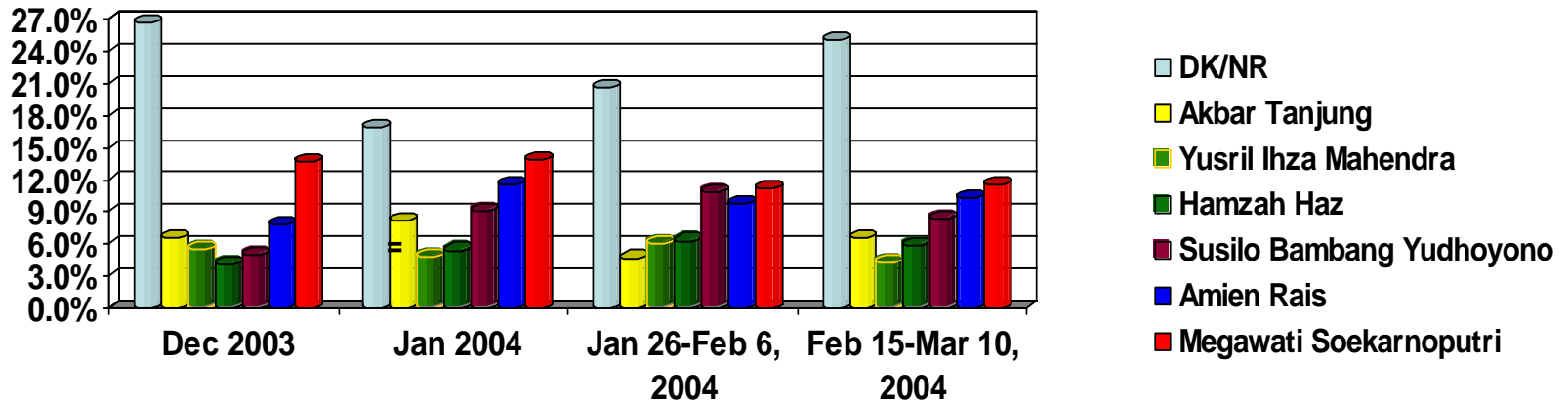
Knowledge of DPD	
Yes	45%
No	34%
DK/NR	21%
Knowledge of How to Vote in DPD Elections (n=896)	
<b>Vote for 1 candidate only</b>	<b>63%</b>
Vote for 2 or more candidates	4%
Vote for 1 party	22%
Vote for 2 or more parties	3%
DK/NR	8%

- The percentage of Indonesians who are aware that in the 2004 elections for DPR and DPRD they can vote for a candidate as well as a party has increased significantly from 19% in the January-February survey to 36% in the February-March survey. Knowledge of the option to vote for a candidate increases with the likelihood of voting in the elections. Among those with a high likelihood of voting, 38% are aware of this option. This compares to 26% who say they will probably vote and 17% who say there is little likelihood they will vote. Knowledge of the option to vote for a candidate is also higher among those aware that the elections will take place in April (47%) than among those who say the elections will take place in another month (34%) or those who do not name any month (22%).
- Eighteen percent of Indonesians do not know the correct way to mark a ballot in the elections for DPR and DPRD, slightly lower than the 23% who did not know the correct way to vote in the January-February surveys. At the time of the survey field work, with around one month to go to the DPR/DPRD elections, nearly one-fifth of the voting-age population was still unaware of the proper way to vote.
- There has been no change in the awareness of the new legislative body, the DPD, since the January-February survey. In both that survey and the February-March survey, 45% of Indonesians are aware this body and 55% are not. A majority of the residents of Aceh, Maluku & Papua (63%), Sulawesi (53%), and Sumatra (52%) are aware of the DPD. Residents of East Java (35%), Kalimantan (36%), and Central Java (38%) are least likely to know of the DPD.
- Among those aware of the DPD, there has been an increase in the percentage of people who are aware of the correct way to vote for the DPD from 54% in the January-February survey to 63% in February-March. There has been a decline of equal magnitude in the percentage who say the correct way to vote for the DPD is to vote for one party, from 31% to 22%. Sixty-seven percent of those who have heard or read the *Milih Langsung* messages know the proper way to vote for the DPD, compared to 52% not exposed to these messages.
- Even though there has been an increase in knowledge of how to vote for the DPD among those aware of this body, only a little more than a quarter of the Indonesian voting-age population (29%) is aware of the correct way to vote for the DPD. In the January-February survey, this percentage was 25%.
- More needs to be done in the remaining days before the April 5 election to increase knowledge about the proper way to vote for the DPD as well as for the DPR and DPRD.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 9. 2004 Presidential Election, Part 1

