

RESULTS FROM WAVE XV OF TRACKING SURVEYS

4 August 2004



Methodology

- This survey was conducted between 7 July and 14 July 2004, using face to face interviews with 1250 respondents in all 32 provinces.
- Respondents were selected using multi stage random sampling of eligible voters. The composition of the respondents reflects the rural/urban, men/women and inter-provincial proportions of the Indonesian population
- The margin of error for the national data is +/-2.8% at a 95% level of confidence
- Data comparisons in the text relate to earlier IFES tracking surveys
 - Wave I: 13-18 December 2003; 1250 respondents; +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave II: 12-15 January 2004; 1250 respondents; +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave III/IV: 26 January – 6 February 2004; 2000 respondents; +/- 2.2% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave V/VIII: 15 February – 10 March 2004; 4000 respondents; +/-1.55% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave IX: 21-28 March 2004; 1250 respondents; +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave X: 7-14 April 2004; 1250 respondents; +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave XI/XII: 20 April to 8 May 2004; 2000 respondents; +/-2.2% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave XIII: 14 – 9 June 2004; 1250 respondents; +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
 - Wave XIV: 17 – 26 June 2004; 2000 respondents; +/- 2.2% margin of error at 95% confidence level
- In this report, any data from the Wave I, Wave II, Waves III/IV, Waves V through VIII surveys, Wave IX, Wave X, Waves XI/XII, Wave XIII and Wave XIV is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the Wave XV survey. Regional and other breakdowns reflect data from the Wave XV survey.



This survey was made possible with support from USAID and UNDP

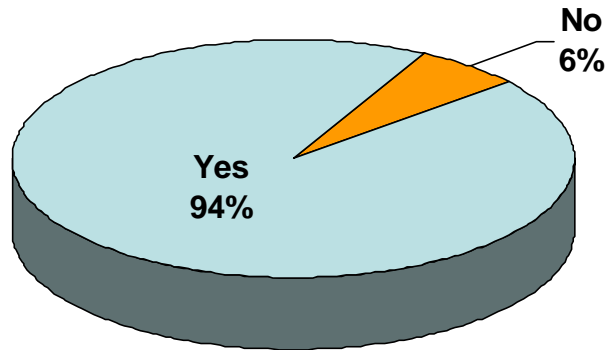


Fieldwork for these surveys was managed and conducted by *Polling Center*

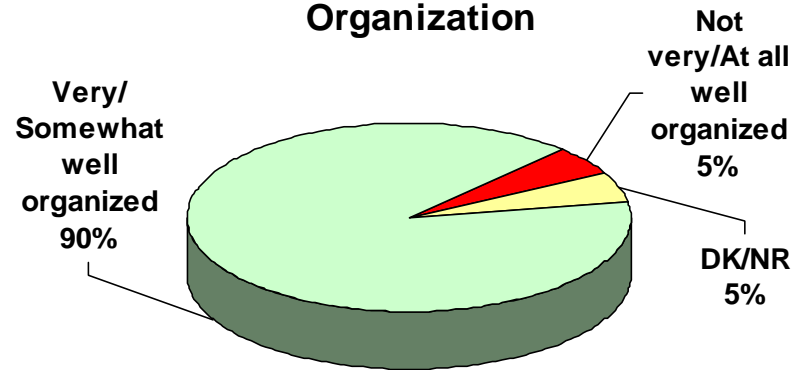


1. Voting in July Presidential Election and Assessment of Election Organization

Voted in July Election?

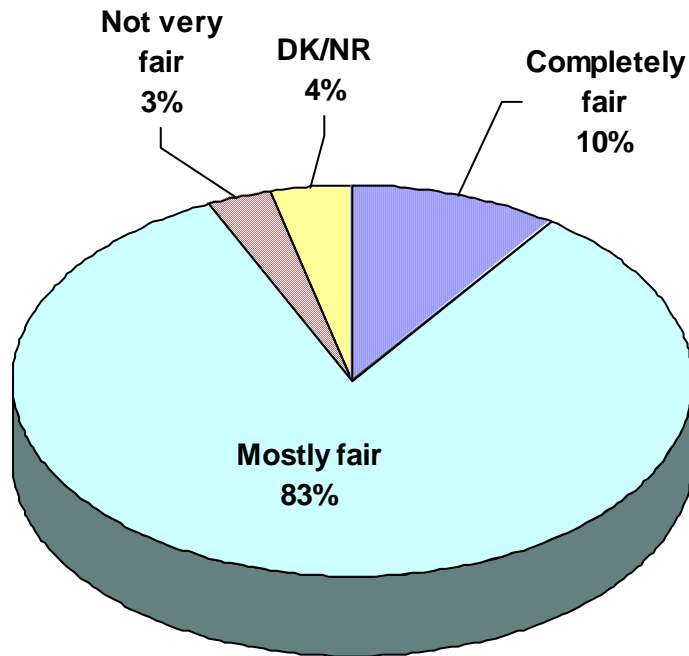


Overall Assessment of Election Organization



- Ninety-four percent of respondents to the July survey report that they voted in the July presidential election. This percentage is significantly higher than the 78% turnout reported by the election commission. The higher percentage in the survey may be due to the fact that it is common for post-election surveys to show higher incidence of voting than the actual election results. Ninety-five percent of Indonesians report that they received voter cards before the election, and 93% say they received a letter of notification to vote.
- Among those who voted in the election, the vast majority of respondents report that their name was on the voters list at the polling station (97%). More than ninety percent of respondents also report that their finger was marked with ink upon leaving the polling station (98%) and that the positioning of the voting booths at their polling station provided secrecy to the voter (92%). Ninety-seven percent of those who report having voted found the ballot easy to understand. This is far higher than the 71% who reported the same following the April general elections and is not surprising given the complexity of the general elections when compared to the presidential election. Slightly more than half (56%) report that KPPS officials explained the voting process to them when handing them the ballots, about the same as the 57% who reported this after the April general elections.
- While there has been improvement in the understanding of the ballot paper since the April general elections, there has not been much improvement in some other aspects of polling station operations since the general elections. Less than half of those who voted (47%) say that their fingers were checked for ink when they entered the polling station, less than the 53% who reported this after the general elections. Forty-two percent reported seeing posters or other campaign materials around their polling station, compared to 23% after the general elections. Eight percent of those who voted report that they witnessed group voting during the presidential elections, compared to 11% following the general elections.
- When asked to assess the overall organization of the July elections, nine in ten Indonesians rate the election as having been very or somewhat well organized. Only 5% think the presidential election was not well-organized. In addition, 97% of those who report voting in the July elections rate the performance of the KPPS officials in their polling station as good or very good.
- When those who had voted are asked for suggestions to improve the election process, 40% state that the process is good and no changes are necessary. Fourteen percent cite the need for better facilities and a similar percentage would like more information on the process. Eleven percent would like the KPU and KPPS to improve their performance and 10% would like more honest elections. Seven percent cite the need for better security during the election process.

