

# RESULTS FROM WAVE XVIII OF TRACKING SURVEYS

19 October 2004



# Survey Implementation

- This survey was conducted between 22 September and 29 September 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; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave II: 12-15 January 2004; 1250 respondents; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave III/IV: 26 January – 6 February 2004; 2000 respondents; for national data +/- 2.2% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave V/VIII: 15 February – 10 March 2004; 4000 respondents; for national data +/-1.55% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave IX: 21-28 March 2004; 1250 respondents; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave X: 7-14 April 2004; 1250 respondents; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave XI/XII: 20 April - 8 May 2004; 2000 respondents; for national data +/-2.2% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave XIII: 14 – 9 June 2004; 1250 respondents; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave XIV: 17 – 26 June 2004; 2000 respondents; for national data +/- 2.2% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave XV: 7 – 14 July 2004; 1250 respondents; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave XVI: 7 – 14 August 2004; 1250 respondents; for national data +/-2.8% margin of error at 95% confidence level
  - Wave XVII: 2 – 9 September 2004; 2000 respondents; for national data +/-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, Wave XIV, Wave XV, Wave XVI, and Wave XVII is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the Wave XVIII survey. Regional and other breakdowns reflect data from the Wave XVIII survey.



*This survey was made possible with support from USAID and UNDP*

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



# Survey Methodology

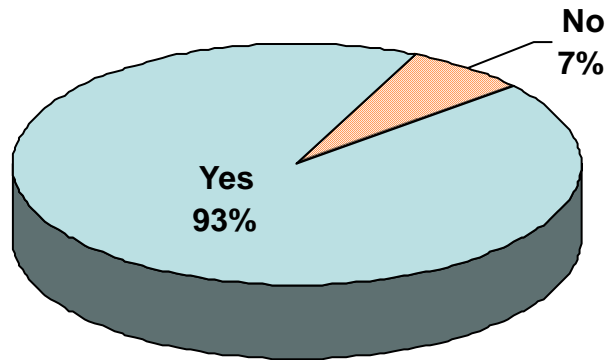
- Questionnaires
  - Are field tested with a sample of respondents before the survey is implemented
  - Are carefully constructed to avoid bias, through careful attention to language, order of questions, rotated order of advice of closed responses, etc
  - Contain cross validating questions on contentious issues – e.g. political preferences
- Data collection
  - All field workers are experienced and undertake a training session for each round of the survey
  - Data is cross checked for consistency with other survey organisations
  - Field interviews are strictly supervised – at least a certain % must be witnessed by supervisors and there are call backs to a specified % of respondents.
  - Data is checked for inconsistencies before being double entered, and cleaned
- Samples
  - Are determined by multi stage random sampling and are verified before field work commences
  - Final samples are weighted to reflect the key BPS demographics for Indonesian voting age population – geographic distribution of population, rural/urban split, age breakdown, gender composition, so the survey data is fully representative.
- Timing
  - Tracking surveys in this series are conducted as close as possible to major events
  - As surveys are conducted by face to face interviews in all provinces, there is a time lag between collection of data and, say, voting day
  - Survey data is an accurate snapshot of respondents' views at the time they were interviewed. It is not a prediction of votes at a later voting day.
  - Tracking survey data from 2004 shows that a significant proportion of voters do not make up their minds who to vote for until during the week before, or on, voting day.

# Margins of Error

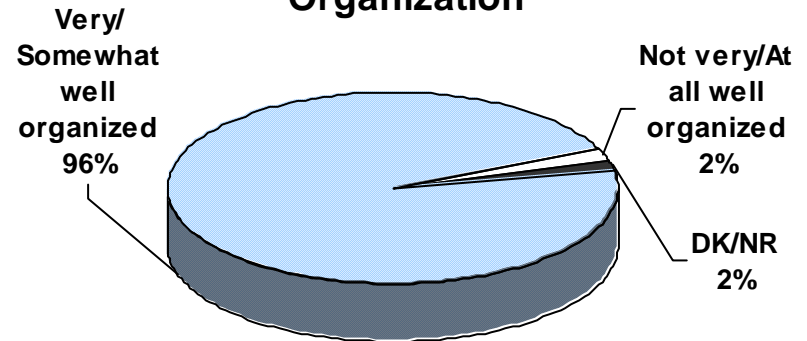
- The margin of error for the national data in this survey is +/-2.8% at a 95% level of confidence.
- Margin of error refers to the reliability of the data at the time it was collected. It is expressed as how much % confidence one can have that surveys undertaken at the same time, using the same questions with different samples, will be within a given % range of the actual survey results.
- A margin of error of +/-2.8% at a 95% confidence level means that, if the same survey question had been asked using 100 different randomly constructed samples of the Indonesian population at the same time, then 95 of these samples would produce results within plus or minus 2.8% of the result reported in the survey.
- Differences between the data collected in this survey and data collected at some later date, by some other method – for example on voting day, are not a 'margin of error' of survey data. These differences are a function of the time period between the dates the different sets of data were collected, and the level of volatility of opinions held by the Indonesian population.

