



SEMINAR

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2018

THE 2019 INDONESIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The Usual *and* The Unusual Suspects

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The 2019
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Election

KEY

TAKEAWAYS

The 2019
Presidential
Election is a
messy affair.

1

Personalities
determine voting
decisions. VP picks
signify different
target audience.

2

The pattern of
power distribution
among parties
could have a large
impact on the
election outcome.

3

Policies are
eclipsed by
polemics.

4

Who will win
the 2019
Indonesian
Presidential
Election?

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

The election outcome will depend on 5P factors; party, pocket (money), personality, policy and voter preferences.

FRAMEWORK *5-P PYRAMID*



The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election



BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Regular conversations in Malaysia often portray Indonesia as a democratic country. What does it actually entail?



Very Brief History

- Old Order: 1st was held in 1955. Parliament dissolved in 1959. Guided Democracy
- New Order: 2nd was held in 1971 and every 5 years until 1997



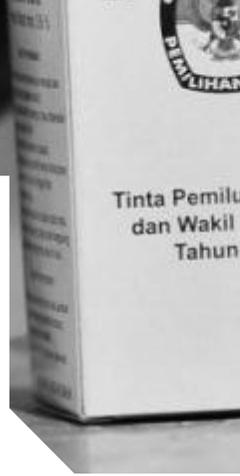
Free and Open Elections

- The first fully democratic elections was held in 1999.
- The people voted for People's Consultative Assembly, which then voted for president and vice-president.



Fast Forward

- Twenty years since the watershed elections in 1999.
- Legislative and presidential elections will be held simultaneously.
- Set to be held on 17 April 2019



BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The **5th** **16** **20% | 25%**

General Elections
since *Reformasi*

Political Parties at
National Level

Seats at the House of
Representative

of the Popular Vote

187 The **4th**

Million Registered
Voters

Direct Presidential
Election



Jokowi-Ma'ruf

Prabowo-Sandi

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION TIMELINE

5 - 13 August 2018
Health Check-up

11 - 14 August 2018
Document Verification

20 September 2018
Announcement of the
Candidates

21 September 2018
Announcement of the
Candidates' Numbers

23 September 2018
- 13 April 2019
Campaign Period

14 - 16 April 2019
Quiet Period

17 April 2019
Election Day*
8 - 14 April 2019
Election Abroad

18 April - 22 May 2019
Recap and Vote Counting

23 May - 15 June 2019
Dispute Resolution

August - October 2019
Inauguration of the President and Vice President

9 Parties



Picture by Tempo

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

Party

Power Distribution

5 Parties

2 Unaffiliated

1. Simultaneous Elections 2. Media Owners 3. Islamic Parties 4. Quantity



The impacts of 2018 Simultaneous Regional Elections



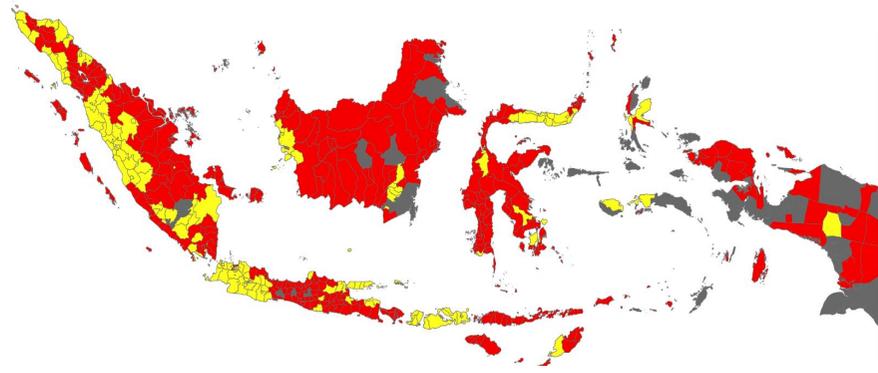
Support by regional leaders



Reigning parties in each region

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

Power Distribution
Party



Vote Pattern in 2014



A Version of Power Distribution ahead of the 2019 Elections

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election



Personality

Personality

PERSONALITY IS STILL A DETERMINANT IN INDONESIA'S ELECTIONS

41%
vote based on personality

A study by IFES in 2010

Money is spent to enhance *image*

Programmes are currency that does not appeal to the voters

Likeability
Competence
Integrity
Firmness
Empathy

Qualities that attract voters



216 Voting Behavior in Indonesia since Democratization

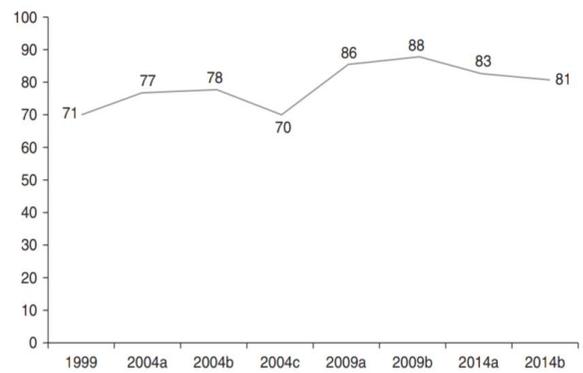


FIGURE 6.2 There is a preferred national figure (%)