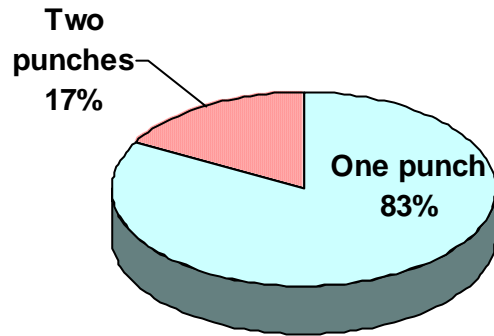
2. Fairness of Presidential Election



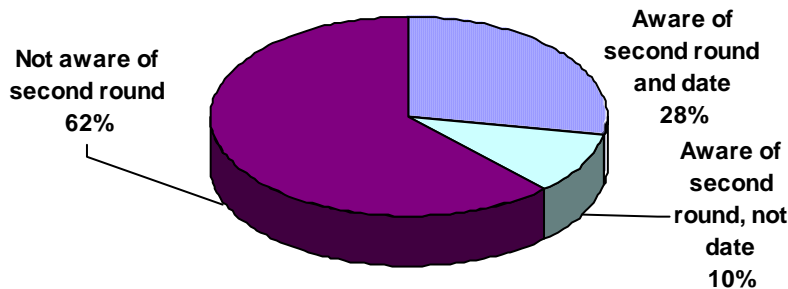
- Almost all Indonesians (93%) are of the opinion that the July 5 presidential election was fair and honest. Very few Indonesians (3%) believe that this election was not fair and honest. The percentage of Indonesians who believe the presidential election was fair is slightly higher than the percentage who had the same opinion about the April general elections (86%) in a post-election survey.
- Among the very few Indonesians who do not think the presidential elections were fair, the more likely reasons are because the final results of the election had not been released at the time of the survey (30%) and because of money politics in Indonesia (21%).
- According to the July survey, 25% of Indonesians observed vote-counting at a polling station on July 5. When these respondents are asked whether they think the vote-counting was fair, 27% say that it was completely fair and 72% say that it was mostly fair.
- Findings from the survey indicate that there were not many instances of irregular tactics to gain votes in the presidential election. Among those who voted in the presidential election, very few (0.3%) report that they were pressured to vote a certain way in the election. Similarly, a low percentage of voters (2%) report that they were offered a monetary or other type of reward to vote a certain way in the election.

3. Knowledge of Election Processes

Method of Voting in Presidential Election (n=1170)



Awareness of Second Round Election and Date of Election



- Those who reported voting in the election were asked how they had punched their ballot on election-day. Eighty-three percent of these respondents report that they punched one presidential/vice-presidential pair, the advertised way to vote validly in the election. Nearly 17% report punching once for a presidential candidate and once for a vice-presidential candidate. While this is a valid vote if both candidates punched are from the same candidate pair, voters punching more than one candidate may be more likely to vote invalidly. The lowest level of respondents who stated that they punched once for their preferred candidate pair was in Aceh/Maluku/Papua (67%). The number of invalid votes reported by the KPU is 2.17%.
- A majority of Indonesians (56%) are not aware of the voting result requirements to elect a president/vice-president directly in the first round of the election. This is a slight improvement from the 63% who were unaware of the required results in the late June pre-election survey. Among those aware of the result requirements to ensure a winner in the first round, 88% are aware that if there is no winner in the first round the top two tickets proceed to the second round. Of those aware of the second round, 74% are aware that this election will take place on September 20. This translates to slightly more than a quarter (28%) of all Indonesians.
- The lack of knowledge among the majority of Indonesians about the second round indicates the urgent need for voter education on this topic. Data from this survey indicates that voter education through the KPU's *Milih Langsung* messages serves to increase knowledge of the election process. Those who have seen or heard these voter education messages are more likely than those who have not seen the messages to know the voting result requirements for there to be a winner in the first round of the election (50% versus 30%), the procedures for the second round (91% versus 78%), and the correct date of the second round election (78% versus 55%).

4. Reported Vote in July 5 Election

| Candidate Pair | Wave XV Survey Responses (vote choice of those who said they voted) | Official KPU Results | Wave XIV Survey (pre-election June survey) |
|--------------------|---|----------------------|--|
| SBY/Kalla | 37.8% | 33.6% | 43.5% |
| Megawati/Hasyim | 20.8% | 26.6% | 11.7% |
| Wiranto/Solahuddin | 18.5% | 22.2% | 14.2% |
| Amien Rais/Siswono | 12.7% | 14.7% | 10.9% |
| Hamzah Haz/Agum | 1.3% | 3.0% | 2.4% |
| Secret/Don't Know | 9.0% | | 17.4% |

