

RESULTS FROM WAVE XIII OF TRACKING SURVEYS

23 June 2004



International Foundation for Election Systems

Methodology

- Waves I, II, IX, and X 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 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 Wave XIII survey was conducted in 31 provinces with 1250 respondents. The province of Maluku was omitted from the Wave XII and Wave XIII surveys 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, Waves XI and XII combined, and Wave XIII 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, X, and XIII is +/- 2.8% at a 95% confidence level. The margin of error for each of the combined Waves III & IV, and Wave XI & XII data is +/- 2.2% at a 95% confidence level. The margin of error for the combined Waves V through VIII data is +/-1.55% at a 95% confidence level.
- For Wave I, the face-to-face interviews were conducted between 13 and 18 December 2003. For Wave II, the interviews were conducted between 12 and 15 January 2004. For Wave III, the interviews were conducted between January 26 and February 1. For Wave IV, the interviews were conducted between February 1 and 6. For Wave V, the dates of interviews were February 15-19; for Wave VI, February 21-25; for Wave VII, February 27-March 2; for Wave VIII, March 6-10 (the day before the commencement of the election campaign). 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. For Wave XIII, face-to-face interviews were conducted between June 4 and 9.
- In this report, any data from the Wave I, Wave II, Waves III-IV, Waves V through VIII surveys, Wave IX, Wave X, Wave XI and XII combined is specifically cited in the charts and text. All other data points are from the Wave XIII survey. Regional breakdowns reflect data from the Wave XIII survey.



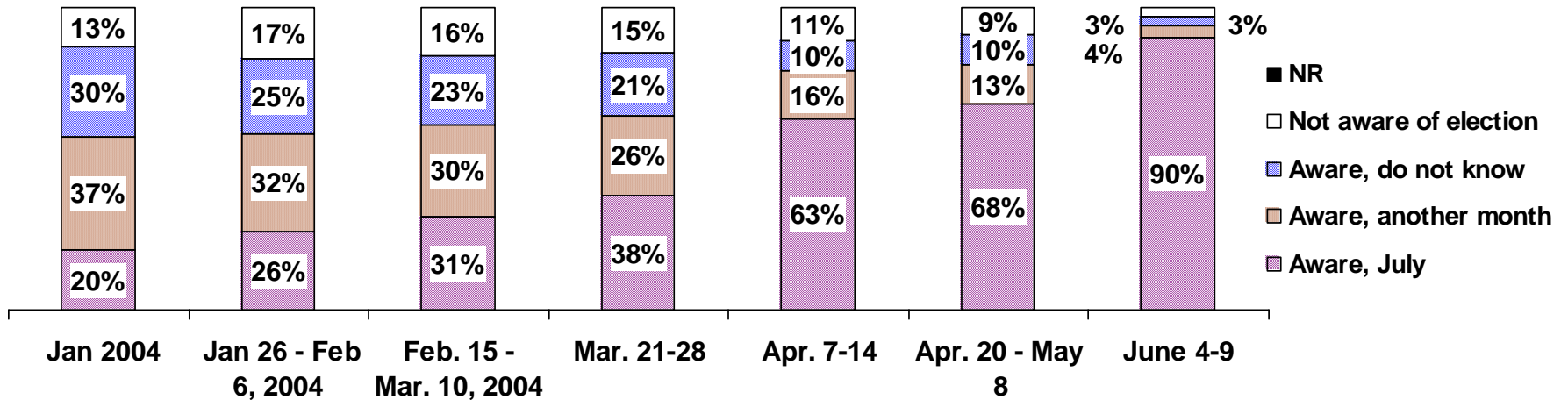
This survey was made possible with support from USAID and UNDP



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



1. Awareness of Presidential Election



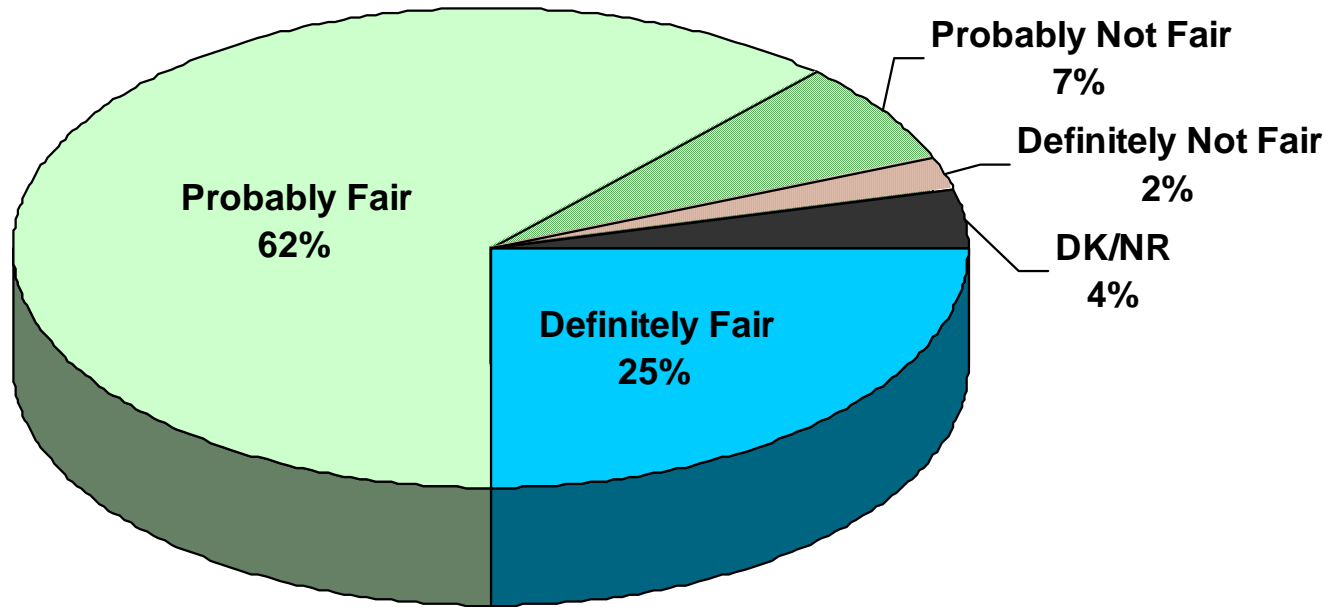
- There has been a large increase since the April-May survey in the percentage of Indonesians who are aware that the presidential election is in July. In the June survey, 90% report being aware that the election will be in July. This compares to 68% of Indonesians who were aware of this fact in the April-May survey. Seven percent of respondents are aware of the presidential elections but do not know that they will take place in July. Close to 90% of most major sub-groups in the population are aware that the presidential election will be in July.
- While there is near universal awareness of the first-ever direct presidential election in July, the majority of Indonesians remain unaware how a clear winner in the July 5 election would be determined. The electoral law stipulates that for a presidential/vice-presidential ticket to win outright in the first round of the presidential election, it would have to obtain more than 50% of the national vote as well as obtain a minimum of 20% of the vote in at least half of the provinces in Indonesia. Respondents who are aware of the 2004 presidential election were asked how a winner of the first round is determined and given three choices. Thirty-eight percent of these respondents identify the correct method through which a candidate could be elected in the first round, leaving 62% who are unaware of the correct method for electing a president in the first round. Thirty percent believe that whichever presidential/vice presidential candidate pair receives the most votes in the first round would be elected into office, while 13% believe that, in separate votes, the presidential candidate who receives the highest number of votes would be elected, and the vice-presidential candidate who receives the most votes would be elected. Nineteen percent do not know or do not give a response.
- Awareness of the correct procedure for electing a candidate in the first round is significantly lower in the conflict areas of Aceh/North Maluku/Papua (11%), Kalimantan (18%), and Sumatra (19%) than in other regions of the country. The highest level of awareness is in Sulawesi (55%) and Western Java (including Jakarta and Banten, 48%).
- Those who are aware of the correct procedure for electing a candidate in the first round were asked what would happen if no presidential/vice presidential candidate pair won the election in the first round. Fifty-one percent of these respondents are aware that the top two vote-getters in the first round would move on to contest a second round election. Thirty-four percent of respondents do not give an answer or do not reply, and 12% believe that another election is held with all the first round contestants. The data from these two questions indicates that a little more than a quarter of Indonesians (28%) are aware of the provision for a second round election. With the possibility that no candidate pair will fulfill the requirements to win in the July 5 first round election, more Indonesians must be made aware of the second round of the election.
- Respondents who have seen the *Milih Langsung* voter education messages are more likely to be aware of the provisions for the first and second round of the election than those who have not seen the messages. In total, 70% of respondents have seen the *Milih Langsung* messages. Among these respondents, 44% are aware how a candidate could be elected in the first round. This compares to 23% among those who have not seen the messages.