# 1. Voting in September Presidential Election and Assessment of Election

## Voted in September Election?

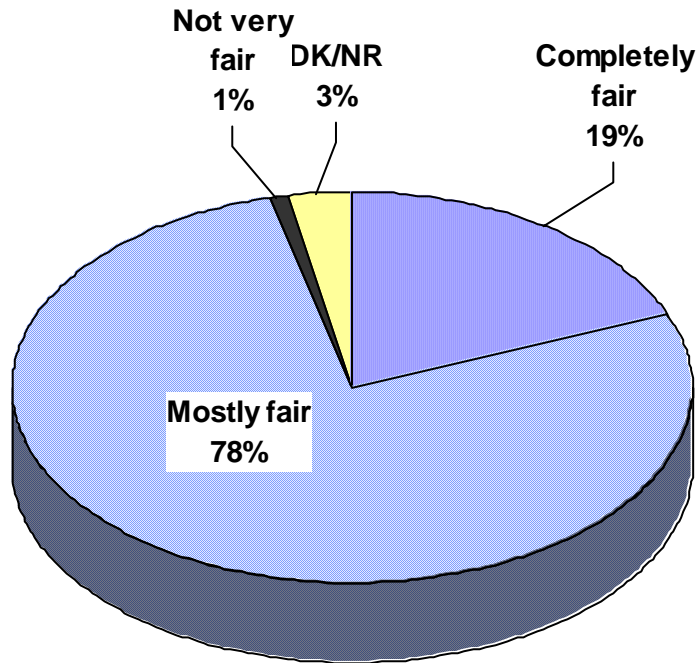


## Overall Assessment of Election Organization



- Ninety-three percent of respondents to this September-October survey report that they voted in the second round of the presidential election on September 20. This percentage is significantly higher than the 76% turnout reported by the election commission. It is common for post-election surveys to show a higher turnout than actually occurs, primarily because voting is seen to be a good thing. In the case of Indonesia, this effect may be heightened because of the generally successful series of elections that have been held in the country since April. It should be noted that the post-election survey after the first round of the election in July also had a much higher percentage of people saying they had voted compared to the actual turnout. Ninety-eight percent in this survey report that they received voter cards before the election, and 96% say they received a letter of notification.
- 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 (98%). 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 (95%). Almost all who report having voted (99%) found the ballot easy to understand. This is about the same as the 97% after the first round of the election, and far higher than the 71% who reported the same following the April general elections. This finding is not surprising since the ballots for the general elections were far more complex than the ballots for the presidential elections.
- Some other aspects of polling station operations improved from the first round to the second round of the election. Fifty-eight percent of those who report having voted say that their fingers were checked for ink when they entered the polling station, compared to 47% after the first round of the presidential election and 53% after the legislative elections. Sixty-two percent report that KPPS officials explained the voting process to them when handing them the ballots, higher than 56% after the first round and 57% after the legislative elections.
- Some other aspects deteriorated from previous elections. A majority of those who report having voted (56%) say they saw candidate or party posters around their polling stations, compared to 42% after the first round of the presidential elections and 23% after the legislative elections. Twelve percent reported group voting compared to 8% who reported this after the first round of the presidential election.
- When asked to assess the overall organization of the September election, 96% of all Indonesians rate the election as having been very or somewhat well organized. This is higher than the 90% who thought the first round was well-organized. Only 2% think the presidential election was not well-organized. In addition, 99% of those who report voting in the September election rate the performance of the KPPS officials in their polling station as good or very good.

