

RESULTS FROM WAVE XI - XII OF TRACKING SURVEYS

1 June 2004



International Foundation for Election Systems

Methodology

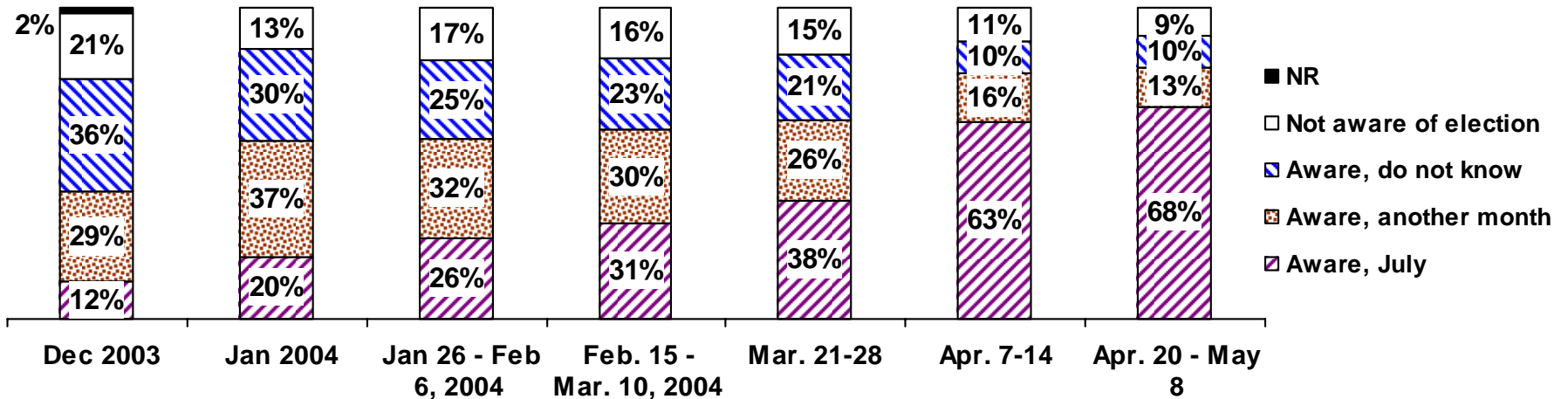
- Both the Wave I and Wave II surveys were conducted using face-to-face interviews with 1250 respondents (each wave), selected by multi-stage random sampling of eligible voters throughout each of the 32 provinces of Indonesia. The Wave III survey was conducted in half the sampled locations throughout the country in 16 provinces with 1000 respondents, and the Wave IV survey was conducted in the rest of the sampled locations, in the 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 Wave X survey was also conducted nationally with 1250 respondents. The Wave XI survey was conducted in half the sampled locations throughout the country in 16 provinces with 1000 respondents, and the Wave XII survey was conducted in the rest of the sampled locations, in 15 provinces, with 1000 respondents. The province of Maluku was omitted from the Wave XII survey due to security problems.
- The composition of the data in Wave I, Wave II, Waves III and IV combined, Waves V through VIII combined, Wave IX, Wave X, and Waves XI and XII combined, reflects the rural/urban, men/women and inter-provincial proportions of the Indonesian population.
- The margin of error for the national data for each wave in Waves I, II, IX, and X 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. The margin of error for the combined Waves XI and XII data is +/- 2.2% 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. For Wave X, face-to-face interviews were conducted between April 7 and 14, 2004. For Wave XI, face-to-face interviews were conducted between April 20 and 27. For Wave XII, face-to-face interviews were conducted between May 1 and 8.
- In this report, any data from the Wave I, Wave II, Waves III-IV, Waves V through VIII surveys, Wave IX, and Wave X is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the combined Wave XI and XII surveys. Regional breakdowns reflect data from the combined Wave XI and XII surveys.



This survey was made possible with support from USAID and UNDP



1. Awareness of Presidential Election



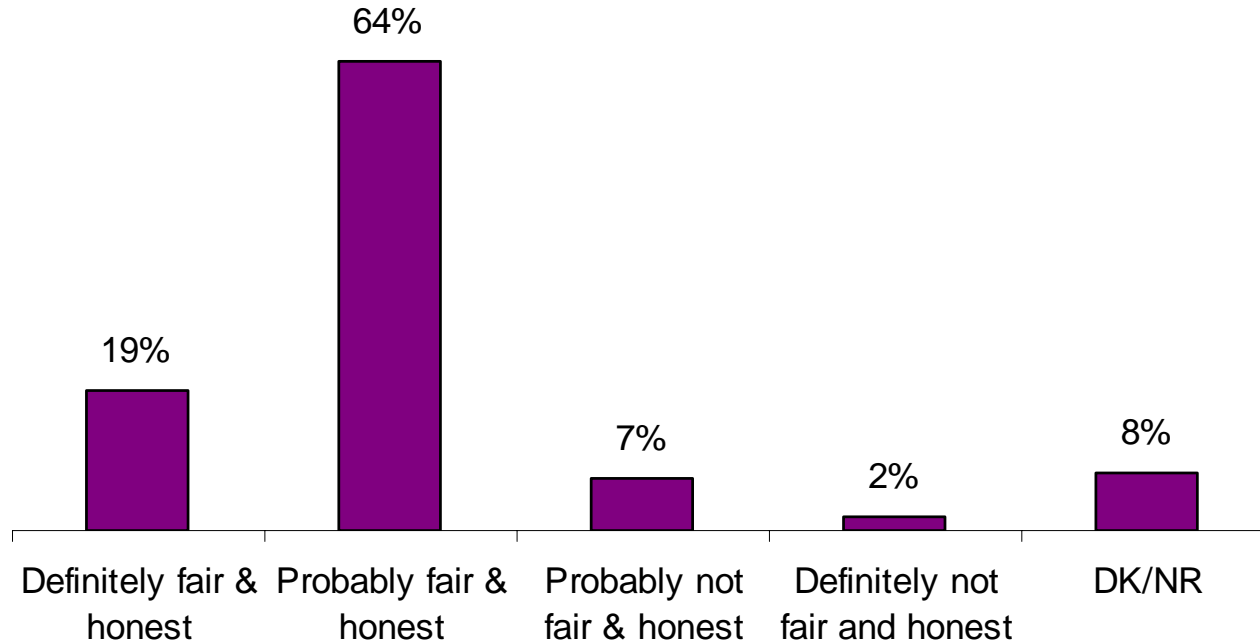
- Sixty-eight percent of Indonesians are aware that the presidential election will take place in July, an increase from 63% who were aware of the election date in the April post-election survey and the 38% who were aware in the March pre-election survey. A further 23% of Indonesians are aware that there is a presidential election in 2004 but do not know that the election will take place in July. Nine percent are not aware that there will be a presidential election in 2004.
- Those aged 55 and older are less likely to know that there will be presidential elections in 2004 (83% versus 93% among younger respondents), and that these elections are in July (65%, 76%). Women are also less likely to know that the presidential elections will be in July (70%) than men (79%).
- There are regional differences in awareness that the presidential elections will take place in July. Generally, residents of Java and Sumatra are less likely to be aware of the date of the election than those in other parts of Indonesia. In Western Java (West Java/Banten/ DKI Jakarta), 71% of residents are aware that the presidential elections will take place in July. Similar awareness levels are found in Central Java (Central Java/Yogyakarta) 73%, Sumatra (excluding Aceh) 72%, and East Java (71%). In other parts of Indonesia, 84% are aware that presidential elections will take place in July.
- Exposure to the KPU's *Milih Langsung* voter education messages have a positive impact on knowledge of the presidential elections. Overall, 60% of Indonesians have seen or heard these messages. Among those exposed to the messages, 97% are aware that there will be presidential elections in 2004 and 81% are aware the elections will be in July. Among those not exposed to the messages, these percentages are 83% and 64%, respectively.