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	88%	75%	75%	74%	73%
Probably	10%	21%	21%	22%	22%
Very Little/Little/Will Not Vote	2%	3%	3%	3%	4%

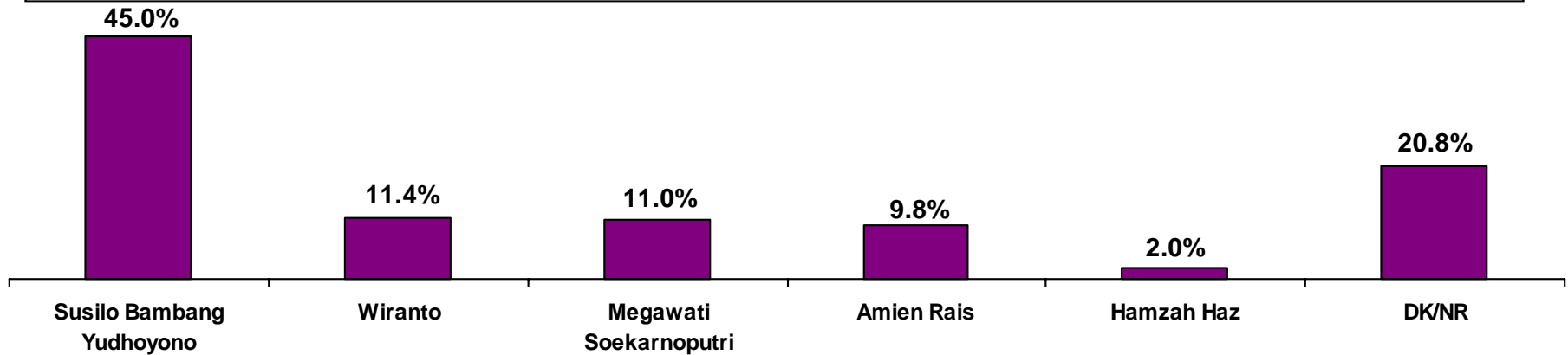
- More than four in five voting-age Indonesians continue to say that there is a high likelihood they will vote in the upcoming presidential elections. In addition, 10% say that they will probably vote in the election, and 2% say there is little or no chance of them voting. These figures are little changed from the April-May survey. Further, three-quarters or close to three-quarters of Indonesians say that there is a high or very high likelihood of them voting even if there is no candidate for president or vice-president from the party they support in either the first or second rounds of the presidential election.
- This data would seem to indicate a high turnout for the July presidential election. One should, however, view this finding with caution given that pre-election polls for the April 5 legislative election seemed to indicate a turnout of 90% or higher, whereas actual turnout was 84%. Many Indonesians who indicated that they would be highly likely to or would probably to vote in the April elections did not in fact vote. Special focus should be put on emphasizing the importance of voting in Kalimantan in which less than 70% say they have a high likelihood of voting. Eighty percent or higher in all other regions indicate a high likelihood of voting.
- Another area which voter education still needs to emphasize is the proper method for punching the ballot in the presidential election. More than one-third of those aware of the presidential election (39%) do not know how to correctly punch the ballot in the election (one punch for the preferred presidential/vice-presidential pair). Among those highly likely to vote, 38% are not aware of the proper way to punch the ballot.
- The regions in which relatively fewer of those aware of the 2004 presidential election are aware of the proper way to punch the ballot are Kalimantan (44%), Sumatra (excluding Aceh, 48%), and Sulawesi (52%). In Java, approximately two-thirds of these respondents are aware of the correct way to punch the ballot. Rural respondents are slightly less likely to know how to punch the ballot than urban respondents (59% versus 65%).