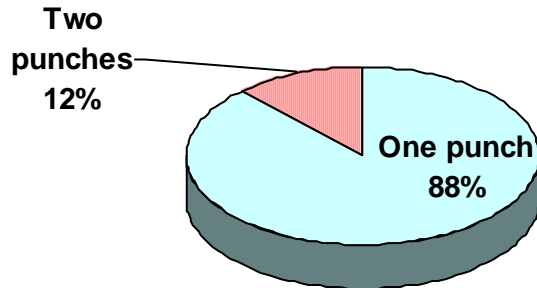
## 2. Fairness of Presidential Election



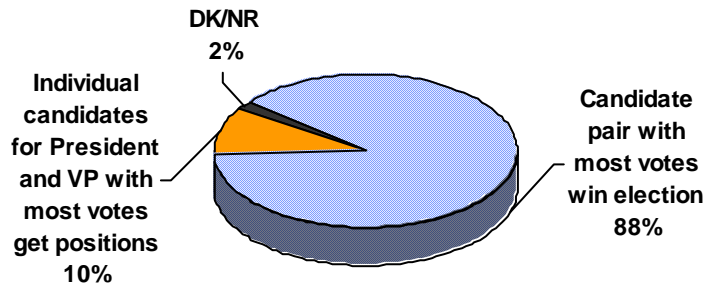
- Almost all Indonesians (97%) are of the opinion that the September 20 presidential election was fair and honest. This percentage is slightly higher than the 93% who reported the election being fair and honest after the first round of the presidential elections, and significantly higher than 86% after the legislative elections. Very few Indonesians (1%) believe that this election was not fair and honest.
- Among the few Indonesians who do not think the presidential elections were fair, most say that it is because votes are not properly counted due to lack of training.
- According to this survey, 25% of Indonesians observed vote-counting at a polling station on September 20. When these respondents are asked whether they think the vote-counting was fair, 32% say that it was completely fair and 67% say that it was mostly fair.
- As was indicated by findings from post-election surveys after the legislative elections and the first round of the presidential election, not many instances of irregular tactics were used to gain votes in the second round of the presidential election. Among those who voted in the presidential election, very few (0.6%) 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

Methods of Voting in 2nd Round Presidential Election (n=1161)



Method by Which Winner Determined in Second Round



- Those who reported voting in the September 20 second round presidential election were asked how they had punched their ballot on election-day. Eighty-eight percent of these respondents report that they punched one presidential/vice-presidential pair, the technically correct way to vote in the election. Eleven percent reported punching once for a presidential candidate and once for a vice-presidential candidate. Although this is not technically the correct way to vote, the KPU accepted these votes if the president and vice-president punched were on the same ticket. The lowest level of correct responses was cited by residents of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (73%), while the highest level was among residents of Bali/NTB/NTT (95%).
- Eighty-eight percent of Indonesians are aware that the winner of the second round of the presidential election is the candidate pair that receives the higher percentage of valid votes in the election. This is much higher than the percentage of Indonesians (43%) who were aware of how a winner is determined in the first round of the presidential election. The fact that there were only two candidate pairs in the second round probably played a part in the higher percentage of Indonesians aware of the way a winner is determined in this round.

## 4. Reported Vote in September 20 Election

Candidate Pair	Wave XVIII Survey Responses (vote choice of those who said they voted)	Official KPU Results	Wave XVII Survey (pre-election September survey)
SBY/Kalla	68.1%	60.62%	61.2%
President Soekarnoputri/Hasyim	25.7%	39.38%	29.3%
Secret/Don't Know	6.2%	--	9.5%

- Those who said they voted on September 20 in this post-election survey are more likely to say that they voted for SBY/Kalla in the September 20 second round of the presidential election, and are likely to significantly under-report voting for the pair of Megawati/Hasyim. Part of this may reflect the natural tendency to be seen backing a winner and, on the other hand, not backing candidates who did not win. Consequently, 68.1% in this survey report voting for SBY/Kalla on September 20 while 25.7% report voting for Megawati/Hasyim, and 6.2% keep their response secret or do not give a response.
- The data in this post-election survey indicates that SBY/Kalla were preferred over Megawati/Hasyim in all regions of the country except Bali/NTB/NTT (46.7%; compared to 45% for SBY/Kalla). SBY/Kalla's strongest level of support was in Sulawesi (89.5%) and Central Java/Yogyakarta (75%).
- Residents of the conflict areas of Aceh/Papua/Maluku were most likely to report that they did not vote in the September 20 election (24%).
- SBY/Kalla also won the majority of votes in every age group, with particularly high support among those 44 and under (79%). Their lowest level of support was among those aged 55 and over (59%). SBY/Kalla received more support in urban areas (73%) than in rural areas (64%), and support for this ticket with an increase in education. Seventy-one percent of those with at least some secondary education support SBY/Kalla.



