



IFES Indonesia is an international, non-profit organization working in the field of democratic and governance development. Active in Indonesia since 1998, IFES' programs have focused on the electoral process, and IFES has conducted national surveys in Indonesia for all stakeholders to understand public opinion on electoral issues and provide a solid basis for national stakeholders to analyze what is needed to achieve more effective and credible elections. IFES' electoral surveys have continuously provided valuable data that gauge levels of public preparedness for electoral participation and public perceptions of the process.

This survey, conducted in June 2014, was designed to capture the public opinion of Indonesian voters after the April 2014 legislative elections as well as public opinion regarding the upcoming 2014 presidential elections. The Lembaga Survei Institute (LSI) conducted fieldwork for this post-legislative election survey from June 1 to 10. The base national sample for the survey consisted of 2,009 interviews in 33 provinces of Indonesia. Additional over-sample interviews were also conducted in selected provinces (Aceh, Maluku, Papua, and West Papua). Data in this report is based on weighted data that is representative of the national population of Indonesia. The margin of error for the national sample is plus/minus 2.3%.



## Opinions on 2014 Legislative Elections

- The vast majority of Indonesians express general satisfaction with the conduct of the April 9, 2014 legislative elections, and have positive opinions on both the organization of the election and on the integrity of the election process.
  - Seventy-three percent of Indonesians say they are generally satisfied with the overall voting process for the legislative elections, and 9% say they are very satisfied. Fifteen percent say that they are very or somewhat dissatisfied with the overall process. The majority of respondents in all regions of the country express satisfaction with the election process.
  - Eighty-one percent of Indonesians describe the organization of the legislative elections as 'good', and another 7% describe it as 'very good'. Again, only a minority (9%) describe the organization of the election process as 'bad' or 'very bad'.
  - Most Indonesians (64%) believe that the legislative elections were somewhat free and fair, and 16% believe that they were completely free and fair. Thirteen percent do not think the elections were free and fair. When those who think the elections were not free and fair were asked for reasons why they think the elections were not free and fair, 48% mentioned vote buying during the election process, 11% mention fraudulent activities at the polling centers, 8% cite a lack of trust in vote counting, and 5% mention lack of preparation among electoral authorities.

- Indonesians also tend to give positive evaluations of the performance of all levels of electoral officials during the legislative elections, although most Indonesians tend to be more familiar with local-level electoral officials than with officials at higher levels.
  - Seventy-eight percent rate the polling station workers as good or very good, compared to 2% bad or very bad, and 13% who rate them as neither good nor bad. Seventy-seven percent rate their Village Election Committee as good or very good.
  - For higher levels of election commissions, the percentage of Indonesians who do not offer an opinion on these commissions (probably because they are not aware of their work) rises with the level of election commission. Still, significantly more Indonesians than not have positive evaluations of these commissions' work:
    - ◆ Sub-District Election Committee (PKP) – 59% good, 2% bad, 12% neither, 27% don't know
    - ◆ Kabupaten/Kota KPU – 51% good , 3% bad, 12% neither, 34% don't know
    - ◆ Provincial KPU – 48% good, 2% bad, 13% neither, 38% don't know
- For the KPU, 48% rate its work on the legislative elections as being either good or very good while only 3% rate it as bad or very bad. Thirteen percent say that the KPU's work is neither good nor bad, and 36% don't offer an opinion. Most Indonesians are also at least somewhat satisfied with the KPU's performance in several areas of the electoral process for the legislative elections (the only exception is use of internet and social media where nearly half of respondents are not familiar with these tools):
  - Informing and educating the public about the election process (77% very/somewhat satisfied)
  - Compiling and establishing the voter's list (74%)
  - Ensuring that election results are accurate and reflect how people voted (74%)
  - Maintaining independence from political pressures (67%)
    - Using internet and social media for voter outreach (40%)
- General satisfaction with the administration of the electoral process for the April 9 election is also indicated by the fact that when Indonesians are asked about their satisfaction with several areas of the election process such as voter registration, voter education, competence and impartiality of polling station staff, and impartiality of the vote count, an average of 87% say that they are very or somewhat satisfied with these aspects of the election process.
- Respondents also report that there was low frequency of several types of election violations at polling stations. The one exception to this pattern is the presence of security personnel at the polling stations where 79% of respondents report that these personnel were present at the polling stations. It is not clear from the data whether the responses refer to security personnel inside or outside the polling stations. Twelve percent of Indonesians also report that there were large crowds at the polling stations which caused some disorder. Three percent or less report that poll workers were influencing voter choices, some people were voting in the open and not privately, and that party or candidate representatives were campaigning just outside or in the polling centers.
- Despite the generally positive evaluations of the election process and election bodies/officials for the April 9 election, there are several areas identified by Indonesians as needing some improvement for future election cycles. When asked to name the most important issue the KPU should address for the next election cycle, the most often-cited issues are voter information and education (24%), voter registration (24%), impartiality of results from the polling station (TPS) (9%), adequacy of polling facilities (8%), competence of the polling station staff (6%), and information on when and where to vote (5%).