3. Expected Fairness of the Presidential Election



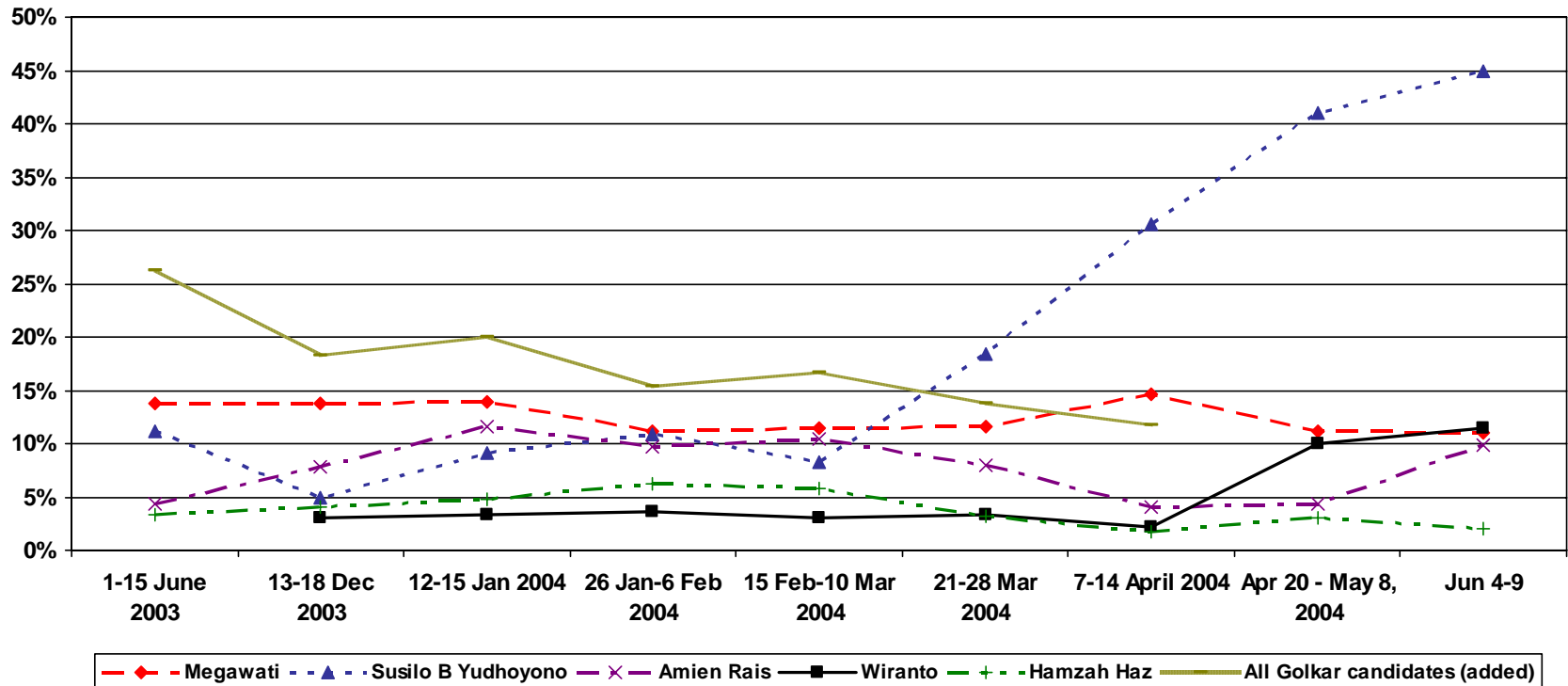
- Almost nine in ten Indonesians (87%) believe that the July presidential election will, at the least, probably be fair and honest. In this survey, a quarter believe the election will be definitely fair and honest and nearly two-thirds believe they will probably be fair and honest. These figures have not changed much from the April-May survey.
- The level of confidence in the results from the April legislative elections plays a large part in attitudes toward the expected fairness of the July presidential election. Among those who have a great deal of confidence in the April results announced by the KPU, 93% think the presidential election will be fair. Among those who have a fair amount of confidence, 88% believe the July election will be fair. Even amongst those who do not have much confidence or no confidence at all in the results of the April election, a majority believe the presidential election will be fair (74% and 64%, respectively).

4. Presidential Candidate Preference



- The data from this survey shows that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) continues to hold a large lead over the other contenders for the presidency. In fact, SBY is favored by significantly more Indonesians than the other four candidates combined (45% versus 34.2%). SBY is thought to be the best president for Indonesia by 45% of respondents. This compares with 11.4% who name former General Wiranto, 11% who name President Megawati, 9.8% for Amien Rais and only 2% for Hamzah Haz. Voters who are as yet undecided or did not respond to this question total 20.8%
- Most of those who name a candidate are likely to vote for that candidate. Respondents who name a preferred candidate were asked how certain they are to vote for this candidate. Eighty-six percent of President Megawati's supporters are certain or very likely to vote for her. This compares to 81% of SBY's supporters, 78% for Wiranto, 74% for Amien Rais, and 67% for Hamzah Haz. Twenty-one percent of Hamzah Haz's supporters say they can still change their mind, compared to 16% of Amien Rais' supporters, 12% for General Wiranto, and 9% each for supporters of President Megawati and SBY. The high percentage of certain or very likely responses, apart from amongst the supporters of the lesser supported candidates, indicates that there are not many 'soft' supporters who can change their minds in the few weeks before the election and that the candidates should instead be focusing on undecided voters.
- There are some regional differences in the certainty of one's voting choice that may impact campaigning in the weeks leading up to the election. In Sulawesi, 87% are certain or very likely to vote for the candidate they support and 10% can still change their mind or are undecided. Similarly, 85% in East Java are certain or very likely and 15% can still change their mind. The highest level of those who can change their mind or have not made a decision are in Western Java (includes West Java, Banten and Jakarta, 24%) followed by Sumatra (20%).
- It does not appear that the presidential candidates' vice presidential running mates have much impact on Indonesians' evaluation of who would make the best president for Indonesia. When respondents are given the names of the pairs of presidential and vice-presidential candidates and asked which pair would be the best president and vice-president for Indonesia, the percentages are very similar to those for the presidential candidate alone: SBY & Jusuf Kalla (45.8%), General Wiranto & Solahuddin Wahid (11.4%), President Megawati & Hasjim Muzadi (11.1%), Amien Rais & Siswono Yudhohusodo (9.7%), and Hamzah Haz & Agum Gumelar (2.7%). Among those with a high or very high likelihood of voting in the July 5 election, SBY/Kalla are favored by 46.8% of respondents, followed by a tie between Wiranto/Wahid and President Megawati/Muzadi (each 11.8%), Amien Rais/Yudhohusodo (10.0%) and Hamzah Haz/Agum Gumelar (2.6%).
- The SBY/Kalla pair is the top choice in all regions of the country with an outright majority expressing support for the pair in Bali/NTB/NTT (59%), Sulawesi (57%), and East Java (53%). This pair's weakest showing is in Sumatra (excluding Aceh), but even in this region this pair far out-polls the second-most supported pair of President Megawati/Muzadi (35% versus 14%). None of the other pairs is within 20 percentage points of the SBY/Kalla pair in any region of Indonesia. There is not much disparity in support for particular candidates between men and women with a nearly equal percentage of each gender most likely to support the SBY/Kalla pair (47% men, 45% women). Support for the SBY/Kalla pair is highest among those 18-25 (54%) and falls with an increase in age to its lowest level among those 55 and over (33%).