- When those who reported voting in the July 5 presidential election are asked for whom they voted, 37.8% named the pair of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jusuf Kalla. This was followed by the pair of Megawati and Hasyim Muzadi and the pair of former General Wiranto and Solahuddin Wahid. The reported vote for SBY/Kalla is a little more than the margin of error above the official results released by the KPU, and the survey results understate the actual totals for the other tickets. While there is little indication that a significant number of respondents were reporting their votes so as to be seen as supporting the actual winner, it is likely that some respondents who voted for losing candidates, especially Megawati, do not reveal their choice in response to this question. This raises interesting issues for analysis of 'secret' or 'don't know;' responses in surveys of voting intentions for the second round of the presidential elections.
- The figure above also shows the percentage of Indonesians who indicated support for each ticket in the late June survey (Wave XIV). Comparing Wave XIV to the official results indicates that the SBY/Kalla pair lost a significant level of support in the last 10 days before the election. Analysis of the regional breakdowns of official KPU results indicates that one factor in this loss of support was the ability of the Megawati/Hasyim and Wiranto/Solahuddin tickets to consolidate support in key regions of the country for their tickets, including in Java, with its large proportion of the country's voters. In the late June pre-election survey, the SBY/Kalla pair was favored by 46% of respondents in Central Java compared to 11% for the Megawati/Hasyim pair, and 10% for Wiranto/Solahuddin. The election result data shows that in this region, Megawati's candidate pair was actually able to obtain 31% of the votes compared to SBY's 29% and Wiranto's 21%. Similarly, in the end June pre-election survey, Megawati's candidate pair was equal to SBY's in Bali/NTB/NTT at 29% each. Election results show that Megawati/Hasyim gained 55% of the votes in this region compared to 34% for SBY/Kalla.
- East Java is the home base of Wiranto's vice-presidential partner Solahuddin, and Megawati's vice-presidential partner Hasyim Muzadi but, despite this, these pairs trailed SBY/Kalla 48% to 10% (Wiranto/Solahuddin) and 13% (Megawati/Hasyim) in the late-June pre-election survey. Wiranto/Solahuddin and Megawati/Hasyim were able to cut this deficit in the election and gained 24% and 28% of the vote respectively in East Java compared to 36% for SBY/Kalla.
- In the other large voter concentration of Western Java, late June pre-election survey figures showed support for SBY/Kalla at 45%, for Megawati/Hasyim at 16% and for Wiranto/Solahuddin at 15%, in comparison to actual election results of 34%, 23% and 21% respectively.

5. Source of Support for Presidential Candidates

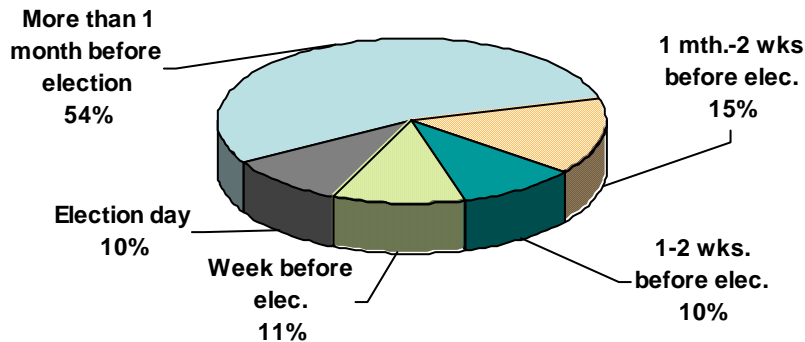
(based on party supported at legislative elections)

| Party Voted For at 5 April Elections | % of Party's Supporters Who Voted for Presidential Candidate Specified, At 5 July Election | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------|---------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|
| | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | Megawati Soekarnoputri | Wiranto | Amien Rais | Hamzah Haz | Did not vote | Secret/NR |
| GOLKAR | 40.2% | 3.0% | 48.4% | 4.2% | - | 2.7% | 1.5% |
| PDIP | 23.7% | 71.1% | 0.8% | 0.8% | - | 3.2% | 0.4% |
| PPP | 22.7% | 11.4% | 11.4% | 22.7% | 29.5% | 2.3% | - |
| PKB | 37.5% | 19.2% | 30.8% | 3.8% | - | 5.8% | 2.9% |
| PD | 89.5% | 0.7% | 0.7% | 0.7% | - | 3.5% | 4.9% |
| PKS | 29.0% | 9.7% | 21.0% | 35.5% | - | 4.8% | - |
| PAN | 9.8% | 1.1% | 4.3% | 81.5% | 1.1% | 1.1% | 1.1% |
| PBB | 40.0% | 6.7% | 6.7% | 33.3% | - | - | 13.3% |
| PBR | 54.5% | -% | 36.4% | - | - | 9.1% | - |
| PDS | 41.7% | 58.3% | - | - | - | - | - |
| Other Parties | 51.1% | 21.3% | 4.2% | 12.8% | 2.1% | | 8.5% |
| Secret | 13.2% | 0.9% | 15.8% | 2.6% | - | 1.8% | 65.7% |
| No Response | 30.0% | 6.7% | 16.7% | 3.3% | - | 6.7% | 36.6% |
| Did Not Vote | 14.1% | 4.7% | 1.6% | 12.5% | - | 64.1% | 3% |

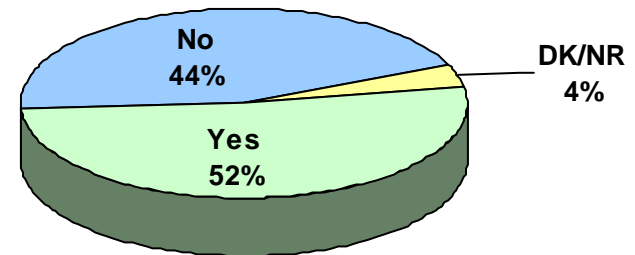
- A significant factor in the shifting fortunes of the candidates in the last week to ten days of the campaign was the tendency of many voters who had voted for Golkar and PDI-P at the legislative elections to support their party's candidates in greater numbers, and the deterioration of support experienced by SBY among supporters of smaller parties.
- In the pre-election June survey, 38% of Golkar voters had expressed support for Wiranto but in the post-election survey, 48% of Golkar voters report that they voted for Wiranto. Wiranto's running mate, Solahuddin, is supported by PKB. In the late June pre-election survey, only 18% of PKB voters expressed support for Wiranto/Solahuddin but this increased to 31% at the election. At the same time, SBY's support among PKB voters dropped from 47% to 38% - but this was still more than those who voted for the candidate pair (Wiranto/Solahuddin) supported by their party. And amongst PPP voters, SBY/Kalla's support dropped from 39% to 23%, with the bulk of these voters appearing to move to support Amien Rais.
- Among PDI-P voters, support for Megawati rose from 59% in the late June pre-election survey to 71% according to this post-election survey.
- Among those who had voted for smaller parties at the legislative elections, SBY suffered a deterioration of support between the last survey and election day. Among PKS voters, SBY's support fell from 40% to 29%; among PBB voters, from 49% to 40%, and among a myriad of other smaller parties, from 59% to 51%.
- Interestingly, PKS's late declaration of support for the Amien Rais/Siswono Yudo Husodo ticket provided little impetus to this ticket, with PKS voters being much more likely to move to support Wiranto in the last week of the campaign. This, and the voting behaviour of PKB supporters, may possibly give some indication of the extent of control party bosses may exercise over the presidential election voting intentions of their parties' supporters.