### Prominent Contenders

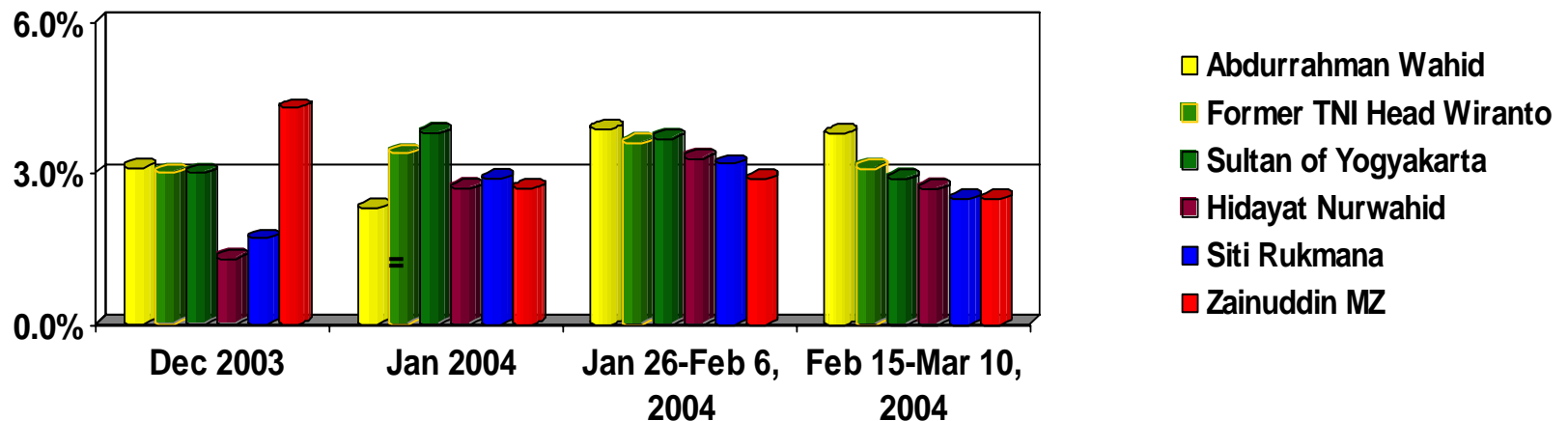


- At the time of the February-March survey, the percentage of Indonesians unsure about who they think would make the best president was still more than double the percentage of support that any single candidate can garner. There are no clear favorites for the presidency, but there are some candidates who have consistently scored above 4% in the IFES surveys since December 2003 and should be considered prominent contenders: President Megawati Soekarnoputri, Amien Rais, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, Vice President Hamzah Haz, Yusril Ihza Mahendra and Akbar Tanjung. In the February-March survey, Megawati was named as their choice for president by 11.5% of Indonesians. PAN leader Amien Rais is named by 10.3%, followed by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono at 8.3%, Golkar leader Akbar Tanjung at 6.5%, Hamzah Haz at 5.8%, and PBB leader Yusril Mahendra at 4.3%.
- If the support in the February-March survey for the then seven potential Golkar candidates for president – Aburizal Bakrie, Jusuf Kalla, Surya Paloh, Prabowo Subianto, Akbar Tanjung and the Sultan of Jogjakarta – is amalgamated, it totals 15.3%, significantly higher than the support for the presidential aspirants from any other party. However, it is not known if this support is interchangeable among these candidates
- Generally, the prominent candidates derive the majority of their support from Indonesians who favor the parties likely to nominate these candidates for the presidency. Seventy-eight percent of the people who name Akbar Tanjung think Golkar is the party that best represents their aspirations. Similarly, 64% who name President Megawati favor PDI-P. The only exceptions to this pattern are Yusril Mahendra, who receives 38% of his support from PBB supporters, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who receives just 12% of his support from those who favor PD. At this early stage in the run-up to the presidential election, this finding indicates that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono might possess the kind of broad-based backing that is essential for a candidate to gain the support of voters from a broader range of the political spectrum (28% of his support is from voters who think Golkar best represents their aspirations, 9% from PDI-P supporters). The other candidates are more reliant on their own party's sympathizers for the bulk of their support.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 10. 2004 Presidential Election, Part 2