2. Likelihood of Voting in Presidential Election

	OVERALL	If in First Round...		If in 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	84%	73%	72%	71%	70%
Probably	13%	21%	22%	23%	24%
Very Little/Little/Will Not Vote	2%	5%	5%	5%	6%

- More than four in five voting-age Indonesians say that there is a high likelihood they will vote in the upcoming presidential elections. In addition, 13% say that they will probably vote in the election, and 2% say there is little or no chance of them voting. The percentage of Indonesians indicating a high likelihood of voting has not changed significantly since the March and early April surveys. Those who report having voted in the parliamentary elections in April are more likely to vote in the presidential elections than those who report they did not vote in the parliamentary elections. Among those who voted in the parliamentary elections, 86% say there is a high likelihood they will vote in the presidential elections, 13% say they will probably vote, and only 1% say they will not vote. Among those who state that they did not vote in the parliamentary elections, 62% have a high likelihood of voting, 24% say they will probably vote, and 12% say will not vote.
- The tracking surveys conducted after the parliamentary elections have shown an increased likelihood of voting among Indonesians even if a representative from their preferred party is not represented as a presidential or vice-presidential candidate. In the tracking surveys before the parliamentary elections, slightly above 50% had indicated a high likelihood of voting in cases where a representative of their preferred party was not a candidate in either the first or second rounds of the presidential elections. Further, 11% or more had indicated little or no likelihood of voting in these situations. In the early April post-election survey, close to 65% or more expressed a high likelihood of voting in a situation where no candidate from their preferred party was running, and only 5% or fewer had indicated that they had little or no likelihood of voting.
- This pattern continues in the April-May survey. Seventy percent or more indicate there is a high likelihood of them voting even if no candidate from their preferred party is running and more than 20% say they will probably vote. Around 5% state there is little or no likelihood of them voting in these situations.
- However, data from the pre-parliamentary election surveys, when compared to actual voter turnout at the April parliamentary elections, would indicate that many survey respondents who indicated that they would 'probably' vote in the parliamentary elections, did not actually vote. The actual national voter turnout figure on April 5 (84%) was slightly less than the percentage of respondent in the immediate pre-parliamentary election survey who stated that they were highly/very highly likely to vote (87%).
- Additionally, there are marked regional differences in respondents who state they have a high/very high likelihood of voting under all the scenarios presented above. For the both the first and second round this is much lower in Kalimantan (under 60%) and the conflict areas (Aceh/Papua/North Maluku). It is consistently high in Bali/NTB/NTT (over 80%) and East Java.
- There may be some need for campaigns in some regions to emphasize the importance of voting in the presidential elections.

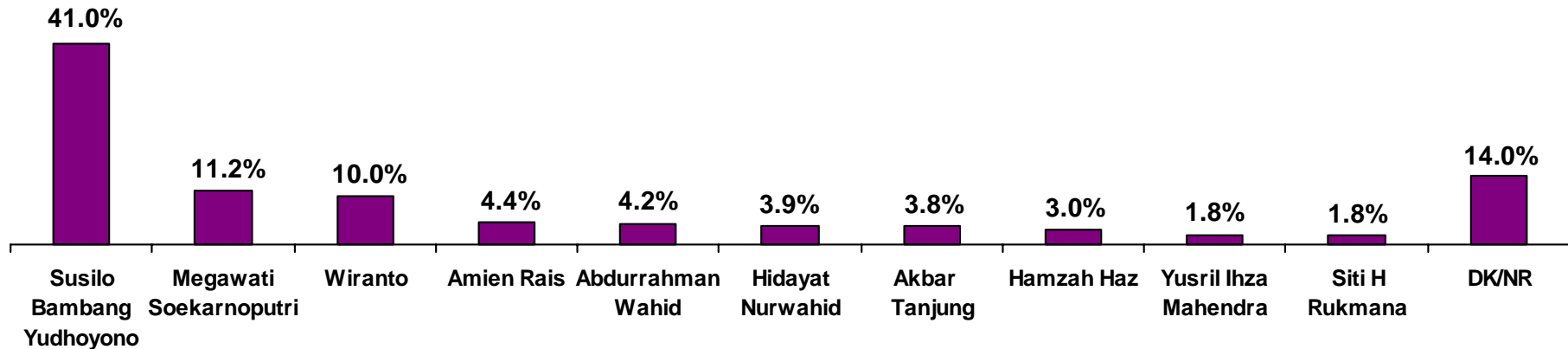
3. Expected Fairness of the Presidential Election



- Most respondents believe that the upcoming presidential elections will be completely or mostly fair and honest (83%), while few think that the elections will probably not or will not be fair and honest (9%). These figures are consistent with those from the early April survey.
- Respondents who believe that the April 5 legislative elections were completely fair are more likely to believe that the presidential elections will be definitely fair (50%), than those who believe the legislative elections mostly fair (18%) and much more likely than those who believe the legislative elections were not fair (10%)
- Similarly, those with greater confidence in the results of the legislative elections determined by the KPU are more likely to expect the presidential elections to be fair, than those with little or no confidence in these results.