6. Timing of Voting Decision and Candidate Dialogues

Timing of Voting Decision



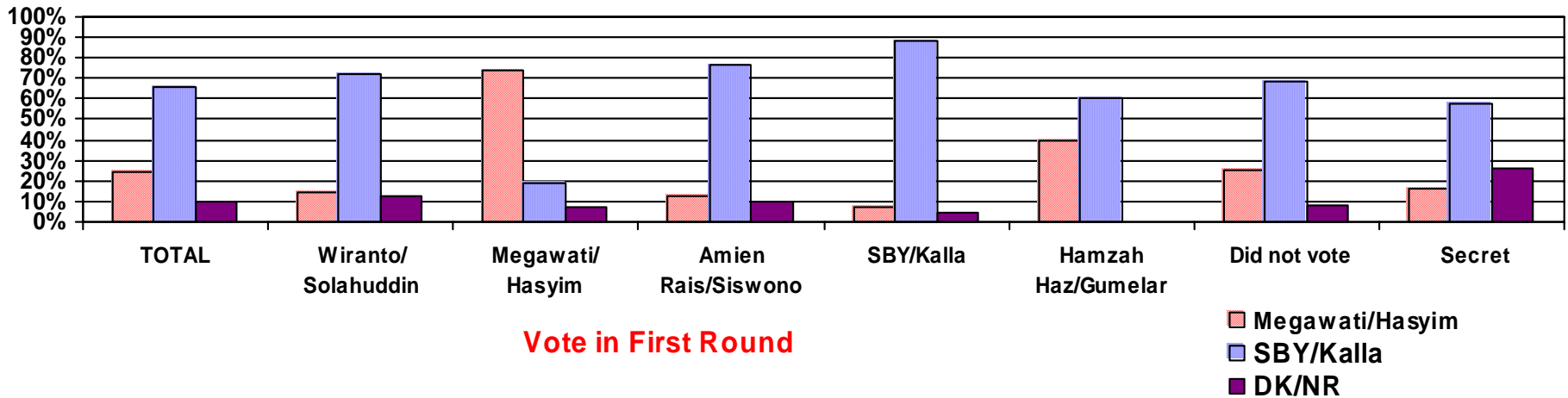
Watched or Heard Candidate Dialogues?



- A majority of those who report voting in the election made up their mind about the candidate they would vote for more than one month before the election (54%). The remaining voters were roughly evenly distributed in the timing of their voting decision. The campaign period was instrumental in voting choice: 45% of voters determined their voting choice after the commencement of the campaign, and over one fifth of voters (21%) made their voting decision in the last week before the election or on election-day.
- Residents of Kalimantan were most likely to wait to make their voting decision as 57% made their voting choice in the week before the election or on election-day. On the other hand, 66% of residents of East Java made their voting decision more than a month before election-day.
- A majority of Indonesians (52%) say that they saw or heard at least one candidate dialogue in the period leading up to the election. Almost all of these respondents (96%) witnessed the dialogues on television while only 1% heard them on the radio, and 2% used both mediums. The highest exposure to the dialogues was in Bali/NTB/NTT where 71% report having seen or heard the dialogues. In Sulawesi, 61% saw or heard the dialogues. In the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua, only 32% saw or heard any of the dialogues, while this percentage was 43% for Kalimantan and 45% for Sumatra. Fifty four percent of respondents who had seen/heard the dialogues could not recall the date of the dialogue, and the remainder listed many different dates on which they watched or heard them. Sixteen percent of those who saw or heard any of the dialogues could recall watching/hearing the KPU sponsored dialogues on 30 June and 1 July. One note of caution on the findings for this question is that 17% of those who saw or heard candidate dialogues say that they saw these dialogues on July 2 or after, dates on which all campaign activities were barred and dialogues did not take place.
- More than one-third of those who saw or heard the dialogues (35%) say that the dialogues were either a strong or deciding factor in their voting decision for the July 5 election. Twenty-nine percent say that the dialogues were a minor factor in their decision and 33% say that the dialogues played no role in their decision.
- Almost all of those who saw or heard the dialogues rate them positively. Eleven percent rate the dialogues as very good and 86% rate them as good. Only 3% rate the dialogues as poor or very poor. Those who had seen or heard the dialogues were asked for recommendations to improve the dialogues. The most oft-cited recommendation was that all presidential/vice-presidential candidates should be included in the same dialogue (59%). Eighteen percent, on the other hand, think that there should be separate dialogues for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Eighteen percent think that journalists should be allowed to ask questions and a similar percentage think that the candidates should ask questions of each other. Fourteen percent think that a panel of experts should ask the questions in the dialogues.