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

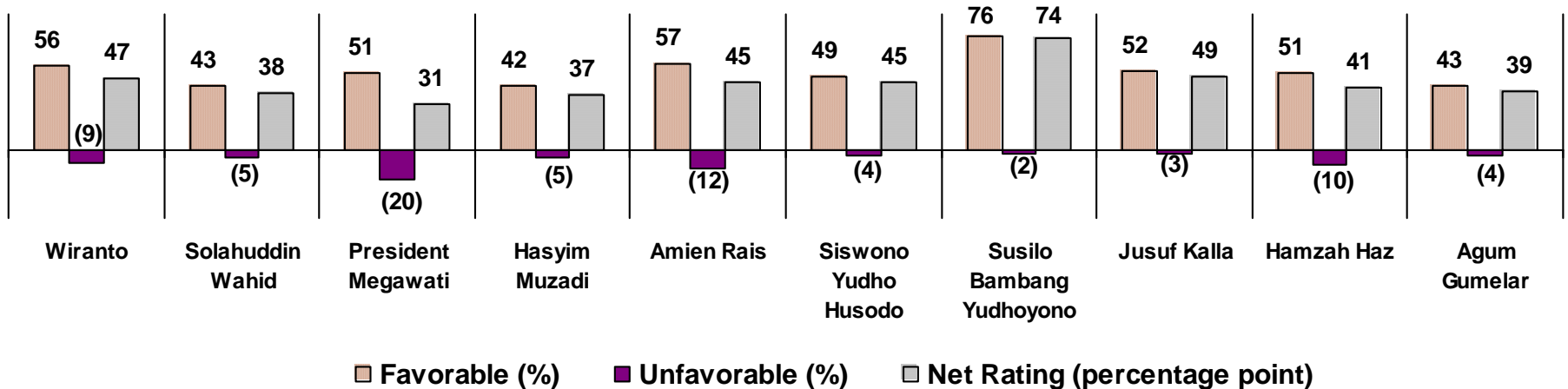
- The graph above shows the support for presidential candidates in IFES surveys since June 2003. The graph indicates that President Megawati’s support has been fairly constant in this one-year period, within the range of 10% to 15%. In fact, the graph seems to suggest that the 15% level of support she attained in the April 7-14 survey might have been a one-off peak, and a level of 11% support may reflect her actual level of support since January 2004.
- By contrast, 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 period between the 15 February and April 20 survey shows double-digit growth in support with each survey. This rate of growth in support has leveled off somewhat between the late April and this early June survey but if the pattern of consistently increasing support for Yudhoyono holds till the election, there may be a possibility of him winning a majority in the first round. Given the widespread support for SBY throughout the country and taking into account the high number of undecided voters (20.8%), it may be possible for him to win the presidency outright in the first round. If the relative standing of the candidates stand as they are in this early June survey, Yudhoyono would need to obtain 25%-30% of the undecided vote to achieve a national majority. One point to consider in this conjecture is that IFES survey data from the April parliamentary elections shows that voters who did not make up their minds who to vote for until the days before the election were more likely to vote for new parties, rather than support the established parties. There is not the same range of new faces in the presidential election as there were new parties for the legislative election – and if anyone represents the new upstart, it would be SBY.
- Support for Wiranto was well under 5% until after he was announced as the official Golkar candidate and the next survey after that announcement, April 20-May 8, showed a significant surge in his support. However, the June survey shows this growth in support leveling off considerably. It is also interesting to note that the level of support for Wiranto in the June survey is at the same level as the total support for all Golkar candidates in the 7-14 April survey when the nomination was still up in the air. It will be interesting to see in the next month whether or not this level represents a ceiling of support for a Golkar candidate.
- While President Megawati and Wiranto have not gained significant positive traction since the April-May survey, Amien Rais has more than doubled his support in the same period. At present, it is too close to predict who, amongst Wiranto, President Megawati and Amien, would be the second candidate if there were a second round for the election. One factor in Amien’s growth in support may have been his repeated television appearances in the past month, leading to greater exposure for his candidacy.

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	DK/NR
GOLKAR	45.2%	6.5%	28.6%	4%	1.6%	14.1%
PDIP	21.1%	54.2%	4.2%	3.5%	1.4%	15.6%
PPP	48.8%	2.3%	9.3%	2.3%	16.3%	21%
PKB	47.7%	2.3%	15.9%	3.4%	6.8%	23.9%
PD	89.2%	-	3.2%	1.1%	-	6.5%
PKS	39.6%	6.3%	8.3%	29.2%	-	16.6%
PAN	14.3%	-	4.4%	78%	-	3.3%
PBB	28.6%	42.9%	28.6%	-	-	-
PBR	37.5%	-	25%	25%	-	12.5%
PDS	55.6%	16.7%	11.1%	5.6%	-	11%
Other Parties	53.2%	13.3%	11.4%	3.8%	3.8%	14.5%
Secret	39.2%	8.6%	6.1%	2.4%	0.4%	43.3%
No Response	23.5%	-	-	5.9%	5.9%	64.7%

- The table above shows the percentage of support each presidential candidate obtains from respondents who report voting for a particular party in the April parliamentary elections. The breakdown of the Golkar supporters in the April elections provides a good illustration of the widespread support for SBY in the presidential election. Many more Golkar supporters at present support SBY (45.2%) than they do the nominee of their own party, Wiranto (28.6%), and this support for SBY amongst Golkar voters is growing. In the April-May survey, 34% of Golkar voters supported Wiranto while 31% supported SBY.
- SBY garners similarly high percentage of support from voters who voted for parties other than his Democratic Party (PD) in the April elections. In fact, he has increased his share of support among voters of most major parties since the April-May survey. At the same time, he secures 89.2% of the support from PD voters in the April election, by far the largest percentage of own party support of any candidate. The only other candidate who approaches SBY in this respect is Amien Rais who garners 78% support from PAN voters. President Megawati secures the support of 54.2% of the PDIP voters but garners little appreciable support from other parties' voters, with the exception of PBB.
- The fact that 47.7% of PKB voters support SBY while only 15.9% support Wiranto indicates that the selection of Solahuddin Wahid as Wiranto's vice-presidential partner has not brought the positive impact among PKB supporters envisioned by Wiranto boosters. It also affirms once again the general lack of impact of the vice-presidential running mate on the support for any presidential candidate.