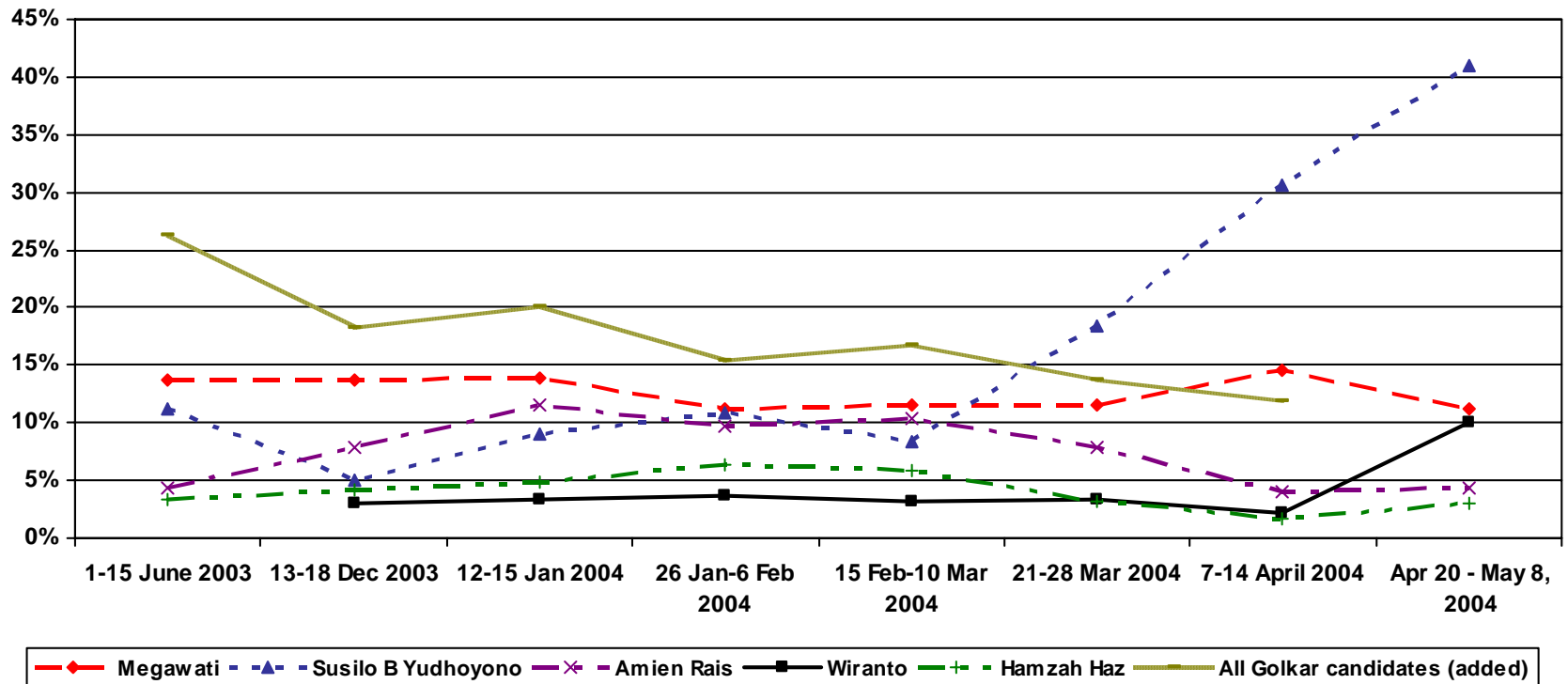
4. Presidential Candidate Preference

Note: Since the implementation of this survey, Hamzah Haz, Amien Rais, Megawati Soekarnoputri, Wiranto, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono have been named official candidates for president.



- Field work for this survey was completed before it was known which candidates had successfully nominated for the presidency.
- Respondents to the survey were given the names of ten prominent contenders and asked who would make the best president for Indonesia. This list includes all five contenders for the presidency, as well as five who are now non-contenders (Abdurrahman Wahid, Hidayat Nurwahid, Akbar Tanjung, Yusril Ihza Mahendra, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana).
- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is the choice of 41% of respondents presented with this list. Megawati Soekarnoputri is named by 11.2%, followed by Wiranto who is mentioned by 10%.
- Yudhoyono is the top choice in all regions of the country with the exception of Sulawesi where Wiranto obtains 35% support and Yudhoyono 29%. Megawati does not lead in any region of the country but is in second or third place in most regions of the country.
- Yudhoyono is also the top choice among both men and women. Surprisingly there is no difference in support for Megawati between men and women, with 11% support for the president among each gender. Yudhoyono is also the leading candidate among all age groups. Only in the 55 and above age group is any candidate reasonably close to Yudhoyono, with Megawati the choice of 19% of this age group compared to 21% who support Yudhoyono.
- Given the fact that five of the people on this list are not official candidates in the election, it would be interesting to see how their supporters might impact the race for one of the official candidates. It is instructive to note that at this point in the presidential race, even if the percentage supporting the non-contestants (Wahid, Nurwahid, Tanjung, Mahendra, Rukmana) in the elections as well as those who do not proclaim a preference (DK/NR) were added to the total of any candidate beside Yudhoyono, this would still not quite equal the percentage supporting Yudhoyono. In the case of Megawati, this would mean support of 40.7%, and for Wiranto 39.5%. This is an extremely unlikely scenario, and further confirms the commanding position held by Yudhoyono at this point in the presidential race.