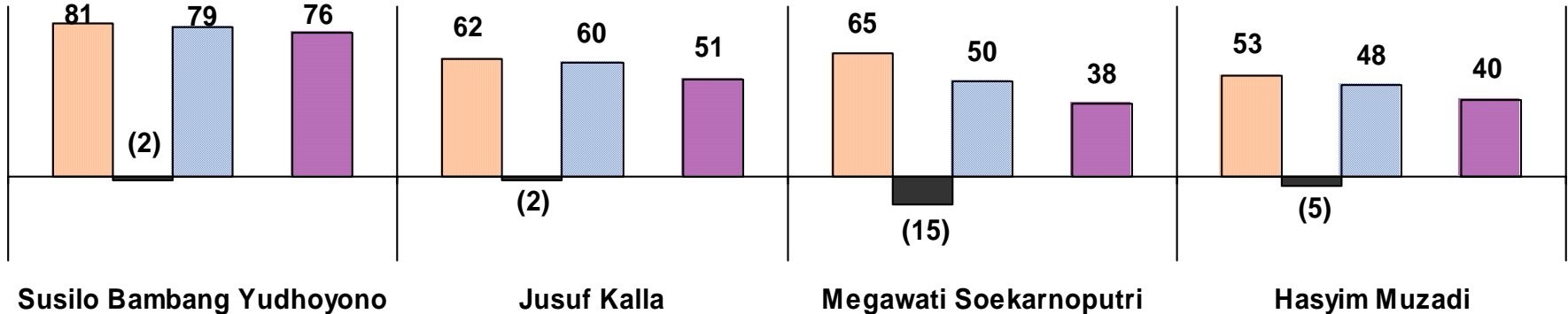
7. Current Presidential Preference for Second Round

(by Vote in First Round)



- This survey was conducted before the results of the July 5 first round were official. Therefore, respondents to this survey were given scenarios of all possible second-round match-ups and asked which candidate pair they thought would make the best president for Indonesia. One of the match-ups was Megawati/Hasyim versus SBY/Kalla.
- As the figure above indicates, SBY/Kalla currently hold a wide lead over Megawati/Hasyim (66% versus 24%). When the data is broken down by the candidate pair for which respondents voted in the first round, it is evident that SBY/Kalla are the favored pair among a majority of all voters except those who voted for Megawati/Hasyim in the first round. These findings must be taken with a note of caution, however, as the pre-election surveys before the first round of the election did not predict the strong showing of Megawati and with nearly two months to go till the second round, the relative standings of the two pairs may change significantly.
- Focusing on the presidential preference in this survey, the SBY/Kalla pair is widely favored in all regions of the country with the exception of Bali/NTB/NTT where Megawati/Hasyim are mentioned by 59% and SBY/Kalla by 33%. In Central Java/Yogyakarta, SBY/Kalla are favored by 47% and Megawati/Hasyim by 35% but, given the high number of non-responses in this region, and the strong showing by the Megawati/Hasyim pair in this region in the first round, the standing of the two pairs is possibly closer in this region.
- Support for each candidate pair is closely related to the education level of the respondent. Support for Megawati/Hasyim decreases with an increase in education of the respondent (32% amongst those who did not attend school to 19% amongst university-educated), while support for SBY/Kalla increases with education (35% amongst those who did not attend school to 72% amongst university-educated). SBY/Kalla are also more heavily supported by the young (77% of the under 25 year old respondents) than older voters (42% of those respondents more than 54 years old)
- The Wiranto/Solahuddin candidate pair currently have challenges lodged with both the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court, seeking to overturn the result of the first round of the election and instate them as the second candidate pair contesting the second round of the election on 20 September, along with SBY/Kalla. Survey responses show that, in a scenario of a head-to-head contest between SBY/Kalla and Wiranto/Solahuddin, the SBY/Kalla candidate pair is chosen by 71% of respondents, and Wiranto/Solahuddin by 16%.

8. Evaluations of Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates

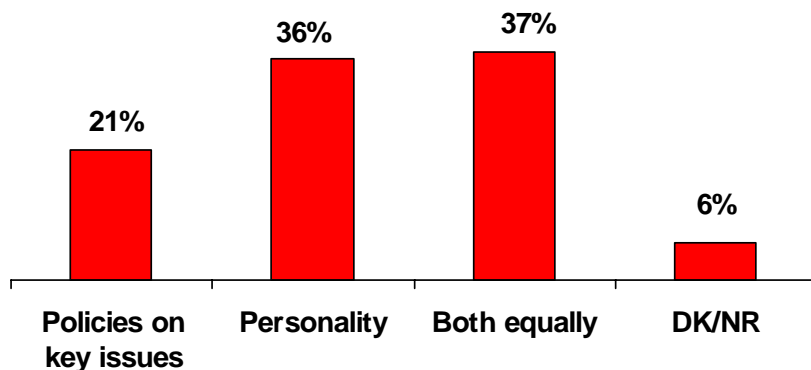


■ Favorable (%)
 ■ Unfavorable (%)
 ■ Net Rating July (percentage point)
 ■ Net Rating late June (percentage point)