### Secondary Contenders

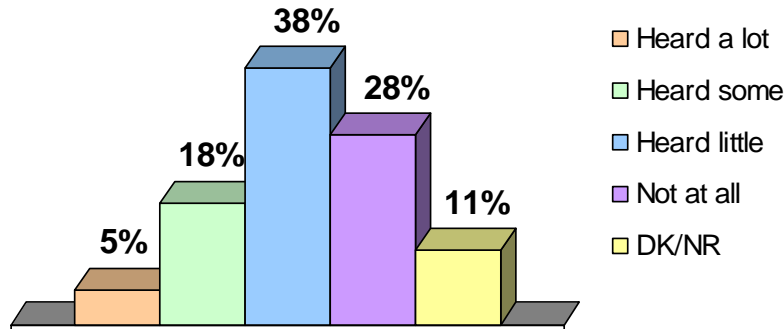


- Besides the prominent contenders for the presidency, there exists a secondary tier of contenders who might play an important part in the presidential race in the coming months. The head of the PKB and former president Abdurrahman Wahid is the most prominent of these contenders, with 3.8% support in the February-March survey. Another candidate of note is the former head of TNI, General Wiranto, who is challenging Akbar Tanjung for the Golkar nomination to the presidency. He receives the backing of 3.1% in the February-March survey.
- The Sultan of Yogyakarta receives the support of 2.9% in the February-March survey, but he has dropped out of the race for the Golkar nomination. The leader of the PKS, Hidayat Nurwahid, is the choice of 2.7% of Indonesians. Siti Rukmana, the daughter of former President Soeharto and the potential candidate for PKPB, has 2.5% support. The head of PBR, Zainuddin MZ, also receives the support of 2.5% of Indonesians.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

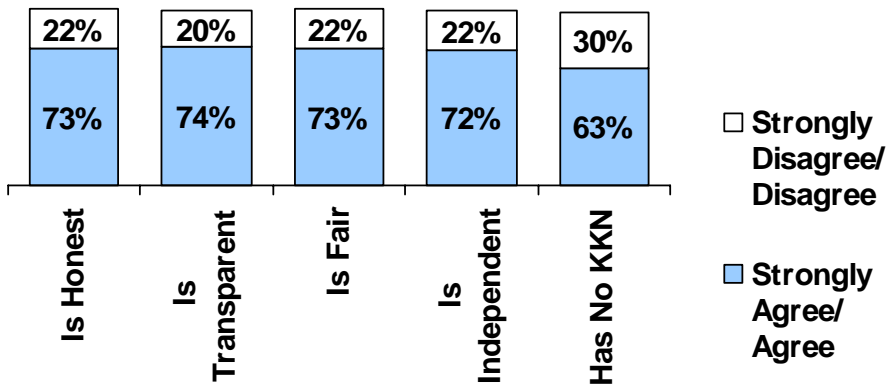
## 11. Knowledge of, and Opinions about, KPU

### Level of Knowledge of KPU



### Opinions about KPU

(n=2471)

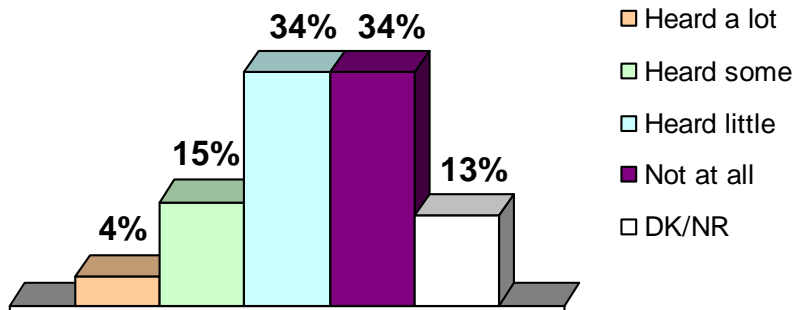


- Sixty-one percent of Indonesians say that they have heard or read at least a little about the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU). This is not a significant change from the percentage of Indonesians who reported having heard or read about the KPU in the January and January-February surveys.
- The vast majority of Indonesians who have heard of the KPU continue to have generally positive assessments of the organization. More than 70% of Indonesians who have heard or read about the KPU believe that it is honest, transparent and fair. More than two in three believe that the KPU is independent. There has been an increase in the percentage of Indonesians who agree that the KPU is an organization with no KKN, from 56% in the January-February survey to 63% in the February-March survey. There has also been an increase in the percentage who think the KPU is independent, from 67% to 72%.
- Nearly two-thirds of those aware of the KPU (62%) are satisfied with the performance of the KPU for the 2004 elections, and 30% are dissatisfied. The percent satisfied is a slight decrease from the 68% who expressed satisfaction with the KPU's performance in the January survey but nearly the same as in December (64%). The satisfaction level is basically unchanged from the January-February survey. There has been some change in the reasons for dissatisfaction with the KPU's work. Among those dissatisfied, 38% cite the lack of information as a reason for their dissatisfaction with the KPU. This is an increase from 26% who cited this reason in the January-February survey. Twenty-two percent are dissatisfied because of perceived KKN at the KPU, while 21% are of the view that the KPU's performance has been less than ideal, and 15% cite a lack of transparency in the KPU's work.