188 Voting Behavior in Indonesia since Democratization

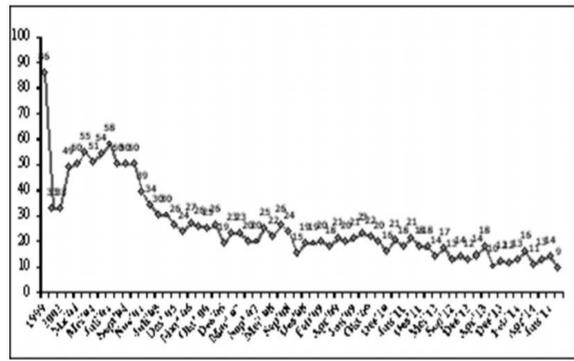


FIGURE 6.1 Party ID trends (feeling close to a particular party) among Indonesian voters, 1999–2014 (%)

Personality

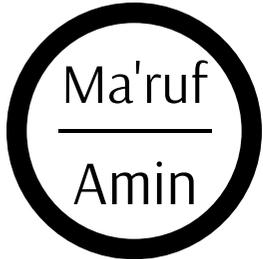
Head of MUI (non-active)

Former Rais Aam PBNU

Elderly Scholar
Powerful Cleric

Humble

Authentic



VP CANDIDATES *DIFFER ON* PERSONALITY DEPARTMENT



Popular
Creative
Successful
Young

Former Jakarta Vice-Governor
Businessman



2014 -
53.15%

The 2019
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Personality

Authoritarian
Increasingly
Strongman
Humble /
Approachable
Effective Bureaucrat
Authentic

**Joko
Widodo**

President of RI

**Prabowo
Subianto**

Chairman of Gerindra

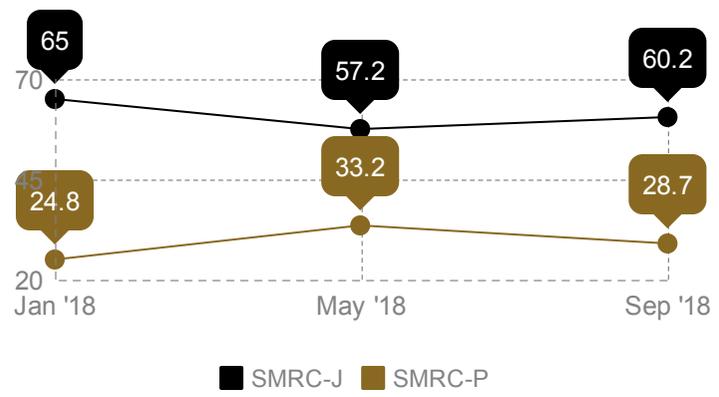
Strongman
The "Bapak"
Defender of the
Country
Novel
Authoritarian?

**Who has more
appeal?**

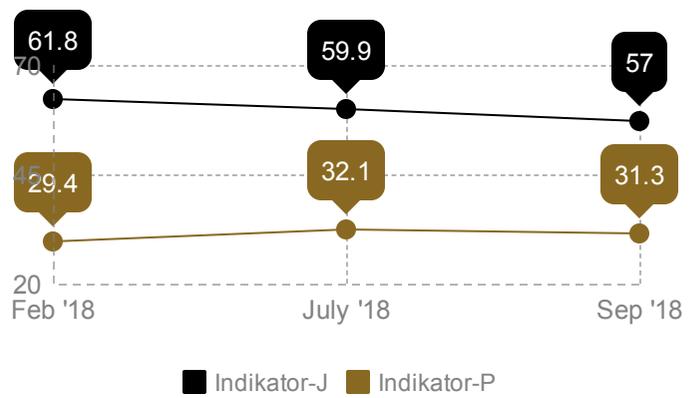
2014 -
46.85%

Personality

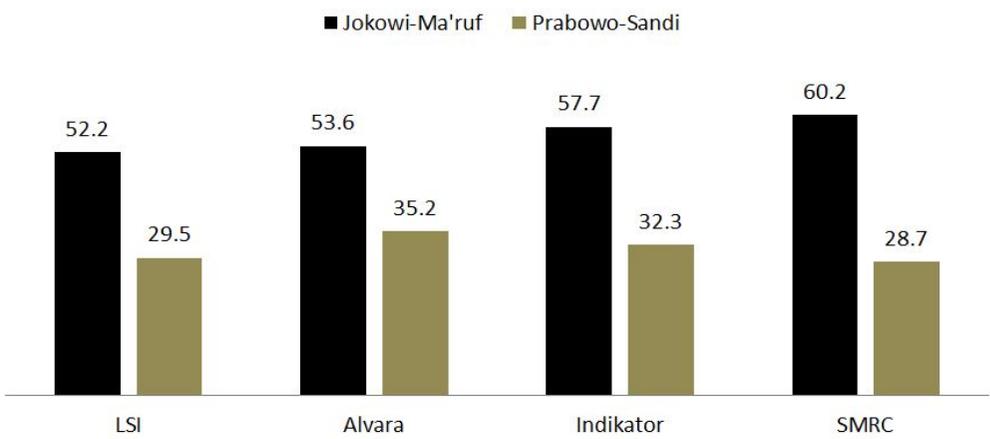
SMRC



Indikator



Electability Score after the Announcements of Running Mates



Jokowi consistently places higher than **Prabowo** in various surveys

Running for political office is an expensive affair in Indonesia

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Election

**Pocket
Money
Money
Money**



Projected cost: Rp 7
trillion / US\$ 600 million (2013)