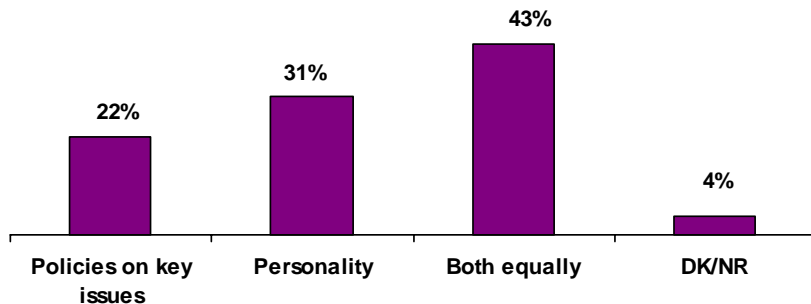
7. Evaluations of Presidential and Vice-Presidential Candidates



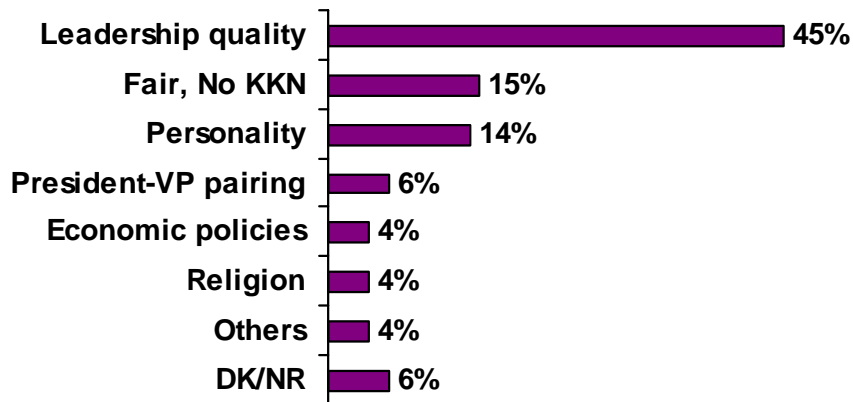
- In this early June survey, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono enjoys a net favorability rating (% favorable - % unfavorable) of 74 percentage points among Indonesians. This is lower than the net rating of 83 percentage points he achieved in the April-May survey, but higher than the rating of 70 percentage points in the early April survey. Yudhoyono's running mate, Jusuf Kalla, has a net favorability rating of 49 percentage points, second highest of all presidential and vice-presidential candidates. These favorability ratings, especially those of SBY, may help explain the dominant position enjoyed by the SBY/Kalla ticket in the presidential race.
- In addition to a drop in the net rating of SBY since the April-May survey, the net favorability ratings of three other presidential candidates have also gone down since the April-May survey. This may be the natural result of the intensive campaigning for the presidency. Wiranto's net favorability rating has dropped from 54 percentage points in April-May to 47 percentage points in this survey. His running mate, Solahuddin Wahid has a rating of plus 38 percentage points. Hamzah Haz's net rating has dropped from 55 percentage points to 41 percentage points. His running mate, Agum Gumelar has a net rating of 39 percentage points. Megawati's net rating has stayed the same at 31 percentage points while her running mate Hasyim Muzadi's rating is 37 percentage points. Megawati, however, has the lowest net rating among all the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Amien Rais is the only presidential candidate whose net rating has gone up (in conjunction with his rise in the polls), from 40 percentage points in the April-May survey to 45 percentage points in this survey. His running mate, Siswano Yudhohusodo has a net rating of 45 percentage points.
- Data from this survey indicates that if a respondent has decided to vote for a candidate, he or she is more likely to be certain or very likely to vote the candidate if he or she has a favorable opinion of the candidate rather than if he or she has a neutral opinion of the candidate. It is highly unlikely for a candidate to receive the vote of a respondent who has an unfavorable view of the candidate.

8. Rationale for Voting Decision in Presidential Election

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

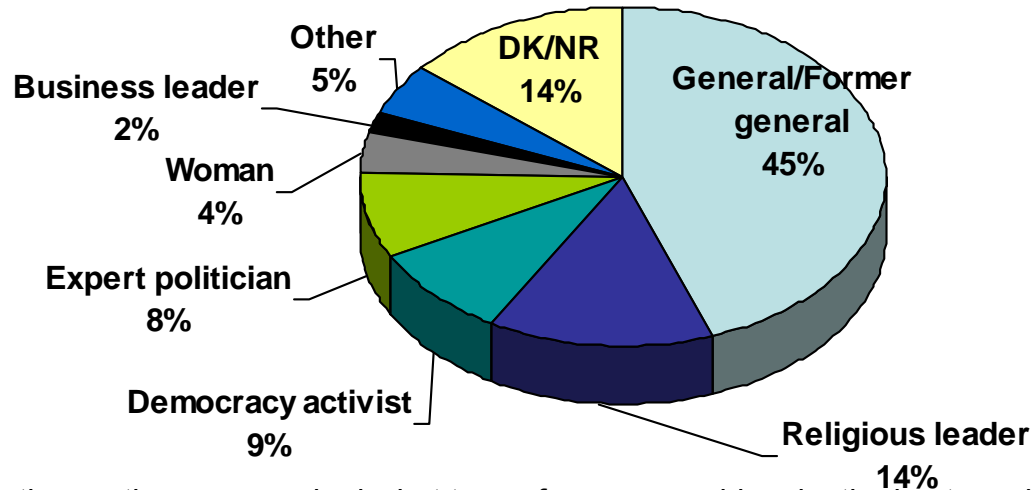


Most Important Consideration When Voting



- The responses in the June survey continue to highlight the fact 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. For 43% of respondents, both of these factors are important to them. Nearly a third (31%) says that a candidate's personality is more important to them while 22% say the candidate's policies are more important to them.
- The importance of personality and personal profile is evident in responses to a question that asked respondents to list their most important considerations when making their voting decision. Forty-five percent of Indonesians consider leadership quality of a presidential candidate the most important consideration when making their voting decision, and an additional 14% consider a candidate's personality most important. Thus, nearly 60% consider the general profile of the candidate as the most important factor in their voting decision. Fifteen percent want a candidate who is fair and without corruption. Less than 10% consider the presidential-vice presidential ticket and the economic policies of the candidate the most important factors. Religion is listed by 4% of respondents.
- Among those who consider the general profile of the candidate the most important consideration, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is by far the most popular choice for president (47%). He is also the choice of 47% among those who want a president who is fair and with no KKN. Among those who consider religion the most important consideration, Amien Rais and Yudhoyono each garner 31% support.