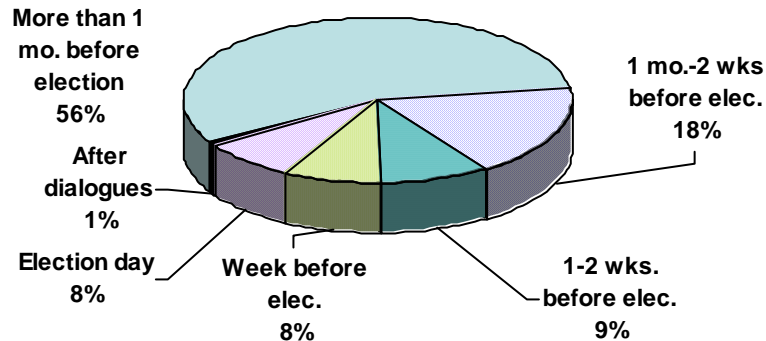
## 5. Source of Support for Presidential Candidates (based on party supported at legislative elections)

Party Voted for in Parliamentary Election	SBY/Kalla	Megawati/Hasyim	Secret/DK
GOLKAR	82%	16%	2%
PDIP	20%	78%	2%
PPP	84%	13%	3%
PKB	84%	16%	0%
PD	99%	1%	0%
PKS	86%	11%	3%
PAN	87%	10%	3%
PBB	89%	8%	3%
PBR	84%	11%	5%
PDS	65%	30%	5%
Secret	21%	4%	75%
No Response	36%	0%	64%

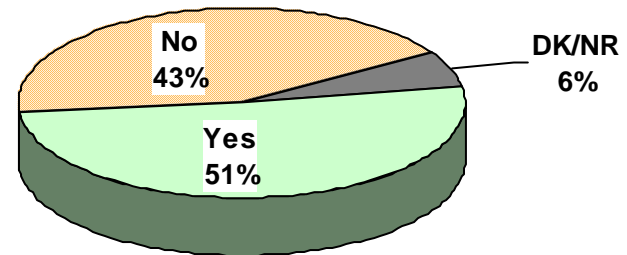
- The table above shows that with the exception of PDIP, the vast majority of those who had supported major parties in the April 2004 legislative elections voted for the SBY/Kalla ticket in the second round of the presidential election. This indicates that SBY/Kalla enjoyed a broad base of support on their way to the presidency and vice-presidency. Eighty-four percent or more of those who had voted for PBB, PBR, PKB, and PAN voted for SBY/Kalla in the second round. Even more noteworthy is the fact that 82% of those who had reported voted for Golkar in April voted for SBY/Kalla. This is despite the fact that the Golkar leadership threw its support behind Megawati/Hasyim for the second round, and applied immense pressure on party cadre in the closing days of the campaign to support the party choice.
- Beside PDIP, Megawati/Hasyim were only able to get the 30% threshold among those who had voted for PDS in the legislative election.

## 6. Timing of Voting Decision and Candidate Dialogues

### Timing of Voting Decision



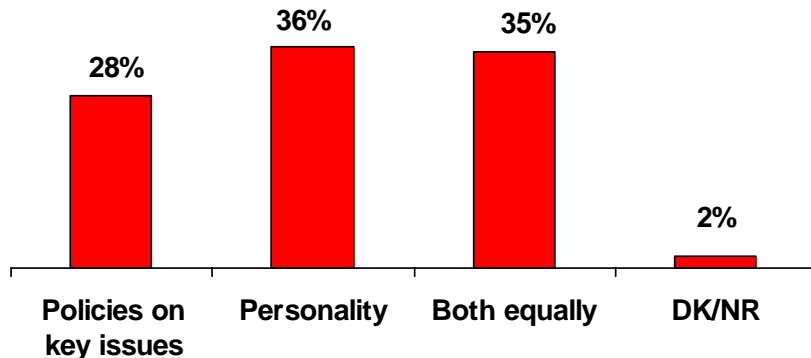
### Watched or Heard Candidate Dialogues?