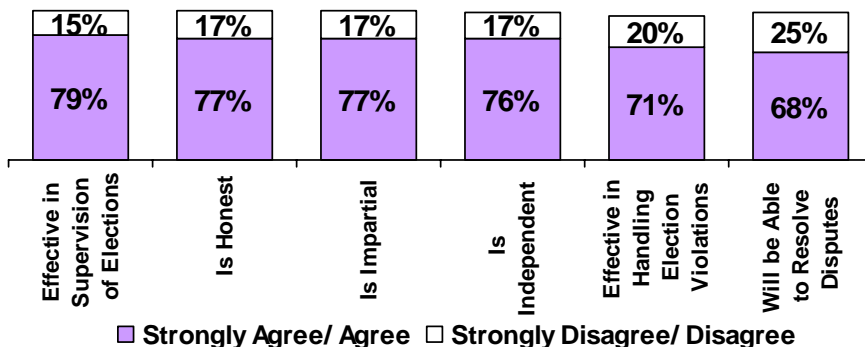
# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 12. Knowledge of, and Opinions about, PANWAS

**Level of Knowledge of PANWAS**



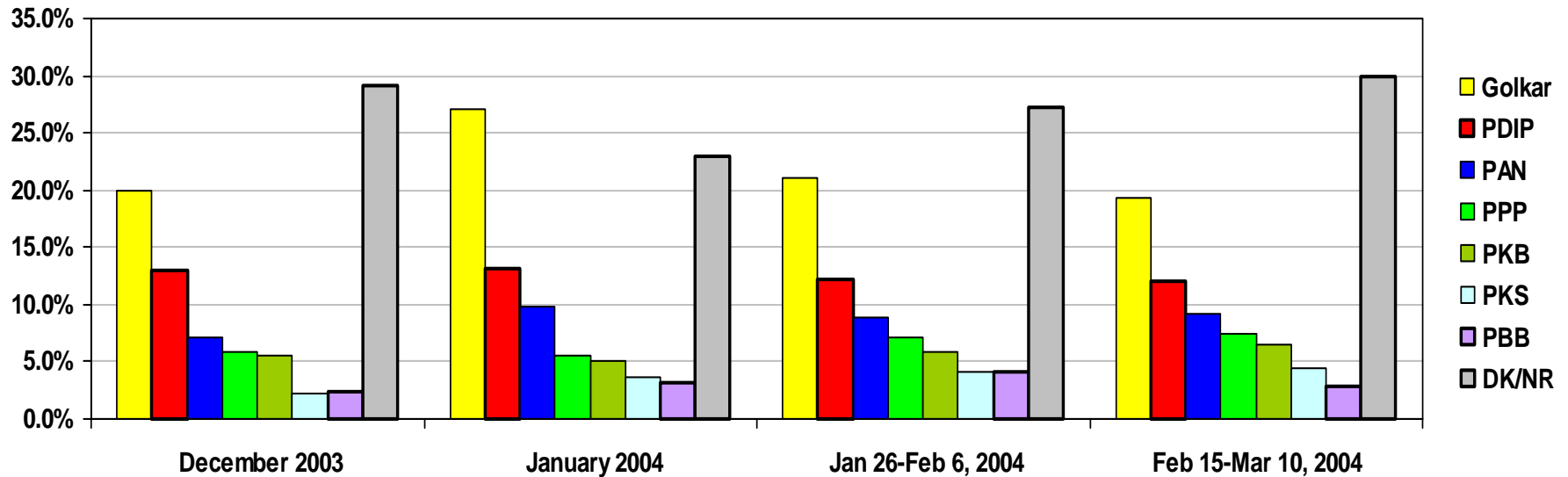
**Opinions about PANWAS (n=2091)**



- Fifty-two percent of Indonesians have heard of or read about PANWAS, the election supervisory body, compared to 56% who reported hearing of the organization in the January-February survey and 49% who reported the same in the December and January surveys. Awareness of PANWAS functions is generally high among those aware of this body. More than eight in ten are aware that PANWAS monitors the election process (85%), 68% are aware that it receives reports of violations of the election law, 60% know that it settles disputes that occur during the election process, and 57% are aware that it forwards unsettled disputes to the relevant authorities for resolution. The percent aware of the functions is basically unchanged from the January-February survey.
- Close to four in five (79%) aware of PANWAS think that it will be effective in the supervision of the 2004 elections. More than three-quarters think that PANWAS is honest, impartial and independent, and a slightly lower percentage think PANWAS will be effective in dealing with election violations and settling disputes.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 13. Parties that Best Represent Aspirations