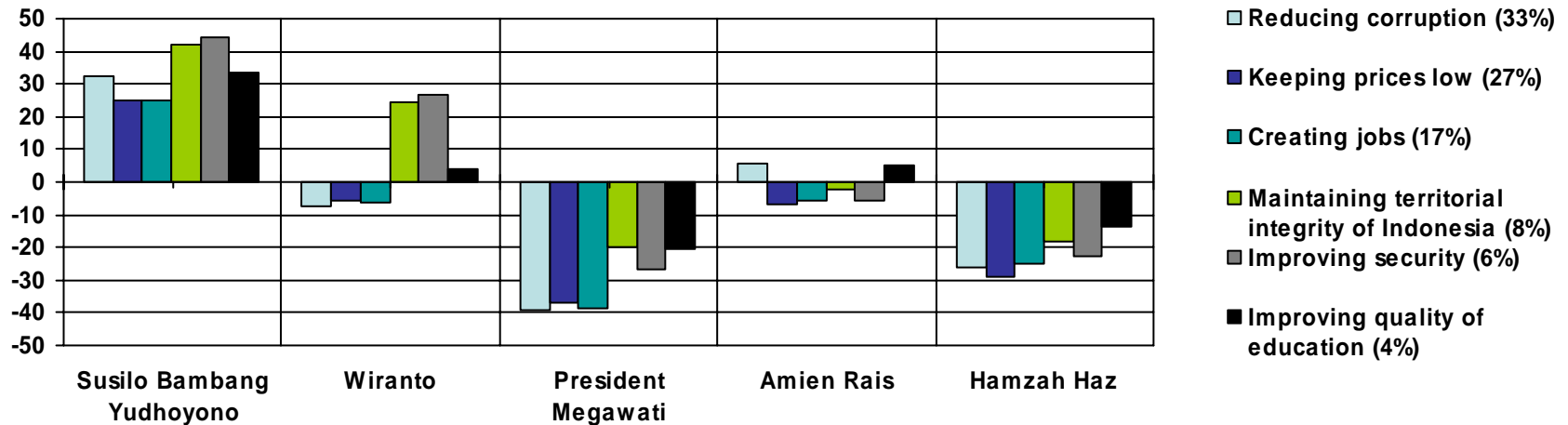
9. Best Type of Person to be President



- Another question on the survey asked what type of person would make the best president for Indonesia. Forty-five percent of respondents think a general or former general would make the best president for Indonesia, followed by a religious leader (14%), a democratic activist (9%), an expert politician (8%), a woman (4%), and a business leader (2%).
- Respondents were asked why they think the type of person they specified would make the best president for Indonesia. The responses to this question seem to suggest that respondents named the type of person to be the best president for Indonesia not on the basis of supposed strengths this type of person would bring to the position, but because they perceive the candidate they favor for the presidency to be this type of person. For example, 53% of those who said a general/former general would be the best president and 33% of those who think a religious leader would make the best president say they chose this type because of good personality. This would seem to indicate that the respondents were thinking of a specific person rather than a specific type of person. Other responses that indicate this pre-disposition include because the person has good policies for Indonesia (26%) or because this person can help common people (7%).
- Among those who prefer a general/former general, 69% think SBY would make the best president for Indonesia followed by 18% who pick Wiranto. Among those who prefer a religious leader, SBY is supported by 26%, Amien Rais by 17%, and Wiranto by 14%. Amien Rais get his highest support (37%) among those who prefer a democracy activist as president. Thirty-four percent in this group prefer SBY and 14% President Megawati. Those looking for an expert politician prefer SBY (36%), Amien Rais (32%), and President Megawati (22%).

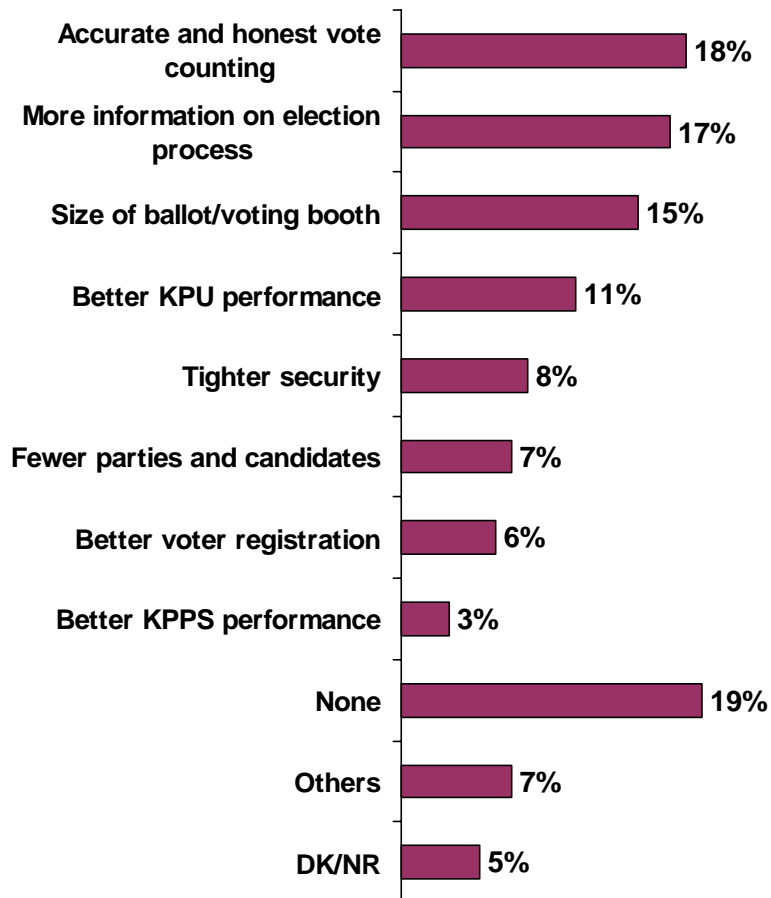
10. Evaluations of Presidential Candidates' Stance on Important Issues

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



- When given a list of key issues facing Indonesia and asked which issue was most important for the presidential candidates to address, respondents were most likely to mention reduction in corruption (33%), followed by keeping prices low (27%), job creation (17%), maintaining the territorial integrity of Indonesia (8%), improving security (6%), and improving the quality of education (4%). Other issues of health services and the environment were regarded as most important by less than 1% of respondents.
- Respondents were next asked to evaluate the stance of each presidential candidate on each of these issues as either good, average, or poor. The chart above reports on the net ratings for each candidate on each issue. The net rating is simply derived by taking the percentage who evaluate a candidate's stance as good on a particular issue minus the percentage who evaluate the candidate's stance as poor.
- The only candidate to have positive ratings on each issue is SBY. Two candidates, President Megawati and Hamzah Haz, have negative ratings on each issue, while Wiranto and Amien Rais have mixed evaluations.
- The high positive ratings for SBY may be related to the generally positive personality and leadership traits attributed to him by most Indonesians, while the high negative ratings for President Megawati may be related to the generally negative personality and leadership traits attributed to her by many Indonesians. While Wiranto receives negative ratings in terms of reducing corruption, creating jobs, and keeping prices low, he is perceived positively in security matters given his previous experience as TNI general. Views on Amien Rais are not so polarized; respondents tend to be closely divided between positive and negative evaluations of him on these issues.
- The proportion of respondents who had no opinion on a candidate's policies varied significantly between candidates. It was significantly less for President Megawati (in the range of 5% to 9% for each policy option) and was greatest for Wiranto (in the range of 12% to 23%).