- A majority of those who report voting in the election made up their mind on the candidate they would vote for more than one month before the election (56%). The remaining voters were roughly evenly distributed in the timing of their voting decision. Sixteen percent of voters made their voting decision in the last week before the election or on election-day. There is no significant difference in the timing of the voting decision for either candidate pair in the election.
- Sixty-seven percent of those who voted in Sumatra, and 60% in Sulawesi made their voting decisions more than two weeks before the election, the lowest such percentage among all regions. Voters in the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua were the most likely to make up their mind more than two weeks before election-day (98%). Voters in Sumatra (12%), Central Java/Yogyakarta (11%), and West Java /Jakarta/Banten (9%) were the most likely to wait till election-day for their voting decision.
- One percent of those who voted say that they made their voting decision after watching the dialogues. Overall, a majority of Indonesians (51%) say that they saw or heard at least one candidate's dialogues in the period leading up to the election. Almost all of these respondents (98%) witnessed the dialogues on television while only 1% heard them on the radio, and 1% used both mediums. Exposure to dialogues was highest in Kalimantan (60%) and Sulawesi (59%), and it was lowest in the conflict areas of Aceh/Maluku/Papua (34%). Those who saw the dialogues list many different dates on which they watched or heard the dialogues, with many listing dates on which dialogues did not occur. Almost all of those who say they saw or heard the dialogues rated these dialogues as good or very good (97%).
- A little more than one-third of those who saw or heard the dialogues (34%) say that the dialogues were either a strong or deciding factor in their voting decision for the September 20 election. Thirty-seven percent say that the dialogues were a minor factor in their decision and 27% say that the dialogues played no role in their decision. Analysis of reported vote in the survey indicates that those who say the dialogues were a strong or deciding factor in their voting decision were more likely to have voted for SBY/Kalla than the overall percentage of reported votes for this pair in the survey (72% versus 68%). On the other hand, those who say the dialogues were a strong or deciding factor in their voting decision were less likely to say they voted for Megawati/Hasyim than the overall sample (18% versus 25.7%).
- 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 dialogues (51%). Seventeen percent, on the other hand, think that there should be separate dialogues for presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Fourteen percent think that journalists should be allowed to ask questions, 13% think that the candidates should ask questions of each other, and 10% think that a panel of experts should ask the questions in the dialogues. Only a quarter of Indonesians think that candidates should be allowed to criticize the platforms or policies of other candidates during a dialogues while a majority (51%) does not wish to see this during a dialogues.

# 7. Candidate's Personality is Most Important Consideration for Voters

Which is More Important, Candidate's Policy on Key Issues or Personality? (n=1161)