5. Timeline of Support for Presidential Candidates



Note: For "All Golkar candidates", Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X is not included for surveys after 10 March 2004, and Jusuf Kalla is not included in surveys after 28 March 2004

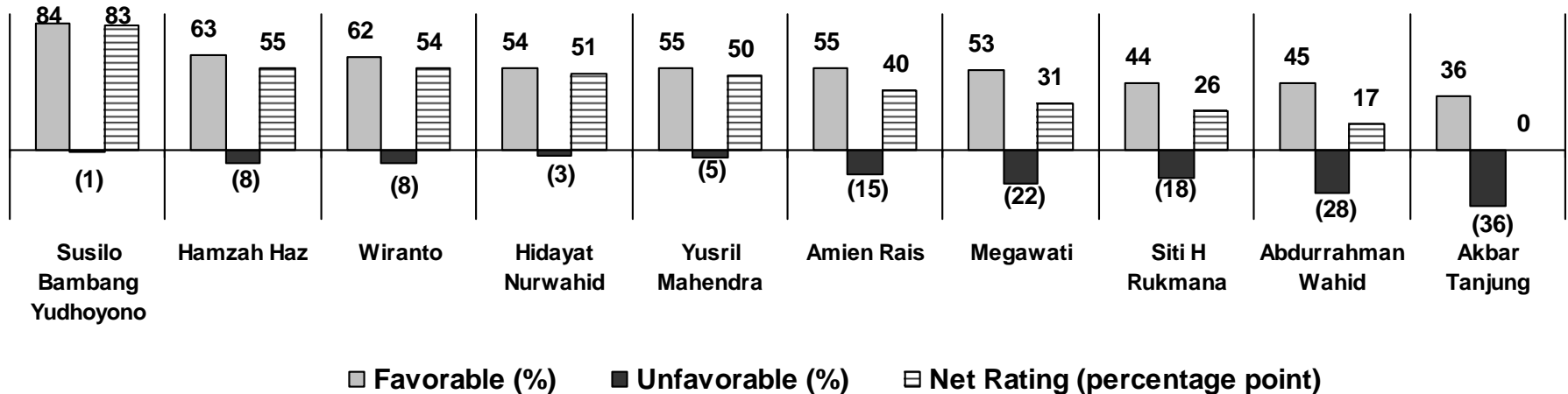
- The above graph plots support for the five presidential candidates in IFES surveys conducted since mid -2003. It shows that support for Megawati has been fairly static during this period, within the 10-15% band. Support for Amien Rais, which peaked at end -2003/early-2004, is now back to the levels of June 2003, under 5%. Support for Hamzah Haz similarly peaked at end 2003/early 2004, and since end March has been the lowest of all 5 candidates.
- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's support, while generally in the 5-10% band until early March 2004, has now increased markedly over the last 2 months. The consistently increasing support for Yudhoyono is noteworthy.
- Support for Wiranto was well under 5% until after he was announced as the official Golkar candidate. Since that announcement there has been a significant surge in his support.
- The graph also tracks, in surveys conducted pre-Golkar convention, the combined support for all aspirants to the Golkar nomination. This shows a marked decline in support for a Golkar presidential vehicle over the last 11 months. This may be turned around as voters recognize the official Golkar candidate.

6. Source of Support for Presidential Candidates

Party Voted For at Parliamentary Elections	Support for Presidential Candidates among Each Party's Voters				
	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono	Megawati Soekarnoputri	Wiranto	Amien Rais	Hamzah Haz
GOLKAR	31.1%	4.7%	34.4%	1.4%	0.3%
PDIP	18.2 %	62.5%	1.6%	0.4%	0.8%
PPP	25.8 %	-	5.4%	4.3%	38.7%
PKB	27.7 %	2.2%	1.5%	0.7%	0.7%
PD	93.6 %	1.3%	1.7%	-	0.8%
PKS	41.2 %	-	5.9%	3.4%	1.7%
PAN	31.9 %	2.1%	3.2%	48.9%	-
PBB	40.5 %	5.4%	7.1%	4.8%	-
PBR	29.4 %	5.9%	5.9%	5.9%	-
PDS	76.5 %	-	17.6%	-	-
Other Parties	37.0%	10.0%	9.0%	2.0%	5.0%
Secret	44.4 %	3.7%	4.4%	3.7%	1.5%
No Response	17.9 %	7.1%	-	-	14.3%

- The above table shows the choice of presidential candidate among those who reported voting for the major parties in the April parliamentary elections.
- The table shows that in addition to attracting the support of almost all Partai Demokrat voters (93.6%), Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also attracts significant support right across the spectrum from voters for other nationalist and religious based parties. His support amongst Golkar voters is currently almost as high as Wiranto's (31.1% versus 34.4%).
- Amien Rais (PAN), Hamzah Haz (PPP), and Wiranto (Golkar) are currently supported for the presidency by less than 50% of the voters that voted at the parliamentary elections for the parties that nominated them. Wiranto currently has the support of barely one third of Golkar voters. None of these candidates is attracting substantial support from voters for other parties, either, with the exception of Wiranto from PDS voters.
- Megawati also does not attract significant support from voters who did not vote for PDI-P at the parliamentary elections, and is supported by less than two-thirds of PDI-P voters.