- Concerns about the impartiality of results from the TPS are also echoed in another question where respondents are asked to agree or disagree that manipulation of results occurred at some polling stations. The majority of Indonesians strongly or somewhat disagree with this statement (59%), but 26% strongly or somewhat agree while 14% don't offer an opinion. Agreement with this statement is highest in Sumatra and Maluku/Papua (34% each), while it is lowest in Aceh (13%).
- When asked to compare the organization of the 2014 election compared to the 2009 election, a slight majority (52%) says that both elections had the same level of organization, while 31% say that the 2014 elections were better organized and 12% say they were worse organized than the 2009 elections. Respondents in each part of the country are significantly more likely to say that the 2014 elections were better rather than worse organized compared to the 2009 elections.

## Vote Buying

- Vote-buying remains a concern in the electoral process, and a significant percentage of Indonesians say that they themselves or somebody they know were offered money in exchange for their votes. Fifteen percent report that they were offered money and another 5% report that someone they know was offered money. The region with the highest percentage reporting that they or someone they know was offered money was Central Java/Yogyakarta where 32% report incidence of vote-buying, followed by East Java and Sumatra (23% each) and then Kalimantan (22%). The region with the lowest incidence of vote-buying reported is Bali/NTT/NTB (3%).

- Of those reporting being offered money for their vote, 59% report being approached by representatives of multiple parties or candidates while 34% report being approached by one candidate or party. In the vast majority of cases, money was offered while in the other cases clothing or basic staples were offered to the voter. In 68% of cases, no proof was required of the voter who accepted the money or reward.
- Respondents were also asked whether any candidate for legislative elections had given a donation to the community for community services during the election campaign. Nearly three in ten Indonesians (29%) report that this had taken place in their community. The highest incidence of this type of campaign activity was reported in Sulawesi (44%), followed by Central Java/Yogyakarta (42%) and Sumatra (32%). The lowest incidence was reported in East Java (16%). This type of campaign activity was more likely to be reported in rural areas rather than urban areas (32% versus 26%). The primary reason for campaign donations was to repair a road (35%), build a mosque (28%), or for clothes (11%).
- Just under half (49%) of those who report candidates making donations to the community say that they did not vote for the candidate making the donation while 44% say that they did vote for the candidate. Seventy-eight percent of those who voted for the candidate say that no proof was required for their vote.
- More Indonesians than not believe that money politics was more prevalent in the 2014 legislative elections compared to the 2009 legislative elections. Comparing the two elections, 34% think that money politics was much more or somewhat more prevalent in 2014 than in 2009. By contrast, only 10% think that money politics was less prevalent in the 2014 elections. Just over a quarter (26%) believe that it was the same as in 2009 and 30% do not offer an opinion.