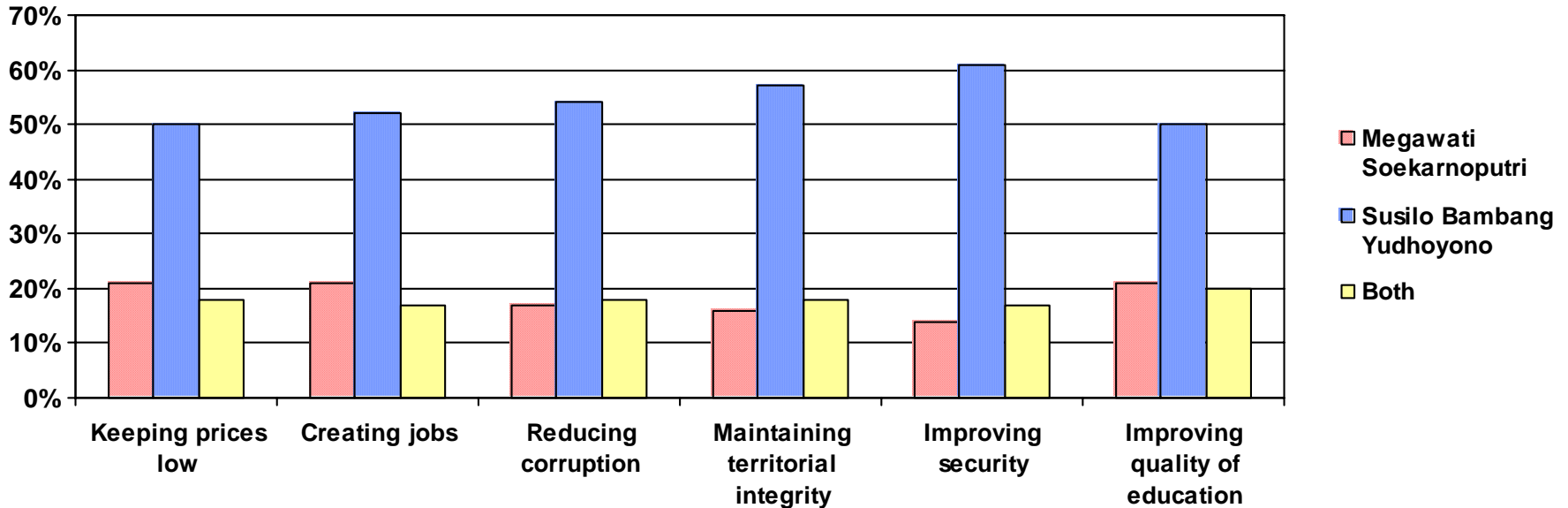


Reasons for Voting for Candidates in Second Round



- In a continuation of the trend throughout the tracking surveys for the legislative and presidential elections in Indonesia, more Indonesians think that a candidate's personality is more important for their voting decision than the candidate's policies on key issues.
- When those who voted were asked whether a candidate's policies or personality was more important, 36% picked personality, 28% policies, and 35% both these factors. The importance of policies has increased from 21% in post-election survey following the July 5 elections to this post-election survey. Supporters of both SBY and Megawati in the first round both 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. Thirty percent say they voted for the candidate because of their personality, but a higher percentage (32%) say they voted for the candidate who can bring change. This reason for voting for a candidate was much higher than in the first round of the presidential election (17%). Not surprisingly, those who voted for SBY/Kalla were more likely to vote for a candidate because they could bring change (34%) than those who voted for Megawati/Hasyim (25%). Supporter of SBY/Kalla were also twice as more likely to say they voted for their candidate because of personality (36%) than those who voted for Megawati/Hasyim (18%). Megawati's supporters were more likely to cite good performance and leadership (20%) as a reason for voting for the candidate than SBY's supporters (4%).

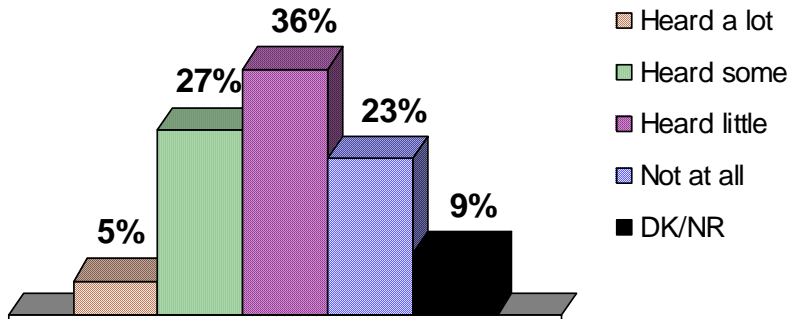
## 8. Direct Comparison of Effective Candidate at Addressing Key Issues



- On the issues considered to be important by Indonesians, more of them think that SBY would do a better job addressing these issues than Megawati. In previous tracking surveys, Indonesians have indicated that keeping prices low, creating jobs, reducing corruption, maintaining the territorial integrity of Indonesia, improving security and the quality of education are important issues that candidates for president should address.
- The largest gap for SBY over Megawati is on issues dealing with security. Sixty-one percent believe SBY would be more effective at improving security compared to 14% who cite Megawati, and 57% think SBY would be better able to maintain Indonesia's territorial integrity while 16% cite Megawati. On key economic issues, 54% think SBY would be better to reduce corruption while 17% name Megawati. On keeping prices low, 50% think SBY would be more effective and 21% cite Megawati. It should be noted that on most of these issues, there is a larger gap between the percentage that pick SBY over Megawati in this post-election survey than in the survey taken right before the September 20 election.
- Comparing the number of times SBY and Megawati were chosen by each respondent in relation to these issues results in the finding that 36% of Indonesians believe that SBY will be more effective at implementing policies on all of these six issues, an increase from 32% in the pre-election survey. Ten percent mention Megawati on all issues, a decrease from 13% on all six issues in the pre-election survey. Fifty-one percent of Indonesians believe that SBY would be more effective at implementing policies in four or more of these issues. This compares to 14% for Megawati. As has been the case in the tracking surveys since July 5, the more often a respondent mentioned either candidate as being better able to address these six issues, the more likely they would be to vote for the candidate.