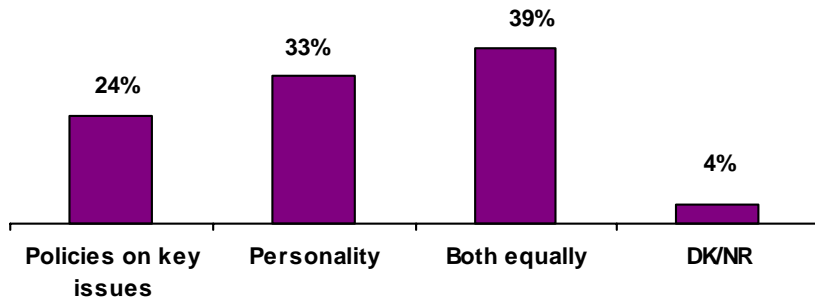
7. Evaluations of Potential Presidential Candidates



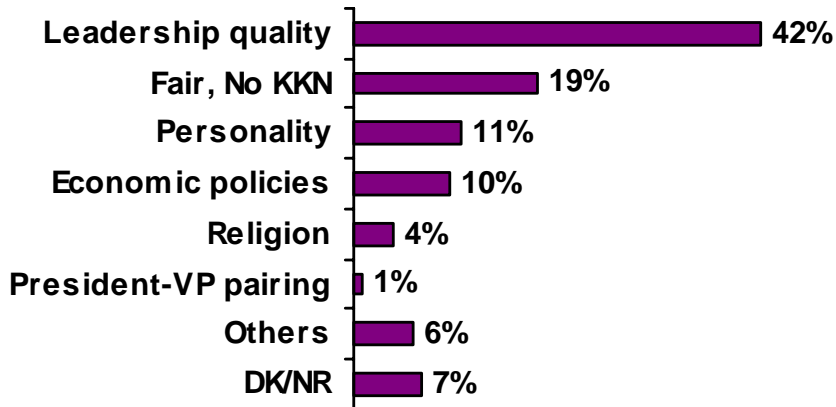
- Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono continues to enjoy high net favorability ratings among Indonesians. In the April-May survey, 84% have a favorable opinion of Yudhoyono while only 1% have an unfavorable opinion, leading to a net favorability rating of 83% point for him in this survey. This is an increase from a favorability rating of 70 percentage points for Yudhoyono in the early-April survey.
- The net favorability ratings of most of the candidates have gone up since the April survey. Wiranto has experienced the largest increase in the net rating, from 31 percentage points in the April survey to 54 percentage points in this survey. Hamzah Haz's net rating has increased from 39 percentage points to 55 percentage points. Megawati's net rating has also increased though not to the extent of many other candidates. Her net rating has increased from 25 percentage points in the early-April survey to 31 percentage points in this survey. Amien Rais' net rating has increased from 31 percentage points to 40 percentage points, while former president Abdurrahman Wahid's net rating has increased from 6 percentage points to 17 percentage points. The greater discussion in the media of all of these candidates through April and early May may have contributed to the positive increase in net ratings.
- However, the survey data continues to show that those respondents who rate a candidate unfavorably are extremely unlikely to support this candidate in the presidential election. Thus, a candidate's unfavorability percentage represent the percentage of voters not likely to vote for the candidate. Thus Megawati is at a considerable disadvantage compared to Yudhoyono and Wiranto due to the relatively high unfavorable ratings for her.

8. Rationale for Voting Decision in Presidential Election

Which is More Important, Candidate's Policy on Key Issues or Personality?