Political Dowry



Witness



Campaign
material



Accommodation
and
transportation



Consultation



Volunteer



Shadow Team



Vote Buying

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Election

Pocket
Money Money Money



Preliminary campaign
fund: Rp 11 billion



Rp 50 billion **Jokowi**

Rp 11,6 billion **Ma'ruf**

Crowdfunding: *Jokowi -
Ma'ruf Amin untuk
Indonesia*

Crowdfunding: *Galang
Perjuangan*

Prabowo Rp 1,9 trillion

Sandi Rp 5 trillion

Preliminary campaign
fund: Rp 2 billion





Productive, Self-Reliant and
Competitive Economy

Quality of Life
Sustainable Environment

Cultural Development

National Security
Law Enforcement

Equal and Just Development
Clean Government
Synergy between Central and
Regional Governments

Economic Development

Human Development

National Character Building

National Security

Justice and Democracy

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POLICY

**PUBLIC AWARENESS OF
EACH PAIR'S VISION AND
MISSION IS LOW**



84.2%

of respondents do not know Vision
and Mission of this pair



87.7%

of respondents do not know
Vision and Mission of this pair



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POLICY

BOTH CAMPS OFFER POPULIST, INWARD-LOOKING POLICIES

No stark difference in the agendas of both camps. Both promise populist policies within a theme of economic growth and distribution.

Less emphasis on global/ outward-looking strategy in both camps' visions and missions.

Jokowi-Ma'ruf's ultimate strategy is human capital development. Prabowo-Sandi relying on technocrats in developing the economy?

Jokowi-Ma'ruf's tax policy reflects a continuation from the current administration whilst Prabowo-Sandi offers low-tax policy. Risk to government's revenue as Indonesia suffers from low tax revenue to GDP ratio (11% - lowest in ASEAN).

How do the 2019 election messages differ from the previous one?

The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election

POLICY

PRABOWO-SANDI CONTINUE TO CRITICISE CURRENT GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC POLICIES

There is a plethora of economic issues being debated in the public space. Prabowo continues to promote economic nationalism. Meanwhile, Sandi focusses on SMEs and young entrepreneurs.

Jokowi-Ma'ruf camp underlines the current administration's achievements, particularly infrastructure development.

WEAK RUPIAH



FOREIGN INVESTMENT



EXCESSIVE GOVERNMENT SPENDING

COST OF LIVING



RICE IMPORTS



Neighbourhood Politics

Local gatherings affect preferences
Prohibition on political campaigns



Regional Dominance

Regional Elections
Personality? Party? Ethnicity?

MAPPING *THE SOCIETY* *PREFERENCES*

Major Campaign Targets

How well campaign messages
resonate with the target voters?



Silent/ Alienated Crowd

Minority? Disillusioned? Moderate?



INFORMATION CIRCULATED IN NEIGHBOURHOODS AFFECT VOTERS' PREFERENCES

Indonesia's close-knit communities mean that information circulates in these nodes (through local gatherings) might be biased towards certain candidates, which in turn, affect voters' preferences.

Rural voters tend to be more conservative and urban ones are more critical.