11. Recommendations for Improving the Election Process



- Respondents who had voted in the April parliamentary election were asked for their suggestions for improving the election process in the future. Nineteen percent of these respondents did not have any suggestions for improving the election process. Accurate and honest vote counting was mentioned by 18%, an increase from 9% in the April-May survey. A general need for more information on the election process was mentioned by 17%. The size of the ballot paper and voting booths was mentioned by many respondents, as was the related issue of the large number of parties and candidates on the ballot. Many respondents also mentioned better performance of electoral officials from the KPU and KPPS. Tighter security and improved voter registration were also mentioned.
- The size of the ballot and voting booths was mentioned more often by respondents throughout Java compared to other regions. This may be because of the large number of candidates forwarded by most contesting parties throughout Java. Better security is a greater concern in Bali/Nusa Tenggara and in Kalimantan. Respondents in the conflict areas of Aceh/North Maluku/Papua, as well as in Kalimantan are more likely to suggest improvements to voter registration than those in other regions of the country. Respondents in East Java are most likely to mention honest vote counting.
- Mentions of the need to improve the accuracy and fairness of the vote counting decrease with age. Among those 18-25, 23% mention this issue while the percentage is 10% among those 55 and over. Accuracy in vote counting is also more likely to be mentioned by those with a university (20%) or secondary education (24%) than by those with no education (7%) or primary level education (9%).

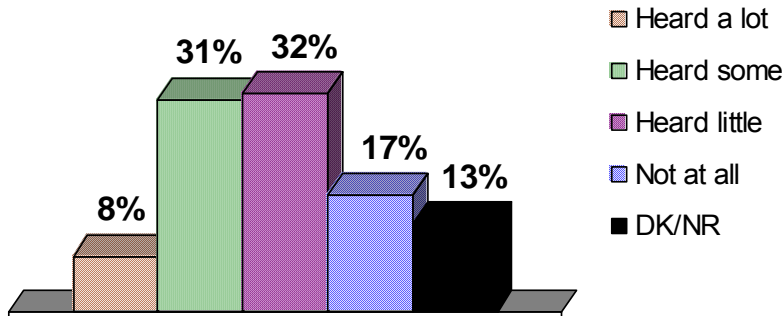
12. Re-Registration Process

	Aware of Re-Registration? (n=1250)		Checked Name on List? (n=593)		Name Accurate on List? (n=157)		Notified Election Commission of Changes? (n=7)
Yes	48%	▶	27%	▶	94%		100%
No	52%		73%		5%	▶	

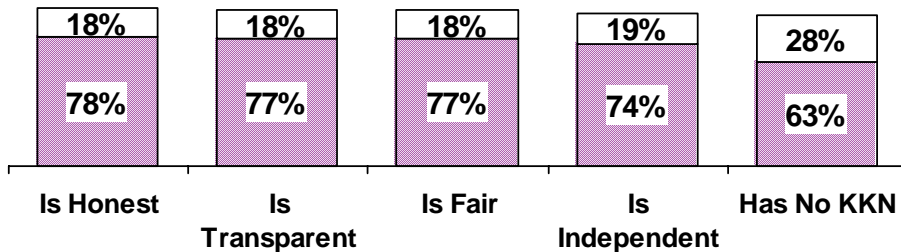
- Due to concerns expressed during the legislative election process that many voting-age Indonesians had not been registered to vote, the KPU opened a process between 25 April and 10 May whereby voting-age adults could check the preliminary voters register for the presidential election to verify that their name and information appeared correctly in the register. When respondents on this survey were asked whether they were aware of this process, less than half (48%) indicated that they were aware of the re-registration process. The lowest level of awareness of the re-registration process is in Central Java (including Yogyakarta, 29%) while it is relatively high in Kalimantan (68%), Sulawesi and Bali/NTT/NTB (each 60%). Residents of urban areas are more likely to know about this process (55%) than those in rural areas (42%). As with other issues dealing with voter education, those who have been exposed to the *Milih Langsung* messages are much more likely to be aware of the re-registration process than those not exposed (57% versus 27%).
- Most of those who are aware of the re-registration received this information through the mass media: television (82%), newspapers (18%), and radio (15%). A quarter of these respondents heard of the re-registration from their local officials and 20% heard of it from relatives and friends.
- Slightly more than a quarter of those aware of the re-registration process actually checked their name on the preliminary voters list. Almost all of those who checked the voter's list did so through their local officials. The vast majority of those who did check the preliminary voter's list (94%) found their information to be correct.

13. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, KPU

Level of Knowledge about KPU



Opinions on KPU
(n=885)