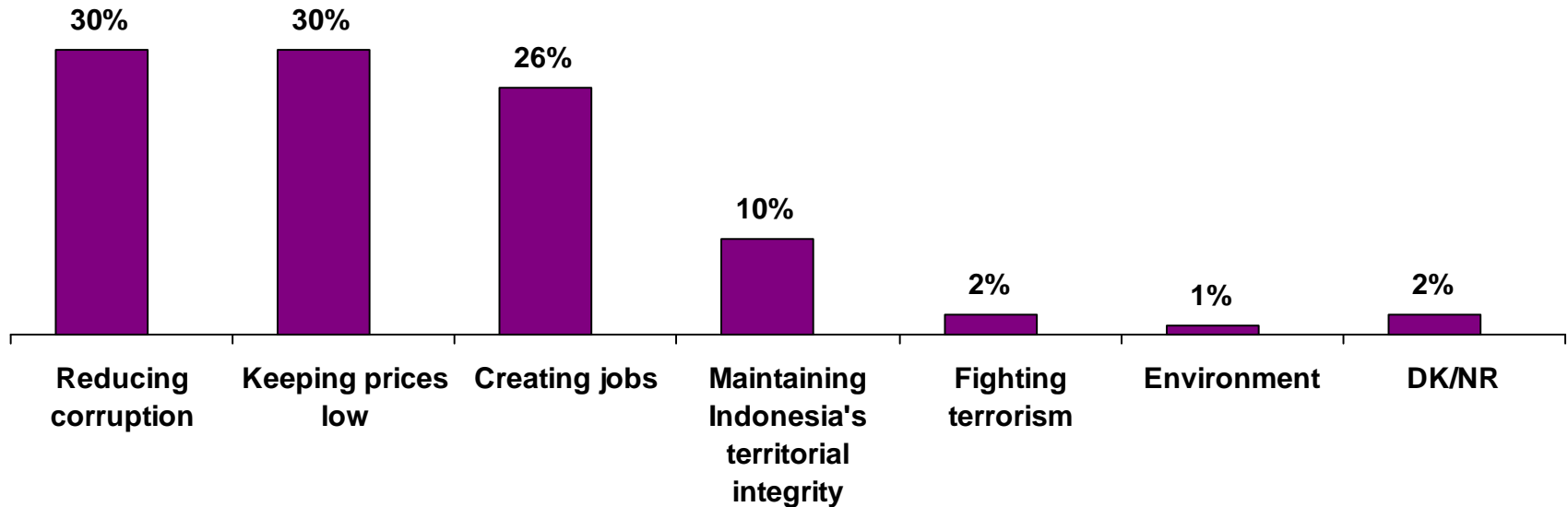


Most Important Consideration When Voting



- Responses to questions in the April-May survey seem to indicate that a candidate's personality and general profile may be more important for many Indonesians than the candidate's stance or policy prescriptions on key issues facing the country. In one question, respondents were asked which attribute is more important for them when considering various candidates, a candidate's policy on key issues or his/her personality. Thirty-nine percent of respondents say that both of these facets are equally important to them. A third (33%) says that a candidate's personality is more important to them while nearly a quarter (24%) say the candidate's policies are more important to them. In total, nearly three-quarters of Indonesians look to a candidate's personality when considering different candidates, while nearly two-thirds look to the issues.
- Policies become more important the more education a respondent has attained, while personality becomes less important with an increase in education. Among those who support Susilo Yudhoyono, 21% think policies are more important, 32% think personality is more important, and 46% think both are equally important. For Wiranto, these percentages are 32%, 31%, and 37%. For Megawati Soekarnoputri, the percentages are 20% 38%, and 37%. Wiranto's supporters tend to be more focused on policies than those of Yudhoyono and Megawati Soekarnoputri.
- On another question that asked for the respondent's *most important consideration* when making a decision in the presidential election, a candidate's general profile is considered more important than specific issues. Respondents were not offered any specific response options for this question. The most frequently-cited consideration is a candidate's leadership quality (42%), followed by a candidate who is not associated with a perception of KKN (19%). A candidate's personality is considered most important by 11% of respondents. Reflecting the acute economic concern in Indonesia, 10% think a candidate's economic policies are the most important consideration. The choice of vice-president has little impact as only 1% cite this as the most important consideration.
- Better educated respondents, and those of higher economic status, were more likely to mention leadership quality as the most important consideration.

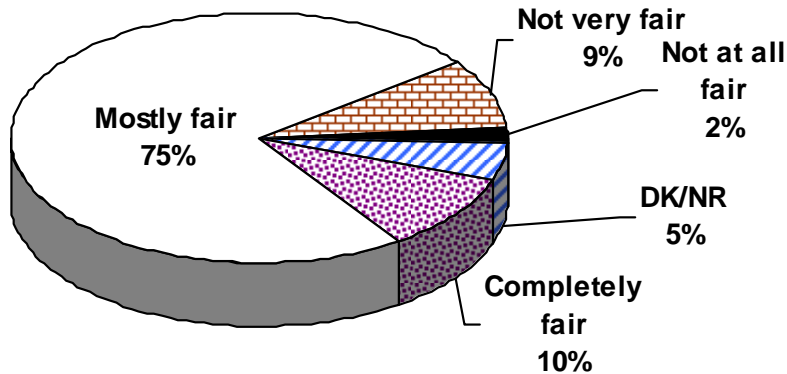
9. Most Important Policy Issues For Presidential Election



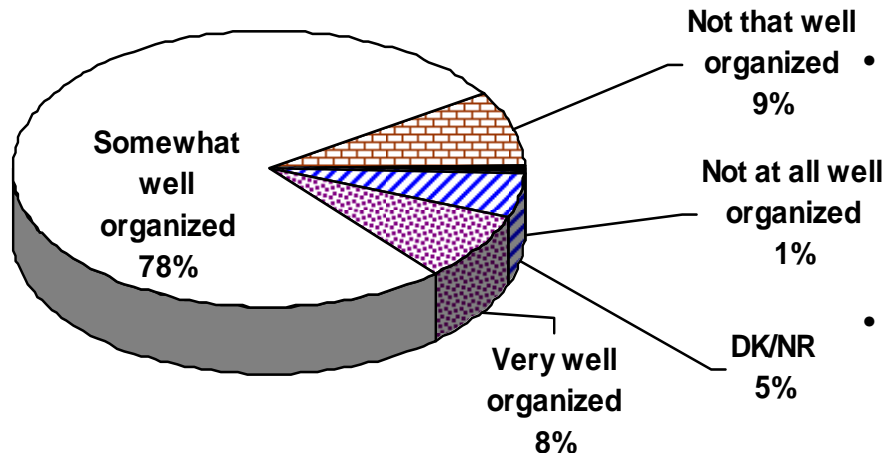
- Sixty three percent of respondents stated that when they make their voting choice, a candidate's policies are as, or more, important than the personality of the presidential candidate . Amongst this sector of the population, the most important policy issues are keeping prices low (30%), reducing corruption (30%), and creating more jobs (26%). Economy-related issues are the greatest concern of the majority of potential voters.
- Security related issues are given much less importance. Maintaining Indonesia's territorial integrity was named as the most important policy issue by 10%, and fighting terrorism by 2% of respondents
- A lower proportion of those above 55 and those with primary or lesser education are likely to place emphasis on reducing corruption when compared with the young (less than 25 years old) and those with secondary or higher education. Keeping prices low is much more likely to be named as the most important policy issue by older respondents than younger respondents.
- The young and the lower educated are much more likely to name creating jobs as the most important policy issue. There are also some marked gender differences in responses : keeping prices low is the most important consideration for almost twice the proportion of women respondents as men (41% to 21%), but women are much less likely than men to mention reducing corruption.