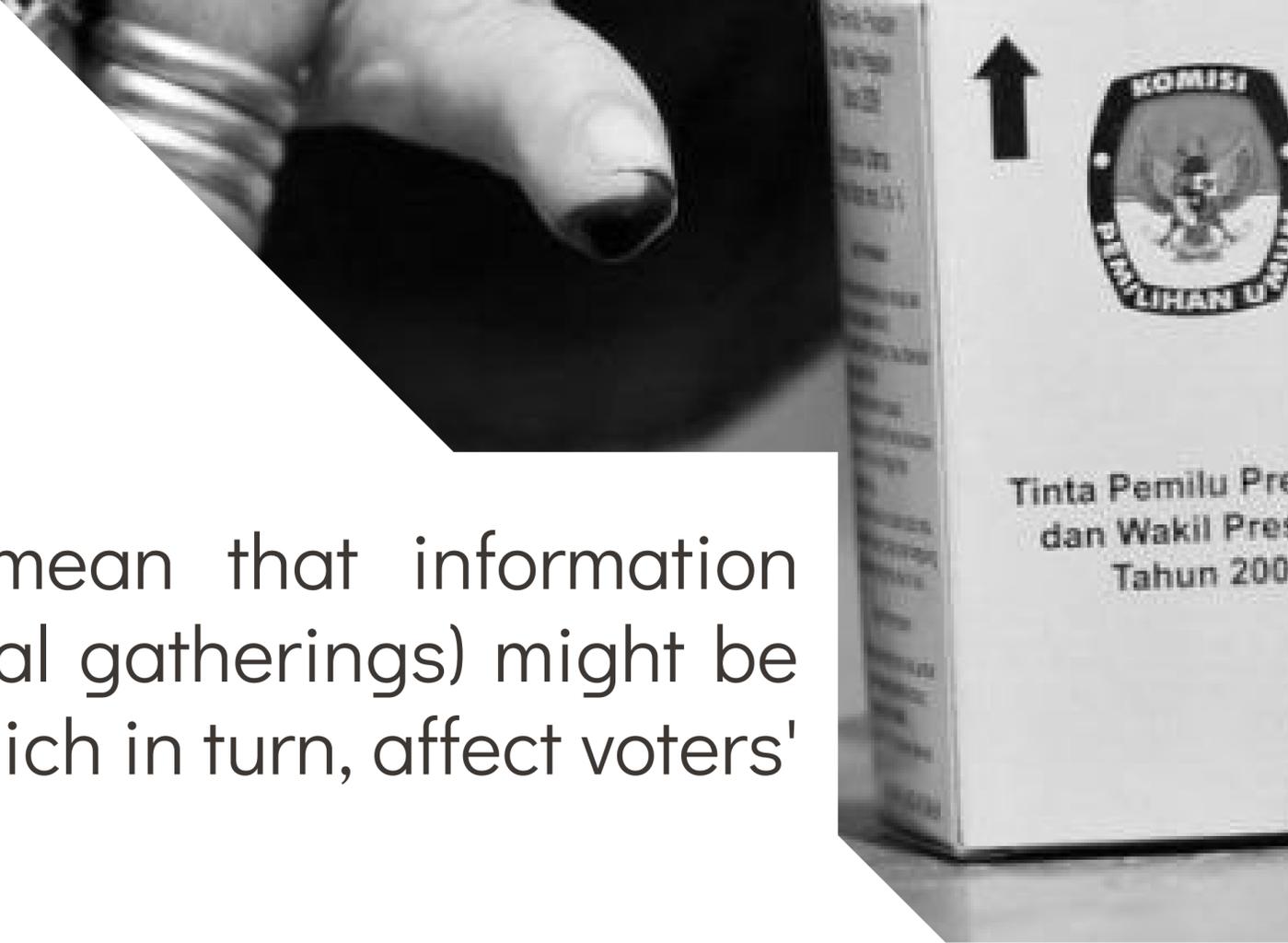
Familial ties and personal linkages (presidential and legislative candidates) also affect voters' preferences.

There is prohibition for local leaders to campaign. However, enforcement is difficult.

There is also prohibition to campaign in educational institutions and places of worship.

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SOCIETY



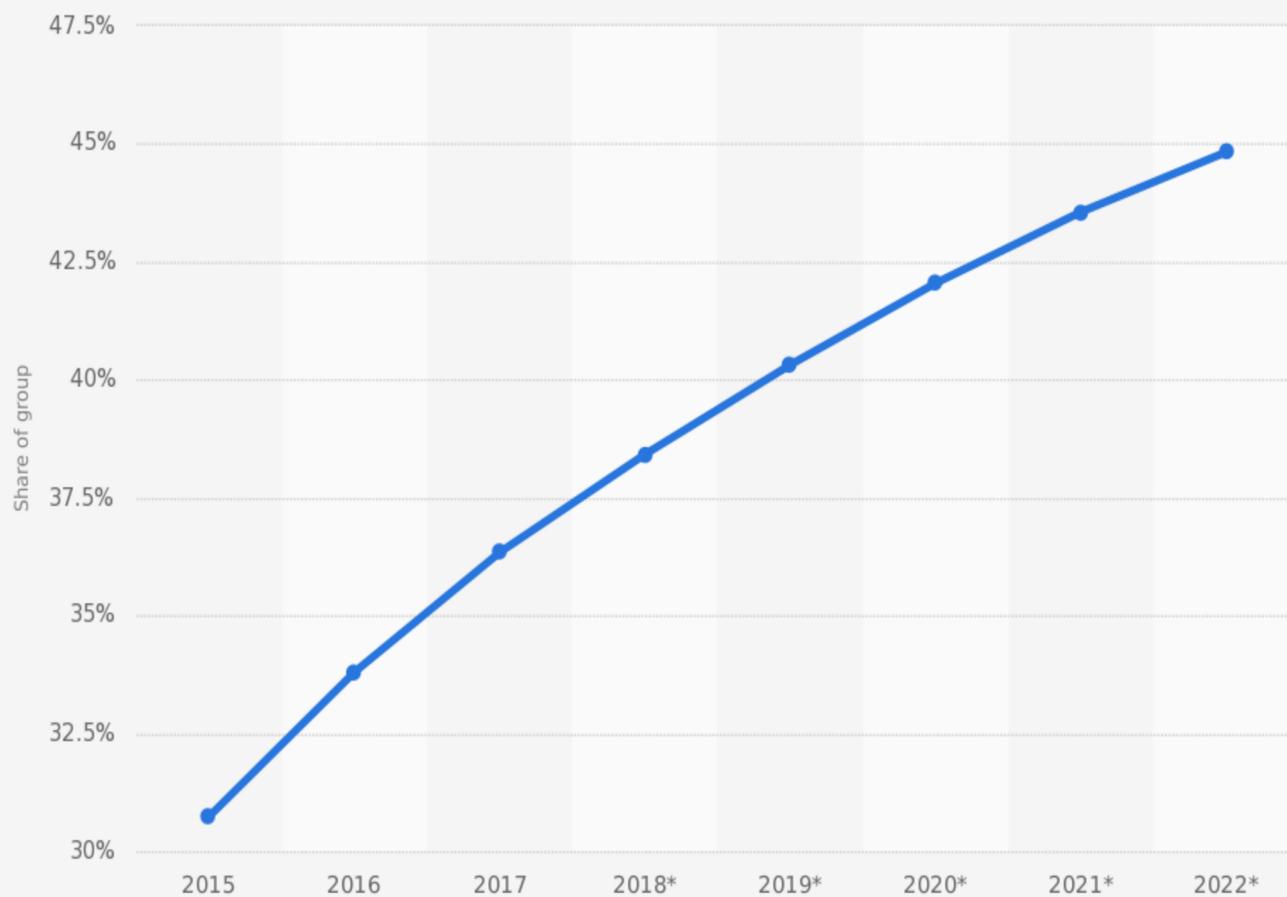
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SOCIETY