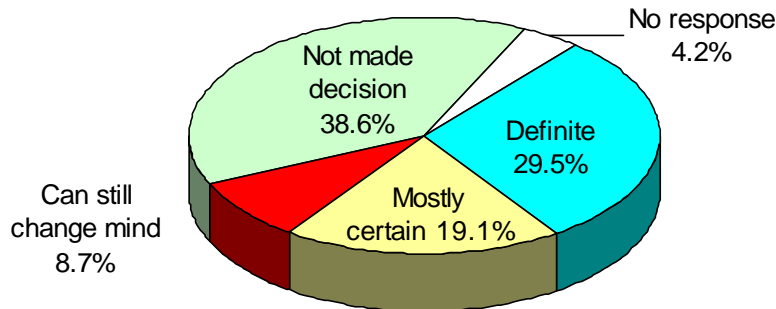


- All of the surveys since December have asked respondents to name the political party that best represents their aspirations. A sizable percentage in each of these surveys does not name a party (30% in February-March). In fact, in all the surveys except the January survey, the most frequent response has been “Don’t know” or no response. Between a quarter and a third of Indonesians are still undecided about which political party can best serve them in the upcoming elections.
- Among parties named, Golkar has consistently been named by the greatest number of Indonesians. In the February-March survey, 19.9% of Indonesians name Golkar as the party best representing their aspirations. This level of support is consistent with the percentage of support that Golkar has received in most of the surveys, although it is a decline from the 27.5% that named Golkar in the January survey. PDIP has consistently been named by the second highest percentage of respondents (12% in February-March). PAN has consistently been third (9.2% February-March) and PPP consistently fourth (7.5% February-March). Other notable parties mentioned are PKB (6.5%), PKS (4.4%) and PBB (2.9%).
- There are regional differences in parties named as best meeting aspirations. Golkar has sizable advantages over other parties in Sulawesi, where it is named by 40%. In Kalimantan, 26% name Golkar, 18% PDIP and 11% PPP. In Bali/NTB/NTT, 41% do not name a party, 25% name Golkar and 18% name PDIP. In East Java, 42% do not name a party, 20% name PKB, 15% name PDIP and 8% name Golkar. Central Java & Yogyakarta is the most competitive region of the country, where 43% do not name a party, 13% name PDIP, 12% name Golkar, 11% PAN and 10% PKB. In Western Java & Banten, Golkar is named by 21%, PPP and PAN by 12%, PDIP by 11% and PKB by 8%. In Sumatra (excluding Aceh), Golkar is named by 21%, PAN by 13%, PDIP by 9% and PPP by 8%.
- As the last paragraph states, there are very high percentages of residents who do not name a party in regions such as East Java, Central Java and Bali/NTB/NTT. These also are regions where the PDIP is relatively more competitive with Golkar than in regions where the failure to name a party is not as high. If the proportion of party support in these regions remains the same when those who are currently undecided choose the party that best meets their aspirations, then the percentage that names PDIP nationally **may possibly** increase. The higher percentage of undecided Indonesians in regions in which PDIP is relatively strong **may possibly** represent a late increase in percentage support for the party as the April elections approach.

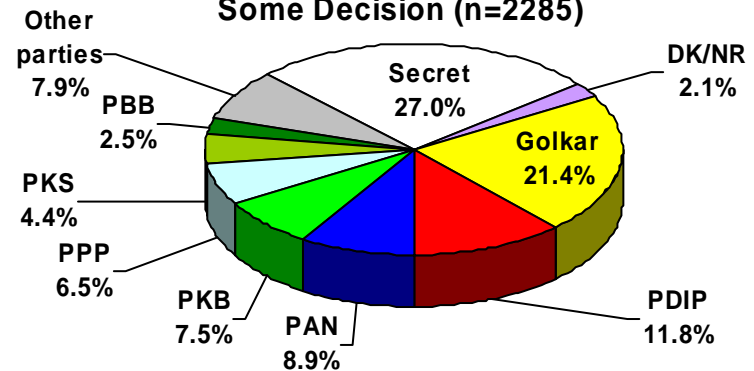
# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 14. Voting Choice

Stage of Voting Decision



Party Choice for Those Who Have Made Some Decision (n=2285)