10. Evaluation of April 5 Elections

Fairness of April 5 Elections



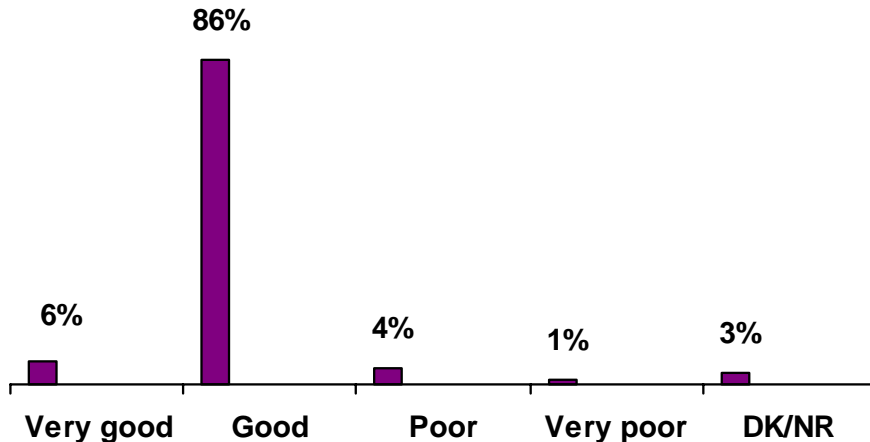
Organization of April 5 Elections



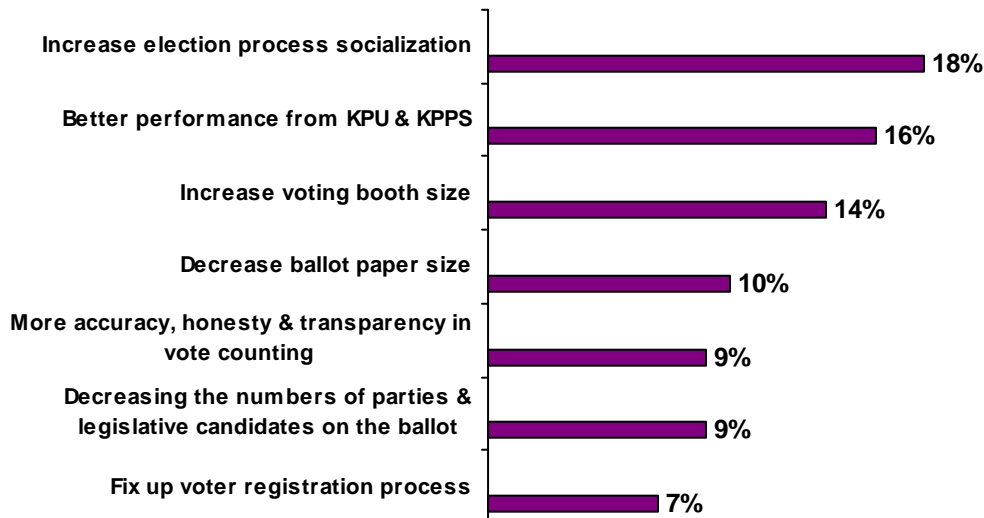
- Eighty-five percent of Indonesians believe that the April 5 parliamentary elections were mostly or completely fair and honest. This is similar to the 85% who had indicated that 2004 elections would be fair in the March survey taken right before the election. Eleven percent of Indonesians think that these elections were not very or at all fair and honest. Those who think the parliamentary elections were fair and honest are more likely to think that the presidential elections will also be fair and honest (88%) than those who do not think the parliamentary elections were fair (69%).
- Thirty-five percent of those who do not think the parliamentary elections were fair and honest think this is the case because there was fraud during the elections (equivalent to 4% of all respondents). Twenty-five percent were disappointed with the performance of the KPU and 22% pointed to the involvement of money in the election process. Fifteen percent think the elections were not fair because there were people who could not vote in April 5 elections.
- Eighty-five percent of Indonesians are also of the opinion that the April elections were well-organized, whereas only 10% think that they were not well organized. Substantially over 80% of respondents in all regions of Indonesia apart from the conflict areas (Aceh/Papua/North Maluku – 69%) think that the elections were well organized.
- Those who think the April election were well-organized are also more likely to think the elections were fair and honest (89%) than those who do not think the elections were well-organized (53%).

11. Improvements to Management of Elections

Opinion on KPPS Performance



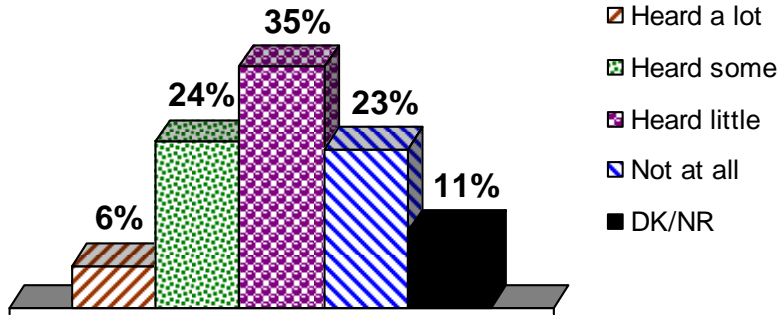
Recommendation to Improve The Voting Process



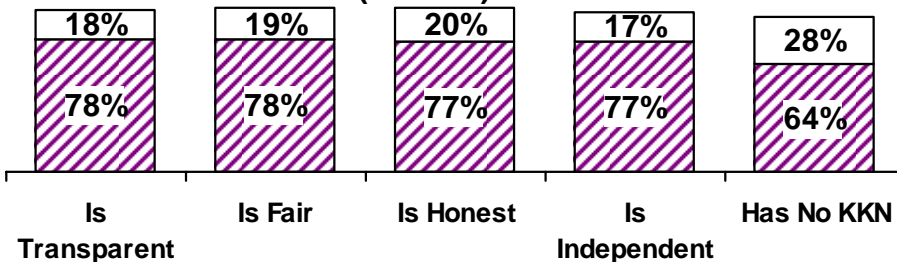
- One reason why the vast majority of Indonesians think the election was well-organized may be because they generally had a positive opinion of their interaction with KPPS officials at the polling booths. Among those who voted, 92% rated the performance of the KPPS officials as good or very good and 5% rated it as bad or very bad.
- There were fairly consistently high proportions of respondents rating the KPPS's performance as good/very good across all regions of Indonesia, with the highest being in Kalimantan (96%) and the lowest in Bali/NTB/NTT (88%).
- Those who voted were asked for suggestions to improve the voting process in Indonesia. The space available for voting is a concern as 14% would like to increase the size of the voting booth and 10% would like to decrease the size of the ballot papers. Eighteen percent see the need for more information on the election process, and 16% would like better performance from KPU or KPPS officials. Nine percent want more accuracy, honesty and transparency in vote counting, while 7% would emphasize fixing up the voter registration process for elections.
- Respondents in the conflict areas (Aceh/Papua/North Maluku) were much more likely to want improvements to voter registration (30%) Better performance from KPU and KPPS officials was more likely to be mentioned by respondents in the conflict areas (30%), Bali/NTB/NTT (29%) and Sulawesi (26%). The space available for voting is a more significant concern in East Java (34%) and Western Java (West Java/Banten/DKI Jakarta) - 29%. Improvements to vote counting were most often mentioned in Western Java (13%), and better socialisation of the election process was a more frequent suggestion in Sulawesi (26%), Sumatra (22%) and East Java (21%). Higher educated respondents are also more likely to want to see better socialization of the election process.
- Decreasing the numbers of parties and legislative candidates on the ballot was mentioned by just 9% of respondents – most frequently in Kalimantan (17%) and Central Java (Central Java/DI Yogyakarta) – 13%.

12. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, KPU

Level of Knowledge about KPU



Opinions on KPU
(n=1312)

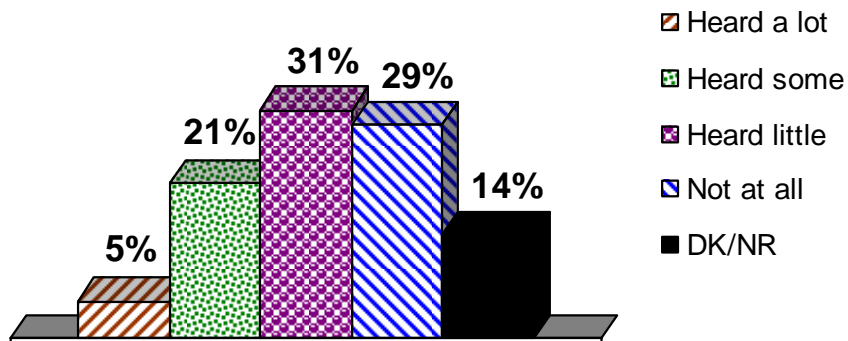


Strongly Agree/ Agree Strongly Disagree/ Disagree

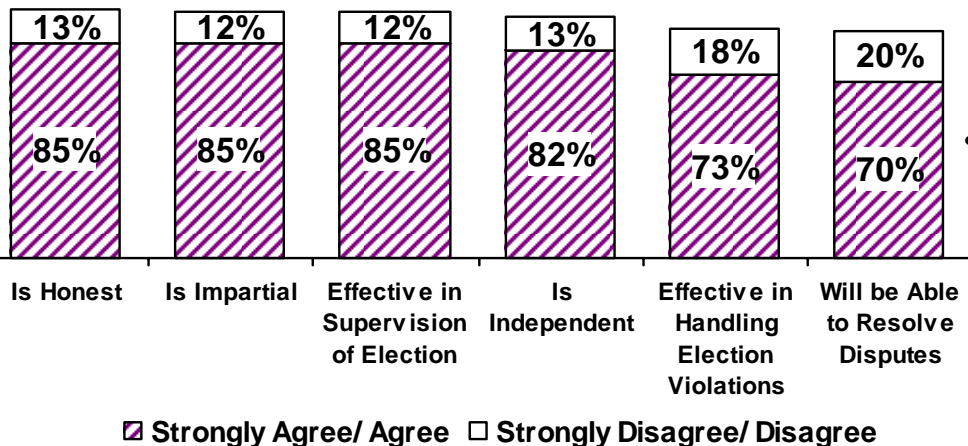
- Sixty-five percent of respondents in the April-May survey say they have heard at least a little about the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU), about the same level as the 67% who indicated awareness of the KPU in the April survey. Residents of urban areas are far more likely to have heard or read about the KPU (74%) than those in rural areas (59%).
- Most Indonesians who have heard or read about the KPU generally approve of the organization. More than three-quarters of these respondents believe that the KPU is transparent, fair, honest, and independent. Nearly two-thirds believe that there is no corruption at the KPU. These positive opinions on the KPU have remained fairly steady over the course of the tracking surveys from mid-March to mid-May.
- Most Indonesians who know of the KPU are satisfied with the work that this body performed in preparation for the 2004 elections. In total, 77% are satisfied with the KPU's work while 21% are dissatisfied. The positive opinion of the KPU's work has remained steady in the post-parliamentary voting day period. Among those 21% dissatisfied with the KPU's work, more than half (51%) say it is because the KPU has not performed ideally during the elections. Another 21% say it is because the KPU is not transparent, 18% because they are not satisfied with the 1999 elections, 15% because of the lack of information about the elections, and 12% because of perceived corruption at the KPU.
- Not many Indonesians are dissatisfied with the KPU's performance because of unhappiness with the election results. In fact, 84% of Indonesians say they have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the results for the April parliamentary elections that were announced by the KPU. Thirteen percent have little or no confidence in the results. On another question, 87% say they would accept the results if observer groups pronounced the elections free and fair, about the same level as the 89% who voiced this opinion in the April survey.
- The widespread acceptance of the legitimacy of the April elections is also illustrated by the fact that 98% of those who voted would accept the results of the election even if the party that they voted for did not win.

13. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, PANWAS

Level of Knowledge about PANWAS



Opinions on PANWAS
(n=1148)



- Fifty-seven percent of Indonesians in this survey say they have heard or read at least a little about PANWAS, the election supervisory body. The level of awareness for PANWAS is down from the 64% who reported hearing or reading about this body in the April election. This may be due to the passage of time since the April elections and the attendant heightened profile of elections bodies. Among those aware of PANWAS, 90% are aware that PANWAS monitors the election process, 76% are aware that it receives reports of violations of the election law, 64% know that it settles disputes that occur during the election process, and 60% are aware that it forwards unsettled disputes to the relevant authorities for resolution.
- Even though awareness of PANWAS may have declined slightly since April, positive assessments of PANWAS have mostly stayed at relatively the same level as in the April survey. Eighty-five percent of those who are aware of PANWAS think that it is an honest and impartial body, and that it will be effective in the supervision of the 2004 elections. Eighty-two percent think PANWAS is independent. There has been a slight decline in the percentage who think PANWAS will be effective in handling in elections violations (73%, 77% in April) and a larger decline in those who think this body will be able to resolve disputes during the elections (70%, 77% in April).
- When asked whether they were aware of any election dispute being referred to PANWAS, 48% of those aware of this body said they were aware of this, an increase from 44% in April. Fifty-one percent are not aware of disputes being referred to PANWAS. While there has been little change since the April survey in the percentage that are aware of any election dispute being referred to PANWAS, there has been an increase in rural areas (45% versus 39% in April).