INTERNET USER PENETRATION IN INDONESIA IS LOW

*THIS AFFECTS HOW INFORMATION
IS OBTAINED BY VOTERS*

Social network user penetration in Indonesia from 2015 to 2022

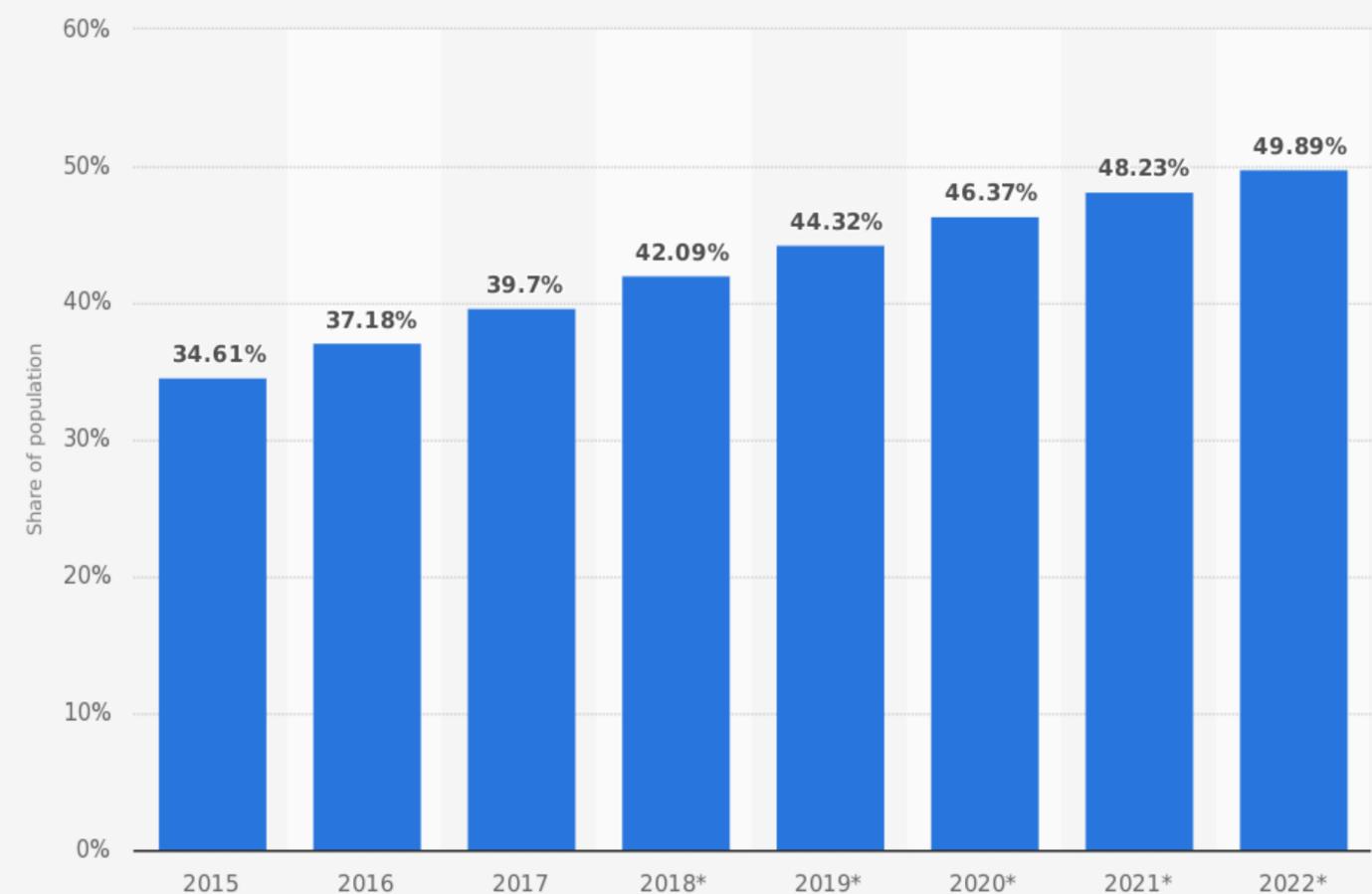


Sources
Statista; Statista DMO
© Statista 2018

Additional Information:
Indonesia; Statista DMO; 2015 to 2017

statista

Internet user penetration in Indonesia from 2015 to 2022



Sources
Statista; Statista DMO
© Statista 2018

Additional Information:
Indonesia; Statista DMO; 2015 to 2017

statista

JOKOWI-MA'RUF IS STILL LEADING BUT WITH A FRAGILE SUPPORT BASE

Recap: Electability

Will those supporting certain parties in the 2018 regional elections vote in favour of the candidate backed by the parties?