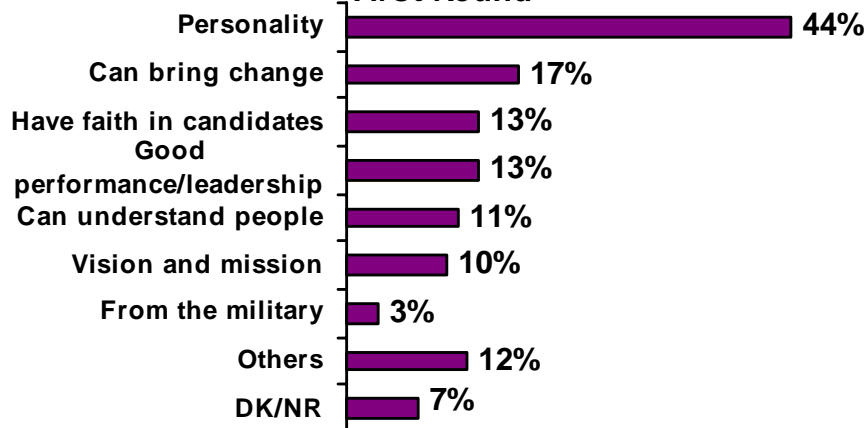
- Respondents to these surveys have been asked whether they have a favorable, neutral or unfavorable impression of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the presidential election. The chart above provides data on favorable and unfavorable responses to this question from the July survey for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates who will be contesting the second round of the election in September. The chart also shows the net favorability ratings (% favorable minus % unfavorable) for these candidates from both the July and the late June surveys.
- As has been the case so far in the tracking surveys, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono has the highest net favorability rating of all candidates (plus 79) with more than four in five Indonesians having a favorable impression of him. His running-mate, Jusuf Kalla, is also highly regarded with a plus 60 net rating, a substantial increase from the plus 51 net rating he obtained in the late June survey. The net favorability ratings for these two candidates are higher than the net favorability ratings of Megawati and Hasyim Muzadi, but this pair has also seen an increase in their net favorability ratings since late June. Megawati has seen the largest increase in net favorability rating since late June (from plus 38 to plus 50) and nearly two-thirds of all Indonesians now have a favorable impression of her. This is a 16 percentage point increase from her low of 49% in the early April survey. The net favorability rating for Hasyim has also increased substantially, from plus 40 in June to plus 48 in this survey.
- As in past tracking surveys, those who have an unfavorable impression of a candidate are not likely to vote for that candidate, whereas those who have a favorable impression of the candidate are more likely to vote for that candidate than the national average. The current voting choice of those who hold neutral impressions presents an interesting picture. Among the 13% of respondents who have a neutral impression of SBY, 46% currently say they would vote for him in the second round and 45% say they would vote for Megawati. Among the 17% of respondents who have a neutral impression of Megawati, 71% say they would vote for SBY and 19% say they would vote for Megawati. In the case of respondents who have neutral impressions of both the candidates, 56% say they would vote for SBY and 30% say they would vote for Megawati.

9. Candidate's Personality is Most Important Consideration for Voters

Which is More Important, Candidate's Policy on Key Issues or Personality? (n=1170)



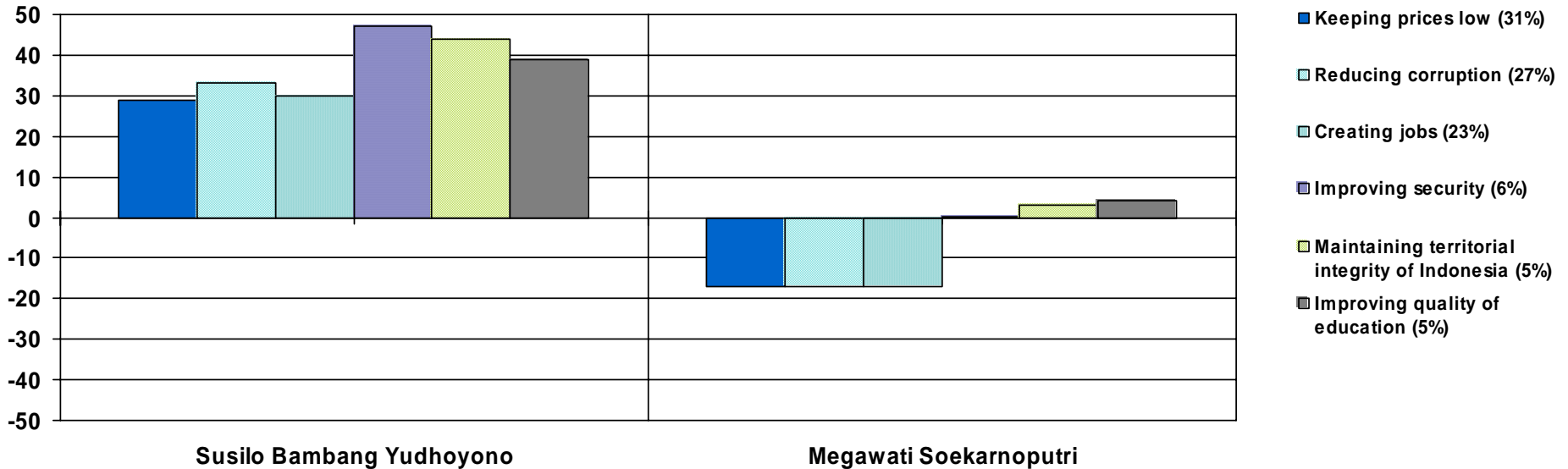
Reasons for Voting for Candidates in First Round



- The tracking surveys before the July 5 election strongly indicated that a candidate's personality would be the most important consideration for many voters when they were making their voting choice. The findings from this post-election survey confirm that the personality and general profile of the candidates were the primary factors in voting decisions on election-day.
- When those who voted were asked whether a candidate's policies or personality was more important, 36% picked personality, 21% policies, and 37% both these factors. Supporters of both SBY and Megawati in the first round cited their personalities as the more important consideration when voting.
- On another question, voters were asked for the reasons why they voted for a particular candidate in the first round. Again, the candidate's personality far outweighs all other reasons. Other 'soft' reasons such as having faith in the candidates and choosing candidates who can understand people were also often mentioned. Surprisingly, a military background was not a key reason for supporting a candidate. Not surprisingly, supporters of both Megawati and SBY rated personality and other 'soft' issues highly as reasons for voting for these candidates.
- In the head-to-head match up between Megawati and SBY for the second round, 49% of those who support SBY for the second round cited personality as a reason for supporting a candidate in the first round. Thirty-four percent of Megawati's supporters cite this reason. Megawati's supporters are slightly more likely to have cited a candidate who can bring change as a reason for their vote (19%) than those who support SBY (16%).