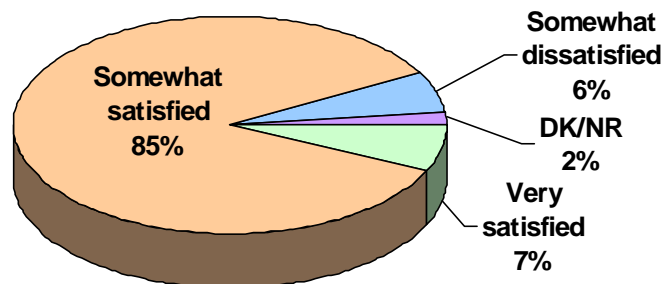
- As indicated in the findings from the party that best represents aspirations question, more than a third of all Indonesians have not made a decision on which party they will vote for in the 2004 parliamentary elections (38.6%). Nearly 30% of all Indonesians have definitely made up their minds and another 19% are mostly certain of their choice. Thus, half the voting-age population is fairly certain of the party they will vote for in the elections. Another 9% have tentatively made a decision but can still change their minds.
- Among those who have made some decision about the party they will vote for, Golkar is the choice of 21.4%, followed by PDIP, PAN, PKB, PPP, PKS and PBB. However, 27% of these respondents did not reveal their vote choice to the survey interviewer. The high percentage of respondents who do not reveal their party choice makes any projection difficult. However, an analysis of the groups that are relatively less likely to reveal their voting choice does provide some interesting information about possible trends.
- The higher the level of education of respondents, the less likely they are to reveal their party choice. In addition, those with secondary and university education are over-represented among those who do not reveal their vote choice (68%) when compared to the total population (56%). This is noteworthy because PAN and PKS are more likely get support among secondary and university-educated Indonesians than among those with elementary or lesser education. So the percentage voicing support for these two parties may be slightly understated in the chart above. Golkar, PDIP and PKB are more likely to get support among less-educated voters than among middle- or higher-educated respondents, the first group being one that is under-represented among those who do not reveal their voting choice.
- Even with further analysis of those replying 'secret' as their vote choice, a clear picture of possible party strength does not emerge because 43% of Indonesians have not yet made a decision about which party to vote for or do not specify whether they have made a decision. This percentage is much higher among lower-educated Indonesians (49%) than among those with secondary or university education (38%). All other things being equal, this may bode well for Golkar, PDIP and PKB because these parties derive most of their support from lower-educated respondents. Regionally, the highest percentages of respondents who have not made a decision are in Kalimantan (57%), Central Java and Bali/NTB/NTT (52% each). Among those who report their party preferences, Golkar and PDIP are much stronger in Kalimantan and Bali/NTB/NTT, while PAN is more competitive with these two parties in Central Java. These findings serve to reinforce the view that the vote proportion for each party in the April elections is still largely undetermined.



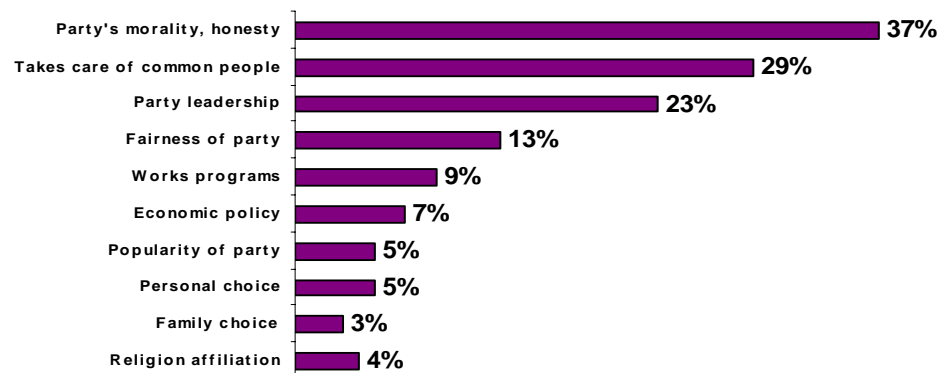
# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 15. Attitudes toward Political Parties

**Satisfaction with Party that Represents Aspirations**



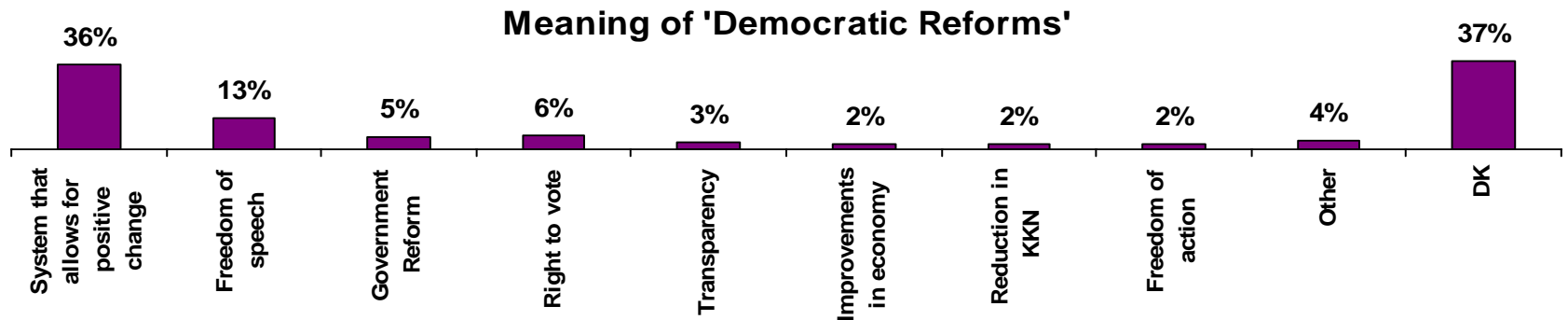
**Important Consideration for Party Vote**