Partisan choice is unstable. Personalities determine choices in presidential and legislative elections. For example, those supporting Jokowi-Ma'ruf will be inclined to vote for parties backing the pair.

Java and non-Java divide?

Javanese: 40%

Ethnicity might be important for parties to decide on their candidates but insignificant to voter behaviour at national level.



The outcome of the 2019 legislative election will further determine the party's chance (especially PDI-P vs Gerindra) in the 2024 presidential election.

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SOCIETY

**BOTH CAMPS
TARGET
MILLENNIAL,
HOMEMAKERS
AND
CONSERVATIVES
TOUGH FIGHT
FOR JOKOWI-
MA'RUF**



Millennial/ youth

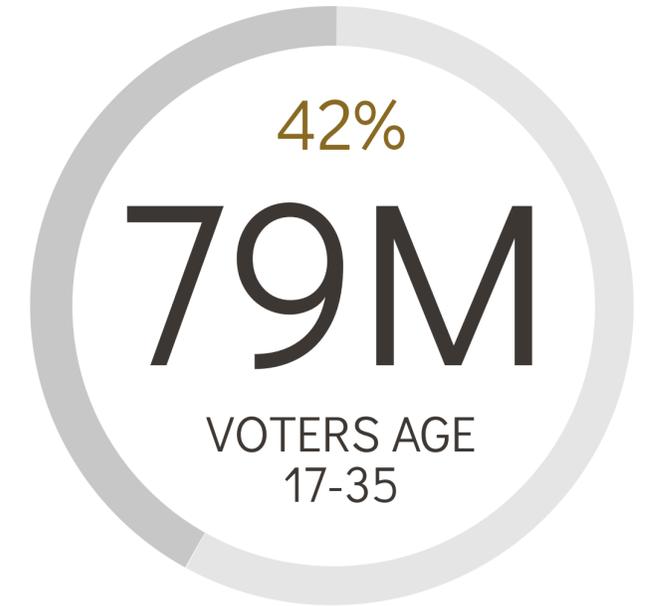
Homemakers

Conservatives

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SOCIETY

MILLENNIAL IS NOT A MONOLITHIC ENTITY CERTAIN CAMPAIGNS ONLY RESONATE WITH CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF THE YOUTH



early September data.



Actions during the
2018 Asian Games

Pop-culture
references in
speeches



"Millennial" Candidate:
rise of new leader?

Continuous
engagements with the
youth

Historically, young voters
desired "change" and tended
to side with opposition.
Political participation and
the preferences of
millennials are influenced by
a plethora of factors:

the urban and rural divide;
educational background;
religiosity; and
entrepreneurial spirit,
among others.

More >>

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SOCIETY



**HOMEMAKERS
ARE
EFFECTIVE
CAMPAIGN
MESSENGERS**

**SIGNIFICANT
POWER BASE**

About half of the
voters

THE POWER
OF **EMAK-
EMAK VS IBU
BANGSA**

Emak-Emak is
more popular

**COST OF LIVING
ISSUES**

Sandi's visits to
traditional
markets

**THIS TIME IS
DIFFERENT**

Jokowi enjoyed
positive image in
2014 election,
incumbency is a
double-edged sword

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SOCIETY

IT'S ABOUT
PERSPECTIVES

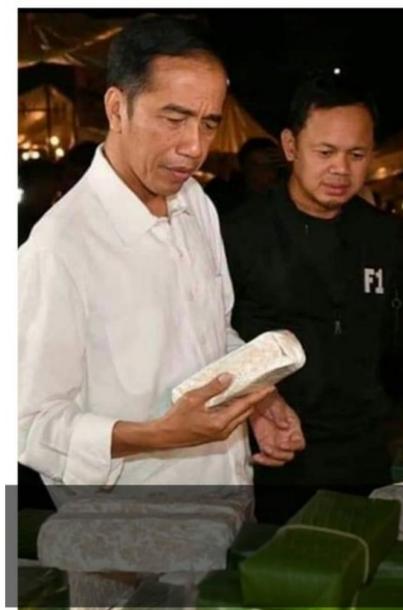
**GAYA
BLUSUKAN**

JOKOWI VS SANDI

TERLIHAT JELAS KAN MANA
CALON YANG COCOK JADI
PEMIMPIN, DAN MANA
CALON YANG COCOK JADI
PELAWAK



TRENDSETTER



FOLLOWER



CONSERVATIVE GROUPS THE CLASH OF ISLAMISTS?

Religion and religious affiliation exhibit very limited and inconsistent influence on presidential election voting behaviour (Saiful Mujani et al, 2018).

But 'Aksi Bela Islam' (anti-Ahok rally) set a precedent of the recent use of "religious" identity politics. Yet, this rally could no longer be politicised due to Jokowi's VP pick.

Identity politics are not over, only "shelved" temporarily. The recent flag-burning incident does not help Jokowi-Ma'ruf's camp.