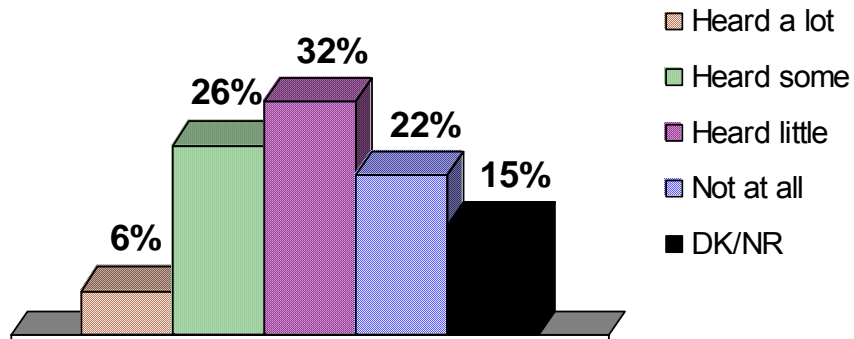


■ Strongly Agree/ Agree □ Strongly Disagree/ Disagree

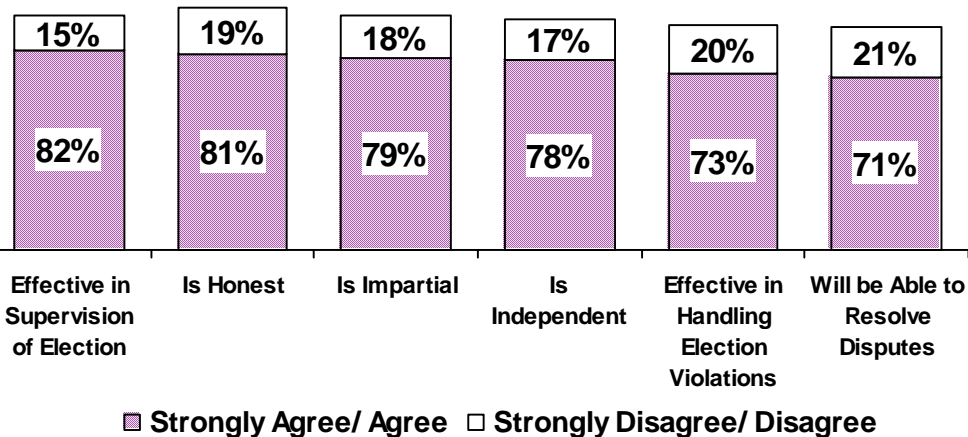
- The percentage of Indonesians who have heard at least a little about the *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU) has increased from 65% in the April-May survey to 71% in this survey. This is the highest level of awareness recorded for the KPU in the tracking surveys. There is also a higher percentage of Indonesians who say that they have heard a lot or some about the KPU in this survey (39%) than in the April-May survey (31%). Awareness of the KPU has gone up in both urban and rural areas, although those in urban areas are more likely to be aware of the body than those in rural areas (84% versus 62%).
- Most Indonesians who have heard or read about the KPU have generally positive opinions of the organization. Opinions on the KPU have stayed at generally the same level since the mid-March tracking survey. More than three-quarters of these respondents believe that the KPU is transparent, fair, and honest, and nearly three-quarters think that it is independent. Sixty-three percent of Indonesians believe that there is no corruption at the KPU.
- Eighty percent of respondents who know of the KPU are satisfied with its work in preparation for the 2004 elections. Eighteen percent are dissatisfied with its work. Satisfaction with the KPU's work is higher in rural areas (85%) than in urban areas (75%). Residents of Kalimantan (95%) and Central Java (including Yogyakarta, 88%) are most likely to be satisfied with the KPU's work. Residents of Bali/NTT/NTB (68%) are least likely to be satisfied.
- Among those dissatisfied with the KPU's work, 38% say it is because the KPU has not performed ideally during the elections. This is a decrease from the 51% who mentioned this in the April-May survey. Another 29% (up from 21% in April-May) say it is because the KPU is not transparent. Nearly a quarter of these respondents (24%) are not satisfied with the KPU because they are unhappy with the results of the April 5 election. Twelve percent are dissatisfied because they perceive corrupt practices at the KPU.

14. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, PANWAS

Level of Knowledge about PANWAS



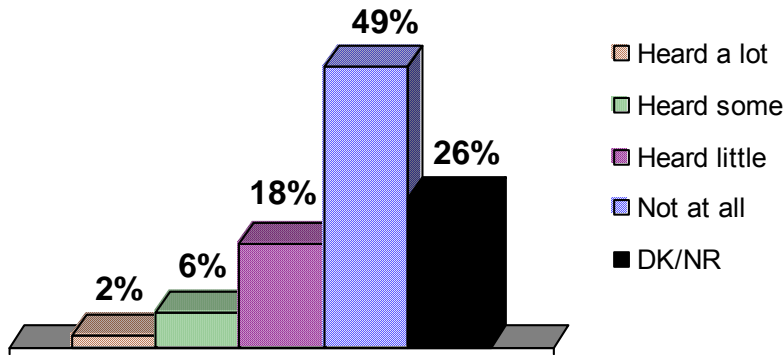
Opinions on PANWAS
(n=791)



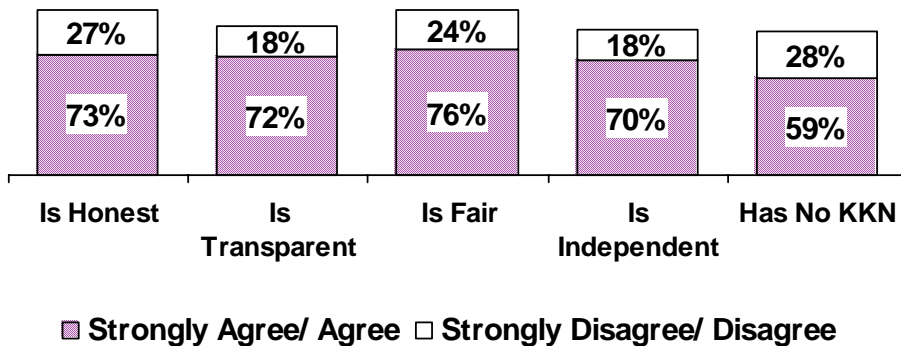
- There has also been increase in the level of awareness about PANWAS, the election supervisory body, with 64% having heard at least a little about this body (up from 57% in the April/May survey). This higher level of awareness is the same as that seen in the early April survey. Amongst those aware of PANWAS, 90% are aware that PANWAS monitors the election process, 76% are aware that it receives reports of violations of the election law, 67% know that it settles disputes that occur during the election process, and 62% 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 and that it is honest. Close to four in five also agree that this body is both impartial and independent. Fewer believe that PANWAS will be effective in handling in elections violations and that it will be able to resolve disputes during the elections.
- Fifty-two percent of those aware of PANWAS are also aware of an election dispute being forwarded to this body. This is an increase from 44% who were aware of a referred election dispute in the April survey, and also marks the first time in the tracking surveys that a majority are aware of a dispute being forwarded to the body. Fifty-eight percent of those in urban areas aware of PANWAS are also aware of a dispute being forwarded to the body. This compares to 47% in rural areas. Sixty-five percent of respondents in Central Java (including Yogyakarta) are aware of a dispute being forwarded to PANWAS.

15. Knowledge of, and Opinions on, Constitutional Court

Level of Knowledge about Constitutional Court



Opinions on Constitutional Court
(n=315)



- In contrast to the KPU and PANWAS, very few Indonesians have heard of the Constitutional Court. This body is responsible for ruling on disputes on election results as part of its functions. Only 8% of respondents have heard a lot or some about this body, and a further 18% have heard a little bit about it. Residents of urban areas are twice as likely to have heard at least a little about this body as those in rural areas (36% versus 18%). Awareness of this body also seems to be generally concentrated among the higher educated citizens in Indonesia. While 66% of those with higher education and 31% of those with secondary education have heard at least a little about this body, only 7% of those with elementary or lesser education have heard of it.
- 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 disputes on election results, 57% know that it reviews laws to see if they are in compliance with the 1945 constitution, and 56% know that it settles disputes over the mandates of state institutions whose powers are guided by the 1945 constitution. Less than a majority (43%) are aware that the Constitutional Court is responsible for the dissolution of political parties.
- The Constitutional Court enjoys favorable opinions among those aware of it. More than three-quarters of those aware of this body think that it is fair, while close to three-quarters believe it is honest and transparent. Seventy percent believe the Constitutional Court is independent. Given the distrust with which judicial institutions are perceived in Indonesia, it is encouraging for a majority to view the court as fair and independent. Fewer Indonesians, however, believe that the Constitutional Court has no KKN.
- A majority of those aware of the Constitutional Court (52%) are aware of election disputes being forwarded to it. A higher percentage of those in Central Java/Yogyakarta (69%), Sumatra (63%), and Kalimantan (62%) are aware of this than those in other regions of the country. Among those aware of election disputes being forwarded to the Constitutional Court, 69% are satisfied with the court's performance in settling these disputes while 31% are dissatisfied. Among those dissatisfied, the primary reasons are unresolved cases (46%) or biased decisions (43%).