10. Evaluations of Presidential Candidates' Stance on Important Issues

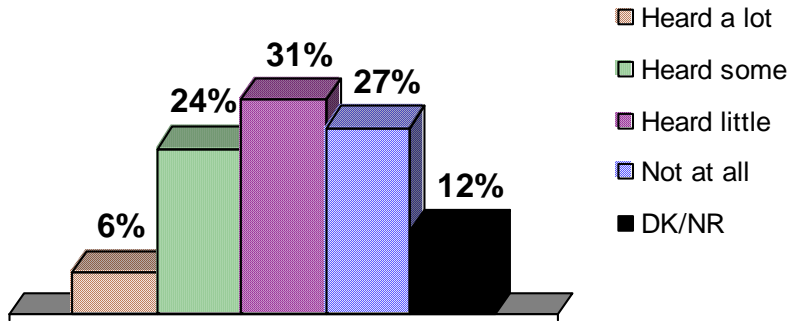
Net Ratings on Candidate's Stance on Each Issue (% Good - % Poor)



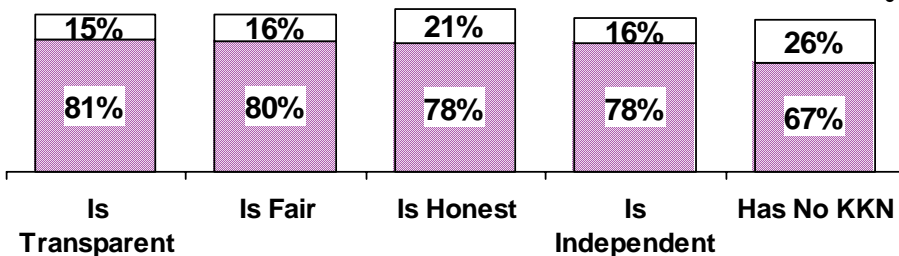
- Even though personality dominates voting choice considerations, economic issues are also given importance by many voters. The three dominant issues for Indonesians voters are all economic in nature: keeping prices low (31%), reducing corruption (27%), and creating jobs (23%). These issues are all given relatively equal importance for those who currently support SBY or Megawati for the second round, with job creation being slightly more important to SBY supporters and low prices slightly more important to Megawati supporters. This may be a reflection of the age structure of their support. The ratings of the two candidates on important issues, however, differs markedly.
- The net ratings for SBY on each issue (% rating his position as good - % rating his stance as poor) are significantly higher than those for Megawati. SBY has a net rating of plus 29 percentage points or above on each issue while the highest rating for Megawati is plus 4. What is even more striking is that on the three key issues for Indonesians, inflation, corruption, and jobs, SBY has an average rating of plus 31 percentage points, while Megawati has an average rating of minus 17. This is, however, an improvement for Megawati from the late June pre-election survey. In that survey, Megawati's average net rating on these three issues was minus 33 percentage points. Thus, her average net rating on these issues has improved by 16 percentage points since the election.
- Similarly, in the late June survey, Megawati's net ratings on the issues of improving security and maintaining Indonesia's territorial integrity were both relatively strongly negative (minus 18 and minus 17 percentage points respectively). Megawati's net ratings on both these issues are now neutral or slightly positive.

11. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, KPU

Level of Knowledge about KPU



Opinions on KPU
(n=760)

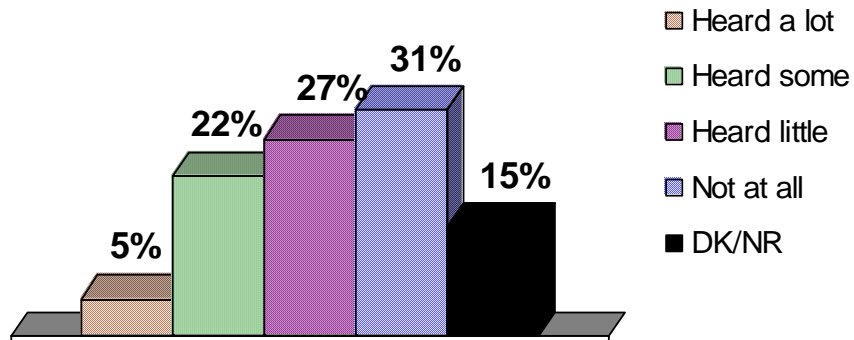


■ Strongly Agree/ Agree □ Strongly Disagree/ Disagree

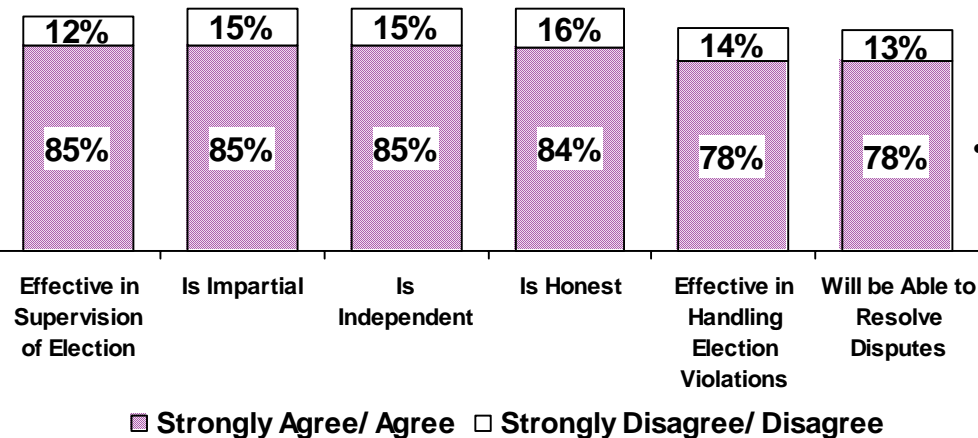
- The percentage of Indonesians who have heard at least a little about the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU) has fallen from a high of 71% to 61% in this survey. As has been the case in previous surveys, awareness of the KPU is higher in urban areas (66%) than in rural areas (57%)
- Most Indonesians who have heard or read about the KPU have generally positive opinions of the organization. More than three-quarters of respondents aware of the KPU believe that it is transparent, fair, honest, and independent. Sixty-seven percent of Indonesians believe that there is no corruption at the KPU, an increase from 63% in the late June pre-election survey.
- Eighty percent of respondents who know of the KPU are satisfied with its work in preparation for the 2004 elections while 18% are dissatisfied with its work. These percentages have not changed since the late June survey. Satisfaction with the KPU's work is similar in rural areas (81%) and urban areas (79%). Residents of Kalimantan (95%) and Sulawesi (88%) are most likely to be satisfied with the KPU's work. Residents of the conflict areas – Aceh/Maluku/Papua (74%) - are least likely to be satisfied.
- The most oft-cited reasons for dissatisfaction with the KPU's work have not changed significantly since the late June survey. Among the 18% of respondents dissatisfied with the KPU's work, 38% say it is because the KPU has not performed ideally during the elections, the same as in the late June survey but is a decrease from the 51% of those dissatisfied who mentioned this in the April-May survey. Twenty-two percent of those dissatisfied cite the lack of transparency of the KPU. Eighteen percent are not satisfied with the results of the election, and 14% think more information should be provided by the KPU. The percent who cite KKN at the KPU has decreased from 12% to 7% in this survey.

12. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, PANWAS

Level of Knowledge about PANWAS



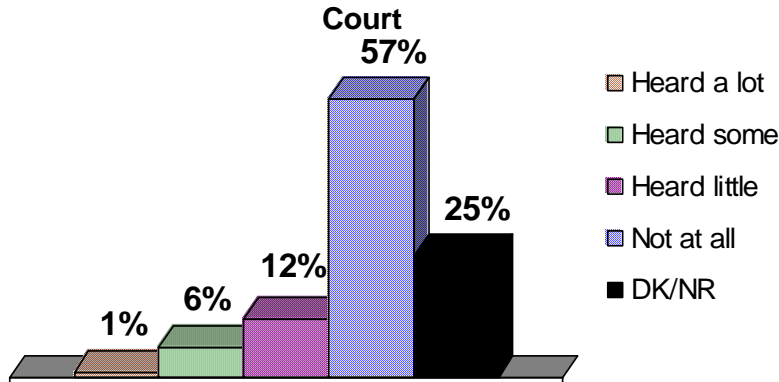
Opinions on PANWAS
(n=672)



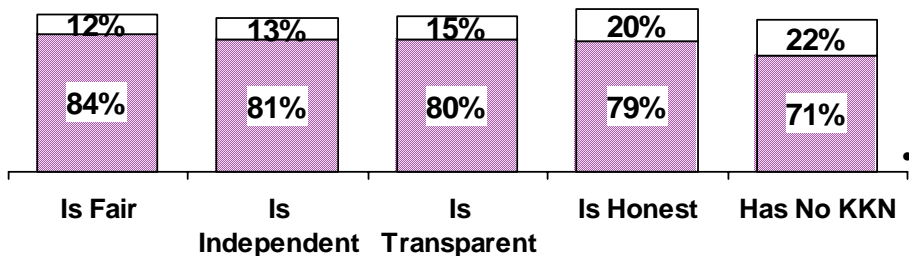
- Awareness of PANWAS has fallen to 54%, the lowest level recorded since early March 2004 (Wave V-VIII surveys – 52%). Among those aware of PANWAS, 86% are aware that PANWAS monitors the election process (down from 90% in June), 71% are aware that it receives reports of violations of the election law (down from 76%), 70% know that it settles disputes that occur during the election process (up from 67%), and 63% are aware that it forwards unsettled disputes to the relevant authorities for resolution.
- More than 80% of those aware of PANWAS think that it will be effective in the supervision of elections, that it is honest, independent and impartial. More than three-quarters also agree that PANWAS will be effective in handling election violations and in resolving disputes.
- Nearly half of those aware of PANWAS (49%) are aware of an electoral dispute being referred to the body. This is a slight decrease from the 52% who were aware of a referred election dispute in the late June survey. There is no difference in awareness of disputes being forwarded to PANWAS between urban and rural areas. Sixty-three percent of respondents in East Java are aware of a dispute being forwarded to PANWAS, followed by those in Sumatra and Kalimantan (54%).
- When those aware of PANWAS are asked whether they are satisfied with the body, 82% signal satisfaction and 17% say they are dissatisfied with the work of the body. A majority of those dissatisfied with the body say it is because PANWAS is not firm in dealing with electoral violations and crimes (55%). Twenty percent of those dissatisfied do not think PANWAS is transparent and 12% accuse it of cheating.

13. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, Constitutional Court

Level of Knowledge about Constitutional Court



Opinions on Constitutional Court (n=315)



■ Strongly Agree/ Agree □ Strongly Disagree/ Disagree

- There has been an increase since the June survey in the percentage of Indonesians who are not at all aware of the Constitutional Court (from 49% to 57%). This may be due to a lesser level of publicity about the Court in early July, following settlement of legislative election disputes in June. This body is responsible for ruling on all constitutional matters and is also responsible for the resolution of electoral disputes. Only 7% of respondents have heard a lot or some about this body, and a further 12% have heard a little bit about it. Residents of urban areas are more likely to have heard at least a little about this body as those in rural areas (22% versus 15%), although there has been a decrease in awareness in urban areas from 36% to 22%. Awareness of this body also seems to be generally concentrated among the higher educated citizens in Indonesia.
- Among those aware of the Constitutional Court, a majority are aware of most of its functions. Sixty-eight percent are aware that the court resolves electoral disputes, 63% know that it reviews laws to see if they are in compliance with the 1945 constitution (up from 57% in June), and 60% know that it settles disputes over the mandates of state institutions whose powers are guided by the 1945 constitution. On a positive note, 55% are aware that the Constitutional Court is responsible for the dissolution of political parties, up from 43% in the June survey.
- The Constitutional Court enjoys favorable opinions among those aware of it. More than four in five of these Indonesians believe that the court is fair and independent and exactly four in five of these believe that it is transparent. Seventy-nine percent of these believe that it is honest and 71% say that it has no KKN.
- Forty-five percent of those aware of the court are aware of electoral disputes being forwarded to this body. Residents of rural areas (51%) are more likely to be aware of forwarded disputes than residents of urban areas (39%). More than three-quarters of those aware of disputes being forwarded to the Constitutional Court (76%) are satisfied with the court's handling of the disputes while 20% are dissatisfied. The majority of these respondents are dissatisfied because of perceived biased decisions by the court (56%) and more than a quarter are dissatisfied because of unresolved cases before the court (26%).