- As in previous surveys, almost all of those who name a party that best represents their aspirations (92%) are either very or somewhat satisfied with that party. These percentages have not changed significantly since the December 2003, January 2004 and January-February 2004 surveys.
- Many Indonesians continue to view a party's honesty and integrity as a key consideration when deciding how to vote (37%). Thirty-three percent of all Indonesians in the January-February survey also voiced this view. It is also important for many Indonesians that the party they select takes care of the concerns of common people (29%). The quality of the party leadership and its presidential candidate are the most important considerations for more than one in five Indonesians. The economic programs of the party elicit the support of 16% of Indonesians. Three percent report that they base their vote on their family's choice of party or candidate.
- The party's honesty and integrity are important attributes for those who say they will vote for the PKS (58%), PPP (45%) and PAN (44%). The comparable figures for Golkar and PDIP supporters are 34% and 38%, respectively. Very few of those who would vote for Golkar say that a party's religious affiliation is important to them, compared to 13% among PKB voters, 11% among PKS voters and 10% among PPP voters. A person's outlook on the role of religion in politics reveals an interesting dichotomy with regard to party support (discussed below).
- When asked what role religion should play in politics, 41% say that religion should not play any role in politics, 11% say that religion should play some part, 18% say that religion should play an important role but not the most important role, and 24% say that religious considerations should play the most important role in politics. One would expect that those who think that religion should have an important role would be more likely to vote for Islam-based parties, but this does not turn out to be the case. Combining the six major Islam-based parties (PBB, PPP, PNUI, PKB, PKS and PBR) into one category reveals that these parties receive 28% support among those who think religion should play an important part in politics and 18% among those who think religion should not play a primary role in politics. While there is clearly more support for Islam-based parties among those who think religion should play an important role in politics, it should be noted that even among these respondents a higher percentage would vote for parties that are not Islam-based (45%).
- Among those who reported their voting choices, Golkar is the leading party named, no matter what the relationship between religion and politics preferred by the respondent.

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 16. Democratic Reforms in Indonesia