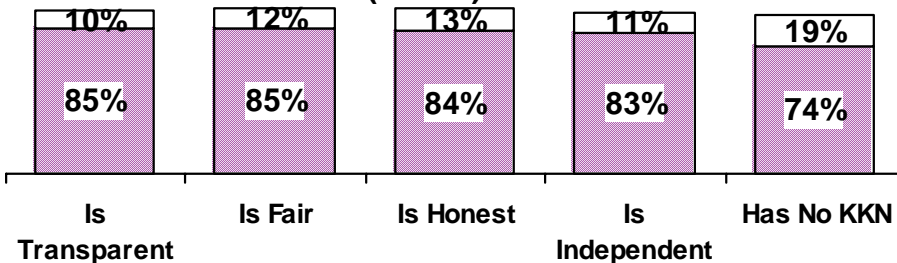
# 9. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, KPU

Level of Knowledge about KPU



Opinions on KPU

(n=850)

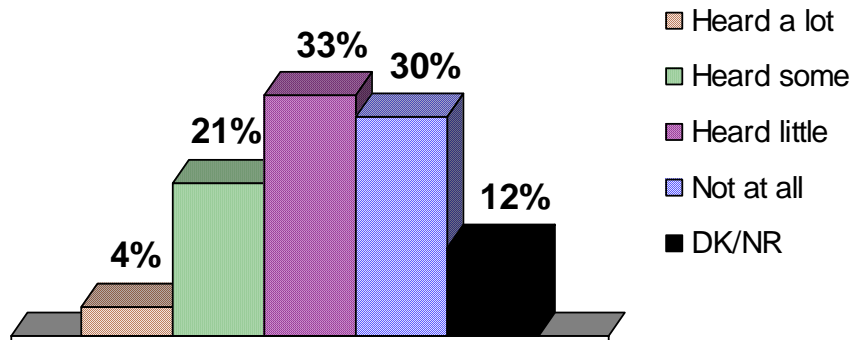


■ Strongly Agree/ Agree □ Strongly Disagree/ Disagree

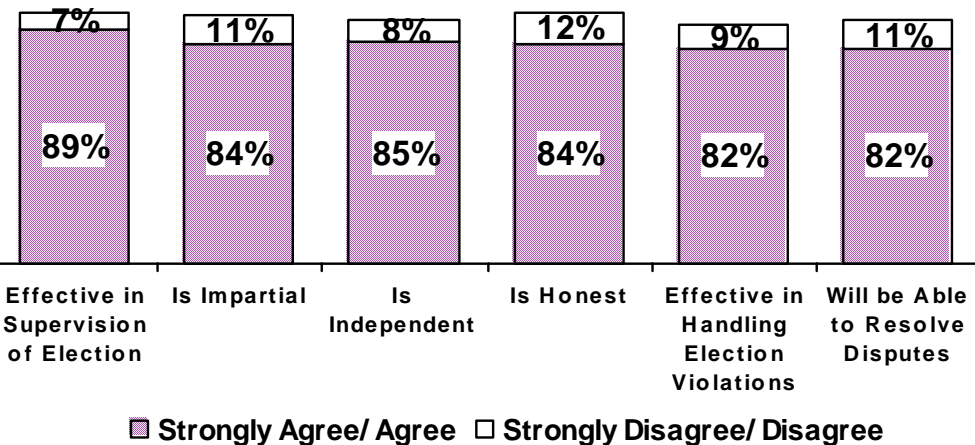
- The percentage of Indonesians who have heard at least a little about the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU) is at 68% in this survey. As has been the case in previous surveys, awareness of the KPU is much higher in urban areas (78%) than in rural areas (61%). Those who have heard or seen the *Milih Langsung* voter education messages that have been broadcast since before the April legislative elections are more likely to have heard about the KPU (80%) than those not exposed to these messages (44%).
- Most Indonesians who have heard or read about the KPU have generally positive opinions of the organization. In fact, the KPU receives its highest collective positive evaluations in this survey. More than 80% of respondents aware of the KPU believe that it is transparent, fair, honest, and independent. Seventy-four percent of Indonesians believe that there is no corruption at the KPU, the highest level recorded in the tracking surveys.
- Ninety percent of respondents who know of the KPU are satisfied with its work in preparation for the 2004 elections while 9% are dissatisfied with its work. This is the highest satisfaction level recorded in the tracking surveys. Residents of Bali/NTB/NTT (99%), Kalimantan (97%) and Sumatra (95%) are most likely to be satisfied with the KPU's work. Residents of East Java (80%) are least likely to be satisfied.
- Among those dissatisfied with the KPU's work, 33% say it is because the KPU is not transparent, 31% because they believe there is KKN at the KPU, and 24% because they do not think the KPU has worked efficiently. Eleven percent are not satisfied with the results of elections.
- The level of satisfaction with the KPU's work can be gauged by the fact that 97% of Indonesians have confidence in the official results of the election announced by the KPU.