How about 'Aksi Bela Tauhid' in few cities (October-November 2018)? What about the rally's association with ultra-conservatives and Prabowo-Sandi's camp?

WE MUST NOT DISCOUNT THE IMPACT OF *THE SILENT/ ALIENATED CROWD* ON THE ELECTION OUTCOME *PREDICTED BIGGER AFTER JOKOWI'S VP PICK* *JOKOWI COULD HAVE A BIGGER CHANCE TO* *WIN*

Minority Groups

Jokowi risks losing support from minority groups largely due to Ma'ruf's history of issuing fatwas not in favour of the minority groups.

Disillusioned Groups

Jokowi's rising authoritarian tendency vs. Prabowo's dark history.
Ma'ruf's tainted cleric image vs. Sandi's lack of experience.

Moderate Muslims

In a confused state. Tend to be silent in social media or in reacting to politicised issues.
Jakarta's Gubernatorial Election 1st round result is a case in point.

Minus-Malum principle?

VOTER TURNOUT AND CAMPAIGN PARTICIPATION HAVE DECLINED OVER THE YEARS

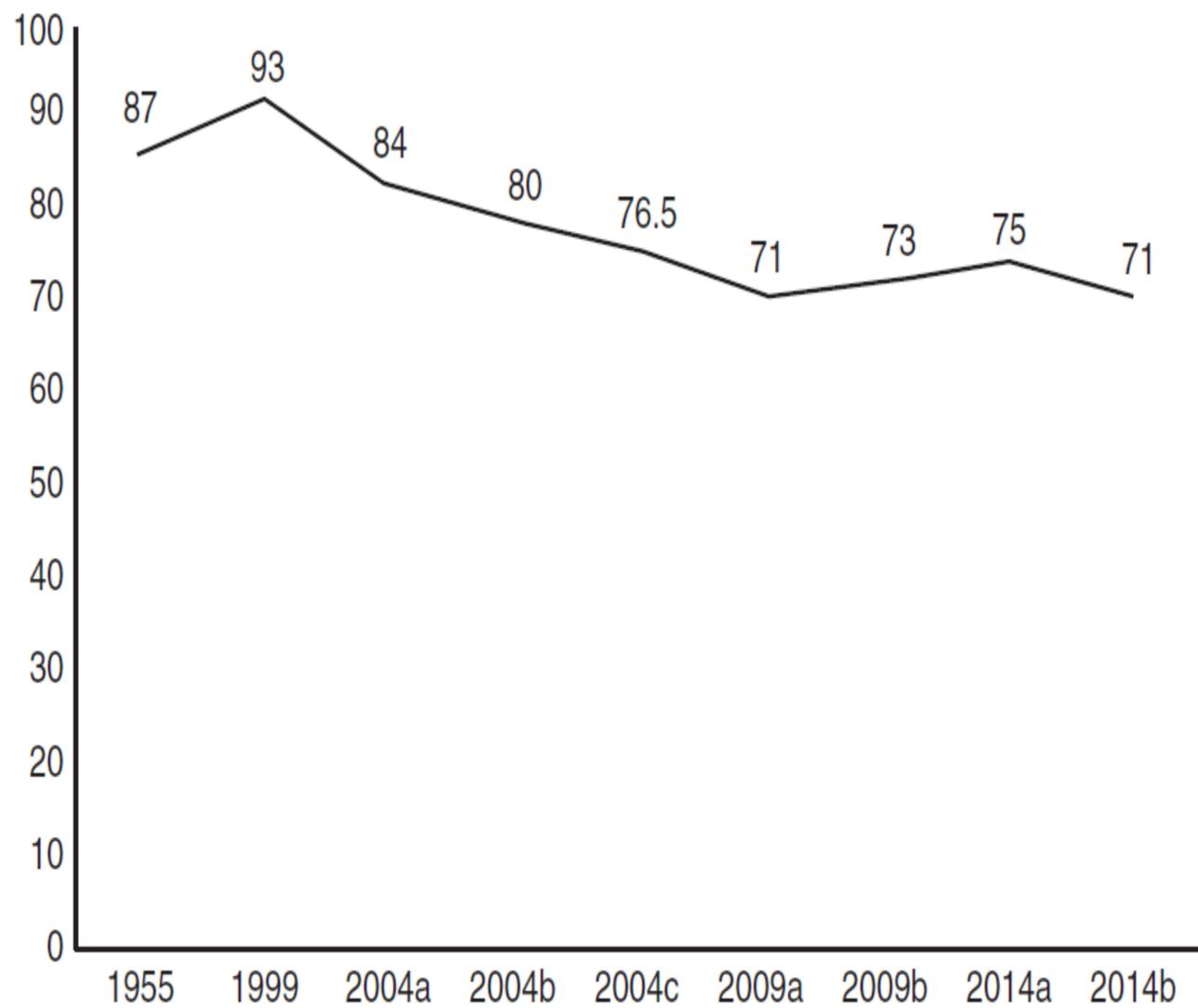


FIGURE 3.1 Voter turnout (%)