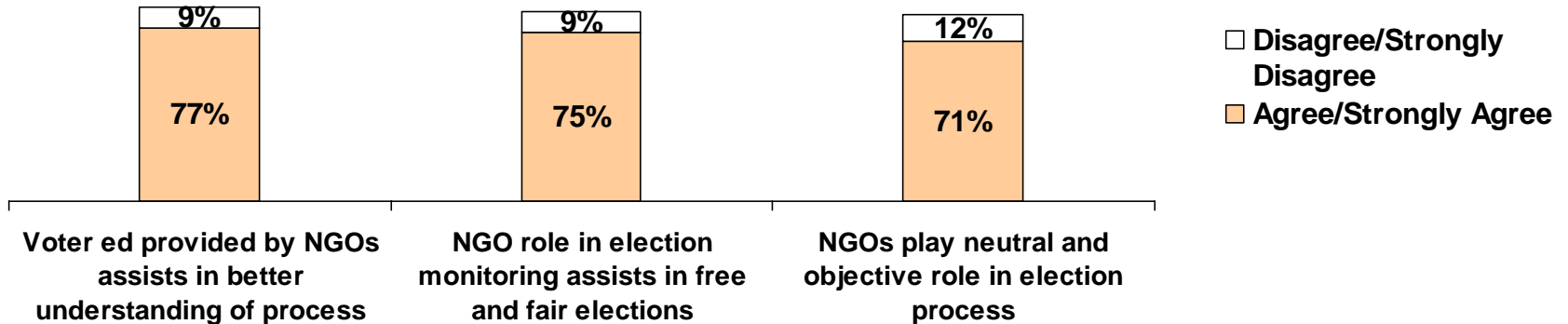


- Indonesians are more likely to equate democratic reforms with tangible results in governance than with the freedoms and rights usually equated with a democratic system of governance. When asked what the term 'democratic reforms' means to them, a plurality (36%) says that it means positive improvements in all sectors of society, 5% mention reform in the government, 2% say improvements in the economy, and 2% mention no more KKN. Thirteen percent say democratic reforms mean freedom of speech, 6% think it means the right to vote, 3% mention transparency, and 2% cite freedom of action. However, 37% of Indonesians say they do not know what democratic reforms mean. This is, however, a positive change from the December survey, when 53% did not know what democratic reforms mean. The likelihood a respondent will provide a meaning increases as a respondent's level of education increases.
- More Indonesians are dissatisfied with the process of democratic reform in Indonesia (44%) than are satisfied (39%). In the January 2004 survey, 48% were dissatisfied while 37% were satisfied, and the comparable percentages were 43% and 41% in the January-February survey. Dissatisfaction primarily results from dissatisfaction with the current situation in the country. Forty-five percent say they are dissatisfied because no changes have resulted from the reform process, 30% cite the economic problems still unresolved, 21% are dissatisfied with the lack of security, 17% because they believe people's prosperity is being neglected under the reform process, and 15% because of the continued presence of corruption.
- After respondents to the survey were asked to provide a meaning for 'democratic reforms,' they were given a list of democratic principles and asked to prioritize them. Freedom of religion is mentioned by 58% of Indonesians, with 27% giving it highest priority. Freedom of speech is mentioned by 67% of Indonesians, with 21% giving it highest priority. Respect for human rights is mentioned by a total of 62%, and 21% gave it highest priority. Other democratic principles mentioned frequently included: equal rights for men and women (39%, 7%), the right to vote (38%, 7%), freedom of education (36%, 5%), and rule of law (17%, 2%).

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 17. Impressions of NGOs in the Election Process

Perception of NGO Roles

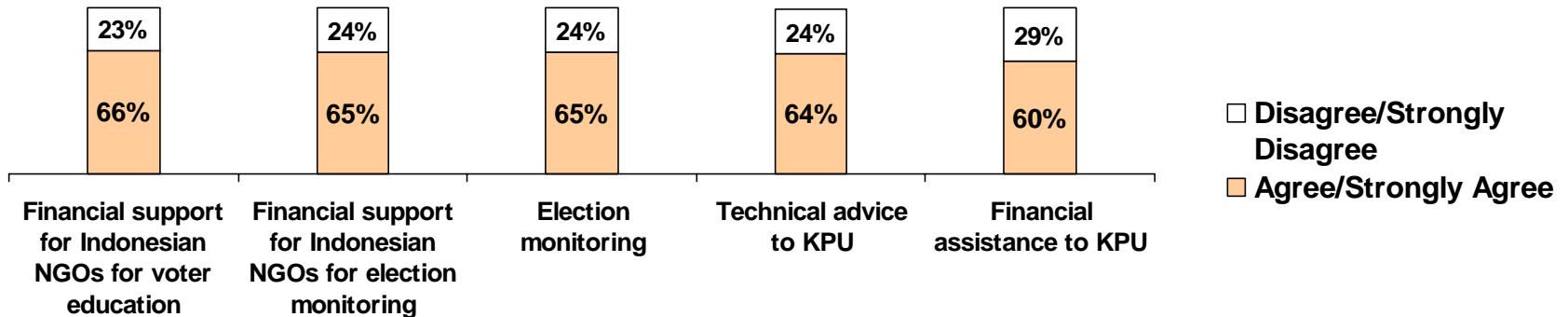


- Opinions about NGOs and their role in the election process have basically remained unchanged from the January and January-February surveys. Close to three-quarters or more of all Indonesians have positive views of NGOs and their activities in the election process.
- Seventy-seven percent of Indonesians strongly or somewhat agree that the voter education provided by NGOs assists in better understanding of the election process. Seventy-five percent also agree that the role of NGOs in election monitoring assists a free and fair election. Seventy-one percent agree that NGOs play a neutral and objective role in the election process in Indonesia.
- Positive perceptions of NGOs are also related to perceptions that the 2004 elections will be free and fair. Among those who agree that NGOs play a neutral role in the election process, 81% think the elections will probably or definitely be fair. This compares with 67% who hold this opinion among those who disagree that NGOs are neutral. Similarly, those who have a positive impression of voter education provided by NGOs are more likely to think the elections will probably or will definitely be fair (86%) than those who do not have a positive impression (47%).

# Results from Wave V through VIII Tracking Surveys

## 18. Roles of International Community in Elections

Perception of Roles of International Community



- As was the case in the January and January-February surveys, most Indonesians agree that the international community should play various roles to support the election process in Indonesia. Sixty percent or more agree that the international community should assist the KPU through technical and financial means. A similar percentage of Indonesians agree that the international community should provide financial support to Indonesian NGOs for voter education and election monitoring as well as conduct monitoring themselves. Even though no more than 29% of the Indonesian population disagrees with any one of these roles for the international community in the election process, more than one-third of Indonesians (37%) disagree with at least one of these roles.
- A majority of those who do not agree with these roles for the international community believe that the international community should not play any role in Indonesian elections (54%). The percentage citing this reason is higher than in the January (41%) and January-February surveys (48%). A further 31% are afraid of hidden motivations for international assistance in the election process. Another 12% intimate corruption and say that international assistance may be misused.