# 10. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, PANWAS

Level of Knowledge about PANWAS



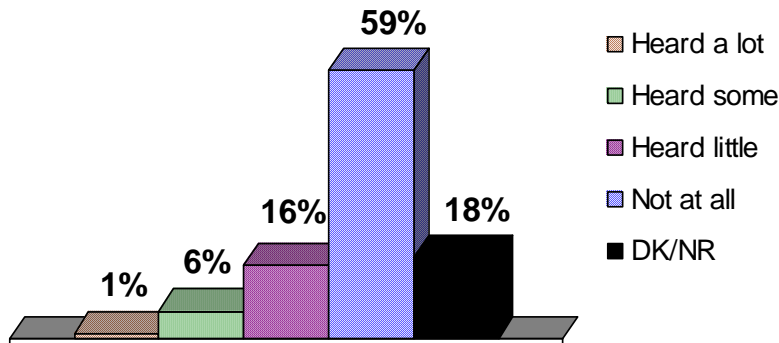
Opinions on PANWAS  
(n=722)



- Fifty-eight percent of Indonesians say that they have heard at least a little about PANWAS. Awareness of PANWAS is much higher in urban areas (69%) than in rural areas (49%). Among those aware of PANWAS, 91% are aware that PANWAS monitors the election process, 68% are aware that it receives reports of violations of the election law, 63% know that it settles disputes that occur during the election process, and 59% 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, and that it will be effective in handling elections violations and resolving disputes.
- Forty-six percent of those aware of PANWAS are aware of an electoral dispute being referred to the body. There is a large difference in awareness of disputes being forwarded to PANWAS between urban areas (58%) and rural areas (33%). Residents of Kalimantan (79%) are far more likely than residents of other regions to be aware of disputes being forwarded to PANWAS.
- When those aware of PANWAS are asked whether they are satisfied with the body, 90% signal satisfaction and 10% say they are dissatisfied with the work of the body. Seventy-eight percent of those dissatisfied with PANWAS say this is because the government is interfering in this body's work. Eleven percent are dissatisfied because they believe PANWAS is not transparent.

# 11. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, Constitutional Court

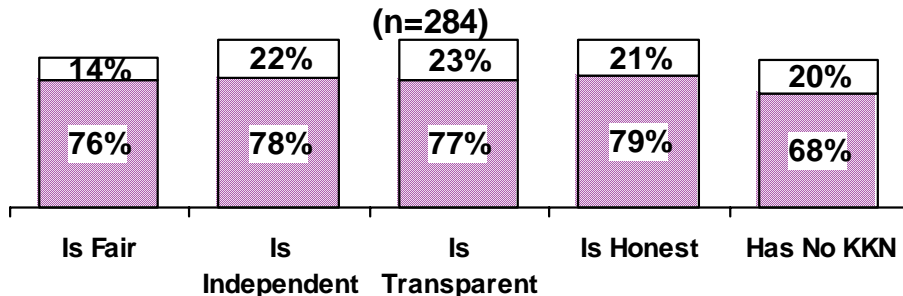
Level of Knowledge about Constitutional Court



- Only 23% of Indonesians have at least a little information on the Constitutional Court. 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 16% 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 (35% versus 13%). Awareness of this body is generally concentrated among the higher educated citizens in Indonesia.

- Among those aware of the Constitutional Court, many are aware of its functions, although this percentage has decreased from previous surveys. Seventy-four percent are aware that the court resolves electoral disputes, and 53% are aware that it is responsible for the dissolution of political parties, but less than a majority of those aware of the Constitutional Court know that it reviews laws to see if they are in compliance with the 1945 constitution (48%), that it settles disputes over the mandates of state institutions whose powers are guided by the 1945 constitution (49%).

Opinions on Constitutional Court



- The Constitutional enjoys favorable opinions among those aware of it. More than three-quarters of those aware of this body believe that the court is fair and independent and exactly four in five believe that it is transparent. Seventy-nine percent believe that it is honest and 68% say that it has not KKN.

- Sixty percent of those aware of the court are aware of electoral disputes being forwarded to this body. Residents of urban areas (62%) are more likely to be aware of forwarded disputes than residents of rural areas (57%). More than three-quarters of those aware of disputes being forwarded to the Constitutional Court (79%) are satisfied with the court's handling of the disputes while 15% are dissatisfied. The majority of these respondents are dissatisfied because of unresolved cases (47%) or because of biased decisions (33%).

■ Strongly Agree/ Agree □ Strongly Disagree/ Disagree