- The survey also finds that voters exhibited greater inclination to vote for candidates rather than parties in the legislative races on April 9. In the DPR election, 45% report voting for candidates only compared to 27% who voted for parties only, and 23% who voted for both the party and a candidate from the same party. In the case of the provincial DPR, nearly half (48%) voted for a candidate only, 24% for party only, and 21% for a party and candidate from same party. In the case of the *kabupaten/kota* DPR, these figures were 52%, 17%, and 23%, respectively. This finding has implications for efforts to enable greater success for women as political candidates, and for efforts to counter money in politics as anecdotal evidence from countries such as Ukraine suggests that the incidence of vote-buying may increase with increasing tendency for voters to vote for candidates rather than parties.

## Information on the Election Process

- More than two-thirds of Indonesians (67%) report that they saw, read, or heard messages that provided citizens with information on the election process in the period leading up to the 2014 legislative elections. Most of those who were exposed to these messages believe that these messages were at least satisfactory in providing them with information about the election process. Fifty-three percent believe that these messages helped them fully understand voting procedures, 39% believe that the messages were satisfactory in providing information but that they could have used more, and 7% and believe that the messages were unsatisfactory in providing them information. In the IFES December 2013 survey in Indonesia, just 22% of respondents reported having information on the election process for the legislative elections, indicating that the voter education campaigns were able to more than triple the percentage of Indonesians with information on the election process leading up to the legislative elections.
- Men were slightly more likely to have received this information than women (70% versus 64%), and the survey data also indicates that exposure to voter education messaging increased with an increase in education and income. Exposure to the messaging decreased with age (70% among 18-25, 55% among those 55+). Exposure to voter education messaging was highest in Kalimantan (85%) and Sulawesi (81%), and was lowest in East Java (55%), Aceh and Maluku/Papua (57%).
- Television was the source used with greatest frequency by Indonesians to obtain information about the legislative elections. Close to eight in ten or more Indonesians report obtaining information on the election through television advertisements (81%) or television programs (79%). Other mass media sources were less likely to be used with printed media news being utilized by 28% and radio usage reported by two in ten Indonesians. Printed electoral information materials were used with frequency by a majority of Indonesians: street banners (65%), posters or leaflets (55%). Billboards were utilized by 49%. Internet (15%) and social media (10%) were also utilized with frequency, primarily in urban areas and among younger Indonesians. SMS was also mentioned by 15% of respondents, with good distribution of use in rural and urban areas.
- The data also points to grassroots, community-based activities as being an essential source of information on the elections. More than a quarter of respondents (28%) report obtaining information on the elections from face-to-face dialogs. Another 12% report obtaining information from *Relawan Demokrasi* (Volunteers of Democracy).

- When asked for the organizational sources that provided the most amount of information on the election process, nearly half of all respondents name the KPU (47%), followed by party and candidate materials (22%) and the news media (20%). The KPU is more likely to be mentioned in rural areas than urban areas, while news media is more likely to be mentioned in urban areas. A majority in Maluku/Papua (53%) and Sumatra (52%) name the KPU as providing the most amount of information.
- Respondents to the survey were asked whether they had seen or heard specific informational messages that the KPU had introduced in the lead-up to the April legislative elections. The survey data indicates that 74% of Indonesian voters were exposed to at least one of the four messages tested. Older respondents (55+) are less likely to have been exposed to these messages compared to younger Indonesian (22% versus 41%). Part of the reason for the lower exposure of KPU messages for older respondents might be because older respondents are less likely to use television and other media with as much frequency as younger respondents and are more likely to rely on informal resources.
- In terms of individual messages developed by the KPU, 58% saw television advertisements with a ballot box as a mascot, 46% saw posters or pamphlets with the phrase '*Ayo Memilih*' (Let's Vote), 45% saw or heard messages with the phrase '*Pilih, Coblos, Celup*' (Select, Cast and Dip) informing voters how to cast their ballot, and 44% saw messages with the phrase '*Pilih Yang Jujur*' (Vote for The Honest) encouraging voters to vote for clean candidates. Ninety-one percent of Indonesians also say that they received a notification letter about the election at their home. Six percent say they did not.
- Most Indonesians have positive evaluations of the media coverage of the election process for the legislative election, saying that the coverage was at least somewhat informative. Twenty-three percent of Indonesians say that the media coverage was very informative and 62% say it was somewhat informative. Television tends to be one of the main sources for information on the election for 69% of Indonesians, while other mass media sources are less utilized (newspapers, 8%; radio, 4%). Given the frequency of its use, it is not surprising that the majority of Indonesians find television stations to be reliable (51% somewhat, 6% very credible).
- Informal sources are also utilized to a significant degree for election information. Twenty-seven percent report relying on their village/RT/RW head as a primary means for election information, 16% mention the village news board, and 12% their relatives and friends. A majority in each case finds these sources to be credible. The KPU and its officials