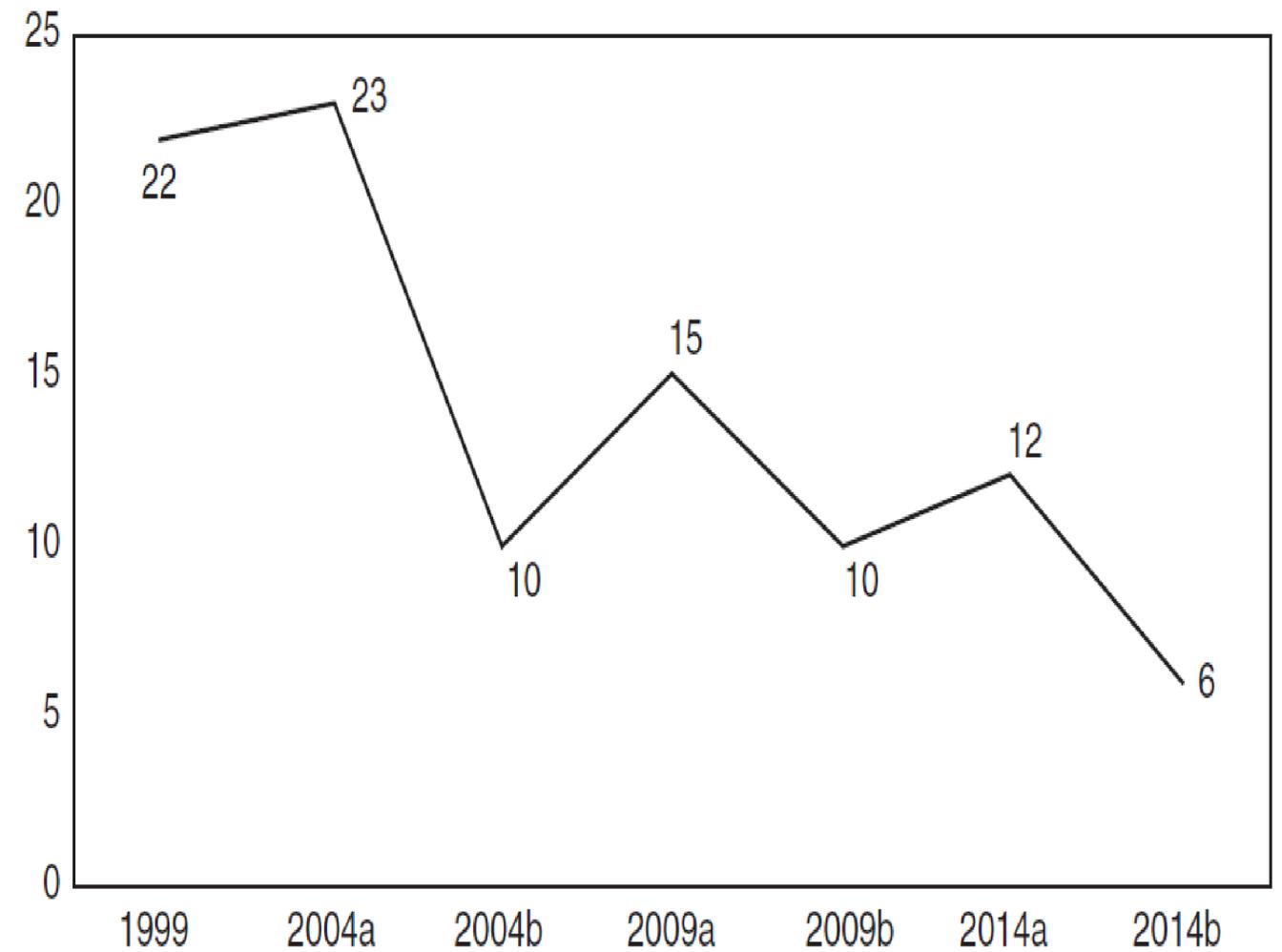


FIGURE 3.2 Ever participated in campaign activities before the parliamentary or presidential elections (%)

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SOCIETY

THE
DEMOCRATIC
CONUNDRUM

What's happening with
Indonesian democracy?

The quality of democracy

⋮

Meaningful public participation

⋮

**Substantive debates on public policy
and public service delivery**

⋮

Information

Biases | Identity politics | Trivial issues | Hoaxes | Data manipulation

⋮

**Harm democracy
Damage to political tolerance**

The cost of democracy: pressure to conform

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SOCIETY

BREAKING THE CONUNDRUM *IS THAT EVEN POSSIBLE?*

Progressive Muslims

Identity politics

Populism

Intellectuals

SOCIAL CRYPTOAMNESIA

The attitude or opinion becomes an integral part of the society's culture. The source of the minority influence that led to it is generally forgotten

Effective message creates conflicts in the minds of majority

Majority is forced to examine the message and internalise it

Message is internalised and converted

Snowball effects: Becomes majority's view

PROJECTION

IN THE NEXT 5 MONTHS...

1 New polemics are expected to emerge on a regular basis. Intensified Competition between both camps since there is a large segment of voters who have not blocked their decision.

2 Old issues might resurface and become politicised. If trivial issues continue to be contested, disillusioned groups might expand.

3 Jokowi-Ma'ruf's support might have stabilised. Prabowo-Sandi will need to be more aggressive if they were to increase their electability.

4 Parties will continue to be divided in their strategy because of legislative elections.



THANK YOU

Indonesia *Watch*

 ISIS Malaysia  @ISIS_MY