are also mentioned by 19% as a primary source for information about the elections, and 57% find the KPU to be credible compared to only 3% who do not.

- Only 4% say that they utilize the internet as a primary means for information on elections, even though 17% of Indonesians are at least occasional users of the internet. Among internet users, 20% say they have visited the KPU's website for information on elections or politics. Fifteen percent of internet users have visited political party websites, 7% have visited Bawaslu website, 6% the Mahkamah Konstitusi website, 4% the Rumah Pemilu website, and 3% the DKPP website. Most users of these websites find them generally easy to use.



## Women in Elections

- While much work has been done to promote the participation of women as candidates in elections in Indonesia, the survey finds that there is still significant societal resistance to voting for women. Of the Indonesians who report voting for candidates in legislative races in the April elections, only 9% report

voting for a woman in the DPR election, 9% in the DPR Provinsi election, 12% in the DPR Kabupaten/Kota election, and 14% the DPD election. These figures indicate that there continues to be a need for focus on the issue of women's participation as candidates for future election cycles in Indonesia.

- Respondents to the survey were also asked whether they saw or were aware of women working as election officials in different levels of election commissions. Fifty-five percent say that they observed women working as polling station officials and 42% say that they are aware of women working in their Village Election Committee. Significantly fewer (19%) say that they are aware of female officers at their sub-district Election Committee, but 61% also say they do not know whether there were female election officers at this level of election commission.

## Electoral Issues

- Respondents to the survey were asked whether they support the recent Constitutional Court decision to move both the legislative and presidential elections to one day for the 2019 elections. Forty-six percent agree with this decision, 31% disagree with it, and 22% either don't give a response or say it doesn't matter to them. Support for the decision goes up with interest in politics.
- Considering the recent case during the legislative elections of a pollster releasing quick count results ahead of the official vote count by the KPU, three-quarters of Indonesian agree with the pollster's decision (13% strongly agree, 62% agree). Only 10% disagree with release of quick count results before official results from the KPU.
- Most Indonesians are unaware that they can vote at a polling station other than the one at which they are registered if they bring a letter explaining that they have moved from their original address. Only 38% are aware of this provision. Residents of urban areas are more likely to be aware of this provision than those in rural areas (46% versus 31%), as are voters who are more interested and engaged in political affairs.
- A majority of Indonesians (55%) say that they saw women working as election officials at polling stations, but fewer are aware of women working as election officials in their village election committee (42%) or in their sub-district election committee (19%). In the case of the sub-district committee, the majority (61%) don't know whether women work in these positions, and 33% similarly are unaware about village election committees.
- Respondents to the survey were asked whether there were any members of the household who were physically disabled, and then asked if these members of the household voted in the legislative elections. Among households with members who are physically

disabled, 49% reported that this person voted in the election while 45% say they did not. Among those who reported voting, 88% reported that it was very or somewhat easy for the physically disabled family member to access the polling station.



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Mr. Hadar Nafis Gumay (holding microphone), Mr. Arief Budiman (middle) and Mr. Ferry Kurnia Rizkiyansyah (far right)- members of National Election Commission- were among guests during IFES National Post-Election Survey 2014 launching.



Mr. Rakesh Sharma, Director of Monitoring and Evaluation at IFES, presents national post election survey results in Jakarta, on June 25, 2014.



An NGO representative asking questions during IFES national post- election survey result presentation, June 25, 2014.